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Reporting Fled People: the use of migration metaphors by Turkish media on Twitter

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Abstract

As a figure of thought, metaphor is an inseparable part of our cognition because metaphors can help us understand abstract concepts and fill lexical gaps. Furthermore, metaphors are highly persuasive and can develop new relationships between ideas. That is why metaphors can be useful for those with power in societies, like the media.

Since 2011, one topic that has been intensively discussed in Turkey is migration. Particularly, three labels that the Turkish language used to refer to fled people: *göçmen* (migrant/immigrant), *mülteci* (refugee), and *sığınmacı* (asylum-seeker), should be investigated because the employment of these labels in metaphorical expressions might lead to a framing effect and discrimination. In this study, I investigated how the three labels have been employed in metaphorical expressions by the three Turkish media outlets with the most followers on Twitter, namely *Habertürk*, *Hürriyet*, and *Cumhuriyet*. I collected 450 tweets and used the method of critical metaphor analysis to conduct this research. In short, this thesis investigated what kinds of metaphorical conceptualizations emerge depending on the label and how the political leaning of a media outlet affects the choice of metaphorical framing of fled people.

My results indicate that while *göçmen* and *mülteci* overwhelmingly arise negative sentiments and framings, *sığınmacı* evoked more positive metaphorical frames. The most common conceptual metaphors occurred with these three labels are CRIME (*göçmen*), VICTIM (*sığınmacı*), and PRESSURE/ BURDEN (*mülteci*). These results imply that conceptual metaphors depend on the selected labels.

This study also shows that the frequency and spread of conceptual metaphors depended on the media outlet's political leaning. *Hürriyet* (which has close ties with the governing party JDP) mainly used the VICTIM metaphor, whereas *Cumhuriyet* (a strong critic of the JDP) employed mainly the CRIME metaphor. *Habertürk* (which has a small number of critical journalists but is significantly biased in favor of the government) performed similarly to *Hürriyet* and used the VICTIM metaphor. Therefore, the political positions of the media outlets were reflected in their metaphor choices regarding fled people.

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Chapter 1: Introduction¹

The increasing conflicts and human rights violations have all contributed to a rise in the number of people who migrate and seek asylum (Nurdoğan et al., 2016). Especially after the beginning of the Syrian Civil War in 2011, millions of Syrians were forced to flee their countries with the hope of finding better living circumstances (Asrak Hasdemir & Çetin, 2018). In terms of the international migration movement, Turkey has been a crucial transit point between parts of the world experiencing war and political instability and Western countries with high welfare and human rights standards (Nurdoğan et al., 2016, p. 2018). As the number of asylum seekers has risen over time, so has the discourse and the anti-discourse about them, and the media has been in a vital role regarding and spread of these discourses (Livberber, 2021, p. 1005).

While the media generates and spreads discourse, it uses frames to arrange information in a certain way for the audience (Gitlin, 1980). Especially the use of figurative language in the shape of metaphorical framing has particular importance in creating and carrying information because the figurative language can affect public opinion (Burgers et al. 2016, as cited in Benczes & Ságvári, 2021, p.2). This influence of metaphorical framing on public opinion might be quite substantial when metaphorical framings are established and normalized in media discourse because they are employed “without being thought of as a metaphor”; therefore, they are hard to change (Petersson & Kainz, 2017, p.41). Furthermore, metaphor is an inseparable part of our cognition as a figure of thought because metaphors can help us understand abstract concepts and fill lexical gaps; besides, metaphor is highly persuasive and can develop new relationships between ideas (Charteris-Black, 2004). That is why metaphors can be useful for those with power in societies, like the media.

Many studies have shown how metaphorical framing affects public opinion regarding migration and shapes people’s understanding negatively against migrants (Charteris-Black, 2006; Musolff, 2015; Baider & Kopytowska, 2017; Arcimaviciene & Baglama, 2018; Taylor, 2021; Benczes & Ságvári, 2021). Although Turkey continues to shelter the world's greatest number of fled people, according to the United Nations Refugee Agency (n.d.), there is hardly any research on migration metaphors in Turkey which can be considered a gap in the literature on how the Turkish media

¹ This chapter is the same as the chapter of the author's thesis defended at Corvinus University of Budapest.

have metaphorically framed fled people. Most of the studies about the media representation of fled people in Turkey have focused on Critical Discourse Analysis of the media discourse (Çağlar & Özkır, 2014; Pandır et al., 2016; Gölcü & Dağlı, 2017; Çelik & Nezir Köse, 2021; Livberber, 2021) whereas only one study has investigated the role of metaphor in media discourse (Çoban Keneş, 2016). This can be considered as a gap in the literature on Turkey because this study has also used Critical Discourse Analysis to analyze metaphors. In addition, this single study on migration metaphors only focused on newspaper articles; thus, social media platforms were excluded. This also can be considered as a gap in the literature, considering the influence of social media platforms, such as Twitter, on Turkey's public opinion. Therefore, this study is one of the first major contributions to the topic. In my study, I attempt to contribute and fill these gaps in the literature about Turkey by using a method specifically developed for metaphor analysis, namely Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA), developed by Charteris-Black (2004, 2018). CMA is a metaphor analysis method that combines corpus linguistics, cognitive linguistics, and Critical Discourse Analysis to investigate metaphors and try to reveal language users' hidden intents (Charteris-Black, 2004, 2018). In other words, the main objective of this thesis is to analyze metaphors employed by the Turkish media on Twitter to find how fled people are metaphorically framed and how the political leaning of media outlets affected metaphor choices. Therefore, I aim to investigate which conceptual metaphors predominate in Turkish news discourses on fled people and what kinds of tendencies these metaphors might create in terms of the audience's understanding of migration. Since social media has different dynamics, such as the character limitation enforced by Twitter which forces media outlets to use shorter and simpler sentences, my research questions still possess importance and require further study. Because shorter and simpler sentences may cause the appearance of different metaphor choices and metaphor conceptualizations. Thus, it is important to investigate the following questions to have a better understanding of the framing of migration and fled people in social media:

1. What kinds of metaphorical conceptualizations emerge depending on the label?
2. How does the political leaning of a media outlet affect the choice of metaphorical framing of fled people?

In my study, I have chosen three labels the Turkish language used to refer to fled people: *göçmen* (migrant/immigrant), *mülteci* (refugee), and *sığınmacı* (asylum-seeker). To conduct CMA on how

Turkish media metaphorically frame fled people, I investigate how these three labels have been employed in metaphorical expressions by the three Turkish digital newspapers with the most followers on Twitter, namely *Habertürk*, *Hürriyet*, and *Cumhuriyet*. Twitter is selected as the primary medium of this research because of two reasons. Firstly, Twitter has “both direct and mediated” influence on public opinion (Gaisbauer et al., 2020); thus, it is considered to be an important platform for shaping public opinion. Secondly, there is a lack of study on how metaphor is used on social media platforms such as Twitter in terms of metaphorical framing of migration. In other words, despite having a strong impact on public opinion, Twitter is not investigated regarding metaphorical framing. Therefore, Twitter is selected as the main platform to be investigated regarding migration metaphors and framing.

This thesis is divided into five chapters. Following the introduction of the thesis topic, objectives, and general concepts in Chapter 1, I provide a literature review on metaphor in Chapter 2. This review includes a brief history of metaphor, Conceptual Metaphor Theory, available studies on metaphorical framing and migration, and research questions. Chapter 3 explains the method I use in this thesis, namely CMA, with illustrative examples. The methodology is followed by Chapter 4, where I present the results of my research and discuss their implications based on CMA. Finally, the results and discussion is followed by Chapter 5, where I summarize this research, show what contribution my research makes, and make recommendations for future studies.

Chapter 2: Literature Review²

2.1 Alternative Approaches to Metaphor

According to ancient scholars, metaphor is a self-explanatory alteration in the usage of a broad term, usually a noun or noun phrase (Hills, 2017). When we use a metaphor, a word or a phrase is moved from its usual location in our verbal classification scheme to a new location for unique temporary expressive reasons. Therefore, we assign a new meaning to a term and create a metaphor. In *Poetics*, Aristotle (1932, 1457b) explains metaphor as follows: “metaphor is the application of a strange term either transferred from the genus and applied to the species or from the species and applied to the genus, or from one species to another or else by analogy.” This

² This chapter is the same as the chapter of the author's thesis defended at Corvinus University of Budapest.

approach of Aristotle is twofold: substitution and comparison. While comparison refers to the idea that metaphor is a matter of comparison or likeness, substitution refers to the idea that metaphor is a more eloquent and decorative substitute for a literal equivalent (Kort, 2017). As a result, metaphors were regarded as effective rhetorical and poetic tools, whereas they were considered superfluous for expressing basic truth claims that could be reduced to literal propositions (Johnson, 2017). Johnson also mentioned that this traditional understanding was the mainstream approach to metaphor for centuries, but the Aristotelian approach was revealed to be incorrect in the latter part of the twentieth century.

According to Hills (2017), there was a resurgence of interest in metaphor theory in the mid-twentieth century, accompanied by multidisciplinary collaboration. There are four primary sorts of metaphor accounts established during this period of time, and he categorizes them as follows. The first tradition, Semantic Twist Accounts, remarks that metaphor emerges through the interaction of words and their meanings when combined and operate on one other in the context of specific utterances, as Hills explains. One of the prominent representatives of this tradition, I.A. Richards (2017, p. 221), describes metaphors as “carrying over of a word from its normal use to a new use”; however, he also withstands the idea that metaphor is “ornament” or “embellishment” (Bilsky, 1952, p.130). Another important name from this tradition, Max Black (1954, p.291), employs the term “interaction view” to explain metaphor and claim that a metaphorical statement consists of a “principal” subject and a “subsidiary” subject; besides, these two subjects are considered as “systems of things.”

The second tradition, Pragmatic Twist Accounts, claims that when we employ metaphor, we utilize words and phrases with their conventional literal meanings to express one thing, but we are thought to imply something different, as Hills explains. For instance, Lepore and Stone (2014, p.75) state that H.P Grice formulated a theory about metaphor where meaning may often depart from literal meaning since the audience determines the speaker's meaning by deducing what the speaker could have meant when expressing himself/herself. Another representative of this tradition, John Searl (1979), illustrates that metaphorical statements are indeed indirect speech acts because speakers intend and aim to express something different than what is stated.

According to Hills (2017), the third tradition (Comparativist Tradition), metaphor is considered to be a shortened version of simile (a phrase that uses the words *like* or *as* to compare one thing with another thing as *Merriam Webster* (n.d.) defines), but the difference is that metaphor requires the substitution of one word over another covertly, whereas simile occurs forthcomingly. Fogelin and Tversky can be named as the two important scholars who worked on this comparativist idea. As Fogelin (2011) claims, the strength of figurative language comes from its demand on the reader to engage in the message, going beyond the literal meaning of the figurative language to the suggested meanings. In his book *Figuratively Speaking*, he simply defends this comparative approach and claims that both similes and metaphors convey figurative comparisons.

