ACCIDENTALLY SEEN: A CASE STUDY ON THE 2014 ERMENEK MINE
DISASTER AND ITS MEDIA REPRESENTATION

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

UĞUR SÜMBÜL

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC
ADMINISTRATION

SEPTEMBER 2016

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

———————————————
Prof. Dr. Tülin GENÇÖZ
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

———————————————
Prof. Dr. Ayşe AYATA
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

———————————————
Assist. Prof. Dr. Özgür AVCI
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Yılmaz ÜSTÜNER   (METU, ADM)   ———————————

Assist. Prof. Dr. Özgür AVCI   (METU, ADM)   ———————————

Prof. Dr. Lütfi Doğan TILIÇ   (BAŞKENT UNI., PRP) ———————————

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last name :

Signature   :

ABSTRACT

ACCIDENTALLY SEEN: A CASE STUDY ON THE 2014 ERMENEK MINE
DISASTER AND ITS MEDIA REPRESENTATION

Sümbül, Uğur

M.S., Department of Political Science and Public Administration

Supervisor: Assist. Prof. Dr. Özgür AVCI

September 2016, 173 pages

In the afternoon of October, 28, 2014 a mine disaster occurred in Ermenek which is a small district of Karaman province which was resulted in death of eighteen miners. Following its occurrence, the mine disaster was constructed as a media event and it was brought to audiences as distant others with certain discourses and representation strategies. Ermenek was made visible with this disaster, it became the main topic of live broadcasts and main news bulletins for a while and in fact several aids and aid campaigns were organized to the region 'thanks to' this visibility. Here this study aims to investigate how the mine disaster was represented in news discourse following its occurrence and what effects those representations had both on experiencing the disaster and also in the process afterwards. For this purpose, the thesis problematizes the situation of 'being visible with the disaster' and claims that visibility does not always function for the good of the lower classes. The analysis is made in four main chapters and the discussion benefits from two methodological frames, one of which is news analysis and the other is semi-structured interviews conducted with the families as well as with some of the surviving miners who are regarded as the sufferers of the disaster.

Keywords: Ermenek mine disaster, media representation, mediated visibility, distant suffering, Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis.

ÖZ

KAZARA GÖRÜLEN: ERMENEK'TE 2014 YILINDA MEYDANA GELEN MADEN FACİASI VE MEDYADAKİ TEMSİLİ ÜZERİNE BİR VAKA ÇALIŞMASI

Sümbül, Uğur

Yüksek Lisans, Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Yrd. Doç. Dr. Özgür AVCI

Eylül 2016, 173 sayfa

28 Ekim 2014 tarihi öğle saatlerinde Karaman iline bağlı küçük bir ilçe olan Ermenek'te on sekiz madencinin ölümü ile sonuçlanan bir maden faciası meydana gelmiştir. Meydana geldikten sonra facia medya tarafından çeşitli söylem ve temsil biçimleri ile bir medya olayı olarak inşa edilmiş ve uzak ötekiler olan izlerkitleye medya dolayımıyla getirilmiştir. Ermenek ulusal medya tarafından bu facia ile görünür kılınmış, belli bir süre canlı yayınların ve ana haber bültenlerinin ana konusu olmuş ve hatta bu görünür olmanın sonucu olarak bölgeye çeşitli yardımlar götürülmüş ve yardım faaliyetlerinde bulunulmuştur. Bu çalışmanın hedeflediği şey Ermenek maden faciasının meydana gelmesinin ardından haber söyleminde nasıl temsil edildiği ve bu temsil stratejilerinin facianın deneyimlenmesinde ve sonrasında yaşanan süreçler üzerinde nasıl etkileri olduğunu araştırmaktır. Bu amaçla çalışma 'kazayla görülme' durumunu sorunsallaştırmakta ve bunu dört temel bölüm üzerinden yapmaktadır. Tartışma, biri haber analizi ve ötekisi faciadan etkilenen aileler ile sağ kurtulan işçilerle gerçekleştirilen yarı yapılandırılmış mülakatlardan oluşmak üzere iki metodolojik çerçeveden yararlanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ermenek maden faciası, medya temsili, dolayımlı görünürlük, uzak acı, Çok Kipli Eleştirel Söylem Çözümlemesi.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AKP	Justice and Development Party
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CHP	Republican People's Party
HDP	Peoples' Democratic Party
JMO	Chamber of Geological Engineers
MCDA	Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis
MEVKA	Mevlana Development Agency
MİGEM	General Directorate of Mining Affairs
TMMOB	Union of Turkish Engineers and Architects
TSSA	Turkish Social Science Association

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the afternoon of October 28, 2014, a mine disaster[1] took place in Ermenek, a district of Karaman province in the south of central Anatolia, resulted in the death of eighteen mine workers while sixteen of them managed to escape. It was the second mine disaster following the biggest one in Turkish history occurred six months earlier in May 2014 in Soma with a death toll of three hundred and one miners. Due to this suitable context, the mine disaster led to a kind of public indignation in which different discourses were produced by different parties involved to explain possible reasons behind the occurrence of mine disaster. Ermenek came to the agenda, it became the main topic of live broadcasts and main news bulletins for a while and indeed various aids and aid campaigns were made to the region 'thanks to' this mine disaster. Thus a small, unknown district became visible with this mine disaster, which is a central concern for this thesis. It problematizes this situation of 'being visible with a disaster' by analyzing representations of the disaster in the news made after its outbreak.

In this context, our aim here is to analyze the Ermenek mine disaster with not a "media-centric" but a "media-centered" perspective (Morley, 2009), which means placing emphasis on the importance of constructions through media representations of the disaster without reducing its context to mere representations. It means that even though the context of mine disaster is beyond media representations, which we regard here as the transformation of mining into a highly privatized and insecure sector under the AKP government, we assert that the construction side of the disaster also has important influences on ways of experiencing the disaster. In line with Norman

---

[1] In this thesis the word chosen to describe the incident will be 'disaster' not 'accident' as we believe here that what happened in Ermenek was not an unexpected accident but a "social disaster" (TSSA, 2016) in which conscious reluctance to take safety measures, seen as unnecessary cost elements by the boss, led to its occurrence.

Fairclough's critical realist approach to discourse which claims that there are intermediary "social practices" between "social events" and "social structures" (2003: 23), we regard here media representations are located between social events and social structures as a form of social practice and they construct the relationship between them with certain discursive strategies. We claim that media representations of the mine disaster should have influenced the relationship between the disaster (i.e., the event) and its context (i.e., social structure) in a way to construct possible reasons, responsibilities and actors involved in the disaster in particular ways. These constructions are crucial in the sense that they do not only affect ways of narrating, but also ways of interpreting and indeed experiencing the event. Although it does not mean to overlook the possibility of audiences' alternative ways of reception, to the extent that "the power to represent" still reside in producers (Madianou, 2013) those representations are likely to have important influences on the event.

In line with those assumptions, this thesis is composed of four main chapters. The first chapter outlines the main theoretical framework for our discussion, which is discussed in three parts. First, we make a discussion on the transformation of visibility and interaction as a result of advances in mass communication. Here we base our discussion mainly on John Thompson's (1995; 2005) arguments on changing forms of interaction and action, which are created between people who do not share same spatiotemporal presence but still come to know about distant people, events and places via media representations. We also share his assumption that the media do not only provide symbolic content for people but it also leads to actions for the distant others, which is also present in our case.

Hence, as our second theoretical argument, we discuss that media representations form a relation between the people who suffer –the sufferers– and other people who read/watch their suffering –the distant others– through media representations. This relation is theorized by a number of scholars as "mediation of distant suffering" (Boltanski, 1999; Chouliaraki, 2006) and our case of the mine disaster can also be thought as an example of distant suffering. In this way, media representations gain a

status of being the principal means of witnessing the suffering of others. However, we claim that this relation between the sufferers and the distant others is not always advantageous. On the contrary, being visible in the media does not only refer to increasing opportunities of visibility but it also means being subjected to certain representation strategies.

In the third part of the first chapter, we problematize this fact and conduct a discussion on our own understanding of the concepts of ideology, discourse and representation under the concept of 'ideological discourse'. Here, we regard media representations as operationalizing some discourses to represent actors and actions in certain ways whose outcomes serve to sustain particular interests which are ideological. In other words, when a certain representation seems to bring the suffering of people closer to the viewer, in fact, this might be distancing them in reality. Especially with respect to representation of the lower classes, we claim that what seems as closeness might actually be distancing. Therefore, understanding representation strategies of the news discourse might be illustrative to examine whether this was also the case in the representations of the Ermenek mine disaster.

The second chapter aims to discuss the methodology to be used in news analysis and provides some methodological tools for it. The methodology we intend to use here is within the 'social-semiotic' versions of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). In that sense, Norman Fairclough's "dialectical-relational" approach (Tenorio, 2011) constitutes the general framework of our methodology with its emphasis on a critical realist understanding of discourse. In terms of tools for analysis, we benefit from another form of social-semiotic approaches to CDA, i.e., Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (MCDA), which emphasizes the need for multimodality while doing CDA. It means taking into account not only linguistic but also non-linguistic components of a text, i.e. news photos in our case. For this purpose, we outline some methodological tools for analyzing social actors and actions linguistically as well as visually over the concepts developed by van Leeuwen (2008).

Secondly, we discuss our selection of the news texts as well as political positioning of the newspapers in our sample. We have chosen the news from the newspapers Birgün, Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet, Posta, Sabah, Yeni Şafak and Zaman. We propose three categories regarding their political positioning and put them into those categories accordingly: The first two categories are about having a pro-or an anti-government stance on their political positioning. In that sense, we regard Sabah and Yeni Şafak as pro-government newspapers while Birgün, Cumhuriyet and Zaman constitute the category of anti-government newspapers. In terms of the third category we propose 'highly circulated mainstream newspapers without open political positioning' and put Posta and Hürriyet under this category. Likewise, we limit our analysis to the first three days' coverage of those newspapers, i.e. October 29, 30 and 31, 2014, concerning the vast amount of news due to the fact that the rescue operations lasted thirty eight days. Finally, we also mention our research questions, assumptions and limitations at the end of this chapter.

