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**MEDIA AND LANGUAGE STUDIES:
COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF SYRIAN
CIVIL WAR'S MEDIA COVERAGE
DISCOURSE ON "DEMOCRACY AND
ARAB SPRING CONCEPT" IN THE YEARS
OF 2011-2015: BBC AND REGIONAL
REPORTS**

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TEZ SAVUNMA SINAVI, İÜ Lisansüstü Eğitim-Öğretim Yönetmeliği'nin 36. Maddesi uyarınca yapılmış,
sorulan sorulara alınan cevaplar sonunda adayın tezinin **KABULÜNE** OYBİRLİĞİ / OYÇOKLUĞUYLA karar verilmiştir.

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"Bugünkü dilin sayısız sloganvari soyutlanmasının ardında, bugün politikanın hükmüne tabi olduğu yükseltilmiş bir soyutlama zorlaması yatar."

Reinhert Koselleck

ÖZ

“DEMOKRASİ VE ARAP BAHARI” KAVRAMLARI ÇERÇEVESİNDE SURİYE İÇ SAVAŞI'NIN 2011-2015 MEDYA SÖYLEMİ TARAMASI: BBC VE BÖLGESEL HABERLERİN KARŞILAŞTIRMALI ÇÖZÜMLEMESİ

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Televizyon ve internet haberlerinin dili, tüm dünyayla ilgili yayınlar genellikle İngilizce yayınlanmaktadır. Bu yayınlar doğal olarak İngiliz sözdizimi tarafından belirlenmektedir. Modern çağın daha fazla soyutlayıcı ve kavramları evrenselleştirici yönü, dile daha çok yansımaktadır. Anlık yaşam deneyim alanları, tüm olayların küresel karşılıklı bağımlılığı içerisinde gerçekleştiğinden, bu deneyimleri yapılandıran tüm etmenleri içermemektedir. Bu nedenle, Ortadoğu'nun gerçek yaşam deneyimleri ve kavramları, uluslararası medya tarafından kullanılan belirli bir sosyal ve politik terminolojiye koşullandırılmaktadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Arap Baharı, Demokrasi, Suriye, Küresel Medya, Söylem Çözümlemesi, korpus

ABSTRACT

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF SYRIAN CIVIL WAR’S MEDIA COVERAGE DISCOURSE ON “DEMOCRACY AND ARAB SPRING CONCEPT” IN THE YEARS OF 2011-2015: BBC AND REGIONAL REPORTS

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The language of the news on television and the internet, the publications that are relevant to the whole world, are generally published in English. These publications are naturally provided through English syntax. The increasingly more abstracting attitude and universalization of the concepts in the Modern Era seem to be the mere evidence of modernity. The minute details of experiences do not include all of the factors structuring these experiences due to the global interdependence of all events. Thus, the genuine experiences of the Middle East increasingly conditioned by the international, social and political factors through certain political terminology that is mainly used by the international media.

Keywords: Arab Spring, Democracy, Syria, Global Media, Corpus

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Preface

Understanding a society through the language factor and interpreting the cultural experiences by exploring the *language philosophy*, *sociolinguistics* and *democracy philosophy* as the background of comparative analysis on regional and international news was a painful beginning since the extensiveness of the study era. However, in this initial stage, taking advantage of the elements of amateurism in academy, I have met the excitement, passion and stimulating aspects of studying, combining and sharing the knowledge of various social sciences. In this context, I found myself supported, triggered and alive during my study within the extraordinary helps of my dear advisor Prof. Dr. Nilüfer Pembecioğlu. Instead of exploding the small idea balloons flying in the air in the beginning phase, she helped me to combine them through specific methods. I would like to express my sincere appreciation and deep gratitude for providing all her knowledge, experience and methodology that was a huge contribution of this study.

Once, for all, Prof. Dr. Ceyhan Kandemir, the founder of the International Media Studies Program, who is extremely committed to his personal labor encouraged us to participate and study actively to take full advantage of the program's educational and social process, special thanks for the endless energy and motivation.

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PART ONE

Introduction

21st century's philosophy essentially needs to place the "language studies" with modern questionings. Through globalization, knowledge of reality depends upon the trusted resources in use.

For Continental Philosophers *language philosophy* is involved with the historical, political and social events of the *nations*. It is believed that creating certain logical approaches for thinking and creating reality as well as practices depend upon the language philosophy.

Linguists such as Saussure, Meillet and Vendryes have considered language as the primary "social event". As Meillet states, "*all events in the language is organized by certain social agreements*". According to Saussure; Language is a social system and the word is an individual action. (Vardar, 2001: 28-29)

Language studies cannot show us "*whether the language or the nation has the priority*". According to Humboldt, the languages cannot contain the words having the same meaning, because the *nations speak different languages that taking its roots from different entities which are having different conditionals* requiring certain agreements/settlements (Akarsu, 1998:26). However, the same agreement on the same words might not be possible for two different languages.

Social interaction in one community is somewhat easy. But international interaction among the communities specifically, through print media which means through different languages require more attention. There seems to be some strict rules to become a part of the global media. According to WAN 2004 (World Association of Newspapers 2004) report, almost all countries are losing audience even in the most developed countries while the developing countries are increasing their share. Thus, the criteria of being "global" changes in the 21st century. For example, 392 million daily newspapers are scattered throughout the world reaching to a billion of readers all over the world. Yet, being global for a newspaper requires

the print media to reach at least to three continents, printed in English and reach a circulation of at least 50.000 overall in those continents.

Whereas the top of the newspapers of the world are mainly from USA and UK, it's becoming somewhat imperative to gain the global perspective within the dynamics of the English language in a world of thinking and creating global reports. Regarding the communication technology, USA seems to be the center of the North. Yet, in Europe, Germany, UK, France are among the "producer" countries in terms of news, agenda and dissemination. Having these dynamics, the countries in Latin America, Africa, Asia and Middle East are positioned to be the "consumers". That's why these USA and UK newspapers, circulating more than the others, function as a mediator in between cultures, politics and societies. In other words, these newspapers are creating the pioneer international reports in English and most of the global news are delivered through them throughout the world.

This thesis is inspired from socio-linguistics as a starting point, that is mainly studying the linguistics perspectives and language differences of the cultures in the world. As known in general, sociolinguistics not only concerned with the relationship between language and society, but also about how language use interacts with the society or how it is affected by social factors such as gender roles, ethnicity, age or social class.

According to a FP (Foreign Policy) article which is based on the book written by Christian Reus-Smit "*On Cultural Diversity: International Theory in a World of Difference*"; the researchers on international norms explored that, domestic-level structures and processes affect compliance of nations. Concentrating the "*domestic legitimacy of international norms*" on media coverage of others' case make out that there is insufficient attention on measuring the "*legitimacy or salience of international norms in the domestic arena*" (Smit, 2018).

Even if the media studies have focused on "*journalistic roles*" of foreign news framing events for "local readers" to render them suitable for national audiences, yet there has been less attention to similar roles played by "*other social*

actors” like regional or local news that are bringing in “*new models*” about existing realities.

This study aims to question the international media from the perspective of their/our news dichotomy. Whereas different nations/state’s foreign policy interests converge with each other, the meanings of “their” news based on “shared assumptions” are constructed by news organizations in different nations/states depending on their choice of professional or national narrative.

1.1. Introduction to Language and International Media

The language studies took its central position in the intellectual field throughout the 17th century with thinkers like Hobbes and Locke. In the 20th century, however, no matter which problem involves within its area of interest, the language studies began to engage almost every mind. Since the 20th century, intellectual activities seem to be not independent of language-related problems. The major philosophers such as Heidegger, Wittgenstein, Davidson and Derrida of this century also concentrated on language theories.

Ferdinand de Saussure is the first linguist who discusses the difference between ‘*langue*’ and ‘*parole*’ that the separation of language and word and examines this problem in the theoretically (Vardar, 2001:33).

Throughout the time, the concept of “usage” has gained importance at the point where language has focused on the act of “wording” in other words Speech Acts in Austin’s terms. ‘Usage’ is the point of meeting and merging of the word in language. Some researchers advocated to call “discourse” for the functional side of the “word” and embarked the idea of adoption of this concept (discourse) as a medium term. They gave priority to “discourse” in terms of both being an action and an abstraction (Vardar, 2001: 35).

The function and meaning of the media or the old word “*press*” is questionable and differs through nations; as we see in the following examples:

The word Press in English, La Presse in French, Die Presse in German, La Stampa in Italian, are mostly all covered as “printing” in Turkish. The “press” means art of printing. It covers not only the print material but also the dissemination of it through the 15th century. All the related concepts such as the invention of the printing press, the development of it, the spreading of ideas to a large extent, all are considered as the industry or business of printing.

In the United States, the term “Mass Communication” is used instead of the word “Press” and “Mass Media of Communication” refers to the tools of mass media.

In Belgium, the term “Technique de diffusion” is used instead of the word “press”. This term includes only the material part of the means of communication.

The word “journalisme” in French, just means the “journalism” in English, yet it is far from involving the whole content of the press.

In this respect, we see the usage of the word “information” in the French language in the sense of “press and publication”. It is argued that it is appropriate to the term of “press and publication” because it represents the quality to cover the freedom of the press and the instruments of the press, but it is faced with the objection that it does not include the interpretation and judgement which is the expression as “opinion” (İnuğur, 2005: 23).

The fixed terminology of the international media makes it impossible to understand the local or regional problems. Today’s international media contains problems with certain news being downgraded into a certain pattern and most importantly, familiarized, standardized as much as possible. In order to solve this problem, we need to handle the international news reports on different regions a bit more suspiciously. To reach out the first-hand experience and information regarding the events the international media reports should be written down by educated, trained reporters who are used to the techniques, language, knowledge, equipment of the related area. It would be better if they could be using a more sensitive language, having the right information from the original people of the land, concentrating on human stories, instead of making quick decisions or having prejudices.

The level of linguistic and cultural imperialism cannot be adequately accounted for this situation. The historical roots of globalization lie in colonial period, and its main effect has been to create a general and standardized way of thinking. It includes the flow of ideas, cultural products from developed nations, general concepts regarding life styles. Mainly, the US produces almost all of the media content and it is consumed by the others, for example, Africa, Middle East, Europe, etc. The television stations heavily rely on the news imported from American and European contents.

1.2. Introduction to Syrian Civil War and Media Reports

Media discourse plays an important role regarding how conflicts are perceived. Unlike the domestic news, in foreign news the media outlets, are often the only source of information for ongoing events. In foreign conflicts the case is even worse. The international media coverage participates in creating what is understood as the “reality” of the conflict through choosing which aspects of the conflict are covered, which topics are highlighted and which actors are interviewed.

Regarding the international media coverage of the “*Syrian Civil War*”; the news highly reported in collocation with the “*Arab Spring*” and “*Democracy*” concept. Through reporting the current events to the readers and viewers; the international media sets the foundation for “*imagining the future*” based on their own past experiences like comparing the “*Arab Spring*” to “*Berlin Wall*” which has been reported through many news and articles. By doing so they tend to create a vision of how the situation looks like now and how can it look evolve in future, later.

Throughout the thesis, handling the topic of “*Democracy*” which is said to be the core of the “*Arab Spring*” Saussure’s approach is adopted. Democracy as a “*concept*” is analyzed in both linguistic roots and philosophical critics considering the changes of methods from ancient Greek applications to modern democracy applications started in the Enlightenment era.

Saussure stated that: “*language as a system of signs can be studied as a complete system at any given point through diachronic analysis which is described*

as; the change in the meaning of words over time”. Diachronic approach can also be classified as *historical linguistics*, it is thus the study of language in terms of how it visibly changes in use, by paying attention to affinity between language and historical transmutations. Synchronic approach analyses mean to study the similarities and differences of languages at a given point of time by focusing on their structural features and characteristics. “A person cannot deal with something from both synchronic and diachronic perspectives at the same time nevertheless both perspectives are necessary” Saussure added. He makes this distinction as a part of an argument for studying linguistics from a synchronic as well as a diachronic perspective. Some scholars also do not see the two approaches apart from each other. They assert that it is a mistake to think of descriptive and historical linguistics as two separate compartments.

The German philosopher Koselleck states: “each synchronization *“eo ipsa (spontaneously) is also the diacrole”*. All temporal dimension is always nested inside from past to future and the current time are added manually or conversely, to define the future as one of the moments in the history of leaked copies cannot be held for future crossing points is contrary to the whole experience (Koselleck, 2009).

Saussure explains the difference between these two perspectives, starting argument by imagining a plant. If we cut the body of the plant longitudinally, we can see the fibers that “form the plant” but if we cut transversely (cross-sectional cut) we see fibers are in a certain relationship which is non-looking longitudinally. (Berger, 1995) Thusly, a perspective that is synchronous or diachronic affects what they see. The differences between synchronic and diachronic analysis are shown in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1. A Comparison of Synchronic and Diachronic Analysis (Berger, 2004)

SYNCHRONIC	DIACHRONIC
Synchronisation	Subsequence
Constant	Evolutionary
In A System	In A Time
Connections	Connections
Sequential / Paradigmatic	Syntagmatic
LEVI STRAUSS	PROPP

<https://www.slideshare.net/bagusclears/5171-berger-finalpageschapter1>

According to the table taken from Berger's 2004, Syntagmatic Analysis, a text is examined as a sequence of events that forms some kind of narrative Vladimir Propp, a Russian folklorist, who wrote a pioneering book in 1928 titled *Morphology of the Folktale* was following a method like undertaking a comparison of the themes for the sake of comparison by separating the component parts then making comparison of the tales according to their components. Propp refers to the essential or basic narrative unit in his study as a "*function*" which is understood as an act of a character, defined from the point of view of its significance *for the course of the action* (diachronic).

Claude Levi-Strauss in the 1950s, analyzed cultural phenomena and he produced more *linguistically-focused* writings where he applied *Saussure's distinction* between *langue* and *parole* in his search for the fundamental mental structures of the human mind, arguing that the structures that form the "*deep grammar*" of society originate in the *mind* and operate in us *unconsciously*.

