MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF MIGRATION TO TURKEY:

A DIACHRONIC PERSPECTIVE

SEZGİ BAŞAK KAVAKLI

BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY

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Sezgi Başak Kavaklı

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A Diachronic Perspective

The thesis of Sezgi Başak Kavaklı

has been approved by:

Assoc. Prof. Didar Akar _____
(Thesis Advisor)

Assist. Prof. Işıl Erduyan _____

Prof. Işıl Baş _____
(External Member)

September 2020

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Sezgi Başak Kavaklı, certify that

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ABSTRACT

Media Representation of Migration to Turkey:

A Diachronic Perspective

This thesis investigates the effects of empathic motives of the political power holders on the treatment and media representation of large groups of displaced people that arrived in Turkey between 1950 and 2017. It provides a diachronic analysis of the terms through which the print media and Turkish migration policies identified different groups of displaced people along with the themes of discussions that surfaced in the collocates of these terms. The findings suggest that the media identification of the displaced people depends on the societal predisposition towards them and political motives of the government at the time rather than the definitions in the law The narratives on Bulgarian Turks and Turkmens adapts a positively inclusionary tone, in line with Turkey's economic and social motives of improving farming practices and orchestrating an ethnically and culturally homogenous population. The terms used in media and by political representatives correlate in this period. On the other hand, the representation of the Iraqi Kurds and the Romani in the media are highly avoidant and exclusionary; and similar terms are adapted once again by the government and the media.The representation of Syrians is a mixture of these tones and parallels the polarized opinions in the political context. Thus, strong parallels between the economic, political, and social motives of political power holders and the representation of displaced people in the media are observed.

ÖZET

Türkiye'ye Göçün Medya Temsili:

Tarihsel Bir Bakış

Bu tez, politik güç erklerinin empatik motivasyonlarının 1950 ve 2017 yılları arasında yerlerinden edilip Türkiye'ye göç etmek zorunda bırakılan kişilerin medya temsili üzerindeki etkisini incelemektedir. Bu kişilerin yazılı basında ve göç politikalarındaki temsilinde kullanılan terimlerin ve bu terimlerle beraber kullanılan ibarelerin artzamanlı analizini gerçekleştirir. Bu analizin bulguları, göçe zorlanan kimselerin medyadaki tanımlarının kanunlardaki tanımlarından farklılık gösterdiğini; toplumsal önyargılara ve mevcut hükümetin politik motivasyonlarına bağlı olduğunu gösterir. Bulgaristan Türklerinin ve Türkmenlerinin temsilinin, dönemlerindeki ekonomik (tarımsal iştiraklerin gelişimi) ve sosyal (etnik ve kültürel olarak homojen bir toplum inşaası) motivasyonlara paralel olarak olumlu bir şekilde kapsayıcı olduğu görülmektedir. Medyanın ve hükümet temsilcilerinin bu gruplar için benzer temsil ibareleri kullandıkları görülmektedir. Öteki taraftan, Iraklı Kürtlerin ve Romanların hükümet temsilcileri ve medya tarafından temsili tekrar benzerlik göstererek oldukça dışlayıcı ve sakıngan bir dil kullanımına işaret eder. Suriyelilerin temsilinin ise, dönemlerindeki politik arkaplanda gerçekleşen kutuplaşmaya paralel olarak bahsedilen kapsayıcı ve dışlayıcı dil kullanımlarının bir karışımı olduğu görülmektedir. Bu açıdan incelenen üç dönemde de güç erklerinin politik, ekonomik ve sosyal motivasyonları ile yerinden edilmiş kimselerin medya temsili arasında güçlü paralellikler gözlemlenmektedir.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CL	Corpus Based Linguistic Analysis
DHA	Discourse Historical Approach
DITM	Displaced Identities in the Turkish Media Corpus
DP	Democrat Party
EU	European Union
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
YUKK	Law No. 6458 on Foreigners and International Protection (*Yabancılar ve Uluslararası Koruma Kanunu*)

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The topics of discussion on displaced people such as immigrants, refugees and asylum-seekers have been proliferated especially in the light of recent events in Syria in academic circles and a significant amount of research has been conducted, especially as the numbers of forcibly displaced people reached a record high in the beginning of 2010s. In this moment of emergency, like many other before, we have witnessed the reluctance of states and people from reaching out to those in need; more and more reservations have been brought upon the Geneva Convention of 1951 as the number of displaced persons has continued to increase. As various disciplines took the matter at hand, those in the field of political communication have focused on the ways in which refugees have been portrayed. Some looked at how the refugees were being constructed as the "other" (Hemmelmann, 2017), whereas the others investigated the de/humanization processes at work when constructing the identities of refugees in the media (Medianu, 2013; Erdoğan, 2015; Kirkwood, 2017). However, we were not able to trace any studies which provided a historical background to the codes that are utilized to represent these people; argued the implications of such coding in the social world to which displaced people are passing; and, diachronically pursued the change in the discourse with different groups of displaced identities. My aim is to understand the empathic approach and avoidance that are revealed through media when one arrives "at the land of the other", the patterns of Hospitality in Kantian terms. For this aim, I look at news published during the three biggest waves of immigration to Turkey; the immigration of 250,000 Bulgarian Turks between 1950 and 1951, of 467,489 Kurds between 1991

and 1992, and lastly the immigration of more than 3 million Syrians to Turkey since 2011. I provide a diachronically informed analysis of media representations of these three groups that have migrated to Turkey between 1950 and 2017, and a contextual research on policies relating to these persons in light of three questions:

1) Which codes have been utilized to represent large groups of displaced identities in Turkish media since 1950?
2) Which empathic motives and power relations surface and are reproduced throughout such coding?
3) Do these empathic motives and power relations which surface in the media representation correlate with those that surface in the policies and accounts of the political representatives of their time?

According to UNHCR's 2018 statistics, there are 68.5 million forcibly displaced people worldwide and Turkey has been hosting the largest number, with 3.5 million people for the fourth consecutive year. Altogether, more than two-thirds of all refugees came from just five countries which were: Syrian Arab Republic (6.3 million), Afghanistan (2.6 million), South Sudan (2.4 million), Myanmar (1.2 million) and Somalia (986,400). When projected on a world map, it can be seen that most of refugees stay in neighboring countries with the exception of Germany. However, in the 1951 Geneva Convention, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) notes that

> the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees is charged with the task of supervising international conventions providing for the protection of refugees and recognizing that the effective co-ordination of measures taken to deal with this problem will depend upon the co-operation of States with the High Commissioner (UNHCR, 2010, p.13)

Even a short glimpse at the numbers and distribution of displaced persons today or at any type of media shows us that co-operation of States which was promised in these

lines is actually not being implemented. Turkey, Uganda, Pakistan, Lebanon, and Iran are witnessing tension among their citizens on their own welfare and are under a load of pressure that would easily be manageable had it were shared equally. Although the Convention allows and encourages signatories to improve communication with a view of settling the disagreement and act in the interest of protected persons, we see that Syrians in Turkey are held back from the status of a refugee.

Turkey signed a number of international agreements and has issued even a larger number of policies that were aimed at providing better assistance to the displaced people and regulating their flow, not all of these policies and agreements have been implemented. We see that new policies emerged with the arrival of each group of forcibly displaced people which were shaped by the needs of the state to regulate the flow at the time; and we believe that there has been a mutual interaction between the language of the media and the politicians who introduced these policies when portraying the displaced people. As Turkey still sticks to geographical limitation it brought on Geneva Convention in 1951, Syrians in Turkey are classified under the category of temporary protection. Turkey's endeavors to secure Syrian's welfare within the country has been celebrated and praised by many important institutions especially given the little to no support it has seen from other states. However, this endeavor by Turkey was not welcomed by all of its citizens; the country went through local elections in March 2019 and some of the newly elected mayor's debut was with cutting all the funding for Syrian refugees from the municipality. A close analysis on the language of media on the displaced people can help us understand what type of information is being provided to the citizens of the host country that could motivate them to foster or avoid empathy with the displaced

people while understanding the portrayal of the displaced people in the policies is important as it can help us explore whether this representation is effected by the positions of those in political power.

The data of the study come from two newspapers, Cumhuriyet and Milliyet, which are still being published in Turkey since 1950. Even though they are both mainstream newspapers Milliyet news readership would be more central right whereas Cumhuriyet news readership would be more on the left. We believe that these two newspapers are optimal for our line of research as they are the only two newspapers that are still being published in our day and they have held high circulation scores. The texts that are collected from these newspapers will be analyzed through the Corpus Based Critical Discourse Analysis methodology and while building up on the steps taken in Discourse-Historical Approach by Ruth Wodak (2001).

The thesis is made up of five chapters. The first chapter introduces the theoretical background of this thesis, the data of this study, the methodologies used to analyze our data and finally a detailed account of Turkish migration policies and pertaining international agreements as of 1934. The second chapter entails the analysis of the data collected from the news stories that were published between January 1950 and December 1952 on the displacement of Bulgarian Turks to Turkey. The thirds chapter focuses on the displacement of Iraqi Kurds to Turkey in 1991 following the Gulf War; whereas the fourth chapter looks at the language of the news stories that focused on the displacement of the Syrians to Turkey between December 2014 and December 2017. In each of these chapters, we explain the historical and political context in which the displacement took place (in both the origin country and the host country); and, analyze the terms of reference used to represent the displaced

groups along with the main themes of discussion. These chapters also include a comparison of how the language of the analyzed period differs from the previous one which is tied to a discussion on whether these differences create a context where empathic approach or avoidance motives of the Host country become apparent. The final chapter, Conclusion, includes the highlights of our diachronic analysis and delineates on our findings on empathic motives towards the displaced people as they surface in the news stories.

In this chapter we start by arguing the shortcomings of Kantian understanding of universal hospitality. Later, we move onto introduce a theory and research in the field of neuropsychology by Weisz & Zeik's (2018) on empathic motives. Followingly, we introduce the data of this study and methodologies of Corpus-Based Linguistic Analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis and Discourse-Historical approach that we adapt in this thesis. Finally, we provide a detailed account of the Turkish migration policies and international agreements it signed on pertinent issues as of 1950s to shed light on the analysis in our following sections.

1.1 Theoretical framework

This section delineates on the theories that inform our research questions and analysis. It starts by explaining Immanuel Kant's conceptualization of Hospitality as a right which we explore to understand the conceptualization of the rights assigned to the displaced people; moves onto the social neuroscience theory of motivated empathy (Weisz & Zaki, 2018). The theory of motivated empathy becomes useful in explaining different approaches to different groups of displaced people. Finally, it

explains the linguistics and political communication theories that encouraged us to pursue this analysis in the products of the print media.

1.1.1 The conceptualization of hospitality

Although our main goal is to understand the concept of empathic motives, it is not a concept that has been commented on in regard to debates on the state of displaced people. There are some neuropsychological and sociological studies who look at the ways in which people show empathy towards the others; yet this concept has been largely left out by migration. However, there is another concept, Hospitality, on which similar discussions can be traced.

> Kant takes Hospitality at hand as a universal right and states,
>
> Hospitality means the right of a stranger not to be treated as an enemy when he arrives in the land of another. One may refuse to receive him when this can be done without causing his destruction; but, so long as he peacefully occupies his place, one may not treat him with hostility. It is not the right to be a permanent visitor that one may demand. A special beneficent agreement would be needed in order to give an outsider a right to become a fellow inhabitant for a certain length of time. It is only a right of temporary sojourn, a right to associate, which all men have. They have it by virtue of their common possession of the surface of the earth, where, as a globe, they cannot infinitely disperse and hence must finally tolerate the presence of each other. Originally, no one had more right than another to a particular part of the earth. (as cited in Benhabib, 2004, p.27)

Although it is argued that the land belongs to no one originally, it comes to be perceived as belonging to a group, specifically when another group is forced to occupy the same land. This is the moment of necessity that gives birth to the concept of Hospitality, for the purposes of this discussion let us call this moment the moment of gathering. For Kant, gathering invokes not the right to be a permanent visitor, but the right to be not treated as an enemy when one arrives so long as they occupy the

land peacefully. This limitation to the scope of hospitality is problematic as it can also be understood from the choice of verb to tolerate instead of to accept or to harmonize. It is clear that the moment of gathering is not a moment of cohesion attaining positive rights of inclusion to the newly comers, but it is a moment of exclusion. As Turkey has received migration from multiple geographies and ethnicities, we believe that it is a good choice of location that renders us able to observe whether the moments of gathering lead to tolerance or other reactions such as exclusion, labelling or harmonization in reality.

Hospitality is explained as a right; however, "It is only a right of temporary sojourn, a right to associate, which all men have… by virtue of their common possession of the surface of the earth" (Benhabib, 2004, p.27). The "right to associate" is a choice of word that should be delineated as its limits are not cleat by definition; while some groups of forcibly displaced people are given the rights of employment or to settle in the country (which can be taken as the implementation of the right to associate) we see that some groups are not even allowed beyond the border. To us, this shows that the right to associate is not a right attained at the moment of gathering but it can be implemented or avoided in regard to predispositions of the Host country has on the displaced people. We believe that similar factors are at work in shaping the hospitality that is extended to the displaced people and the empathy towards them as reflected by the media. Both are shaped by the associations that are formed -or avoided- between the people of the Host country and those that arrive.

Prior research shows that media is effective in orienting us into taking a position in regards to the displaced people we meet in and outside our countries (Haynes, 2009; Chouliaraki, 2011; Kampf, 2013; Pausch, 2016), however, the factors

that contribute to this orientation need further clarification. I expand on Kant's criteria that one needs to occupy another's land peacefully to avoid hostility, and claim that there is a hierarchy to the characteristics of the individuals the Host can tolerate and become willing to share their lands, and this hierarchical order is a result of Host's empathic motives. Although the elements that make up this hierarchical order may vary among nations and communities, a future examination of each might reveal universal patterns of hospitality and help us reshape our understanding of living with others.

1.1.2 Empathic approach and avoidance motives

A useful categorization for factors that are effective in shaping the Hospitality or, in our terms, the empathetic response the people of Host country show to the displaced people comes from a study conducted in the field of neuropsychology. As defined by Weisz&Zaki (2018), the empathic response of "feeling for others" that paves the way for altruistic behavior comes from empathic motives which are "goal-directed, internal forces that drive people toward and away from social connection". Although others also classify empathy as an internal drive (Eisenberg, 1987; Gleichgerrcht, 2013) what sets this study apart is that the authors do not perceive empathy to be an automatic response to others' suffering; but they insist that it is highly dependent on the context. In line with this study, we believe that the print media can be taken as the context in which the majority of the public becomes informed of the displaced

people[1]; and taking from the codes they read in the newspapers, the empathic motives of the public towards the displaced people can be shaped by these codes.

1.1.3 Understanding social practices through the language of print media

It has been argued that the authors have to take from codes that they assume to be shared by their possible readers in order to make their texts communicative (Eco, 1979). As the value assigned to these codes at individual level cannot be grasped, they have to work with "a model of the possible reader" when encoding their texts. Texts are considered to both select and create their Model Reader by calling out to a certain group (such as children books or texts with technical jargons) and also by building up the competence of the reader to share the same codes. However, selecting and building up of decoding competence do not guarantee that the text will be interpreted in the way intended by the author. Those texts that are open to a variety of decoding are called 'open texts' whereas those that cannot afford such variety in their decoding are called 'closed texts'. In this sense, news can be considered closed texts that seek to inform their readers as they cannot afford different decoding not only for circulation purposes but also for preventing possible allegations that could emerge due to misunderstandings. The model reader cannot be limited extravagantly, as the newspaper cannot afford being read by a very small clique and needs to be able to address a large number of citizens, its efforts to build up the readers' competence to share the author's codes proliferate. Thus, it utilizes

[1] We understand that more and more people may have started to receive their daily news from their televisions and social media as we move onto 21st century in our analysis. Future studies should investigate how the language in these outlets differs from the language we observe in the newspapers; however, for the coherence of our diachronic analysis, we were obliged to leave out these outlets.

codes that are embedded in social world and aims to make them shared by the large group of its addressees in return. I believe this line of thought applies for both of the newspapers I choose to analyze as they demonstrate the highest readership figures of their times; and by doing so, they allow us the chance to observe the communicative exchange between the agents of media and the public.

Although the communicative exchange is a process, the moments of encoding and decoding are determinate moments that flow into each other. They are neither identical nor autonomous, but related; thus, the audience/reader is both the "source" and "receiver" of the message (Hall, 1973). Once the process of mediation, or the production of the story, starts the event becomes subject to rules by which language signifies. Instead of meanings, the signs utilized within these stories hold values that come about through social practices and investment in these signs (Chandler, 1995). Political communication theories (Hall, 1973; Chandler, 1995; Chouliaraki, 2011) often argue that every new or unorthodox event must make its way through the existing discursive domains before it can be decoded. Thus, the newspaper is obliged to mediate the event under the influence of "dominant or preferred meanings", if not through them directly. However, this does not mean that each code is encoded with a single message. We are advised to keep an eye on the denotation and connotation of the signs as the first one refers to the strongly fixed ideological value of the sign whereas the latter refers to possibilities for meaning that are more open to exploitation. Keeping in mind that dominant social practices give value to the signs, analyzing the value of the sign at the denotation level can give us an idea about the dominant social practices whereas analyzing the connotation level can help us understand differing common practices related to the denoted practices.

For us, the terms that are chosen to refer to the displaced people (their names, pronouns and other words that are used to identify these groups) constitute the signs for the displaced people in the print media and the denotation of these signs is explored through the identification of the specific group in the migration policies we investigate, whereas their connotations are explored through their significant collocates and themes of discussion that accompany these signs. Thus, in light of the aforementioned political science and communication theories, we hypothesize that the names attributed to the displaced people can be taken as the signs of the value attributed to them by the citizens and political leaders of the Host country. Supporting this hypothesis, we expect to observe a variety of terms selected to signify different groups of displaced groups, and an even larger variation in the connotations for these words. Although the signs that are utilized by the political leaders and the citizens (as modelled by the newspapers) can differ especially with heightened polarization, we expect to observe an overall consensus in the denotations of these signs and variance in their connotations. Finally, we expect the news stories to reflect on certain values assigned to the displaced people, and withhold others, which in turn creates a context where empathic approach and avoidance motives of the Host country are perpetuated.

1.2 Data

The data for this thesis come from the news stories on the displaced people which were printed by the Turkish newspapers Cumhuriyet, Milliyet and Habertürk[2] at

[2] Our initial plan was to conduct this research on only two newspapers to ensure consistency in our sources; however, the data collection process for our final chapter coincided with the Covid-19 pandemic which rendered it impossible for us to visit the local libraries to access *Milliyet*'s files and

times of mass influxes to Turkey between 1950 and 2017. In order to collect our data, we first screened the news stories that were printed in the first week of every other month in the displacement process to identify the terms of reference. Later, we conducted a search on the online archives of the newspapers to identify the news stories that included these terms. Some news stories this search retrieved were excluded as they would mention the names attributed to the displaced people in only one or two sentences and including them would create an imbalance in our corpus. Through scanning and transcribing both hardcopies and online archives of the newspapers, I have brought together a corpus named Displaced Identities in Turkish Media Corpus (DITM) which contains three sub-corpora called Corpus_50s, Corpus_1991 and Corpus_2010s. DITM is a collection of the news stories from the newspapers Cumhuriyet, Milliyet and Habertürk which were entered to text files forms[3] and coded with certain tags to ensure locating certain characters of the data. It was uploaded to a corpus-query tool titled TS Corpus by Taner Sezer which allowed us to process and run queries on our data. We tagged the news stories in DITM according to the sources they cited, their printing categories (as in domestic news stories, opinion columns…) and the process of displacement (pre-migration, halted, ceased…). Since our hypothesis entails exploring the emphatic motives and predispositions towards the displaced people through the narratives in which they are represented, we rendered it important to trace who was given a say in these narratives. On the majority, the categorization for the types of news stories provided by their newspapers at the beginning of their columns was preserved in our tagging; whereas we identified one category, wartime columns as we name it, that was printed

thus forced us into complete the final leg of our data collection with a newspapers that could be taken as a substitute for Milliyet.

[3] We used Microsoft Txt File format and UTF-8 Coding for entering each news story as UTF-8 allows reading in the Turkish characters.

among domestic news stories but had a significantly different style and a different set of authors. Tagging by the process of displacement, on the other hand, sheds light on whether these terms were consistent throughout the corpus so that we could identify emerging and fading trends in representing the displaced people in one flux.

The processes of data collection and processing were spread to two years in which we had the opportunity to highly familiarize ourselves with our texts. This extended process was required to conduct in depth critical discourse analysis and prepare our texts for a corpus-based linguistic analysis. The following section explains these methods of analysis along with the discourse-historical approach that guided our analysis.

1.3 Methodology

This thesis follows a mixed methods structure and combines the methodologies of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) as an extension of CDA and Corpus Based Discourse Analysis (CL). The detailed explanations and justifications for the selection of these methodologies can be found in the following sub-sections.

1.3.1 Critical discourse analysis and discourse historical approach

Although Critical Discourse Analysis first emerged from sociolinguistics studies titled “critical linguistics” on the discourse that defined language as a social practice

(Fowler, 1989), it shortly differentiated itself from those studies that paid a limited amount of attention to the power relations and hierarchical orders in the society (Wodak, 2001). At the intersection of linguistic and social theory, it was developed as an interdisciplinary method of discourse analysis that would help explore the ideologies and the power relations such as resistance, abuse, inclusion and exclusion of certain groups that are perpetuated in the discourse. Among a number of different approaches to CDA that has developed over time, Van Dijk's contribution has been notable for us as he developed a three-layer method of analysis that combined the favored linguistic and social theories of CDA with cognitive theories. By way of integrating cognitive theories into the analysis, CDA could applied to understand the reinforcement of ideologies in everyday discourse (Lin, 2014). Another contribution to the study of discourse through power relations and societal hierarchies came from Ruth Wodak who developed the Discourse-Historical Approach in 2001. This interdisciplinary approach exhibited similar features to the larger theories behind CDA as it served as an eclectic and abductive approach that incorporated theory into empirical data as long as it was useful for the investigation of the social practice at hand. On the other hand, it distinguished itself as the historical context of the discourse at hand should be always integrated into the analysis (Wodak, 2001). It is advised that DHA should target the social practice in question and the studies conducted with this approach should be applied with the goal of changing certain discursive and social practices.

Since this thesis aims to explore the empathic approach and avoidance motives that were reflected and thus perpetuated in the context of news stories, CDA comes as the larger methodology in which we can look for the power relations and hierarchical orders not only between the people of the Host country and the displaced

people; but also between different groups of displaced people. To be able to talk about different discursive practices developed to represent different groups DHA is a required methodology as it allows us to incorporate the varying political and historical contexts into our discussion. Combined, DHA and CDA enable us to evaluate the political context in which these texts were written, the main themes of discussions in our texts (which were originally called "genres" by Wodak) and their relation to the social practices of inclusion and exclusion towards the displaced people. However, these two methods are not enough to systematically evaluate such a large number of texts as the ones in our data; this is why we turn to another methodology, Corpus-Based Linguistic Analysis, to identify frequent keywords, their collocates and observe the linguistic patterns in which the reference terms for the displaced people were used.

1.3.2 Corpus based linguistic analysis

Corpus Based Linguistic Analysis and CDA are methodologies that are frequently used together; however, they might not be balanced resulting in biases in their analysis (Baker, 2008). CL provides the researcher with a high degree of objectivity in statistically counting and sorting linguistic patterns. Baker and Wodak argue that "Subjective researcher input is, of course, normally involved at almost every stage of the analysis. The analyst, informed by the quantitative aspects mentioned earlier, has to decide what texts should go in the corpus, and what is to be analysed" (2008). To clarify the subjective researcher input on my part, I have done a through reading of 6 out of 12 twelve months of every year before I compiled the corpus and extracted

keywords that I recognized as frequent. The keywords would be nouns or verbs with significant frequencies in a large number of texts. Then, I moved on to the online archives and conducted a few tests with various phrases such as looking for the term Bulgar (Bulgarian) in the 1950 and 1952 period and evaluated the amount and content of the articles that are left out from the search conducted with CDA keywords. The keywords found through CDA were compatible with those that surface through CL on the whole. On the other hand, not each text that mentioned one of the names for the displaced people were included in our corpus. Those that mentioned the displaced people barely in one or two sentences as a side-note were not included to preserve the focused structure of our data. This might have resulted in an incapacity to show all of the discourse on the displaced people in the print media; yet it allowed us to have a deeper understanding of what do the media talk about when they actually focus on the displaced people.

Following the compilation of the corpus, we move onto conducting our corpus queries. TS Corpus allows its users to run two types of searches: standard queries where the researcher can search for all the instances the selected word or/phrase (the target word) is used in the corpus; and, restricted queries where the researcher can limit the types of texts where the target word will be searched in line with the tags encoded to the given corpus.[4] Within these two types of queries, it also allows the researcher to look for collocates of the target word. Collocates are series of words that emerge in close proximity to[5] the target word more often than they would co-occur by chance. They are used together with the target word and create fixed relationships that either shed light on the connotative values of the target word or create new meanings through their combination. For example, an important

[4] See page 12 for a full list of tags we have used in our corpus.
[5] TS Corpus allows us to search for collocates in a maximum window span of 10 words.

collocate for the word göçmen ‘immigrant’ in our Corpus_50s is evleri ‘houses’ which was used right after the word göçmen 67 times out of 79 times it was used throughout this sub corpus. By their frequency and proximity, we understand that there is a fixed relationship between these words and we deduce that the housing was an important theme in the discourse that was generated on the state of displaced people in this period. Throughout the analysis, we return to the collocates after identifying the major reference terms for the period at hand; and we identify major themes of discussions that revolve around these reference terms through their collocates.

All in all, we follow a three-legged methodology in this thesis. We research the context of the displacement in each of our chapters and incorporate our findings on the historical and political background through DHA. Then we move onto screening the news stories of each period and look for significant terms of reference, keywords and collocates through CL. Finally, we evaluate our findings from CL in light of CDA methodology. Having discussed our theoretical framework, data and methodology, we can now move onto introduce the migration policies that shed light on our analysis in our following chapters.

1.4 Turkish migration policies as of 1934

This section provides a chronology of migration laws and regulations in Turkey along with the international agreements it signed on pertinent topics. Namely, it explains the 1934 Turkish Resettlement Law; the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees of 1951; 1994 Regulation on Asylum-seekers; the Law on Foreigners

and International Protection issued in 2013, Temporary Protection Law of 2004 and finally, the Joint Action Plan Turkey signed with the European Union.

1.4.1 1934 Turkish Resettlement Law (Law no. 2510)

Issued by the Turkish National Assembly on 14 June 1934, Law no. 2510 was commented on by Interior Minister Şükrü Kaya, as a law which will "create a country speaking with one language, thinking in the same way and sharing the same sentiment" (TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, 1934, p.49, my translation). Under Article I of the law, the Minister of Interior was granted the right to govern and redistribute the interior population of the country in accordance with an individual's adherence to Turkish culture. Adherence to Turkish culture was defined as the main condition for allowing settlement in the country. Article 3 distinguished between the identities of refugees that will be allowed entry and identified those who will not be received. It defined those who wanted to settle in Turkey individually or as a group as muhacir and authorized İcra Vekilleri Heyeti (The Council of Ministers) to decide which persons or nationalities will be allowed entry to country. The term muhacir has a complex etymology thus it will be translated and analyzed at a separate section but here it can be translated as immigrant. On the other hand, it defined those who do not wish to settle in Turkey but wish to take refuge in Turkey as mülteci (refugee). Permission to transfer from the status of mülteci to muhacir was also provided on the condition of applying to local authorities. Article 4 of the law defines the identities which will not be granted the status of muhacir were listed as follows: a) those who

do not show adherence to Turkish culture, b) anarchists, c) spies, d) nomad Romanies, e) those who were banished from the country.

Law no. 2510 regulated the formal settlement of foreigners in Turkey until a new law was issued in 2006, Law no. 5543. In 2006 regulation, it is seen that two conditions dominate the prerequisite of attaining settlement in Turkey. First is to be a descendant of Turkic ethnicity and second is to show adherence to Turkish culture. Eligibility to both conditions are evaluated by the President. Also, the term muhacir is replaced with göçmen and the term göçmen is categorized according to the motivations of settlement.