The third chapter constitutes the place of applying the methodological tools we discuss in chapter two to an analysis of the selected news texts. Here we analyze the news texts from the first three days' coverage of those seven newspapers. In line with van Leeuwen's categorization, we base our analysis on three dimensions: 'linguistic representations of actions and actors' and 'visual representations of actors'. In linguistic analysis, by the term 'actions' we refer to a) explanations on the possible reasons for the mine disaster and b) responsibilities assigned to actors. With regard to 'actors', we refer to a) government authorities (the president, the the Prime Minister, ministers and deputies from the governing party), b) oppositional politicians (politicians from the oppositional parties within the parliament), c) experts, d) the sufferers (relatives of the deceased miners as well as the surviving miners) and e) the distant others (distant people who watched/read about the event and acted in some way, i.e. by protesting, sending aids to the sufferers etc.). In terms of visual analysis, we analyze the two most depicted actors, i.e. the government authorities and the sufferers, in news photos.

4

In the fourth chapter, we aim to narrate the story of the Ermenek mine disaster over the findings of semi-structured interviews we conducted with the sufferers, i.e. relatives of the deceased miners and the surviving miners, in Ermenek. Our aim here is to link the findings of news analysis with what happened in the region in terms of conditions of working and living. Thus we seek to bring the context and construction together in order to understand the mine disaster as an 'interlocking point of the context and construction'. To this end, we first discuss 'the context' which include the district's economy and place of mining in it, structure of the mining sector in the region as well as working and living conditions before the disaster. Second, we discuss the 'outbreak of the disaster', i.e., how the sufferers experienced the mine disaster as a true story, what they thought about rescue operations and the government authorities' involvement in them. Likewise, this part will also be the place of examining whom the sufferers assign responsibility for the disaster. Finally, we will discuss what happened 'after the disaster', that is, opinions by the sufferers regarding our assumption on 'being visible with the disaster' as well as on interest shown and aids made to them after the disaster. In other words, we will check relevance of our assumption that constructions of the event through media representations influence the very experiencing the event itself.

In general, in this thesis we claim that "struggles for visibility" (Thompson, 2005) is an important dynamic in today's late modern societies. People are increasingly in need of media representations in order to be visible or to make themselves being heard. However, especially for the disadvantaged groups and places, this struggle for being visible is not an equal race since they live on the margins of what "ideological repertoire" (Hall, 1977) of the Turkish media values in normal times. Therefore they only attract the media's attention when extraordinary situations like natural or social disasters happened to them regardless of how extraordinary their daily struggles are (Erdoğan, 2001). Similarly, to the extent that being visible in the media also means being subjected to its representational strategies, the lower classes' relationship with the media is likely to be injuring and paradoxical rather than enabling and positive. These are the main assumptions we pursue throughout this thesis.

CHAPTER II

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE MINE DISASTER AS A MEDIA EVENT

2.1 Introduction

In this first chapter, we will discuss some theoretical points that we will be using throughout the thesis. These are related to the themes of visibility and distant suffering as well as the concepts of ideology, discourse and representation. Those themes and concepts are important in the sense that they refer to changing forms of interaction and action between the people who are able to communicate each other even though they do not share the same spatiotemporal setting. It is the media which enable possibility of such interactions and actions. Thus with the advancement of communication media it becomes possible to interact along long distances. Therefore, it becomes equally important media constructions of people, events and places in addition to their own presence as long as this presence is possible only by mediation for the distant others.

The discussion on the changing nature of interaction with developments in mass communication media in the twentieth century points to a crucial dimension intrinsic to late modern societies of our time: increasingly different spheres of social life are mediated by the media and almost nothing is immune to exposure to media, which is named as increasing "mediation of everything" by one of the prominent scholars of media and communication (Livingstone, 2009 cited in Hepp and Krotz, 2014: 1). Of course this should not be read as a claim rejecting existence of a non-media space. Instead, what is intended here is to emphasize the importance of what some

communication scholars call 'mediatization' on the symbolic construction of social matters in today's late modern societies.[2]

Considering the fact that media is a space of encounter with social realities in which actors and events become visible by passing through its mediation, the present chapter has two main aims. First, a discussion on the concept of "mediated visibility" (Thompson, 1995) and "the new visibility" (Thompson, 2000, 2005) will be made to assess the changing nature of visibility and interaction since the twentieth century onwards. Although mediated visibility is welcomed as having increased people's chance to see, know, perform and present more, this increase in media access and mediated visibility bring different -and not always positive- consequences for different social groups and places. Particularly if we think that the dominated groups who lack economic and cultural capital are much less able to control their own image and representation in the media (Madianou, 2011: 7; Champagne, 1999: 50), their exposure to media power is more likely to be experienced as a "hidden injury" (Couldry, 2012: ch.3, drawing on Sennett and Cobb, 1977).

The second part of the chapter aims to discuss the relationship between ideology, discourse and reality under the concept of 'ideological discourses' and relate this discussion to the concept of representation in general and media representations in particular. Parallel to the discussion on mediated visibility in the first part and on ideological discourses and media representations in the second part, a third discussion of this chapter problematizes the notion of "distant suffering" (Boltanski, 1999; Chouliaraki, 2006) which is the type of media representation in this study. Although the term 'suffering' concerned in "distant suffering studies" is based mostly on the examples of natural disasters or wars, the disaster which this study takes as a case is

---

[2] Although this thesis does not intend to discuss epistemological weight of the media in today's societies at length, there is a recent debate on the concept of 'mediatization' as increased mediation of everything on the one hand and other accounts criticizing overestimation of this role assigned to the media. On the concept of mediatization the reader is advised to refer Hepp and Krotz, 2014; Hepp, 2013; Livingstone, 2009; Krotz, 2009; Lundby, 2009; Hjarvard, 2008. Concerning the debate on mediatization see criticisms by Deacon and Stanyer, 2014; 2015 and responses by Hepp, Hjarvard and Lundby, 2015; Lunt and Livingstone, 2016.

not natural but a social one[3] (TSSA, 2016). Moreover, in addition to physical distance where the disaster took place, the meaning of adjective 'distant' is taken in this study in terms of the distance referring to class position of the people who experienced the disaster usually. They are regarded as distant to what the Turkish media prioritize as newsworthy both in class and spatial terms.

2.2 Mediated Visibility and Its Meaning for Disadvantaged Groups and Places

In his seminal book *The Media and Modernity* John Thompson argues that developments in communication media have brought a number of important changes in "the social organization of symbolic power" especially in the twentieth century (1995: 3). In the book, the author mainly seeks to trace effects of those changes brought by developments in media and communication on a number of different dimensions such as the changing nature of political and symbolic power, public sphere, publicness, self and experience, globalization, tradition and so on. The theoretical insights that his claims contribute to our discussion might be interpreted in several respects. First of all, with the advent of mass communication an extension emerges in the availability of symbolic forms of space and time which means a growing number of people can access these symbolic forms (Thompson, 1995: 30). An essential outcome of this extension is what David Harvey called "space-time compression" being understood as an outcome of restructuring of capitalism on a global scale that was resulted in decline in travel time as well as in intensification of global communication, both of which makes the world a smaller place than it used to be (Harvey, 1989: 240, cited in ibid.: 36).

Likewise, as the second crucial argument, a drastic change occurred both in perceiving and experiencing time and space, which led to mediation of what we know as 'historicity', 'worldliness' or 'sociality'. Due to increasing influence of the media in

---

[3] Social here refers to preventable nature of the disaster which was the result of reluctance in taking security measures seen as unnecessary cost items by the mine's boss. Likewise, our usage of the word 'disaster' instead of the word 'accident' here emanates from this perspective. Therefore, the only accidental dimension attributed to the event in this thesis is the media's selection and representation of it as a newsworthy event only after its occurrence.

people's life, they regard the world and their place in it as increasingly shaped by those mediated symbolic forms. Indeed, the media also have an important influence on the fact that group or community identities of people is partly constituted by those symbolic content produced by the media (ibid.: 34-35). Therefore, it deserves serious attention to understand the place of media in daily lives of individuals as a crucial tool affecting their world of meaning as well as the ways they see their place in this world.

Having stated some initial points on the increasing importance of media in people's lives, a third -and perhaps the most important- contribution that Thompson provides our discussion is his conceptualization of "the rise of mediated interaction" in modern societies as a result of advances in media and communication technologies (ibid.: Ch.3). To begin with, Thompson mentions three forms of interaction posed by the use of communication media: "face-to-face interaction", "mediated interaction" and "mediated quasi-interaction" (ibid.: 82). The first form, face-to-face interaction, which is characterized by co-presence in the same context, i.e., sharing a common spatial-temporal system of reference. In this context, both producers and recipients of messages are involved in a "two-way flow of information" in which the latter is able to respond to the former. As a result, face-to-face interaction might be regarded as having a "dialogical" character. Similarly in face-to face interaction there exists "a multiplicity of symbolic cues" which means that participants can use these cues like gestures, smiles, intonation and so on to lessen ambiguity of the message or to provide a better their understanding of it (ibid.: 83).