In summary, the structuralism approach is applied for the comparison of languages of international media and regional media regarding the coverage Syrian Civil War; through the course of synchronic and diachronic analysis to go into deep analysis of democracy concept in both linguistic and philosophical applications throughout history.

1.2. The Aim of the Study

This thesis is concentrating on the international media representations through the language and concepts created during the 2011-2015 Syrian Civil War Reportings. The aim of the study is to apply a kind of “comparative and contrastive analysis” on English and Arabic languages regarding the concepts limited with the words of “Democracy, Freedom, Justice, Right, Arab Spring, International War”. In doing so, it explores the relationship between the news production process and the reception process of the audience from the point of view of differences regarding the native language perspective.

Consequently, this study aims to concentrate on analyzing the news reporting throughout the first era of the Syrian Civil War. That means the data is dwelling more on the “wording” of the news rather than the coverage itself. Yet, throughout the words, the study aims to reach to a certain ‘discourse’ level to include similar or substitute words.

Media linguistics is the linguistic study of media speech. It studies the function of language in the media sphere, or the modern mass communication presented by print, audio-visual and networked media (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Media_linguistics). Media linguistics investigate the relationship between language use and public discourse conveyed through the media. In general, it focuses on the function of the language throughout the way the news is prepared that is called the news production process. Yet, this study mainly aims to figure out the structure of the product – that is called to be the “news itself”. In other words, the study concentrates more on the wording of the news and the way they were made to mean and cover the concepts.

Media linguistics focuses on the use of language in journalistic products; current media linguistics tendencies expand this focus in different directions. As Luginbühl mentioned, these tendencies are summarized as; the expansion on non-linguistic or paralinguistic signs (multimodality), the expansion of a cultural dimension (culturally) and the expansion on the whole communicative process (including the production and reception) (Luginbühl; 2015).

The main concern of this study basically is not only questioning the media language but also questioning the process of a “creating concepts” in international media. In other words, this study aims to concentrate on analyzing the ‘process’ rather than the ‘product’. Throughout the research, the process of production and reception have to be taken into account as well. The study is not only concentrating on *English speaking* or *Arabic speaking* communities but also on the concepts and dynamics of the “Western way of conceptualizations” which is rooted from Ancient Greek to Renaissance era up to the date.

The dynamics of journalism work through the society, changing the tendencies and daily habits of the people. In order to maintain this specific aim, the new media also creates new ways such as new wording and creative use of language by various hashtags, short catchy words and memorable references covering the subject in various ways. Even if it seems to be enriching the subject or making it worldwide, visible and transparent in all facades, like abbreviations, hashtags and other ways acting to direct the attention of the people to a certain think-tank defined before. Thus, this kind of wording created in certain languages and delivered as an international portray of situation, actually prevents the reality or truth to be discovered by receivers.

Since the target of the study is not a linguistic one, but more some research focusing on the wording choices of international media.

The short term objective of the study dwells on the language choice and representation of democracy. However, the long term objective extends to the linguistic studies in international media beyond discourse analysis.

This involves analyzing the roots of language differences as well as the cultural aspects and experiences which are settled in applications of reporting visions of international media. Whereas the “language philosophy” is used throughout many other social studies, media wording seems to be a neglected field of study.

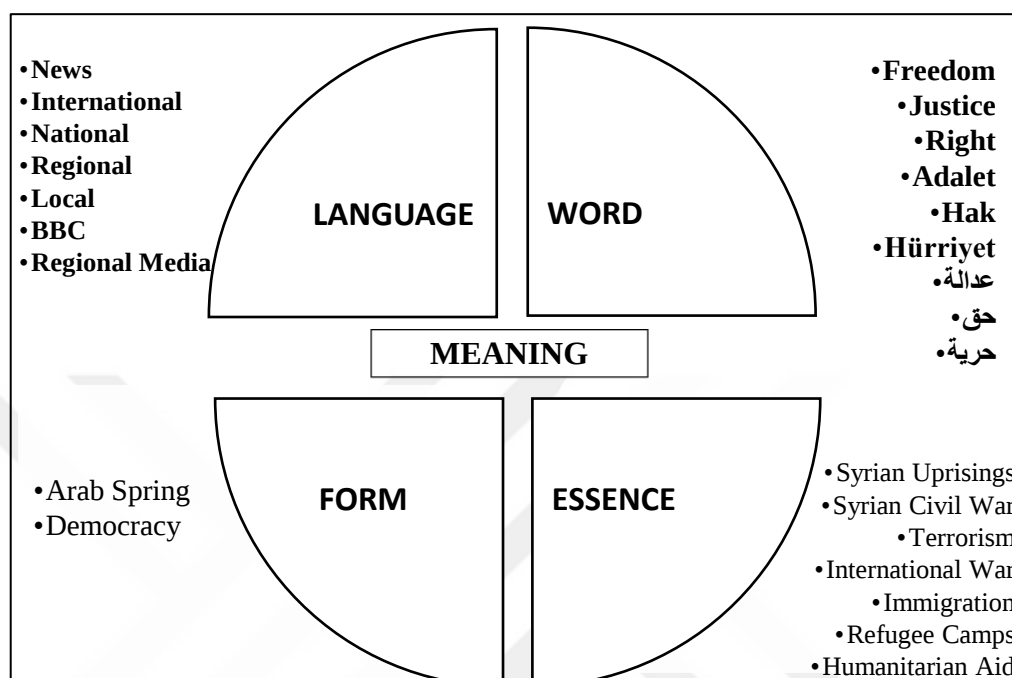
1.2. Methodology

The study is based on The Media Monitoring approach on Syria in Global Media; it includes collecting data regarding the global media coverage of Syrian Civil War between 2011-2015 and the analysis of the data. The selected global media tools are limited to BBC results and regional media. Additionally, the regional and / or local media is focused to compare the discourse of the news in English and Arabic Language, seeking an answer to the question of “*What is really going on in Syria?*”.

Generally, the global media reports include the home country’s geopolitical position and its policy on Syria. According to Felm-1859 reports 2015 is the year that the coverage on the refugee topic increased from 7% to 23% only after the refugee crisis started reaching Europe in August 2015 and decreased again to 11%. The physical proximity of the refugee issue to increase the European media’s interest in the topic. In the same year, “*Terrorism and Conflict*” news had the greatest share of media coverage; during the period of analysis comprising 46-48% of all coverage on Syria. There are also examples of ISIS receiving greater media attention at the expense of humanitarian aid and refugees as well as the suffering of civilians.

Thus, this research is mainly based on the concepts like “*Arab Spring*” and “*Democracy*” that are observed to be used in concordance with Syrian Civil War on international media coverage throughout 2011-2015.

Table 1.2. The “*Meaning*” of Syrian Civil War in the concept of the “*Form, Essence, Word and Language*”



The two ‘forms’ in the table above; “Democracy” as background of “Arab Spring” discourse mostly turned to be the words like “right”, “freedom”, “justice” in Regional Media that seems to be the real demands of Syrian people. These words were observed on the banners and videos of songs or in the early posts of the rebellions commenting through the social media.

As pointed out in Table 1, the wordings of the International media changes throughout the time (2011-2015). The essence of the subject named as the “*Syrian Uprisings*” changed to be the “*Syrian Civil War*” and later to the “*International War*”. Diachronically between 2011-2015 the “Arab Spring” concept used for Syria turned to be named as “*Terrorism*” and “*Immigration*”.

This thesis concentrates on Language and Media, in case of Syrian Civil War using the tools of BBC vs. Regional Media; pursuing the meaning of the Syrian Civil War media coverage differing through International Media (BBC) and Regional Media. The aspect of the use of main “language” (English) and the “form” (Arab

Spring and Democracy) created through the global media; is not compatible with the “essence” of the case. The time limitations force the data to be collected through the ranges of 2011 and 2015. This is due to the change of the Syrian Uprising to the Syrian Civil War and finally to Terrorism headings. Whereas the naming of the event was changing, the slip of the main discourse changes from the concept of democracy to comparative concepts such as justice, freedom, right.

The particularly selected 16 reports from BBC and Regional Arab media are analyzed regarding these concepts used for explaining the “Syrian Civil War”, “Democracy” and “Arab Spring”. The use of words like “justice”, “freedom” and “right” in the regional reports will be analyzed through the corpus they occur in. Comparing and contrasting the data the findings of the study would be evaluated through the 12T’s approach.

This study will be focusing on one of those elements that; ethnicity in global media, as the global language, English dominates all the expressions to cover different regional events. In other words, this thesis is an attempt to contribute to our understanding of the “Global Media Conceptualizations” through the particular era of the past events regarding “Western World of Thoughts/Disciplines”. As people develop an understanding on focusing these given structures of forms, they lose their chances of producing original thoughts and cannot think out of the box. The theory of Saussure’s synchronic and diachronic approach will be used in this study to handle and evaluate the Syrian case throughout the global media analysis.

The study will be grounded on the synchronic and diachronic analysis of Saussure who is known to be the founder of contemporary linguistics and the pioneer of the structural linguistic movement.

Concentrating on the diachronic approach the thesis aims to make comparisons of specific media texts including certain vocabulary, thus considering the change of vocabulary as a part of cultural change through historical approach. Concentrating on the synchronic approach, the thesis aims to analyze the news wording differences of local and international media regarding the first era of Syrian uprisings’ media coverage.

Reaching to a corpus of the repeated concepts such as “*Arab Spring*” and “*democracy*” in local and global media, the data is analyzed regarding the comparative discourse analysis methodology questioning the concepts like “*freedom*”, “*justice*” and “*rights*” which are seen as the dominant use in Arabic language.

Finally, all results are analyzed according to the analytical methodology of conceptualization with the 12T’s approach, namely through the following headlines: theme, topic, text, task, transfers, transitions, thinking, tailoring, taking risks, technology and transmedia.

PART TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

*"A noble man cannot be indebted for his culture to a narrow circle;
the world and his native land must act on him."*

Goethe

2.1. Literature Review On Language Philosophy

As the main tool of the thought, the language was always in the core of the philosophy studies from the very beginning. The study of the language appeared to be a phenomenon throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. After Kant's influence, traditional metaphysics was no longer the main subject of philosophy. Thus, the use of disciplined words and concepts, which are dominant in the natural sciences turned to be the main tools used in social sciences.

Kant's approach, having its origins from empiric philosophy and positivism, has addressed the language itself *as a problem* rather than addressing the "*problems expressed by language*". As the main subject of philosophy, language has been studied in three different branches: *language philosophy, analytical philosophy and linguistics*.

To begin with language philosophy, it is important to understand that the "mother tongue" of any individual is intimately associated with individual's culture (Pieris, 1951).

Likewise, every spoken language limits the experience; the experiences in a certain culture could only be expressed in their way (language). As John Stuart Mill says in the Use and Abuse of Political Terms: "*Humanity has many ideas, but few*

words to say. The number of words is limited; the thoughts that can be expressed by these words are ideas, thoughts, objects and realities are potentially unlimited, this is because they have a long-term stability." (Koselleck, 2009: xx).

Ferdinand de Saussure was a Swiss linguistic credited with founding the field of structural linguistics, a radical new theory of language is a structured system. He is often referred to as *the father of modern linguistics* an honor divided between him and Noam Chomsky depending on who you ask. His most influential work "*Course in General Linguistics*" was published posthumously in 1916.

The key ideas of structuralism are classified; as *Signifier and Signified*, *Parole* and *Langue*, *Synchrony-Diachrony* and *Paradigm and Syntagm*. Saussure's "sign" consists of the signifier and signified; The *signifier* is the sounds of the letters that are used to denote what we're talking about, *signified* is the actual concept of the thing that is the idea in our minds when you hear or read the signifier. The actual real thing in the world is called the: *referent*; note the difference between the thought of a cat and an actual real cat; the sign is a two sided psychological entity as one can't exist without the other it just couldn't be a *sign*. However, there is an arbitrary and conventional relationship between a *signifier* and *its signified*; since there is no natural reason why we call a cat "*a cat*" that's why the different languages have different words for the same thing. The convention of language refers to the idea that a speech community needs to adhere to the same connections between a signifier and signified. For example, English speakers all share a very similar concept of cat when they hear that word. (Saussure, 1916)

Saussure also distinguished; *the use of language* "Parole" (what the individual speaks) and *the system of language*; "Langue" (what is shared by the community). *Langue*, being the system of language, such as *syntax* or *phonology* is an *abstract* system; parole on the other hand is the use of that language based on an *individualistic matter* like people have their own language quirks.

Finally, Saussure distinguished language studies as Synchrony and Diachrony. Synchrony refers to a complete language system at just one point in time; as a snapshot of language. Diachrony on the other hand is how that language

develops over time; this is also known as *historical linguistics*. We may have noticed changes in language over our life time with different words appearing disappearing or slight pronunciation changes; that's diachrony.

Until the structuralist approach the study of languages was based on belief systems and politics; he did freeing language of social, cultural, political, historical associations practically this led structural relation alone independently and linguistic objects meaning is understood through its contrast with other linguistic objects in the system. Language is therefore a static system of these interconnected linguistic objects (units).

2.1.1. Language, Culture and Thought

Once the language philosophers have revealed the general principle of an idea, they begin to wonder about how certain characteristics of a certain language are related to the characteristics of a particular society. It is also something that changes or develops the thoughts at the same time (Altınörs, 2012: 36).

It can be said that Humboldt was the first to examine the language in culture. Humboldt placed the language in history by linking it to the development of human culture and saw language as a historical process that has evolved with every step of human development. The words in many languages are never really synonymous, even if they show the same concepts (Akarsu, 1998). Wilhelm von Humboldt, the pioneer in both general linguistics and language philosophy, is the one who made the first step towards classifying languages and classifying the language to certain basic types. Humboldt's view of philosophy on language is based on the assumption that; *each language is bearer of a language-specific worldview*.

According to Bedia Akarsu, an advanced culture can only be achieved in an advanced language. The indicator of the identity of a person is the language of that nation, as it is the indicator of the identity of man, the language s/he speaks and writes. The problem of language-culture connection is gaining more importance in nowadays when the problem of identity is discussed as well (Akarsu, 1998).