Finally, Brute Force Accounts holds that metaphor provides “a fresh and special light, a light afforded by juxtaposing it with the secondary subject,” thus, creating a “framing effect” (Moran, 1989, as cited in Hills, 2017). Within this framework, Davidson (1978, p.31) associates metaphor with dreamwork and claims that it (metaphor) “requires collaboration between a dreamer and a waker.” Thus, according to this tradition, what is important is how metaphor relates to what it lets us perceive.

The 1980s can be considered to be one of the milestones for metaphor because those years witnessed the development of cognitive linguistics as a new approach to metaphor. Cognitive linguists disagree with Chomskian generative grammar proponents, claiming that “language structure is a direct reflection of cognition in the sense that a particular verbal statement is linked to a specific style of thinking about a situation” (Lee, 2001). Particularly, one book that has been highly influential since then is *Metaphors We Live By*, written by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (1980). The following section provides a detailed review of this book and Conceptual Metaphor Theory.

2.2 Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) is a branch of cognitive linguistics that rejects the traditional view of metaphor as solely a rhetorical device and instead raises it to a central function in human cognition and thought. Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p.3) challenged this view by stating that metaphor is not only in language but also deeply embedded in our cognition and thought. In other

words, if the concepts that direct our everyday life are metaphorical, then our whole cognition must be metaphorical in nature. Since metaphorical expressions are linked to metaphorical concepts, we can investigate the nature of metaphorical concepts by using metaphorical linguistic expressions, as Lakoff and Johnson explain (p.7).

One of the features of CMT is the systematicity of metaphorical concepts. To put it another way, while we understand one thing in terms of another, we map one domain (source domain) onto another one (target domain). Langacker (1987, p.147) describes domains as contexts for the characterization of a semantic unit. Charteris-Black (2004, p.15) notes that basic domains, such as space and matter, are generated from human experience rather than from other more basic domains. For instance, when we use expressions like “I *wasted* my time,” we map the value quality of money onto time; thus, we understand time in terms of money. This process is not random but systematic. That is why we do not map every aspect of one domain onto another (Kövecses, 2020, p.5). For instance, in the case of TIME IS MONEY, the features of the money (whether it is a banknote or coin) are not mapped onto the target domain because metaphors are structured partially, not totally. Due to the partiality feature of metaphor, when comprehending one concept in terms of another concept, some components of a concept are displayed while others are concealed (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, pp. 10-13). These metaphorically organized conceptualizations are established in society and language, and as a result, they influence and define our thinking (Cameron & Deignan, 2006, p. 671).

Secondly, CMT claims that while the source domain is based on an easily accessible concrete domain, the target domain is based on a more complex abstract domain, as in the case of ANGER IS FIRE metaphor (Kövecses, 2020, p. 5). Since we are more familiar with concrete concepts, such as our own body, we assign meanings/features of concrete concepts to abstract concepts. This derives from the idea that conceptual metaphors are grounded. In other words, our understanding of things is grounded on our prior knowledge and experience with other things. Thus, we understand an abstract concept like anger in terms of fire which is a physical concept. Lakoff and Johnson provide several examples for this: LOVE IS JOURNEY, ANGER IS FIRE, IDEAS ARE OBJECTS.

Metaphor curtails how we see things and affects what we need to focus on; therefore, it creates reality. The reality construction power of metaphor derives from the idea that our conceptual system is metaphorical, and since our conceptual system directs how we behave, metaphor is capable of constructing reality in our mind (Kövecses, 2020, p.7; Lakoff, 1991). Furthermore, if we look at the coherence between essential values in culture and the metaphorical structure of essential concepts in that culture, we can see how systematic metaphor is and its power to create reality (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p.22). In the case of spatialization metaphors like UP-DOWN, they create a coherent system where we perceive *up* as *better* and *down* as *bad*. When it comes to the reality construction feature of metaphor, metaphors have been exploited by politicians many times, according to findings. For example, Lakoff (1991) explains how the systematic use of metaphors was used to justify war in the Gulf. Since we need metaphors to understand and explain complex issues, in this case, international relations, metaphors can be taken advantage of by politicians to cover realities in a damaging way. In this study, Lakoff reveals (p.26) that President Bush exploited metaphors and created a certain narrative to shape public opinion. One scenario for that was “The Fairy Tale of the Just War,” which includes a villain (Iraq), a hero (the US), and a victim (Kuwait). In this scenario, the hero decides to step in and attempts to save the victim from “kidnap and rape.” Therefore, this scenario established a moral ground and a reality that justifies going to war, according to Lakoff.

2.3 Metaphor and Migration

As I noted previously, metaphor has the power to construct reality because metaphor is profoundly embedded in our cognition, and the concepts that govern our everyday life are metaphorical (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). The use of figurative language in the form of metaphorical terms is particularly influential in conveying intellectual substance on a certain topic and thereby altering public opinion (Burgers et al. 2016, as cited in Benczes & Ságvári, 2021). One of the outcomes of this idea is the increasing number of research conducted by scholars (particularly cognitive linguists) on the relationship between metaphor and media discourse. The novelty of these studies is that they uncover how the media frames many issues that surround us and construct the reality that we believe in (Charteris-Black, 2004; Musolff, 2016). In this section, I review several studies that revealed different aspects of the media framing regarding migration. I divided these studies into four categories based on the country they focused on and the number of studies that were conducted regarding the country. Since the number of studies that investigated the migration

metaphors in the United States (US) and the United Kingdom (UK) is significant compared to the other parts of the world, they deserve to be reviewed in separate chapters, so I sorted them into two separate categories. Therefore, in chapter 2.5, I reviewed migration metaphors in the US, whereas in chapter 2.6, I discussed migration metaphors in the UK. Conversely, studies that focus on migration metaphors in mainland Europe were categorized as one group and reviewed in chapter 2.7 because, first of all, there are not many studies for each country in Europe compared to the US or the UK. Thus, it is not necessary to dedicate a single chapter to each country in mainland Europe. Secondly, migration is one issue that has been framed by most media outlets as something that the whole of Europe is facing together. For instance, one study provides many instances regarding how migrants have been illustrated as something that “Europe fear” or migration as a deal between the EU and Turkey (Arcimaviciene & Baglama, 2018). Finally, countries such as Turkey, Mexico, Australia, etc, were sorted into one category, namely migration metaphors in the rest of the world, and mentioned in chapter 2.8. Because there is very little research about migration metaphors in these countries compared to the US, the UK, and mainland Europe. In other words, it is important to cover these countries and how migration metaphors were used in their media, but due to the limited amount of research done on each country, it is not possible to dedicate a single category for each of them.

2.4 Migration Metaphors in the US

For years, immigration has been a focal point of political discussion in the USA as officials evaluate socio-economic and security factors (Felter et al., 2021). For example, according to Connor (2016), the USA is hosting more migrants than any other country in the world. Therefore, many scholars, including cognitive linguists, have conducted many studies on how the American media approached this issue. Since CMT was born in the US, there has been much research on migration using CMT. In this section, I provided an overview of them.

The Latino community constitutes one of the biggest immigrant groups in the US (Budiman, 2020). Therefore, it might be considered an important part of the migration debates in the US. One study that analyzes how the Latino community was metaphorically framed in the US belongs to Santa Ana et al., 1998). The study investigates Proposition 187, also known as “the Save Our State” proposal (Britannica, n.d.). The importance of this initiative is that it is considered to be a milestone for the political change in California, leading the way for it to be a Democratic majority

state (Nowrasteh, 2016). DANGEROUS WATERS, an anti-immigrant metaphor that generates fear and distress among the voters, was found to be the main metaphor employed; moreover, the news did not include any other systematic use of metaphor that could suggest another characterization of immigration (Santa Ana et al., 1998, p. 166). In a later study, IMMIGRANTS AS ANIMALS were found to be another metaphor that Los Angeles Times essays frequently exploited regarding Proposition 187 discussions (Santa Ana, 1999). Catalano and McCollough (2019) prove that the use of these metaphors by other media outlets is quite persistent after 20 years; even worse, they are now employed to represent migrant children from Central America. However, intriguingly, how migrant children communicate about their situations varies sharply compared to the media. For instance, as opposed to the abovementioned metaphors, while describing their situation, the children used metaphors such as IMMIGRATION AS JOURNEY and IMMIGRANTS AS PREYS (p.23). The reason behind this contrast and dehumanizing metaphors is fairly simple. To establish strong anti-immigration rhetoric, the compassionate attitude toward immigrant kids should be sabotaged with the help of certain metaphors and metonymies because the presence of child immigrants generally elicits a more caring and accommodating reaction and mindset, particularly in host nations that prioritize humanitarian and religious ideals (Catalano & Musolff, 2019, p.40). That is why border officials are illustrated as “cowboys” or “soldiers” who protect the US against “hostile” immigrant children,” according to Catalano and Musolff.

The characterization of Latino immigrants has been further damaged by terms such as “anchor baby” (Lederer, 2013). This offensive term refers to “a baby who is born in a country that offers all babies born there the right of citizenship,” and it is “used to accuse parents of using a baby as a way to get citizenship for themselves” (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.). As Lederer explains: “Within this metaphor, an anchor is understood as a tool to secure immigrant families so as not to be swept away by the ever-retreating waters of migrant movement” (2013, p. 255).

Researchers have uncovered many distinct metaphors that illustrate immigrants in a variety of negative ways, such as IMMIGRANTS AS INVADERS or IMMIGRATION AS NATURAL DISASTER (Arcimaviciene & Baglama, 2018; Charteris-Black, 2006). One metaphor evident in the US mainstream media coverage of immigration, IMMIGRANT AS POLLUTANT, is highlighted by Cisneros (2008). As he explains, this metaphor is noteworthy because it portrays

immigrants as objects, anomalies, and threats, based on ethnocentric preconceptions (p.591). More than that, it empowers another “us” vs. “them” dichotomy where immigrants are seen as harmful pollutants, whereas “us” is perceived as healthy and superior. According to Cisneros, in this dichotomy, immigrants are essentially unlawful and “brown-skinned” threats that the American nation needs to defeat by joining together.