In mediated interaction, on the other hand, there is the use of a technical medium like writing a letter or a telephone conversation which allow symbolic content of communication to reach persons who are remote in terms of time and space. Unlike face-to-face interaction, in mediated interaction co-presence is no longer obligatory for the participants of the communicative event. They are present in different temporal and spatial contexts and the deictic expressions they use in face-to-face communication are not guaranteed to be understood in the way they intend. Thus participants must consider the amount of contextual information to be shared in

exchange, for instance, by specifying date and time of a letter or introducing themselves at the beginning of a telephone call. Likewise, symbolic cues that they can use in face-to-face interaction are substantially narrowed down since cues like gestures or mimics make no sense to use in a telephone call or on a letter (ibid.: 83)

Finally, the last type of interaction, i.e., mediated-quasi interaction, refers to the type of social relations created by the mass communication media like newspapers, books, television or radio and so on. It resembles mediated interaction in terms of extended availability of symbolic content across time and space and also existence of a similar constraint of narrowing down of the symbolic cues. Nonetheless, Thompson stresses two important differences between mediated-quasi interaction and the other two forms (Thompson, 1995: 84): First, while in face-to-face and mediated interactions the participants are directed to specific others whom they produce messages, actions etc., in mediated-quasi interaction symbolic material is created for recipients who are potentially indefinite in number. Second, in contrast to the dialogical character of face-to-face and mediated interactions, mediated-quasi interaction is monological as a result of predominantly one-way nature of the flow of communication. For these reasons it is regarded as a kind of 'quasi-interaction' in the sense that it has a monological character as well as potential recipients are in indefinite number. Despite these differences from the other two kinds of interactions, Thompson argues,

> "…mediated quasi-interaction is, none the less, a form of interaction. It creates a certain kind of social situation in which individuals are linked together in a process of communication and symbolic exchange. It is *a structured situation* in which some individuals are engaged primarily in producing symbolic forms for others *who are not physically present,* while others are involved primarily in receiving symbolic forms produced by others *whom they cannot respond*, *but whom they can form bonds of friendship, affection or loyalty* " (ibid: 84-85, emphasis added).

Before proceeding to a discussion on the consequences of the changing nature of interactions, a summary of these three forms of interaction is provided in Table 1 below for an easier understanding of similarities and differences between them.

Table 1: Types of interaction

Interactional Characteristics	Face-to-face interaction	Mediated interaction	Mediated quasi-interaction
Space-time constitution	Context of co-presence; shared spatial-temporal reference system	Separation of contexts; extended availability in time and space	Separation of contexts; extended availability in time and space
Range of symbolic cues	Multiplicity of symbolic cues	Narrowing of the range of symbolic cues	Narrowing of the range of symbolic cues
Action orientation	Oriented towards specific others	Oriented towards specific others	Oriented towards an indefinite range of potential recipients
Dialogical/ monological	Dialogical	Dialogical	Monological

Source: Thompson, 1995: 85

In relating the abovementioned discussion on the transformation of interaction from face-to-face and mediated to increasingly mediated-quasi forms, it is important to look for its possible effects on broader roles that the media play both in social organization of symbolic power and also in ordinary people' lives. Concerning the former a discussion on the transformation of visibility is intended to be made, while for the latter we need to assess effects of these transformations on lives of people. Regarding visibility, John Thompson mentions the "uncontrollable nature of mediated visibility" having emerged out of developments in communication media (1995: 141; 2005: 14) Unlike "the situated visibility of co-presence" which is reciprocal, what he called "the new visibility" is different in the sense that it is freed from the temporal and spatial requirements of being here and now (Thompson, 2005: 7). In other words, visibility of individuals, actions or events are separated from the necessity of sharing the same locale resulting in an extension of both seeing and witnessing across distant places. This new form of visibility is able to transmit an event live across distant places and it may even re-present a past event as if it is happening here and now thanks to preservative qualities of the medium. Therefore, in this new visibility the vision is

11

emancipated from the spatial and temporal constrains of co-presence but at the same time it starts to be shaped by technical and social characteristics of the medium itself (Thompson, 2005: 6-7). Especially with electronic media, whose crafted visibility differs from the print media in some respects, it becomes possible to transmit symbolic content and information instantly over large distances. This generates what is called "despatialized simultaneity" in which distant others are able to be seen and heard without the need for sharing the same spatiotemporal presence with the viewer (ibid.: 9).

Transformations in forms of visibility and interaction have generated important results for political and symbolic power. With the rise of mediated visibility it becomes more difficult to control the flow of communication than it used to be. Thus visibility may be both advantageous and dangerous for the parties involved. Thompson calls this slippery notion of the mediated visibility as "a double-edged sword" (2005: 14) which means that although it enables new opportunities for access to and transfer of symbolic content, it also creates new risks and dangers especially for those who control political power. It becomes more difficult for them to be sure about circulation of images and information as they wish to see. In other words, the new visibility shows not only uncontrollable but also the *fragile* nature of mediated visibility (Thompson, 1995: 224 emphasis added). This fragility shows up overtly in case of goofs, scandals or accidents as unexpected situations which make control of visibility more difficult than it used to be (Molotch and Lester, 1974; Thompson, 2000).[4] It provides an important contribution to our discussion in the sense that we s a similar case of discursive strategies of officials to correct their image and extenuate their responsibility after the mine disaster occurred, which is apparent especially in the news being made after the mine disaster. In those news we see that particularly the newspapers politically closer to the government seem to make everything possible to prevent such fragility of visibility in the name of the government authorities. We will discuss this point in detail

---

[4] For helpful discussions on the effects of mediated visibility on political power in terms of political scandals see Thompson, 2000; Ehrat, 2011.

in the third chapter while we will be making a critical discourse analysis of different parties involved in media representations of the disaster.

Having mentioned the transformation of mediated interaction as well as of mediated visibility and their role in organization of political and symbolic power, the remaining part of this section will be devoted to discuss what these transformations mean to ordinary people and their lives. Although the rise of mediated visibility is somewhat a welcomed phenomenon having increased chances of access (Thompson, 1995), we will rather take a more critical stance on possible meanings of visibility and experiencing mediated-quasi interaction for the lower classes in late modern societies. Our aim here is to refer to some general discussions on place of media in the lives of lower classes.

To begin with it is crucial to understand "*the structural asymmetry*", which is the structured and unequal nature of interaction between producers and receivers (Thompson, 1995: 96 emphasis added). This is not just because of the monological character of mediated-quasi interaction but also of the statuses of recipients as anonymous spectators whose importance is not related to their personality but to their spectatorship. Therefore, the point is not simply about being constituents of an equal dialogue but ensuring spectatorship of those anonymous people as a must. This makes "tele-visibility" as "*a combination of preference and absence*" in which distant personalities are created and they acquire a halo strengthened by the distance separating them from their spectators. On the other hand, the audiences are left with a non-reciprocal anonymity in which the nature of participation they involve is reduced to a quasi-participation (Thompson, 1995: 96-97, emphasis added). This is what *"power asymmetries of mediation"* which is reproduced by the media in its reporting through "indifference" to vulnerability of the person refers to (from Sennett, 1980). This power asymmetry heightens "the non-reciprocal nature of mediated interaction" with a generalized and dispersed audience (Madianou, 2011: 11 emphasis added).

These ideas give insights into our discussion on the meaning of media for the lower classes on several counts. First of all, it is important to stress the structured character

of mediated-quasi interaction in which reception is socially conditioned according to social, cultural and economic repertoires of people (Thompson, 1995; Morley, 1992 cited in Özçetin, 2010: 22-23). In other words, it is more likely for the dominated groups, which have the least control over their own representation (Champagne, 1999: 50), to experience exposure to asymmetrical processes of representation as a vulnerability. Thus the self realizes itself as unable to control its own image especially when the self is from the dominated groups (Madianou, 2011: 5). It points to a contrast with Thompson's optimistic view of mediated visibility as a positive contributor to making of "the self as symbolic project" in which people actively use symbolic content produced by the media to construct their self-identity (cf. Thompson, 1995: chapter seven). Instead, although extension in symbolic content has been amplified, uses of this symbolic content differs according to social classes in which the volume of capital people own differs according to one's class position. Even though there is always the possibility of alternative ways of decoding by audiences either as affirming, negotiating or opposing the media messages (Hall, 1999), socioeconomic status is a crucial dynamic of conditioning these different ways of interpretation.

As the second point of argument here we mention what Thompson calls *"struggles for visibility"* (2005: 23, emphasis in original) and relate it to the asymmetrical nature of power in the media. He is right in claiming that today the ability to achieve visibility in the media also means gaining recognition or presence in the public sphere which is crucial for a person to attract other people's attention to advance her cause. The reverse case is also true in which failure in achieving visibility through media may relegate one to obscurity or even might lead to *"a kind of death by neglect"* (ibid.: 23 emphasis added). A similar emphasis on the importance of recognition is also made by Axel Honneth who states that invisibility might come to mean being expelled from "the circuit of recognition" which brings about a "moral death", committing a "social assassination" (Honneth, 1996 cited in Dayan, 2013: 173). Therefore, mediated visibility means a lot to people for making themselves being seen or heard and it also includes a certain struggle (Thompson, 2005: 24). However, bringing this somewhat idealized struggle for visibility into a more realistic terrain, we see that there is a

certain "power asymmetry" between producers and consumers of the media messages in the sense that "the power to represent" still resides in the producers in spite of audiences as active meaning makers (Madianou, 2011: 6). That's why the lower classes' chance to be visible, which also means to be recognized publicly so as to be heard and advance their cause, is restricted due to the privilege that producers have on representation.

This brings us to the third argument, that is, due to lack of the power to represent themselves, mediated visibility for the lower classes is experienced mostly as "unwanted media exposure". It creates a "mediated harm" for those people in which symbolic violence, silencing and loss of control over their own image as well as inability to correct their representation are prevalent (Madianou, 2013). This mediated harm differs from non-mediated harm in the sense that it points to a "structural transformation" in which the others whom the self identifies herself become both amplified and generalized as an abstract magnitude. Therefore, the self can never be met with this abstract magnitude to correct her own articulated version of events (Madianou, 2013: 189-190). It also shows the convergence between "the asymmetries of mediation" and other social inequalities. People from the lower classes who are in a socially and culturally disadvantaged position are only left with a potentially infinite audience, who publicly judge their presented situation in which the depicted people are unable to respond to them. Hence, "the symbolic power of mediation" works against those who lack necessary means and power either to respond or to correct their own representation (Madianou, 2013: 190). Taking into account that social relations have been increasingly gaining an "ocular-centric" character, the question of being subject or object to gaze creates an "economies of gaze" in which social classes are positioned differently which is inherently hierarchical (Erdoğan, 2001: 52-55).

