Perceptions and newspaper coverage of Syrian refugees in Turkey

FILIZ GÖKTUNA YAYLACİ
MINE KARAKUŞ

Abstract
In this study we analysed the perceptions about Syrian refugees as reflected in the newspapers. A qualitative design based on content analysis was adopted in this research. The news on Syrian refugees appeared in Hurriyet, Yeni Safak and Cumhuriyet newspapers between 1 January 2014 and 31 December 2014 have been analysed. These were classified on the basis of themes, styles, main concepts, and photographs used. Our findings show that, the political standing of the newspapers and their attitudes towards the Turkish government strongly affect the ways they shape the news about Syrian refugees.

Keywords: Migration; Syrian refugees; Kobani; Ezidi; Turkey; Newspapers.

Introduction
Contemporary Turkey is facing flows of forced migration with an ascending pace. The term forced migration represents the case of those people who are permanently forced to leave their home countries because of lack of the protection provided by the authorities as a result of civil war, human rights violation, political oppression, ethnic, religious identities and political opinions (Martin, 2002; Çalhan, 2008). The individuals forced to migrate are given different statuses – such as asylum seeker, refugee, and people under temporary protection- by the countries of escape.

In its migration history, from the foundation to 1990s, Turkey has opened its doors to more than 1.5 million Muslim refugees from various ethnic groups, such as Albanians, Tatars (Kirişçi, 1996; Kirişçi 2014:14). According to the UNHCR, over two million refugees have entered Turkey mainly from Iran, Iraq and Bulgaria in the last two decades (Buz, 2008a; Buz, 2008b). Right after the Iranian Revolution and Iran-Iraq War, approximately one million Iranians entered Turkey in 1979. In addition to this, after the Massacre of Halapja in 1988 and Gulf War in 1991, more than half a million people took refuge in Turkey and they were recognized as “guests” without any official legal protection. Meanwhile in 1989, more than 300,000 Bulgarian citizens of

* Assistant Professor at Faculty of Humanities, Sociology Department, Anadolu University, Eskisehir, Turkey. E-mail: fgoktuna2@yahoo.com.
* Research Assistant at International Center for Civil Society Studies and Practices, Anadolu University, Eskisehir, Turkey. E-mail: minekarakus@anadolu.edu.tr.
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Turkish origin escaped the communist regime. Then, the government of Turkey gave these people a chance of becoming Turkish citizen by evaluating their status in the framework of 1934 Settlement Law. Accordingly, Bulgarian citizens of Turkish origin are considered as those having “Turkish roots and culture”. When we come to 1990s, around 50,000 refugees from Albania and Bosnia entered Turkey and they were settled in refugee camps. Most of these refugees have returned back to their countries after peace was established. Those who stayed were naturalized through marriage and/or business (Buz, 2008a; Kirişçi, 2014: 13).

Due to the recent developments in the world and the new circumstances unravelled by the country’s socio-economic developments, Turkey started to host a migrant population of who are gradually becoming permanent, besides its “transition country” position (Ünal, 2014). Among the recent migratory and refugee movements, the Syrian movement to Turkey started in April of 2011. Towards the end of that year, the Turkish government took the side of the Syrian opposition and foresaw a future without Al Assad for Syria. In October 2011 Turkey declared an open door policy for those coming from Syria. By introducing a “temporary protection regime” for incoming Syrians, the situation gained its legal framework. According to the figures, today, the number of Syrians in Turkey has reached to 1,938,999. Approximately 269,000 of them are living in the camps (http://www.hurriyet.com.tr 18.07.2015; http://www.unhcr.org.tr 02.09.2015).

The literature on subject can be summarised under two main groups. The first group of literature focuses on the main problems of refugees that consist of lack of proper shelter, food, psychological help, language learning, social integration, employment and serious problems due to post traumatic stress disorder. The second group of researches focus on the public opinion and perceptions about refugees. These studies arrive the conclusion that especially in those cities where Acceptance, Examination and Shelter Centers are established, there is a common lack of awareness and information towards refugees and this situation highly effects the perceptions of the individuals. The imagined notion of “foreigner” in the minds of the local citizens shapes their perceptions towards refugees (Padilla 1997; Rado 1997; Summerfield, 1991 cited in Buz, 2008a; Gedik, 2009; Sığınmacılar ve Göçmenlerle Dayanışma Derneği, 2011).