2.5 Migration Metaphors in the UK

The UK has been an important destination for migration. According to recent statistics, only in the first 12 days of May 2021, 636 migrants crossed the Channel to reach the UK (Martin, 2021), and the UK provided refuge to 13,210 persons in the year ending September 2021 (Home Office, 2021). Due to the popularity of the UK among migrants of any kind, there have been many studies that investigate migration metaphors in the UK. Since Charteris-Black had a particular impact on my research regarding the methodology, I chose him to begin with. In one of his works (2006), he investigates how metaphors play an essential role in constructing acceptability regarding the right-wing political communication on immigration policy during the 2005 British election campaign. He found that 'natural catastrophe' metaphors (mostly about fluids) and 'container' metaphors were the two primary categories used by British politicians while referring to the issue of migration (pp. 569-570). He emphasizes the power and persuasiveness of container metaphors because of their capability to combine a fourth dimension of time with spatially based conceptions of two or three dimensions (p. 576). One of the most important findings of this study is that although the British right-wing often concentrates on the issue of immigration, only far-right metaphors depict immigration as something that produces pressure within and leads to the explosion of the national container (p.578).

A recent study that focuses on the history of migration metaphors in the UK is conducted by Taylor (2021). As findings suggest, LIQUID and OBJECT metaphors have been in use for almost 200 years, while ANIMALS, INVADER, and WEIGHT metaphors have just recently become mainstream, and others have fallen out of favor before resurfacing (COMMODITY, GUEST) (p. 471). The study also proves that some metaphors, such as LIQUID, were more positive previously (p. 463). Even though the findings of Taylor suggest that extreme metaphors such as ANIMAL, DISEASE, and WAR metaphors have become more mainstream in recent years, Hart (2021)

discovers that extreme metaphors might not be as damaging as we think compared to other metaphors that seem harmless because extreme metaphors are likely to encourage a high degree of critical awareness and increase audience's sympathy about migrants; besides, he notes that this is likely to not the situation for all groups within Britain (p.226). For instance, a preceding study explains what feelings or emotions extreme metaphors (particularly WAR metaphors) evoke and how they connect the current events to the past and create a powerful hatred towards immigrants (Delouis, 2014). As the study finds, metaphors that have source domains such as "conquest, colonization, ethnic cleansing are obvious hyperboles," and by exploiting them, British National Party (BNP) builds a group of "victims" (p.11). These metaphors establish such a line of reasoning that those who refuse to welcome them are tagged "bigots"; moreover, this line of reasoning generates such an environment that those who believe in that do not even expect to discuss it with common politicians and media. Because WAR metaphors usually silence any possible inner debate (p.11). These findings align with Lakoff's work on WAR metaphors (1991). As he explained almost 30 years ago: "What metaphor does is limit what we notice, highlight what we do see, and provide part of the inferential structure that we reason with" (p.32).

2.6 Migration Metaphors in Mainland Europe

Hungary has been one of the most controversial countries regarding migration in the last few years. Messing and Ságvári (2019) found that Hungary had the greatest rate of refusal of migrants from poorer countries outside Europe. The study also notes that this shift in public perception that propelled Hungary to the top of the rankings began in 2015. As I found, several studies investigate the framing of migrants in Hungarian media. One research that had a significant impact and inspiration on my research belongs to Benczes and Ságvári (2021). In this study, Benczes and Ságvári investigate the metaphorical framing of three Hungarian keywords that are used to refer to fled people, namely *bevándorló* ("immigrant"), *migráns* ("migrant"), and *menekült* ("refugee"), and they monitor the evolution and usage of metaphors in both pro-government (PG) and non-government (NPG) media from 2015 until April 2018. The study found out that FLOOD, OBJECT, BUSINESS, CRIME, and WAR metaphors were the most common source domains that were mapped onto the labels. Also, they highlight that while all three keywords elicit predominantly negative frames and judgments about displaced people, the usage of those metaphors changes depending on the chosen keyword and the media source's political leaning (p. 16). For instance, in

comparison to NPG media, PG outlets were more likely to use *migráns* ("migrant"), whereas NPG media used *menekült* ("refugee") more (p.17). Thus, their analysis revealed that PG outlets were expected to employ more hostile source domains toward displaced people.

Another study that analyzed Hungarian online articles also supports the findings I listed above regarding the most exploited source domains: FLOOD, WAR, OBJECT, PRESS/BURDEN, ANIMAL, and BUILDING domains (Tóth et al., 2018). Furthermore, it also emphasizes that these metaphors are “characterized by a relatively high frequency of occurrence and a relatively low degree of variation regarding their linguistic manifestation and conceptual elaboration” (p.169).

As opposed to Hungary, Germany and Sweden were among the few countries which were willing to accept displaced people since the beginning of the European migration crisis. According to the findings (Eurostat, 2015, as cited in Petersson & Kainz, 2017), Sweden has typically dominated the EU in terms of the number of asylum applications received per capita, whereas Germany has shown the same performance regarding absolute numbers. Thus, it is important to remark on how German and Swedish media covered the issue of migration. One study, conducted by Petersson and Kainz (2017), compares and analyzes migration metaphors in Swedish and German news coverage during the EU Valletta Summit on migration in November 2015. According to the findings, they have found several tendencies in their investigation of how naturalized metaphors were used in German and Swedish newspapers. As they explain, the media coverage of migration issues in all selected newspapers was dominated by the following two source domains: migration as natural disasters and migration as wars, conflicts, and disputes (p. 58). Moreover, they reveal that there was a stronger inclination in Swedish news coverage to allude to human beings and describe their migration patterns, whereas German media discourses tended to allude to anonymous collective categorizations and avoided publicizing individual stories (p. 58). As a result, they discovered that prevalent naturalized metaphors in national and regional media discourses in Germany and Sweden all have negative meanings (pp. 58-59).

Another comparative research conducted by Baider and Kopytowska (2017) investigates and compares the metaphorical conceptualizations of migrants/refugees as “the Others” in Cyprus and Poland during the 2015 European migration crisis. Similar to other studies in the international literature, the results of this study also suggest that metaphors can serve a variety of social

purposes, including dehumanizing the migrants, justifying and denigrating violence against them, and numbing the public (p. 225). For example, the THREAT metaphor not only evokes strong emotions in the Polish and Cypriot public but also draws attention to some firmly embedded notions that are important to these countries, such as “Polish ‘patriotism’ relying on ‘God, honor and fatherland’ and Cypriot history” (Kopytowska et al., 2017; Baider 2017, Baider & Constantinou 2017b, as cited in Baider & Kopytowska, 2017, p. 226). Moreover, animal and dirt metaphors encouraged both the narrative of higher-ranking "us" and the dehumanization of the migrants, thus, leading the way for justified assault in the two countries (p. 226).

2.7 Migration Metaphors in the Rest of the World

Certainly, there are many other countries around the world where displaced people live, such as Turkey and Mexico. For example, according to the UN Refugee Agency (2021), Turkey is hosting 4 million refugees and asylum-seekers, whereas Mexico received 123,187 refugee requests only in 2021 (Al Jazeera, 2021). Thus, it is important to mention what kinds of metaphors are being used while reporting migration in these countries. As I mentioned previously, compared to the US or Europe, the available literature is limited in other parts of the world; therefore, I reviewed them in this single section.

Despite a great number of displaced people, there is hardly any research on migration metaphors in Turkey. One of them was made by Çoban Keneş (2016) on how metaphors reproduce negative prejudices against fled people in Turkey, specifically Syrians. As she found, flood and wave metaphors were commonly used to describe people of concern, and these metaphors were even more visible in news articles that report the “collective entrance” of refugees (p. 276). In addition, economy-related metaphors that include terms like cost, expenditure, and bill were prevalent in the articles to suggest refugees as an “economic burden” on the shoulders of the country. On the other hand, conversely, some of the articles also framed the refugees as “cheap and illegal” workforces who improved the Turkish economy, as Çoban Keneş illustrates. Similar to her results, metaphors such as “travelers of hope” or “death journey” were also identified in my corpus. Overall, this study once again shows how displaced people are systematically subjected to discriminatory narratives by the media.

So far, all the studies that I listed showed the exploitation of metaphors in many countries by their media outlets, yet I also encountered a few studies that present more positive and humanistic aspects of migration. Maybe, mentioning them can illustrate how an alternative narrative is possible, despite the established anti-migration rhetoric present globally. For example, Salahshour (2016, p.74) argues that while liquid metaphors might frame immigrants in various negative ways, they can also represent immigration's good financial consequences on New Zealand. To be more specific, the results of this work reveal that the liquid metaphor might also address immigrants as people who have skills, and their “inflow” to the country greatly assists the market.

Torre Cantalapiedra (2019) described another use of metaphors for positive representation of migration in the Mexican media. As he found, the Mexican newspapers employed positive rhetoric regarding migrants who were using Mexico to reach the US -migrant, especially because of the significant threats they had been facing during their trip. In this positive approach, the primary metaphors were based on source domains like “NIGHTMARES, WAR, HELL AND TREATMENT TO ANIMALS,” but they were employed to encourage the readers to empathize with the migrants who risked their lives for a better life and the poor conditions they witnessed while doing so (p.19). Thus, the media outlets established a humanitarian portrayal of migrants against inhumane anti-migrant discourse. Overall, these examples show that metaphors can be used to promote more humanitarian and positive narratives while reporting migration.

Chapter 3: Methodology³

3.1 Corpus Building

The three Turkish newspapers with the most followers on Twitter, namely *Habertürk*, *Hürriyet*, and *Cumhuriyet*, were selected for this research. There are several reasons behind this selection. Firstly, according to BoomSocial (a free social media analytics and measurement tool), these three newspapers are the most popular newspapers for Turkish Twitter users; therefore, they address most of the Turkish Twitter feed. As of January 12, 2022, *Habertürk*(@Haberturk) has 4.5 million, *Hürriyet*(@Hurriyet) has 4.3 million, and *Cumhuriyet*(@cumhuriyetgzt) has 3.2 million followers on Twitter. Secondly, they have different political leanings and relationships with the current

³ This chapter is the same as the chapter of the author's thesis defended at Corvinus University of Budapest.

Turkish Government. For example, according to Kızılkaya and Ütücü (2021, p. 12), *Hürriyet* was previously the most prominent newspaper in Turkey, but *Hürriyet*'s critical reporting was silenced significantly after a pro-government conglomerate, the Demirören Group, bought it on 21st of March 2018. After the selling of *Hürriyet*, the political leaning and editorial policy of the newspaper significantly changed and aligned with the Turkish Government. For example, Media4Democracy (2020) categorizes *Hürriyet* as a pro-government newspaper because of this shift. It should be noted that all of the tweets I analyzed in my research were shared after the selling of *Hürriyet*; therefore, there was no sudden change of political leaning or discourse regarding migration in tweets. On the other hand, *Habertürk* is still "home to a limited number of critical journalists" and avoids partisan coverage of the events; however, "it still has a remarkable pro-government bias in its coverage of key events," according to Kızılkaya and Ütücü (2021, p. 13). In addition, *Habertürk* stands among the most popular media organizations in Turkey, as Kızılkaya and Ütücü report. Finally, one of the oldest newspapers in Turkey, *Cumhuriyet*, was categorized as an established, independent, and secularist newspaper operating in Turkey (Kızılkaya and Ütücü, p. 11). Plus, they highlight that *Cumhuriyet* has been gradually transforming its media approach and putting a significant effort into the digitalization of media. Thus, it was found that *Cumhuriyet* performed a high level of social media engagement (Kızılkaya and Ütücü, p. 24). Overall, these three media organizations showed different political leanings and relations with the Turkish Government, but they are among the most popular outlets, especially on Twitter.