French Philosopher Etienne de Condillac wrote “*All the signs confirm that a language expresses the character of those people speaking that language*”. Condillac’s young colleague German Johann Gottfried Herder had the same idea: “*Every language reflects the understanding and character of those who speak it.*” (Deutscher, 2013)

According to the *Whole Language Approach* (Krashen, 1989) that connects the thought and the interpretation process to a pre-linguistic process, language is a tool only carrying thoughts and thus enables communication. It presents the “*free thought*” created by the individual as a means of communication and conveys these meaningful expressions to other language users. According to this second view, the language creates a partial determinism by offering limited options to a thought to be expressed, but it does not harm freedom in the formation of thought (Ceylan, 2010: 259).

Often it is said that the language of public reflects its culture/s, soul and the mentality, the way of thinking. For instance, the grammar of some languages do not have *adequate* logical expressions to clarify complex ideas. In some languages, the structure does not allow individuals to be productive, yet, the previously mentioned approaches to classify the languages as primitive and modern seem to be failed about two or three decades ago. According to Deutscher, all languages are sufficient enough to express even the most complex ideas, even in the most primitive tribes. Some languages do not have a future tense; this means the speakers of those languages have not included the time of future in their world view. So it is difficult for them to utterly understand the future tense and future perspective even if they are taught. For example, the Babylonians were having difficulties to understand crime and punishment, because their language covered these two concepts with one word (Deutscher, 2013).

Akarsu refers to Humboldt's point of view as follows: “*One can get into the worldview of a foreign language completely because one is always under the pressure of the worldview of his/her own language. The world view of the language dominates people, providing them a certain direction in life.*” (Akarsu, 1998).

Locke insists on this: if the languages are compared, it is seen that there are no exact words matching with each other. To him, a word can be understood as a whole in its entirety with its all meanings. In each era each independent writer adds his/her own style, making use of his own individuality in his language. Thus, it is inevitable to keep the language as it is on one hand, but also it is changing, developing with each contribution.

According to Wittgenstein; speaking a language is part of an activity or a life form (1998: 23). With the concepts of 'language games' and 'life forms' raised in philosophical questionings; the language develops a '*contextual*' and '*pragmatic*' approach that emphasizes that meaning should be sought in the context in which the sentence is used. To him, the context provides the meaning of the form.

These ideas, occurring through the second period of Wittgenstein, providing the basis for the "pragmatic approach" of philosophers such as Austin, Searle and Grice. They gave importance to the idea that the philosophy of language could be considered as the second language to discuss the philosophy of daily language. To them, the speech is a social practice defined by some rules.

According to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, whom were inspired by Humboldt, *every society's or culture's language varies from the lifestyles of each public*. Sapir believes that the real world is built on the habits of society. "*The worlds of different societies are separated/differs, otherwise they would be just the same objects that are labeled with different names (in other languages).*" (Altınörs, 2012: 38). Their hypothesis includes a thought that suggests significant continuity between studies in the field of social anthropology. Suggesting that each culture is a different classification style of the world, this hypothesis, suggests that these classification schemes will be reflected in the linguistic and semantic structures of different societies (Hall:1993: Aktaran, Yengin 1930).

Franz Boas, the teacher of Sapir, has a general understanding of the relationship between language and culture. When the vocabulary of people from different cultures are examined, it has been observed that the word is the basic element of culture and it reflects the importance of the objects and activities

surrounding that society. In every culture, vocabulary reflects the relationship between human and natural environment as the witness of their life style.” (Boas, 1942: pp.178, cited in: Altınörs, 2012:36).

Benjamin Whorf, one of the students of Sapir underlines the more radical approach called “cultural relativism”. According to this thesis the language is not merely an instrument that allows reflection of our ideals but even more importantly it determines the form of mind that guides the individual’s mental activities.

Edgar Morin, dwelling on the relationship between language and culture in the context of philosophical anthropology (human philosophy), says: “*Language is not merely a means of communication, but rather a complex organization of the society in general.*” According to Morin, it would be reasonable to say that not man creates the language, language creates the man (Whorf, 1969:pp.125, cited in: Altınörs, 2012:38).

According to Michael Tomasello, people start out behind other animals in life. People have a string of scattered genetic instructions, so they can't survive on their own when they're born and even they've been around for years. As the great anthropologist Clifford Geertz put it, “*Man is an incomplete animal. The most distinctive form of human from other animals is before he become active his ability to learn much more than certain things he must learn.*” In his book named “Social Animal” David Brooks is arguing that: “*people are successful when they have the ability to produce advanced cultures. A single human mind cannot cope with a variety of stimulants that flock to the front. We can survive in the world just because we're buried in the cultural pier. We absorb the ethnic cultures, institutional cultures and regional cultures that shape our thoughts to a great extent.*” (Brooks, 2011: 204).

However, culture is a collection of habits, customs, practices, beliefs, arguments and tensions that regulate and direct human life. It contains narratives, special days, symbols and works of art that convey implicit and often unnoticeable messages about how to feel, how to react, and how to find meaning.

A cultural structure like "language" can change the way people look at the world. To Brooks, culture dissolves some patterns to our brains and destroys others. Douglas Hofstadter states that language is "*comforting but full of abstract patterns, impossible to define*" as abomination, fair play, foolishness, dreams, frigidity, moodiness, you and me (Brooks, 2011: 205).

2.1.2. Name and Meaning (Naming and Meaning Relation)

The problem of "meaning" is the root of language philosophy and the question of "*what is meaning in philosophy*" is searching on what makes the expression meaningful. This question leads to the language studies to the very first moment that linguistic expressions are identified. According to Foucault to reveal the roots of the language, it is necessary to point out the primitive moment of naming (Faucault, 2017:164).

According to mythological view, the meaning of each *object* is hidden in its *name*. Anyone who knows how to dominate the names, gains the ruler position over *objects*. Naming refers to the ability of intellectual thinking of a man in relationship with abstract or concrete facts. Since the creation of holy books; the ability of thinking and naming is seen as equal (Aydın, 2011:318).

Nominalism studies began to emerge in the 19th century in scholastic philosophy and constitute one of the most fundamental qualities of modern Western thought. The main idea of nominalism, is that; the *concepts* are obtained by an *abstraction* that does not meet an *object*. For example, there is no object to refer the "*justice*" concept (Aydın, 2011:317).

As Bertrand Russell puts it humorously, there is no single English concept that can meet the original meaning of the French word "*esprit*". For possible translations in a dictionary you will find a long list of different uses in English like these:

- wit (avoir de l'esprit) = to have wit- "nüktedan olmak"
- mood (je n'ai pas l'esprit a rire) =I'm no mood for laughing- "hiç gülecek halim yok"

- mind (avoir l'esprit vif) =to have a quick mind. “keskin zeka sahibi olmak”
- spirit (esprit d'equipe) = team spirit – “takım ruhu”

Accordingly, the concepts such as “*mind*”, “*intellect*” or “*esprit*” cannot be as elemental as “*rose*” or “*bird*” concepts, otherwise they were supposed to be perfectly identical in different languages (Deutscher, 2013:21).

Heraclitus' view is again represented in Socrates and Plato. According to Socrates, the word is indicative even if it does not contain it. In the *Kratylos* dialogue, Plato examines the question of the correctness of names and the view that language is the key to the essence of objects. A word is so linked to the object that it suggests the object and represents it in thought (Akarsu, 1998).

To Heraclitus, *every word limits its object* and this limitation leads to misunderstanding. If an object or an entity is reduced to the “*word*”, its content gets limited by focusing on just a single aspect. This may cause to lose the perspective of a larger existence of that object or an entity in its living stream which could not fixated. To Heraclitus, the language is not limited by the object or entity; because the wording is constituted with fluid dynamics (Aydın, 2011: 318).

In modern cultures, the nominalism in every field of thinking is so naturalized, that encourage people to think limited and biased. Even though this problem doesn't seem to be recognized adequately in daily lives, yet it is causing the perception of the different values in international communities left unnoticed.

2.2 Science of Translation

Translation is a very old practice as being the oldest profession in the world, so the tradition of thinking about translation goes back to the Cicero. Throughout the 1970's scientifically, translation studies were defined as an independent science by adopting an empirical, descriptive and interdisciplinary study method and formed the fields of philology and linguistics. In 1972, James S. Holmes, with his pioneering paper “*The name and Nature of Translation Studies*” strengthened the name of this new scientific field and opened it up for discussion.

Translation was often seen as a “*natural phenomenon*” and therefore was not taken into consideration from the perspective of conceptualizing the theoretical ideas. In the last two decades, the concepts like “*ideology, power relations and ethics*” have gained importance in the translation studies which have benefited from the other disciplines. As much as the concerns existing in the scientific and cultural studies translations throughout the nations but also the vocational, instructional or techno-computing fields that are included into the translation studies’ concerns (Rifat, 1998:199).

The case that makes translation difficult appears when both languages are studied on the basis of *words*, exceptionally from the authentic reality of the *situation*. Each language meets a special arrangement of data which is consisted of the “*human experiences*”. Thus, the translated words, are not always equivalent to the previously experienced realities.

In the aspect of the relation between language and culture; the last three centuries’ scientific and social discoveries and innovations has become an issue of translation throughout the world. The terms and values that are formed in Western Social Sciences (from 18th century’s Enlightenment era till modern age) are included into the arguments that scholars did not seem to have clarity for a long time. Translation scholars started to contribute into the field from the perspective of cultural and social approaches. As a result, translation studies are described as “*writing*” or “*rewriting*” by Bassnet and Bush (2006), “*representation*” by Gutt (1989), “*indirect speech*” by Hermans (2007), “*reparation*” by Bandia (2008). Tymoczko (2007) also formalized the dynamics of the translation as “*representation*”, “*transmission*” and “*transculturation*” (Kobus, 2014: 78.).

The translation of a single word to another language (i.e. *bango* in *Italian*) may not sound as a direct transition to another word (*bain* in *French*). Each time, you have to go through the process of portioning each language’s specific reality. This also explains the fact that learning a language has two meanings: *to learn the connection between structure and words* and *the non-linguistic reality*; like learning the culture and civilization of the language. In other words, each language divides

itself into a non-linguistic experiences. For instance, the situation that is named as "to run out" (*dışarı kořmak*) in England is named as "sortir en courant" in French which means "getting out by running" (*kořarak ıkımak*). Another example can be shown by noticing the semantic approach towards the word "cin" in Arabic, which is known as "genie" in English, comes from the root "cenne" الجنة in Arabic means "to cover someone's senses". This root of word constituted another words like; cinnet: "the hidden craziness between desire and mind", mecnun: "the one who falls in love madly for unfindable", cenin: "the baby hidden in venter", cennet: "the place hiding people by its trees", cenan: "the heart hidden in breast" (<https://www.beyan.org/node/909>).

However, in Turkish the more practical approach on the word "cin" seem to be ignoring the semantic roots; like embodying it in a way who has spiritual and physical image and practically serving by getting off from the lamb.

In an interview of Arslan Kaynardag on Nermi Uygur's Philosophy, Language and Culture, Uygur mentions; the misrepresentations, false education policies with textbooks, institutions and cowardly practices cause how much damage on heads and hearts. In his book that was first published in 1962, named "The Power of Language" Nermi Uygur refers to the multi-meaning of language, philosophy of language, the linkage of mother tongue and dilemmas of meaning in language and translation (<https://docplayer.biz.tr/15372439-Nermi-uygur-la-felsefe-dil-ve-kultur-konusunda-bir-soylesi.html>).

According to Akřit Gktrk: "Each language is intertwined with indicators of any culture's conventions, customs, behaviors, value measures, shortly, the terms of tangible human life." Gktrk, distinguishes the translation of scientific and artistic texts from the texts that are including daily issues of life, which are assumed to be written with direct meaning. Because, artistic and scientific texts are formed by a subjective language by more concerned on the originality, and less concerned to preserve the communication patterns, words or idioms of the mother language (Gktrk, 1998: 94).

In summary, the semantic and practical part of the translations must be distinguished carefully. The views of translation scholars that mentioned above constituted the infrastructure to the “*translation of concepts*” as well.

2.2.1 Translation and Conceptualization

“*Every dictionary expresses a civilization.*”

Antoine Meillet

According to Humboldt; language examinations are not responding to the question of which one comes first: *language or nation*? (Akarsu, 1998). Since, the historical experiences of nations differ through their existences that are conditional to different situations; the “*conceptualization*” of thoughts and experiences differ as well.

The climax problem of philosophy is the problem of “*translation of concepts*”. Any philosophic thesis in a certain language can only be advanced at the conceptual level, since the philosophy studies hold declaration of “*its own language*”. The process of analyzing and adopting the other language's thoughts and ideas is leading into the deep analysis on “*conceptualization in languages*”.

The definition of conceptualization according to Oxford Dictionary: “*the action of the process on forming an idea*” (<https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/conceptualization>). Starting from this point, it can be said that; it takes an analysis on *action, movement, experience* and also *time*, to find out accurately what kind of observations and analysis are necessarily *done* by a subject with the intention of *creating a definitive concept* after the certain *experiences*.

However, the methodological task of defining "translation" across languages forms an apparent "*aporia*". Since there is no guarantee that the new terms that are formed and considered as "*translated*" are actual translations of original concepts. One solution to form an accurate translation of concepts, is to practice *a set of criteria*, and a *research filter* on what the scholars imposed on the *prior multilingual data*. Considering the variability on dynamics and historicity of nations' experiences, unfortunately, the translation studies is not currently in a position to supply measures of comparison or a degree of certainty about the *distribution of concepts* across languages and cultures (Pym, 1993:14).

In fact, the concepts should be traced across cultural boundaries according to the classes of equivalency which were held as more or less fixed position. The medieval Christian tradition tended to conceptualize "*translation*" in terms of an idealized hierarchy of languages *Hebrew, Greek, Arabic* at the top, as the language of science and authorized Biblical translation (*Latin*) on the next grade, then the vernaculars and finally the patois (Pym, 2007: cited in Imre, 2012).

Tyulenev (2010) described translation as "smuggling". According to him, the original *metaphors* that are commonly used in the development of a study and to conceptualize new theories could not translate into other words (Kobus, 2014).