To sum up, in this section we have discussed the changing nature of interaction and visibility from face-to-face to increasingly mediated and mediated-quasi kinds as a result of advances in media and communication technologies. This makes mediated visibility quite important in today's societies where symbolic power of media is a

constitutive force. Changes in the forms of visibility have led to emancipation of interaction from spatial and temporal constrains, which is welcomed by some scholars as new opportunities to see and act more. Nonetheless, it does not change the fact that the lower classes are deprived of necessary means to challenge the structural asymmetry of this relationship in which producers still enjoy "the power to represent" despite active meaning makers status of the audiences. This amounts to experience their presence in the media mostly as "unwanted exposure" to media power in which they are either unable to control their image or correct their misrepresentation due to the convergence between inequalities in the social sphere and in the media (Madianou, 2011, 2013). Therefore, beyond being a positive contribution to the process of developing the self, the relationship between media and the lower classes is mostly a process of harm. Thus the subject is injured in the sense that she is only left with an inability to comment on her suffering in front of a potentially indefinite number of people whom she is unable to respond.

Based on these theoretical insights, in the following section there will be a discussion on our understanding of the relationship between ideology, discourse and reality and their relations with the concept of representation in general and media representations in particular. Also, a third discussion on our preferred type of media representations, i.e., mediation of "distant suffering" (Boltanski, 1999; Chouliaraki, 2006), will be made in the last section where the relationship between spectators and sufferers is thought to be crystallized.

2.3 Ideological Discourses, Media Representations and Mediation of Distant Suffering

In this second part, first we will make a brief discussion on how ideology, discourse and reality should be thought together in order to clarify what is meant by the concept of "ideological discourse". Then, this discussion on ideology, discourse and reality will be linked to the concepts of representation and media representations. Ideological discourses are used in representational strategies of the media to construct actors, actions and events in certain ways which influence their reception in return. These

representations are also related to the abovementioned discussion on the changing nature of visibility and interaction as a result of the rising effect of media and communication in social life. Finally, a discussion will be made on mediation of "distant suffering" (Boltanski, 1999; Chouliaraki, 2006) which is the type of representation we focus on this study.

2.3.1 Relationship between Ideology, Discourse and Reality

Regarding the discussion on ideology, discourse and reality first we need to clarify why we discuss the notion of 'reality' –i.e., social reality– in relation to concepts of ideology and discourse. In the 1960s and 1970s, especially with the influence of Louis Althusser, questions like how modern capitalist societies reproduce themselves, what is the role of ideology in this reproduction and how to think of different instances of social reality as well as Marxism's classical distinction between the base and superstructure were being thoroughly discussed. Stuart Hall interpreted a number of important contributions made by Althusser to debates on ideology, culture and representation which seem also very relevant to our discussion. First of all, Althusser rejects "the class reductionism" in ideology by denying existence of any guarantee between ideology and class position with respect to the social relations of production (Hall, 1984: 97). This is furthered by his rejection of empiricist assumptions regarding knowledge and theory. While critique of the former led him to oppose the notion of "false consciousness" by denouncing existence of a transparent relation between objective social relations and perceptions of social classes, the critique of theory allowed him to perceive knowledge as the production of a *practice* not as a reflection of the real neither in discourse nor in language (Hall, 1984: 97-98 emphasis added).

This emphasis on emergence of knowledge in practice gives two important insights to our discussion. First, although social relations cannot be reduced to linguistic terrain, they *have to be represented in speech and language* in order to gain meaning (Hall, 1984: 98, emphasis added). Hence culture and language –as well as representation itself– can be regarded neither as secondary to economic base nor as simply *reflecting* social realities. Rather, they are regarded as *constitutive* of the production and

17

circulation of meaning so as to be equally important with the material or economic base (Hall, 1997: 5-6 emphasis added).

Second, as Althusser mentioned, since ideas do not float in empty space but they are materialized in social practices, the social never exists outside of the semiotic, and because each social practice is generated in the interplay of representation and meaning, every social practice exists within ideology (Hall, 1984: 103). This is by no means denying existence of materiality of practice or reducing it simply to the sphere of ideology as mental constructions of people, but rather stressing that people come into interaction with social realities and material conditions of their existence through mediation of language and discourse. Althusser mentions this nature of ideology as the *imaginary* relation in which people go into interaction with their material conditions of existence (1969: 123). In other words, ideology is regarded here in line with one of Marx's famous phrases on ideology, which he wrote in the *Preface to the Contribution to a Critique of Political Economy,* "as the legal, political, religious, aesthetic, or philosophic- in short, ideological forms in which men become conscious of this (economic) conflict and fight it out" (cited in Eagleton, 1991: 80).

Thus ideology cannot simply be thought as "ideas of the ruling class", i.e. just as in "the dominant ideology thesis" (for a critique of this thesis see. Abercrombie, Hill and Turner, 1980), or in terms of "false consciousness" which claims that there is real, essential knowledge out there and some people are just incapable of discovering it while others can. Instead, ideology is intrinsic to social practices which makes it material; it is also an "imaginary relationship" through which people come into interaction with their material conditions of existence all social practices -including even laboring itself- are learned (Althusser, 1969: 123, Hall, 1984: 103).[5]

Our usage of the concept 'discourse' here is related to the points about ideology we have mentioned above however in its original poststructuralist use the concept of

---

[5] See (Willis, 1977) for an implementation of Althusser's approach to ideology to the process of "learning to labor" among working class kids in Britain and the recent revision of this work (Willis, Dolby and Dimitriadis, 2004).

discourse points to a kind of dissatisfaction with the notion of ideology. On this point, Sara Mills comments on Foucault's dissatisfaction with the notion of ideology in three aspects. First, Foucault stresses that ideology's always contrasting position with something like truth. Second, according to Foucault ideology always makes a reference to something like subject which he also feels uncomfortable with. Finally, he mentions that ideology always has to be in a secondary position against a thing like economic base to which ideology functions accordingly (Foucault, 1979: 36 cited in Mills, 2003: 116). Alternatively, he regards power not always negative or central but as productive and diffused in social sphere unlike Marxist accounts' emphasis on ideological dominance of certain classes over others as 'the dominant versus the dominated'. For Foucault, power is exercised at the most basic level where it operates and it should be regarded not necessarily as structures but as "infinitesimal mechanisms" with its own autonomous mechanisms (Foucault, 1980: 98-99). Therefore, in this picture individual becomes not only the oppressed under mechanisms of power but himself as a carrier/operator of it.

Foucault's conceptualization influenced some scholars from the Marxist tradition as well who later came to define themselves as post-Marxist. Based on Foucault's insistence on formation of knowledge and subjectivities in the domain of discourse, Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe coined the concept of "radical contingency" to claim the impossibility of closure of any social system which shows its openness to the possibility of contestation by what it has excluded (Dahlberg, 2011: 43). Similarly, Laclau argues that heterogeneity cannot be fully articulated in any discursive structure since complete articulation of these heterogeneous aspects is against the very logic of discourse because full articulation would make the discourse inconsistent and it would amount to the loss of its legitimacy. Therefore, he claims that there is something always manage to escape articulation and in this way threatening the very 'seem-to-be full or represent-all' structure of discourse (Phelan and Dahlberg, 2011: 24). They even go beyond Foucault by refusing the distinction made by him between discursive and non-discursive by regarding all objects of knowledge or inquiry as discursive (Purvis and Hunt, 1993: 492).

In this study, we will not extend the use of discourse this far but rather take an interim position between the two rather distinct camps of ideology and discourse as many other critical scholars do. Thus, in terms of research objectives of this thesis the concepts of ideology and discourse are regarded not as two distinct and contested concepts but as being helpful when they are thought or combined together under the term "ideological discourses" (Van Dijk, 1993, 1998, 2001; Hall, 1977, 1984, 1984, 1997). It shows that although discourse and ideology refer to two distinct notions and they cannot be used interchangeably, the tension between them might be turned into good use (Purvis and Hunt, 1993: 480). Purvis and Hunt attempt to bring ideology and discourse together as follows:

> "We arrive at the following reading of Althusser: it is through discourse that individuals are interpellated as subjects; ideology represents those specific forms of discourse whose contents are inadequate to articulate the interests of those social categories (classes, groups, etc.) who are constituted through discourses (1993: 483-484)"

The quote above provides a clear summary of our intention to use the concepts of ideology and discourse together under the term "ideological discourse". The authors suggest to think discourse as *process* and ideology as *effect*. In this way, they suggest a "directionality of ideology theory" by implementing ideology analysis to focus on the effects of discursive practices towards what they called as "ideology effects" (Purvis and Hunt, 1993: 496-497, emphases are in the original). They claim that what makes some discourses ideological is their link with systems of domination. Ideological discourses include forms of signification which are merged into lived experience in which specific or sectional interests are represented as universal, as the basic mechanism for this merger (Purvis and Hunt, 1993: 497).

To sum up, beyond being two anomalous category, ideology and discourse may be used together for the purpose of critical analysis. Our study aims at tracing discursive strategies used in media representations of the mine disaster which construct it in certain ways. We regard those discursive constructions as having crucial effects on how this event and its aftermath are experienced. Our view of the relationship between discourse and ideology together as 'ideological discourses' indicates that while discourse is taken here as verbal, textual and visual processes operationalized by

different actors in *process,* ideology refers to the *effect* side of those discursive uses. They seem to be at work both in the constitution and reception of the event itself. This kind of approach to relationship between ideology and discourse is also useful for abstaining from radicalizing discourse to the extent of reducing the nature of all sociality to discourse as Laclau and Mouffe did. We rather approach to it, again, as a process in which language and knowledge are used in certain ways to create ideological effects that are instrumental in presenting certain worldviews or interests as universal and in this way reproducing domination.