1.4.2 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (Geneva Convention, 1951)

The international legal groundwork for the asylum-seekers and refugees was laid in 1951 with Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. Article 1 of the Convention, as amended by the 1967 Protocol, defines a refugee as follows:

> A person who owing to a 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 having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2010, p.31)

Turkey signed Geneva Convention on August 24, 1951 with reservation. The two reservations Turkey signed the agreement with were: a) none of the provisions of this agreement can be commented on as giving more rights to the refugee than Turkish descendants in Turkey and b) “geographical limitation”. The “geographical limitation” indicated that Turkey did not accept Article 1 as it is but modified the

identity of the refugee to be accepted. The Turkish law defined those who escape from European countries as “refugees” and those who come from other countries as “asylum-seekers” (Resmi Gazete, May 21, 1994). In 2013, the term “asylum-seeker” was removed and replaced with terms such as “conditional refugee”, “subsidiary protection” and “temporary protection” with the Law on Foreigners and International Protection. However, it is worth paying attention that Turkey is obliged with accepting all the arriving refugees as a signatory of Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Thus, the “geographical limitation” principle has no practical value. Also, as the convention prohibits the expulsion or forcible return of persons having refugee status (Principle of Non-refoulement), Turkey’s “geographical limitation” becomes even more ineffective. Turkey’s 2005 National Action Plan on refugees and asylum seekers foresees the removal of “geographical limitation” in 2012 in parallel to the finalization of negotiations on Turkey’s accession to EU.

1.4.3 The 1994 Regulation on Asylum-Seekers

The 1994 Regulation foregrounds Turkey’s differentiation between refugees and asylum-seekers and underlines the ethnicity difference in the definition of these terms (Article 3). Within this frame, an asylum seeker is considered to be someone outside European borders and to whom security will be provided until a third country of settlement can be found; thus, Turkey is portrayed as a transit country. In addition, Article 8 of this regulation orders the suspension of people at the border and preventing their crossing of the border. Interestingly, there is no mention of rights but only mention of health services for “aliens” in this regulation. All the Accession Partnership Documents for Turkey between 2001 and 2008 underlined the

importance of removing “geographical limitation”, however, Turkey preserved its reservations until 2013. One change was the acceptance of EU’s Council Directive of 2001 that defined “temporary protection” for displaced persons.

1.4.4 Law on Foreigners and International Protection (2013) and Directorate General of Migration Management

The first comprehensive legal regulation regarding refugees/asylum-seekers, Law on Foreigners and International Protection No. 6458 (YUKK), was issued on February 2, 2013 in Turkey enabling the establishment of Directorate General of Migration Management. Within its frame, it was foreseen that Directorate General of Migration Management was going to take over the administration of immigration processes from the Directorate General of Security. Turkey 2013 Progress Report issued by UN foregrounds the change in the security-oriented approach of Turkey and praises this progress. The regulation added to the existing literature of international protection items, the differentiated terms “refugee”, “conditional refugee”, “subsidiary protection” and “temporary protection”.

However, the regulation still defines refugees as those who come from European Countries and replaces the term for asylum-seekers with conditional refugees. The definitions of the terms share the conditions for displacement and threat in home country however two important differences surface. First, refugees are defined as foreigners/stateless people leaving their country due to unrest in European countries whereas “conditional refugees” are the same persons leaving their country due to unrest outside European countries. It can be commented here that conditional refugees are defined as what refugees are not in Simone de Beauvoir’s terms.

Second, the definition for conditional refugees includes that Conditional refugee is allowed to stay in Turkey until a third country of settlement can be found." For those who do not fit in with the definitions of refugee or conditional refugee, the status of subsidiary protection is provided on the grounds of principle of non-refoulement. For mass-migration waves, YUKK acts on the status of temporary protection.

1.4.5 Temporary Protection Law of 2004

Issued on 4 April 2013 in the follow up of YUKK, Temporary Protection Regulation removed the 1994 Regulation with its enactment on October 22, 2014. The regulation authorizes The Council of Ministers for determining the effective date of temporary protection and its duration if considered necessary (Article 10). It also requires that "Governorates shall issue temporary protection identification document to those whose registration proceedings are completed" (Article 22). However, it is also underlined that this identification document will not provide access to citizenship in Turkey.

Most importantly, Article 1 of this regulation explains that international protection requests of people under temporary protection cannot be taken under individual assessment. Thus, it disallows Syrians from being defi9ned as refugees and officially defines them as "people in temporary protection status". The application of "temporary protection" status frees the government from costly processes of individual monitoring and encompasses services to be provided by the government instead of rights of refugees, as its article 26 focuses on "Services to be provided to persons benefiting from temporary protection". Here, the replacement of

rights with services is important as it leaves it to the hands of the government to regulate which services to provide.

1.4.6 Joint Action Plan between EU and Turkey in 2015

On November 29, 2015, the European Union and Turkey signed an agreement under which the EU will give Turkey €3 billion (about US$3.25 billion) to manage the refugee crisis in the country, aimed at the 2.2 million Syrian refugees and 300,000 Iraqis, and to prevent their reaching EU countries. The Joint Action Plan included that "Turkey will be in charge of sea patrols and enforce border restrictions to manage the flow of refugees to Europe... combat human trafficking and passport forgeries and return refugees to their countries of origin if they do not meet refugee requirements" thereby becoming a 'wall of defense' against the flood of refugees." (European Commission, 2015)

As it is seen in the historical context of immigration policies, Turkey has moved away from its nationalist stance in 1934 with Geneva Convention. The condition to be a Turkish descendant was removed from the settlement law. However, nationalism left its place to a West oriented ethnocentric stance with the "geographical limitation" Turkey added to the agreement. Starting towards the end of 1980s, the process of accession to EU has caused drastic changes in Turkey's migration policies as well. Although Turkey preserved its ethnic discrimination in its law, it made several changes to make its laws more comprehensive for different groups of displaced identities. We can also observe a shift in Turkey's approach to

different groups of displaced identities as it founded a special directorate of migration and started classifying these identities meticulously.

Having laid the historical context of immigration policies, I will now move on to (Chapter 1) “Migration of Bulgarian Turks and the Romani to Turkey between 1950-52” in order to examine discursive patterns relating to displaced identities and analyze their compatibility with policies and the empathic motives behind them.

CHAPTER 2

MIGRATION OF BULGARIAN TURKS AND ROMANI TO TURKEY BETWEEN 1950 AND 1952

In this chapter I provide a brief history of the process that led to the migration of 169,000 people from Bulgaria to Turkey between 1950 and 1952. Following, I explore the terms of reference and themes of discussion that were revealed in corpus linguistic and critical discourse analysis of the data. Followingly, I argue that the significantly positive and inclusionary representation of the displaced people paves the way for a context in the news stories that can entice empathic approach motives.

2.1 The historical and political context of the displacement in 1950s

Ottoman Empire's conquests to the Balkans in 14th century, led to the expansion of the empire; and, masses of Turks were settled in the region to Turkify the area (Crampton, 2005). In 1454, the empire introduced millet[6] system which categorized the population according to creed and allowed each millet, religious group, to regulate its internal affairs including their education, property and family law. Although millet system privileged Muslims; and non-Muslims were faced with heavier taxes and kept from carrying arms, it allowed Christian communities to preserve their traditions and religious identity. As Crampton (2005) also underlines, Ottoman policy makers did not recognize any concept of ethnicity in the early

[6] *Millet* can be translated as people who share common features. In this sense, it can be said that religion was considered to be at the heart of those features by Ottoman Empire authorities; whereas, it is used in relation to ethnicity in our day.

centuries of its rule in Europe, which is important to keep in mind for the discussion of common lineage. Although the Ottoman empire dominated the area for the next four centuries, the April Uprising of 1876 changed the power dynamics. Prior to the uprising, one third of the population was estimated to be ethnic Turks and Muslim, most of which were settled on the plateau of Dobrudja (Kostanick, 1955); whereas this population had become an ethnic minority when the treaty of Berlin was signed. Crampton (2005.) confirms that most of the population that migrated to Turkey and analyzed in this thesis came from this region and were in fact forcibly displaced persons not by military action but by the application of Stalinist dogma.

There were previous reports of migration from Bulgaria to Turkey, as two government signed a voluntary population exchange agreement in 1925 and up to 1940 12,000 people migrated to Turkey (Kostanick, 1955.). Yet this flow slowed down to its minimum during WWII, in the aftermath of which Bulgaria entered a new phase and adopted a new regime. The new regime stopped the migration and closed its border with Turkey. Founded in 1942, the Communist Party brought all anti-fascist powers under its umbrella with the dream of creating "one nation" (Çolak, 2013; Kostanick, 1955). As also stated in the news I analyze, the Communist Party brought heavy taxes on Turkish population and interrupted their way of living, their religion, imprisoned their significant figures; there are even reports of enslaved children in work-camps. Communist ideology was also being spread in schools which was condemned both by Turkey and by some groups in Bulgaria. Applications for migration to Turkey increased between 1947 and 1948 and Turkey issued an enactment on 31 May 1947 which allowed migrants who were defined as serbest göçmen (those who didn't need governmental support to settle in Turkey) and refugees into citizenship in Turkey. According to Kamil (2016), one year prior to this

case, Bulgaria had announced that it would allow any Turk to immigrate to Turkey and would banish those who wouldn't immigrate to the country's inner sections With the threat of internal displacement, a large number of Bulgarian Turks applied for immigration, some of whom even wrote letters to Turkish government explaining the reasons why they want to immigrate. A parliament member of Bulgarian Communist Party was sent to the regions where Turkish population was dense and identified these reasons as the ban on Quran education at schools and compulsory participation to farming cooperatives. He also added that almost 40 percent of the Turkish population would be willing to immigrate in case of a mass-migration (Kamil, 2016).

According to Çolak (2013), the process which will be analyzed in this chapter starts on 20 August 1950 with Bulgarian government's notice given to Turkish government, stating that Bulgarian government will deport 250,000 Turkish people and expects Turkey to admit them in the next three months. It is difficult to identify this process as either a case of resettlement or forced displacement as Bulgarian government had justified it on the ground that majority of Bulgarian Turks were willing to migrate. However, looking at the pressure under which Bulgarian Turks were living (Erdinç, 2002; Kamil, 2016; Çolak, 2013), and the reports in the newspapers on the conditions in which the migration process was carried out, this case will be referred to as a case of forced displacement hereafter in this thesis. As soon as the notice was given, thousands of Bulgarian Turks were forced to cross the borders, the first ones arriving no later than ten days. Responding to this notice, Turkish government foregrounded Bulgarian government's policies and practices that were allegedly violating the rights of Bulgarian Turks and advised that two governments hold meetings on this issue. As the exchange of notices between two countries continued, Turkish government declared closing of the Bulgarian-Turkish

border on the grounds that Bulgarian government attempted to send the Romani to Turkey. The border stayed closed between 7th October and 2nd December, finally to be opened on the condition that Bulgarian government will send only 800 immigrants per day.

Meanwhile, Turkish government frequently reported that unwanted people, such as undocumented Romani people were being fraudulently smuggled into the country. Turkish Resettlement Law No. 2510, which was in effect at the time, disallowed anyone who was not of Turkish descent from being an immigrant and the Romani were not considered to be of Turkish descent, as there were no indications of their race, there were articles reporting that some of these people were komünist ajan (communist agents) (Cumhuriyet, 25 September 1950), and no mention of their lineage. However, the draft of this law[2] acknowledges that there were Muslim Romani who only spoke Turkish and were hardworking farmers and artisans. It is also stated that these people weren't given any political rights or recognition by the Bulgarian government, which might explain why they did not have the legal documents, or why Turkish media insisted on calling them vizesiz Çingeneler *(*undocumented Romani), when they entered into Turkey. This fact is important to keep in mind as there were no mention of the Romani being Muslims or speaking Turkish in the media coverage. On 8th November 1951, Turkish government once again closed its border to Bulgaria due to the same issue of 'harmful identities', this time to stay so until 2nd February 1953.

Turkey's population in this period was reported to be 20,947,155 people with a 2.29% annual increase rate. There is a variety of reports on the number of displaced persons from Bulgaria; Bulgarian government declares to displace 250,000 people, scholars claim it is 200,000 (Çolak, 2013), 162,000 (Crampton, 2005) or 150,000

(Erdinç, 2002) and Milliyet's issue dated 18th March 1952 reports that 169,000 Bulgarian Turks had arrived in Turkey. Since Turkey's Directorate General of Migration Management does not provide an exact number regarding the period, Milliyet's number will be taken into consideration within the scope of this thesis. Both newspapers were reporting the number of arriving periodically; however, this report is the latest one. Also, Milliyet was a prominent newspaper and had a close relationship with the government of the time; thus, its report is deemed to be trustworthy. In light of this report, we can say that 169,00 Bulgarian Turks that migrated to Turkey between 1950 and 1952 made up 0.8% of the whole population in 1952.

2.2 Corpus based critical discourse analysis of Corpus_50s

The subcorpus created for this period, Corpus_50s, contains 587 articles with a total number of 117,556 words. There are 198 articles and 48,003 words from Cumhuriyet whereas there are 389 articles with 69,563 words from Milliyet. First, all texts were analyzed individually for retrieving keywords and patterns, then the significance of these patterns were tested through CQPweb frequency and collocation search. The articles were analyzed according to their (i) "category" as in (domestic/ foreign) news stories and opinion pieces; and (ii) "quotation", in order to see which people were given a voice. Then the dominant themes of discussion in these news stories were discussed.

2.2.1 Types of news stories in Corpus_50s

The texts were categorized in three different types[7]: domestic news stories, foreign news stories and opinion columns. Domestic news stories were reported by local reporters, and other news agencies occasionally, whereas foreign news stories were translations from foreign journals and newspapers. Opinion columns were either the works of columnists or delivered letters from the public to the newspaper. The distribution of texts according to their types, as seen in Table 1, shows that domestic news stories (articles) were the dominant style through which the displaced people were mentioned.

Table 1. Types of Texts in Corpus_50s

Type	Number of Occurrences	Words
Domestic News stories	525	91,568
Opinion Columns	39	19,270
Foreign News stories	23	6,728

Domestic news stories reported daily information on the state of migration, speeches and announcements by the government about the immigrants. Although the articles were sometimes taken from different news agencies, both Milliyet and *Hürriyet* had their own reporters in different locations and were frequently reporting through them. The tone, in Milliyet and Habertürk when reporting under this category is quite official yet propagative at the same time.

[7] Both newspapers employed this categorization and indicated the category of the news story under its title.

As an example, Milliyet writes,

> 21 People Who Migrated to Our Country
> 21 more Turks, who had faced unbearable pressures in Bulgaria, have abandoned their fields and homes, crossed the Greek border and arrived in our land. According to what Bulgarian immigrants told, atrocities of Bulgarian state have turned into monstrosities (August 21, 1950, p.3)[8].

Referring to the displaced people as 21 "more" Turks indicates that this is a repeated action along with adjectives indicating how "unbearable" the pressure on them was; the passage insists that migration was inevitable and underscores the increase in numbers. It not only foregrounds a reason why they left but also enumerates their loss, which in this scenario were their homes and fields, indicating that they were a productive, settled population who would not leave, if there had been no pressure. Domestic news stories are presented as a different category than the opinion writing, their writers are often unnamed. They aim to simply inform the public by delivering statistics and announcements. However, they also frequently manifest codes favoring ethnic and cultural unity and productivity, the two political agendas of the incumbent DP.

Secondly, opinion writing on displaced persons made up six percent of the entire corpus. Opinion columns were mostly used to express the columnist's comments or experiences and sometimes included letters from the public. These letters commonly facilitated ideas that favored altruistic behavior for the immigrants, such as coming up with affordable ways of quality housing for the immigrants. They rarely included cases of complaints from the public, and even when they did, the author of the letter was suggested to allow more time for the immigrants to adapt.

[8] Bulgaristan'dan yurdumuza iltica eden 21 kişi: Bulgaristan'daki tahammül edilmez tazyikler karşısında kalan Türklerden 21 tanesi daha evlerini ve tarlalarını terk ederek, Yunan hududunu geçmiş ve memleketimize gelmiştir. Muhacirlerin anlattıklarına göre, Bulgar mezalimi bir canavarlık şeklini almıştır.

The letters among opinion columns are important for the analysis as through them the common people, most of whom normally even lacked the means to access media on a regular basis, could share their opinion, making them accessible for our analysis.

The opinion columns included suggestions on where Bulgarian Turks could be best accommodated and settled, to protect them from the cold (Cumhuriyet, November 3, 1950); condemnations of the Bulgarian government; praises on the solidarity Turkish people and government showed to Bulgarian Turks *(*Milliyet, October 19, 1950); commentaries on life in refugee camps and interviews with displaced people (Milliyet, October 12, 1950). Each of these examples underscored a sense of duty to help Bulgarian Turks. Columnists did not reflect any worries on the economic and cultural well-being of Turkish people in Turkey that could be affected with the increase in the number of immigrants; yet, in most of their writing, they were concerned with the well-being of Bulgarian Turks. It is also important to note that most of the opinion columns were written during the early stages of the migration and decreased as the Bulgarian Turks were settled.

Finally, there were 23 articles that were direct translations from foreign newspapers in this subcorpus and they fell under the foreign news stories category. In these news stories, Milliyet and Cumhuriyet cited sections where foreign authorities supported Turkey in its conflict with Bulgarian government and promised to provide help for displaced people. News stories from foreign newspapers that supported Turkey, or at least commented on the misconducts by the Bulgarian government as seen in the example, were proliferated and no criticism towards Turkey from foreign states were reported by Milliyet and Cumhuriyet. The promises of donations from foreign states such as United States were also reported in these pieces.

Thus, the first leg of the analysis showed that the analyzed new stories were written either to condemn the Bulgarian government, or to show support for inclusion and better accommodation of the immigrants. Having explained the categorical distribution of the texts, we can move onto explore the people who were quoted in the texts and the topics they have brought to the discussion.

2.2.2 The sources and distribution of quotations in Corpus_50s

The distributions of the quotations in our articles can be found in Table 2. The use of the word government among the sources stands for a governmental figure of the given country (such as MPs, ministers and officials), and the numbers of occurrences shows the number of direct quotations from the indicated sources.

Table 2. Sources and Distribution of Quotations in Corpus_50s

Source	No. of occurrences	(out of 587 articles)	Total
	Cumhuriyet	Milliyet	
None	151	321	472
Turkish government	28	36	64
Displaced People	8	24	32
Turkish citizen	6	4	10
Bulgarian government	2	3	5
American government	2	0	2

Turkish authorities such as MPs, ministers, and high-ranking officers made up 64% of the entire sources of quotations in the subcorpus which implies that their discourses on the forcibly displaced people were prioritized and the state of displaced persons was a prominent discussion in political debates. These quotations were

accompanied by reports that Turkish ministers and representatives were frequently visiting refugee-camps and propagating hospitality and Turkish people's common heritage with Bulgarian Turks. In many instances, these officials underlined the generosity of Turkish people towards displaced persons but also encouraged more donations to be made in kind or in cash. It is also important to note that Turkey did not have foundations or NGOs that worked specifically on migration and the state of immigrants and refugees at the time. [9] The first meeting for an aid organization for the immigrants[10] was not held until December 21, 1950. The high frequency of Turkish governmental figures reporting on the state of displaced persons might be related to this lack of other means that would monitor and assist throughout the process of migration.

On the other hand, the significant involvement of high ranking governmental and political figures with the case of displaced persons might reflect certain political motivations: the agenda of improving Turkey's agricultural production and appealing to masses for their votes. In 1950 elections, Demokrat Parti (DP) replaced Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (CHP) after its 27 years rule, with 53.5% of the votes with large support from rural areas. Agriculture was one of the main discussions in its election campaigns, the DP not only pursued liberal policies in economy but also prioritized supporting agricultural production and improving the state of rural areas (Arslan, 2012). An example to this agenda can be seen in the speech delivered by Celal Bayar, the founder of the DP and Prime Minister of Turkey at the time, where he states: "We want to assure them of their future. They will create new businesses

[9] Initially an emergency aid organization Turkey's Red Crescent *Kızılay* was assigned to assist the immigrants.
[10] Göçmen ve Mültecilere Yardım Birliği 'Aid Organization for Immigrants and Refugees'

by cultivating our uncultivated lands"[11] (Milliyet, January 7, 1951, p.7). Throughout the corpus, Turkish authorities were seen making similar comments on how beneficial Bulgarian Turks would be to the country's economic progress and the duty and generosity of Turkish people to look after "fellow Turks". Bulgarian Turks were deemed not only as a productive workforce but the field in which they could be put to work was in correlation with the field the government was willing to invest in. Considering that they were skilled farmers, empathy with Bulgarian Turks was socially desirable and it was deemed useful for achieving a desired outcome.

Moving forward, direct quotations from the displaced persons made up 5% of this subcorpus. Displaced people were quoted either individually or, more frequently, as a group. When they were quoted as a group, they declared how grateful they were to be back in *anayurt* 'the motherland'. Other patterns that were revealed in displaced people's reports were their prior experiences of suffering and oppression. In light of the acrimony between Bulgarian and Turkish , it can be said that Bulgarian Turks' statements were utilized as long as they supported Turkish claims against the Bulgarian state and showed submission and gratefulness to the Turkish state. A Bulgarian Turk named Hassan reported that,

> Our lives, honor, and goods were not secure. We could not purchase or sell anything. The taxes were too heavy; and, like that was not enough, speaking Turkish has become a crime. No Turkish schools are left in Bulgaria. It became regular for us to be taken from our homes, to be battered for days and to be imprisoned when were not guilty. There was no other way than leaving our homes and fields and make our ways to our homeland. All we can do is to be thankful to god who has given us this opportunity (Milliyet, August 25, 1950, p.7)[12].

[11] Biz onların istikbalinden emin olmalarını istiyoruz onlar, işlenmemiş, topraklarımızı işleyerek yeni yeni iktisadi faaliyetler yaratacaklardır.

[12] Can, ırz ve mal emniyeti diye birşey kalmadı. Mal alamazsın, mal satamazsın. Vergiler çok ağır, bunlar yetmiyormuş gibi Türkçe konuşmak ta bir suç teşkil ediyor. Bulgaristanda Türk Mektebi diye bir şey kalmadı. Hiçbir suçun yokken evinden çağrılıp, günlerce döğülme, hapise atılmak hergün olan şeylerdir. Evimizi tarlamızı bırakarak Anavatana göç etmekten başka çıkar yolu yoktu. Bugünü gösteren Allaha şükretmekten başka elimizden bir şey gelmiyor.

This example includes the two dominant discourses that were revealed in the quotations from Bulgarian Turks, the condemnations of Bulgarian government's violation of civil rights and gratefulness to Turkish state. The frequency of these two patterns helped not only to support the claims of Turkish authorities but also to foster the inclusion of this group of forcibly displaced people in the society as readily grateful subjects of the state.

In instances where Turkish citizens were being quoted, they mostly repeated the claims of Turkish authorities, urging these authorities to settle Bulgarian Turks at once. They condemned "the unlawful acts of Bulgarian government" (Milliyet, August 23, 1950, p.3); suggested ways of raising donations for the immigrants (Cumhuriyet, September 27, 1950); commented on strategies of making immigrants productive citizens (Cumhuriyet, April 7, 1951); complained about how a small group kept speaking Bulgarian among themselves (Milliyet, October 17, 1951). Such quotations from Turkish citizens not only supported the claims and agenda of the government at the time but also provided a critique of the state to take better measures to secure the well-being of Bulgarian Turks.

Following the distribution of the texts according to categories, the next section will analyze the reference terms for the displaced people that were used in Corpus_50s and their collocations through Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

2.3 Themes of discussion and keywords in Corpus_50s

Corpus based analysis is useful to examine the frequency and distribution; however, in order to uncover discursive practices that legitimize inclusion or exclusion of certain displaced persons within the community and reproduce empathic approach

and avoidance motives, we need to turn to critical discourse analysis methods and the principles of discourse-historical approach (Wodak, 2001). Thus, in this section, I provide a list of terms of references used for displaced persons from Bulgaria to Turkey between 1950 and 1952. Then, I move onto the categorization of discursive patterns, which are themes that were repeated in the collocations of the terms of reference. Table 3 shows the list of terms of reference and their significant collocates.

Table 3. Reference Terms and Collocates in Corpus_50s

Term of Reference	No of hits	Collocates
Göçmen 'immigrant'	2,392	Yardım 'help', iskanı 'settlement', evleri 'houses', kafilesi 'convoy'
Muhacir 'muhajir'	221	Türk 'turkish', yardım 'help', iskan 'settlement', meselesi 'case'
Irkdaş 'of the same race'	169	Memleketimize 'to our land', tehcir edilen 'banished', gelen 'arriving', göçmen 'immigrant', yardım 'help'
Çingene 'Romani/Gypsy'[13]	64	Vizesiz 'undocumented', sokmak 'smuggle', Bulgar 'Bulgarian', arasında 'amongst', muzır 'dangerous'
Bulgaristan Türkleri 'Bulgarian Turks'	36	None
Soydaş 'of the same kind' **	32	None
Bulgaristan'daki Türkler 'Turks in Bulgaria'	7	None

*Relevant forms of the word are also counted together.
**The number includes similar reference terms with low frequency: dindaş 'of the same religion', kandaş 'consanguine', milletdaş 'of the same nation', yurddaş 'of the same land', ülküdaş 'of the same cause', yoldaş 'comrade'

[13] Both meanings can be found in the word's etymology.

Table 3 shows that göçmen 'immigrant' was the most common term of reference and it was frequently derived with suffixes such as göçmen-ler-imiz (our immigrants) that represents this group as members of an in-group. Its main collocates were observed to be yardım (charity) and iskan (settlement), keywords of the two main discursive patterns that will be analyzed in the next section. Muhacir (Muhajir)[14], the second most frequent term of reference, was highly collocated with 'türk' an indicative of their Turkish descends, a similar kind of emphasis on being Turkish can be seen in lesser frequent terms Bulgaristan Türkleri (Bulgarian Turks) and Bulgaristan'daki Türkler (the Turks in Bulgaria).

Indicating a mutual inclusiveness, the suffix "-daş" was used along with different lemmas indicating that Bulgarian Turks were of common race (such as soy 'lineage' and kan 'blood'); common religion (din 'religion' and millet); and, common values (ülkü 'target' and yol 'path'). Irkdaş[15] (fellow Turks) and its derivations were used 169 times in 109 different texts. It showed the frequency of 1,437.49 instances per million words. Interestingly their frequency was most common in the pre-immigration process and sunk to the lowest when the process was halted. The word dindaş[16] (fellow Muslims) and its derivations were used in only 5 texts which shows that being of the same race was more important and to be emphasized than being of the same religion. Resettlement Law No.2510 allowed only those who were of Turkish descent and showed adherence to Turkish culture to settle in the country. Religion was not included among the criteria; and a shared

[14] Muhacir's etymology can be traced back to the first Muslim group that migrated from Mecca to Medina. Since then it has been used to indicate "a Muslim immigrant" although the ethnicities varied. However, in Law No.2510 (1934) there were no direct mention of religion being a criteria for becoming a Muhacir. It was defined as someone who wishes to settle in Turkey, is of Turkish descend and show adherence to Turkish culture.
[15] The word indicates a state of being of the same race.
[16] See note 4. The phrase indicates being of the same religion.

ethnicity was required along with a cultural lineage although it was never clearly defined. This differed from Ottoman understanding of millet, the practice of defining communities according to their creed, which was replaced by a categorization according to the race.

As mentioned earlier, the forcibly displaced people of this period included not only Bulgarian Turks but also the Romani. The word çingene which translates to gypsy is used for the Romani and is frequently collocated with the adjective *vizesiz* (undocumented). As we know from the historical background, Turkey had once admitted that there were large groups of Turkish speaking Muslims among the Romani and acknowledged that this group was not allowed any legal rights from the Bulgarian government because of their identities. On the other hand, when we examine the corpus and the collocates, we cannot find any mention of these features. The fact that they were 'undocumented' was repeated at a significant frequency (with the log-likelihood of 120,977); however, there was no mention of their race or religion. On several occasions, Turkish government officials claimed that Bulgarian government was "smuggling" the Romani into Turkey among Bulgarian Turks, the border was closed two times for the same reason. To illustrate,

> As it is commonly known, Bulgarians wanted to smuggle 1200 Bulgarian Romani into our country. Reacting to this issue, our government has decided to close its borders with Bulgaria until they stop their attempts of smuggling Romani into our country. Our government insists on this issue. If the Bulgarian state stops sending the Romani, the border will be opened and the Bulgarian trains that were left in our country will be sent back (Milliyet, May 12, 1951, p.7)[17].

[17] Bilindiği gibi Bulgarlar, vizesiz 1200 Bulgar çingenesini memleketimize sokmak istemişlerdi. Bu durum karşısında hassasiyet gösteren Hükümetimiz çingenelerin memleketimize sokulması teşebbüsününe nihayet verilinceye kadar hududun kapatılması kararı almıştır. Hükümetimiz bu kararında ısrar etmektedir. Eğer Bulgar hükümeti çingeneleri göndermekten vazgeçerse hudut açılacak ve memleketimizde kalan Bulgar vagonları iade edilecektir.

As also seen in this example, a pattern of anxiety over espionage was observed through the collocate sokmak (to smuggle). The other frequent collocates for the Romani were, muzır (dangerous) and vizesiz (undocumented), consolidating this pattern.