The Western Thought Discipline era starts with the "Renaissance" which directly come up with the concept of "Enlightenment" that has constructed the world's cultural, political and social vocabulary within the criteria of breaking the Western Middle Age experiences. However, it is well known fact that "The Enlightenment in France" differs from "The Enlightenment in England". Besides that, the contemporary French philosophy is developed in France and conflicts with the sum of the discourse of today's accepted ideas; does that mean the French philosophy is not formed in accurate history or not at the stage of an advanced process? (Koselleck, 2009).

Considering the critics on the "*Enlightenment*" concept; the "*Enlightenment*" is established within the concept of "*Progressing*" in Old European languages. The concept of *Progressing* was becoming rapidly functionless and dead according to the

general acceptance when the critics started to occur. Despite of his sincere respect on Enlightenment, Hegel was mentioning about its *contentlessness* (contextlessness) and Leo was also referring it as an "*Enlightenment Junk*" and his various critics of ideology quickly turned into a familiar and old slogan just like once "ideology" itself turned in the same position throughout its history (Koselleck, 2009:334).

For good measure, Koselleck exemplified the German concept "*Bildung*" which determines the perception of the 18th century's studies with 200 years of usage experiences. "The *Bildung* owner" (der Gebildete) in the community has either the aspect of training or thinking of something. In order to explain what *Bildung* is in neighboring families, it is necessary to analyze the word with its complex explanations. For example, the similar concept "*selsbildung*" means self-improvement in English and French. But just as the other similar concepts like "*ecole*" in French and "*school*" in English points different kind of learning and teaching processes, the meaning of "*Bildung*" is not just "*self-education*". The original meaning of the concept "*Bildung*" in German is *to transform the external means of education into an assertion of autonomy that would transform to the world*. As a result, *Bildung* gains its historical profile only when it's been viewed under political or social functions. *Bildung* could not be gained or protected without social functions (Koselleck, 2009).

According to Guy Debord; "*Ideological facts never a simple chimaera, but rather a deformed consciousness of realities*" (Debord, 2017). Behind the abstraction of today's language; the elevated slogan like "*power of abstraction*" is tied to the rule of today's politics. One conclusion of this finding is the lack of resistance to any kind of ideology. Since now each concept can be viewed from another perspective; everything can be questioned through the "*criticism of ideology*". In other words, the modern vocabulary which is loaded with the political advocacy and historical ideology must be analyzed with its "*a priori*" position.

2.2.2 Linguistic Relativity

According to the Port-Royal logic, it is possible to create a “*universal language*” which is consisted of the same principles, regardless of the differences of nations. According to this romantic approach, language has an organic structure. Schlegel is the first to introduce the concept of an *organic form (Allgemeine)* into language studies. Like nature and freedom, nature and art is united in their organic ideals. Thus, the gap between the unconscious nature of universe and the conscious creation of the soul is desired. The concept of *organic form* was born to seek expressions of the *general structure of the language* behind the diversity of individual’s languages (Akarsu, 1998).

Parmenides is the first one who pointed to the importance of language as the essence of human. According to Parmenides, a man must give a name to everything. Empiricists, and rationalists always examine the language in terms of *knowledge*, their language understanding is based on *knowledge theories* (River, 1998). Rationalists claim that there are significant ways in which our *concepts and knowledge* are gained independently of sense experience. Empiricists claim that sense experience is the ultimate source of all our *concepts and knowledge*. (<https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/rationalism-empiricism/>)

Herder was also interested in language in terms of knowledge. The sense of the person's inner state, feelings, joy, sorrow was expressed through direction of the language. For him, the richness of language is admired for its various influences, and language was considered as a miracle. There are two main ideas to explain this amazing phenomenon: on one hand, *the language was considered as a God's gift to man*. On the other hand, *language is considered as something discovered by man*. Herder argued that the language is born from the inner nature of man, but according to him, language also occurred by thinking, which is a main power of the senses and the human soul. Without senses, there is no thinking, without thinking there is no language. However, Humboldt ties the language directly to human nature. According to him, without language there is no human. This anthropological view, which is

ungrounded by Herder, is improved as language cannot be thought of as a ready-made (*fertiggegebene*), but it is a necessity of a man's nature (Herder, 2009).

Contrary to the perspective of the philosophers of the enlightenment era, Humboldt suggests that the structure of language determines the minds. According to Humboldt, *the differences of the language structures stem from the diversity of the mental structures of the nations* (2011:136). Humboldt argues that the languages differ according to how nations see and perceive the world. On the other hand, drawing attention to the fact that the language shouldn't be seen as a complete product, Humboldt, argues that language is not an *opus* (*ergon*) but an *activity* (*energia*). However, Humboldt perceives the language not only means of thought, but also something that turns out the thoughts at the same time (as cited in Altınörs, 2012: 150-151).

Thus, Humboldt dealt the question of how a variety of languages exist, although there is one certain "*logic*". Logic will be discussed in the next chapter that as a core issue in the comparison of Arabic and Greek conceptualizations from the aspect of Logic and Syntax.

2.2.3 Comparison of Arabic and Greek Conceptualizations

Although all languages have the same unlimited potential; some languages, words, phrases and contexts, have different characteristics depending on the cultural and historical experiences and richness'. Greek language has a great privilege in terms of the conceptualizing and forming ideas and philosophy which were presented to the entire world. Almost without knowing Greek philosophers, it is impossible to enter the world of thought.

The ideas and views that are underlying the Western Tradition of Thought were first expressed in ancient Greece. The Greeks developed several literary genres, such as epic and drama; which were written in Greek. In addition to its use in the cultural context, the first and most important texts of Christianity were also written in Greek. In fact, this was the main reason of bringing higher status to Greek (Janson, 2016: 108,109).

Herewith, our understanding of the world was partly invented by the Greeks; their designs and templates are still alive in the language of thought. As many Greek words entered/transferred to other languages, *the elements of their original culture and sociality also transferred*, and these elements are also often transformed like the ancient concept “*democracy*” (Janson, 2016:117).

The *Greek alphabet* is very similar to the *Latin alphabet* which is in use of English. In fact, many letters in the Latin alphabet are derived from a variety of Greek alphabet. The works written in Greek, proceeded as a cultural accumulation, contained many elements that had also become a part of the modern Western thought tradition. Those words and concepts still existing, in English and other European languages. There are also many other borrowed words from other languages, but the ones borrowed from Greek are special. Many of them contributing to build our existence in the modern world by providing categories (categoria) by which we group the phenomena of reality (phainomena).

Some languages are linked to religion somehow; for instance, from the very beginning *Hebrew* has become *language of Judaism* and still is. Some Hebrew texts are considered as sacred/holy for both Christians and Muslims. Sanskrit is very important for Hinduism as well; the Pali and Sanskrit are the prominent languages for Buddhists. Greek and Latin still have a special place for Christianity. All these languages were still written and spoken in the religious context even long after they lost their originality.

A new written language can only emerge if community find themselves in need of it. The creators of written languages are not politicians; this work is actually for authors and educators. Political decisions are usually positioned at a later stage. Yet, in the Arabic case; it is not even possible to think about such reforms in just the linguistic context; because without political unity, homogeneity of language is unlikely possible. During the spread of Islam, numerous Arabs migrated to the capital cities and Arabic quickly became the language of many towns and cities. Despite all these conquests, the Arabic language did not dominate in the same way as

Greek. The main differences occur in *the process of spreading the language* (Janson, 2016).

According to Schimmel, Arabic was not necessarily only able to spread through religion to the people, but also being adopted as their second “*mother language*”. The main reason to that policy is as well known, to prevent the change on original texts of holy Quran through translations. Secondly; unlike Jesus, Muhammad, *the founder of Islam*, was also a *political leader*. His understanding of religion was more concerned on previously bringing *open answers* to the world of hereafter; so that Islamic lectures and preaches can be kept focused on towards of dealing with the *daily life circumstances*. Thus, Arabic soon became a living room far beyond the religious scene, where all kinds of written information were transmitted into it many aspects of daily life, from administrative discourse to even military mission. It is important to address that some aspects of the political career of the *Prophet Mohammad* have brought a *specific terminology* to Muslims life. This explains why the influence of Arabic language is not only involved in *spiritual aspect* but also in *practical and grounded* aspects as well (Schimmel, 2011:103).

The old Arabic, *which is still in use for formal written language*, has undergone just a minimal change since the 7th century. Whereas Islam was the core reason of this process, Arabs traveled from the coast of Syria to Palestine, Egypt and Africa then passing through the Atlantic Ocean and held the power on the big part of Spain. Within this almost explosive progress in politics and culture, Arabic language gained naturally the most prestigious position; within the increase in education and philosophy after the newly established empire “*Andalusia*”. In the course of time, up to the 21st century the Arabic language was carefully being preserved in its original form, by the means of holy Quran (Janson, 2016).

The comparison of Greek and Arabic language might be searched in also the similarity of the *content* that they present. The Arabic language, which is directly related to the *spread of Islam*, has come with its own *political, philosophical and practical terminology* in many field, just as the discovery of Greek productions which are considered as “*high culture language*” did the same coverage in the

Western world throughout the Renaissance era till today. The similarities and differences of Greek and Arabic thought were also analyzed by many Islam philosophers.

2.2.4 The Philosophy in Arabic Language

The great traditional system of thought that is defined as "Islamic Renaissance" in the 9th and 10th centuries were represented by Farabi, İbn Sina and İbn Rushd whom generally embraced the works of Aristotle. While Plato was perceived as a danger through his views on religion on the contrary Aristotle's physics and metaphysics played a helpful role in explaining the Islamic revelation (Pines, 1963: 193-199 as cited in Küçükali, 2007).

However, the type of thought that is known as the "*felasife*" in Islamic civilization was not including just an Aristotelian logic which is called as "*Mashshai*". In fact, to prove that Islamic thought cannot be reduced to *Mashshayan thought*; there were two types of approaches in the historical course of Islam philosophy:

1. *philosophy of problems*; that the problems were handled and processed one by one;
2. *philosophy of systems*; that were represented with Farabi, İbn-i Sina and İbn-Rushd whom are the three important representatives of the *Mashshia tradition*. Following this tradition, they also brought their own theoretical expressions into the world of thought. (Açıkgenç, 2016:53)

One of the distinctive approach brought by Islam philosophers to the world of thought is the specifics of the Arabic alphabet. According to the "*Letterists*" (*Hurüfi's*), who formed the idea based on the strings that are addressing various symbolic values and meanings in Arabic letters; "*the name is the essence of the object or entity*" and "*names*" were thought to be contained in the letters of the word. The mystic Al Buni, is one of the most known proponents of this view. According to Buni, the *whole universe is seen as the product of the action of the Arabic letters*. In other words, the whole process of the universe is seen in Arabic letters. Hence, the science of "*letters*" (*ilm al hurüf*) and the science of "*words*" (*ilm as simiya*) and the

science of the “universe” (*ilm al alam*) are not distinguished and identified with each other (Ifrah, 2005:93).

As the follower of “*ta’wil*” tradition which is questioning the “*the root of the meaning*” Ibn Rushd was questioning these two forms: apparent (*zahir*) and superstition (*batil*). Apparent (*zahir*) is implying the meaning of the text through *what is said in a certain historical environment* but has the ability of existence in every time and place. Supersition (*batil*) is assuming the *temporal and spatial absence of meaning* and trying to explore the unspoken *by transcending the boundaries of the past and present* (Ocak, 2014:42).

According to Ibn-Rushd; it would be wrong to suggest that any text (*religious, literary, legal, etc.*) is understandable to everyone. The obvious meanings that almost every text implies, are also including the covered aspects. To understand the other aspects of the texts that are confined, one needs a new accumulation of knowledge. Therefore, it is clear that everyone cannot have the same understanding from any text (Ocak, 2014:65).

As a summary, whereas Islam thinkers considered “*logic*” as a generalized Greek grammar mixed with thought they did not accept the criticism that “*syntax*” (*nahiv*) was only consisted of grammar. It’s been emphasized that there is a certain connection between etymology, syntax and meaning.

2.2.5 The Baghdad Debate (Syntax vs. Logic Debate)

Syntax (*Nahiv*) and Logic debate named by some Western researchers as “*Baghdad Debate*” which had taken place, in the Bagdad's world of thought, in the first half of the 10th century. The Bagdad Debate is a kind of reflection of the conflict between the traditional sciences and new branches of science. Sirafi and Metta took the two opponent sides of this debate.

The distinctions of the discussion between the “*nahivists*” (Sirafi) and logicians (Metta), lie behind the categories of Aristo, which are derived from lexical forms and the contrastive functionality of Arabic and Greek language. According to the defenders of Aristotelian logic, syntax is a science that sets the rules for *wording*

in language; logic is a science that sets rules about *thoughts* and *concepts* in language (Dore, 2011).

Against the categories of Aristotle, Arabic *syntax* is functioning by activating those phrases like the name of time, space, device and it's been remarked that; without the usage of vowel point' (hareke') in Arabic some letters are impossible to pronounce. In this way, it's been intentioned to demonstrate that “*vowel point*” (*hareke*) in Arabic is equal to implementing “*logic*”, so the syntax is also considered as associated with logic. The distinctive point is, unlike the Greek and Aryan language families, in Arabic “*syntax*” is only for declaration and not for making any judgement whether in the verb clause or noun clause (Mahdi, 1990). However, according to *nahivists*; words and word sequences are the equivalents of the combinations of meanings that are produced directly in the mind. Finally, Sirafi asserted that the Arabic language is the founder of its own logic (Dore, 2011).

The other side of to the debate, is a well-known interpreter/translator from Nesturi Christians, Metta b. Yunus who advocated the Greek “*logic*”. Metta claims that there is a “*transnational language*” which is provided the science of “*logic*”. This transnational language is transparent and its structure/mathematics does not contain any contradictions. According to Metta, translation from one language to another is possible, and it is not the language that is translated; it is the “*unchanging and transferable meaning*” that is carried through the translation. According to Sirafi, the translation is arbitrary, *its meaning changes*, and *the meaning becomes distorted, increases or decreases*. Therefore, the translation includes the rules of *consensual language* that are only become complete in their own society, and the principles of these rules of consensus cannot be fully confirmed.