Media influences the public by acting as both a reflector and a supporter of the hegemonic public opinion while the relation between the media and the public is effective in designating the government and public decisions on the subject (Kolukırık, 2009). Social, political and economic reasons prompt and create different reactions towards and perceptions about Syrian refugees. The reflections of the Syrian refugee movement on the Turkish public were in the forms of the refugees’ legal and international status, the future of the camps, the economic burden of the camps and the refugees themselves (Güçer, Karaca & Dinçer, 2013; Kirişçi, 2014: 14). Therefore, it can be asserted that
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newspapers are a rich source for analysing the perceptions of the public and how these perceptions are reflected according to the political divisions within the country.

While analysing the way of presentation of the Syrian refugees by newspapers, it is important not to ignore the ownership structure and political tendencies of the newspapers which are also involved in the process of news preparation. Similarly speaking, in his study on Star newspaper Öztekin (2008), mentions that the ownership structure and political attitudes of the newspaper are effective in the determination of the news content. Ongun (2014) studies Hurriyet and Birgun newspapers by applying critical discourse analysis method and he also concludes that the editorial standing of the newspapers is effective in the news discourses. The distance and closeness to political power also have a highly significant impact on the content and discourse of the news as Gölcü (2009) maintains. In this study, it is also taken into consideration that, the political attitudes and editorial standing shape the way the newspapers present different groups of Syrian refugees.

In this context, the ways that newspapers or other media outlets cover developments concerning Syrian refugees, gain notable importance. Refugee movements to and through Turkey, take place through the axis of east/south highway and coastal regions and constitute a significant news area for Turkish media especially for newspapers (Kolukırık, 2009). Within this framework, by examining how Syrian refugees are presented in the coverage of newspapers in Turkey and how the news discourse on Syrians produce and reproduce the existing hegemonic ideologies, this study attempts to contribute to the second group of research.

Method

The purpose of the study is to analyse the way that the issue of Syrian refugees are presented in the printed press. For that purpose the study is designed as a qualitative research. Data are obtained from the selected newspapers’ news and they are analysed by utilising content analyses method based on categorical analyses (Bilgin, 2006). By using a purposeful sampling three newspapers from three different political standings are selected. Among opposition newspapers, Cumhuriyet, among pro-government, Yeni Safak, and among mainstream, Hurriyet were analysed during the period between 1 January 2014 and 31 December 2014 on the basis of themes, styles, main concepts, photographs.

Analysis process: two authors have examined the selected newspapers separately before specifying the main themes and sub-categories for the classification. The archive search was conducted via PRNET data base program by searching with 15 different keywords: Syrian, Ezidi, Kobani, refugee, asylum seeker, refugee camp, boat, human smugglers, human traffickers, guests, Turkmen, Tal Afar, AFAD, migrant, temporary protection. However the researchers encountered the most relevant and encompassing news related to Syrian
refugees from the mentioned three themes of *Syrians, Ezidi and Kobani*. The sub-categories are as follows: *Threat, Epidemic, Criminal/crime, Victim, Guest, Burden, Discrimination, Social Tension, Poverty, Escape, Besiege, Struggle for life, Yearning, Deprivation, Children and Woman Abuse, Rape, Slavery, Human Trafficking/ Disaster, Aid provided by Turkey, International Aid, Solidarity between people, Cry for Help, Cry for Solidarity, Internal Politics, Middle East Politics, Internal Political criticism – analysis, Pro-government news, Culture- Public Service Announcement (critic), ISIS Massacre Violence, Armed Conflict, Resistance.*

**Findings**

The findings are given in the form of the total number of news and columns according to their relevance with three main themes and distribution of the news according to sub categories. In Figure 1, the news and column articles according to three main themes are presented. Findings explore that there are about 4000 news articles and columns related to the main themes in the newspapers. As can be seen in Figure 1, in total of the three themes the most of the news are published by *Cumhuriyet* newspaper on the subject, which is followed by *Yeni Safak* and *Hurriyet*. *Cumhuriyet* also has the most number of news on the themes of Ezidi and Kobani while *Yeni Safak* has the most number of news with the theme of Syrians. Given the political standing of the newspapers, the disproportion in the number of the news of different themes is not surprising.