Media4Democracy's Media Tracking Reports (2020) also confirm these findings and add that %80.2 of 19 newspapers with the highest circulation are pro-government, whereas only %19.78 of them are non-government. In other words, the selected three newspapers not only represent leading discourses in their respective communities and on Twitter but also illustrate the current media environment in Turkey. Therefore, the selected sources provide the maximum representation regarding discourse leading, influence on the Turkish public, and the political atmosphere in Turkey. Lastly, it is important to note that while *Cumhuriyet* and *Hürriyet* still offer a printed version of their newspapers, *Habertürk*'s printed newspaper was shut down in 2018, and they operate only via their website and television. However, their influence remains steady and strong. After deciding on Twitter accounts, the goal was to create a corpus comprised of tweets retrieved from the Twitter accounts of *Habertürk*, *Hürriyet*, and *Cumhuriyet*. Since my study focuses on the

most recent data, I selected the tweets backward, beginning from the 14th of January 2022, until I reached 50 tweets for each label from each Twitter account. Tweets were collected through an advanced Twitter scraping & OSINT tool called Twint. Simply, the Twitter username of a news source: @Hurriyet, a label: *mülteci* (“refugee”), and a date: --since "2015-01-01" were typed in, and Twint displayed all the tweets that were shared by *Hürriyet's* Twitter account that included the word refugee since the beginning of 2015.

The reason I chose the year 2015 as the endpoint is twofold. Firstly, this was the year when the European Refugee Crisis started (Spindler, 2015). Secondly, the frequency of occurrence of the three labels on Twitter is different from each other. In other words, to reach 50 tweets for each label (specifically for the labels *mülteci* (“refugee”) and *sığınmacı* (“asylum-seeker”), I needed to go back more in time compared to the label *göçmen* (“migrant”) because *göçmen* occurred more frequently than the other two labels. For instance, I easily found 50 tweets that include *göçmen* between the 14th of January 2022 and the 26th of July 2021 on *Hürriyet's* Twitter account. Nevertheless, when it comes to the label *mülteci*, I had to go back to the 21st of January 2019 to reach 50 tweets. For the label *sığınmacı*, I even had to go further until the 2nd of July 2018. This shows that the umbrella term *göçmen* was significantly more common than *mülteci* and *sığınmacı*. I must note that, initially, I collected more than 50 tweets for every label because I expected to find repetitions or tweets that contain one of the three labels but not in the relevant context – see Table 1.

@Hurriyet	@Haberturk	@cumhuriyetgzt
Göçmen (50 tweets)	Göçmen (50 tweets)	Göçmen (50 tweets)
Mülteci (50 tweets)	Mülteci (50 tweets)	Mülteci (50 tweets)
Sığınmacı(50 tweets)	Sığınmacı (50 tweets)	Sığınmacı(50 tweets)
Total 150	Total 150	Total 150
450 tweets, 9 subcorpus		

Table 1. Number of tweets, media outlets, and labels

After collecting hundreds of tweets, I manually omitted the tweets that were shared multiple times and tweets that include the labels but in a different context other than human migration (such as tweets that refer to migratory routes of migratory birds). Therefore, the most recent 50 tweets were separated and compiled in a different document for analysis. This process was repeated for each news source and label; thus, nine subcorpora were created. It is also important to emphasize that I did not aim to collect 50 metaphors for each label but for 50 tweets that might include metaphor; therefore, not every tweet includes a metaphor in my corpus. This also helped me to analyze metaphor density regarding the labels and the media outlets. As a result of this process, my corpus was built upon 450 tweets, 3 labels, and 3 media outlets. Below, my corpus data collection and categorization process is shown in figure – see Figure 1.

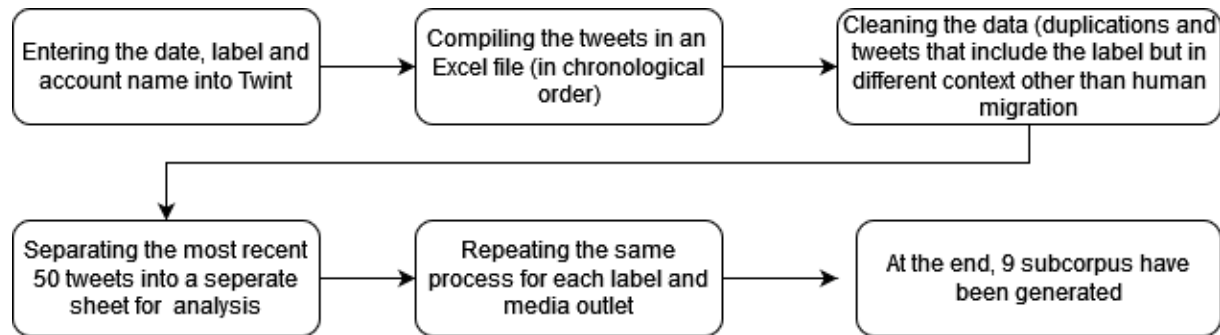


Figure 1. Data collection process

3.2 Critical Metaphor Analysis

As explained by Charteris-Black (2004, p. 34; 2018, p. 217), CMA is a method of metaphor analysis that investigates metaphor and tries to disclose language users' hidden intentions by combining corpus linguistics, cognitive linguistics, and Critical Discourse Analysis. CMA might help us understand the motivations of language users by focusing on analyzing metaphors and their sources because, as Charteris-Black (2004, p. 41) indicates, metaphor plays a crucial role in persuading people to choose one understanding of an issue over another by provoking powerful emotional reactions. Therefore, as one method of studying metaphor, CMA sheds light on metaphor use in sociopolitical issues and might increase awareness regarding the use of metaphor by powerful groups and institutions so that language users can develop a more cautious approach when encountering metaphor in language use. As a corpus-based approach, the power of CMA derives from the fact that it integrates features of both critical discourse analysis and cognitive

linguistics. I find CMA to be the most appropriate and relevant methodology for my research. Because it offers a critical approach to metaphor combined with corpus-based analysis of data; therefore, it enables researchers to investigate the persuasive role that metaphor plays in shaping public opinion (Charteris-Black, 2004). In the following section, I explain what CMA considers as metaphor in detail, the stages of CMA.

3.3 Stages of Critical Metaphor Analysis

- 1) **Contextual Analysis:** The first stage of CMA simply requires generating research questions that are based on awareness about metaphor's potential influence on society Charteris-Black, 2018, p. 217). Depending on research questions, data sources and time frame are decided, and a corpus is compiled. Since I listed my research questions previously in chapter 1 and explained my corpus design in section 3.1, I do not repeat and elaborate any further in this section.
- 2) **Metaphor Identification:** The second stage of CMA, metaphor identification, focuses on “what to count as a metaphor,” according to Charteris-Black (2018, p. 218). This requires an intense reading of a sample corpus, in my case, 450 tweets that I collected from the Twitter accounts of the three Turkish media outlets. As Charteris-Black (2004, p. 35) explains in his book, these stages can be divided into two stages. In the first stage, the main purpose is to detect candidate metaphors. After the preliminary reading of my corpus, I spotted the candidate metaphors regarding the presence of semantic tension as a consequence of domain shifting. Words that fulfilled these requirements were marked. This was an initial stage that needed further analysis to finalize the identification. Thus, I conducted a more in-deep qualitative analysis of every candidate metaphor to detect whether they were used literally or metaphorically with the help of an online dictionary, namely *Türk Dil Kurumu Sözlüğü* (sozluk.gov.tr, 2022). *Türk Dil Kurumu Sözlüğü* (the dictionary of the Turkish Language Association) is produced and maintained by the Turkish Language Association (TDK). I chose this dictionary as my guide because TDK, founded in 1932, works as a regulatory body for the Turkish language; thus, it has the official authority on the Turkish language. As a result, TDK's dictionary can be regarded as the leading dictionary to consult in terms of the Turkish language. If the presence of a domain shifting is confirmed after this second stage, the candidate metaphor was identified as a metaphorical expression. A metaphorical expression is the product of a

domain shifting, as Charteris-Black clarifies. While counting in the identification stage, my unit of measurement was the phrase, not the words, because metaphors typically occur in phrases or collocations, as Charteris-Black suggests (2018). For example, the phrase “refugee invasion” that frequently occurs in the selected tweets was counted as one metaphorical expression. Before moving to the third stage, I provided an example of metaphor identification below – see Example (1).

Example 1

Ankara'nın AB ile sığınmacı pazarlığı: Vize serbestisi yoksa geri kabul de yok.

Ankara's the.EU with asylum-seeker bargain: Visa liberalization not.if readmission as well not.

Ankara's asylum-seeker bargain with the EU: if there is no visa liberalization, there is no readmission as well. (Cumhuriyet, 2018)

In this example, the ongoing negotiations between Turkey (referred to as Ankara, which indicates a metonym) and the EU on asylum-seekers were referred to as a *pazarlık* (“bargain”). This indicates a domain shifting because asylum-seekers are understood in terms of commodities that can be sold or bought between two parties. Therefore, this can be identified as a linguistic metaphorical expression.

- 3) **Metaphor Interpretation:** The third stage of CMA, metaphor interpretation, simply concentrate on the categorization of metaphors. In this stage, it is expected from the analyst to classify and organize metaphors based on either source or target domains (Charteris-Black, 2018, p. 218). While the source domain refers to the literal meaning of a word we map on the target domain, the target domain is what we understand in terms of the source domain (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). In my study, I categorized metaphors based on their source domains. Once again, I used TDK's online dictionary as a point of reference so that I could identify the literal meaning and contextual meaning of a word. For instance, *mülteci akını* (“refugee influx”) was identified as an example of the “NATURAL DISASTER metaphor.” Because the literal meaning of the word *akın* (influx) refers to the “unceasing coming or arrival of something crowded,” according to the TDK dictionary (sozluk.gov.tr, n.d.); therefore, it can be

understood that refugees are conceptualized as “an uncontrolled natural disaster/movement” that try to break into the Turkish land in this case.