Metta whom completely assuming the language as *non-functional* was being criticized for dramatizing *logical approach* to specify each mental activity. Nonetheless, Sirafi was not completely against of the Greek logic, he just refused to make “*logic*” look like the only way to think right; without considering the natural mental ability which is existing in all human being.

Farabi, also focused on Islamic thought while analyzing the negative crisis rising against the *Aristotelian logic* which is entering into the Islamic world by the means of translations. According to Farabi to follow *Aristotelian logic* means “to explain the laws of Aristotelian thought” and to teach them through exemplification in the environment that they are created. By doing so, it is not the main target to keep the original words in Greek but to carry the senses. In this regard, many theologians and linguists agreed at the point that the translations of Greek thought are not compatible with Islamic thought. According to these criticisms, to reveal the correct meaning of an expression was only possible by making it Arabic (Arabicization) (Dore,2011).

2.3 Democracy Philosophy

The use of the word "democracy" has great and important connotations, from ancient Greece where the first applications are located, for the first time almost twenty-six hundred years ago, up to today. As a word “democracy” in Greek, is composed of the *demos* (public) and *kratie* (superiority, management) and transferred into English as a “public administration”.

Aristotle regarded democracy as the corrupted and degenerated state of the “ideal regime of Athens” named “politea”. Besides recognizing all the positive qualities of democracy, Aristotle also emphasized the other aspects of democracy like; a *low-income* and *domination of sub-class* in the administration whom are imposing own preferences on the large masses (Habermas, 2002).

Democracy is not a *universal value* which is assumed to be a link into the needs of humanity consisting of *justice, rightness, freedom* etc.; but a *global value* linked to internal, external economic and politic processes. However, it includes specific techniques to establish relative equality between individuals, groups and organizational structures. In fact, despite all the idealizations, it also means “limiting something for the welfare of something else”.

As a concept and implementation, democracy is still important today. Democracy is the political regime of many contemporary states and at the same time the official ideology of many of them.

However, democracy was not a concept that thinkers have viewed positively in all historical/social contexts. There were critics as well as those who defend it. A lot of criticism has been made on ancient democracy embodied in Athens. Some of them were made by political thinkers and authors of the period and some of them from later writers. As of the 5th century BC, various writers began to criticize the basic principles of democracy. These criticisms were more or less concentrated around the issues related to *corruption (political and legal abuse)* and *poverty*.

Elder Oligarch, with the pen name Xenophon, underlined that the majority is in management for their own benefit, and even the application of the judiciary through the "*Comrades' Court*" leads to unfair decisions. Elder Oligarch also stated that in the democratic regimes, excessively high taxes were received from capital owners (Aydın, 2011).

So therewithal, the historical and social adventure and philosophical foundations of democracy in Great Britain, France and America must be addressed as well. As being the three greatest residences of democracy these three geographies were also advanced both in the *class conflict* and in the *evolution of political ideas*.

Among the thinkers contributing to democracy in France; Montesquieu (1689-1755) Rousseau (1712-1778) and Sieyes (1748-1836) are noteworthy to be mentioned. The French Revolution, which had been prepared within these thinkers, had been a great opportunity for changes on social and political life on the world-embracing scale. Yet, in the *pluralistic, social and political* structure of international societies of today's world, the form of *legitimacy* which is laid out on the basis of the *strategic-oriented purposes, national based relations and politics* is now inadequate and invalid. According to Habermas, *as one of the great critics*, democracy is struggling to keep acceptance and existence in *multi-cultural societies* (Habermas, 2002).

Guenon interpreted democracy as a kind of *aristocracy*, although it was introduced as a comprehensive way of participation. Considering the most concrete expression of democracy Raymand Aron's statement of democracy through the *principles of democratic environments* (such as the *multiplicity* and *division of elite* and the ability to *compete freely* and the powerless change of power between them) it is clearly seen that they are the principles of aristocracy. Noam Chomsky also stated that democracy is primarily a problem of *public relations* and the industrial organizations greatly benefit from this, because the *priority* is not on the axis of people. Of course, in such a democracy, the elites would miss to examine of the democratic structure, and public do not seem easily play an *active role* in the country (Aydın, 2011:102).

According to Sartori; the concept of democracy is scientifically reduced to *empirical level* and the concept itself has gained a new reality. This process is described in his book "*The Return To Democracy Theory*", in a sense, as an attempt to establish a logical connection between the *ideals of democracy* and *social realities*. Moreover, this attempt does not involve *abandoning democratic ideals* at the expense of purely social reality as data but reducing it to *practicality*. The essence of his theory is not based on the reduction of democratic ideals into purely social reality, but the attempt of construction of the *methodical and moral forms* to establish *a link between reality and ideal*, as Sartori himself sees the triumph of the *ideal* against extreme *reality* (Sartori, 1962).

The *modern era* of democracy is, in most parts of the world, a result of the *European Enlightenment*. During the late 1700s, several countries were formulating new ideas for a government system that would not be dependent on monarchs. This radical proposal was severely criticized, but in 1776 it formed the basis for the *American Declaration of Independence*, which would eventually lead to the establishment of the world's first *modern democracy*. Similar experiments occurred in France shortly thereafter, though owing to historical circumstances the French would take several decades to finally abolish their monarchy for good (and even then the country continued to be ruled by highly centralized authorities such as Napoleon Bonaparte and Napoleon III) (<https://philosophyterms.com/democracy/>).

Sartori emphasized that the concept of democracy is a *phenomenon* associated with *Western civilization*. According to him, democracy is a discourse that has not belonged to a single author for centuries; but has been shaped by the contributions of many philosophers. Yet, the fact that democracy is identified with a great civilization and historicity is already an important problem for democracy. This is because as democracy becomes more of a *symbol of civilization*, it becomes increasingly comprehensive and more complex and ambiguous. Moreover, the fact that everyone is using democracy for legitimacy turns democracy into a *pointless set of values*.

By examining democracy on a semantic level, Sartori develops a hypothesis that each country's *historical and linguistic culture* has an impact on the understanding of the *democratic structure* in that country. According to this hypothesis, the phenomenon of democracy, called the administration of the people, can be systematized in different ways in every country, especially because of the *etymological differences* of the nations. For example, in Italy, Germany and France belong to *Continental European Enlightenment* tradition, the concept that people suggests is more focused on organic singularity. Unlike continental Europe, in the Anglo-Saxon culture where the culture of *individualism* developed in the term "public" refers to *plural entity* which is composed of different individuals.

How can the *universal and normative* criteria of democracy be determined from the fact that there are so many different cultural acceptances within Western civilization? By focusing on this question, Sartori excludes the ambiguity of the public administration concept and attempts to reformulate democracy in the sense of the *administration of the people* (Sartori, 1962).

In summary, the problems emerge regarding the use of *democracy concept* when the accumulation of *value systems* that are built and accepted by different societies are ignored. Nonetheless, democracy has always set up, *obvious or hidden*, its own values and limitations, which are limiting the regional specifics, wherever it is brought into, without paying attention to the original social problems of the transferred society (Aydın, 2011).

In the light of these critics, the comparative analysis of “democracy” considering the semantic approach in Arabic’s “ta’wil” tradition has two components: Apparent (Zahir); relative equality between individuals, groups and organizational structures and superstition (Batil); as if including the aspects like «justice» «right» «freedom».

2.3.1 Democracy as Background of Arab Spring Discourse

Following the withdrawal of Great Britain from the Middle East after the Second World War, the US occupied the region, and launched a series of studies on Democracy, human rights, the role of women in social life, and so on. In addition, the United States has supported projects and studies in similar fields. The transformation process that started in the Middle East has turned into a character that changes the regime of countries with the effects of internal and external actors. This feature of the region is more or less reflected in all of the regional actors. One of the most important changes experienced in the historical process in the region is the change period which started with the Arab Spring at the end of 2010 (Akbaş, 2012).

Throughout time, the “democracy” implementation in the Middle East has always been the subject of many discussions and researches as well as being the subject of policy. Tessler (2002) stated that: *“Through the past decade scholars analyzing the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) have focused on the factors impeding the democratization process therein, or more precisely, the factors which have added to the resilience of authoritarianism”* (Tessler, 2002).

Quintan Wiktorowicz stated in his article *“The Limits of Democracy in the Middle East: The Case of Jordan”* published in 1999: *“Despite the persistence of authoritarianism in the Middle East, (recently) there has been movement toward democracy in the region.”* In addition, he asserted that: *“The multi-party politics (ta’addudiyya) and elections –the symbols and institutional face of democracy- are frequently accompanied by political repression and manipulation which sabotage the underlying principles”* (Wiktorowicz, 1999) The circumstances regarding democracy he mentioned is validly existing in the Middle East, after a decade and even after the blooming “Arab Spring” events.

In this regard; the explanatory and guiding definitions of “*democracy*”, shouldn’t be confused, because the “*democratic ideal*” does not define “*democratic reality*” and vice versa isn’t true just as the “*Arab Spring concept*” where reality and ideal are intertwined within the concept of “*democracy*” and “*Arab Spring*”.

The indicative news reports, which evaluate the communicative functions as texts that include “*dialectic concepts*” aim to introduce the subject and region and influence the public opinion and movements. However, these concepts are distracting the perception of reality, by ignoring the fact that *the image of democracy in everyone’s mind is different*.

Questioning of *Democracy in the Middle East* has been mostly focused on the governance and administrative aspects and also its conflicts with the conceptions and practices of Islam. But there was never enough examination of the regional facts without the spotlight of any concepts and a fortiori analysis on the features of domestic politics and regional social/economic problems. In order to do that properly, paying attention to the varying regional differences play a significant role.

The realities of the Middle East did not live up to the optimistic hopes of the first year of the Arab Spring. A continued relatively democratic but certainly not unproblematic development in Tunisia was contrasted by a chaotic situation in Egypt. In July the 2013 the Egyptian army leader General Abdul Fatah al-Sissi, after massive protests against the Muslim Brotherhood, removed the democratically elected President Mursi and consequently suspended the Egyptian constitution (Seeberg & Shteivi, 2014).

In a British Broadcasting Corporation BBC article entitled “Tunisians embrace democratic life” Allan Little (2011) wrote that: “*patronizing the dynamics of "democratic life" towards the end states Tunisia has a strong, educated, self-confident middle class that, it is now clear, has a very developed understanding of the dynamics of "democratic life."* (Little,2011). In fact, the situation in Tunisia was in changefulness as follows; before the Arab Spring events; the leader *Zeyn Abdin bin Ali* was against Islam, however *El habib Burkiba* who was the so called “father of liberalism” was against the use of “*hijab*”. This disparity can directly point the fact

that; the meanings of freedom, democracy or liberalism may differ upon *the political tendencies of leaders*.

The other exemplary case is when EU did not officially put a name in the coup that toppled Morsi in Egypt. This fact can be interpreted both as an expression of the traditional cautious European approach towards the Middle East; but also can be seen as a sign that “*Morsi did not act as the EU would have wanted*”.

As a result, these analysis’ on the region; demonstrating that the Western ideal of “*liberal democracy*” limits the possibilities and potential of regional participation and contribution into the international order, which Badiou (2011), described as “*the chance of unknown possibilities*”.

2.3.2. Arab Spring as a Background of the Syrian Civil War

The Arab Spring movements that started in 2010 and 2011 across North Africa and the Middle East sparked a new debate on the *future of democracy* in the region. Yet in the years since, the region has seen a return to civil war and proxy warfare, most violently in Syria (Schmitter & Sika, 2016).

The Arab world was built by the Western powers after the First World War within the structure which is based on artificial foundations. This new structure in the Arab world consists of a series of phenomena ranging from geographical boundaries, ethnic elements, public and fragile political and administrative structures, social divisions and ultimately to economic fragilities that are broken down from their own history. However, within these interventions; the changes in international politics that occurred at the end of the Cold War era remained ineffective in the Middle East. In other words, the Middle East has been diverted from its path with artificial interventions after the First World War. The concept of the *Arab Spring* gained the meaning for the region as continuation of its natural course (Laçiner, 2011, cited in: Akbaş, 2012).

What constituted the social basis of the Arab Spring; especially the unemployment amongst the youths and discontentment, affected the degree of the social anger and reaction to the regimes. There were political, economic, social and political factors that were the catalyst of change like poverty, unemployment, the desperation of educated young people, demographic pressure created by the young population, high cost of living and low wages, social injustice, corruption, bribery, lack of law and justice. In addition to these, the long lasting anger towards the leaders and their close environments and the bureaucracy whom were holding the economic power have triggered the popular movements (SAE, 2011, cited in: Akbaş, 2012).

The relationship that has been established by international media between “*Syrian Civil War*” and “*Arab Spring*” had an explanatory and guiding function. The reality that is pointed out by international media through “*Arab Spring*” concept was only an external “*ideal*”. However, the reality that has come out through local/regional reports was less considering conceptualizations like “*democracy*” or “*Arab Spring*” but more related to detailed facts. Alternatively, the words like “*freedom*”, “*right*” and “*justice*” that are detected from banners, videos of protest songs or in the early posts of the rebellions commenting through social media, seem to be more used in concordance with the *Syrian Civil War* on local and regional media reports. These words looked like the main symbols of the protests related to the social-cultural reality of the society and the original needs of the public.

2.4. Comparison of Global Media and Regional Media Coverage of Syrian Uprisings in 2011-2015

In this part of the thesis the news reports from *international regional and local* media tools have been chosen according to the date from 2011-2015, within the concepts like “*Democracy*” and “*Arab Spring*”.

Though the findings are selected among 69.700 results regarding the Syrian Civil War on the BBC; 32.700 of them were included “*Arab spring*” and “*democracy*”. The particularly selected “8 (Eight)” BBC reports were monitored

through searching those words “*freedom*”, “*right*”, “*justice*” then these sentences were documented on the corpus tables.