The collocates of these reference terms were considered keywords to look for discursive patterns. Similar words in form were subtracted from the corpus to determine the significance of these keywords and those that revolved around similar topics were grouped into four categories. The dominant discursive patterns of this subcorpus were categorized as following: (i) settlement, (ii) services and charity, (iii)documentation and common lineage. The keywords that were foregrounded in the articles under these categories are shown in Table 4[18]. Since different patterns were being utilized by the same text in some cases, the total number of articles here exceed the total number of articles within the subcorpus; it is provided in order to allow the comparison of significance of these categories among one another.

Table 4. Themes of Discussion and Keywords in Corpus_50s

Theme	Keywords	In No. of Texts
Settlement and Productivity	Iskan ‘settlement’, müstahsil hal ‘productive’, yerleştirme ‘locating’, göçmen evleri ‘immigrant houses’, toprak tevzii ‘land allocation’	218
Services and Charity	Yardım ‘aid’, bağış(la) ‘donation’, göçmen pulu ‘immigrant stamp’, piyango ‘lottery’, dış yardım ‘foreign aid’, göçmen bankası ‘immigrant bank’, hayırseverlik ‘charity’	342
Common Lineage and Documentation	Vazife ‘duty’, ırkdaş ‘same race’, soydaş ‘same lineage’, kardeş ‘brother’, dindaş ‘same religion’, vizesiz ‘undocumented’	297

[18] See Appendix A for a full list of frequent words in Corpus_50s

In the earlier stages of migration, there was great emphasis on the urgent need to settle groups of migrants within the country; yet no questioning of why it should be done. It can be said that almost no objection to the settlement of Bulgarian Turks within the country was reflected in the media. In the exchange of notices between the governments, Turkey stated that sending such a large group at such a short notice was against the agreement between the two countries and Turkey did not have the sources to meet the immigrants' needs. However, this line of thought stayed within those notices and did not resonate in the public speeches of political figures later. No objection on the side of the civilians was reported; instead, there was a constant questioning, and in rare cases criticizing of the government, on how Bulgarian Turks could be better welcomed and settled. It seems that Bulgarian Turks did not only have "the right of not to be treated as an enemy" and "a right of temporary sojourn" (Benhabib's translation of Kant's Wirtbarkeit and *ein* Besuchsrecht, 2011); but they also held the right to become "a fellow inhabitant" (Benhabib, 2011).

Issued in 1934, Law No.2510 on Muhacirlerin ve mültecilerin kabulü (Admission of Immigrants and Refugees) defines and distinguishes between Muhacir (Immigrant) and Mülteci (Refugee) as Muhacir is a person who wishes to settle in the country and is of Turkish descendant (either settled or nomadic tribes) and shows adherence to Turkish culture. Mülteci is used for persons who needs to take refuge in the country but does not wish to settle. Those who are not of Turkish descent could not be settled in the country as also seen in the case of Romani people. In addition, it disallows nomadic Romani from entering into Turkey. While this law was being discussed in the parliament Interior Minister of the time, Şükrü Kaya, stated that it will "[create a country that is speaking the same language, thinking in the same way and sharing the same sentiments." (TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, 1934, p.49).

In line with the desire for linguistic and sentimental unity expressed in the making of this law, we see that Celal Bayar, president of Turkey between 1950 and 1960, makes similar remarks. He states,

> Our ancestors had exceeded borders, now our brothers are retreating. Our purpose is to make sure our race and religion brothers/brethren arrive in the motherland and also add to the moral and material strength of our land. They express their gratitude over their union with the sacred land of our country in tears. We want to assure them of their future. They will create new businesses by cultivating our uncultivated lands (Milliyet, January 7, 1951, p.1)[19].

This paragraph is critical as it hosts patterns that are repeated frequently over the citations from Turkish authorities. Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, Minister of Domestic Affairs, governors and other high-ranking officials repeat at least one of the arguments Celal Bayar presents in the quote above. They not only reflect the desire to create a country "speaking one language and sharing the same sentiment" that surfaced in the making of the law, but they also justify this aim by defending that this group will benefit the country's welfare. The following sections provide further discussions and examples to these patterns.

2.3.1 Settlement and productivity

The case of Bulgarian Turks differs from many forced displacement cases as they were not displaced due to a war or a catastrophe; but they were being forced to immigrate due to Stalinist dogma of Bulgarian Communist Party (Kostanick, 1955;

[19] Ecdatlarımız taşmıştı şimdi kardeşlerimiz çekiliyor. Gayemiz, bu ülkelerde kalan ırkdaşlarımızın ve dindaşlarımızın Anavatana gelmelerini temin etmek ve bir istihsal unsur olarak memleketin maddi ve manevi kuvvetini artırmalarını sağlamaktır. Göçmen ırkdaşlarımızın hepsinin düşüncelerini biliyoruz. Gözyaşlarıyla vatanın mübarek toprağına kavuşmalarından dolayı minnettarlıklarını ifade etmektedirler. Biz onların istikbalinden emin olmalarını istiyoruz onlar, işlenmemiş, topraklarımızı işleyerek yeni yeni iktisadi faaliyetler yaratacaklardır.

Kamil, 2016; Çolak, 2013). As indicated in direct citations from the displaced persons, the first wave of serbest göçmen[20] were Bulgarian Turks who decided to leave Bulgaria due to various oppressions. Among others, one Bulgarian Turk who just arrived in Turkey states,

> We used to make a living from our farm and animals in the village of Karakavak. Just like us, many of our race-brothers live in misery and hunger today. They only give you 400 grams of corn bread per day. We have already forgotten what meat, milk and eggs were. We grew fed up with this cruelty. We decided to run. Now we are reunited with our motherland (Milliyet, May 17, 1950, p.7)[21].

Here, we see that they were indirectly forced, and their suffering is delineated with not only saying hunger or oppression but providing the reader with various details in their own words. However, as we move forward to 1951 the statements from displaced people change and they explain that they were rushed to leave their homes as soon as they could, turning the movement into a forced displacement case. Waiting to be transferred to Turkey, one Bulgarian Turk explains,

> We used to own animals, goods, and a house. We were wealthy in a way. We became forced to leave all of these to those cruel people. They did not allow us to bring even a needle. Although we were struggling in a great misery, we were also jovial because we were reuniting with our motherland (Milliyet, February 10, 1951, p.7)[22].

Although, the thankfulness to Turkish state remains the dominant pattern throughout the citations from forcibly displaced people, the tone of choosing to leave changes to an emphasis on being forced to leave. In their first notice, Bulgarian government

[20]Immigrants who meet the conditions to settle in Turkey and do not need financial assistance from the government

[21] Biz karakavak köyündeniz çiftçilik ve hayvancılıkla geçinirdik. Gerek biz ve gerekse bizim durumumuzda olan binlerce ırkdaşımız bugün açlık ve sefalet içindedir. Elimizde avucumuzda bir şey kalmamış hepsini komünistler almıştır. Ekmek namına herkese günde 400 gramlık bir mısır ekmeği veriyorlar. Et yağ süt yumurta, bunlar artık unuttuğumuz şeylerdir. Sefalet ve zulüm nihayet canımıza tak dedi. Kaçmağa karar verdik. Ana vatanımıza kavuşmuş bulunuyoruz.

[22] Bizim hayvanlarımız vardı. Evimiz barkımız mevcuttu. İyi kötü bir servete de sahiptik. Bütün bunları o zalim insanlara bırakmak zorunda kaldık. Bir iğne getirmemize fırsat bırakmadılar. Büyük bir dehşet içinde çırpınan bizler hiç olmazsa sükûna kavuşacağımızdan ve anavatana iltihak edeceğimizden büyük bir sevinç duyuyorduk.

declared that in light of the demands of Turkish population and on the grounds of the convention signed on 18 November 1925[23], it would deport 250,000 Bulgarian Turks; and, demanded that they would be allowed entry into Turkey. The convention they referred to allowed entry to those who did not need governmental support to immigrate, also known as serbest göçmenler; however, Bulgarian authorities were addressing almost all of its Turkish subjects to immigrate regardless of their economic status; in addition, it required them to leave all their belongings in Bulgaria. In light of the time and possession restrictions, it would be fair to say that although immigration was desired by some parts of the Turkish community at times, it was still a case of forced displacement due to the conditions in which the decision of Bulgarian state was carried out.

On Turkey's side, Bulgarian Turks were already welcomed as the law permitted them to settle in the country so long as they do not require any funding from the government. However, Bulgarian government's attempt was considered an act of *tehcir*[24] banishment, and Turkey announced that it could take only 25-30 thousand immigrants per year; much lower than the number Bulgarian government demanded (Arslan, 2012). As the exchange of notices continued and Bulgarian government put its decision into act, the objection to this decision disappeared; in fact, no objection to allowing entry to Bulgarian Turks was reflected on the media. Only criticisms for Bulgarian government on their means of carrying out the process persevered, the spark of concern for resources immediately left its place to a discourse of economic opportunity and ethnic solidarity through settlement of

[23] See list of policies in the introduction.
[24] Tehcir was a frequent collocate for immigrants. It was used 111 times and showed the frequency of 944.15 instances per million words. As it translates to banishment and was frequently used by Turkish authorities to describe this case; it can be said that the government of Turkey also considered Bulgarian Turks' case as forced displacement.

Bulgarian Turks. Settlement of immigrants became the prominent discussion on the topic of immigrants as the pre-immigration period ended with the arriving of first large group.

The word iskan (settlement) was used 464 time throughout the corpus and it was used in collocation with the most frequent term of reference göçmen for 168 times. Its distribution condensed starting with the earlier stages and stayed at a high frequency until the end of 1952. When examined along with other keywords related to this category; it showed that the settlement of immigrants, in especially humane conditions, was a significant discursive pattern and a major concern of Turkish media in reference to immigrants. Surprisingly, it was oftentimes accompanied with another discussion: productivity. Namely, the productivity of the immigrants in their future contributions to the country's economic welfare was an important discussion. The need to have Bulgarian Turks settled and made productive at once was repeated frequently through the word müstahsil (productive). In some cases, this was presented as a necessity for the sake of Bulgarian Turks so that they could secure their future with reliable sources of income rather than donations. However, in many cases, it was also emphasized that Turkey had plentiful farmlands and could benefit from the "talented farmers" among Bulgarian Turks. Not only Turkish authorities but also columnists and civilians wrote to newspapers, advocating for the benefits of settling the refugees and arguing for their settlement in better conditions. Columnist and journalist Ali Naci Karacan wrote,

> As we have underlined before, it is an act of fortune for thousands of people to be sent to Turkey. Our country has vast lands that await to be planted. On the condition that their welfare is secured, the arrival of handy migrants is surely is to be met with joy in Turkey (Milliyet, November 1, 1950, p.5)[25].

[25] Nerede kaldı ki, evvelce bir münasebetle de yazdığımız gibi bu yüzbinlerce insanın Türkiye'ye gönderilmesi, memleketimiz için bir bakımdan bulunmaz nimettir. Boş ve ekimsiz toprakları çok olan, değil yüzbinlerce milyonlarca çalışacak kula muhtaç bulunan memleketimize gene gürbüz, ellerinden iş gelir muhacir kafilelerinin akın etmesi, onlarla alakadar olarak her biri müstahsil kuvvet haline

This welcoming attitude and the desire to have the migrants settle and work was matched by the civilians as perfectly exemplified by a reader's letter published one year after this column. A local journalist from a small town of Turkey writes,

> Is it really that difficult to build one or two room wooden migrant homes and migrant villages in the empty fields of Anatolia? After settling migrants in these places, can we not give them a truck, farming tools and a few livestock per house? These could all be done but not with such indecisiveness and incapacity (Cumhuriyet, August 23, 1951, p.8)[26].

The ruling party DP had aimed at improving agriculture and Bulgarian Turks were considered an ideal workforce for their plans. As the migration progresses, we see that this idea is proliferated by the media and the public.

In this sense, the emphasis on the benefits to the economic progress is thought to be another empathic approach motive. "People are motivated to avoid empathy if it would lead to costly helping… if it interferes with obtaining a desired outcome" (Weisz & Zaki, 2018); however, the cost of distributing land and producing jobs for the newcomers is never mentioned[27]; whereas, its rewards are constantly underlined which can be related to the ruling party's motive to improve agriculture[28]. Thus, it can be said that economic benefit is another empathic approach motive in this case, and it becomes reproduced throughout the corpus at a significant frequency. In this context, the settlement of the displaced persons is presented as serving to a good end on the Host's side. The media does not hide the fact that

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getirilmek kayıt ve şartı ile Türkiye için bu topraklara, sanki gökten rahmet, bereket yağıyormuş gibi sevinçle karşılanacak bir hadisedir.

[26] Anadolu'nun boş ver arazisinde köyler meydana getirmek ve devlet orman işletmesinden alınacak keresteleri bir veya iki odalı tahtadan göçmen evleri meydana getirmek o kadar güç bir iş mi? Bunları yaptıktan sonra buralara yerleştirilecek göçmen ailelerine 1 adet traktör ile gerekli Rençber aletleri ve hane başına birkaç koyun, keçi veya inek verilemez mi? Hepsi yapılabilir fakat bu kararsızlık, beceriksizlikle değil!

[27] During the exchange of notices between two states, it is stated that Bulgarian government is attempting to disrupt Turkey's economic progress by sending such a large amount of people in such short notice. However, it is not publicly discussed after pre-immigration period.

[28] See page 6.

special houses were being built for immigrants but publishes articles that either monitor or provide criticism to improve their state. The houses in which they were settled were named after them, solidarity with Bulgarian Turks was thought to strengthen social ties.

Kant explains that a special agreement is needed to become “a fellow inhabitant”, or in my terms a good neighbor, who can live in harmony with the people of the Host country. In this case of displacement, we see that Bulgarian Turks are received with more than sheer hospitality and toleration, Turkish authorities underline that they need to be settled and made productive at once, the media representation follows the same path. The economic benefit of having more farmers in the land is thought to be one motive of justifying empathy with the arriving. On the other hand, the Romani are tolerated neither by civilians nor the authorities, and thus, are not assigned any type of hospitality. No discussion of their capabilities is discussed and their possible contributions to the society are not examined. They are disqualified from being citizens on mostly the ground that they are undocumented. This takes us to the question of what motives did Turkey have in considering Bulgarian Turks “fellow inhabitants” and excluding the Romani?

2.3.2 Common lineage and documentation

As also discussed in the citations from Turkish authorities, a common lineage between Turkish people and the arriving was underlined through a reference to their common ancestors (assumed to be the Ottoman Empire which “exceeded borders”), and the arriving were called ethnic brothers who came from the shared motherland.

Three features were assumed and repeatedly emphasized: a land that was shared by their ancestors, their race and religion. People are much more open to empathize with in-group members (Weisz & Zaki, 2018); and as the common lineage and ethnicity are constantly underlined when referring to Bulgarian Turks, it encourages empathizing with them as the members of the in-group.

By the same token, it can be said that past experiences of forming unions with others become effective in promising future ones as they become reproduced. President of Turkey and the head of the first aid-organization for refugees in Turkey, Refik Koraltan states,

> Hundreds of thousands of people are being forcibly displaced from lands they have been tied to for centuries. These are your Turkish siblings. Turkish people will make every sacrifice to make our immigrant siblings live and provide them with liberty and other joys of humanity (Milliyet, December 22, 1950, p.6)[29].

The emphasis on common lineage can be seen with the repetition of the state of being Turkish which elicits the shared past between Turkish people and Bulgarian Turks. It becomes an effective tool in strengthening social ties between groups and, for that purpose or due to that reason, encourages empathy and altruistic behavior. In this case, the ground for association between Bulgarian Turks and Turkish people is formed through linguistic forms[30] such as dindaş (brethren) indicating a shared ethnicity and religion. Apart from the term göçmen (immigrant), which was also collocated with indicatives of a common lineage, all the terms used in relation to Bulgarian Turks were direct indicatives of being of same race, religion and sharing similar sentiments.

[29] Yüzbinlerce insan asırlardır bağlı bulundukları topraklardan ve köprülerden kopuyor, bütün mal ve mülklerini terk ve göç etmek zorunda kalıyorlar. Dünya durumunun ıstırabını böyle bir şekilde çekenler, Türk kardeşlerinizdir. Göç eden kardeşlerimizi yaşatmak ve kendilerini hürriyete ve diğer, insanca nimetlere kavuşturmak için Türk milleti elinden gelen her fedakarlığı yapmaktan geri kalmayacaktır.

[30] The reference terms that are derived with the suffix -daş: *ırkdaş, soydaş, kandaş, dindaş, kardeş.*

As also seen in the discussion for Law No.2510, Turkish government had been aiming for a country that exhibited linguistic, intellectual and sentimental unity when the immigrants arrived. The fact that Bulgarian Turks were readily accepted into the country shows that Turkish government deemed Bulgarian Turks suitable for achieving such unity. The emphasis on religion was far behind the emphasis on race, for which we can present two arguments. First, Ottoman empire defined communities according to their creed; thus, Bulgarian Turks and people in Turkey were once considered as subjects of the same community because they believed in the same religion. However, the idea of defining communities according to their creed had left its seat to a desire of ethnic unity which can be the reason for the emphasis on being of the same race.

As discussed earlier, the word ırkdaş indicating a shared race was one of the most significant ways of referring to Bulgarian Turks and the word vazife (duty) was among its significant collocates. Portrayed as ethnic brothers, it was considered to be duty of every Turkish citizen to help their brothers in need. As research (Arslan, 2012; Çolak, 2013) indicates, the ruling party DP was strongly committed to making the case of immigrants a matter of national solidarity. Turkish authorities, in their speeches published by the media, frequently called citizens to solidarity and advised them to keep an eye on the Romani or the spies Bulgarian government was allegedly sending into the country.

On the other hand, when we look at the articles relating to the Romani, we can find no statements referring to their past, no identification of their ethnicity or religion. The media refers to them as çingene (gypsy) and kıpti[31]; Turkish authorities

[31] The word's etymology can be traced back to the Arabic word *kibti* which means the Egyptian population before the Islamic conversion. Turkish Language Association defines it as someone from Egypt.

choose to refer to them as muzır unsurlar (harmful elements). These reference terms are frequently collocated with the word vizesiz (undocumented). Arslan (2012) reports an incident where 1,146 Romani were captured at the border; 260 of them who were identified as Turks, were allowed into the country and the rest were sent back. However, the newspapers analyzed within the scope of this thesis report on no incident where Romani were being allowed into the country. They frequently reported that Bulgarian government was sending them to Turkey and Turkey was sending them back. No empathy was allowed to those who were thought to be nomadic. They were commonly portrayed as spies as will be analyzed later in this chapter. In the lack of a discourse relating to past associations, reference terms which positions the Host and the arriving as members of the in-group, we see a complete avoidance from empathy; in fact, a clear warning against any signs of empathy. The unwillingness to empathize with the Romani might be related to historical grievences that might have escaped from the attention of this research; yet the lack of any justification other than that the Romani were undocumented and they "might" be spies on Turkish authorities' and media's side can leave us with one possible explanation. As seen in the draft of the Law No. 2510, Turkey had admitted that Turkish and Muslim Romani were not given any legal documentation by the Bulgarian government but when the law was issued it was stated that nomadic Romani would not be allowed entry. A settled and productive population was desired and, considering Romani population were nomadic tribes who would not fit in with this description, Turkey was willing to ignore any commonalities with the Romani and justifications on why they could be allowed entry.

2.3.3 Services and charity

Two other dominant discursive patterns were Services and Charity, which included articles where the emphasis was on announcing donations, charity events, and services provided for the Bulgarian Turks. It was surprising to see how much effort was put in by the media to make the donations and charity events known; yet it was also an agenda from which the newspapers took pride in. In a few articles, both Milliyet and Habertürk declared it a duty to trace how much assistance was provided to Bulgarian Turks so that their welfare could be secured (Milliyet, February 10, 1951). People who made large amount of donations were named and praised on their generosity; the donations that were collected by each city was periodically announced. Following the suggestions that surfaced in opinion columns, Turkey issued a special stamp, Bulgar pulu (Bulgarian stamp), that would be used by certain institutions to collect donations directly for Bulgarian Turks. International solidarity was also encouraged, foreign donations were frequently announced and foreign artists or private donators that organized charity events were also praised. The emphasis on charity in the media created a context where empathy was presented as strengthening social ties within the community. Turkish people were addressed by authorities both in praising their hospitality but also in demanding more solidarity for their brothers. It was considered that Bulgarian Turks and Turkish people could work together towards an economical welfare and to help “fellow Turks” was also deemed to enhance social ties; thus, they are identified as the two motives for empathy in this case.

When we look at the dispersion of the word yardım[32], we see that it never ceased to be significant and was still being repeated in the last days of 1952. In 1951, it occurred in one third of all the articles and, in 1952, it occurred at least once in every four texts. In 1952, most of the arriving were being settled at one-room detached family houses that were called göçmen evleri (immigrant houses). Göçmen evleri*(I)* occurred in half of the articles in 1952; thus, as more of the arriving were being settled the discourse of charity left its place to services and settlement. These articles reported on the state of construction, the numbers of immigrants that have been settled and plans of how to improve these sites. Bulgarian Turks were allowed to choose their place of settlement especially if they had relatives in some part of the country; thus, the population was distributed and there were reports of these houses being built in different cities. In Istanbul, the immigrant population condensed in Rami where not only houses but also a special school for immigrants' children and a hospital were built. In addition, a bank called Göçmen Bankası*(*II*)* was announced to be founded in order to provide the immigrants with long term low interest loans (Cumhuriyet, 15 March 1952) and göçmen okulları(III) (immigrant schools) were being built. What strikes the attention here is that the word göçmen is used every time before the names of these services; indicating that the bank or the house belongs to those who are immigrants.

What the use of göçmen in this context does not connote is charity; these are not donations but structures through which immigrants become entitled to (I) the right to settle, (II) to subsistence, (III) and the right to education. Donations were also being covered on different articles but the ones these keywords occurred did not include any statements indicating these were considered donations. They belonged to

[32] The word directly translates to help, but when combined with other words it can mean donation and other charity acts.

the immigrants and through them the immigrants belonged to the country. Göçmen evleri, bankası and okulları were different, they were drafted by the parliament and announced as government initiatives but almost all services provided for immigrants were named after them, a level of acceptance and pride in solidarity we do not expect to see with other groups of displaced persons. Meanwhile, Turkish media reflected no anxiety or objections to these services and sources spent on these services. Politicians did not report citizens resenting the investments for the sake of immigrants. On the contrary, the fact that these services were being provided specifically for the immigrants was repeatedly reminded to the public by adding the word göçmen right before their name. It was not a helping hand in the dark but was done under clear day light; ırkdaş (fellow Turk) held these rights the services stood for and it was deemed Turkish people's duty to help a 'fellow Turk'.

2.4 Discussion

To bring Chapter 2 to a conclusion, the corpus-based analysis of the articles on displaced persons shows that media paid great attention to the displaced people, both newspapers published on this issue at least twice a week although the number of articles declined steadily per year. The focus on services and charity started earlier but it was shortly supplanted by a discussion on settlement and productivity of immigrants. The ones who were quoted the most were first Turkish governmental figures, and second displaced people. In many instances, Turkish media and authorities were speaking for the migrants. The terms for Bulgarian Turks matched the definitions made by the law but they also included terms that defined them as

members of an in-group, (as in members of same religion ‘dindaş’ and race ‘ırkdaş’). The reference terms for the Romani were less varied. The terms for Bulgarian Turks were mostly used in discussions of settlement, charity and common lineage; whereas, the Romani were collocated with documentation and espionage. Having analyzed how Bulgarian Turks and the Romani were treated, we can say that one group was much more welcomed than the other. The in-depth analysis of these topics, also referred to as discursive patterns, is provided under the section titled 2.3.

In light of this analysis, it seems that settlement was a significant pattern as Turkey was motivated for a unity that could only be achieved with those from the same ethnicity; and, it needed a “productive workforce” for which Bulgarian Turks were deemed well-suited. Charity and services provided for the immigrants were periodically reported and praised. Moreover, the donations and services were being named after the immigrants, the government did not fear that the public would resent them; on the contrary, solidarity with the immigrants was praised and considered to strengthen social ties. The analysis shows that the emphasis on past associations and similarities between groups was an effective tool in calling for empathy; however, its reproduction was in the hands of media and politicians and was not guaranteed to be granted to all that arrive. Race was the most important criteria according to which the arriving was welcomed. A settled, ethnically, and culturally similar population was privileged, those who were thought to be nomadic or to follow communist ideology were excluded.

Next chapter will analyze the news stories on the Iraqi Kurds displaced from Iraq following Saddam’s forces attacks on major cities in which they lived. Judging from our findings in this chapter, we had expected the news stories to similarly reflect on the gratitude the displaced people feel for Turkey, the struggles they faced

under Saddam's rule and the donations that were collected in their name. Knowing the conflict-ridden relationship between Turkish and Kurdish populations, we had also expected to see differences in the discourse such as giving space to less direct communication with the displaced people and more exclusionary terms for them. These expectations held to some level; however, we found a new style of reporting in which the discourse differed highly from our findings in this chapter.

CHAPTER 3

MIGRATION OF IRAQI KURDS AND TURKMENS TO TURKEY IN 1991

This chapter explores how the displacement of 467.489 Kurds and Turkmens from Northern Iraq to Turkey in the aftermath of 1990-1991 Gulf War and the following uprisings against Saddam Huseyin's regime was reflected by the prominent agents of Turkish media at the time. The introduction section provides a background to the movement by tracing the political advances in both countries as of 1980s as both countries undergo serious changes in their government and politics starting in that period. It also includes a brief section on the migration of Kurds to Turkey in 1988 as some of our data refer to this migration wave.[33] Later, the chapter moves onto describe the data collected from the newspapers Milliyet and Cumhuriyet and the analysis of their articles in this period.

3.1 The historical and political context of the displacement in 1991

The literature on the background of this wave varies as some scholars (Wahlbeck, 1999; Kavak, 2013) take Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in August 1990 as the initiator of the events that led to the displacement of more than 450,000 Kurds to Turkey; whereas others (Öztığ, 2016; Kaynak 1992) also include the displacement of nearly 50,000 Kurds to Turkey due to the Iran-Iraq War that took place between 1980 to 1988. Similarly, our account of the events begin with 1980s, yet our analysis only

[33] This wave of migration is not included in the data as a small group arrives at this time and the majority of them shortly return to their homelands.

includes the data collected from 1991 due to our interest in understanding how large groups of displaced people have been represented by the Turkish media and time restrictions.

3.1.1 The political events in Iraq between 1988-1991 and the displacement of Kurds in 1988

Saddam Hussein's rise to power in 1979 led to increased pressure on Iraqi Kurdish, Shia and Turkmen groups, forcing them to internal displacement initially (Fırat, 2009). One year later, Iraq launched a war on Iran due to an ongoing unrest between the two countries about oil resources; and Iraq's debts to Iran which it was unable to pay at the time. It is reported that this war has continued for 8 years without a side emerging victorious from it; however, Tellal (2002) explains that Iranian government armed the Peşmerge, Kurdish guerilla forces, in this process to rebel against the Saddam regime which resulted in the victory of Peşmerge in some parts of Northern Iraq. Halabja was one of the towns that were seized by the Peşmerge and the majority of its population was Iraqi Kurds. As indicated in the report by Human Rights Watch (1990), this seizure was met with massive destruction from the government of Iraq on March 16, 1988 with reports of chemical-weapon attacks on the civilians.

It is important to note here that whenever we attempt to understand large waves of migration, we turn to politicians and their doings and we can easily ignore what the civilians were going through that forced them to abandon their homes; the "forces" behind forced displacement are commonly explained with political ones and

not the states of living. As an exception, Danış (2009) explains that Iraq started to face severe embargos causing destruction not only to its economy but also to its social life following the events in 1988. Especially when UN Security Council issued Resolution 661 (August 6, 1990) and banned the exchange of any type of goods with Iraq other than medical supplies and basic foodstuffs; the citizens of Iraq had to face severe blockages from their everyday lives. Danış (2009) reports that these embargos caused an inability to access not only medical supplies but also to drinking water and electricity, resulting in a complete breakdown of everyday life and a dire record of children deaths due to malnutrition. Stranded by not only Saddam's regime but also the aforementioned blockages from everyday life, the Northern Iraqi population had lived in dire conditions before they were finally forcibly displaced by an attack.

The attack on Halabja on March 16, 1988, by Iraqi government killed 5,000 Iraqi Kurds in Halabja only but the death toll rises to 100,000 considering the killings at other towns such as Hurmalin in the following months (Öner, 2013; Öztığ, 2016). Although the literature varies on this number, it is stated that more than 50,000 people were displaced due to the clash between the Peşmerge and Iraqi government and their migration to Turkey started in this period. Although the Halabja massacre can be taken as the starting point of migration, half of the displaced in this period returned to Iraq by the end of 1988 (Öner, 2013). The remaining ones were mostly hosted at camps near the border on Turkey's side.