**Figure 1.** The Number of News and Column Articles on the Themes of Ezidi, Kobani and Syrian presented in three Newspapers

When the number of the columns considered, in all three newspapers columns are mostly on the theme of Kobani, which can be explained by the fact that the issues related to Kobani have implications on internal politics of Turkey.
Findings about Ezidi Theme

Findings about our first main theme Ezidi (Figure 2) show that the newspapers made the news about Ezidi in different contents. From the number and content of the news reports it can be asserted that Yeni Safak as the pro-government newspaper published the least number of news which mostly consist of columns. Furthermore among the few number of news none of them mentions the violence, massacre and abuse by ISIS towards Ezidi people, whereas the hundreds of news in Cumhuriyet and Hurriyet take the issue of Ezidi people together with violence, abuse and massacre. Ezidi news in Cumhuriyet newspaper are represented predominantly within the context of the three sub-categories of Escape/Be besieged/Struggle for life (30 news), Cry for Help/Cry for Solidarity (29 news) and Political criticism/analysis (29 news). The three sub-categories for the same theme in Hurriyet are as follows; Escape/Be Besieged/Struggle For Life (14 news), Middle East Politics (14 news) and ISIS Massacre Violence (10 news). Finally in Yeni Safak, Ezidi theme was mostly presented with the following sub-categories Middle East Politics (7 news), Aid Provided by Turkey (4 news) and Political Criticisms/Analysis (4 news). If it is considered that the newspapers reflect their ideological standings in the way they construct the news contents, the clues of the discriminatory perspective of the government can be observed from the ways Yeni Safak reports the case of Ezidi refugees.

Cumhuriyet has 75 news published on the front page that continue in the following pages; Hurriyet gave 28 news on Ezidi at the front page and Yeni Safak only spared its front page for 4 news. Front page as the identity and display of the newspaper, the number of the news that the newspapers give space on their front pages is highly significant for analysing the importance paid to Ezidis in particular.

Almost all Hurriyet news on Ezidi consist of the ISIS and the violence they commit against Ezidi people which take the form of the following contents; Armed Conflict, Escape, Besiege, Struggle for life, Women and Child Abuse and Rape, Cry for Help, Cry for Solidarity, ISIS Massacres. Political criticisms were directed by columnists towards the government policies on the issue of Ezidi refugees.

Both in Hurriyet and Cumhuriyet newspapers, Children and Women Abuse, Rape, Slavery; Escape, Besiege, Struggle for Life categories include the most striking and effective photographs depicting people walking on the mountainous, deserted land, little children and women escaping from slavery and suffering in the middle of nowhere.

In contrast to Hurriyet and Cumhuriyet, Ezidi people are reflected in Yeni Safak only with the contents of Middle East Politics, Internal Politics and the news consist of political analysis of the writers. There was not any news on the struggles of Ezidi people, the violence and hardships that they have gone

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through and almost none of the news included any photographs of Ezidi refugees as victims of violence and war.

All in all, it can be suggested for the presentation of the Ezidi theme that, Yeni Safak generally ignores the humanitarian aspect of the Ezidi issue and predominantly criticises the opposition groups and responds to the criticisms against the government under the Ezidi context whereas Cumhuriyet and Hurriyet present the news with photographs depicting the tragedies, sufferings of Ezidi refugees as well as criticising the government for not equally distributing help and services to all Syrian refugee groups.

**Figure 2.** The Number of News on Ezidi in The Three Newspapers

Findings about Syrian Theme

Findings about the news in the second main theme of Syrian refugees (Figure 3) show that the news in Cumhuriyet are mostly related to Middle East Politics and criticisms against the Turkish government while the news in Hurriyet are presented within the context of Middle East politics and armed conflict. The news in Yeni Safak also take the Syrian refugee issue with Middle East politics in addition to aid provided by Turkey. Among the three sub-categories that Cumhuriyet presents, the most number of news on Syrian theme are, **Middle East Politics** (130 news), **Internal Political Criticism – Analysis** (86 news) and **Victim** (53 news). The news on the same theme in Hurriyet are related mostly to the following three sub-categories of **Middle East Politics** (117 news), **Armed Conflict** (45 news) and **Internal Political Criticism – Analysis** (29 news) whereas in Yeni Safak the three sub-categories are **Aid Provided By Turkey** (118 news), **Middle East Politics** (109 news) and **Internal Political Criticism – Analysis** (68 news). Cumhuriyet Newspaper reports 163 news on Syrians, Yeni Safak makes 164 and Hurriyet makes 121 news on their front pages.