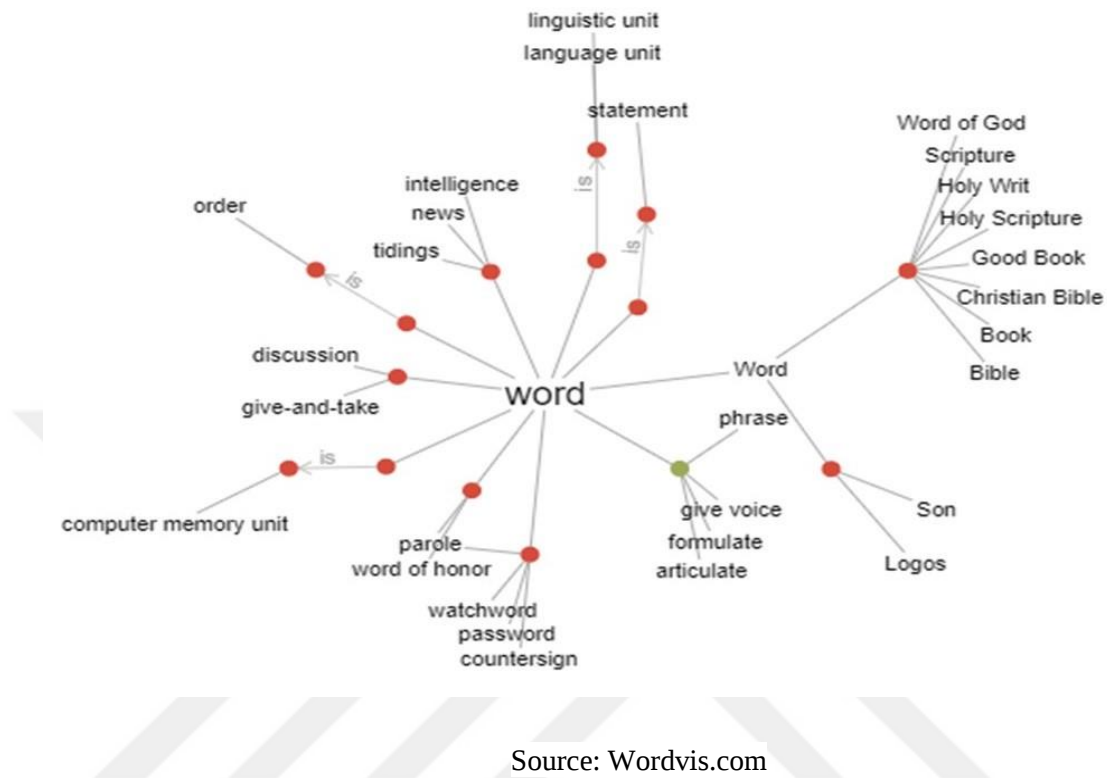
Analysis of the regional reports the online newspapers which were also published in English is selected. Though they were limited to reach out within the support from Omran Center for Strategic Studies (*Syrian based research institution in Turkey*) media department’s list of journals; like *Arab Weekly*, *Railayoum*, *Enab Baladi*, *Al Cumhuriyya*, *Syria Weekly* are monitored.

The coverage of Syrian Civil War on local-regional media, through news reports, interviews, articles, videos or social media posts; those words seem to be used mostly forefront as follows (Arabic in Latin letters); “*hurriya*”, “*karama*”, “*adalet*”, “*haq*” which means; “*freedom*”, “*security*”, “*justice*”, and “*right*”.

2.4.1 Analysis of the words: “Freedom”, “Justice” and “Right” as Substitute use of “Democracy”

According to R.H. Robins, ‘*new words*’ are the act of expanding the vocabulary of the language by taking foreign words continuously (1971: 30). According to Margaret J. Lifetree’s definition in her doctoral thesis, “new words” may be a new term, or a new meaning attributed to the old meaning of a used term in general language. These new words could often occur in political conversations, as a brand new term, or could refer to a narrowed segment of professional’s terminology as a technical term (1967).

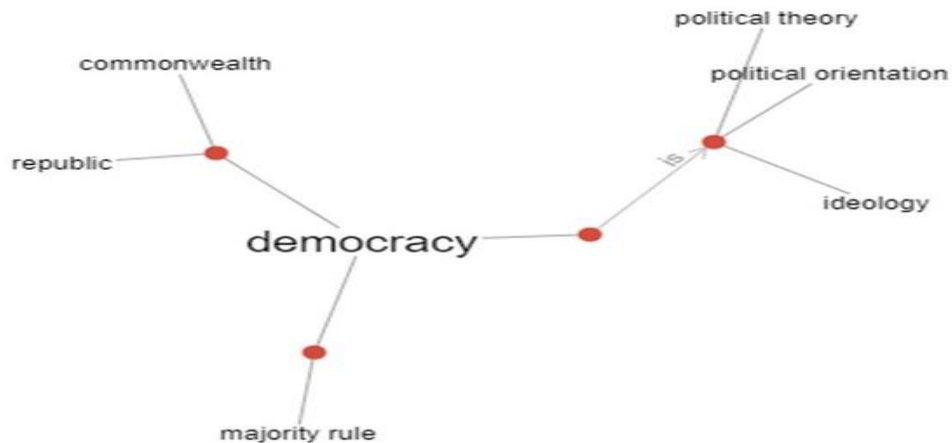
Table 2.1 The synonyms of “word” in a flexible web of words & meanings



In order to classify the words of any discourse, one needs to specify semantic classes. These semantic classes coordinate the words to be in a certain order. Yet, it's not only the matter of syntax but a matter of choice of a certain word among the enormous data. This paradigmatic choice also requires a kind of “*Discrete point analysis*” which means that no word can actually be replaced by any other. While this is the case of a certain language it becomes really very difficult to choose the right words in the same context in a different/foreign language. This point of view brings the idea of using *synonyms*, *antonyms*, *references*, *connotations* and *denotations* to maintain the coherence and cohesion.

“Democracy is so popular in the 21st century that the word is used by a wide range of different political systems: like “*freedom*” or “*justice*,” it has become a bit of a vague catch-all for whatever political arrangements the speaker admires.” (<https://philosophyterms.com/democracy/>).

Table 2.2. The synonyms of “democracy” in a flexible web of words & meanings



Source: Worldvis.com

The word *democracy* which has come to mean very different things to people; wordvis.com brought the following words as synonyms of democracy; *Commonwealth, Republic, Political Theory, Political Orientation, Ideology, Majority Rule*. Considering these synonyms of “democracy” concept, it can easily be criticized for its limitations with the political and governmental boundaries. This indication moves the core of the study into an analysis of the use of substitute words “*right*”, “*freedom*” or “*justice*” that are used in regional media since “*democracy*” has been set as the background of ‘*Arab Spring*’ discourse. In addition to this, back to its original course, Greek, which is a composite of *demos* and *kratos*, since *demos* can be translated as “the people” (qua “native adult male residents of a polis”) and *kratos* as “power”, democracy has a root meaning of “the power of the people”. But power in what sense? In modernity, democracy is often construed as being concerned, in the first instance, with a voting rule for determining the will of the majority. The power of the people is thus the authority to decide matters by majority rule.–However, referred to in the context of the classical (fifth and fourth centuries B.C.) terminology for regime-types “*capacity to do things*” was referred to as “*power*”. And the “*Majority rule*” was an intentionally *pejorative diminution* urged by democracy’s Greek critics (Raaflaub, 1989; Ober, 1998).

Table 2.3. Greek (*and neo-Greek*) terminology for regime types. Earlier (*fifth-century attested*) forms in bold, later (*fourth-century*) in plain face, post-classical/modern inventions in *italic*.

I	II	III	IV	V
Empowered body	–kratos root	–arche root	Other regime-name terms	Related political terms: persons, abstractions
A. One	<i>autocracy</i>	monarchia	tyrannia basileia	tyrannos basileus (king)
B. Few	aristokratia	oligarchia	dynasteia	hoi oligoi (few)
C. Many	demokratia isokratia <i>ochlokratia</i> (mob)	<i>polyarchy</i>	isonomia (law) isegoria (speech) <i>isopsephia</i> (vote)	hoi polloi (many) to plethos (majority) to ochlos (mob) isopsephos (voter)
D. Other (exempli gratia)	<i>timokratia</i> (honor) <i>gynaikokratia</i> (women) <i>technocracy</i>	anarchia	isomoiria (shares) eunomia (law) politeia (mix of democracy and oligarchy: as used by Aristotle)	dynamis (power) ischus (strength) bia (force) kurios (master) exousia (authority, license)

Radmedia.org: The Original Meaning of “Democracy”: Capacity To Do Things Not Majority Rule

The Greek vocabulary for political regimes tended to focus in the first instance on the empowered or ruling body, which might be a single person (one), or a limited number of persons (the few), or a large and inclusive body (the many). While the Greek vocabulary for regime-types is extensive, the three key terms of the rule of the one, few, and many are *monarchia*, *oligarchia*, and *demokratia*. Unlike, *monarchia* (*from the adjective monos: solitary*) and *oligarchia* (*from hoi oligoi: the few*), *demokratia* is not in the first instance concerned with “*number*.” According to J. Ober: “Greek names of regimes divide into terms with an *–arche* suffix, and terms with a *–kratos* suffix. *Aristokratia* (*from hoi aristoi: the excellent*), *isokratia* (*from isos: equal*) and *anarchia* are classical regimenames that stand outside the one/few/many scheme yet fall into the *–arche/–kratos* grouping.

Not all regime names use the *arche* or *kratos* roots; see Table: column IV. Yet (with the exception of *tyrannia* – which in the classical period had consistently

negative connotations) the *-arche* and *-kratos* families tended to dominate the terminological landscape (Ober, 2005).

A simple internet query with the keywords “*Arab Spring*” and “*Democracy*” relatively with “*Syrian Civil War*” as the studying case of this research identified differences in regional media through the words “*justice*”, “*right*”, “*freedom*” with gathering explicative series of documents. To constitute each sub-corpus as the representative of each keyword we began by using our prior knowledge of the issue, based on “*horizontal reading*” of findings to be able to focus separately on the discourse of reports that were more likely to cover on the issue. To extend the list of keywords for the query a list of sentences extracted from the reports were used. These were gathered in the first stage, then at the final part they are read vertically by highlighting the concordances. This work is completed by defining “*extracts*” from selected reports and articles according to their sources.

The discrepancy in findings of Arab media is explained by the fact that the BBC publishes more reports whereas the reports from Arab Publishers, that were written in English, were less of numbers to reach out. Hence, to match the findings the solution was to limit the number of findings while focusing on the intensity of content on reports that are selected carefully. This query of work discipline was attentive to maintain a certain generic uniformity which included any official material published by an identified organization and the date it was published. Although these 16 reports of corpora seem quite less in terms of numbers; it seems representative as it includes the total number of flash results.

PART THREE

COMPARISON OF THE BBC AND REGIONAL NEWS REPORTS

3.1.1 Analysis of the BBC and Regional News Reports on Syrian Civil War

In this part of the thesis, regarding the Stoller & Grobe's 6T's Content Based Instruction Approach within the extension of Pembecioğlu as the 12T's approach (*Topic, Theme, Text, Thread, Task, Transfers, Transition, Thinking, Thinking, Tailoring, Taking Risks, Trend Topic-Transmedia*) will be applied in comparative analysis of findings in between BBC and Regional/Local Arab media reports. According to 12T's approach; the *Topic* "Syrian Civil War" is fictionalized through the main *Theme* "Arab Spring" in the *Texts* news reports of BBC and Arab Media in the midst of specific *Time* 2011-2015 since the changes of events in time directly influencing the change of discourse as well.

Table 3.4 The Regional and BBC News Reports of the "Syrian Civil War"

	BBC	Regional
1	BBC: "Syria conflict: from peaceful protest to civil war" By Lina Sinjab BBC News, Damascus, Accessed in:15.05.2019 https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-21797661	Al Jumhuriya: "The Impossible Revolution: Making Sense of the Syrian Tragedy" By Alex Rowell, Accessed in:15.05.2019 https://www.aljumhuriya.net/en/academia/the-syrianization-of-the-world
2	BBC: "Viewpoint: Why Arab Spring has not delivered real democracy" By Gerald Butt Middle East analyst, Accessed in:15.05.2019 https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-27632777	Zamaneh Media: "Syria-Iran-Isis-and-the-Future-of-Social-Justice-in-dialogue-with-Yassin-al-Haj-Sale" By Frieda Afary, May 29, 2015, Accessed in:15.05.2019 https://en.radiozamaneh.com/24107/

3	BBC: Democracy or disorder? The four lessons of the Arab Spring By Roger Hardy, Middle East analyst, Accessed in:15.05.2019 https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-23266790	Syria Untold: “On the Inevitability of Militarization in the Syrian Uprising” By Rateb Sha‘bo, Syrian physician, writer, Accessed in:15.05.2019 https://syriauntold.com/inevitability-militarization-syrian-uprising/
4	BBC: “Does the West want democracy in the Middle East?” By Owen Bennett-Jones, BBC News, 19 November 2015, Accessed in:15.05.2019 https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-34857789	Syria Untold: “Syrian People Know Their Way” Features, 17 March 2014, Accessed in:15.05.2019 http://syriauntold.com/the-syrian-people-know-their-way/
5	BBC: “Arab Spring: 10 unpredicted outcomes” Middle East, 13 December 2013, Accessed in:15.05.2019 https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-25212247	The Arab Weekly: “Dashed Hopes of Arab Spring” By Alaya Allani, Accessed in:15.05.2019 https://the arabweekly.com/dashed-hopes-arab-spring
6	BBC: “Syria uprising: Assad says Arab Spring brought chaos” Middle East, 21 September 2012, Accessed in:15.05.2019 https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-19671635	The Arab Weekly: “Freedom allows youth to play active role in Tunisian civil society” By Roua Khelifi Friday 08/05/2015, Accessed in 15.05.2019 https://the arabweekly.com/freedom-allows-youth-play-active-role-tunisian-civil-society
7	BBC: “Is the Arab Spring good or bad for terrorism?” By Frank Gardner, BBC security correspondent, 22 June 2011, Accessed in:15.05.2019	Qunfuz: “Introducing al-Haj Saleh’s Impossible Revolution” By Robin Yassin-Kassab, Accessed in:15.05.2019 https://qunfuz.com/introducing-al-haj-salehs-

https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-13878774	impossible-revolution/
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Between the years 2011-2015; 8 news items with the title or content of “Syrian Civil War” and “Arab Spring” were selected from BBC reports. Likewise, among various Arab media news reports like The Arab Weekly, Syria Untold, Al Jumhuriya, Qunfuz Zamanah Media; the news items were selected (that are translated in English) with the title or content of “Syrian Civil War” and “Arab Spring”, though some of the selected reports were published ahead of the year of 2015, yet the content of them were still about revolution and uprisings era.