Turkey responded to the arrival of 50,000 Kurdish people in 1988 by shutting down its border as it feared that members of PKK could infiltrate the border among the civilians (Öner, 2014). However, in the face of increasing numbers of people at the border and pressures from both domestic and international institutions, Turkey decided to accept the displaced people into the country without granting them the

status and the rights allowed to the refugees (Oran, 2011). Öner (2014) explains that Turkey was caught unprepared for this wave and called international authorities to support. However, it also rejected to collaborate with UNHCR as it had classified this group of displaced identities as refugees, a status Turkey was not willing to lend to the Iraqi Kurdish. Following Iraq's amnesty with the Coalition forces, nearly 13,000 displaced identities returned to their country. However, the leader of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), Barzani, claimed that this was a forced return by the Turkish government. Meanwhile, Turkey was also receiving another wave of refugees, this time from Bulgaria, and its treatment of these two groups was criticized to be uneven by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe as stated in Recommendation 1151 (1991) and it demanded that Turkey removes its geographical limitation to the 1951Geneva Convention.

Before moving on to explain the post-Gulf War era, it is also important to understand the political atmosphere in Turkey in this period, thus the following section will provide a parallel account of developments in Turkey from 1980 to 1991.

3.1.2 The political developments in Turkey between 1980-91

As Iraq was heavily occupied with its war on Iran, the political dynamics in Turkey were also changing with the military coup that took place in September 1980. The military junta made up of five generals and called Milli Güvenlik Konseyi 'National Security Council' (henceforth MGK) ruled the country for the following three years. MGK brought many legal changes such as replacing the 1961 Constitution with one

accepted in 1982. Kenan Evren took the presidency and preserved his position for the next 9 years which indicates that the army's impact on politics did not cease even though the political limitations it had brought upon in 1980 gradually dissolved. It was in this political environment that Anavatan Partisi (henceforth ANAP), led by Turgut Özal, was formed. It won the elections of 1983 against all the oppositions by the military- by bringing together the Islamists, conservatists and nationalists who opposed the military rule (Zürcher, 2013). The three values of freedom adopted by ANAP, the freedom of belief, thought and private enterprise, were directly in contrast to centralist state politics that had been dominant in Turkey.

The transition from military rule to a more democratic structure in politics brought with itself liberalization in many fields with governmental policies, economics and media being the most important ones for understanding the representation of the displaced people in this period. Up until ANAP's rise to incumbency, state controlled economic policies had been dominant, however ANAP had in mind to open the country to foreign countries which would be possible through strong export initiatives, lowered costs of labor and exchange rates that would pave the way for increased industrial production (Boratav, 2003). Privatization was incentivized as the procurement of public goods such as electricity and gas, which were done through Kamu İktisadi Teşebbüsleri 'Government Business Enterprises' went public in this period. Among these enterprises, there were Turkish Airlines, Turkey's post office PTT and many others. State also had a tight grasp of media as Turkish Radio and Television (TRT) had been the only channel for news and entertainment until Turkey's first private channel Star 1 Magic Box was founded in 1989. Many local and international channels followed Star 1 Magic Box, especially as the numbers of household with televisions increased. The steps taken

for a liberal economy were echoing on the societal level with changes in the ways the society was informed. Considering the numerous advances by Turkish government to switch to a liberal economy system, it can be said that economic progress was at the heart of ANAP's political agendas which may help explain the strict measures taken against any separatist or politically threatening groups within the country which will be explained in the following section.

3.1.3 The security concerns of Turkey in the 90s

Turkey has a long history with Kurdish groups who sought autonomy. Among these, PKK (Kurdistan Worker's Party) was the one Turkey had to encounter most frequently since 1984 as it has also been involved in armed conflict with the Turkish state several times. The conflict between the Turkish state and the PKK cannot be summarized easily as it does not start or end in this period. Yet the conflicts that build up to the issuing of a law that brought serious restrictions on the media should also be explained as it might have also affected the representation of the displaced people we saw in this period. Kirişçi (1997) reports that PKK's first attack on Turkish military took place in August 1984; and the clashes between the PKK and Turkish forces continued afterwards, resulting in the killing of 20,181 people until the end of 1995. In order to impose itself as an alternative form of authority, the PKK aimed at weakening the presence of the Turkish state in the south east and undermine its important sources of income. The military coup in 1980 had forced the leaders of the PKK to abandon Turkey until they returned in 1984, this time targeting not only economic (such as touristic hot spots) and military targets but also civilians as well.

In January 1990, Terörle Mücadele Kanunu (Anti-terror Law, henceforth TMK) was issued and enacted in April 1991, at a highly close time to the displacement of Northern Iraqi Kurds. This law brought serious changes with itself and was heavily criticized by the members of Istanbul Bar and academics who argued that article it did not have a clear definition for what would be titled as propaganda for terrorist organizations on which it brought serious sentences (Tanör, 1991; Ataman, 2009). The Article 8 of this law stated,

> Written or verbal propaganda, marches and protests which aim to disrupt the unity of the Turkish Republic's state and its indestructible cohesion with its nation are forbidden regardless of their methods, aims and motives (Resmi Gazete, April 12, 1991, p.3) [34].

The claim that this law did not have a clear definition for propaganda for terrorist organization comes from this article as it sentences "every means and every aim" which can also include artistic, scholar, or journalistic production. As breaching article 8 has serious punishment such as aggravated imprisonment, and as it also sentences not only the journalist who is considered to breach the law but also the editor or even the owner of the newspaper with similar penalties, It was argued that this law causes serious auto-censorship, as it not only punishes the actor of the crime but others who are loosely attached to that act (Tanör, 1991; Kirişçi, 1997) . In fact, Kirişçi reports that more than 90 intellectuals and politicians were jailed due to this law.

We believe that the clashes with the PKK created an anxiety towards the Kurdish identity and population in the east and the fact that this law was issued right at the time when large waves of Iraqi Kurdish people attempted to cross the border supports this claim. We cannot assume that the displaced people were automatically

[34] Hangi yöntem, maksat ve düşünceyle olursa olsun Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devletinin ülkesi ve milletiyle bölünmez bütünlüğünü bozmayı hedef alan yazılı ve sözlü propaganda ile toplantı, gösteri ve yürüyüş yapılamaz.

considered to be related to the PKK only through this finding, nor can we ignore issuing of such a comprehensive law that has serious implications for the media. Having listed the major changes in Turkey and Iraq, we can move on to provide explain the process that led to the displacement of 467,489 Kurds and Turkmens from Northern Iraq to Turkey.

3.1.4 The migration of Iraqi Kurds to Turkey in 1991

In parallel with 1988, the chain of events that led to the migration of more than 450,000 people started with Iraq's heavy responses to the rebellions in cities where the majority of population were of Kurdish or Turkmen descent. Following Iran-Iraq War, Iraq's invasion of Kuwait began on August 2, 1990, with 100,000 Iraqi troops invading Kuwait. This move received heavy criticism from UN and allowed Coalition forces to intervene in the conflict (Resolution 660, 1990). Coalition forces led by the US attacked the Iraqi forces in Kuwait on February 24, forcing Iraq to repel its forces and agree to a ceasefire on February 28, 1991. Following this ceasefire, the opposition groups, Kurds being one of them, started to hold rebellions in different districts; as Shias rebelling first and occupying southern regions and Kurds occupying several cities such as Kerkük, Dohuk and Habur (Öztığ, 2016).

In response to these rebellions, central forces of Iraq launched missile attacks forcing half a million people to abandon these districts and flee to the Turkish border. When 200,000 forcibly displaced people arrived at the border a few days after the bombing of cities held by Kurdish rebels, Turkey's National Security Council (MGK) decided to shut the border and aid the displaced people on Iraq's side of the border on April 2, 1991 (Öztığ, 2016). As the number of displaced people at the

border reached a record high on April 4, 1991; the disputes among the members of MGK were also becoming heated as an unnamed member explained that Turkey was still bearing the consequences of allowing 60,000 people in 1988 and asked Iraqi regime to be pressured to cease its fire on the civilians (Milliyet, April 5 1991). Meanwhile, UN Security Council issued Resolution 688 on April 5 which demanded Iraqi government to cease its attacks on the Kurds and allowed UN forces to intervene in Iraq in the case that the attacks continue. According to Öner (2014) it was the issuing of this Resolution that made Turkey open its borders to the displaced people on the same day and allowed displaced people into the camps along the border; Şırnak and Hakkari being the main cities in which 22 camps were formed. However, the majority of the displaced people continued to stay in the "security zone" formed in the north of 36th parallel with the help of US and the coalition forces. The security zone practice was a new strategy devised to better regulate aid processes but it is also claimed that it was used to ease the process of returning the displaced people, as seen with other cases where this strategy was followed later, linking forced displacement with matters of security (Danış, 2009).

3.2 Corpus based critical discourse analysis of Corpus_91

The subcorpus analyzed in this chapter includes news stories that were published between January and October 1991 and contains 236 articles with a total number of 126,086 words. There are 151 texts from Cumhuriyet whereas there are 86 articles from Milliyet, reversing the distribution of texts we saw in 1950s. The same method of data collection was followed for this section, all the pages of the newspapers

printed every other week in the time frame was screened for retrieving keywords and a keyword based search was conducted on the newspapers' online archives to retrieve all the articles that used these keywords. All texts were analyzed individually for retrieving keywords and patterns for critical discourse analysis, then the significance of these patterns was tested through TS Corpus (Sezer,2013) tool operated by CQPweb frequency and collocation search. The articles were analyzed according to the (i) the categorization of the texts; and (ii) the sources they quoted, (iii) and finally a list of reference terms for the displaced people of this period and the themes of discussion that surface in parallel to these terms were discussed in light of the media representation analysis we provide in the first two sections. Our data collection only differed in that the news stories which only mentioned the displaced people in one or two sentences and did not report on them but instead wrote about the political dynamics among the states were excluded, which can explain the low number of articles included in the data.[35] Although the number of articles is less than the ones in the case of Bulgarian Turks (587 texts), the number of words slightly exceeds the prior period as both newspapers published longer newspapers and stories in this period. On a regular day in 1991, Cumhuriyet would be 20 and Milliyet would be 24 pages long when they both had been 6 pages long in 1950s. The length of the newspapers can easily be linked to the advancement in printing technology, yet it can be said that this advancement allowed the newspapers to bring-in lots of advertisements and forced them to be more structured in comparison. Each category

[35] These articles would only name the displaced people to refer to their numbers or locations in one sentence and would go on about the international agreements or developments. Having included them would radically increase the number of news stories in the data and would show that even though there was a long debate on the political conflicts, the people who had been displaced due to them were not the object of this discussion. However, transcription and the coding required for including them in the data would take too much of the time that could be spent on the analysis of the news stories that actually talked about the displaced people. Thus, they were excluded.

had its own page and place, and the same structure was repeated throughout the data. Categorizing the different styles we observed in our texts is a good starting point for describing our data. As our main question pertains to understanding how journalistic gatekeeping tendencies on the topic of forced displacement have changed over time, tracing the change in the visibility of some sources over the other can help us understand whose representation of the displacement process was dominant in the media. Thus, the following section provides a brief account on the structure of our texts and moves onto explaining which groups of people were given a say on the issue of displacement.

3.2.1 The categorization of news stories and the sources they quote

Differing from 1950s, we observed four different styles of reporting in Corpus_91. These were Domestic, Foreign, Opinion and Wartime Columns. Domestic news stories were reported by local reporters, and other news agencies occasionally, whereas foreign news stories were either translations from foreign newspapers or news stories concerning the events in foreign countries. Opinion columns were either the works of columnists or letters from the public to the newspaper. The wartime columns, on the other hand, were specific columns that were written by the journalists that were sent to the border to report on the state of the displaced people. Although they are similar to domestic news stories in terms of their authors, they vary in their content and style as they only focus on the locations where displaced people are held and deliver interviews with the displaced people and the observations

of the journalists. The frequency of the texts from these categories can be found in Table 5.

Table 5. Types of Texts in Corpus_91

Type	Number of Texts	Words
Domestic	148	75,651
Opinion	31	20,013
Wartime Columns	25	17,456
Foreign	31	12,966

A cursory look at this distribution shows that the majority of the news stories on the displaced people were placed among the news stories reporting on every-day life in the country. The remaining categorizes had similar frequencies and were targeted for specific groups who were interested in different aspects of the discussion such as the international dynamics which was mainly discussed in foreign news stories. We observed that each of these categories favored certain sources to quote over the others thus we found it fitting to explain the differences between the styles in which our texts were written along with the sources they favored.

Having observed the tendency to quote high-ranking political officials and representatives in 1950s, we expect this tendency to continue in this subcorpus. Given the anxiety over Kurdish autonomy we mentioned earlier, we expect an even lesser number of quotations from the displaced people of this period. Table 6 shows the sources of quotations observed throughout the corpus.

Table 6. Sources and Distribution of Quotations in Corpus_91

Source	Number of occurrences		Total
	Cumhuriyet	Milliyet	
None	56	36	92
Turkish Government	36	26	62
Displaced People	31	7	38
Turkish Public	2	2	4
Foreign Government	15	6	21
Organizations	5	5	10

Reversing the ratio in 1950s, the total number of news stories which included quotations exceeded the number of those that did not include any in Corpus_91. While we had seen that approximately 20% of the news stories would employ a quotation in 1950s (113 texts out of 587), we saw that 57% of the news stories in this subcorpus (135 out of 236) gave place to quotations. This sharp increase can again be tied to the advancements in communication technology and transportation that allowed journalists to conduct more interviews with people they tend to quote; yet it should be noted that it marks a change in the style the news stories were written. On the other hand, the distribution ratio of sources between the two periods are similar as the Turkish government officers take the lead again to be followed by forcibly displaced people and then the local people. This time, we have quotations from both international and domestic organizations and a slightly increased ratio of quotations from foreign authorities. Thus, we observed a larger space and variety of the speakers other than the journalists in this period compared to the previous one.

3.2.2 Unwanted guests: domestic news stories and quotations from the Turkish government

Domestic news stories were the most common text type in which displaced people were mentioned in Corpus_91. The articles in this category differs from the ones that were published in 1950s, as the domestic news stories in this corpus do not include on site reporting but act as mediums through which general public was informed of the overall details of the events taking place at the border. Cumhuriyet printed a higher number of news stories under this category than Milliyet (98 to 50) which indicates that its model reader was more inclined to read about the displaced people. The data showed that 103 of 148 domestic news stories included quotations from various people such as doctors, forcibly displaced people, soldiers and Turkish and foreign government representatives, the last being the most frequent as quotations from government officials and representatives made up 67 of these 103 texts. In light of these statistics, it can be said that the majority of domestic news stories was utilized to deliver the high-ranking governmental representatives' reports on the forced displacement.

When we look at the quotations from the Turkish government, we see that they make up 26% of all the quotations; when this ratio was 10% in 1950s. Overall, 56 of 62 quotations from Turkish government representatives and officers were printed under the domestic news stories category which supports our claim that the domestic news stories were mainly utilized to deliver the words of the political figures to the public. The majority of these quotations were from President Özal, whose name was repeated 104 times in 15 of these texts (10 of these were in depth

interviews) and another high-ranking officer, Minister of Foreign Affairs Ahmet Alptemoçin, who was referred to 22 times in 6 news stories. The following remarks Özal made in an interview with Cumhuriyet provides a good example to the discussions raised by Turkish officers and representatives:

> During the interview, Özal answered the questions directed him on the topic of the asylum-seekers at the border as the following:
> What is Turkey's position?
> Özal- I believe the Kurds are in a dire condition. I called and told this to President Bush on the phone and explained that we should take precautions to help the Kurds in this matter. The district is mountainous, rough. A suitable location might not be found for aid in this district. We can help. We are already helping. Food, medicine, doctors, nurses but these are not enough. It is still raining heavily. Thus, my wish from other countries is a large of tents for example. We have few. We have sent about 1,500 tents and this is highly inadequate.
> Don't you think Turkey should open the border to be able to send humanitarian aid for these people?
> Özal- This attitude is wrong. Turkey has already opened the border. There are 100,000 people in our border still. Yet this does not fix the problem. Our border is highly mountainous. If they cross to our side, those places are very mountainous. Iraq's side is flatter. My initial idea was to help these people in Iraq. But we would need to protect these from the fire of Iraq's army for that. To that aim we contacted Iraq's ambassador. We asked them to not fire at those who flee.
> The problem is highly urgent. Isn't it necessary to save those who flee from Saddam Hussein's forces and bring them to safety? Can we not provide them with the aid you mentioned then?
> Özal- Yes, but how will you cope with 500,000 people? Earlier, 60,000 people came in 1988. Half of these are still in Turkey. Nobody helped us. Nobody came close to taking those. I applied to European countries, told them at least take half of them and we can keep the other half. Now, would you accept it if we split these 400,000 people by half? (April 5, 1991, p.1)[36]

[36] Özal, röportaj sırasında, sınırdaki sığınmacılar konusunda kendisine yöneltilen soruları şöyle yanıtladı:
Türkiye'nin tutumu nedir?
Özal- Kanımca Kürtler çok zor durumdadırlar. Bunu Başkan Bush'a telefon ederek söyledim ve bu konuda Kürtlere yardımcı olmak amacıyla bir önlem almamız gerektiğini anlattım. Bölge dağlıktır, zordur. Yardım için bu bölgede uygun yer bulunmayabilir. Biz yardım edebiliriz. Zaten ediyoruz da. Yiyecek, ilaç, doktor, hemşire ama bunlar yeterli değil. Halen çok yağmur yağıyor. Bu nedenle diğer ülkelerden talebim, çok sayıda çadır örneğin. Bizde sayıca az. 1.500 kadar çadır yolladık ki bu çok yetersizdir.
Bu insanlara insani yardım yollayabilmek için Türkiye, sınırı açmamalı mı?
Özal- Bu yanlış bir tutum... Türkiye zaten sınırı açmıştır. Sınırımız içinde 100.000 kişi var hala. Ama bu sorunu çözmüyor. Bizim sınırımız çok dağlıktır. Eğer bizim tarafa geçerlerse, buraları çok dağlıktır. Irak tarafı daha düzlüktür. İlk düşüncem, bu insanlara Irak'ta yardım yapmaktı. Ama bunun için de ırak ordusunun ateşinden bunları korumak lazımdı. Bunun için de Irak Büyükelçisi ile temasa geçtik. Kaçanlara ateş etmemelerini istedik.

We see that President Özal never refers to displaced people as "asylum-seekers"; underlines the sheltering of Kurds that arrived in Turkey in 1988; and, explains how unresponsive European countries have been for helping Turkey with "these people". His choice of word in this quote correlates with the reference terms we observed in domestic and opinion columns as he either refers to them as "Kurds" or "these people" yet it differs from the ones we saw in foreign news stories and wartime columns as he never uses the word "asylum-seeker". In fact, none of the quotations from President Özal showed the use of the word asylum-seeker. Similarly, when we searched for the word sığınmacı in all the texts which cited Turkish officials we found 276 returns; however, only 6 of these were in direct quotations from Turkish authorities and the remaining 270 were actually used by the newspaper when providing the background to the story or when they were indirectly reporting Turkish authorities' words. This distribution is important because it shows that although Turkish government can be thought as the source of this newly emerging reference due to its reservations in 1951 Convention, it is not its representatives that utilize this word, but it is mainly the reporters.

In the earlier phases of the migration, the displaced people were kept at camps on Iraq's side of the border. As more and more people crossed the border, Turkey became forced to enlarge some of the camps it had formed for the displaced people in 1988 and start new ones in locations which were close to the border such as Işıkveren and Çukurca. Stationing the camps for the displaced people is an important discussion in the quotes from representatives and officers of Turkish

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Sorun çok acil. Kaçanları Saddam Hüseyin kuvvetlerinden kurtarmak ve güvenliğe kavuşturmak gerekmiyor mu? O zaman sözünü ettiğiniz yardım onlara sağlanamaz mı?
Özal- Evet, ama 500.000 kişi ile nasıl baş edeceksiniz? Daha önce 60.000 kişi gelmişti, 1988'de. Bunların hala yarısı Türkiye'de. Kimse bize yardım etmedi. Kimse bunları almaya yanaşmadı. Avrupa ülkelerine başvurdum, hiç olmazsa yarısını alın, yarısı bizde kalsın dedim. Şimdi de eğer bu 400.000 kişiyi yarı yarıya bölüşürsek bunu kabul eder misiniz?

government as they provide two justifications for not allowing displaced people to go beyond Turkey's border to Iraq. First, they claim that the land on Turkey's side was too mountainous to transfer the necessary supply and personnel for hosting them; and second, they argue that Turkey had been left alone with "the burden" of the Kurds in 1988 and was unwilling to go through the same process. We see that the first justification comes to an end as more and more people start crossing the border; however, the second one is repeated by almost each of the Turkish officers throughout the corpus. Similarly, we see that Özal keeps coming to the first justification we argued. We believe that this justification is repeated to conceal the anxiety over the number of Kurdish populations which will increase with this group. He also repeats the word hala 'still' twice and underlines that Turkey has been hosting 100,000 people that came in 1988. As these remarks are followed by phrases indicating that no one helped Turkey with them, they indicate that similar outcomes such as an extended stay are feared.

The numbers he provides in this quote does not match with the records we showed in the literature that said around 50,000 people had arrived in Turkey and 13,000 of these returned following Iraq's amnesty in 1988. We also see an inconsistency within this quote as he repeats the desire to "split" the 400,000 people in the beginning whose number reach 500,000 towards the end of the quote. As similar inconsistencies were observed in the quotations from Turkish authorities, it can be said that the numbers of the displaced people were exaggerated by the Turkish government especially when they were explaining the economic and political difficulty or "burden" of hosting the displaced people. Although President Özal does not use the word "burden" to refer to the displaced people in this quote, he presents it as something to başa çıkmak (cope with), an unwanted load that no other country

would want to undertake. In parallel, we see that he starts his words by calling out to European countries and comes back to this issue of the "West" not helping Turkey. In fact, the listing of the aids and donations made for the displaced people ties to the "unhelpful West" pattern as neither Özal nor other Turkish officers call for raising more donations for the displaced people (as the Turkish officers of 1950s did for Bulgarian Turks); but instead simply report on what Turkey has been giving to "these people". As one of these discussions usually follow the other, we can say that exaggerating the numbers of displaced people and blaming the "unhelpful West" help juxtapose Turkey's efforts for sheltering the displaced people of this period.

Thus, we observe that the newspapers favor officers and representatives of Turkish government as the dominant sources to quote in their stories, especially in the ones that concern the general public. However, these politicians and officers rarely refer to the displaced people with their political status as "the asylum-seekers" or "refugees" but rather refer to them as the "Kurds" which causes an inconsistency in the terms of reference journalists and political figures utilize in this period. The journalists also refer to the displaced people as Kurds on some instances, but the politicians and government officers avoid using media's reference term sığınmacı. As the political figures mainly discuss the repercussions of hosting the displaced people (their number and the sources spent for them) along with referring back to another party of displaced people with the same ethnicity who are still sheltered in Turkey, they present the displaced people of this period as unwanted guests that may not leave.

3.2.3 Anxiety over the increase in Kurdish population: opinion columns and quotations from Turkish citizens

Our second category, opinion columns, were written regularly by independent journalists such as Uğur Mumcu and Hasan Topbaş. A small portion of these columns were written by renowned figures such as the famous writer Orhan Pamuk, Fatoş Güney and Kemal Kirişçi. These people were called onto write either to deliver their observations at the camps or to discuss the political implications of the displacement in line with their expertise. We included these columns in our analysis of quotations in this section as well.

The majority of the opinion columns (23) were printed by Cumhuriyet, supporting our claim that Cumhuriyet's model reader was more interested with the events concerning the displaced people. The quotations in this category were limited (in 8 texts in total) thus these texts were mainly the columnists presenting the reader with their own ideas. However, there was an important column called *Pencere* where a few Turkish citizens' letters were cited. Despite its low frequency, this column is important as it is the only instance where we hear the voice of Turkish citizens in the entire corpus.

When Turkish citizens were quoted, they stated their anxiety over the resources spent for the displaced people and reflected a sense of grievance. Criticizing the Prime Minister for favoring the rich in this letter, a citizen calculates the amounts spent for the asylum-seekers '5 dollars per day for the asylumseeker who comes from Iraq… 2.5 dollars for the laborer in Turkey[37]' and adds,

> The worker who earns the minimum wage can go abroad secretly. The country is already like a three-ring circus, it is not clear who gets in and out.

[37] "Irak'tan gelen sığınmacıya günde 5 dolar... Türkiye'deki emekçiye 2,5 dolar..."

> Having entered Iraq through the southern east border and adapted to the clothing of asylum seekers, our laborers can enter back to the country and get the 5 dollars. Would you not like that? (Cumhuriyet, May 8, 1991, p.7)[38]

This letter was printed without the editor responding to it when we had seen that Cumhuriyet would respond to the negative comments in the letters written about Bulgarian Turks and would ask the reader to be patient. The wording is also interesting, this time displaced people are referred to as asylum-seekers who come from Iraq instead of Iraqi Kurds or Iraqi asylum-seekers; while the laborer is referred as the laborer in Turkey, foregrounding that one has just arrived while the other who resides in a location for a longer time. The only instance where we have a piece of writing from the public is an instance over grievances for shared resources.

> In a similar commentary, Uğur Mumcu writes:
>
> Turkey is providing 9 out of 10 bread the asylum seekers eat, the foreigners only one! The governor was explaining 'by damaging the farming lands, the local people who were already poor are put to great economic losses' Which country can carry such a burden by itself? None! (Cumhuriyet, May 9, 1991, p.9)[39]

Again, we see that locals' economic state is privileged and the resources spent for asylum seekers are titled a "burden". The citation starts off by attributing agency to the displaced people when consuming the resources, it is sığınmacıların yedikleri (the bread the asylum seekers eat) thus creating a sense that they are actively consuming this resource provided by Turkey. A few lines below, we are also told that the farming lands are damaged, this time a passive voice is used and it does not state who damages these lands; whether it was the government or the asylum-seekers but it is clearly stated that these were done for the sake of asylum-seekers which, as

[38] Asgari ücret alan işçi gizlice yurtdışına çıkabilir. Zaten ülke "Dingo'nun ahırına döndü, giren çıkan belli değil. Güneydoğu sınırından Irak'a geçtikten sonra bizim emekçimiz tebdili kıyafet ederek sığınmacı gibi tekrar yurda girdi mi, günde 5 doları alır. Ne o beğenmediniz mi?

[39] Sığınmacıların yedikleri on ekmekten dokuzunu Türkiye veriyor. Birini yabancılar!... Vali anlatıyor: '…ekili-dikili arazi tamamıyla tahrip edilerek zaten fakir olan bölge halkı çok büyük ekonomik zarara sokulmuştur.' Hangi ülke, bu yükü tek başına kaldırır? Hiçbir ülke

indicated, clashes with that of the locals. Finally, we see a call to foreign countries that starts with a comparison of Turkey's expenditure for the displaced countries with "others"; yet, it is not to foreground the "good deeds of Turkey" as we do not see any praising words. On the contrary, as Uğur Mumcu finishes his remarks by stating no other country would shoulder "such a burden", we are led to think that this was a mistake on Turkey's side. Given 7 other instances where either the columnist or the source they quote make similar remarks, we can say that the anxiety over the resources spent for the displaced people is an important discussion in this category.

The columns written by societal figures such as celebrities or academics either focused on the author's observations regarding the reception of the displaced people or on the political status of the displaced people. The latter discussion is also proliferated by regular columnists making this an important theme of discussion for the opinion category. As we will also discuss in our reference terms section, we see that the naming of the displaced people becomes a conundrum for Turkey. Each name comes with a different connotation and is thought to allow the displaced people with different rights and statuses. Both newspapers write on the motivations behind given the displaced people different names, yet their justifications for which name should be used are highly different. In his column, Kemal Kirişçi explains the background of the displacement and refers to the displaced people as refugees while admitting that Turkey cannot allow them the refugee status, the in-betweenness of the author's position can be read in these lines,

> Initiatives have been taken to create a safe zone in Iraq to ensure the livelihoods of the refugees and to help them. Without a doubt, the most desirable solution is to allow all these people the refugee status as described by the convention. However, it is certain that integrating such a massive body of refugees whose numbers can reach two or even three millions (almost equal to Turkey's 2-3 years of population growth) to a country abruptly will lead to a political, economic and social conundrum (Cumhuriyet, April 15, 1991, p.4)[40].

We see that the numbers of the forcibly displaced people emerge as an important criteria for imagining that it would harm the country's wellbeing, we use the word "imagining" here as the writer also states that their numbers "can" reach 2-3 million and does not provide us with their actual numbers. The justification provided for not allowing the status is based on the numbers of displaced people and markers such as bu büyüklükte (at this greatness) highlights that this is too large of a mass while the results of allowing such a number is again not elaborated. This justification conflicts with the one provided in Milliyet while discussing how to refer to the displaced people. Yalçın Doğan writes,

> A new definition called "Asylum-seeker" is being fabricated for the Kurds at our border with Iraq… They are not called "refugees". This is done to the extent that even the peshmerga[41] who live in the southeast are not called refugees and allowed "the right to refuge". There is a reason: When they are called "Refugees", the peshmerga or the Kurds waiting at the border need to be admitted to Turkey. Yet Turkey has no such intention (April 3, 1991, p.6)[42].