Example 2:

Rusya Devlet Başkanı	Putin: ABD-İran çatışması	şiddeti	ve
Orta Doğu'daki	<i>mülteci akını</i>	artırır.	
Russia State President.of	Putin: USA-Iran conflict.of	the.violence.which	and
the.Middle East.in	refugee influx.of	increases.	
‘Russian State President Putin: USA-Iran conflict increases the violence and refugee influx in the Middle East.’ (Habertürk, 2019)			

In this example, the phrase *mülteci akını* (“refugee influx”) is identified as a linguistic metaphorical expression because the physical moving of refugees is presented in terms of an influx, which refers to an enormous and uncontrolled movement of things. The source domain of this phrase can be interpreted as NATURAL DISASTER/PHENOMENA because an uncontrolled force of natural disaster is mapped onto a group of people. It is not clear what kind of disaster it refers to (for instance, flood as the movement of water), but it is explicit that it refers to a group of people in terms of something else. As mentioned previously, I used TDK’s online dictionary to identify and categorize a source domain. The literal meaning of *akın* is described by the TDK dictionary (sozluk.gov.tr, n.d.) as the “unceasing arrival of something crowded.” This definition was the basis for my source domain categorization.

- 4) **Metaphor Explanation:** The fourth stage of CMA is metaphor explanation. This stage allows a researcher to determine metaphors' discourse function, the social agency behind that discourse, and their ideological/rhetorical motives (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 39; 2018, p. 219). In my case, I attempted to build a relationship between conceptual metaphors I found and their social role in persuasion and ideological motives regarding the issue of migration in Turkish media. Particularly, this was a crucial stage for the second research question I proposed; how the political leaning of a media outlet affects the choice of metaphorical framing of fled people? The findings and discussions about metaphor explanation can be found in chapter 4.

Example 3:

#SONDAKİKA | ABD'den açıklama: 'Biden ile Erdoğan'ın *göçmen pazarlığı* yaptığı iddiası yalan'!

#BREAKING | the.USA.from statement: 'Biden with Erdoğan's migrant bargain.of made.that allegation.of lie'!

'#BREAKING | Statement from the USA: 'The allegation that Biden and Erdogan made a migrant bargain is a lie'!' (Hürriyet, 2021)

In example 3, the phrase *göçmen pazarlığı* (“migrant bargain”) indicates the occurrence of another linguistic metaphorical expression because the issue of migration is understood in terms of a bargain or business deal between a seller and a buyer. Therefore, migrants were referred to as commodities that could be bargained on. In other words, the source domain of this metaphor is “commodities,” whereas the target domain is migrants. Since a group of migrants is referred to as objects of a business deal between the US and Turkey, this metaphor can be considered as a specific instance of the OBJECT metaphor. What are the implications of this metaphorical expression regarding its discourse function? As found out by other studies, the use of object /commodity metaphor generates and further strengthens the dehumanization of the fled people because their occurrence in reporting implies that the displaced people do not have any sentiments, emotions, or rights; thus, people who hold power (such as politicians) are expected to determine how to deal with them (Petersson & Kanz, 2017; Arcimaviciene & Baglama, 2018; Benczes & Ságvári, 2021). Furthermore, as Petersson and Kanz suggest, another implication of the commodity metaphor is that migrants are framed as a “burden or pressure” that needs to be dealt with. Therefore, this metaphor might influence the audience’s empathy towards migrants since they are not “humans” but “objects” (p. 52)

3.4 Limitations of the methodology

There are several limitations regarding CMA. First of all, metaphor interpretation is one of the stages that possess some limitations because metaphors were identified and categorized by only one researcher; thus, it may result in an inaccurate and biased interpretation of the data. Secondly, in the metaphor interpretation stage, metaphors are needed to be categorized into source and target domains, but metaphors can be categorized in multiple source domains in some cases, depending on the context. For instance, while the phrase *mülteci akını* (“refugee influx or invasion”) can be

easily categorized as a WAR metaphor in some instances, in other cases, it might be categorized as a NATURAL DISASTER metaphor. Because the use of the word *akın* might convey either war or natural disaster depending on the context. In these cases, I reviewed the other words in tweets to decide if they referred to a war or a natural disaster. If the other words did not imply that, I consulted with my thesis advisor to determine the category. In other words, the border between two domains and categories can be quite blurry. These challenges create difficulties for critical metaphor analysis researchers.

Chapter 4. Results and Discussion⁴

4.1 Overview of Findings

After analyzing 450 tweets, I found 200 metaphorical expressions which can be categorized under 13 different source domains in my corpus. The findings indicate that the most popular three source domains identified in my corpus are VICTIM, CRIME, and OBJECT domains. These three source domains make up 82.50% of all metaphorical expressions found in my corpus, whereas the rest of the twelve domains constituted only 17.50% of the findings – see Table 2. Therefore, these numbers suggest that the VICTIM, CRIME, and OBJECT metaphors dominated the tweets while referring to displaced people. Compared to the previous works on metaphorical framing of fled people, this is a surprising finding because the VICTIM and CRIME metaphors did not appear with such a high frequency in the previous studies.

	<i>Hürriyet</i>			<i>Cumhuriyet</i>			<i>Habertürk</i>		
	Source Domain	n	%	Source Domain	n	%	Source Domain	n	%
Göçmen (“Migrant”)	Crime	12	44.44	Crime	9	52.94	Victim	14	46.67
	Victim	7	25.93	Victim	6	35.29	Crime	12	40
	Object	3	11.1	Commodity	2	11.76	Commodity	3	10
	Precious possession	2	7.41						
	Game	1	3.70						
	Journey	1	3.70						
	Commodity	1	3.70						
	Total	27	100%		17	100%		30	100%

⁴ This chapter is the same as the chapter of the author's thesis defended at Corvinus University of Budapest.

Sığınmacı (“Asylum-seeker”)	Victim	32	62.75	Crime	4	25.00	Victim	19	52.78
	Object	16	31.37	Victim	2	12.50	Crime	8	22.2
	Crime	3	5.88	Object	2	12.50	Object	6	16.67
				Precious possession	2	12.50	Natural Phenomena	3	8.33
				War	1	6.25			
				Commodity	2	12.50			
				Terror	1	6.25			
				Journey	1	6.25			
				Pressure/Burden	1	6.25			
	Total	51	100%		16	100%		36	100%
Mülteci (“Refugee”)	Pressure/Burden	3	42.86	Object	3	42.86	Pressure/Burden	3	33.3
	Natural Phenomena	2	28.57	Natural Phenomena	1	14.29	Crime	2	22.2
	Comedy Character	1	14.29	War	1	14.29	Victim	1	11.1
	Object	1	14.29	Animal	1	14.29	Natural Phenomena	1	11.1
				Precious possession	1	14.29	Object	1	11.1
							Commodity	1	11.11
	Total	7	100%		7	100%		9	100 %

Table 2. The most common source domains found in the corpus and their distributions.

When source domains were categorized based on both label and media outlet, the highest occurring metaphors for each label from every media outlet are as follows.

- *Göçmen*: *Hürriyet* and *Cumhuriyet*'s primary choice for *göçmen* was the CRIME metaphor, whereas *Habertürk* used the VICTIM metaphor.
- *Sığınmacı*: When *Hürriyet* and *Habertürk* used the VICTIM metaphor most commonly for *sığınmacı*, *Cumhuriyet* employed the CRIME metaphor primarily.
- *Mülteci*: The PRESSURE/BURDEN metaphor ranked the highest for both *Hürriyet* and *Habertürk*, whereas the OBJECT metaphor was found to be the most used metaphor for the label *mülteci*.

These results show that although different source domains and framings occurred depending on both labels and media outlets, mostly, displaced people were metaphorically framed negatively. As Arcimaviciene and Baglama (2018, p. 6) explain, metaphors such as OBJECT and PRESSURE/BURDEN refer to displaced people as inanimate things; therefore, “delegitimize them through dehumanization,” whereas the CRIME metaphor enhances negative sentiments against displaced people. On the other hand, the VICTIM metaphor can be considered a positive finding because it metaphorically frames displaced people as a group of humans who were adversely affected by the conditions they were forced in.

4.2 Labels and Metaphorical Conceptualizations

Label 1: Göçmen (“Migrant”)

In total, 74 metaphorical expressions were found in the corpus that referred to the label *göçmen*. As the findings suggest, only two source domains, CRIME (44.59 %) and VICTIM (36.49%) source domains, constituted 81.08 % of these metaphorical expressions, whereas the remaining five domains formed only 18.92 %, these are OBJECT, PRECIOUS POSSESSION, COMMODITY, JOURNEY, GAME source domains – see Table 3. As can be seen, the highest two source domains (CRIME and VICTIM) are quite contradictory because while CRIME source domain arises negative sentiments toward displaced people, VICTIM encourages positive connotations. If the basic meaning of *göçmen* is understood, the above-mentioned contradiction might be interpreted as proof of how “loaded” the term *göçmen* is. As the International Organization for Migration (IOM) explains (2009), “the term migrant is generally understood to encompass all situations in which an individual decides to migrate of his/her own free will and for reasons of 'personal suitability' without the interference of compelling external factors.” In other words, since *göçmen* is simply an umbrella term in Turkish that refers to any kind of migration, and it was used interchangeably with other labels as I found in the corpus, it is loaded with many different meanings. Therefore, two contradictory framings might occur. Below I provided and analyzed samples from my corpus in terms of the occurrences of different source domains with the label *göçmen*.

1) Muş'ta 97 *göçmen yakalandı*.
 Muş.in 97 migrants caught.
97 migrants caught in Muş.
 (Habertürk, 2021b)

2) Kilis'te kaçak *göçmen operasyonu!*
 Kilis.in illegal migrant operation!
Illegal migrant operation in Kilis!
 (Habertürk, 2022)

In the first example, the occurrence of the expression *göçmen yakalandı* (“migrants caught”) was identified as a metaphorical expression because this way, migrants were framed metaphorically as criminals that were rightfully “caught.” This is an interesting example because a word like *göçmen*, which means “the one who leaves his/her own country and goes to another country,” according to TDK’s dictionary (sozluk.gov.tr, n.d.), is directly framed and understood with the help of the word *yakalanmak* (“to be caught”). *Yakalanmak* can mean many different things depending on the context, such as “grabbing someone” or “catching an illness,” but in this context, it transforms the basic meaning of *göçmen* and frames migrants as criminals that were caught in the city of Muş. Therefore, it was identified as an occurrence of the CRIME metaphor.

When it comes to the second example, the word *göçmen* was used with both *kaçak* (“illegal”) and *operasyon* (“operation”); thus, this was determined as a metaphorical expression because, firstly, migrants are criminalized and framed with the word *kaçak*. Then, they were further criminalized with the help of *operasyon*, which literally means, in this context, “a series of actions organized by the security forces to catch the criminals.” As a result, displaced people were metaphorically framed as a bunch of criminals who could be stopped with brute force and a security operation. As Arcimaviciene and Baglama claim (2018, p. 10), the use of the CRIME metaphor generates an unfavorable view of migration and displaced people because this metaphor increases the sentiments of uneasiness and anxiety toward “the Other.”