2.3.2 The Notion of Representation

So far we have tried to clarify our use of the concepts of discourse and ideology in their relation with social reality. We will now try to relate abovementioned discussion on ideology, discourse and reality to the concept of representation in general and to media representations in particular. The notion of representation is a highly debated topic. In fact, it is not even a matter of modern societies only; in ancient times, too, people had objects around them that *stood for* something else, which is a fundamental dimension of representation. People have always used some concepts or objects that stand for another thing which are present in the concepts standing for them even if they are physically absent in the context of conversation (Webb, 2009: 25, emphasis in the original).

However, representation is not only a simple notion of standing for real things but - more importantly for our discussion- it is a constitutive process. Thus representation is beyond being only about questions of reiteration and substitution but it is also about *"constitution"* that makes both the world and ways of being in the world for us (Webb, 2009: 5, 13 emphasis in the original). On this basis, in relating these arguments to his conceptualization of representation Hall remarks that;

> "At the heart of meaning process in culture, then, are two related 'systems of representation' The first enables us to give meaning to the word by constructing a set of correspondences or a chain of equivalences between things –people, objects, events, abstract ideas, etc.– and our system of concepts, our conceptual maps. The second depends on constructing a set of correspondences between our conceptual map and a set of signs, arranged or organized into various languages which stand for or represent those concepts.

The relation between 'things', concepts and signs lies at the heart of the production of meaning in language. The *process* which *links three elements together* is what we call *'representation'"* (Hall, 1997: 19, emphasis added).

These "systems of representation" are in line with our emphasis on ideological discourses in the sense that people become conscious of their conditions of existence through production of meaning in representations and also the constitutive character of representation constructs the things, actors and actions in certain ways. Therefore, it is important to keep in mind that the concept of representation does not only function for standing for something, but it is a constitutive process through which concepts and signs are used strategically to construct people and events in certain ways.

2.3.3 Media Representations

Especially with regard to media, the question of representation becomes crucial if we consider the symbolic 'work' (Hall, 1997) of the media which "feed the way we see, think of and feel about the world, about our relations with others and about our place in the world" (Orgad, 2012: 12). Beyond being simply products of different media genres, media representations act as "imaginary institutions" (Castoriadis, 1987 [1975], cited in Orgad, 2012: 22) by constantly informing us about ourselves as well as about different people and places in the world. In accordance with the idea that media representations construct one's *identity* and provide symbolic content for imagining one's place in the world, the importance of media representations mostly lie in their role of construction of *meaning*.

Therefore the distinguishing point of media representations from other forms of representation exists in their major function of "produce meaning" in order to "capture 'reality' in some way in signs" (Orgad, 2012: 47). On this point Stuart Hall proposes that meaning is polysemic and context-dependent and it is formed in the struggle to foreground one meaning as dominant among many others. Thus dominance is not pre-given in events or in structures but it is *constructed* as a result of a permanent struggle for specific meanings to become dominant among others. In that sense, meaning works *not as a "mirror" but as a "language"* in which this continuous struggle to define one practice as dominant among others takes place. Therefore, meanings are *embodied in*

22

structures and in social relations and they function socially to form social subjects, to be articulated into different social positions and within specific political and cultural practices (Hall, 2002: 116-117 cited in Özer, 2011: 48 italics are mine).

Following Hall, it is possible to assign three functions to the media and media representations in modern societies. First, the media provide social knowledge and selectively construct social imagery through which people comprehend the 'worlds', the 'lived realities' of others and with these they imaginarily reconstruct their lives into some 'lived totality', 'world of the whole' (Hall, 1977: 340-341, commas are in the original). Second, in line with increasing plurality and complexity of experience in late modern societies, the media "*reflect on* this *plurality*" in order to "provide a constant *inventory* of the lexicons, life-styles and ideologies which are objectivated there". Thus, the media selectively arrange and rank the social knowledge based on normative and evaluative classifications as well as via "the *preferred* meanings and interpretations" (ibid.: 341, italics are in the original). Crucially for our discussion, this selective classification of social knowledge, which is diverse and open, is itself "the site of an enormous ideological *labour*, of ideological *work*" in which certain realities are actively ruled in and out as well as certain codes and maps are offered in order to point territories or "assign problematic events and relations to explanatory contexts". In this way, the media help us "not simply *to know* more about the world but to *make sense* of it" (ibid.: 341 italics are original) In that sense here exists;

> "the line, amidst all its contradictions, in conditions of struggle and contradiction, between preferred and excluded explanations and rationales, between permitted and deviant behaviours, between the 'meaningless' and the 'meaningful', between the incorporated practices, meanings and values and the oppositional ones, is ceaselessly drawn and redrawn, defended and negotiated: indeed, *the 'site and stake' of struggle*" (ibid.:341 emphasis added)

Consequently, by drawing on Voloshinov (1973), Hall argues that since different classes have to use the same single language, each ideological sign will be an intersection point of accents which are distinctively oriented by different classes. This "*multi-accentuality* of the ideological sign", he concludes, is very important for ensuring a sign's dynamism and vitality. In order for a sign to preserve this vitality

and dynamism -and not to fall into being a philosophical notion-, it has to remain in "the pale of class struggle" which constitutes the sign as "the arena of the class struggle" (Hall, 1977: 342; Hall, 1984: 72-75) In that sense, it is important to recall that there is the "politics of signification" in which conflicting social classes and groups contend for creating "collective social understandings" and with them consent can be mobilized effectively. Therefore, meaning cannot be regarded as fixed or already given in the natural settings of concepts but it is created out of this struggle for "the power to signify" in the "politics of signification" that depends on the balance between forces in specific historical conjuncture (Hall, 1984: 65-66).

What Hall suggests as the third function of media, in addition to the first two, (i.e., selective construction of social knowledge and reflecting on plurality of different lifestyles and ideologies being objectivized in those collective representations), is to *"bring together"* those selectively classified and represented knowledge to create unity and coherence for an *"acknowledged order"*. However fragmented or plural the social knowledge might be, those selections of the media should serve to creation of this 'order' where *"the problematic areas of consensus and consent"* begin to emerge (Hall, 1977: 342, emphases are in the original). It is very crucial to understand the constructed nature of this "structured coherence" that is the product of "the unequal exchange" between the major organizing centers of opinion and power on the one hand and the unorganized masses on the other. However, it should also constitute itself in a way to give place also for minority opinions and oppositional beliefs to sustain that all reasonable people are able to find a place of associating themselves with this order (ibid.: 342). The question of by which mechanisms the media is able to perform this "ideological work" is needed to be answered. According to Hall, events in themselves are not able to signify but they are required to be *"made intelligible"*, that is, translating 'real' events into symbolic forms with practices of social intelligibility, which is called as the *"encoding"* process (ibid.: 343, emphasis is in the original). Especially with regard to unexpected or troubling events having the potential of breaking the status quo or violating our commonsensical expectations – our case of the mine disaster for instance– encoding is a critical process. Through selection of the

"*preferred* codes" and explanations that are supposed to be accepted by most of the members of the society, the media place the problematic events into "somewhere within the *repertoire* of the dominant ideologies" (ibid.: 343, emphases are in the original). In other words, even though events seem far from being encoded in a monologic manner, as this repertoire of dominant ideologies constitutes the "*field* of meanings" to which encoders must depend, they [encodings] will be inclined to produce meaning within the domain of dominant ideology (ibid.: 344 emphasis is in the original). In this way, encoders seek to ensure that the process of decoding shall be within the "hegemonic framework" and consent of the viewer should be won for the sake of *"preferred reading"*. This means that a serious amount of decodings will incline to be "'negotiations' within the dominant codes" rather than being made in a "*counter*-hegemonic way" (ibid.: 344 emphases are in the original).

Although it is known that decodings are not necessarily in line with intentions of encoders, (Hall discusses elsewhere the possibility of "dominant", "negotiated" or "oppositional" decodings (1999))[6], the idea that hegemonic ideologies nonetheless have the upper hand in shaping the decodings conforms to our abovementioned discussion on the unequal relationship between producers and receivers (Thompson, 1995; Madianou, 2011). No doubt that possible meanings of media messages to the audience can only be understood by investigating decoding (Morley, 1992 cited in Özçetin 2010); however, as "the power to represent" (Madianou, 2011: 6) still lies within the producers, it gives them advantage over the viewers in the struggle over meanings. Considering the disadvantaged status of the sufferers in our case, their inability to control their own representations makes them also disadvantageous in this struggle over meanings. Therefore, we claim that even though they seemed to attract the media's attention and came to the agenda in the aftermath of disaster, in normal times they lack such an attention to be seen and heard because of their distant positions regarding what the "ideological repertoire" of the Turkish media values. We assume

---

[6] See his discussion on "encoding/decoding "in (Hall, 1999) and also see a more recent work expanding his model by adding two new categories "critical" and "manipulative" in (Fuchs, 2011: 91-92).

that it holds true both because of their socioeconomic status and also their place of residence.

2.3.4 Representation of Distant Suffering

Media representations of the Ermenek mine disaster include several themes. Poverty, working conditions and unpromising state of the mining sector in Turkey are some of these themes used in the news. Instead of picking one theme and investigating its construction in those representations, we prefer to bring them together under the notion "mediation of distant suffering" (Boltanski, 1999; Chouliaraki, 2006). Essentially the concept of "distant suffering" involves the relationship between the people who suffer in distant places and the distant others who become viewers of this suffering which is brought to them by a medium. Hence, through media representations "distant misfortune" of some people becomes a story to be narrated by the media which includes "the strategies of discourse" as the ways of using language and image by television[7] to make "the spectacle of suffering" both apprehensible and also ethically acceptable for the spectator, which Luc Boltanski (1999: 7) called as "politics of pity" (cited in Chouliaraki, 2006: 2-3).