The general attitude of Cumhuriyet newspaper is to criticize the government over Syrians. The common concern of Turkish public on Syrians such as ‘they are becoming Turkish citizens’; ‘they will be able to vote in
elections’; ‘they are allowed to establish private enterprises’; were reported as problematic issues and the government is blamed for opening the doors to Syrians which is contrary to the standing of the newspaper for Ezidi people (see Bursali, 13.10.2014). Without questioning whether or not it is possible to grant a refugee citizenship rights within Turkish political context, Bursalı (13.10.2014) reflects Syrians as political tools and prospective electors that would vote for the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP). For instance Cüneyt Arcayürek posits a similar view on 11.05.2014 in his column by mentioning, “Since the day they (Syrians) have arrived they created disorder and unrest in all the cities that they settled in. They act as if they are not guests but owners of this land and the government is the sole responsible for this situation by doing nothing.” However not the overall tendency of the newspaper is to show the Syrian refugees as burdens and criminals. For instance, Erol Manisalı in his article on 06.10.2014 and Şükran Soner on 07.10.2014 highlight the humanitarian aspect of the issue and criticize the government for ignoring the poverty of Syrian refugees.

Figure 3. News Presented about Syrians in the newspapers of Cumhuriyet, Yeni Safak and Hurriyet

In general we can classify Yeni Safak news on Syrians under three groups. First one can be considered as those direct political criticisms towards CHP and pro-Kurdish opposition party HDP (Hilal Kaplan, 12.10.2014; Özlem Albayrak, 10.10.2014, Şebnem Oruç, 2.11.2014; Ayşe Böhürler, 1.11.2014). The second group of news consist of pro-government tendencies that glorify Turkey’s Middle East politics on the issues of government resolution on Syria, Turkey’s aid and support to Syrians by directly or indirectly mentioning the AKP government. The photographs and news presenting visits conducted by Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu, Tayyip Erdoğan, President of the
Republic, and other government representatives to the refugee camps and aids provided by them take a considerable space in the newspaper. The third type of news consist of Syrians’ dramatic stories, their gratefulness to Turkey and almost all these news emphasise that the Syrians are temporary guests as is mentioned in the news article entitled “Turkey has never left us” on 18.12.2014.1

In Hurriyet newspaper, the news on Syria is accompanied with government’s criticisms against the opposition parties2, criticisms against the US policies3 as well as criticisms against the government. Hurriyet gives almost equal space to the government and opposition side’s criticisms. Unlike Cumhuriyet and similar to Yeni Safak, Hurriyet presents news on government ministers’ and prime minister’s visits to Syrian people and their criticisms against USA policies on Syria.

Overall for the Syrian theme, the three newspapers just like the Ezidi theme take the issue in parallel with their political and ideological standing. As pro-government Yeni Safak uses Syrian refugee issue as a tool for over representing the personal and institutional ‘generosity’ of the government members and the President of the Republic, while criticising the opposition parties and groups for their lack of attention to Syrians. Cumhuriyet takes problems concerning Syrian refugees as means of criticising the government, while Hurriyet preserves its standing as impartial by giving space to both voices as well as criticising the USA policies. However there is slight tendency of Hurriyet to present the government and its members as helpful to the refugees.

Findings about Kobani Theme

Findings about the third main theme Kobani (Figure 4) show that all newspapers mention the case of Kobani in relation with the Solution Process for the Kurdish problem and internal politics. The three sub-categories that Cumhuriyet presents the Kobani theme are, Internal Political Criticism – Analysis (154 news), Solution Process (137 news) and Middle East Politics (118 news). The most number of news in Hurriyet are given under these three sub categories of Middle East Politics (121 news), Internal Political Criticism – Analysis (79 news), Internal Politics (36 news). As for Yeni Safak, the three sub-categories and the numbers are Middle East Politics (123 news), Internal Political Criticism – Analysis (91 news) and Solution Process (87 news). Hurriyet newspaper spares 131 news

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1 For instance such news entitled “No Feast For Them” (Onlara Bayram Yok) on 4.10.2014 and “Their Stories are Heart Breaking: Bury Us in Our Land” on 3.10.2014, highlights the dramatic stories of Syrians
2 The news on 25.10.2014 entitled “Thank God He doesn’t Think that Kobani is in Alaska” says PM Davutoğlu referring to Kılıçdaroğlu.
3 For instance Verda Özer in her article on 28.10.2014, criticises US politics on the grounds that “the US media blames Turkey for doing nothing to prevent ISIS however Turkish government has been struggling to convince US and to take action against ISIS”. www.migrationletters.com
on Kobani at the front-page; Yeni Safak presents 174 at the front page and 264 news are given at the front page by Cumhuriyet newspaper.