SOURCE DOMAINS	NUMBER OF OCCURRENCE	PERCENTAGE
Crime	33	44.59
Victim	27	36.49
Object	5	6.76
Commodity	4	5.41
Precious possession	3	4.05
Journey	1	1.35
Game	1	1.35

Table 3. Source domains and their occurrence with *göçmen*

As mentioned before, the second most common source domain identified with regards to *göçmen* was the VICTIM domain. Two occurrences of this domain were shown as follows:

- 3) *Ölüme terk edilen* 44 *göçmen kurtarıldı.*
Death.to left 44 *migrants saved.*
44 migrants left to die were rescued. (Habertürk, 2021f)

As can be seen in the third example, *ölüme terk edilen* (“left to die”) and *kurtarıldı* (“rescued”) were identified as metaphorical expressions. Firstly, if we look at the expression “left to die,” it simply means that a deadly situation a group of living creatures in was ignored by other(s) who could help. Secondly, the basic meaning of the word *kurtarmak* (“to rescue”) is “to remove a living being from a disaster, danger or difficult situation” (sozluk.gov.tr, n.d.). Both of these expressions directly refer to migrants. Together, these two expressions metaphorically frame migrants and convey the meaning that migrants were the victim of a dangerous situation. Therefore, this can be interpreted as an instance of the VICTIM metaphor.

The third most popular source domain found with *göçmen* is OBJECT. Interestingly, this domain always occurred together with the VICTIM source domain while referring to *göçmen*. This was also the case for other labels as well (82.3 % of the OBJECT metaphors were found together with the VICTIM metaphor). Two examples from my corpus with their analysis can be seen below.

- 4) *Yunanistan'ın ittiği* 33 *düzensiz göçmen kurtarıldı.*
Greece.by pushed 33 *irregular migrants rescued.*
33 irregular migrants pushed by Greece were rescued. (Habertürk, 2021c)

In the 4th example, migrants were metaphorically framed as both objects and as victims. The OBJECT domain was identified and categorized due to the verb *itmek* (“to push”). According to TDK’s dictionary (sozluk.gov.tr, n.d.), the basic meaning of this word is “to force something forward.” Since Greece, which is a country, can not *push* a group of “objects” from one place to another, this expression can be identified as a metaphorical expression and can be categorized as

an occurrence of the OBJECT metaphor. On the other hand, the same group of migrants was referred to with the verb *kurtarıldı* (“rescued”). As I stated before, the basic meaning of the verb *kurtarmak* (“to rescue”) addresses “living beings”; thus, this word humanizes those migrants who were dehumanized with the OBJECT metaphor. It is important to explain what exactly “*push*” (or *push back*) means in these sentences to clarify why this is a metaphor but not a literal expression. According to European Center For Constitutional and Human Rights (ECCHR):

Push-backs are a set of state measures by which refugees and migrants are forced back over a border – generally immediately after they crossed it – without consideration of their individual circumstances and any possibility to apply for asylum or to put forward arguments against the measures taken. (ecchr.eu, n.d.)

To be more specific, as I found in many media outlets (France 24 English, 2021; TRT World, 2022; PBS NewsHour, 2021), this expression is especially used when an engine of a migrant boat is damaged so that it cannot sail into a country’s territorial waters and migrants are left alone in the middle of the sea. In conclusion, *push-back* is a metaphorical expression.

The OBJECT metaphor is one of the metaphors that were commonly discussed in previous studies as well. For instance, OBJECT was the second most frequent source domain found in both Hungarian media (Benczes & Ságvári, 2021) and the EU and the US media (Arcimaviciene & Baglama, 2018). In those studies, scholars clearly identified and discussed that the OBJECT metaphor is one of the most common ways to dehumanize displaced people through objectification because those who fled their country are no longer subjects who have feelings and opinions, but they are inanimate objects (Arcimaviciene & Baglama, 2018, p. 7) and conceptualization of fled people through this metaphor simply removes “social responsibility” towards them (Benczes & Ságvári, 2021, p. 11-12).

The fourth most frequent source domain identified in the corpus is COMMODITY which forms the basis of the COMMODITY metaphor. This metaphor is an extension of the OBJECT metaphor because the COMMODITY metaphor goes beyond the OBJECT metaphor by framing fled people

as commodities that can be “traded” (Arcimaviciene & Baglama, 2018, p. 8). An example from my corpus can be found below

- 5) '*GÖÇMEN AMBARI* DEĞİLİZ' Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu, '*Esad ile anlaşacağız*'.
'*MIGRANT WAREHOUSE ARE.NOT*' Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu, '*Assad with agree.will*'.
'*WE ARE NOT MIGRANT WAREHOUSE*' Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu, '*We will agree with Assad*'. (Cumhuriyet, 2021d)

As can be seen in the 5th example, the expression *göçmen ambarı* (“migrant warehouse”) was identified as a metaphorical framing of migrants because the basic meaning of the word *ambar* (“warehouse”) is a place where usually foods or goods are stored according to TDK Dictionary (sozluk.gov.tr, n.d.). Therefore, migrants were likened to commodities that could be stored in a warehouse. In the second part of the statement, Turkish main opposition leader Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu also refers to “an agreement” he will reach with Syrian President Bashar Al Assad if he governs Turkey. This expression also further strengthens the COMMODITY metaphor because the usage of “agree with” in this context conveys the meaning that migrants are commodities and they will be a part of a business deal between two persons. These expressions refer to migrants as inanimate objects/commodities without any sentiment or will to decide for themselves. As a result of that, they imply and metaphorically frame migrants as commodities.

The final source domain I address regarding the label *göçmen* is PRECIOUS POSSESSION. This source domain shows a low frequency compared to previous domains, but it needs to be addressed because it was identified in every label (mostly in *göçmen*), and more importantly, it refers to the life of migrants in a positive way. An example with analysis can be found below:

- 6) Manş Denizi'nde 31 göçmen *hayatını kaybetti*.
The English Channel.in 31 migrants *lives.their lost*.
31 migrants *lost their lives* in the English Channel. (Habertürk, 2021e)

In this example, *hayatını kaybetti* (“lost their lives”) was identified as a metaphorical expression that indirectly refers to migrant’s lives as valuable possessions and attributes a positive meaning to their lives as an unfortunate loss because the death of 31 migrants was conceptualized as a loss of something important rather than simply understood as death. Even though many other available

expressions in Turkish directly address death, such as *öldü* (“died”) or *boğuldu* (“drowned”), a metaphorical expression was employed to refer to the death of migrants. LIFE IS A PRECIOUS POSSESSION was previously identified by Owiredu (2020) in his work about death metaphors. The last two source domains used with *göçmen* are JOURNEY and GAME; however, due to their very low frequency in my corpus (both were identified only once), I did not address and analyze them in this section.

Label 2: *Sığınmacı* (“Asylum-seeker”)

Sığınmacı was the most common label that occurred with metaphorical expressions, as I highlighted before. Apart from appearing with more than half of metaphorical expressions (51.5%), this label also showed a great variety regarding source domains (10 distinct source domains were identified with *sığınmacı*). As opposed to *göçmen*, which is an umbrella term for all sorts of migration, *sığınmacı*, referring to those who have fled their country and are seeking protection but have not been officially admitted as refugees (Vardar, 2015), arose mostly with VICTIM domain – see Table 4. However, VICTIM domain, apart from one occurrence, was always employed together with OBJECT source domain. In other words, the first two source domains with the highest frequency were mostly used within the same sentence. An example is as follows:

7) Türk kara sularına *geri itilen* çok sayıda *sığınmacı kurtarıldı*.

Turkish territorial waters.into *back pushed* many number.of asylum-seekers *rescued*.

A great number of asylum-seekers *pushed back* into Turkish territorial waters were *rescued*. (Hürriyet, 2020a)

In the example, the same metaphorical expressions were employed to frame asylum-seekers as both objects and victims. As I explained before, *geri itilen* (“pushed back”) and *itilen* (“pushed into”) metaphorically conceptualized asylum-seekers as objects since *push-back* is a metaphorical expression, referring to a set of measures by which fled people are forced back over a border. On the other hand, *kurtarıldı* (“rescued”) frames asylum-seekers as victims of those *pushbacks* from borders. Therefore, both the VICTIM and the OBJECT metaphors were classified in these sentence.

SOURCE DOMAINS	NUMBER OF OCCURRENCE	PERCENTAGE
Victim	54	52.43
Object	24	23.30

Crime	14	13.59
Natural Phenomena	3	2.91
Precious possession	2	1.94
Commodity	2	1.94
Terror	1	0.97
Journey	1	0.97
Pressure/Burden	1	0.97
War	1	0.97
Total	103	100 %

Table 4. Source domains and their occurrence with *sığınmacı*

The third most frequent source domain that appeared with *sığınmacı* is CRIME. Compared to its high occurrence with *göçmen*, CRIME domain was identified as significantly lower with *sığınmacı* (13.59 %). An example of CRIME source domain occurred with *sığınmacı* can be seen below.

- 8) #SONDAKİKA | İzmir'de *şok operasyon!* Gemide 276 *sığınmacı yakalandı*.
 #BREAKING | İzmir.in shocking operation! Shipboard.on 276 asylum-seekers caught.
 #BREAKING | *Shocking operation* in Izmir! 276 asylum seekers *caught* on shipboard.
 (Hürriyet, 2020b)

In the example, the expression *yakalandı* (“caught”) was found and identified as an occurrence of the CRIME metaphor because this expression was used to refer to people who were seeking protection in terms of criminals in this context. Especially in the 8th example, this framing was further strengthened with *şok operasyon* (“shocking operation”). The word operation refers to the security forces' actions to capture the criminals; thus, it implies that those caught were criminals. In addition, the word shocking further dramatizes the effect of that “operation.” Therefore, in the example, asylum-seekers were framed as criminals. Considering the meaning of *sığınmacı*, which is a person who has left his/her country and is seeking protection, the use of the abovementioned metaphors with *sığınmacı* frames them as a threat.

The fourth most common source domain that occurred with *sığınmacı* was NATURAL PHENOMENA. An example with its explanation can be found below.

- 9) Polonya-Belarus sınırına *sığınmacı akını* sürüyor.

Poland - Belarus border.to asylum-seeker influx continues.