[40] Irak topraklarında mültecilere yardım etmek ve can güvenliğini garantiye alabilmek için bir tampon bölge yaratma girişimlerine başlanmıştır. Kuşkusuz en arzu edilecek çözüm bu kişilerin hepsine konvansiyonda belirlenen mülteci statüsünü verebilmektedir. Ancak iki ve hatta üç milyonu (Türkiye'nin aşağı yukarı 2-3 yıllık nüfus artışına eşit sayıda) bulma olasılığı olan bu büyüklükte bir mülteci kitlesini bir anda bir ülkeye entegre etmenin siyasal, ekonomik ve sosyal açılardan çözülmesi imkânsız bir durum yaratacağı muhakkaktır.

[41] Kurdish forces fighting for the autonomy of Kurds in Iraq, the word translates as "those who face death".

[42] "Sığınmacı" diye yeni bir tanım üretiliyor Irak sınırımızdaki Kürtlerle ilgili olarak… Onlara "mülteci" denmiyor. O kadar denilmiyor ki aylardır güneydoğuda yaşamakta olan peşmergelere bile mülteci denilmiyor, "iltica hakkı" tanınmıyor. Nedeni var: "Mülteci" denildiğinde peşmergeleri ya da sınırda bekleyen Kürtleri Türkiye'ye kabul etmek gerekiyor. Oysa Türkiye'nin hiçbir biçimde böyle bir niyeti yok.

To start with, we see that Doğan also presents a criticism for the rapid adoption of a new reference term as sığınmacı in this period and sets out to uncover the motivations behind this use. However, the motivations he explains differ from the ones presented by Kirişçi who was highlighting the greatness of the numbers. Doğan highlights only the political implications for not calling the displaced people refugees, emphasizing there are Peşmerge (Kurdish guerilla forces) in Turkey who will be benefitting from this status. This writer refrains from using either refugee or asylum-seeker in the rest of the column as well and keeps referring to the displaced people only with their ethnicity. These examples show us that naming the displaced people was a critical process as different names would bring different political implications with them. While some were concerned over the resources Turkey spends for this specific group of displaced people and claimed that allowing them the status of a refugee would force Turkey to spend more than it could afford, the others were concerned with the increased length of stay that could result from such a status and thus security issues that might born out of this increased population.

All in all, we saw that the majority of opinion columns delivered the anxieties of the public and columnists over the repercussions of hosting this group due to sharing the country's resources and the security concerns; while an important discussion on the conundrum of naming the displaced people also surfaced.

3.2.4 Deaths and donations: wartime columns and quotations from the displaced people

Our third category, wartime columns, was an important category for our analysis as it was specifically designed to report on the displaced people. Cumhuriyet printed 13 with similar titles such as 'Notes on (Van, Bitlis, Çukurca…). Milliyet printed 12 with various titles however the titles of its news stories in this category would always be followed by the names of similar designated journalists (such as Namık Durukan)[43] and indicate that they were reporting from the border in the title or by providing the reader with a note on this information. It is a new style of reporting as, for the first time in our corpus, we see that there are reporters who reside near the camps to report regularly which allows the narration to become more decentralized. None of the texts in other categories were written on a shared site with the displaced people; yet these texts were direct observations of the reporters on the displaced people. We believe that leaving the newspaper headquarters to share a common land with the displaced people allowed a significantly different narration to come about; especially as the texts in this category were almost the only ones that report on the conditions in which the displaced people were sheltered and the difficulties they faced (such as illnesses and hunger).

This new style provides the readers with a vivid imagery of the life at the camps and allows the reader to read direct quotations from the displaced people. Overall, the texts in this category would follow up the aid that is sent to the camps, comment on the suffering of children and the chaotic scenes observed during the aid distribution. In fact, the keyword "çocuk" (child) is unprecedentedly high in this

[43] Domestic news stories would rarely share the names of the reporters.

category as we also see that many of the vivid and -even literary to some point- descriptions of the dire conditions were told through children in this category. It is a significant collocate with another frequent word "ölüm" (death) (with a log-likelihood of 29.8) indicating that children's suffering mattered the most for these columns and was followed up the most frequently.

Portraying suffering over children, with a vivid imagery, becomes a theme of discussion throughout the texts in these categories as there are 4 other wartime columns written only about the children. What we describe as a vivid imagery can be seen in the following citation where a reporter of Milliyet observes the life at the camp,

> Being diagnosed with severe cases of cold, almost all of the little children are attempted(?) to be treated with medicines brought from the Turkish side. Elie Yusuf is tightly holding her child who is only 8 months old and tries to explain her daughter's illness with tears in her eyes. 8 months old Karmen, unaware of her surroundings, is looking around and crying on the swing her mother Elie Yusuf made. Her mother is also crying because she cannot provide milk for her daughter… (April 6, 1991, p.3)[44]

Differing from the common description of displaced people in other categories, with their ethnicity and their actions, we are provided with the names of the child and the mother. We see that the child's age is given with the adverb "henüz*" (*only) stressing the child's young age and repeating it twice. The formal tone we observe in the other categories leaves its place to a personal one as we see that the writer continues to delineate the actions of crying or making a swing for one's child instead of simply waiting at the border. The abundance of adjectives and adverbs such as "yaşlı gözler" (tears in her eyes) and "sıkı sıkı" *(*tightly) is another indication of the personalized

[44] Küçük çocukların hemen tamamı şiddetli üşütme nedeniyle yüksek ateş teşhisi konularak Türk tarafından getirilen ilaçlarla tedavi edilmeye çalışıyor. Elie Yusuf, henüz 8 aylık çocuğuna sıkı sıkı sarılıyor ve yaşlı gözlerle kızının hastalığını anlatmaya çalışıyor. 8 aylık Karmen, annesi Elie Yusuf'un yaptığı salıncaktan etrafına olanlardan habersiz bakıyor ve ağlıyor. Anne de ağlıyor, kızına süt veremediği için…

and vivid imagery of the displaced people that does not surface in other categories. 18 out of 25 columns in this category include such imagery, delineating on the suffering the authors observe. Some refer to the shortage of food, some to the clothing, some to the loss of loved ones with various adjectives. One common aspect of these narratives is their focus on children and their bare feet. In six of these columns we see the phrase "çıplak ayaklı çocuklar" *(*bare footed children) being repeated and similar commentaries such as "ayağında ayakkabası olmayan" (no shoes on their feet) are used 17 times throughout this category. This detailed account of the suffering presents a stark contrast with the representation of the displaced people we observed in other categories.

On top of the personalized voice of the reporters, we are also provided with an abundancy of quotations from the displaced people in this category. In this sense, wartime columns present a contrasting distribution of quotations as 72% of them quote forcibly displaced people, whereas only 4 quote Turkish governmental representatives and officers. In this way, it reverses the common pattern of quotations; and acts as a medium in which the voice of forcibly displaced people can be heard to some level. 18 out of 39 quotations from the displaced people come from this category, with all (7) of the quotations Milliyet printed were under its wartime columns. This shows that Cumhuriyet was significantly more inclined towards quoting the displaced people whereas Milliyet would give a very limited space for their words. The frequency of quotations in Milliyet and Cumhuryiet is reversed as Cumhuriyet had 8 articles where displaced people were quoted in 1950s whereas Milliyet had 24. Considering there were 236 texts in Corpus_91, the ones that had quotations from displaced people made up 16% of the whole texts, whereas this ratio was 32 out of 587 thus %5 in 1950's corpus. Thus, we observe an increase in the

number and ratio of the texts that quoted displaced people which refute our claim that there would be less quotations given the historic grievances. Given the exclusionary tone in the reference terms and collocates, this frequency comes as a surprise. It can be explained by the advancements in technology and transportation; yet, we believe the emergence of wartime columns has a share in this increase as they often surface in this category.

Looking at the texts with quotations from displaced people, we see that 16 of them quote displaced people by identifying their name and sometimes their occupation and a little bit of background story whereas the remaining texts quote them as either a group or by just identifying them with a physical feature such as their age or their looks. The quotations from the displaced people are short (generally one or two sentences) and they follow the writer's depiction of a scene. To illustrate, we can provide the following example,

> The elderly people are carried on their backs, shoulders. People from Hakkari are covered in sweat. They are trying to explain themselves to the soldiers. They want to carry bread across, and say "There are so many people there, do not let them starve to death". They are loaded with bags of bread. The soldiers, from time to time, allow them to cross the bridge. On the bridge, some of them are distributing bread, shoes, water… An immigrant with a thick moustache turns to the patrolling soldier, and with the help of the one who speaks Turkish, he delivers his wish: "Take my goat, give me a cigarette" (Cumhuriyet, April, 9, 1991, p.5)[45].

Providing the reader with a vivid imagery, the author acts like a camera and observes his surroundings as if he is trying to paint the image he sees. The writer presents us with an image of deprivation from the luxuries of a regular to an extent where a goat be sold in exchange of a cigarette. The fact that the displaced person is not named

[45] Yaşlılar geliyor sırtlarda, omuzlarda. Hakkarililer ter içinde. Askerlere dert anlatmaya çalışıyorlar. Ekmek götürmek istiyorlar karşı kıyıya. "O kadar millet var, açlıktan kırılmasın" diyorlar. Sırtlarına vurmuşlar ekmek dolu torbaları. Askerler, zaman zaman izin veriyorlar köprüden geçmelerine. Bir bölümü, köprünün üzerinde, yanında. ekmek, ayakkabı, su veriyor…Pos bıyıklı göçmen, devriye askeri çeviriyor, Türkçe bilenin aracılığı ile isteğini aktarıyor: "Keçimi al, sigara ver bana."

here, and the short literary description of the scene encourages us to say that this way of quoting the displaced people is not done to show them as the sources of these words but instead create a symbol of deprivation through them. It is also interesting to see here that the displaced person who is quoted is identified as a "göçmen" (immigrant) rather than an asylum-seeker or the other frequent words in the corpus. Considering that this word was the most significant reference term for the displaced people in 1950s with whom empathy was heavily encouraged, we believe that this word is used for encouraging empathy once again. Yet, we also have to state that this word is only rarely used (38 times) for the displaced people of this period.

Just like in this quote, the quotes we see from the displaced people are generally short. They are asked about when and how they plan on going back to Iraq (April,14, 21,30, Cumhuriyet), their wishes and satisfaction from the camps (April, 10,13,23, Milliyet; April 7,8,9,14, 27, May 1, Cumhuriyet) and their losses (April, 10,11 Milliyet; 8,9,21,23, May 1, 5, Cumhuriyet). Both newspapers give place to quotations that show the dissatisfaction of the displaced people with their conditions; however, they take different approaches on this topic.

Milliyet writes,

> It was the day before Easter when I asked them 'Are you satisfied with your state?' and they said 'no, tomorrow is Easter, and we will not celebrate it. Why don't they allow us to pass to Turkey? They have everything there…' (April 13,1991, p.3) [46]

To be able to compare let us also share how Cumhuriyet quotes them on a similar topic,

> Those who were able to grasp some food open the boxes as they rest on their way, the boxes contain concentrated chicken. They are not satisfied with the

[46] Paskalya yortusundan bir gün önceydi. 'Memnun musunuz halinizden?' diye sorduğumda, 'hayır' dediler. 'Yarın Paskalya ama kutlamayacağız. Türkiye'ye geçmemize neden izin vermiyorlar ki? Orada her şey var...'

> food thrown from the airplanes: 'They drop a weird dust in the name of chicken. Drop us some rice, some flour… (April 20, 1991, p.9) '[47]

It is seen that Cumhuriyet chooses to provide a background to their complaints as the text comments on the quality of food that is being dropped from air to the camps and later comes to this quotation whereas Milliyet discusses the life at different camps in the same texts and states that although the one we see in the quote is in better conditions, they are not satisfied. Similar to the discussions raised by President Özal, Milliyet underlines that the area is mountainous and the desire to cross to Turkey is not realistic thus giving us a narrative that opposes the displaced people's wishes whereas Cumhuriyet quotes the displaced people after explaining the problem they are facing, thus providing us with a narrative that is consistent with what the displaced people say. Neither of the texts identify the speaker's name but quote them as a group as we commonly see in this quotation category.

Overall, we can say that the reporters writing for the wartime columns quoted the displaced people significantly more often compared to the previous period, with reporters often interviewing them at the camps. The majority of the quotations reflected on the various forms of suffering the displaced people experienced such as the deprivations from water and food and the dire conditions in which they lived. However, it was generally the journalists who provided their own accounts of these instances of suffering and the displaced people would be allowed one or two lines in which they were largely quoted as a group rather than individuals.

[47] Yiyecek malzemesini kapanlar, yolda dinlenirken kutuları açıyorlar, içinde konsantre tavuk var. Memnun değiller uçakların attığı yiyeceklerden: 'Tavuk diye bir garip toz atıyorlar bize. Pirinç atsınlar, un atsınlar…'

3.2.5 Unhelpful west: foreign news stories and quotations from foreign governments

Coming to our final category, foreign news stories, we see an increase in their frequency compared to 1950s, as they also have their own page in both newspapers in this period. Differing from 1950s, we see that the number of translations fall whereas on-sight reporting from foreign countries increase. The majority of articles in this category were written by 'Dış Haberler Servisi' (Foreign News Agency, henceforth DHS) of the newspapers and three of them were direct translations from newspapers such as The Times and Herald Tribune. The articles written by DHS contained the reports on donations to be made by foreign countries, the public speeches made by governmental representatives (either from foreign countries or Turkey's representatives to other countries), and in rare cases, reports of the political events in Iraq. We identified three main themes of discussion in this category: aid and donations, justifications for Turkey's actions and commentaries on the Western media.

We observed an increase in the quotations from foreign country authorities such as the United States, France and United Kingdom which can be explained by Turkey's collaboration with coalition forces in this period. These quotations mostly provided the other countries' leaders' statements on how much aid will be provided with a few of them praising Turkey for its help for the displaced people. No criticism towards Turkey was directly quoted, although there were instances when the political leaders of "the West" were being criticized for speaking against Turkey by Turkey's ambassadors to these countries. While Milliyet had 6 foreign news stories where there were a few sentences on this topic, Cumhuriyet printed 11, dedicated solely for the

criticism against Turkey. An example to discussion can be seen in the following example:

> Meanwhile, western countries are increasing their pressures on Turkey to open the border for the Kurds who flee Saddam's forces. According to Edip Emin Öymen's article, the media productions shaped by convictions such as "Turkey is neither admitting asylumseekers nor openning its border" do not correspond with the speeches made by Turkish authorities. In response to BBC's "Newsight", Turkish ambassador Nuryer Nureş says "Turkey opened its border to 100,000 people" and Minister of State Kamuran Inan also repeated this statement on BBC's broadcast. These statements challenge the news of "Turkey is not opening its border" (Cumhuriyet, April 7, 1991, p.8)[48].

Here, it is interesting to see that although BBC is the only channel that is accused for broadcasting conflicting statements, the source of these news is identified as "the western countries", especially when the same text later reports donations made by Norway and Austria. In this sense, a grieving portrait of "the West" is being created over England without discussing the rest of the countries. Once again, we see that no adjectives other than a relative clause that describes an action, this time fleeing, is used for the displaced people. By using a plain language, this paragraph compares BBC's given statements to the ones made by Turkish officials; however there are 4 other articles that make similar remarks on western media propagating that Turkey does not treat the asylum seekers well and only refer to England and Germany.

Our analysis of the categories in this period shows similarities to the representation of the displaced people in 1950s in that a similar pattern of printing and distribution of quotations were observed. Once again, the Turkish government representatives and officers were the main sources entitled to talk about the

[48] Bu arada, Batılı ülkeler, Saddam'a bağlı birliklerden kaçan Kürtlere sınırın açılması yolunda Türkiye'ye baskılarını arttırıyorlar. Edip Emil Öymen'in haberine göre "Türkiye, sığınmacıları kabul etmiyor, sınırı açmıyor" haberleri ile biçimlenen Basın Yayın değerlendirmeleri, Türk yetkililerin demeçleri ile bağdaşmıyor. BBC televizyonunun saygın yorum değerlendirme programı "Newsnight"ta soruları yanıtlayan Türkiye Büyükelçisi Nurver Nureş 'in "Türkiye'nin 100.000 kişiye sınırını açtığını" söylemesi, Devlet bakanı Kamuran İnan'ın BBC yurt yayınlarında dün bunu yinelemesi, "Türkiye sınırını açmıyor" haberleri ile uyuşmuyor.

conditions of the displaced people. It also carries similar patterns of countercriticism for other countries' approach to the way Turkey is handling this process, although the countercriticism is much more frequent and direct in this period. A radical change was that a new style of reporting on the displaced people was emerging in this period that differed highly from the rest of the texts in which the displaced people were mentioned. This new category, wartime columns, provided the reader with details and observations on the state of the displaced people while also allowing the newspaper to limit the discussion on the conditions of displaced people to this category. As they were located separately from the domestic news stories which concern the general audience, the columns in this category targeted the readers who were readily interested in the displaced people. We see that the remaining categories, which were written to be read by the general audience, include less discussion on the state of the displaced people (when compared with 1950s) and focus more on the political repercussions of sheltering them in Turkey. Thus, we can say that the news stories printed on different pages and categories had different target audiences and exhibited varying narratives on the displaced people. Having introduced the varying styles, sources and target audiences of our texts through their categories, we can now move onto explain which words were chosen to represent and refer to the displaced people in our corpus.

3.3 Reference terms

Compiling a list of terms that were used in order to identify or refer to the displaced people of this period was a bigger challenge than we had faced with 1950s as there

was an inconsistency in the words used in different categories and by different sources that were being quoted. Our corpus query tool, TS Corpus, provided us with a list of frequent words to start with and we compared the words that surfaced here with our reading and selections to see if they correlate and we saw that these two analysis were consistent in general.[49] The reference terms we identified for this corpus can be found in Table 7[50]. The collocates provided in the table are selected according to their optimized frequency and log-likelihood and are ordered according to their log-likelihood.

Table 7. Reference Terms and Their Collocates in Corpus_91

Reference Term	No. of hits/ In no. of texts	Collocates	Translation of Collocates
Kürt 'Kurdish'	1074/171	devleti, özerklik, kaçan, sorunu, kökenli, Saddam, kabul	State, autonomy, fled, problem, origin, Saddam, allowing
Sığınmacı 'Asylum-seeker'	827/163	yardım, bin, sayısının, gelen, öldüğünü	Aid, thousand, number, arrive, died
Iraklı 'Iraqi'	454/152	Türkiye'ye, sığınan, bekleyen, bin, sivil, öldüğü, gelen, güvenlik	to Turkey, taking shelter, waiting, thousand, civilian, died, arrive, security
Mülteci 'Refugee'	248/95	kampına(da,ının), akını, iltica, sığınan, sayısı, barındırılan	Camp, influx, defection, taking shelter, number, (those) who have been accommodated
İnsanlar 'People'	228/88	Bu, masum, şimdi, burada, kendi, yardım	These, innocent, now, here, themselves, aid
Sivil 'Civillian'	116/43	asker, savunma, halka, gaz, güvenlik	Soldier, defense, public, gas, security
Türkmen 'Turkmen'	107/39	Arap, Kürt, kaçan, kabul	Arab, Kurdish, fleeing, allowing
Göçmen 'Immigrant'	38/19	kabul, gelen, bin, Türkiye, Iraklı	Allowing, arriving, thousand, Turkey, Iraqi

[49] "Göçmen" would show far down in the frequency list and would normally be excluded. However, our reading showed us that it was used in various instances and by different authors; thus it was included.

[50] See Appendix B for a full list of frequent words in Corpus_91.

A cursory look at Table 7 shows that the displaced people were referred to through words indicating their ethnicity (Kürtler), nationality (Iraklı), political status (Sığınmacı, Mülteci, Göçmen) and finally, through generic nouns (İnsanlar, Sivil). We identified no significant reference terms or no conjugations (such as "göçmenlerimiz" (our migrants) we observed with Bulgarian Turks) that would place this group as members of the Turkish society, allowing us to label this process of identification as one for a readily outsider group.

The word "Kurdish" was the most frequent reference term, indicating that the most common way of identifying this outsider group was through their ethnicity. As there is already a Kurdish population in Turkey and Turkish media already recognizes this population, it is understandable for this term to surpass the others. However, the same emphasis on ethnicity applies for the smaller group of Turkmens (unlike "our brethren Bulgarian Turks"). Considering there were much less instances of recognition over ethnicity for the displaced people in 1950s, we can say that ethnicity gains importance in this period.

Another difference with 1950s was that a new reference term and a political status, "Sığınmacı", was being fabricated for displaced people. We identify this term as a new one in light of the identification discussions raised by the aforementioned columnists and as they also acknowledge this title as a new one. However, its frequent use in the media comes as a surprise as it quickly becomes one of the two main names (Kürt or Sığınmacı) for the displaced people. Of these two names, the collocates of "Kürt" relate mostly to domestic political dynamics with the discussion on the autonomy of the Kurds in Turkey and whether they are a problem for Turkish state's well-being; whereas the collocates for "Sığınmacı" relate to the statistics regarding the displaced people (such as the amount of aid collected for them or their

numbers). It was also seen that “Kürt” was used by the Turkish government officers and representatives whereas “Sığınmacı” was mainly used by the journalists. As we mentioned in our introduction, Turkey had signed the 1951 Convention with reservations on the populations to be accepted as refugees. We believe that “Sığınmacı” is a word fabricated to replace the term “refugee” and implement Turkey’s reservation on this Convention.

An interesting finding was that the most common three reference terms (Kürt, Sığınmacı and Iraklı) were used in various combinations. The frequency of their usages on their own can be seen in Figure 1; and their combinations can be found in Figure 2 and 3 in relation to the order they were used. As seen in Figure 1, “Kurdish” is once again the most common way to refer to the displaced people, only one in five of its uses is seen in combination with the other words.

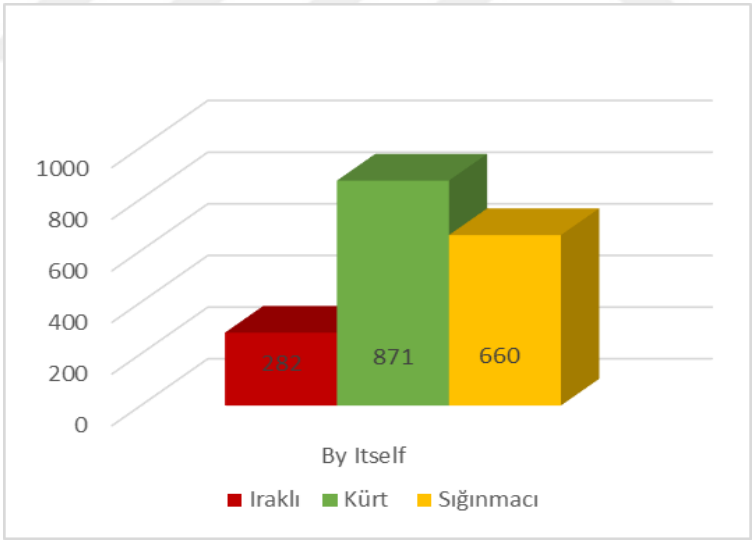


Figure 1. Reference terms by themselves

Given the historical background between Turkish and Kurdish populations, the frequency of this reference term is understandable. Turkish readers already recognize the Kurdish population and this recognition over ethnicity is deemed

enough to describe the displaced people in 871 cases. However, we also see cases where this reference is preceded by their nationality, Iraklı, or followed by their political status, Sığınmacı which we believe helps to differentiate between the displaced people of this period and the Kurdish population in Turkey.

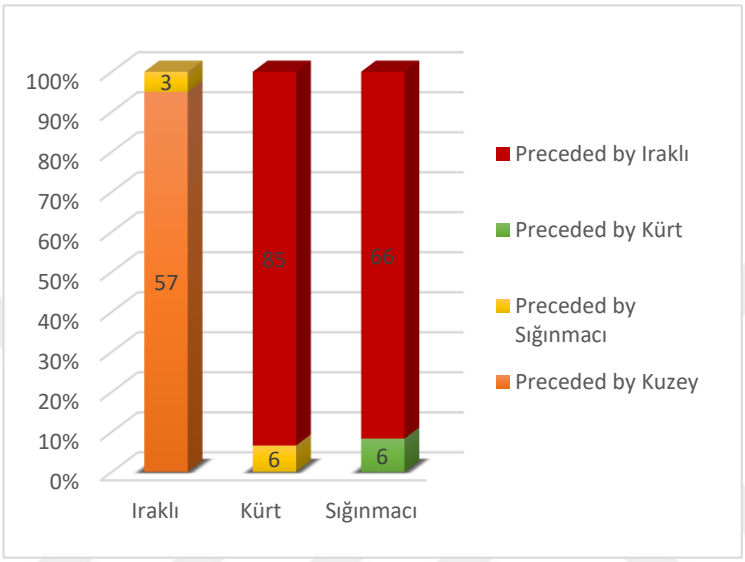


Figure 2. Compound reference terms – preceded by

Figure 2 shows that "Iraklı" 'Iraqi' is the most common preceding word in the compound names given to the displaced people. Although it has a comparatively low frequency as a reference term by itself, its frequency rises significantly when it becomes adjectivized in a compound structure. This finding supports our claim that there was an effort to distinguish between the Kurdish population in Turkey and the displaced people of this period and their nationality was an important aspect for this differentiation. Another example of this differentiation can be read in Figure 3 where we see that the word Kurdish is followed by their political status as asylum-seekers 98 times and refugees as 29 times.

It is important to note here that these compound structures were mainly utilized by the journalists reporting from the newspaper's headquarters or in the

translations printed under foreign news stories. Turkish political authorities and the reporters at the camps would prefer to use “Kürt” or rarely “Iraklı Kürtler”. Judging by these findings, we believe that the variety we observe in these compound structures is born out of the distance the author of the text attempts to depict the displaced people, with the choice of word changing with each writers’ tendency to emphasize one of the three characteristics these references stand for.

Apart from these three words, we also identified the phrase “Bu insanlar” (these people), a generic noun that could be used for any group of people other than the one the speaker belongs to, as a common reference term due to the frequency of its use. This phrase is difficult to put in a frame as it both distances the reader from the displaced people as situating them as “these” people rather than just people (or to the opposite of “our” people we saw in 1950s) but also shows a collocate “masum” ‘innocent’ which was used 18 times with this word. In this sense, it could be said that this reference term presents us with a double-sided portrait of the displaced people who are not from “our” community but whose suffering should also be noticed.

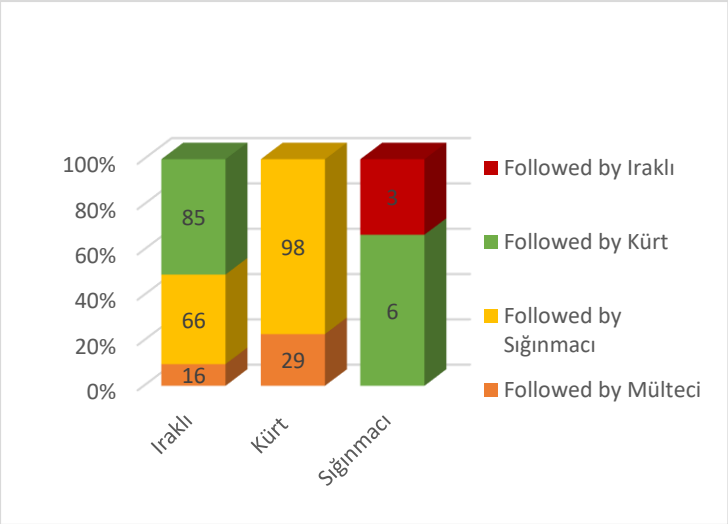


Figure 3. Compound reference terms - followed by

A similar duality in representation is seen as we discussed the emphasis on the ethnicity of this group (and its frequency over their political status) along with the differentiation from groups from the same ethnicity in Turkey. The collocates for the listed reference terms show that whether to settle this group of displaced people in Turkey or not was an important discussion as the high frequency of the word "kabul" (admission) indicates. This finding creates a parallel with the themes we discussed with the quotations from Turkish government where the majority of officers and representatives would assert differing justifications for why Turkey could not settle these people in the country. We also see that the significant collocates for the most common reference term "Kürt" revolve around the issues of autonomy which supports our claim that the ethnicity of this group led to concerns over the increased number of Kurdish populations in Turkey. As Turkish governments favor this term and it reflects an anxiety over the autonomy of Kurds, we believe that it can be taken as a reason why there were differing justifications for why Turkey could not have settled this group in its borders. We see that the collocates of the word "Sığınmacı" relate to the numbers and aid collected for the displaced people, creating a much more different theme of discussion around this reference. We believe that this finding proves that different reference terms reflect different sources' empathic motives as this newly fabricated word was used mainly to talk about their conditions as displaced people rather than the grievances the collocates for the word "Kürt" reflects. It also shows that following up the aid collected for the displaced people was an important discussion that surfaced when they were named. Yet, other than a mere follow up of the aid collected for the displaced people, we observed no collocates that encourage empathy even with this

new reference term which supports our claim that this was a group of "unwanted visitors".