As of analyzing the news reports in the revolution and uprising context; “the language of Regional Media News” is observed to be mostly covered with the terms like freedom, justice, rights, dignity, employment and youth; whereas “BBC News” were covered at most of the titles and contents with the highlighted concept of “democracy”.

3.1.2 Analysis of BBC Reports through 12 T's Approach

Corpus “Democracy” in BBC - Tasks and Threads

Table 3.5. Corpus 1. The word “democracy” in the BBC reports in 2011-2015

1	Why Arab Spring has not delivered real	democracy.	
2	West's uncertain attitude towards	democracy	in the Arab world.
3	Iraq would become "a beacon of	democracy	across the Middle East".
4	<u>neo-cons</u> believed that the benefits of	democracy	were so self-evident that,
5	could not force a country to become a	Democracy.	
6		Democracy	Day takes place on Tuesday
7	A look at	democracy	past and present,
8	of Magna Carta - a touchstone for	democracy	worldwide
9	do actually represent a threat to	democracy	or are proof that it is
10	the Arab Spring as a springboard for	democracy	in a region where it was
11	able to choose its own leader as "fake	democracy.	
12	populous nation itself, Western-style	democracy	is nowhere on the horizon -
13	the unpredictable fate of the "old"	democracy	will undoubtedly be
14	West that it was not possible to	democracy,	
15	the West actually wants	democracy	in the Middle East
16	Or is it, in fact, frightened of what	democracy	might bring?
17	What next for global	democracy?	
18	Europe's "crisis of	democracy"	is a gap between elites and
19	Intelligence Unit for the BBC's	Democracy	Day.
20	For the reality is that Arab	democracy	has made little progress
21	Yet for all these displays of	democracy	the military and security
22	restrictions on protests hardly a basis	democracy	
23	Tunisian	democracy	faces challenges, but the
24		Democracy	In Algeria is practiced
25	point to an opponent are pillars of	democracy	that are yet to be
26	At present, Arab countries are	democracy	in different ways
27		Democracy	or disorder? The four lesson
28	appeared to be the harbinger of	democracy	has brought nothing but
29	intolerance that they are incapable of	democracy.	
30	-anxious to encourage fledgling	democracies,	but not to alienate old
31	forces could be an instrument of	democracy	was always suspect.
32	Syria or elsewhere, may decide that	democracy	leads nowhere, and that only
33	Does the West want	democracy	in the Middle East?
34	the face of it, one might conclude that	democracy	is thriving in the Arab world
35	the West's endless rhetoric about	democracy	is hollow.
36	unable to transform the yearning for	democracy	freedom and

37	inherent in arguing for	democracy	but fearing its results.
38	in Tunisia suggest that	democracy	can be trusted to work.
39	demonstrators demanding more	democracy	and an end to
40	the Middle East's most developed	democracy	but what would happen
41	demonstrators demanding more	democracy	and an end to
42	the interest of freedom	democracy	or ending social injustice
43	country is finding the path to	democracy	trouble-free
44	and especially because it denied	democracy	and even more
45	West has made in the past	democracy	when it eventually
46	Make sure that it was followed by	Democracy	or even stability

According to results, in “8” BBC reports; the word of democracy is used “46” times as the main theme. It also seems to be used in concordance with the following words; *Western Style*, *promoting*, *practicing*, *incapable*, *harbinger* as the Western way of democracy applications and Western way of imposing of democracy as well. BBC seems to be in the position of authoritarianism onto the movements by social emancipation or democratization under the *Arab Spring* concept.

Regarding the *Threads* approach which means “including other factors”; the use of the word “democracy” in BBC appears to be embedded in *Arab Spring* concept. The texts also ushering certain *Tasks* like “*peacebuilding*”, “*history making*” within Western historical references like “Magna Carta”, “Berlin Wall”.

Corpus “Freedom” in BBC – Transmedia and Trend Topic

Table 3.6. Corpus 2. The word “freedom” in BBC reports in 2011-2015

1	squares to the sound of	freedom	songs made popular by
2	balls with the word	"freedom"	written on them to bounce
3	started as a peaceful call for	freedom	soon turned into violence
4	the yearning for <u>democracy</u> ,	freedom	and security in the
5	demanding personal	freedoms	alongside the political rights
6	shouting out loud calling for	freedom	and change
7	as protests calling for more	freedom	and dignity
8	Shouting out loud calling for	freedom	and change

Among the findings of “8” results of freedom “7” of the results were directly from one article which is titled as: *“Syria conflict: from peaceful protest to civil war”*. The article was related with the earlier Syrian conflict including the activities and comments stated by Syrians. According to “Transmedia approach” which means “Enrichment & Mobility of the news”; the global media seem to create the “*field of expression*” that can transcend the slipperiness of the ground by “*transmedia*” to “*represent*” the ones whom are the most influenced by the reality.

In addition to that, the word “*freedom*” seems to be used as the bottom lines of new media technology’s outcomes as *trend topics* through transmedia. An access to information by new technological opportunities are created by certain concepts; like *keywords*, *collocation*, *Google AdWords*, *hashtags* and *commentators*, which are occupied with the “*instantaneous response*” as the creative output of the receivers’ activation. This accumulation of active information may cause tricky effects. For instance, any “*periphrasis*” or “*connotation*” can easily be turned into a solid “*verbalism*” of single reality on online world.

Corpus “Right” in BBC – Transmedia and Trend Topic

Table 3.7. Corpus 3. The word “right” in the BBC reports in 2011-2015

1	tolerant, pluralistic, committed to	rights	were never likely to emerge,
2	After all, they ask, don't the human	rights	abusing Saudi royals get
3	freedoms alongside the political	rights	which were the focus of
4	badly for gender violence, reproductive	rights	treatment of women in
5	regimes that had scant regard for	rights?	

In the light of this fact, the way of use of the word “*right*” in global media come front as the “*trend topic*” finally becoming an “*international trend*” which especially comes up in concordance with the case “*humanity*”. The way it is being used is usually with “*catchy match-ups*” without even concerning the lack of information about the original matter of the fact.

Nevertheless, the word “right” doesn’t seem to be used in concordance with “*democracy*” aspect.

Corpus “Justice” in BBC – Thinking

Table 3.8. Corpus 4, The word “justice” in the Arab media in 2011-2015

1	The overthrow of Arab regimes, Mr. Assad said, had "not worked in the interest of freedom, democracy or ending social	injustice	as much as it helped create chaos".
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Whereas there are “13” results for the word “justice” in Arab Media, there is only “1” result among 8 reports of BBC. This word is also found in the text as the opposite of “Justice” in the form of “injustice” within the quote of *Assad’s words* which can already be regarded as the “*Syrian discourse*”.

Whereas the word “justice” is never found to be used in concordance with “*democracy*” aspect, the shocking result is that there is no mention of justice. Within the “Thinking Approach” which includes the process and progress of thought on reporting; these reports seem to be in need of questioning according to the word

“justice”; if it is ever a non-political and non-professional word, or if it is just a romantic desire, or if it is just one of the most important core elements of the Syrian case?

2.4.2.2. Regional and Local Arab Media Reports on Syrian Civil War

Corpus “Democracy” in Arab Media – Transfers, Trends and Transitions

Table 3.9. Corpus 5. The word “democracy” in the Arab media reports in 2011-2015

1	autocracies (and three	democracies	Who don't always vote much
2	global responsibility for the sake of	democracy	
3	of genuine political and societal	democracy	not the
4	formal	democracies	of the days before the “Arab
5	who say that “freedom and	democracy”	were the main reasons for the
6	They promised civil	democracies	but worked instead on
7	They did not bring about a	democracy-	based project
8	<i>The ‘Political Bureau’ advocated</i>	democracy	<i>as well as social justice, and</i>

The other face of the use of “*democracy*” seems to come up with only 8 results in Arab Media reports; on one hand it mostly refers to the *transferred reports* of BBC. On the other hand, the use of “*democracy*” in concordance with the words like “*political*”, “*societal*”, “*civil*” referring to the different perspectives of democracy practices.

The use of the word democracy through the BBC reports as a global trend gets higher hits. So, with these reports the tendency is not to maintain democracy but to transfer this theme into the developing countries. According to “Transitions” in 12T’s approach which is described as *deliberate shift in emphasis from global trends, to trends in developing countries*; we may see the use of the word “*democracy*” in Arab media as a response to the *global population trend* by distincting the concept of democracy within addressing their own problems into it.

Corpus “Freedom” in Arab Media - Thinking and Tailoring

Table 3.10. Corpus 6. The word “freedom” in the Arab media reports in 2011-2015

1	As hopes for	freedom	and prosperity are crushed,
2	Socialism	Freedom	equality, brother-sisterhood
3	Those who say that	freedom	and democracy” were the
4	uprisings would lead to jobs and	freedom	
5	that relate to the issues of	freedom	civil society, women rights
6	agents in our struggle for	freedom	and change
7	country with the new-found	freedom	of expression and
8	conjuring the “spirit” of	freedom	and justice in
9	But employment, dignity and	freedom	have remained mere slogans
10	when absolutely everybody’s	freedom	is in question.
11	shifted from employment and	freedom	to restoring security and
12	that relate to the issues of	freedom	civil society, women rights
13		Freedom	allows youth to play active

According to the approach, one other T, “Thinking and Making Your Mind Up”; involves the word of “freedom” used in Arab Media “13” times. The word “freedom” is in need of (further) examination of the following questions that are necessarily paving the way for analyzing the findings: 1. *How do a reader comprehend this preference of the way of thinking of freedom and decides what to do with it?* 2. *Whose experimental applications are in “reference”?*

To get these answers the indicators about the use of freedom in Arab Media are needed to be questioned from the “*reference points*” when it comes to the special cases according to the region. Comparing to BBC reports; in Arab media “*freedom*” is more settled with the “*active perspective*” as a result of use in concordance with the following words; “*spirit*”, “*peace*”, “*justice*”, “*struggle*”, “*prosperity*”, “*civil rights*”, “*civil society*” “*women rights*”, “*civil liberties*” and “*hopes*”. These words seem to be triggering to determine an aim and to keep a side by attending actively for the struggle for freedom.

On the final sentence of corpus puts it by questioning *everybody’s freedom*; Arab media seems to be focusing on *freedom* at a political and social level,

differently from the “*democracy*” understanding of Western understanding of freedom which is more related to *political boundaries* especially regarding migration case occurring on further news. Nevertheless, the word “*freedom*” doesn’t seem to be used in concordance with “*democracy*” aspect.

Corpus “Right” in Arab Media – Tailoring

Table 3.11. Corpus 7. The word “right” in the Arab media in 2011-2015

1	calling for democratic reforms and human	rights.	
2	<i>worked with key activists including human</i>	rights	sometimes even it
3	women, students, intellectuals, human	rights	activist
4	the issues of freedom, civil society, women	rights	
5	and each one will get their	rights	and put
6	support the Kurds’ cultural and political	rights	
7	musicians, doctors, students, human	rights	activists, activist
8	(8-10% of Syrians) in Syria, let alone their	rights	
9	a socialist, feminist and human	rights	Activist
10	along with three other human	rights	activists Razan
11	human	rights	activism in Syria
12	Razan’s work in defense of women’s	rights	And human rights
13	and radicalized the field of human	rights	activism in Syria
14	what is right may give you the	right	to rule people the
15	Their	right	to criticize the Syrian
16	democratic reforms and human and civil	right	
17	including human	rights	Lawyer Razan
18	up rehashing the security discourse of the	right	sometimes
19	women, students, intellectuals, human	rights	activists
20	refugees, women, students, intellectuals, human	rights	activists

Compared to the use of BBC, the word “*right*” in Arab media as quadruple number of results is leading to a point that Syrian people’s rights are such a critical tension in Syria which is mostly covered on the public’s discourses.

According to the factor of “*Tailoring*” the use of the word “*right*” seems to be operating with the readers to attend actively into the case, depending upon their perceptions within the preferences and relativistic approach regarding what is right for whom and in what case. Through the reports, the reporters seem to be in the position of a catalyzer of the reader’s actions. The volunteerism and activism can be

seen as such results. As the reader gathers ideas and accumulates knowledge based on consequences of the actions that are put out in the outside world, the already developed “concepts” or “frameworks” will be less involved with the reader to interpret the world.

Compared to the Arab media, BBC makes use of the terms within the “*transmitter*” position by “passivizing” the transferred one’s self action. In other words, BBC reporters in the position of “*transporter*” are covering the case and spoiling the right of speech, by dominating what the tailoring actors should be doing or thinking about their rights.

Corpus “Justice” in Arab Media - Taking Risks

Table 3.12. Corpus 8 The word “justice” in the Arab media in 2011-2015

1		Injustice,	
2	conjuring the “spirit” of freedom and	justice	in “Assad’s Syria
3	<i>His concern for social</i>	justice	<i>arose from his immediate</i>
4	<i>democracy as well as social</i>	justice	<i>and agitated against the</i>
5	ISIS and the Future of Social	Justice	In dialogue with Yassin al-
6	had strong social and economic	justice	demands turned into a war
7	practical support to this social	justice	movement.
8	This is not to say anything about	Justice.	
9	What kind of “Left” leaves issues of	justice	out of its thinking and self
10	What can Iranian social	justice	activists and thinkers learn
11	can we forge ties between social	justice	struggles in Iran and Syria?
12	His concern for social	justice	arose from his immediate
13	democracy as well as social	justice	agitated against the regime’s

“13” results of the word “justice” in Arab media were analyzed with the “*Taking Risks*” category as being the mostly used ones in concordance with the words “*social*,” “*peace*” and “*freedom*” which can easily be described as the response of the reality. The original activists’ explanations as a matter of the subject seem to handle the case as a “Task” which is defined as to gain and maintain ‘*justice*’.