The interaction created by media representations among those who watch and those who suffer is inevitably an ethical one. That is, however ruptured the temporal-spatial relationship between the spectator and the sufferer seems to be, some kind of connection is created between them, which John Thompson called as "non-reciprocal intimacy at a distance" (1995: 219-225). Although it emanates from lack of non-reciprocity and not sharing the same temporal-spatial presence, the media provide people with symbolic content for taking action. Thus, in addition to their impact on individuals in regard to self-making and meaning-making, media representations can

---

[7] Although principal medium in distant suffering studies is television, our concern here is about the newspaper news. Therefore, we generalize here instances of distant suffering also to newspapers news under the common term 'media representations'. Thus rather than being specific to television, distant suffering is regarded here as a general phenomenon of media representations.

also lead people to take action towards distant people, places and events (Thompson, 1995: 100).

Thompson mentions two kinds of action towards distant others motivated by the media. These are "acting for distant others" and "responsive actions in distant contexts" respectively. (ibid.: 109-118).[8] Regarding the responsiveness in action created by media representations Thompson coined the term *"concerted forms of responsive action"* (ibid.: 114). It means that the media –especially through television– play an important role in the emergence of action for events that occur in distant places by providing information and images. The crucial point here is that such provision of symbolic content is vital for emergence of collective action, which has the risk of not taking place when such provision is absent (Ibid.). As regards to the mine disaster analyzed in this study, once people reproach for not being heard or being forgotten after a dramatic event, the address of such reproaches is the media because of its failure in paying attention to the event, which results in a failure of drawing attention by the distant others whom the sufferers expect something. Thus, in the phrase "no one hears us" which we often hear from the sufferers following a disaster, the party that is expected to construct the link between 'no one' and 'us' is the media itself. In this case the sufferers call for the attention of the distant others who would help them ease their suffering, realize their demands and advance their cause. This is what Thompson (2005) calls "*struggles for visibility*". The media is expected to provide this link, and if it fails to do that, it is blamed for not hearing their voices, i.e., not conveying these voices to distant others. Then, the importance of visibility to our discussion becomes concrete in such a case of making an event 'worthy' of being seen with the constitutive power of media representations.

The relevance of media representations and particularly mediation of distant suffering to our discussion is also related to the question how to perceive 'distance' and

---

[8] Since the discussion on responsive actions is more relevant to our case here we skip the discussion on the first type and briefly focus on "responsive actions in distant contexts". See his discussion on the action for distant others which is divided into four different types of action created by media: "recipient address", "mediated everyday activity", "media events" and "fictionalized action" (Thompson, 1995: 101-109).

'otherness' in the concept of distant suffering. The relationship between the sufferers and the spectators is regarded as an ethical one and argued within the framework of "proper distance", by Roger Silverstone, which underlines the spectator's ability to reduce the distance as much as possible to perceive the suffering of the other in terms of an "ethics of care" (Silverstone, 2004; 2006 cited in Chouliaraki and Orgad, 2011: 341). It also brings into question how to think the notion of 'otherness' with respect to such an ethics of care. In this context, the other can be narrated in two distinct ways. First, the distant other is either perceived and discursively constructed as morally and existentially outside 'us', as a field of danger, hostility and strangeness. Alternatively, the other might be regarded as part of a 'common humanity' who is 'just like us' sharing a common world and fate (Orgad, 2012: 110 commas are in the original). These are two contesting discourses regarding the other (Chouliaraki and Orgad, 2011: 342).

In our case, i.e., in the media representations of the Ermenek mine disaster, the suffering people appear to be positive others, as 'one of us'. In those representations a sense of pity is created both in their linguistic and pictorial representations by constant references to their living conditions and hardships they experience. What we need to keep in mind is that there is no automatic correspondence between proximity and common humanity or strangeness and distance but there is a dialectical relationship between the two meanings of the other as "a field of radically contested representations of proximity and difference" (Chouliaraki and Orgad, 2011: 342; Chouliaraki, 2015). Proximity does not always come out of a common humanity, or strangeness does not always emerges out of distance. What we argue here is that media representations can also create otherness by bringing the suffering closer. This claim has its roots in unequal attitudes that different classes are subjected to in their representation. As we have mentioned before, this inequality has its roots both at the power asymmetries of mediation and at negative, unwanted exposure to media power as a common practice of the lower classes in their relation with mediated visibility. (Madianou, 2011; 2013; Couldry, 2012). This is the argument we try to expand through the analysis of textual representations of the mine disaster in the third chapter.

As a last point, in "distant suffering studies" (Chouliaraki, 2015) distance is constituted mostly in terms of the West – non-West distinction and the westerner is assigned the role of the spectator who watch the suffering of the non-westerner (Chouliaraki, 2006; 2013; Orgad, 2012). In our case, the distant other shares the same identity based on mutual citizenship with the sufferer. However, it does not mean that distance fades away; but instead there exists many differences with respect to socioeconomic and spatial dynamics, between those who watch (i.e., the addressee of the news reports) and those who suffer (i.e., the disaster victims) as we will discuss in the following chapters.

As a final remark, we should acknowledge that this study has a potential weakness due to focusing only on one side of the mediation process, i.e., textual representation, and therefore not being able to talk directly about other moments of mediation, particularly reception, which makes it devoid of holism (Ong, 2012: 180). It might be considered a major weakness in such studies like ours but we justify this drawback by the fact that doing an ethnographic reception analysis was impossible to conduct with those people who suffered the mine disaster due to the highly sensitive situation of suffering. Instead, what we aim to trace is the discursive strategies used in the news about the disaster, and then try to find out the effects of these representations on the sufferers by the help of interview questions. Although it lacks the reception side, we still think that it is important to point out the possible ideological effects of these discursive representations both on the discursive construction of the event and on the suffering of these people in certain ways, which we will discuss in the third chapter.

2.4 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has attempted to discuss some theoretical points regarding the construction of the mine disaster as a media event. To this end, we have based our discussion on three main points. In the first part, we have examined transformations in visibility and also in the forms of interaction from face-to-face increasingly to mediated and mediated-quasi forms as a result of advancements in mass communication. We have perceived this transformation with respect to the outcomes

it has created in changing forms of action and interaction between people who have no longer to share the same spatiotemporal setting. As John Thompson (1995) mentioned, this transformation of visibility has brought important changes in the forms of action and interaction directed towards distant people in distant places. Therefore our case of the mine disaster can also be seen an example of a distant event in which "non-reciprocal mediated intimacy at a distance" (Thompson, 1995: 219-225) is created through media representations between those who suffer and those who watch.

In the second part, we have related our case of mine disaster to the concept of mediation of "distant suffering" (Boltanski, 1999; Chouliaraki, 2006) which is used to theorize the ethical relationship between the sufferers and the distant others as readers/watchers of this suffering. We have claimed that a similar relationship is created between the sufferers in the Ermenek mine disaster and the distant others who witness this suffering through media representations of the event. By showing the emergency of the situation as well as linking it to human suffering after the incident, media representations of the mine disaster have invited the distant others to develop senses, actions and reactions against the sufferers.

However, as our third point of discussion, we have claimed that such an invitation by news discourse is not without problems, especially considering the ideological nature of media representations. In other words, media representations construct stories of the mine disaster in certain ways to create contesting forms of representations of the event. In this way, those representations effectively make use of a number of discourses to narrate the event in particular ways. Parallel to our discussion on 'ideological discourses', we have claimed that the media might keep an actor at a distance when it seems to bring her closer to the viewer. Thus, it is possible to find distance in media representations when it looks like closeness due to discursive strategies that the media benefit from while making news on actors, actions and events. Those constructions function as telling the story and also closing the meaning in certain ways on behalf of particular interests in society, which those media institutions

are also a part. Therefore, we have seen that media representations are discursive in their strategic constructions of events and they are ideological in outcomes of those constructions which serve to sustain particular interests and worldviews.

Based on these three theoretical pillars, we have specified our points of inquiry in this chapter as follows: First, today the "struggle for visibility" (Thompson, 2005: 23) is a crucial dimension of today's societies in the sense that sometimes people are only able to make themselves seen or being heard only with the help of those channels of visibility provided by the media. Second, this struggle for being visible is not an equal race to different social classes who are unequally dispersed in the social sphere. In fact, especially the lower classes are more likely to be in a disadvantaged position with respect to low amounts of capital they have vis-à-vis their places of living both of which are in the margins of what the Turkish media values in normal times. Therefore, thirdly we have claimed that the lower classes' relationship with the media is not always positive or beneficial. Instead, they only become newsworthy in extraordinary situations like in natural or social disasters just as in our case of mine disaster. Even though they live in extraordinary conditions in normal times, they attract the media's attention something extraordinary happens to them (Erdoğan, 2001). Another dimension of this relationship is that the lower classes' relationship with the media is usually experienced as "unwanted media exposure" in which the exposed people are unable to control their own image as well as to correct any misrepresentation of them because of the "power asymmetry" that this relationship contains (Madianou, 2013). To the extent that being visible also means to be subjected to strategies of media representation, in fact it can be injuring and paradoxical for these people rather than being positive and advantageous. Indeed, here we assume that discursive construction of the Ermenek mine disaster in the news might have also created injuries for the sufferers. In the end, our central concern both in here and for the rest of the thesis is about investigating whether representations of the mine disaster in the news have created such injuries and paradoxes for the sufferers. By looking at ways of discursive construction of the mine disaster, we hope to find out what effects those representations have on the ways of explaining and experiencing the event.