Asylum-seeker influx continues to the Poland-Belarus border. (Polonya, 2021d)

In this example, the expression *sığınmacı akını* (“asylum-seeker influx”) was identified as an instance of the NATURAL PHENOMENA metaphor because the basic meaning of *akın* (“influx”) was mapped onto asylum-seekers. As explained in the previous chapter, the literal of *akın* is the unceasing coming or arrival of something crowded; this meaning metaphorically frames asylum-seekers as an uncontrolled natural phenomenon. Therefore, this expression was categorized as such. NATURAL PHENOMENA metaphor is one of the most common metaphors identified in the literature about conceptual metaphors and migration. For example, it is the highest occurring metaphor in Arcimaviciene and Baglama’s work (2018). Similarly, migration as a natural phenomenon was one of the two most dominant source domain in Swedish and German media coverage of migration (Petersson & Kainz, 2017, p. 58).

The remaining source domains I found with *sığınmacı* (PRECIOUS POSSESSION, COMMODITY, TERROR, JOURNEY, PRESSURE/BURDEN, WAR) showed very low frequency. Due to this reason, I did not provide a detailed analysis of them in this section; however, it is important to note that some of these low occurring source domains (COMMODITY, TERROR, PRESSURE/BURDEN, WAR) were identified and discussed by other scholars previously as well (Santa Ana, 1999; Felberg & Šarić, 2017; Arcimaviciene & Baglama, 2018; Catalano & Mitchell-McCollough, 2019; Taylor, 2021, Benczes & Ságvári, 2021).

***Label 3: Mülteci* (“Refugee”)**

Compared to *göçmen* and *sığınmacı*, the least number of metaphorical expressions occurred with the label *mülteci*. More specifically, only twenty-three metaphorical expressions were identified with *mülteci*; however, this label appeared with a high number of distinct source domains, as mentioned before. One explanation for the low occurrence of metaphorical expressions with *mülteci* might be connected to how this term is defined by Law on Foreigners and International Protection in Turkey. According to this law, only those who come from “Europe” can be granted international refugee status (2014, p. 64). Most of the displaced in Turkey are not from Europe but from Syria; therefore, they cannot be granted refugee status. Since the word *mülteci* strongly conveys that those who acquired this status are officially recognized as people who are in

protection, this word could be used lesser with metaphors. When it comes to the most common source domains that occurred *mülteci*, these are PRESSURE/BURDEN, OBJECT, NATURAL PHENOMENA, and CRIME, respectively – see Table 5. *Mülteci* also occurred with certain distinct source domains (COMEDY CHARACTER, ANIMAL) that were not identified with the other two labels. The source domains with high frequency were analyzed below.

- 10) Dışişleri Bakanı Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu: İlave bir *mülteci yükü* kaldırmamız söz konusu değil.
Foreign-affairs Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu: Additional one *refugee burden* lifting, we subject is not.
Foreign affairs Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu: It is out of the question for us to *lift* an additional *refugee burden*. (Hürriyet, 2021b)

In the 10th example, the expression *mülteci yükü* (“refugee burden”) was identified as a metaphorical expression because refugees were referred to as an additional yük (“burden”) that cannot be lifted by Turkey, as Foreign Minister Çavuşoğlu puts it. The basic meaning of the word *yük* is “all things carried by cars, animals, etc.” according to TDK’s dictionary (sozluk.gov.tr, n.d.). In this context, refugees were metaphorically framed as a burden that put pressure on Turkey; therefore, this expression was categorized as PRESSURE/BURDEN source domain. This metaphor was previously identified and analyzed by many scholars in different countries and languages, such as in Poland and Cyprus by Baider and Kopytowska (2017), in Sweden and Germany by Petersson and Kainz (2017), in Hungary by Benczes and Ságvári (2021) and in the EU and the US by Arcimaviciene and Baglama (2018).

SOURCE DOMAINS	NUMBER OF OCCURRENCE	PERCENTAGE
Pressure/Burden	6	26.09
Object	5	21.74
Natural Phenomena	4	17.39
Crime	2	8.70
Comedy character	1	4.35
War	1	4.35
Animal	1	4.35
Precious possession	1	4.35
Victims	1	4.35
Commodity	1	4.35
Total	23	100 %

Table 5. Source domains and their occurrence with *mülteci*.

The second highest source domain I identified with *mülteci* is OBJECT. An example is as follows:

- 11) Angela Merkel'den Erdoğan'a mülteci yanıtı: "Mülteciler konusundaki memnuniyetsizliğini *onları kullanarak* göstermemeli".
Angela Merkel.from Erdogan.to refugee answer: "Refugees subject.on discontent.of.him them using.by show.should.not".
Refugee response from Angela Merkel to Erdogan: "He should not *use them* to show his discontent.

In the 11th example, the expression *onları kullanarak* ("use them") is a clear reference to refugees by Angela Merkel and refers to them as objects that were "used" by Turkish President Erdogan. As TDK's dictionary (sozluk.gov.tr, n.d.) describes, the word *kullanmak* ("to use") means to benefit from something for a certain purpose. Since refugees were referred to in terms of something entirely different: REFUGEES ARE OBJECTS, this expression was considered a metaphorical expression.

Another popular source domain found with *mülteci* is NATURAL PHENOMENA. It showed almost the same frequency as OBJECT. Two particular expressions, *akın* ("influx") and *dalga* ("wave"), in my corpus, formed the basis of NATURAL PHENOMENA. One example for each expression can be seen below.

- 12) #SONDAKİKA Bulgaristan Başbakanı Borissov, *mülteci akını* nedeniyle Türkiye ile olan sınırda önlemlerin artırıldığını söyledi.
#BREAKING Bulgarian Prime-Minister Borissov, refugee influx.of due-to Turkey with the.one.which border.at measures increased said.
#BREAKING Bulgarian Prime Minister Borissov said that due to the *influx of refugees*, measures were increased at the border with Turkey. (Habertürk, 2020)

In this example, the coming of refugees was metaphorically framed as *akın* ("influx") which literally means unceasing coming or arrival of something crowded, as I also explained in the previous chapter. Based on this description, it can be understood that refugees were conceptualized as an uncontrolled natural phenomenon at the Bulgarian-Turkish border by the Bulgarian Prime

Minister. Therefore, this expression was categorized as an instance of NATURAL PHENOMENA source domain.

- 13) "GEÇİŞLER YÜZDE 150 ARTTI" Türkiye'ye yaklaşan 'büyük mülteci dalgası'.
"PASSES PERCENT 150 INCREASED" Turkey.to approaching 'big refugee wave'.
"PASSES INCREASED 150 PERCENT" big refugee wave' approaching to Turkey.
(Cumhuriyet, 2021c)

When it comes to the 13th sample, I identified the expression *büyük mülteci dalgası* ("the great refugee wave") as an occurrence of NATURAL PHENOMENA because the basic meaning of the word *dalga* ("wave") means "curled movement, usually caused by wind, earthquake, etc., on large water surfaces such as seas or lakes," according to TDK's dictionary (sozluk.gov.tr, n.d.). In this example, the basic meaning of *dalga* was mapped onto refugees; therefore, refugees were metaphorically framed as an uncontrolled natural force possessed by water. The framing was also strengthened with the help of the word *büyük* ("big"). According to Arcimaviciene and Baglama (2018, p.9), the use of such a metaphor while referring to refugees simply adds to the unfavorable opinion about refugees because it signifies refugees as a fierce and unpredictable natural phenomenon that cause fear. On the other hand, Charteris-Black (2006, p.571) claims that one feature of flood metaphors is that they are frequently employed to depict a rise in migration by framing migration as an inflow of water. This claim complies with my example as well because there is a reference to the migration rates in the sentence before using a flood metaphor.

4.3 Metaphor Choices of Media Institutions

1) *Hürriyet*

As the evidence suggests, *Hürriyet* used the highest number of metaphorical expressions while reporting about fled people. This corresponds to 85 metaphorical expressions and 42.5% of the whole corpus. When all the metaphorical expressions used for the three labels were combined irrespective of the label, almost half of the metaphors identified in *Hürriyet*'s tweets were manifestations of the VICTIM metaphor, whereas 23.5 % of metaphors were categorized as the OBJECT metaphor and 17.65 % of them as the CRIME metaphor. Interestingly, the OBJECT metaphors were, most of the time, occurred next to the VICTIM metaphor. One possible explanation for this correlation between the VICTIM and OBJECT metaphor in *Hürriyet*'s tweets

might be an attempt to frame how displaced people were mistreated/objectified by “the Other” but saved by “Us.” The tweets in my corpus clearly illustrate that “the Other” who mistreats displaced people is Greece, whereas the “Us” who saves them is Turkey. Therefore, while one expression in a tweet metaphorically framed displaced people as objects, the other part framed them as victims. As can be seen in Table 2, there were other metaphor source domains employed by *Hürriyet* as well; however, they showed very little recurrence in the corpus, and the overwhelming majority of the metaphors belonged to the first three metaphors. Overall, it can be seen that *Hürriyet* mostly metaphorically framed fled people negatively.

When it comes to metaphorical conceptualizations that emerged based on each label in *Hürriyet*’s tweets, the findings are as follows – see Table 2.

- *Göçmen*: CRIME source domain was the most common (44.4%) source domain that appeared with the label *göçmen*.
- *Sığınmacı*: VICTIM source domain showed the highest frequency (62.75%) with regards to the label *sığınmacı*.
- *Mülteci*: BURDEN/PRESSURE occurred the most (42.86%) with *mülteci*. However, it is important to remark that there were only 7 metaphorical expressions found with *mülteci* in total and BURDEN/PRESSURE occurred 3 times.

These findings suggest several implications. Firstly, metaphorical framing changed depending on the label in *Hürriyet*’s tweets. For example, while the label *sığınmacı* mostly was framed with the VICTIM metaphor (62.75%), *göçmen* occurred mostly with the CRIME metaphor (44.4%). As mentioned before, the CRIME metaphor frames displaced people as criminals who have to be caught; therefore, arises the sentiments of fear and anxiety (Arcimaviciene & Baglama, 2018), whereas the VICTIM metaphor conveys a positive meaning and empathy toward displaced people. Especially when the remaining conceptual metaphors occurred with *göçmen* are added together, the majority of the conceptual metaphors framed the label *göçmen* very negatively. However, this is not the case with *sığınmacı* because the VICTIM metaphor itself constituted the majority.