The texts put their tasks as to improvise, activate, motivate people as well rebellions. These texts also put forward the idea of justice as a main task to be followed by people according to Arab media. However, there seems to be not clear tasks for BBC reports even if the reports associate the word democracy with peace building and history making.

PART FOUR

FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATIONS

4. 1. Analysis of Corpus Based Reports

Table 4.13. The numbers of findings

TYPE OF DOCUMENT	Total Number of Reports	LIST OF WORDS			
		Democracy	Freedom	Justice	Right
Global Media (BBC Reports)	8	46	13	1	5
Arab Media (Regional and Local Reports)	8	8	8	13	20
TOTAL NUMBER OF WORDS	16	56	25	10	27

Throughout the table; comparing the BBC reports to regional reports, it seems to be a must that the international media must strive for diversity in the media coverage of the Syrian Civil War considering the fact that “8” of the results of the word democracy were used in Arab media, whereas “46” results of the word democracy could be seen through the BBC reportings.

The regional media come up with the “13” results of justice, while BBC reports usage of justice is just “1”, and that is the word “*injustice*” actually. “5” rights on BBC “in concordance with political and women rights, compared to “20” results of rights in Arab media. And finally considering the proximity of the results “freedom” appears to 10 times in BBC results and “13” times in Arab media reports. It can be seen that the 7 of the results of “*freedom*” appearing in BBC reports were directly from one article which is related with the earlier Syrian conflict including the activities and comments shared by Syrians.

Considering, the comparative analysis of results; the substitute keywords: “*justice*”, “*right*”, “*freedom*” seem to be set relatively with “Syrian Civil War” applied as the alternative communicative discourses of the original events from Arab media perspective. Those words which seem to be the real climate of the Syrian Uprisings could be interpreted as the real climate of Arab Spring as well. However, within 46 results on BBC the “democracy” concept seem to be coming to the forefront in global media reports, yet within only “8” results on regional/local media Arab reporters seem to be less willing to use this concept. In addition to that, Arab media also makes use of the words like “*spirit*”, “*dignity*”, “*employment*” in concordance with the keywords “justice”, “freedom” and “right”.

As a result, in each corpus a contrastive-comparative analysis enabled the findings to single out the relation of the key words. These key words were represented as close synonyms of Syrian Civil War in contrast to the discourses of “*Arab Spring*” and “*Democracy*” as the relevant language of international news in BBC. These concepts are revealed as the transferred “*political fiction*” of the West, since the number of the word “*democracy*” only appears extremely in BBC results whereas very limited number of occurrences appear in Arab Media.

The consequences also prevail that the use of words like “freedom”, “justice” and “right” do not necessarily yield what “democracy” or “Arab Spring” refer in international media. Instead these words occur frequently as the solitary indicators of Syrian case between the years of 2011-2015.

CONCLUSION

The first era of Syrian Uprisings came across with the Arab Spring movement around the region. Yet at the end, the Syrian Uprisings which started at 15 March 2011 totally differed from all other regions’ events by turning into an international war which still continuing in 2019; whereas every country in the MENA region had also their own specific improvements throughout the time. This fact has shown the the reality of the whole idea of Arab Spring concept on the international media as a fictional and supplemental approach. This study mainly concentrated on how BBC and regional Arab Media make use of the certain words related to Syrian Civil War on an international basis.

According to Pembecioğlu; *“With the impact of the media the real meaning beneath the concepts disappeared in the last decade and minimized into the reflections of the first sight.”* (Pembecioğlu, 2017) The global catchphrases like *“demand of democracy”*, *‘war on terror’*, acquired an international paradigm status by the virtue of its use by multiple actors in the media sphere of Syria. This led to the loss of the primitive perspective onto the actual events in Syria.

According to the analysis of the results through 12T’s Approach; the linguistic relativity, that are set on these reports by certain concepts appeared as *common mechanisms* of international communication like *internationalization of ‘Domestic Politics’* which seems to be practiced at the top of the coverage of Syrian Civil War.

Table 4.14. The Analysis of Findings according to 12T's Approach

Theme & Topic <i>General Umbrella Term</i>	In fact at the beginning the theme seems to be "Arab Spring", and the topic seems to be "Syrian Civil War". Yet, in time, these two important terms switch with each other so that the Syrian Civil War becomes a more general umbrella term covering all the other factors.
Text: <i>Age, Level, Interest, Language</i>	In all these text, this thesis concentrates on the Language factor. Language is taken into consideration through a more contrastive perspective as to compare English and Arabic news terminology.
Thread: <i>What Other Factors</i>	In the texts, involving the searched terms, the use of the Word 'democracy' in BBC is embedded in Arab Spring concept. Or, the Word 'right' is associated with the words such as women, students, intellectuals, civil society, cultural, political, musicians, doctors, etc.
Task: <i>What Duties</i>	The texts put their tasks as to improvise, activate, motivate people as well rebellions. These texts also put forward the idea of justice as a main task to be followed by people according to Arab media. However, there seems to be not clear tasks for BBC reports even if the reports associate the Word democracy with peace building and history making.
Trends & Transfers <i>What Tendencies</i>	The use of the Word democracy through the BBC reports as a global trend gets higher hits. So, with these reports the tendency is not to maintain democracy but to transfer this theme into the developing countries.
Transition: <i>What Changes</i>	In comparison to BBC reporting's the Arab regional media concentrates on transitions of democracy as political, civil and societal.
Thinking: <i>Process – Progress</i>	The text of BBC do not yield so much about the thinking process of the readers. Whereas the word justice is never found with the democracy aspect, the Arab Regional media "freedom" is more settled with the "active perspective" as a result of use in concordance with other concepts.
Tailoring: <i>What Kind of Details</i>	"spirit", "peace", "justice", "struggle", "prosperity", "civil rights", "civil society" "women rights", "civil liberties" and "hopes".
Taking Risks <i>What Kind of Threats</i>	The reports of both types do not ever take risks of being misunderstood. The basic threats seem to be terrorism, ISIS, Iran, social peace and freedom. The main risk in journalism regarding such hot issues, is the

	misconceptions of provoking people. Thus, every word seems to be involving certain direct and indirect references, associations, dichotomies, connotations, etc.
Technology & Transmedia <i>Enrichment & Mobility</i>	Even if the media literacy rates are not high in middle east countries, the journalist reports could transcend to the communities. An access to information by new technological opportunities are created by certain concepts; like keywords, collocation, Google AdWords, hashtags and commentators, which are occupied with the “instantaneous response” as the creative output of the receivers’ activation

The political terminology that is brought by International Media like “*Arab Spring*” and “*Democracy*” do not reflect *domestic actors’* policy preferences (*justice, freedom, right*) since this terminology was intentionally created to guarantee the pursuit of particular international policies. Furthermore, this terminology that are brought by International Media observed to be used in global thinking as a professional obligation.

Nevertheless, the international media effects the receivers’ decision making process by helping them in structuring their agendas towards news reports. On one hand this actively-involving process being representation of certain interests of some groups, on the other hand this is causing misrepresentations for the actual people of the Syrian case. On other words; globalization of the Syrian Civil War on international media with the “*Arab Spring*” concept; have some other independent effects; like creating rules for decision making, determining the agendas of activists and offer advantages to certain groups while disadvantaging others. Over time, strong institutions may even direct actors’ policy references according to these reports.

According to Hamid Mawlana, the production of journalists is not an individual but a social commodity. Thus, the journalist is not only responsible for the media but also for the public. Journalism should be a way for public awareness and information. The journalist must be aware of universal values, cultural differences, and adhere to the concepts of peace, democracy, human rights, social progress and

national freedom. The right of every individual and community to choose and develop their own political, economic, social and global system must be respected. As a benchmark politic advisor Hamid Mawlana and Professor of Journalism Kaarle Nordenstreng's discourse on The Global Media Debate; whereas Nordenstreng emphasizes democracy, Mawlana stands for the respect for cultural and traditional values. In the case of freedom, Nordenstreng emphasizes the concept of national freedom, while Mawlana's personal rights such as the Settlement Family and Property are not undermined.

Scholars has recently begun to explore how domestic-level structures and processes affect compliance on international norms. This literature has identified the domestic legitimacy of an international norm as an important variable in accounting for the effects of norms on state behavior. But scholars have devoted insufficient attention to measuring the legitimacy or salience of international norms in the domestic arena and to identifying the pathways that lead to domestic salience.

Deep insights could lead to more systematic studies of the domestic impact of international norms; by identifying which '*pathways*', by which 'international norm' can enter into the national arena and 'one factor' that conditions its impact on domestic political processes.

According to anti – globalizers, global communication is mostly connected with notions such as cultural imperialism and media imperialism; they see global communication as a vehicle aiming at controlling, invading or undermining other cultures. The transmitted cultural or ideological pattern has often been seen as an invasion of Western values, particularly those of American's (McQuail, 2000).

While some people criticize Western media exports as predatory, others support it as an expression of the free market and regard the imbalance of flow as a characteristic of the wider media market, which has benefit for all (Noam, 1991). Free-flow theorists tend to assume that global media has little predatory effect because the audience is voluntary, claiming that global media content is culturally neutral and ideologically innocent (Biltereyst, 1995).

However, receiving countries have often complained of media imperialism, arguing that global mass media is having negative effects on the culture and traditional values of their citizens. The idea is that cultural autonomy is undermined by imbalance in the flow of mass media content and, therefore, its national identity in an age of globalism is in danger of being subverted. McQuail points out, “*The unequal relationship in the flow of news increases the relative global power of large and wealthy news-producing countries and hinders the growth of an appropriate national identity and self-image*” (McQuail, 2000: 222 cited in Wang, 2008)

Giddens points out the tensions that exist between globalization and localization. According to Giddens, globalization is “*the intensification of world-wide social relations which link distant locations in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa*” (1990: 64 cited in Wang, 2008).

Discourses of cultural imperialism speak to major current controversies, including: cultural suppression and genocide; ideas of “globalization”; influential economic models of “capitalism” and “neoliberalism”; ideologies that are embedded in the global spread of concepts such as “modern”, “*progressive*”, “*growth*”, “*development*”, “*consumerism*”, “*free market*”, “*freedom*”, “*democracy*”, “*social Darwinism*” and “*soft power*”; *cultural specificity of criteria and procedures for establishing “truth*”; instrumentalization for the purposes of cultural conquest of academic disciplines such as psychoanalysis, economics, social anthropology, or marketing, or environmental crises, especially as linked to western ideologies that underwrite humanity’s “right” to dominate nature (Boyd-Barrett,2018).

However, cultural imperialism on the media is not limited to ethnic identities; it also seems to overlook the perception that a particular political, social, cultural terminology and its application fields which may have different understandings and activities. Since usually the people deal with others' words and representations by the means of media and advertising; and have become so accustomed to their messages, they often have trouble seeing things in its own natural way.

As known, while learning a foreign language; going to foreign countries and trying to make a living there is a specific way of separating reality from language courses. Today's international media studies which already travel all around the world through their reporters, the news coverage, requires to be highly focused on *translation science*. Becoming professional on language issues is getting important as being global and reporting events from anywhere to all around the world and carrying those reports to other countries as well. Because, when the dominant culture's language has an effect of on other languages, it is possible to see the transfer of its linguistic relativity, its fiction of reality, the imposed meanings to the other languages as well as exporting many words. In the globalization process, this effect has reached to a more decisive position.

For the final words; during the International Media Studies courses, in the lecture named "*Transnational Media*" it's been mentioned that as much being united and oriented on international level, it is important that the different nations should be supporting each other's "*local cultures*". Because the specifics of local / locality itself is related to the nature of the international society as well. Supporting the indigenous factors of the communities, by considering their effect on the language and carrying this harmony into international level seem to be the core of successful media reporting. Such harmony will inevitably lead to the feeling that we are able to speak freely to the world, from where we are and as we are.

INTERVIEWS



Yaser Al- Akkad, Totino Media, Photographer, Media Editor, 29

“The uprisings in Syria wasn’t involved with the guns through 9 months in some areas and 6 months in other areas; we were carrying red flowers, banners and we were wanting just the government to fix the situation. But what Assad think was only we were rebellions. So we’ve been trapped and attacked.

Democracy defined as the public leading themselves; freedom is to act or say anything but in our country is in return of your life, we wanted to act and say freely. After all, as media people in Syria, we felt like; we must give our voice to be heard in West. Syrian media writers are writing for Western newspapers we give them what they want to hear or understand. If they care about women rights we give them

women rights, if they want to hear democracy we give them democracy, to get the support we needed.”

Omar Akil, Syrian Forum, Business Director, 43

“There is a saying that Arabic culture doesn’t fit with democracy as long as carrying Islam, Democracy in Arabic is “hukm ash sha’b” (*the dominion of public*) and the public is comprised %80 per cent of Sunnis yet the power is at the %10 of Alawis, who are determining what is our rights and limitations. If must say, we got the freedom of praying as we like to do in Turkey. I think this is also must be regarded as some kind of freedom which we didn’t have in our country.”

Dr Sinan Hatahet, Omran Strategic Research Center, Strategy Development Authority, 42

“The most important thing about this tragedy is; it is more than humanitarian crisis. It’s a humanitarian crisis that is result of a political one. The regime that has been ruling country for more than 47 years now; only 2 president ruled the country, a father and Assad, and they already call it a republic and a democratic country. This is why the Syrian people were on the streets. In order to find freedom, in order to gain their dignity back. We called it in Syria: The Revolution of Dignity. We haven’t called it “The Revolution of Bread” or anything else like that. It’s a “Revolution of Dignity” to find ourselves back.

Hadia Al Kuwaji, Syrian Locul Councils Community Director, Lawyer, 33

“For example hijab concept is always been related to liberalism; but liberalism concept always depends on the political situation and whoever is at the authority. As we see in Tunisia in 1950s El Habib Burgiba who is the father of liberalism was against hijab, while Zeyn Abdin bin Ali, who took the power from him, was against Islam was not against hijab.”

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