CHAPTER III

MULTIMODAL CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS (MCDA) AND SOME METHODOLOGICAL TOOLS FOR NEWS ANALYSIS

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we aim to discuss some methodological tools for analyzing news discourse on the Ermenek mine disaster. In line with the discussions of the first chapter, this part will be devoted to argue our preferred methodology and methodological tools for analyzing media representations of the disaster. Those representations are crucial for this thesis in the sense that our assumptions on visibility, interaction and ideological discourses become concrete in them. In four aspects these concreteness is thought to happen. First of all, within the news on the disaster "non-reciprocal mediated intimacy" (Thompson, 1995) is created in which people who are physically remote from the scene are informed about the event. Media representations are the principal tools for the distant others to stay informed about the disaster. The media effectively presented the disaster first as a breaking news and then kept it on the agenda for a certain period of time. As a result, secondly, this mediated visibility created by media representations of the disaster enable certain types of reactions and actions to take place like protesting, questioning possible causes and responsibilities as well as helping the suffering people. Thus media representations of the event give people symbolic content to develop certain kinds of emotions, reactions and actions for the suffering in Ermenek. Thirdly, the sufferers gained a nationwide visibility thanks to those media representations otherwise it would be highly unlikely for them to make themselves seen and being heard. Although one must admit the contribution made by the news to extend visibility of these people, we claim that those representations are not always functioned for the good of them. Instead, as the fourth argument, representations in those news are discursive constructions through which

actors, agents and possible causes of the disaster are constructed in certain ways, which are ideological. In other words, representations of the sufferers, of people who are seen as responsible, of possible causes for the disaster are all constructed discursively to close the meaning for the sake of political positioning of each newspaper concerned here. Therefore, it is important to analyze those representations to find out how this struggle over meaning is conducted and what effects it posed both for the people who suffer and for the people who witness this suffering. Here in this chapter, we seek to provide some methodological tools for news analysis in the following chapter which will aim to reveal those representational strategies of the media. We assume that outcomes of those strategies had significant influences on the ways of experiencing the disaster.

Keeping these points in mind, the chapter is divided into three parts. In the first part, we will make a discussion regarding Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and our preferred version of it as Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (MCDA). After that we will discuss some methodological tools proposed by Theo van Leeuwen (2008) to analyze actions and actors linguistically and visually in media representations. Then, as the second objective of this chapter, we will mention selection criteria of our sample based on political leanings of the newspapers concerned here. We suggest three categories as having a 'pro-government' versus 'anti-government' stance as well as 'being highly circulated yet abstaining from taking open political positioning'. In the third part of this chapter we will mention our research assumptions and research questions on which we will conduct the news analysis in the next chapter.

3.2 Method

The intended methodological tool for analyzing newspaper news here is Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (MCDA) which is a social-semiotic version of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA is known as one of the most frequently used methods for qualitative analysis of news texts. Essentially it might be seen as the critical study of manifestations of structural relationships of discrimination, dominance, control and power in language which occur either opaquely or as transparent (Wodak, 1995: 204

cited in Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000: 448). There are different approaches to CDA as "Dialectical-Relational Approach" represented by Norman Fairclough, "Socio-Cognitive" approach represented by Teun Van Dijk, "Discourse Historical Approach" represented by Ruth Wodak and her colleagues and a number of other approaches (see Tenorio, 2011: 189-194 for an overview of these approaches). Closer to Faircloughian CDA, MCDA constitutes a social-semiotic approach to CDA among these different approaches. As this thesis does not intent to make a lengthy analysis between different traditions within CDA, our intention will be rather practical, that is, discussing how a number of analytical tools for textual and visual analysis can be incorporated to our discussion. These tools will be discussed in the next section of this part in which we mention some tools provided by van Leeuwen, who is among the scholars within MCDA. However, before moving into arguing those methodological tools, it seems relevant here to discuss some aspects of CDA to present its aims for critical research. For this purpose, in the first part of this section we will discuss some common features of CDA and its usefulness for the purposes of this thesis. After that the second part will contain a discussion on two social semiotic approaches to CDA, first by Faircloughian CDA and second MCDA. The discussion on MCDA emanates from the need for multimodality while applying CDA, which is also our preferred approach here (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006 [1996]; Machin and van Leeuwen, 2007; Machin and Mayr, 2012; Machin, 2013).

As we have mentioned above although there are different approaches to CDA, on several points they share a common ground. These commonalities are cited in John Richardson's discussion as follows:

- "CDA is concerned with social problems. It is not concerned with language or language use *per se*, but with the linguistic character of social and cultural processes and structures.
- Power relations have to do with discourse, and CDA studies both power in discourse and power over discourse.
- Society and culture are dialectically related to discourse: society and culture are shaped by discourse, and at the same time constitute discourse. Every single instance of language use reproduces or transforms society and culture, including power relations.

- Language use may be ideological. To determine this it is necessary to analyse texts to investigation their interpretation, reception and social effects.
- Discourses are historical and can only be understood in relation to their context. At a metatheoretical level this corresponds to the approach of Wittgenstein, according to which the meaning of an utterance rests in its usage in a specific situation. […]
- Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory. Critical analysis implies a systematic methodology and a relationship between the text and its social conditions, ideologies and power relations. […]" (Titscher et al., 2000: 146 quoting Wodak, 1996: 17-20, cited in Richardson, 2007: 26-27)

We may infer from these common characteristics of CDA to our discussion on several counts. First of all, it should be clear that in CDA the researcher's concern is not about news texts but the context itself. That is, in CDA language and discourse are regarded as areas in which power relations are formed (İnal, 1996: 96). Therefore our analysis on newspaper news is meaningful to the extent that it gives some ideas regarding how language is used in those news texts to legitimize and reproduce certain ideologies. Second, researchers of CDA are expected to have a critical stance against domination and discrimination that certain societal groups are exposed to which makes their position inevitably political (Van Dijk, 1993; 1997; 2001). Third, textual analysis itself is not enough to reveal those power relations intrinsic to discursive representation of actors and events but in a sense it should also include an analysis of discursive and non-discursive social processes. Hence, the analysis we intend to make here aims to go beyond being a mere linguistic analysis but rather intends to relate the linguistic analysis to broader societal processes. Although we claim that representation strategies of the media should have had an influence on both ways of explaining and experiencing the event, we cannot claim that the context of the disaster might be reduced simply to the terrain of media representations. Surely, there are social structures beyond the terrain of representation and we approach the representation as the construction side of the mine disaster while its context is composed of transformation of the mining sector into a highly privatized and insecure sector under the AKP government.

Keeping these points in mind, now we will briefly discuss our preferred approach to CDA, as MCDA, which aims to make use of social semiotic analyses of language and

sign. In general, this study benefits from the approaches within the social semiotic tradition (Büyükkantarcıoğlu, 2012: 175-178), i.e., from Faircloughian CDA and MCDA. For this purpose, below we first discuss some aspects of Norman Fairclough's approach to CDA which provides the general theoretical framework of our approach to CDA. Then, we will discuss MCDA, which supplies the analytical framework to be used in our news analysis.

To begin with Norman Fairclough's approach to CDA, his approach might be seen as "dialectical-relational" (Tenorio, 2011: 190) in which he develops a three-dimensional approach to CDA (Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000: 448-449; see also discussions in Jorgensen and Philips, 2002: 66-75; Richardson, 2007: 37-45). His model regards discourse first as text, then as a discursive practice and finally, as a social practice (Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000: 448-449). Thus in Faircloughian approach to CDA, both the text and discourse exist within the social. He claims that texts cannot be understood without reference to discursive practices involved in their production and consumption processes as well as to broader social structures of which texts are also a part (Fairclough, 2001, 2003). In that sense, he emphasizes importance of analyzing texts with reference to intertextuality and interdiscursivity in order to examine functions of different texts and discourses in that specific text. It means that while doing CDA, one has to go beyond simply linguistic analysis towards a broader analysis of how the text under question interacts with other texts (intertextuality), discourses (interdiscursivity) and broader social structures (see his discussion in Fairclough, 2003: Part I). In short, Fairclough's initial aim regarding CDA might be seen as to "bring together linguistically-oriented discourse analysis and social and political thought relevant to discourse and language" (Fairclough, 1992: 92 cited in Henderson, 2005: 11). In that sense, his approach adds our study a vital dimension by emphasizing the "dialectical relationship" between macro and micro levels of social structures vis-à-vis social practices (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999, cited in Henderson, 2005: 15). In other words, by accepting that "every practice has a semiotic element", he intends to incorporate analyses of language and semiosis into broader analyses of the social (Fairclough, 2001: 121).

36

In line with 'social-semiotic' approaches to CDA, MCDA emerged from a critic of CDA as being focused mostly on linguistic analysis and therefore overlooking an analysis of non-linguistic components. Multimodality is understood as analyzing both linguistic and non-linguistic components and scholars within the MCDA emphasized this need for multimodality while making CDA (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001; 2006; Machin, 2013, Machin and Mayr, 2012; 2013). As Kress and van Leeuwen argued (2006: 17), increasingly across different types of media most of the texts involves "a complex interplay" between written texts and images or other graphical and sound elements. Indeed, there are even cases in which coherence is achieved in texts by "using visual rather than verbal" components at the first level. Therefore, it seems crucial to give place also an analysis of the visual in critical analysis (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006: 14, Machin and Mayr, 2012: 6). In line with this necessity, in our analysis we also regard news text as composed of both linguistic and visual elements so as to analyze discursive strategies both over analyses of language and image in the news. In the remaining part of this section, we will discuss our intended tools for analysis adopted within MCDA for analyzing newspaper news.