For the Kobani theme, Cumhuriyet newspaper gives a wide coverage to the opposition leaders’ opinions and presents a critical attitude, Hurriyet tries to take a more descriptive and neutral stance but gives a wide coverage to government representatives’ opinions, Yeni Safak predominantly covers government representatives’ views and takes a pro-government and a supportive stance to the government policies. Yeni Safak discusses the Kobani issue with its negative impact on the Solution Process; Cumhuriyet presents the issue of Kobani in relation with the police intervention to the demonstrations in Turkey and Turkey’s failures in foreign policy.

Just like Cumhuriyet, Yeni Safak also takes the issue of Kobani predominantly within the context of Solution Process of the government and the Kurdish issue. However unlike Cumhuriyet both the column writers and the news highlight the success of the government in the Solution Process and how PKK, Kandil, HDP groups try to undermine this success and the government in general (Metiner, 4.11.2014, Selvi, 4.11.2014, 11.11.2014, Kutlu, 2.11.2014, Karagül, 12.11.2014). Furthermore, Yeni Safak blames the HDP and Kurdish opposition as the main responsible for the 6-8 October incidents in South East provinces of Turkey and the death of 50 people (Yeni Safak, 1.12.2014, 3.12.2014).

**Figure 4.** News about Kobani in the newspapers of Cumhuriyet, Yeni Safak and Hurriyet

Hurriyet takes a similar stance to the issue of Kobani with Yeni Safak, the columns and the news discuss Kobani together with the Solution Process, the 6-8 October incidents and their impact on the Solution Process (Hurriyet, 1.11.2014, Özer, 1.11.2014, Berkan, 25.10.2014). Hurriyet also gives considerable space to Erdogan’s and government representatives’ declarations, which are in the form of criticising USA’s, and internal

All in all, Yeni Safak criticises the opposition groups for only reflecting the barbarism of ISIS while showing ‘PYD as heroic and innocent’ both in the news and the columns. Hurriyet does not share this criticism directly, rather it conveys the message indirectly by giving space to the declarations of the President of the Republic and the Prime Minister, the newspaper voices the government’s criticism to Kurdish opposition. Cumhuriyet predominantly criticises the government regarding its Syria policies, discrimination between different refugee groups and ignoring the humanitarian aspect of the issue. Some of the news and articles in Cumhuriyet also criticise Kurdish opposition groups for the 6-8 October incidents (Bursalı, 09.11.2014, Arcayürek, 18.11.2014, Kongar, 16.11.2014, Soner, 20.11.2014).

Discussion

Among the few research on newspapers and newspapers’ effects on the perceptions on Syrian refugees, Yücebaş (2015: 38) examines the local news reports by using content analysis in order to understand the perception levels of Turkish public,. In his article he discusses how the perceptions on the Syrians are shaped and transformed in the city of Gaziantep. He shows how perceptions about Syrian refugees changed from “innocent and demanding guests” to “economic opportunities” as well as “economic rivals” and “disobedient threats in peaceful neighbourhoods”. Finally, Syrians are perceived as those “who need to be swept away from the surroundings of the local residents”.

During our analysis of selected national newspapers, we also encountered similar news that Syrians are expressed as victims, guests, burdens and threats. However the methodological difference of Yücebaş’s (2015) study from ours is reflected in the differences of the analyses. That’s to say, by focusing on the local media, Yücebaş (2015) did not classify his news sources according to their political standing. Therefore how perceptions on Syrian refugees of different political fractions are reflected on the news cannot be explained from his analysis.

According to Erdogan’s (2015) discussion, those newspapers that are pro-government introduce the refugees as “helpless”, “Should be taken care of”. Erdogan also asserts that the Turkish newspapers, which support Al Assad government, introduce the refugees as “terrorists”, “criminals”, “burdens” (Erdogan, 2015: 149). As discussed in our analysis, none of the newspapers of Cumhuriyet, Hurriyet and Yeni Safak show any tendency towards Al-Assad’s regime and predominantly showed refugees as “terrorists”, only those news which reported a Syrian committed a crime employ a discourse that would criminalize Syrians but it is not possible to drive the conclusion from these news that any of the three newspapers represent all Syrian refugees as “terrorists”.