The remaining collocates can be divided into two as those that relate to security and as adjectivized verbs used to describe the displaced people. The discussion of security emerges with generic nouns of "İnsanlar" and "Sivil" and reflect the concerns over the survival of these people as the attacks continued at the Iraq's side of the border. This finding does not correlate with the themes of discussions we observed in our analysis of the categories and quotations and has a low frequency throughout the corpus. However, the second group of remaining collocates, adjectivized verbs were very common. Among these "kaçan" (fled) was the most frequent and the others were variations of a similar wording describing their actions and using this description as a name. Considering various adjectives such as "çalışkan" (hardworking) we observed with Bulgarian Turks, these collocates present a contrast. We believe that this finding proves the distanced representation of the displaced people in this period as they are only acknowledged through generic nouns, their ethnicity, or mere actions. On a final note, the "unhelpful West" theme that we observed in the quotations do not surface with the collocates which we believe is a result of our limitation on the collocate span that allowed to show words either 10 tokens to the left or right.

3.4 Discussion

Our analysis of the news stories printed in 1950s had shown that the majority of the displaced people of that period (excluding Romani) were already welcome on the

grounds that they were deemed to be related to the people of the host country as descendants of the same ancestors and that they were a productive workforce. We had observed various positive adjectives and conjugations that would place that group as members of the society where they would be hosted. The dominant discussions were on how to settle the displaced people better, the oppression and exclusion they faced prior to their displacement and on the amounts of donations collected for them while the reporters and the Turkish government officers (the two dominant voices in the texts) called the citizens to solidarity with the displaced people. This period had introduced us to the categories of domestic and foreign news story and opinion columns. We had observed that the main sources quoted in this period were the members of Turkish government and the displaced people were given little space to talk about their experiences. In light of this analysis, we had expected to observe even less quotations from the displaced people in this period; yet we found that their ratio was increased. Similarly, we had expected to find similar remarks on the suffering and oppression the displaced people had faced in their country; yet this narrative was limited to a few remarks on Saddam's attacks in 6 articles only.

Instead, we identified three main themes of discussion in this period, discussions on why Turkey could not afford to settle this group in its borders (titled the theme of "unwanted guests"), how Turkey was left alone and unjustly accused by the West (unhelpful West) and keeping a record of the numbers (deaths and donations) of the displaced people. There were also side discussions on how to identify this group and the suffering at the camps, the latter being more of a series of observations than a discussion, but it was frequent.

As we discussed with Bulgarian Turks, we believe that proliferating the discussion on shared pasts and positioning them as members of the society to which they are passing through conjugation such as "göçmenler-imiz" (our migrants) lead to a more positive representation of the displaced people and lead to discussions that pay attention to their needs and demands, thus an elevated state of empathizing with them. Similarly, we believe that the lack of such inclusive references and proliferation of discussions on past grievances towards their ethnicity lead to a negative representation of the displaced people that avoids empathy. Such a narrative results in a portrayal of the displaced people as a burden and brings with itself grievances not only for this group but also for other countries.

Our analysis of the quotations showed that the dominant speakers in these texts, the representatives and officers of Turkish government, never recognized the status of this group as directed by the Geneva Convention of 1951 but instead kept referring to the displaced people with their ethnicity while insisting that people from the same ethnicity keep residing in Turkey. The fact that these officers did not provide any solid justification or statistics on the ratios of sources spent for the displaced people but immediately turned to blaming other countries for not helping them, shows us that there was already an unwillingness to host these people which we explain through the anxiety over increased numbers of Kurdish groups in Turkey. We had claimed that the emphatic motives of the states could shape the media representation of the displaced people and the unprecedented frequency of the reference term "Kurdish" and the negative themes of discussion support this claim.

On the other hand, the emergence of wartime columns and the high frequency of the term "Sığınmacı" creates an exception to this claim, as this is a term that was not recognized by the state or the people at the time; yet the journalists preferred to

proliferate this term when they were not quoting the Turkish government officers. As we discussed in our opinion columns section, this phrase occurred in conflicting contexts as some argue that it was fabricated to disallow the displaced people the refugee status due to their high numbers whereas tie this issue to security concerns over the Kurdish population in Turkey. However, this term also surfaced in the wartime columns which were loaded with accounts of the suffering of the displaced people and who allowed them a voice to talk about their experiences. We also observed a tendency to create compound reference terms with the ethnicity, nationality, and the political status of the displaced people. In light of these findings, we claim that although this word was fabricated to avoid the term refugee, it also replaced the word "Kurdish" where the author preferred to draw the reader's attention from their ethnicity to their condition. "Sığınmacı" and "Iraklı" came in handy when distinguishing between the Kurdish populations that have already resided in Turkey; and their high frequency shows that the government officers' account of the displaced people was not fully adopted by the media this time.

We observed that the newspapers reported from different positions as Cumhuriyet had a more neutralized tone and higher instances of actually reporting on the conditions of the displaced people whereas Milliyet exhibited a pejorative tone towards the displaced people, by mocking the status of "asylum-seeker" and consistently referring to the sources they are consuming. In this sense, it could be said that the model readers of the newspapers in this period was more polarized than they were in 1950s where at least the ways of referring to the displaced people would overlap. This marks a change in Turkish media as the newspapers have clear positions on the issues they cover and the difference between their positions is reflected in their wording.

Although we were able to group the majority of discussions under titles of "unwanted guests", "the unhelpful West", and the "deaths and donations" these were not as clearly defined as the themes in 1950s. All of our categories provided information on the statistics and locations of the displaced people along with the amount of help provided for them. We observed that opinion columns, domestic and foreign news stories also came together in their focus on "the unhelpful West" theme. Apart from these, domestic news stories informed us on the difficulties Turkey faced in 1988 and opinion columns underlined the "burden" of allowing the displaced people into Turkey. Yet the majority of these discussions did not emerge in the collocations of the reference terms like they did in 1950s' corpus. We explain this by claiming that although the displaced people were referred to more often in this period, they were not actually the main focus of our texts. This claim is supported by our analysis as the main discussions were on the economic and political implications of the displacement and only wartime columns, thus 1 in 10 of our texts, specifically focused on representing the displaced people. However, we should still underline that a new way of reporting on displacement was born through regular on-site reporting and it increased the number of quotations from the displaced people, challenging distance between the people of the host country and the displaced people.

It is difficult to explain why wartime columns emerged amid such a negative approach to the displaced people. However, as we had explained the majority of these texts focused on the suffering of children and the mothers who might not have been considered dangerous for the unity of the state as Kurdish soldiers Peşmerge were considered. It might also be that the reporters who encountered the displaced people at the camps chose to challenge the media's avoidant approach as they

witnessed death, shortage of food and loss of the loved ones; the suffering they could also relate.

We explained that a law that would limit the media's coverage was issued at the beginning of the displacement process and although we observed a few commentaries on the difficulties the journalists faced when visiting the camps, it was not a significant discussion in our corpus. In fact, we did not find any discussion on TMK which might be related to auto-censorship the academics in our literature had warned of. This auto-censorship would explain why we do not see any criticism of the government other than one or two letters criticizing the expanses made for the displaced people when we had several series of writing on how the government could provide the displaced people with better conditions in 1950s.

Overall, we witnessed a representation that was largely detached from the displaced people and avoided empathy. This time, the reference terms utilized by the government did not correlate with the ones used by the media, yet they were still the dominant source who were entitled to speak for the displaced people. We had claimed that the empathic motives of the host country could be effective in shaping the media representation; and we observed tendencies to avoid empathy with the displaced people in line with Turkey's reservation to the Geneva Convention of 1951 and its anxiety over the numbers of Kurdish population we discussed in our introduction. We found that this detached narration would turn to portraying the displaced people as a burden, especially in Milliyet. However, we were also surprised to find a new way of on-site reporting for the displaced people and although the texts in this category were limited, they presented a contrast to the overall narrative we discussed through reporting on the experiences and suffering of the displaced people. As we move on to our next chapter on Syrian refugees, we

expect to observe even more frequent quotations from the displaced people as the numbers of articles per day will increase and there will be more journalists who can visit their camps often. We expect to see even more variation in the terms of reference for the displaced as the laws and regulations that define their status will also change along the process.

CHAPTER 4
MIGRATION OF SYRIANS TO TURKEY BETWEEN 2014 AND 2017

This chapter explores the media representation of the forced displacement of more than 3 million Syrians to Turkey between 2014 and 2017 due to the civil war that broke out in Syria in 2011. We limited our analysis to the period between December 2014 and December 2017 a period that marks the intense increase in the numbers of refugee in order to balance the corpora across periods. Our analysis in this chapter showed that there was an abundancy in the terms through which Syrians were represented, indicating the uncertainty over their status and length of stay in Turkey. However, we found that the contexts we had identified for the words göçmen, mülteci and sığınmacı were preserved on the majority with a new connotation for göçmen as illegal migrants added to our terminology. Although similar terms of reference were used for this wave of displaced people, we saw that themes of discussions highly varied from previous periods as the displaced people spread to major cities in Turkey and became urban refugees that the public encountered frequently.

In this chapter, we first introduce the context in Syria and move onto tracing the changes in Turkey's international relations (in particular with the EU and Syria) and migration policies. This is followed by analysis of the news stories collected from the Turkish newspapers Cumhuriyet and Habertürk that provide a portrayal for the displaced people in this period. Our original plan was to conduct this analysis on Cumhuriyet and Milliyet, as we did in our first two chapters; however, the collection of the data for this period coincided with Covid-19 pandemic which rendered it impossible for us to visit the main libraries where we could access Milliyet*'s* news stories. Thus, we chose to collect our data from Habertürk as it works in collaboration

with similar news agencies and has a similar political stance to Turkish government as Milliyet. The next section traces the events that started in 2011 in Syria to understand the reasons behind the displacement and later assess how many of these were reflected on the media.

4.1 The historical and political context of the displacement in the 2010s

Syria and Turkey enjoy close political relations in the process that lead to the migration of Syrians to Turkey in spite of the highly different political context in the two countries. Syria becomes more and more isolated in its international relations, whereas Turkey experiences a boost in its relations both with the West and the East, resulting in differing economic and political agendas. Due to these differences the following sections provides the historical and political context of the displacement from the point of view of each country.

4.1.1 Developments in Syria: 2011-2014

The Syrian Civil War can be traced back to January 2011 with minor protests taking place in several cities and civilians coming together on social platforms such as Facebook to demand the emergency state to be lifted and several reforms to be issued against corruption, unemployment and problems in regional politics. The Syrian population at the time was dominantly Sunni Muslims who were governed by an Alevite elite, namely the Assad family, that had been ruling the country with a state

of emergency since 1963 which has already met with several protests and pressures on the government in the past (Aras & Karakaya Polat, 2008). Yet, these minor protests gave way to larger and more organized ones as 15 children who had painted an anti-government slogan graffiti were arrested and tortured on March 6. The protests quickly spread to large cities in Syria such as Daraa and Damascus. Although the Bashar al Assad regime made reform promises and lifted the state of emergency in March, the peaceful demonstrations in different cities were met with heavy responses by Assad's forces (Ihlamur-Öner, 2013). The Syrian Army joined the scene as a collective guerilla force made up of civilians and besieged the city of Daraa on April 25. On the same day, Assad forces responded harshly, killing hundreds of civilians, and forcing an even larger number of people to displacement. Turkish and Syrian governments had enjoyed a close relationship until this point; with a visa-free accord and open-door policy, the first group of displaced people started to arrive in Turkey. Following this besiege, the first Syrian refugee camps started to emerge at Turkey's side of the border (UNHCR, 2010). Nevertheless, displacement to neighboring countries at this stage of the conflict was low; yet the number of displaced people sheltered in refugee camps at Turkey's border reached 7,000 by mid-June (Kirişçi, 2014). By early 2012, the government of Syria had intensified its response to the protestors and cities were under heavy shelling.

As the violence continued to increase and spread across the different parts of the country, Syrians were witnessing not only the destruction carried out by the regime but also by armed opposition groups. In a state of chaos, civilians became unable to reach water reserves, food and many public services and saw the collapse of the economy. A significant increase in the cases of criminal violence such as kidnapping and looting were also reported (Kirişçi, 2014). Although violence was the

initiator of both internal and external displacement, the rest of the struggles pertaining to blockages from everyday life went down like dominoes and exhilarated the flow of people to the borders. UNHCR reported that nearly 3 million Syrians were forcibly displaced to different countries (mainly Turkey, Iraq, Lebanon, and Jordan) and 6.5 million were displaced internally by mid-2014. By mid-2012, small groups had made it to European countries by sea and the numbers of similar attempts continued to increase throughout 2014 which prompted EU countries to either close their borders or impose quota restrictions on the number of refugees allowed into their countries. However, as these restrictions were not enough to stop refugees from passing into Europe, EU signed an agreement with Turkey in 2015 to control the flow of refugees from Turkey to Greek Islands, EU-Turkey Statement, which entailed returning each refugee to Turkey once they reached Greek Islands. With the restrictions brought onto Turkey with this Statement and its open-door policy, Turkey had become the host for the largest number of refugees in the world by the end of 2014.

As civilians were facing extreme cases of violence and conflict in Syria and made their ways to conflict-free zones, Turkey was undergoing serious changes not only in its government but also in its migration policies. The following section traces the changes in Turkey's administration and migration policies between 1994 to 2001 to shed light on policies that were in effect when the first groups of refugees started to arrive.

4.1.2 Developments in Turkey: 1994-2001

The previous chapter explained Turkey's transition from a military rule to a more democratic structure under Motherland Party (ANAP) which caused drastic changes in the country's political structure by favoring liberalization in its economic and international policies; yet still maintained the military's concerns for national security as it became evident through the enactment of Anti-Terror Law in 1990. Our analysis showed that these security concerns were reflected on the portrayal of the displaced people as they were strictly labelled as sığınmacı (asylum-seekers), a term that was generated to differentiate between the displaced people arriving from European countries (who would be labelled mülteci (refugee) and Eastern countries. This differentiation had only been visible in rhetoric and soon became official with the enactment of 1994 Asylum Regulation[51] which perpetuated the geographical limitation brought onto the 1951 Geneva Convention by officially defining non-European displaced people seeking refuge in Turkey as sığınmacı.

The 1994 Asylum Regulation not only limited the time non-European displaced people were allowed to stay in Turkey (until they would be resettled in a third country) but also allowed the state to halt mass groups of displaced people at the border before they could arrive in Turkey. It also specified some precautions to be taken against a mass influx of non-European people to the border. These precautions included the identification of the displaced people by taking records of

[51] See Türkiye'ye İltica Eden veya Başka Bir Ülkeye İltica Etmek Üzere Türkiye'den İkamet İzni Talep Eden Münferit Yabancılar ile Topluca Sığınma Amacıyla Sınırlarımıza Gelen Yabancılara ve Olabilecek Nüfus Hareketlerine Uygulanacak Usul ve Esaslar Hakkında Yönetmelik 'Regulation No. 6169/1994 on the Procedures and Principles related to Possible Population Movements and Aliens Arriving in Turkey either as Individuals or in Groups Wishing to Seek Asylum either from Turkey or Requesting Residence Permission in order to Seek Asylum From Another Country' (Resmi Gazete, 1994).

their fingerprints and documentations, disarming them, and keeping them under close observation throughout the time they spend in Turkey. This way, it prioritized national security over considerations for the rights of displaced people (İçduygu & Aksel, 2013; Kirişçi, 2014). We suggest that this regulation in fact legalized the actions Turkish government took in sheltering the Iraqi Kurds three years[52] after they left Turkey and recognized the terms (such as sığınmacı, tehdit and güvenlik) that had already been foregrounded by the Turkish media during their reception. The 1994 Asylum Regulation is important for us as it was the first regulation by which Turkish government revisited its migration policies since the enactment of its Settlement Law in 1934 and it was still legitimate when the first group of Syrian civillians arrived at Turkey's border. We argue that this regulation was completely disregarded in this case due to Turkey's motives of becoming an active player in the Middle East and strengthening its bonds with Muslim populations. Yet, let us take a few steps back here and explain why we believe Turkey was motivated this way.

The incumbent party at the time of Iraqi Kurds' migration to Turkey, ANAP, lost the majority of seats in the parliament in 1991 elections and gradually lost its supporters until some of its core members left the party to start their own in 2001. Taking the stage at a time when Turkish public was growing restless with several failing coalitions, AKP quickly rose to incumbency in 2002 and it still maintains this position in our day. One of its founding members and significant actors in the Syrian refugee crisis, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, became the leader of the party (2001-2014), the prime minister of Turkey (2003-2014), the president of Turkey, and the leader of AKP once again. Spread throughout almost two decades, AKP's incumbency has

[52] Such as not allowing the Iraqi Kurds inside its border initially, then allowing them to enter only the camps along the border, limiting the journalists' access to the camps and not allowing the Iraqi Kurds to apply for a refugee status.

caused drastic changes in Turkey's political, societal, and economic structures. It seems that AKP has been motivated to become a leading country among Muslim countries in the Middle East and improve its trade with them not only for economic growth but also for religious solidarity; and we justify this claim in the framework of relations between Syria and Turkey in the following section.

4.1.3 AKP's influence over Turkey's migration and international relations policies: 2002-2014

As it could also be understood from its geographical limitation and 1994 Regulation, Turkey had followed a tradition of "minimal engagement with the Middle East" (Tolay, 2012) which underwent an increasingly significant change with AKP. Shortly after it rose to incumbency, AKP introduced its "Zero Problems with the Neighbors" policy for which its relationship with Syria became a perfect example. The two countries had a checkered past due to problems in water resources and Kurdish guerilla forces which were hosted in Syria. Following the invasion of Iraq, Syrian government was facing economic difficulties which enticed it to promote its trade with Turkey. Similarly, AKP's main propaganda at the time was for economic stability and growth which was thought to benefit from improved trade with the Middle East (Benek, 2016). The two countries shortly signed a free trade deal[53], arranged joint military operations; and most importantly, signed accords allowing for visa-free passage between the two states. When declaring the visa-free passage, the Foreign Affairs Minister of Turkey at the time, Ahmet Davutoğlu, declared "Our

[53] The Association Agreement between the Republic of Turkey and the Syrian Arab Republic was signed on 22 December 2004 in Damascus and entered into force on 1 January 2007.

slogan is a joint destiny, a joint history and a joint future" speaking in both Arabic and Turkish[54]. This visa-free passage was one of the reasons why Syrian civilians chose Turkey as one of their main destinations and allowed a majority of them a safe passage from the border in the initial phases of the migration. On top of the visa-free passage accords, Turkish government declared an open-door policy and committed to the principle of non-refoulment as dictated by the 1951 Geneva Convention, ignoring the precautions it had announced in 1994 Regulation.

Apart from their economic and military alliance, religion was an important drive for the relationship between the two countries. In its earlier days, AKP strongly denied its portrayal as an Islamist party; and, emphasizing that it is a secular government, it enjoyed close relationships with European countries (Taşpınar, 2012; Kirişçi, 2014). However, a study conducted on AKP leaders' rhetoric as reflected by several Turkish newspapers between 2001 and 2017 found that most of the Islam-related discussions could be traced back to AKP and specifically Erdoğan, with one third of quotations from him directly or indirectly relating to religious issues such as headscarves and the importance of religion in one's private life (Shukri & Hossain, 2017). In fact, Erdoğan declared the ties his government has with the Muslim world openly. Having won the elections in June 2011, Erdoğan stated that this victory was for ""Bosnia as much as Istanbul, Beirut as much as Izmir, Damascus as much as Ankara" which was met with high applause from the Syrian government (Vračić, 2014). This emphasis on religious solidarity added to the collaboration between the two governments until they came to a breaking point in 2012. Yet it was not supported by a vast majority of citizens in Turkey, as the main opposition

[54] https://www.dunya.com/gundem/turkey-syria-sign-strategic-deal-lift-visa-requirements-haberi-93027

Republican People's Party (CHP) would attack on this religious emphasis by claiming it jeopardizes the democratic and secular values in Turkey.

In the meantime, Turkey was going under a harmonization process to European Union regulations and policies. In line with this process, it issued Action Plan on Asylum and Migration in 2005 which entailed lifting the geographical limitations it brought onto the 1951 Geneva Convention. There was serious controversy over this action plan as there were fears of it turning Turkey into a "dumping ground"; yet it was supported by the new Settlement Law of November 2006 which promoted the liberalization of migration policies (İçduygu & Aksel, 2013). On the other hand, this settlement law limited formal migration to those of "Turkish descent and culture" once again. The Action Plan of 2005 and Settlement Law of 2006 were in force when Syrian refugees started to arrive in Turkey; however, we should also note here that its articles such as the one that limited legal migration to those of Turkish descent were not publicly discussed. The Action Plan of 2005 and Settlement Law of 2006 together would dictate allowing the Syrians into the country not as migrants but as refugees; however, the representatives of the Turkish government did not refer to these policies when they were discussing the steps to be followed when receiving the Syrians. Thus, it can be said that Turkey was already moving towards removing its geographical limitations on the 1951 Geneva Convention under EU's influence, yet the religious ties and humanitarian aid for its neighbors was put forward to justify for the open-door policy.

It is assumed that Turkey had not envisioned such a mass influx of refugees and this was another reason why it willingly imposed an open-door policy (Aras & Karakaya Polat, 2008; Kirişçi, 2014) while high-ranking politicians referring to the

refugees as "guests". One of the prolific columnists of this subcorpus, Mustafa Balbay writes,

> The ever increasing number of Syrian asylum-seekers after the civil war that broke out in Syria in 2010 has enticed AKP government instead of daunting it. Supposedly, we would welcome our brothers in the neighbour with open arms; we would embrace them no matter how many people came. We would overthrow Assad quickly and achieve determinancy in Syria. Unfortunately, that is not how the story went down (Cumhuriyet, June 22, 2015, p.8)[55].

From Balbay and his readers' perspective, the increasing numbers of refugees should have been something to be afraid of for the government but, as he claims, it had the opposite impact. After this introduction, he moves onto deliberate on how Turkey could not resolve the matter as quickly as it had imagined and how Syrian refugees were actually leaving the camps and mixing with the Turkish population. Although his position is against the reception of refugees in this matter, the information he provides is accurate. In the initial phases of the displacement, Syrians who crossed into Turkey were not obliged to remain in the camps and could move to cities of their choosing which resulted in an increased visibility of refugees among the public. The topics of discussion on refugees at the camps quickly turned into discussions on urban refugees (Kirişçi, 2014).

As it became clearer that the conflict in Syria would not come to an end soon, Turkish government was led to rethink the status of Syrians in Turkey and define a status of "temporary protection" in 2013 with its Law 6458/2013 on Foreigners and International Protection. Law 6458 freed Directorate General of Internal Security of its responsibilities for the displaced people arriving at Turkey and enabled the establishment of Directorate General of Migration Management. Considering the

[55] 2010 yılında Suriye'de başlayan iç savaşın ardından giderek artan Suriyeli sığınmacı sayısı, AKP hükümetini ürkütmek yerine heveslendirdi. Sözüm ona komşudaki kardeşlerimize kucak açıyorduk; kaç kişi gelirse gelsin onları bağrımıza basacaktık. Zaten Esad'ı da tez zamanda devirip, Suriye'de belirleyici olacaktık. Ne var ki olaylar böyle gelişmedi.

1994 Regulation was also removed, it can be said that the security precautions Turkey had taken following the migration of Iraqi Kurds were gradually removed and a more systematic approach was adopted as Syrians continuted to arrive in Turkey.

Given the change in Turkey's government which was openly advocating for improved societal and economic relations with Muslim countries and its already established economic relations with the Syrian government, Turkey was motivated to portray itself as a reliable shelter for the Muslims fleeing conflict. On the other hand, it still had a close relationship with European Union which compelled Turkey to adjust its policies to their standards and act as a buffer-zone to keep refugees from passing into Europe. It was in such a dichatomic situation when Syrian refugees started to arrive in Turkey which might have led to Turkey's multifaceted approach to this wave of migration. and we believe that Turkish government was motivated to benefit from this dichotomy by way of acting both as a protector not only of Muslims in need but also of European Union from the influx of refugees. Thus, we expect these motives to reflect on the language of the media, especially in Habertürk*'s* news stories, and the frequent quotations from the government. We also expect to see a combination of the reference terms (sığınmacı, göçmen and mülteci) we have analyzed earlier at close ratios with Turkey's welcoming attitude towards the refugees on the incumbent party's side and the objections that have been raised in line with their numbers by the opposition.

4.2 The corpus based critical discourse analysis of Corpus_2010s

The subcorpus analyzed in this chapter, Corpus_2010s, includes the news stories that were published by Cumhuriyet and Habertürk newspapers between December 2014 and December 2017; and contains 1,031 texts with a total number of 382,940 words. There are 613 texts from Habertürk and 418 texts from Cumhuriyet. Although the number of texts in this subcorpus increase by two-fold compared to the case of Bulgarian Turks and five-fold compared to the case of Iraqi Kurds, we cannot say that we have a regular increase in the amounts of news publications on the displaced people. . In fact, as Table 8 shows, the printing frequency (as indicated through the words per month count) of the news on the displaced Syrians is almost the same with the frequency of the words printed per month on Iraqi-Kurds. We had explained the increase in the amount of words from the case of 1950s to 1991 through the advances in technology that rendered printing longer articles easier and allowed for printing more often.

Table 8. Corpora Meta Information

Corpus	Total No of Texts	Total No of Words	Duration/months	Words per Month
Corpus_50s	587	101,943	Jan 1950-52/ 36	2,831
Corpus_91	236	126,086	1991/12	10,507
Corpus_2010s	1,031	382,940	Dec 2014-17/ 36	10,637

The similar amount of words per month we see with Iraqi Kurds and Syrians on the other hand, shows that there is a limit to the coverage the displaced people are allowed and defies our claim that the advances in technology leads to a wider coverage of the displaced people. It could also be that the coverage in other media outlets such as TV news and social media news became the dominant spheres in

which the displaced people were represented and thus they were not given a larger space in the print media. However, we do not support this claim as the newspapers extend in length from 1991 to 2010s with even longer articles on other topics. The fact that this increase does not reflect on the news coverage of the displaced people supports our claim that there is a limit to the media attention allowed for the displaced people.

By the same token, we see that the texts in Corpus_2010s were much shorter (approximately 200 to 300 words per article) than the ones in Corpus_1991 (with approximately 400-600 words per article). This information can indicate that there was a shift in printing trends which has made it more feasible to print shorter articles; however, it can also show that the observations and debates on the displaced people between 2014 and 2017 were more limited than they were in 1991. We will argue that both were effective as we observed narratives that were divided into several short articles[56], yet we encountered much less observation and debates on the circumstances of the displaced people (as the number of opinion columns especially decrease with Habertürk). Yet, let us first explain the structure of our texts and the sources they quote in order as we have done in our previous chapters to shed light on this argument.

The referernce terms we identified in Corpus_2010s were similar to the ones we had identified in our previous chapters; however their distribution and frequency showed sigficant differences. In our previous chapters, one reference term indicating the political status of the displaced people such as göçmen *(*immigrant) for Bulgarian Turks and sığınmacı (asylum-seeker) for Iraqi Kuds would show the highest

[56] For example, the scandal of a shopowner who assaulted a Syrian child for stealing would be covered in the news stories printed on three consecutive days with short notes referring to the previous articles. (Habertürk, January 23, 2015)

frequency throughout the corpora, making them our main terms of reference for these groups. In the case of Syrians, we see that there is an even distribution of the terms sığınmacı (asylum-seeker), mülteci (refugee) and göçmen (immigrant) whereas the word *suriyeli* 'syrian' returns the highest number of hits in the corpus as it is dominantly used before the other terms as in suriyeli göçmen *(*syrian immigrants) or suriyeli sığınmacılar (syrian asylum-seekers). The high frequency of the word suriyeli shows that ethnicity is still the most important feature to identify the displaced people in the news stories; whereas the even distribution of terms indicating different political identifications shows that the status of the Syrians was not agreed upon by the Turkish media, public and the politicans who preferred either one of these terms. Table 9[57] shows the distribution of these reference terms and their collocates.