What can be understood from these results in terms of the political leaning of *Hürriyet* and metaphor choice? According to both Kızılkaya and Ütücü (2021, p. 12-13) and Media4Democracy

(2020, p. 39), *Hürriyet* is a pro-government newspaper. Therefore, *Hürriyet*'s news discourse is closely linked to the Justice and Development Party (JDP) of Turkey. When the migration policy and discourse of the JDP are closely examined, it can be seen that the JDP followed an "open border" policy against displaced people, particularly Syrians (Goularas & Sunata, 2015). The JDP considered displaced people (particularly Syrians) as part of its "ummah" (Muslim community); therefore, Syrians were an integral part of JDP's new understanding of the nation rather than refugees or migrants under temporary protection (Saraçoğlu & Demirkol, 2015 as cited in Balkılıç & Teke Lloyd, 2020, p.560). In this regard, Turkey was illustrated as a crucial actor in helping and protecting Muslims suffering from persecution, as Balkılıç and Teke Lloyd explain. Furthermore, this idea of Turkey as a protector of the ummah was closely linked to the discourse around "the downfall of the Western civilization and the rise of Islamic ideals" as a solution to the worldwide humanitarian crisis, as they explain. Balkılıç and Teke Lloyd also state that although this Islamic discourse managed to legitimate the open border policy, it was referring to displaced people as temporary guests rather than refugees. Therefore, this Islamic discourse and policy of JDP created a fragile group of displaced people who were part of the "ummah" as guests without giving them refugee status, according to Balkılıç and Teke Lloyd. When it comes to the metaphorical framing of displaced people by *Hürriyet*, it can be seen that *Hürriyet* followed this idea by avoiding the use of *mülteci* in its tweets and framed displaced people as victims mostly which is in alignment with the JDP's approach. In conclusion, the political leaning of *Hürriyet* and its close ties to the JDP had a significant impact on the metaphorical framing of displaced people.

2) *Habertürk*

Similar to *Hürriyet*, *Habertürk* also primarily used the VICTIM, OBJECT, and CRIME metaphors while reporting fled people. Almost all OBJECT metaphors occurred together with the VICTIM metaphors, just as in *Hürriyet*'s tweet. However, there are two main differences between *Habertürk* and *Hürriyet*'s metaphor choices. The first one is that the CRIME metaphor ranked second, right after the VICTIM metaphor in *Habertürk*'s tweets. In other words, metaphorical framing of fled people as criminals was more common in *Habertürk* compared to *Hürriyet*. Secondly, the number of distinct metaphor source domains (6 distinct source domains) was found to be lesser in *Habertürk*'s tweets compared to both *Hürriyet* and *Cumhuriyet*. Therefore, *Habertürk* showed a limitation in terms of the variety of metaphors – see Table 2. Finally,

Habertürk also used other source domains such as NATURAL PHENOMENA, PRESSURE/BURDEN, COMMODITY, and PRECIOUS POSSESSION but overall framed fled people negatively.

In terms of the metaphorical conceptualizations that emerged based on each label in *Habertürk*'s tweets, the findings are as follows – see Table 2.

- *Göçmen*: VICTIM source domain was the most common (46.67%) source domain that appeared with the label *göçmen* in *Habertürk*'s tweets. However, VICTIM was closely followed by CRIME source domain (40%). This shows a significant contradiction regarding the metaphorical framing of *göçmen*.
- *Sığınmacı*: VICTIM source domain showed the highest frequency (52.78%) with regards to the label *sığınmacı* in *Habertürk*'s tweets. This can be considered another positive metaphorical framing of *sığınmacı*.
- *Mülteci*: BURDEN/PRESSURE occurred the most (33.33%) with *mülteci*, whereas CRIME source domain ranked second with 22.22%.

The findings I listed above suggest several implications. Since more than half of the metaphorical expressions that occurred with *sığınmacı* were VICTIM source domain, *sığınmacı* was metaphorically framed positively by *Habertürk*, just like *Hürriyet*. *Göçmen*, on the other hand, showed more neutral framing because half of the source domains showed positive framing (VICTIM: 46.67% and PRECIOUS POSSESSION: 3.33%), whereas the other half (CRIME: 40%, COMMODITY:10%) displayed negative framing. The third label, *mülteci*, exhibited overwhelmingly negative framing as opposed to the other two labels, but it only occurred with 7 metaphorical expressions. Therefore, it can be seen that metaphorical framing changed depending on the label in *Habertürk*'s tweets. Overall, the results of *Habertürk* showed some similarities to *Hürriyet*.

What are the implications of these findings regarding the political leaning of *Habertürk*? As Kızılkaya and Ütücü (2021, p. 13) suggest, *Habertürk* has a small number of critical journalists on staff and does not show the same biased editorial policy as many other outlets do; however, *Habertürk* still exhibits a significant pro-government bias while covering important issues.

Therefore, it is expected from *Habertürk* to show pro-government bias while covering the issue of migration. As I explained previously, the migration policy and discourse of the JDP have contradictory elements. On the one hand, displaced people are part of the “ummah” who were accepted with the open-border policy, but on the other hand, they are also guests who are expected to leave; thus, they are not refugees (Balkılıç & Teke Lloyd, 2020, p. 560). Due to this contradictory discourse and approach, displaced people were mostly framed positively by the media outlets with close ties to the JDP. However, negative framings were also found to be quite prevalent because this “hosting of guests” is expected to be over. As a result, it is not surprising to find out that *Habertürk* showed similarities to *Hürriyet* regarding the metaphorical framing of displaced people. Also, due to having some critical reporters, *Habertürk* showed more neutrality compared to *Hürriyet*. In conclusion, *Habertürk* displayed its political leaning while metaphorically framing displaced people.

3) *Cumhuriyet*

When it comes to *Cumhuriyet*, overall, it employed the least number of metaphorical expressions in its tweets (only 40 metaphorical expressions were found within 150 tweets shared by *Cumhuriyet*). This is significantly lesser than *Hürriyet* and *Habertürk*. However, *Cumhuriyet* showed a greater variety regarding the use of distinct metaphor source domains – see Table 2. Interestingly, *Cumhuriyet* primarily used the CRIME metaphor to address displaced people. This can be considered an unexpected result because *Cumhuriyet* is categorized as a left-wing independent media outlet by Kızılkaya and Ütücü (2021). Since left-wing politics is known for having liberal views and encouraging progressive policies to generate socio-economic equality for everyone (Dictionary.com, 2021), using mostly the CRIME metaphor seems contradictory to *Cumhuriyet*’s political position. However, it must be noted that the number of the CRIME metaphor I found in *Cumhuriyet*’s tweets is still lower than both *Hürriyet* (15) and *Habertürk* (22). The second and the third most popular metaphors that appeared in *Cumhuriyet* were the VICTIM and the OBJECT metaphors. As opposed to *Hürriyet* and *Habertürk*, the VICTIM and OBJECT metaphors were not commonly used together by *Cumhuriyet*. I found many other source domains (such as COMMODITY, NATURAL PHENOMENA, ANIMAL, PRESSURE/BURDEN) which contributed to the dehumanization of fled people and a few source domains (WAR, TERROR) that arise strongly negative sentiments against fled people by framing them as threats to life.

Concerning the metaphorical conceptualizations that emerged based on each label in *Cumhuriyet*'s tweets, the findings are as follows – see Table 2.

- *Göçmen*: CRIME was the dominant source domain that occurred with *göçmen* (52.94%). This shows that *göçmen* was metaphorically framed as negative by *Cumhuriyet*. Especially when COMMODITY source domain was also added, source domains with negative connotations rose to 64.71%.
- *Sığınmacı*: The label *sığınmacı* was used with a variety of source domains, as can be seen in Table 2. Since there was not one or two dominant source domains that constitute more than half of the metaphorical expressions in *Cumhuriyet*'s tweets, the use of *sığınmacı* required a further examination of all source domains. When source domains were categorized based on their connotations (positive, negative, or neutral), it can be understood that 68.75% of source domains displayed negative meaning. Therefore, *sığınmacı* was also conceptualized as a negative label with several source domains. These source domains are CRIME, OBJECT, WAR, COMMODITY, TERROR, and PRESSURE/BURDEN.
- *Mülteci*: OBJECT occurred the most (42.86%) with *mülteci* in *Cumhuriyet*'s tweets. Similar to the other two media outlets, *Cumhuriyet* also avoided using metaphorical expressions with *mülteci* (7 metaphorical expressions found with *mülteci*. The remaining source domains were NATURAL PHENOMENA, WAR, ANIMAL, and PRECIOUS POSSESSION.

Overall, these findings show that all three labels were framed negatively by *Cumhuriyet*. The political leaning of *Cumhuriyet* and its opposition to the JDP can be considered a significant reason for framing displaced people negatively. To be more specific, *Cumhuriyet* is described as a secularist, independent media outlet which opposes the JDP (Kızılkaya & Ütücü, 2021; Media4Democracy, 2020). Due to this opposition to the JDP's policies and discourse, it is not surprising that *Cumhuriyet* metaphorically framed displaced people in negative ways. For example, Efe (2015, p. 65) states that *Cumhuriyet* often criticized the migration policies of the government and focused on the economic problems “caused” by the Syrians. Another study conducted by Yaylacı and Karakuş (2015, p. 245) states that “*Cumhuriyet* takes problems concerning Syrian refugees as means of criticizing the government.” This criticism included “concerns” such as refugees will be become Turkish citizens and will gain the right to vote in

elections, as Yaylacı and Karakuş explain. Therefore, the negative metaphorical framing of all labels by *Cumhuriyet* might have a strong link to its position against the JDP, as the previous studies explain.

Chapter 5. Conclusions⁵

The main goal of this study was to investigate the metaphorical framing of *göçmen* (“migrant”), *sığınmacı* (“asylum-seeker”), and *mülteci* (“refugee”) by the three most popular Turkish digital newspapers on Twitter, namely *Hürriyet*, *Cumhuriyet*, and *Habertürk*. The novelty of my study has twofold. Firstly, despite hosting the world's greatest number of fled people, there is a lack of research on migration metaphors in Turkey. Secondly, the available literature in Turkey focused on mostly newspaper articles, excluding social media presence of metaphorical framing. Therefore, this study aimed to fill these gaps and is one of the first major contributions to the topic.

My results indicate that while *göçmen* and *mülteci* overwhelmingly elicit negative and hostile sentiments and framings, *sığınmacı* showed more positive and humanistic metaphorical frames. This finding implies that conceptual metaphors depend on the selected labels. Another important implication of my study is that the frequency and spread of conceptual metaphors depended on the media outlet's political leaning. *Hürriyet* (which has close ties with the governing party JDP) used mainly the VICTIM metaphor, whereas *Cumhuriyet* (a strong critic of the JDP) employed mainly the CRIME metaphor. On the other hand, *Habertürk* (hosts a small number of critical journalists but exhibits a significant pro-government bias) performed quite similarly to *Hürriyet* and mainly used the VICTIM metaphor. Nevertheless, metaphors in news discourse need further studies, especially in Turkey, considering the powerful impact of metaphors on the human mind and behavior. Such further studies might help deal with the issue of migration, which can be named among the most important complications to be solved.

⁵ This chapter is the same as the chapter of the author's thesis defended at Corvinus University of Budapest.

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