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Erdogan (2015:151-152) mentions that Yeni Safak newspaper, which is known for its pro-government standing, highlights the humanitarian issues for refugees, which is also the case with our findings. When it was the Syrian refugees, Yeni Safak’s news predominantly covered the subjects on how Al-Assad Regime committed massacres, the dreadful escape of Syrians and how they found peace and safety in Turkey as well as the government representatives’ help and support. However that’s also to mention that, the researchers did not encounter any such news while analysing the themes Kobani and Ezidi or any news of abuse, rape and slavery that ISIS commits.

By studying the media discourse on the war in Syria Şen (2013), found out that, Hurriyet and Sabah as the mainstream media have war/violence, propaganda and elite focused; the news language do not include peace journalism. According to Şen (2013), as Turkey started to have tension with Syria, the mainstream media began constructing the news content that would legitimise and support the war and target the ruling power in Syria. Şen (2013) continues to discuss that, the mainstream media justifies the hegemonic discourse while presenting the Syrian news and it excludes opposing views and produces justifying reasons for Turkey to intervene in the war in Syria. In the case of refugees however, Hurriyet tries to present itself as equally close to both ruling government party’s and opposition groups’ discourse. However there are also examples of how Hurriyet employs the hegemonic Turkish discourse in criminalising the Syrian refugees and presenting what its target readers expect from Syrians.4

Our recent history shows that the hate discourses fuelled by the media has the danger of triggering hate crimes (Vardal, 2015). By examining how refugees and asylum seekers are reflected in the media, Kolukısa (2009) concludes that the news content legitimize the problem and leave it unresolvable, the refugee image is presented as the “other” or as the “stranger”, inhibits the possible social interaction. As it can be asserted from the analysis, very limited space was given to the humanitarian aspect of the Syrian refugee issue since all the newspapers handled the issue as a tool to pursue their political and ideological interests. It could be suggested that the three newspapers are in a sense concerned to produce and reproduce their own political and ideological discourses and present what their target groups expect to read rather than informing and presenting the humanitarian aspects and realities of the refugees and war. In order to achieve this they use

4 In Cumhuriyet newspaper the news about sexual abuse by a Syrian to his Turkish neighbour’s child was reported as “Protest against Syrians” and mentions the family of the child stoned the house of the Syrian family and burned their car (23.06.2014 Cumhuriyet) in the news it was underlined that accusation was just a false claim. The same news was reported by Hurriyet as “A Syrian was arrested because of Sexual Abuse” just slightly mentioning that the child’s family protested the incident (23.06.2014, Hurriyet). From these two different ways of expression of the same incident it can be suggested that, Cumhuriyet prioritises the public reaction based on false accusations to the Syrians whereas Hurriyet emphasise the criminal Syrians image and affiliates sexual abuse with being a Syrian as the title expresses.
different strategies, such as discriminating and differentiating between different groups of Syrian refugees, emphasising or ignoring certain groups’ sufferings and tragedies and using the refugee issue as a means to criticise the opposition groups or government. Achieve

**Conclusion**

As Van Dijk (2000) mentions the discourse of media might serve as the main source of individuals’ information, attitude and ideologies. Media achieves this in collaboration with politicians, professionals, academicians and other elites (cited in Ongun, 2014). Within this context, it could be suggested that the newspapers present the news and they construct the news content according to their ideological and political standings as well as world views of their target readers. This is considerably significant in the way three newspapers construct the news reports on the three main themes of Syrians, Ezidi and Kobani. The news on Syrians, Ezidis and Kobani that three newspapers coverage cannot be discussed independently from the Syrian inter-war, its humanitarian and social implications, how these implications are reflected in Turkey's different political fractions, and independent of different perceptions on Turkey’s foreign policy and government understanding. Consequently, it could be asserted that individuals, who want to obtain information on Syrians, Kobani or Ezidi via these newspapers, can reach sound information by critically reading and evaluating three newspapers’ reports all together. This study briefly analyses the news throughout the year 2014 on Syrian refugees of three newspapers selected according to their political standing. Hence, similar research can be conducted for a different time period, about different groups of migrants and/or refugees and with other media organs for the purpose of elaborating the way the migrants and different refugee groups are perceived by the media organs and their impact on the public perceptions of migrant and refugee groups.

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