Table 9. Reference Terms and Collocates in Corpus_2010s

Reference Term	No. of hits/ In no. of texts	Collocates	Translation of Collocates
Suriyeli 'Syrian'	3,666/969	çocuk, türkiye, bin, sığınmacı, mülteci, gel, milyon, kadın, sayı, aile, göçmen, eğitim, kavga	child, Turkey, thousand, asylum-seeker, refugee, come, million, woman, number, immigrant, education, fight
Sığınmacı 'Asylum-seeker'	1,252/337	suriyeli, bin, milyon, Avrupa, polis, AB, çocuk, kadın	Syrian, thousand, million, Europe, police, EU, child, woman
Mülteci 'Refugee'	1,171/345	Suriyeli, bin, Türkiye, milyon, kabul, BM, mülteci yüksek komiserliği	Syrian, thousand, million, Europe, receive, UN, UNHCR
Göçmen 'Immigrant'	1,050/259	kaçak, Suriyeli,bin, fazla, Avrupa'ya, dram, kurtarılan	illegal, Syrian, thoysand, more, to Europe, tragedy, saved

[57] See Appendix C for the full list of frequent words in Corpus_2010s.

Except for Suriyeli ‘Syrian’ which clearly is an identification through ethnicity, the three reference terms, “Sığınmacı, Mülteci and Göçmen” each signify a different political status. In Corpus_91, we had seen that defining a displaced person as a Sığınmacı would result from the geography they emigrated from and it would allow more limited rights and freedom in comparison with a Mülteci. Thus, the definition of these three words in the law differed from one another, dictating different methods of reception to those under these classifications. In addition, we had mentioned that new classifications such as geçici korumadakiler *(*those under temporary protection) or ikincil koruma (subsidiary protection) were introduced by Turkey’s migration policies; yet we do not see any of these newly fabricated terms among the frequent reference terms in Corpus_2010s. To us, this shows that the representation of the displaced people in our final period of analysis differs from the previous one as there is no consensus over the political status of the Syrians by the media,

First, it indicates that ethnicity is a significant feature to foreground with the displaced people as each period we have analyzed had a strong emphasis on ethnicity. Secondly, it shows that although the government comes up with new political identifications for the displaced people with the arrival of Syrians such as “those under temporay protection” these are not adapted by the media. The collocates indicate that their numbers were again an important discussion point as almost each definition of the displaced people came with a number before it. In this sense they are similar, however, one should not miss that each reference term shows a slightly different frame than the other. Police is an important collocate for the reference term Sığınmacı (asylum seeker) and it is the most common word in domestic news stories; on the other hand, when an organization such as UNHCR is mentioned, the reference term switches to Mülteci (refugee). Along with this change, we had also explained

that Turkey signed a deal with EU to keep the refugees in Turkey so it can be that Turkey started to adapt to the EU terms in time.

4.3 The types of texts, quotations and themes of discussion

In the previous chapter, we observed new categories in the headings of the news stories as we moved from 1950s to 1991. Similarly, we saw an increased variety in the categorization of the news stories in Corpus_2010s. While we had only three categories in 1950s, we observed 8 different categories in Corpus_2010s which not only marks a change in printing trends of the newspapers (as they become more structured in time) but also shows that newspapers target specific readers through specific categories. Table 10 shows the news story categories identified in Corpus_2010s and the distribution of news stories under these categories. A cursory look at this table can show how many different areas of life the displaced people were in contact once they were allowed into the country.

Table 10. Types of Texts in Corpus_2010*s*

Type	Number of Texts			Total No of Words
	Cumhuriyet	Habertürk	Total	
Domestic	279	529	808	278,524
Foreign	35	38	73	25,16
Opinion	54	6	60	41,074
Business/Life	3	25	28	12,36
Economy	23	2	24	9,952
Culture/Art	18	2	20	11,613
Health	14	6	14	3,584
Gossip	0	3	3	673

Here we see that news stories on specific issues such as the developments in economy or the announcement of social and cultural events, which would be placed under domestic category in previous corpora, have their own categories. This change limits the topics that are covered under domestic news stories to only the experiences of civillians, displaced people (such as their gatherings, deaths, daily struggles) and the speeches and announcements made by politicians on current events. We believe that this is an important finding as the majority of the news stories from Habertürk and Cumhuriyet are printed under this category, indicating that the news coverage relating to the experiences of the displaced people are placed among the news targeted for the general public and the events concerning them are not separated with a different category as we saw with "wartime_columns" category in Corpus_91. For a wider and improved coverage of the displaced people in the media, such categorization comes with a positive and a negative outcome: it allows people who are not necessarily concerned with the displaced people to have the chance to encounter their stories more often; however, it also limits the amount of observation and deliberation on their statues as the majority of the news stories under this category are short, descriptive narratives.

4.3.1 Domestic news stories and quotations from the Turkish government

The distribution of quotations in domestic news category were quite different from the previous periods, as we see that there are 469 texts with no citations, 111 texts with quotations from the displaced people, 103 quoting Turkish government (with only 13 of these written by Cumhuriyet), and 69 news stories quoting Turkish

citizens. The domestic news stories of Corpus_2010s is the first news story category in our corpora to include more quotations from the displaced people than other sources. We explain this finding through dispersion of the displaced people to a large number of cities, making it more feasible to access them; and Cumhuriyet's continuing conflict with the AKP government. We suggest that, differing from the state controlled media agencies such as Habertürk which would hold back from criticizing the incumbent party, Cumhuriyet conducts interviews with the Syrians, asking them about the struggles they face such as financial and integration difficulties. Among these, the ones that do not include any quotations are short news stories with scandalous content such as the beating of a Syrian child or the fights between the locals and the displaced people. The tone in these texts are more neutral than the language we observed in 1950s with strong uses of suffixes of inclusion such as saying *göçmenlerimiz* 'our immigrants'; a limited number of adjectives are used and the displaced people are referred to in the third person singular. To illustrate we can give the following example from Habertürk,

> The fight over a girl ends with murder
> Syrian Hasan Veysi who got stabbed lost his life in the hospital during treatment.
> Blood was shed as a fight broke out on a social media platform between two Syrian groups and was later carried to the street.
> Syrian Hasan Veysi (18) who got stabbed lost his life in the hospital during treatment (January 21, 2015, p.10)[58].

There are many examples of similar cases of reporting the fights, murders, and kidnapping of Syrians under the domestic category and as the example shows these are very short texts inform ing the public of a "scandal". They employ lots of

[58] Kız kavgası cinayetle bitti
Bıçaklanan Suriyeli Hasan Veysi, tedavi gördüğü hastanede hayatını kaybetti
Bursa'da Suriyeli iki grup arasında sosyal paylaşım sitesinde başlayan ve sokağa taşan kız kavgasında kan aktı.
Bıçaklanan Suriyeli Hasan Veysi (18) tedavi gördüğü hastanede hayatını kaybetti.

repetition and focus on cases of violence only, without deliberating or quoting the people they mention. In this example, we see that the author deems it enough to only share the reason behind the fight as "over a girl" and does not go into further details; however, they repeat that this fight occured between Syrian groups and a Syrian man was hurt indicating that the actors of this news story is in fact more important than what happened. Similarly, the news story is not concerned with delivering what happened to the victim Hasan Veysi as an individual. We claim that the ethnicity of the actor is important here as we would be provided on details on their families and time/place of their burial in the news stories on the tragic deaths of Turkish civillians; however, we are not provided with any of that information in this news story. We believe that this example is important to understand the remaining domestic news stories in this corpus as the lemma "öl" *(*die) returns 654 matches in 277 texts, placing "death" as one of our most frequent keywords, and thus themes of discussion, in this category[59]. Since the same lemma returns 896 matches when we search for it throughout the Corpus_2010s, we can say the domestic category was heavily dedicated to cover the deaths of the displaced people in Turkey with a quarter of them including the lemma "öl".

Among other frequent keywords in domestic category were, "çocuk" (child) with 1,557 matches in 406 different texts; "bin" (thousand) with 847 matches in 262 texts; "kadın" (woman) with 670 matches in 238 different text and "güvenlik" (security) with 432 matches in 209 different texts. In this sense, the keywords of the domestic news stories in this case of displacement differs highly from the previous

[59] There were similar words such as "cinayet" 'murder' which returns 58 matches in 31 texts, "hayatını kaybetti" 'lost their lives' with 68 matches in 54 texts, that could be counted together with the lemma "öl"; however, we believe that showing the frequency of "öl" itself is enough to support our claim.

subcorpora in three aspects: i) the increased visibility of death, ii) the focus on women and children and iii) removing “yardım” (aid) from the discussion.

First, we have an unprecedented emphasis on the deaths of the displaced people and we believe that the groups of displaced people who were spread out to different cities, the “urban refugees”, were effective in this portrayal. They did not live in a camp away from the public but the tragic events that happened to them would take place in the same streets, workplaces and parks Turkish people visited everyday. The deaths of the displaced people were frequently mentioned in the displacement process of Iraqi Kurds as well; however, we would be provided with only the numbers and their deaths would be mentioned in wartime columns that were written to inform the public on the events taking place at the camps. In the case of Syrians, we see that their names and the cause of death are also identified in individual domestic news stories.

Second, the domestic news stories of this period identify and focus on different groups among the displaced people such as women and children. This is an important finding for us as the identification of the children and women separately from the whole group of displaced people shows that the media of this period goes beyond focusing on the displaced people solely on their political status but pays attention to their characteristics which in return enlarges the portrayal of the displaced people. It also allows focusing on individual problems faced by these groups. We will explore the extent of the discussion on women and children in our analysis of themes of discussion.

Coming back to the third leg of our analysis of the keywords in domestic news stories, we see that a keyword that had dominated the previous two chapters “yardım” (aid) only returns 315 matches 192 texts. This is a very important finding

for our research, as we believe that this ties closely with the motivations behind AKP's open door policy. Given the opposition from not only political parties but also a large number of citizens, collecting donations and aid, and announcing them would be contradictory or even harmful to AKP's motives. Our introduction had explained that Turkey has made significant systematic changes to its migration policies which would facilitate the enactment of some of the basic rights assigned to the displaced people such as education, employment and access to health care by the 1951 Geneva Convention. These rights were addressed as "services" which the Turkish government could "choose" to put into action (Ayselin Yıldız, 2016; Kirişçi, 2014). As Turkish government extended the right to apply for work permits in 2016, for driver's licenses in 2018[60] among many others, steps towards an integrated and working Syrian population were being taken. However, these steps were not taken as openly as they were in previous waves of displacement. We see that Turkish government continues to cover the majority of expanses for the Syrian Refugees (Ayselin Yıldız, 2016) addressing them as "(sosyal) destek" *'(*social) support'. The word "destek" was used in 99 texts in domestic news category, while the word "yardım" appeared 506 times in 233 different texts.

An interesting finding was that the language of the media and the government representatives differed when talking about the donations/services provided for the displaced people. The quotations from the Turkish governmental representatives showed that they used the word destek (support) 88 times and yardım (aid) 42 times throught their speeches as cited by the newspapers. It should be added here that these words were used interchangeably in 12 news stories so the line between the two may night not have been as clear as one would expect. However, it is important for us to

[60] See https://www.haberler.com/yabanciya-ehliyet-sinavinda-dil-kolayligi-11266609-haberi/

see that the word destek almost replaces the word yardım as destek has the connotations of solidarity and equality between the provider and the receiver; whereas yardım can be taken as something that is provided to someone in need and who is at a worse standing in the social hierarchy. Moreover, it was very unexpected to observe that one of out strongest keywords yardım in previous cases of displacement suddenly ceased to be a keyword at all in this period. While the word *yardım* was observerd 549 times in 186 texts in the Corpus_50s and 501 times in 203 texts in Corpus_91; it was used 332 times in 178 texts in Corpus_2010s, causing a sharp descrease in the frequency of its use especially if we think back of the increasing sizes of these corpora. As the drop in the frequency of yardım (aid) suggests, the aids and donations for the Syrian refugees were not as publicly discussed as they were in 1950s and 1991. In fact, several calls to Turkish government have been made to declare the amounts of the aid and donations provided for the Syrian refugees (Kirişçi, 2014).

To bring this section to a conclusion, we can say that the majority of our news stories were made up of domestic news stories that were descriptive texts. These, for the first time in our analysis, have given a voice to the displaced people, even slightly more than they did to the government. We saw that, the portrayal of the displaced people was enlarged with new focus groups such as children and women becoming more visible. We also observed that the expenses made for the displaced people were significantly less talked about, a topic we will come back with the opinion writings.

4.3.2 Foreign news stories

The foreign news stories of this period are similar to the previous periods in that they inform the public on events taking place in different countries or on international relations; sometimes news stories that were direct translations from foreign newspapers on events taking place in Turkey would also be within this category. With the displacement of Syrians, we saw an increase with the overall number of foreign news stories, yet the coverage on Turkey was limited. Unlike 1991, Turkey was not at a "media war" with the "West" and in fact was opening the gates of its refugee camps to foreign newspapers instead of its own newspapers. Cumhuriyet and Habertürk trace the journey of the displaced people to Turkey in their foreign news stories yet they do so by only citing news agencies such as NY Times, BBC, and CBS. It is highly interesting to see that both newspapers abstain from observing the displaced people at the camps and at shelters and organizations responsible with refugee response; and instead, cites the narrative of international news agencies to inform the public on these places. this might be closely linked to the limitations brought onto the media, as Turkish journalists were not allowed inside the camps. Due to these limitations, we see a larger number of observations in the foreign news stories compared to domestic news stories, however their frequency is again lower than the frequency of observations made in 1991 with wartime columns. Yet, we can say that the limitations brought onto the freedom of the press in accessing the displaced people is bypassed through foreign news agencies, instead of printing elaborate observations on the state of the displaced people as the newspapers did in 1991.

4.3.3 Opinion columns

The opinion columns in our previous chapters had similar frequencies in both of the newspapers we analyzed. The huge gap between their in the two newspapers analyzed in Corpus_2010s easily attracts the attention and can be linked with the limitations brought onto the freedom of the press that we discussed with foreign news stories. Milliyet could show a higher percentage of opinion columns; however, this still does not explain why a newspaper such as Habertürk that frequently gives place to opinion columns on various subjects would have such a low number of opinion columns on the topic of displaced people. We had mentioned that Cumhuriyet*'s* relations with the government had deteriorated greatly from 2013 onwards, and we saw that Cumhuriyet does not often quote the Turkish government representatives. Instead of engaging with the displaced people through its own journalists, Cumhuriyet portrays the displaced people through the words of foreign news agencies and dominantly in opinion columns which discuss the political and economic repercussions of allowing the displaced people into the country. Apart from rare instances where a professor or a writer is invited to write on the status of the displaced people, Cumhuriyet's opinion columns, which amounts to 90 percent of the opinion columns in this category, ceases to engage with the displaced people and can be portrayed as more focused on the criticism for the government.

4.3.4 Categories on business, social life, art, and health

As the newspapers became more organized, new categories such as Business (economy), Life and Health emerged. Overall, the displaced people were not the direct objects of the discussions in these newly emerging categories. However, there were a limited number of articles that were specifically written about them. As we claimed earlier, we suggest that emergence of discussions on the displaced people in these categories can be tied to their integration to the daily life through their vast number, extended stay, and geographical distribution. One proof of this claim can be the fact that the commentaries that were observed in Corpus_2010s on the health of the displaced people were actually commentaries on concerns about general public health. We had observed articles on the health of the displaced people in previous period; with the news stories being concerned with the well-being of Bulgarian Turks in 1950s, the deaths contagious illnesses that surfaced among Iraqi Kurds in the camps in 1991. However, the concerns over Syrians' health was unlike the two before as they were concerned with neither their well-being nor their deaths. Instead, there were articles that followed up the vaccinations of the Syrian children and discussions of possible outbreaks that could emerge if these vaccinations were not provided. In this way, the news stories printed under health category were provided as a record of sanitation of the "urban refugees".

Unlike the previous periods, the business and economy categories mentioned the cost of hosting refugees in terms of increased unemployment and the decrease in tourism directly for the first time. When these costs are mentioned, the tone of the

texts become more exclusionary as the displaced people become portrayed as "invaders" of a source of revenue.

On August 15, 2015, Cumhuriyet writes,

> Having completed the first leg of our tourism series in Istanbul, we arrive in Bodrum. A hotspot for British tourists, Bodrum' streets are nearly all invaded by Syrian immigrants. Planning on making their ways to Greece with their life vests and black plastic bags in their hands at every park and every street, Syrian refugees have replaced the tourist which would visit Bodrum. There is not a soul around in the streets (p.7)[61].

We see that the words refugee and immigrant are used interchangeably, defying their clear differentiations in the law. Yet, this does not mean that the context of these words was completely overlooked; instead, we suggest two explanations for this interchangeability. As the word göçmen would be used for the people who would settle in Turkey after displacement, the extended stay of the Syrians might have paved the way for representing them as migrants who will eventually settle in the country. It might have also occurred due to the emergence of a new connotation for the word immigrant in international policies. As we discussed earlier, the displaced people who were making their ways into Europe (especially by the sea) in 2015 were called immigrants by both international and national news agencies in phrases such as "illegal immigrants" as used by governmental representatives and "irregular immigrants" as used by non-governmental organizations. Thus, the context of migrating by the sea could be at work here for the interchangeable use of these words.

Coming back to the analysis of the quotation provided above, we see that the journalist reports their observations without quoting anyone and does not abstain

61 Turizm dizimizin İstanbul ayağından sonraki ikinci ayağı Bodrum'dayız. İngiliz turistlerin uğrak yeri Bodrum'da bu yıl sokakları adeta Suriyeli göçmenler işgal etmiş durumda. Her parkta, her sokak arasında elinde siyah poşetlerin içindeki can yelekleri ve botlarla Yunanistan'a kaçma planı yapan Suriyeli mülteciler bu yıl Bodrum'a gelecek turistlerin yerini aldı . Sokaklarda adeta in cin top oynuyor.

from commenting negatively on the presence of the displaced people in touristic parts. Our chapter on the displacement of Iraqi Kurds had examined the fear of loss in tourism and its relation to displaced people. It had argued that such a fear could lead to avoiding empathy with the displaced people as the people of host country are led to think that empathizing with them would harm their own citizens. Similarly, we see that when local businesses are thought to be affected, the tone becomes more negative with words such as "invasion" and the displaced people are not given a say. In fact, it was seen that the reporters from Cumhuriyet interviewed several shop-owners in touristic areas and extensively covered their discomfort from hosting the displaced people. Habertürk also gave place to news stories that depicted the discomfort; however, their coverage was not as elaborate as in Cumhuriyet. To illustrate, Habertürk writes,

> One of the most important tourism centers in Turkey, Bodrum, is under the influx of illegal immigrants. The immigrants who try to cross to the Greek islands by boats, sleep on the parks and the maria under the puzzled gazes of the tourists. The shop owners say, "The events are tragic, but they also affect tourism badly" (June 15, 2015, p.6)[62].

Here we see that the problems with tourism are brought forward and the displaced people are portrayed as the cause, especially with the active tone in which they are mentioned with the words akın (influx) or geçmeye çalışan (try to cross). On the other hand, we also observe that, without showing a direct source for their quotation, Habertürk still maintains that the shop owners feel for the struggle the displaced people face as understood from the word tragic. Unlike Cumhuriyet, it does not emphasize their existence at "every park and every city" but still informs the reader

[62] Türkiye'nin en önemli turizm merkezlerinden Bodrum, kaçak göçmenlerin akınına uğradı. Botlarla Yunan adalarına geçmeye çalışan göçmenler, yabancı turistlerin şaşkın bakışları arasında yat limanı ve parklarda yatıp kalkıyor. Esnaf, "Yaşanan dram ancak turizm olumsuz etkileniyor" diyor.

of their locations. In this sense, Habertürk uses a neutral tone that does not directly blame the displaced people for the losses but considers them as part of the problem.

Apart from articles concerning everyday life events, there was a specific category called Kültür Sanat *"*culture and arts*"* which was low in number but had a very different portrayal of the displaced people. These news stories reflected on the displaced artists, writers, and filmmakers adding to the enlarged portrayal of the displaced people. Some of these figures talked about the struggles the displaced people faced and used their visibility to shed light on the visibility of others. Interestingly, all of these articles referred to the displaced people as refugees.

The variety we see in these categories is reflective of the various fields the displaced people started to touch in the host country, and it allows a multi-faceted portrayal. Rather than being "productive farmers" or "those who are under temporary protection" now the displaced people have jobs, artistic products, and health concerns which can impact the Turkish society. Moreover, they are not defined by the government's rhetoric as we saw in the previous chapters. The society has their own experiences with the displaced people and these experiences, such as witnessing them as they attempt to cross the sea or fighting for the wellbeing of their children inform their identification. Having explored our reference terms and categorization of our texts we can move onto explaining the main themes of discussion in this corpus and identification and empathization trends we observed with these themes.

4.3.5 One ethnicity, three statuses: the polyonomous displaced people

Our analysis of the reference terms shows that Suriyeli was the dominant name attributed to the displaced people of this period and it was followed by an even distribution of the reference terms göçmen, mülteci, sığınmacı (immigrant, refugee and asylum-seeker). This finding provides us with a multifaceted representation of the displaced people and supports our claim that a consensus needs to be reached among the Turkish public, media and politicians for a clear representation of the Syrians. We had claimed that the abundance of the words to identify the displaced people also relates to the clash between their extended stay which provokes their identification as immigrants with uncertainty on their future presence in Turkey that provokes their identification as refugees or asylum-seekers; and, our analysis proved that the contexts in which these words were used were compatible with these clashing points. Overall, the choice of the term of reference among göçmen, sığınmacı and mülteci was in line with the previous contexts for these words that we explored with past waves of displacement; however, the case of the Syrians was the only case in which these terms were used interchangeably.

As we discussed in our introduction to this chapter, the reception of the displaced people in this period had followed a series of close connections with Syria on religious ties and political agendas. The incumbent party AKP had pioneered this close relationship and it promised to host all the displaced Syrians arriving in Turkey, a promise which was met with harsh criticism from the opposition and, as the public opinion polls suggest, a big portion of the population (Erdoğan, 2015). We believe that this polarization was effective in the names attributed to the displaced people, and the government's way of referring to them as "Suriyeli kardeşlerimiz"

‘our Syrian brothers’ or classification of them as “under temporary protection” were not adopted in the media for this reason.

Meeting the displaced people on a daily basis, the Turkish society had various ways of framing their presence. the displaced people would be called immigrants if they were mentioned in relation to an act of human trafficking, on the other hand they were referred to as refugees if they were mentioned in relation to the EU. When Turkish citizens referred directly to their experiences with the displaced people, they preferred to refer to them as “Sığınmacı” which supports our claim that these terms are marked with different social perceptions and political statuses. Similarly, when there was no citation, it was seen that the journalists again utilized all four of the reference terms, mostly “Suriyeli”, which defies the clear differentiation they made in previous cases of displacement.

Although these terms had different definitions in the law, these definitions were extended as the government extended its services to the displaced people. The definition of an asylum-seeker who could be stopped at the border had already been ignored yet the definition of a refugee who could apply for refuge in European countries could not be easily accepted by the state. As the lines separating these definitions blurred with the incumbent party’s migration policies, the clear-cut differences between the reference terms adapted for the displaced people also started to fade away.

4.3.6 Narratives on women and children

Narratives on women and children appeared as an important theme as both words had significantly high frequencies in this corpus and there were a large number of articles written specifically on these groups. The collocates with highest log-likelihood for the lemma çocuk (child) were Suriyeli (Syrian*)*, kadın (woman*)*, eğitim (education), mendil satan (selling tissues*)* and dilenen (begging) in descending order. There were a large number of news stories that narrated the stories of the Syrian children who were forced to work or beg for money in public areas. In addition, several reports were printed in this category to raise awareness of struggles Syrian children faced in accessing education. While the portrayal of the children's struggles can be taken as a step towards an inclusionary portrayal of the displaced people, the portrayal of woman slightly differs from this narrative. For the lemma "kadın" 'woman', the most frequent collocates we observed included "Suriyeli" (Syrian), "çocuk" (child), "fuhuş" (prostitution), "hamile" (pregnant), "taciz" (harassment), "gözaltı" (custody). We see that women and children are important collocates for each other as they emerge in close proximity in 94 news stories. Most of the time they are mentioned together, these words are used to signify the people who died or were injured. To illustrate we can provide the following example 'The boat that carried Syrian asylum-seekers sank in Bodrum. 17 people including 5 women and 5 children lost their lives'(September 28, 2015, Cumhuriyet) [63]. As there is not a single instance where the death of the male Syrians is underlined and no further information is provided on the identities of these women and children that were mentioned in the quotation, we believe that they were singled out only to

[63] "Suriyeli sığınmacıları taşıyan tekne Bodrum'da battı. Kazada 5'i çocuk 5'i kadın 17 kişi yaşamını yitirdi."

increase the dose of tragedy and capture the attention of the reader by doing so. Although it is in a way done to awaken pity, we could say that such a narrative again enriches the portrayal of the displaced people by adding social roles such as being mothers or daughters, social roles with which the readers could relate.

Another narrative on women that we observed in Corpus_2010s was the one which portrayed displaced women as objects of sexuality. In this second narrative women were presented as either victims of harassment and rape or the perpetuators of prostitution and fraud marriages. By saying so, it should not be thought that many cases of harassment or rape were reported; on the contrary, these cases of assault were mentioned only in 5[64] articles by Cumhuriyet that provided tentative statistics of Syrian women who were facing sexual violence and went onto calling for policy changes for protecting these anonymous women, along with a total of 8[65] articles written by both newspapers on the same case of assault which included a pregnant woman who was assaulted and raped by a Turkish man. We do not have the statistics on the number of violence cases against Syrian women as Turkish government does not keep or share such records; thus, we cannot claim that the violence Syrian women faced was not covered adequately by the media. Yet, the emphasis on prostitution and fraud marriages that will be explained followingly, shows that some of the cases that can be counted among sexual violence such as women-trafficking were in fact not considered as violence directly.

Our analysis showed that prostitution was mentioned 70 times in 27 different texts, some of which portrayed women as victims again[66] while the majority

[64] See Cumhuriyet's articles on December 12, 2014; January 18-22, June 28, August 6, 2015,
[65] See Habertürk's article "Caninin eşi R.K., Habertürk'e konuştu: Çocuğum onu öldü bilecek" on July 9, 2017.
[66] It should be noted that the women who were singled out as victims in these news stories were described as mothers once again. See Habertürk's article "Suriyeli anne aç çocukları için fuhuş yaptı" on April 25, 2015 and "'Su satarak geçinemeyince fuhuşa başladık" on August 8,2015.

mentioned “huzur operasyonları” *(*peace operations) that were conducted to capture organized units of prostitution. Finally, it was seen that woman trafficking was mentioned under the headings of “Suriyeli gelin” (Syrian bride) in 13 different texts and with various words such as “kadın almak, satmak” (purchasing and selling women) in 24 texts. To illustrate the over-all language in these texts, we can provide the following example from Cumhuriyet,

> ‘Two asylum-seekers responsible for the Karkamış camp in Gaziantep say: “You get the woman for 5 thousand TL. It can be cheaper too. You can negotiate. It is easy to leave the woman as no civil marriage is required. There are also some who mean evil. One-night stands also occur”…Another reeve M.K. explains the nature of the business: “There are some who wish to take a Syrian woman from the camp. It is needed to meet these people first… They can get permission from the directory and enter the camp. This way they take a look at the women, they meet them. Afterwards they get married with the women if they want to.’ (January 19, 2015, p.7)[67]

As the words “almak” (take, get) and “bakmak” *(*take a look) suggest, women at the camps are portrayed by these officers as objects that could be purchased and sold. The article does not give a say to the women of interest but it speaks through men who deem it normal for this act to occur. Along with their words, the tense these officers use suggests that this is not a rare incident and the fact that they say “they should meet these people first” shows us that they are not only aware of this trade but also deem themselves responsible for assisting this process.

There are similar articles to this one that discuss the normalization of woman trafficking especially at camps which neither object to the portrayal of women as objects of trade nor portray women as guilty. However, some news stories, especially the ones with the title “Suriyeli gelin” *(*Syrian bride) clearly point the finger at the

[67] Gaziantep’teki Karkamış çadır kampından sorumlu iki sığınmacı anlatıyor: “5 bin TL karşılığında kadını alırsın. Daha aşağı da olur. Pazarlık yapılır. Resmi nikâh şart olmadığı için kadını bırakmak kolay. Kötü niyetliler de var tabii. Gecelik ilişkiler de olur.” …Bir diğer muhtar M.K. işin mahiyetini anlatıyor: “Kamptan Suriyeli bir kadın almak isteyenler oluyor. Önce tanışmak lazım… İdareden kâğıt alıp içeriye girebiliyorlar. Böylece kadına bakıyor, tanışıyorlar. Sonrasında isterlerse onunla evleniyorlar.”

women by foregrounding the cases where the displaced woman promises to marry the man but later leaves with the man's money before keeping her promise. These stories are extensively covered by Habertürk as scandals and unlike the news stories on cases of sexual assault, the victims are given a say in these articles as they narrate their experiences. Thus, it would be fair to say that we observed a three-legged portrayal of women; the portrayal of displaced women in relation to the social roles (specifically the roles of a mother and a wife); portrayal of women as either victims or perpetuators of a sexual crime or trafficking which was narrated to be even more tragic if the woman was associated with the social roles of mother or and a wife; and the tragic deaths of the displaced women. Such a portrayal of displaced women differs highly from the attentive, proactive and inclusive tone in which the media portrayed the children; but it should also be noted that it differs highly from the "mother-in-need" portrayal of the displaced women in 1991 and the nonexistence of a focus on displaced women in 1950s.

4.4 Discussion

Our analysis of the news stories on the displacement of Syrians between 2014-2017 showed that as the government's prevailance in the representation of the displaced people weakened, its definitions also ceased to be implemented. The contexts we had identified for the reference term was still at play, with mülteci remaining a word that was mostly used in relation to EU and göçmen for those who remained for long terms; however, new contexts were being fabricated such as kaçak göçmenlik 'illegal migration'.

The presentation of the displaced people was identified to be detached from the government's portrayal of the displaced people which was built upon religious solidarity basis. However, an authentic and consistent narrative was also made impossible with the limitations brought onto the press. The news stories which delivered the observations of the journalists were limited in numbers and we had many translations from foreign news agencies, which can be another reason why "mülteci" was so commonly used with the Syrians whereas it was almost never used for the previous groups.

It was seen that as the displaced people spread throughout different parts of the country and gradually transformed from "refugees at the camp" to "urban refugees", the themes of discussion on their experiences increased in variety. Their experiences of violence, inability to access education and health services were put forward, creating newer aspects for understandign the identity of the displaced people. However, the majority of the themes of discussion revolved around the deaths and scandals about the displaced people, leaving this varied portrayal in the shadow.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Despite Turkey's attempts to regulate the reception of displaced people through international agreements, regulations, and new sets of laws; the fate of the displaced people in Turkey is still left to the hands of the those who hold the political power to choose or not choose to allow the displaced people the rights defined in these agreements and regulations. The rights and services provided for one group of displaced people may not be provided for the next group to come, even though Turkey has signed several agreements such as the Geneva Convention of 1951, the Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees in 1967 and issued an Action Plan in 2005 dictating equal treatment of all persons who fled from political or other forms of persecution. This is not to say that a larger number of agreements and laws are needed; on the contrary, our thesis shows that the laws and regulations of a country can easily be disregarded and new ones can be issued in line with the economic, political and social motives of the country. Instead, a systematically unbiased approach to equal representation of the displaced people is needed, not only from the politicians but also from the media, so that an unbiased treatment of the displaced people, as dictated by aforementioned laws and international agreements, can be championed.

Previous studies had shown that media could be effective in shaping the perception of the displaced people by the public (Haynes, 2009; Chouliaraki, 2011; Kampf, 2013; Pausch, 2016; Hemmelmann, 2017), and the factors that contribute to the humanization or dehumanization of the displaced people in the media (Medianu, 2013; Erdoğan, 2015; Kirkwood, 2017). Our analysis extended their claim to the

political context and showed that the welcoming or unwelcoming attitude that emerged in the media was paralleled by the application of the law which would benefit the welcomed parties (as reflected in the media) and deprive the unwelcomed ones from the rights allowed to the others. To clarify, Bulgarian Turks, who were thought be of Turkish descent and praised on this and similar grounds in the media, were entitled for services such as free housing, health-care in their own hospitals and right to become citizens. The Romani among Bulgarian Turks were portrayed as "munzır unsurlar" (dangerous entities) and were sent back to Bulgaria right away. The Iraqi-Kurds with whom Turkey had a long history of conflict, were not allowed entry beyond the camps at the border, were not provided with adequate food, shelter and health-care which resulted in the deaths of thousands of people on the mountains; while the Turkmens among Iraqi Kurds, who were portrayed to be of Turkish descent, were allowed settlement in various cities of Turkey. Similarly, Syrians who were portrayed through both inclusionary and exclusionary terms in the media, were subjected to equally conflicting policies. On the paper, they were welcomed with open arms and allowed the rights to work and settle in Turkey; whereas in reality they were deprived of the rights to apply for the status of a refugee, the rights and services allowed to them would not be supervised and they were socially excluded with a large number of conflicts and lynching attempts being reported between them and the citizens of Turkey.

Although Kant had defined Hospitality as a right that is assigned to the displaced people when they arrive in another's land and that allows becoming parts of the community through forming associations with the locals, our findings indicated that whether this right would be enacted depends heavily on the predispositions of the Host country, its economic and political motives, and the

portrayal of the displaced group in the media. We benefitted from a theory in the field of neuropsychology, the theory of motivated empathy (Weisz & Zaki, 2018) when explaining economic, political and social motives, in other words empathic motives, that result in the inclusion or exclusion of the displaced people by the political power holders in the Host country.

Our aim in this thesis was to unveil the power relations that were effective in the uneven treatment and representation of different groups of displaced people that arrived in Turkey as of 1950, through a diachronic and intersectional analysis of the codes that were used to represent the displaced people in Turkish print media and migration policies. We sought to identify the varying terms and discussions used to represent the different groups of displaced people in Turkish print media as of 1950s; explore the possible economic, political and social motives of the political power holders behind the linguistic representation strategies we observed and discuss whether these motives correlate with uneven treatment and representation of the displaced people arriving in Turkey. Thus, we examined the terms of reference selected to represent the displaced people, the change in the themes of discussion with each group and the sources that informed the news stories through quotations in the news stories while keeping an eye on the political context. Our three-legged analysis followed the methodologies of discourse historical approach (Wodak, 2001; İçduygu & Aksel, 2013) to unveil the historical and political context in which the displacement took place; the critical discourse analysis methodology (Wodak, 2001; Baker, 2008; Lin, 2014) to identify the linguistic patterns of representation for the displaced people and the corpus-based linguistic analysis methodology (Baker, 2008; Sezer, 2013) to determine the frequency of these linguistic patterns and test the significance of our findings. We provided a detailed account of these methodologies

and our justifications for choosing to them in our first chapter along with the descriptions of Turkish migration policies pertaining to our analysis in the following chapters.

In the second chapter of this thesis, we analyzed the news stories by Cumhuriyet and Milliyet on the displacement of Bulgarian Turks and the Romani to Turkey between 1950 and 1952. Our analysis showed that Bulgarian Turks were portrayed as members of the Turkish community through a narrative of shared ancestry, religion, and cultural sentiments. The terms for Bulgarian Turks matched the definitions made by the law as "göçmen" (immigrant) but they also included terms that defined them as members of an in-group, (as in members of same religion dindaş and race ırkdaş). The news stories portrayed the Bulgarian Turks as skillful farmers that would improve Turkey's economic progress and as members of the Turkish community who were oppressed under the communist ideology that dominated the practices of the Bulgarian government. In this way, the media created a context in which empathy with the Bulgarian Turks was beneficial and thus socially desirable. The reference terms and collocates for the Romani, on the other hand, were highly negative portraying them as threats to the society such as spies or thieves. While the media kept close records of the needs of the Bulgarian Turks, called for better reception strategies from the government and solidarity with them; it discouraged even contacting the Romani. Our research on the political context had shown that Turkish government at the time was aiming for agricultural development and a unified population in their language, sentiments, and ethnicity. It was also seen that the governmental representatives were the main sources of quotations in this period. Thus, we suggested that the language of media of the time was affected by governmental motives and created a context in which empathy with those that were

good candidates for reaching these motives was encouraged, whereas empathy with those that were thought to be unfitting was avoided.

Our third chapter explored the news stories printed by Cumhuriyet and Milliyet on the displacement of Iraqi Kurds and Turkmens to Turkey in 1991; and argued that the state dominated representation of the displaced people could actually be challenged through on-site reporting and interviews with the displaced people. We saw that the terms of reference were significantly different than those that were used for the Bulgarian Turks as no positive collocations were observed and they were mainly defined as sığınmacı (asylum-seeker). Similarly, the themes of discussions varied as the calls for solidarity in the case of Bulgarian Turks turned into anxieties over border security, plagues and concerns over the sources spent for the displaced people. Once again, those who were thought to come from a common ethnicity and thus conceived as in-group members, the Turkmens, were received differently as they were allowed the right to settle in Turkey and the collocates for them would be more on the positive side than the highly negative collocates for the Iraqi Kurds. Governmental representatives and the media used different terms of reference for the Iraqi Kurds as the former would call them Kürtler (the Kurds) whereas the latter would use the word sığınmacı (asylum-seeker), signifying a slight break from the state dominated narrative. However, the themes of discussions by these sources were highly similar as they focused on the sources spent for the displaced people, the unhelpful attitude of other countries and the number of deaths among the displaced people. Two of these themes were effective in creating a context in which empathy was avoided, the emphasis on the cost of helping to the Iraqi Kurds and showing that empathy with them was undesirable for other parties as well.

Nevertheless, our analysis on the data of this period showed the emergence of a news story category that contradicted with the rest of the narrative on the Iraqi Kurds. We labelled the news stories under this category as "wartime_columns" and found that they reflected on the daily life at the refugee camps, the struggles the displaced people faced and included interviews with the displaced people. The texts under this category made up only thirteen per cent of our subcorpus Corpus_91; and they neither called for solidarity with the displaced people nor placed them as members of the in-group as the ones in 1950s did. Thus, we cannot say that empathic approach motives surfaced in these categories. However, they showed us that the media could at least opt for not perpetuating the empathic avoidance motives of the incumbent party and the public.

Our final chapter which examined the news stories by Cumhuriyet and Habertürk on the displacement of Syrians to Turkey between 2014 and 2017 showed that ethnicity remained a dominant feature when portraying the displaced people. Syrians were referred to through various terms such as sığınmacı, göçmen, kaçak göçmen and mülteci (asylum-seeker, immigrant, illegal immigrant and refugee) which showed slight differences in their collocates and were used interchangeably in a small portion of news stories. Our analysis on these collocates showed that the contexts in which these terms were used were preserved on the majority. News stories relating to international affairs would use mülteci whereas those that referred to the extended stay of the displaced people would use göçmen. Through this finding, we claimed that the polarized views on the reception of the displaced people were reflected and perpetuated in the media.

In the case of Bulgarian Turks, it was clear from the beginning that they would be settled and in the case of Iraqi Kurds, the government had kept

emphasizing that they would be sent to either their country or to another location. However, the case of Syrians was much more complicated as Turkish government adopted an open-door policy and did not initially bring limitations to length of their stay and the number of displaced people allowed in the country. Instead, the government announced that it would host as many Syrians as it could and would do it to the best of its capacity, justifying this endeavor on religious ties. Except the right to vote, Syrians in Turkey enjoyed similar rights to the citizens with access to healthcare, education and employment. This way, the government at the time acted in contrast to the migration and settlement laws that would dictate stopping the displaced people at the borders and keep them under close observation. We also explained the welcoming attitude of the government through its motive to become an active player in the Middle East and among Muslim populations. However, these motives were not shared by all as polarization in Turkey continued to climb as explained in the political context research of Chapter 4.

Fights, economic losses and crime were among frequent collocates for the displaced people from Syria analyzed in our final chapter. Although these themes promoted empathic avoidance towards the displaced people by showing the costs of hosting them, there were also discussions on the international praise Turkey received through hosting such a large number of displaced people. It was seen that new aspects to the portrayal of displaced people were added by way of foregrounding their social roles such as parents or women which helped the readers relate to them and encouraged empathizing with them.

By providing an interdisciplinary and diachronic study of the portrayal of the displaced people in Turkish media, this thesis sheds light on the changing trends in representing the displaced people. The findings of our study allows identifying the

historical roots of the words that are used to locate the displaced people in the societal order in contemporary Turkey and discussing the role of politics in creating the social roles for the displaced people. It also opens a new ground for political communication and media studies by discussing whether media can be effective in shaping cognitive and behavioral responses of the people of the Host country towards the displaced people.

This thesis is not without certain limitations either. First of all, it only looks at the ways the discourse that evolved in the print media and cannot provide a comprehensive portrayal of the displaced people as TV news and social media becomes as important in time. Further studies should assess the validity of this thesis' findings by extending the inquiry to different media outlets to truly grasp the relationship between the language of the media and the policies. Secondly, this thesis relies on the data collected from only three newspapers thus it cannot test the validity of its finding across other Turkish newspapers. Thirdly, the consistency of its data was interrupted in its final chapter as we were forced to replace Milliyet with Habertürk due to the Covid-19 pandemic. Finally, it cannot assess whether the empathy levels of the people of the Host country is in fact altered by the news but has to confine itself on the reception trends as signs of different levels of empathy. Future studies should address whether we can quantitatively measure the effect of the media on the public opinion on the displaced people.

APPENDIX A

LEMMA FREQUENCIES IN CORPUS_50s

No	Lemma	Frequency	No	Lemma	Frequency	No	Lemma	Frequency
1	.	5171	44	dün	249	87	topla	165
2	No_Lemma	4853	45	iste	249	88	millet	163
3	,	4144	46	bin	248	89	nota	162
4	ve	2760	47	o	246	90	kur	161
5	et	2374	48	ankara	241	91	bakan	159
6	bu	2128	49	bil	240	92	geç	159
7	bir	2071	50	bütün	238	93	iki	157
8	göçmen	2042	51	her	234	94	vali	156
9	öl	1893	52	iç	233	95	aile	153
10	gel	857	53	büyük	230	96	en	153
11	yap	787	54	yer	229	97	İstanbul	152
12	bulgar	734	55	göre	223	98	bazı	150
13	türk	716	56	lira	223	99	kabul	149
14	ver	660	57	hudut	222	100	yurt	149
15	için	645	58	gör	219	101	devam	147
16	de	643	59	sonra	218	102	halk	145
17	yardım	605	60	toprak	215	103	komünist	145
18	bulun	588	61	mülteci	212	104	husus	143
19	is	516	62	üzere	211	105	yol	143
20	ev	494	63	biz	209	106	şekil	141
21	hükûmet	491	64	çalış	208	107	edirne	140
22	ile	476	65	daha	205	108	suret	139
23	da	467	66	kal	205	109	getir	137
24	bulgaristan	429	67	karar	205	110	bas	136
25	memleket	419	68	gibi	204	111	birlik	136
26	iskân	412	69	son	204	112	müdür	136
27	kadar	388	70	muhacir	202	113	hareket	135
28	(	379	71	Üzer	191	114	karşı	135
29	taraf	369	72	gönder	184	115	ki	134
30	)	327	73	alın	181	116	toplantı	134
31	al	325	74	yerleş	181	117	yeni	134
32	ara	325	75	mesele	180	118	ay	133
33	gün	289	76	çık	179	119	komite	131
34	:	286	77	git	179	120	evvel	130
35	hâl	284	78	el	178	121	bakanlık	128
36	kendi	283	79	su	176	122	yüz	128
37	köy	277	80	çok	175	123	temin	126
38	bugün	271	81	zaman	174	124	fakat	124
39	söyle	265	82	diğer	171	125	bura	123
40	"	254	83	ne	170	126	göster	123
41	hak	254	84	var	170	127	?	120
42	türkiye	253	85	başla	169	128	inşa	120
43	şehir	251	86	durum	165	129	devlet	118
130	para	115	180	arazi	86	230	imkân	68
131	gerek	113	181	dur	86	231	vazife	68
132	bul	112	182	tehcir	86	232	ancak	67
133	ilk	112	183	anlat	85	233	başbakan	67
134	teşkilat	110	184	tut	85	234	göz	67
135	değil	109	185	bırak	84	235	hiç	67
136	eşya	109	186	müdürlük	84	236	ihtiyaç	67
137	vilayet	108	187	hadise	83	237	kardeş	67
138	aç	107	188	muhtelif	81	238	karşıla	67
139	göç	107	189	dön	80	239	rami	67
140	i	107	190	şey	80	240	mahalle	66
141	kısım(ii)	107	191	yok	80	241	mi	66
142	mal	107	192	heyet	79	242	uç	66
143	tetkik	107	193	alaka	78	243	yaz	66
144	dava	105	194	dış	78	244	dünya	65
145	genel	105	195	gazete	78	245	yaşa	65
146	inşaat	104	196	kafile	78	246	biri	64
147	yıl	103	197	sür	78	247	sabah	64
148	çocuk	101	198	kadın	77	248	tespit	64

149	yakın	101	199	sayı	77	249	bayar	63
150	aynı	99	200	beraber	76	250	ben	63
151	haber	99	201	gir	76	251	kimse	63
152	miktar	99	202	sene	76	252	sevk	63
153	saat	99	203	at	74	253	memur	62
154	tedbir	99	204	cevap	74	254	zor	62
155	vatandaş	99	205	ayrıca	73	255	iyi	61
156	başkan	98	206	beri	73	256	siyasi	61
157	vize	98	207	böyle	73	257	geri	60
158	misafirhane	97	208	hep	73	258	kapa	60
159	;	96	209	ilçe	73	259	milli	60
160	il	96	210	milliyet	73	260	mühim	60
161	vaziyet	95	211	müddet	73	261	plan	60
162	belediye	94	212	t.	72	262	esas	59
163	komisyon	94	213	10	71	263	hazırlık	58
164	görüş	93	214	20	71	264	akşam	57
165	makam	93	215	ait	71	265	anlaş	57
166	ön	93	216	muhaceret	71	266	anlaşma	57
167	insan	91	217	3	70	267	arkadaş	57
168	tarih	91	218	başkanlık	70	268	hiçbir	57
169	milyon	90	219	kısa	70	269	ilgili	57
170	faaliyet	89	220	meclis	70	270	müstahsil	57
171	hazırla	89	221	netice	70	271	sebep	57
172	konuş	89	222	şimdiye	70	272	şimdi	57
173	merkez	89	223	sok	70	273	tahsis	57
174	ora	89	224	söz	70	274	1	56
175	idare	88	225	bekle	69	275	250	56
176	kaç	88	226	çek	69	276	fazla	56
177	kişi	88	227	cumhurbaşkan	69	277	kızılay	56
178	başka	87	228	veya	69	278	milletvekil	56
179	alt	86	229	gelecek	68	279	2	55

APPENDIX B

LEMMA FREQUENCIES IN CORPUS_91

No	Lemma	Frequency	No	Lemma	Frequency	No	Lemma	Frequency
1	.	7122	44	biz	308	87	güç	215
2	No_Lemma	6269	45	daha	301	88	her	214
3	,	5388	46	başla	299	89	Amerika	210
4	ve	2056	47	karşı	295	90	çadır	210
5	bir	1935	48	yer	295	91	dün	210
6	öl	1813	49	kuzey	294	92	yetkili	210
7	bu	1630	50	kadar	289	93	çocuk	209
8	irak	1354	51	çök	288	94	ancak	206
9	de	1223	52	çık	281	95	yakın	206
10	türkiye	1180	53	sür	279	96	göre	204
11	kürt	1057	54	yol	279	97	bas	203
12	et	951	55	sorun	275	98	oluş	202
13	sınır	911	56	kal	273	99	değil	201
14	yap	824	57	önce	268	100	i	201
15	sığınmacı	816	58	geç	266	101	iki	193
16	da	809	59	yaşa	257	102	sağla	193
17	yardım	717	60	o	256	103	son	191
18	için	675	61	gerek	255	104	el	190
19	bölge	617	62	kendi	255	105	ne	189
20	gel	570	63	aç	250	106	sığın	188
21	ile	509	64	durum	250	107	en	187
22	insan	507	65	taraf	249	108	gibi	186
23	ver	492	66	?	247	109	köy	186
24	söyle	468	67	büyük	247	110	ankara	185
25	bulun	437	68	ön	245	111	ulaş	185
26	ara	403	69	neden	244	112	karar	184
27	kamp	387	70	mülteci	243	113	gör	182
28	:	386	71	dön	240	114	birlik	181
29	iste	385	72	güvenlik	239	115	gir	180
30	bin	377	73	açıkla	237	116	bakan	179
31	bil	373	74	-	236	117	getir	177
32	saddam	357	75	kür	235	118	askerî	175
33	gün	356	76	bekle	230	119	Çukurca	175
34	asker	352	77	iraklı	230	120	İran	173
35	ülke	348	78	savaş	227	121	ama	172
36	sonra	343	79	yan	227	122	çalış	172
37	türk	337	80	sayı	225	123	hükûmet	171
38	var	336	81	gönder	224	124	konuş	170
39	al	328	82	kişi	223	125	Özal	167
40	belir	328	83	haber	221	126	alın	166
41	kaç	328	84	su	221	127	hâl	165
42	konu	324	85	Üzer	218	128	devlet	164
43	iç	309	86	git	217	129	uçak	164
130	halk	161	180	art	115	230	doktor	90
131	yıl	161	181	ben	115	231	göster	90
132	toprak	157	182	yeni	115	232	hastane	89
133	'	156	183	gıda	114	233	uç	89
134	hak	153	184	dünya	113	234	yerleş	89
135	sıra	153	185	kadın	113	235	zor	89
136	kabul	152	186	diğer	112	236	körfez	88
137	silah	152	187	sivil	111	237	koşul	88
138	başkan	150	188	ateş	110	238	türkmen	88
139	geri	150	189	göç	110	239	basın	87
140	yok	150	190	at	108	240	binlerce	87
141	(	148	191	yiyecek	108	241	İngiltere	87
142	dışişleri	145	192	vali	107	242	kamyon	87
143	yüz	145	193	yönetim	107	243	kullan	87
144	milyon	144	194	ya	106	244	baskı	86
145	kent	143	195	iyi	104	245	bul	86
146	diye	142	196	şey	104	246	kuvvet	86
147	görev	142	197	soru	104	247	ad(i)	85
148	görüş	138	198	birlikte	103	248	aynı	85

149	ilk	138	199	hüseyin	103	249	toplantı	85
150	)	135	200	lider	103	250	tut	85
151	sağlık	134	201	bilgi	101	251	bırak	84
152	bugün	133	202	hareket	99	252	genel	84
153	çek	133	203	sonuç	99	253	göz	84
154	dağ	133	204	;	98	254	operasyon	84
155	diyarbakır	133	205	kaydet	98	255	uluslararası	84
156	hava	132	206	birleş	97	256	öte	83
157	mi	131	207	savun	97	257	yaklaşık	83
158	olay	131	208	görüşme	96	258	düş	82
159	anlat	130	209	taşı	96	259	nokta	82
160	ev	130	210	2	95	260	şimdi	82
161	malzeme	129	211	acı	95	261	yaşam	82
162	zaman	128	212	batı	95	262	kozakçıoğlu	80
163	alt	126	213	peşmerge	95	263	yürü	80
164	iş	126	214	ilgili	94	264	insani	79
165	söz	126	215	ölüm	94	265	önem	79
166	bura	125	216	orta	94	266	başka	78
167	gazeteci	125	217	saldırı	94	267	bütün	78
168	müttefik	125	218	an(ii)	93	268	silopi	78
169	doğru	122	219	cumhurbaşkan	93	269	hastalık	77
170	üzere	121	220	süre	93	270	kesim	77
171	bazı	120	221	bölüm	92	271	öğren	77
172	İngiliz	120	222	ilçe	92	272	gerçek	76
173	tüm	120	223	millet	92	273	lira	76
174	avrupa	119	224	çözüm	91	274	dur	75
175	bakanlık	119	225	hakkari	91	275	konsey	75
176	merkez	119	226	şekil	91	276	bile	74
177	barın	118	227	biri	90	277	çevre	74
178	amaç	117	228	BM	90	278	geçen	74
179	dış	116	229	değer	90	279	kez	74

APPENDIX C

LEMMA FREQUENCIES IN CORPUS_2010s

No	Lemma	Frequency	No	Lemma	Frequency	No	Lemma	Frequency.
1	No_Lemma	21437	44	var	999	87	kadar	635
2	.	21219	45	göçmen	982	88	gibi	634
3	,	18288	46	i	944	89	el	628
4	ol	6425	47	kal	937	90	her	621
5	ve	5863	48	?	935	91	neden	621
6	bir	5228	49	geç	925	92	değil	603
7	bu	4033	50	yüz	904	93	konuş	596
8	suriye	3825	51	gün	877	94	güvenlik	594
9	et	3694	52	daha	855	95	güncelle	593
10	de	3572	53	kadın	837	96	...	590
11	yap	2548	54	en	833	97	alın	590
12	türkiye	2442	55	iç	823	98	bas	590
13	çocuk	2356	56	Üzer	812	99	büyük	587
14	için	2185	57	kendi	798	100	İstanbul	581
15	da	2061	58	sonra	795	101	getir	574
16	gel	1798	59	savaş	783	102	3	573
17	:	1768	60	milyon	771	103	konu	567
18	"	1759	61	sınır	770	104	karşı	563
19	ver	1671	62	başla	757	105	gir	560
20	bin	1609	63	gör	752	106	polis	550
21	al	1563	64	önce	747	107	bil	547
22	ülke	1512	65	)	746	108	ama	546
23	ile	1370	66	ev	743	109	yardım	543
24	çık	1368	67	(	718	110	durum	534
25	-	1341	68	2	699	111	sorun	529
26	yaşa	1335	69	iş	696	112	ben	525
27	çalış	1324	70	yaş	695	113	merkez	516
28	sığınmacı	1272	71	yol	693	114	gerek	512
29	o	1261	72	ne	687	115	iki	505
30	suriyeli	1251	73	avrupa	683	116	açıkla	496
31	mülteci	1169	74	taraf	679	117	diye	495
32	ara	1149	75	belir	674	118	olay	494
33	'	1141	76	göre	671	119	ekip	489
34	kişi	1108	77	sayı	670	120	kamp	489
35	söyle	1103	78	su	666	121	sür	488
36	yıl	1094	79	kaçak	664	122	ilçe	487
37	bulun	1092	80	bölge	662	123	çek	483
38	git	1086	81	yan	661	124	bekle	480
39	iste	1080	82	aile	655	125	ön	476
40	biz	1037	83	kaç	654	126	bura	469
41	insan	1034	84	dünya	653	127	erdoğan	464
42	yer	1022	85	aç	641	128	hak	460
43	çök	1001	86	son	637	129	ay	458
130	art	457	180	oluş	345	230	bazı	289
131	para	456	181	güç	343	231	lira	289
132	dön	448	182	ulaş	342	232	bak	288
133	eğitim	448	183	bul	339	233	göster	288
134	hayat(i)	445	184	sadece	339	234	açık	287
135	ancak	440	185	devam	338	235	sat	286
136	göç	435	186	diğer	336	236	başka	285
137	ifade	435	187	gazete	333	237	koy	281
138	sıra	434	188	ki	333	238	örgüt	279
139	türk	434	189	an(ii)	330	239	sonuç	275
140	kur	433	190	kardeş	330	240	gerçek	274
141	gönder	432	191	destek	329	241	işçi	273
142	1	428	192	tüm	329	242	at	271
143	yok	427	193	önem	328	243	izin	271
144	zaman	424	194	iyi	327	244	taşı	269
145	dış	421	195	geri	326	245	bebek	267
146	ardından	419	196	hastane	325	246	kaybet	266
147	yakın	418	197	ada	323	247	götür	265
148	mi	411	198	geçir	321	248	vatandaş	265

149	5	409	199	kurtar	321	249	6	264
150	alt	409	200	yürü	321	250	halk	264
151	bot	409	201	ilgili	320	251	10	263
152	kullan	409	202	terör	319	252	alan	262
153	kent	407	203	bodrum	318	253	karar	262
154	parti	404	204	yakala	318	254	rapor	262
155	4	402	205	genel	317	255	tut	262
156	başkan	396	206	anne	316	256	sız	261
157	sahil	390	207	sağla	315	257	düşün	260
158	ya	390	208	eş	314	258	iddia	260
159	anlat	389	209	mahalle	314	259	şekil	259
160	biri	388	210	yunanistan	314	260	seçim	257
161	;	387	211	sahip	313	261	dönem	255
162	ilk	386	212	bırak	310	262	belediye	254
163	kapı	384	213	düş	309	263	nasıl	254
164	söz	382	214	tekne	307	264	baba	253
165	grup	380	215	yaklaşık	304	265	dur	253
166	kat	379	216	üzere	302	266	edirne	252
167	haber	378	217	sağlık	301	267	sokak	252
168	kız	377	218	şey	301	268	saldırı	251
169	deniz	371	219	ad(i)	298	269	bilgi	250
170	saat	369	220	araç	298	270	bütün	250
171	yeni	366	221	can	298	271	hep	250
172	devlet	362	222	dolar	297	272	dün	248
173	orta	359	223	kriz	294	273	süre	245
174	geçen	357	224	okul	293	274	göz	244
175	birlikte	356	225	aynı	292	275	yabancı	244
176	fazla	354	226	bugün	291	276	dil	243
177	zor	354	227	il	291	277	fark	243
178	!	353	228	yaşam	291	278	hükümet	243
179	hâl	351	229	kabul	290	279	irak	243

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