3.2.1 Methodological Tools for Analysis

For analyzing newspaper news we plan to benefit from a number of linguistic and visual tools for analysis. In this part we will sketch some of these tools and provide brief explanations on their function. As we have mentioned the need for making CDA in a multimodal manner in the previous section, we will be benefitting from scholars who try to provide research tools both for linguistic and visual analysis. Here we share Fairclough's view of social practice as "intermediate organizational entities" mediating between social structures and social events as well as his dissatisfaction with seeing an event simply as an effect of social structures (Fairclough, 2003: 23). Also, we claim that between the event (mine disaster here) and the social structure (transformation of coal mining in Turkey into a more privatized, less stable and insecure sector here) there is mediation by social practices, i.e., of representations constructed by discourses. Among those representations we pick only one type, i.e.,

media representations, and intend to make an analysis on those representations used by news discourse. To this end, we will draw mainly on analytical tools developed by van Leeuwen (2008) which aims to analyze representation of social actors and social action both linguistically and visually. His general aim might be seen as providing "'grammars' of recontextualization" for analyzing discourse, which is itself being regarded as "recontextualization of social practice" (van Leeuwen, 2008: ch.1). Respectively, we will be benefitting from methodological tools discussed in the same book in separate chapters as "Representation of Social Actors" (Chapter 2), "Representation of Social Action" (Chapter 3) and "The Visual Representation of Social Actors" (Chapter 8). As a complete discussion on each of these tools cannot be done concerning physical limitations of this part, we prefer to summarize them in the remaining part of this section.

3.2.1.1 Tools for Analyzing Social Actors

In this section, we will briefly mention the concepts developed by van Leeuwen to analyze ways of representing social actors in English discourse. These are discussed at length in the related chapter of his book (see. van Leeuwen, 2008: ch.2). Our discussion here will be rather brief and seek to itemize these concepts in order to make the discussion explicit. Unless indicated otherwise, bolds and italics are belong to us to make the discussion easier to follow.

1- "Inclusion – Exclusion": These categories refer to inclusion and exclusion of social actors in discourses. Exclusion might be done in two ways as **"suppression"** and **"backgrounding"**. Suppression means the absence of any reference to the social actors in anywhere in the text. On the other hand, backgrounding is a "less radical" way of exclusion in which the actors who are excluded may not be stressed with regard to an action but they are mentioned in somewhere else in the text which enables the reader to guess who they are (van Leeuwen, 2008: 29).

2- "Role Allocation": In this category, the main focus of inquiry is what roles are given to actors in representations, that is, whether an actor is represented as an "agent" ("actor") or as "patient" ("goal") (van Leeuwen, 2008: 32). Basically two strategies

are mentioned for allocation of roles in representations. These are **"activation"** which is understood as active, dynamic representation of social actors involved in an activity and **"passivation"** which means representation of social actors as "'undergoing' the activity, or as being 'at the receiving end of it'" (ibid.: 33). This involves investigating "grammatical participant roles" and "transitivity structures" to find out who is "…coded as actor in material processes, behaver in behavioural processes, senser in mental processes, sayer in verbal processes, or assigner in relational processes" (Halliday, 1985: ch.5 cited in ibid.: 33).

Activation might be realized in several ways (ibid.: 33). The first of these ways is **"participation"** in which the social actor's activeness is openly put on the foreground. The second way of activation is realized by **"circumstantialization"** which involves the use of prepositional circumstantials like by of from. The third form of activation is **"possessivation"** which includes use of possessive pronouns to active or passivate an actor.

Passivation is also further distinguished into two subcategories (ibid.: 33-34). These are **"subjection"** and **"beneficialization".** In subjection actors who are subjected are treated as objects (e.g. "immigrants 'taken in' in return for the skill or money they bring"). In beneficialization actors are passively represented but they benefit from the action by forming a third party. (e.g. "Canada" as beneficialized actor of act of bringing in the author's example "[Twenty-two thousand] Hong Kong Chinese arrived last year, bringing bulging wallets to cities like Vancouver").

3- "Genericization and Specification": In this category, the main concern is for representation of social actors whether in generic categories as "classes" or as "specific, identifiable individuals" (van Leeuwen, 2008: 35). Thus it is important to find out which actor is represented as a specific individual and which others as generic categories. That is, how ordinary people and elites are represented and to whom specificity are assigned gain importance with respect to political positioning of the newspapers.

4- "Assimilation": In line with specification, under this category the main point of inquiry is to reveal which actors are represented individually and which ones are assimilated discursively in representations. Van Leeuwen names the situation of representing social actors as individuals as **"individualization"** and as **"assimilation"** when the reference is made to them as groups (2008: 37). The author found in one study that middle-class newspapers tend to individualize elite persons and assimilate ordinary people whereas in working class newspapers ordinary people are often individualized (ibid.: 37). Therefore it is crucial also for our analysis to look for how ordinary people and elites differ in terms of individualization and assimilation in the news in our sample.

The author provides two subcategories for the concept of assimilation. These are **"collectivization"** and **"aggregation"**. In case of aggregation, social actors are quantified as groups of participants and they are treated as *statistics* (ibid.: 37, italics is mine). In collectivization it is not made but rather a sense of 'we-ness' is created by choices of words like 'this nation', 'Turkey' etc. Especially aggregation is important as a strategic concept of representation that gives tools like surveys, opinion polls or reports a sense of informal authority in order to "regulate practice and to manufacture consensus opinion" even if it only presents some recorded facts (ibid.: 37).

5- "Association and Dissociation": This category is related to group formation of social actors or groups of actors in the text who are never labelled as such (van Leeuwen, 2008: 38). That is, social actors are associated to each other in some relationality. For instance, associating "poor, black, unskilled, Muslim or illegal" migrants together with the category of non-Europeans (ibid.: 39). On the other hand, **"disassociation"** refers to absence of such association regarding different actors or groups of actors in a given discourse. This category might be important for our discussion in the sense that it is crucial to look for whether alliances are formed between some social groups in the news on mine disaster, and if they are formed, against whom they are positioned.

6-"Indetermination and Differentiation": The author perceives **"indetermination"** as "unspecified", anonymous representation of actors in discourse while **"differentiation"** refers to specification of their identity in one way or another (van Leeuwen, 2008: 39). There are several ways to achieve indetermination in discourse (ibid.: 39-40): The typical realization of indetermination is made by use of indefinite pronouns like some, somebody, some people etc. which anonymizes the social actor in question. Another way of realizing indetermination is the use of "generalized exophoric reference" which gives social actors a kind of impersonal authority as an unseen but powerful force (e.g. *They* in the author's example "They won't let you go to school until you're five years old") Indetermination can also be made by aggregation in the case of use of phrases like "many believe…", "some say…". In differentiation, on the other hand, an explicit differentiation is created between a social actor or group of social actors with others with the use of contrasting words like "us" and "them", the "self" and the "other" (ibid.: 40).

7- "Nomination and Categorization": **"Nomination"** means representation of social actors by their unique identity. Conversely, **"categorization"** refers to representation of social actors with respect to functions and identities they share with others (van Leeuwen, 2008: 40). For our discussion this category is important to determine which actors are nominated and which ones are categorized, that is, whether nominated or categorized people are elite persons or ordinary people in our news examples.

8-"Functionalization and Identification": **"Functionalization"** means making reference to social actors based on an activity, i.e., what they do, what kind of a role they are assigned in the discourse (e.g. as "interviewer", "celebrant", "cameraman", "chairperson" etc.). In contrast to functionalization, in **"identification"** social actors are represented on the basis of 'what they are' (van Leeuwen, 2008: 42).

The author specifies three forms regarding identification. These are *"classification, relational identification and physical identification"* (ibid.: 42 emphases are in the original). **"Classification"** refers to definition of social actors on the basis of major categories which a society differentiates between people like age, gender, class,

religion and so on. **"Relational identification"** relates social actors to each other with respect to kinship, personal or work relations. It can be done by using possessive pronouns (e.g. "my mother"), by using genitives (e.g. "the child's mother") or by using the phrase *of* (e.g. "a mother of five") (ibid.: 43). **"Physical identification"** represents social actors in discourse based on their physical characteristics which uniquely identify them in a given context. Nouns stressing physical characteristics like "blonde", "redhead" or adjectives like "tall", "bearded" might be seen as examples of realizing physical identification (ibid.: 44). Physical characteristics might also have connotations that can be used to classify or functionalize social actors indirectly (ibid.: 45). For instance, in Turkey, the phrase 'round bearded' is often equated with being sympathetic to political Islam.

Under this category, the author proposes a final category of **"appraisement"** which means making references to social actors interpersonally rather than in experiential terms. In other words, appraisement is realized by using idioms or nouns like 'good or bad', 'loved or hated' to treat the social actors in question (e.g. "the bastard", "the darling", "thugs" etc.) (ibid.: 45).

9- "Personalization and Impersonalization": Up to this point we have discussed van Leeuwen's categories stressing different ways of personalizing social actors by using certain nouns, adjectives, idioms or phrases. However, the author also claims that in representation social actors can be **"impersonalized"** too. He proposes two types of which impersonalization are realized: **"abstraction"** and **"objectivation"** (van Leeuwen, 2008: 46). Abstraction means representation of social actors with a quality assigned to them (e.g. in the author's examples in which the term 'problem' is used while making references to immigrants or substituting "the changing face of Australia" for "the new immigrants"). Objectivation, on the other hand, refers to the situation of referring represented social actors with a place or thing which they are related either in their personality or by their actions in representation (ibid.: 46).

The author offers four types regarding objectivation. These are "*spatialization, utterance autonomization, instrumentalization*, and *somatization*" (ibid.: 46,

42

emphases are in the original). **"Spatialization"** means representation of social actors based on a place which they are closely associated in the given context (e.g. substitution of 'Australians' with 'Australia' in the author's example "Australia was bringing about 70,000 migrants a year"). Second, in **"utterance autonomization"** social actors are represented with respect to utterances (e.g. with reference to utterances like reports, surveys etc.). It is crucial in the sense that as making reference to these types of utterances assigns them a kind of "impersonal authority", they are often used in connection with high status people like officials (ibid.: 46). Hence, references made to surveys in a representation tend to generalize the opinion proposed by the survey. Even though it expresses nothing more that partial knowledge collected by the survey, it is presented as shared knowledge of as serious number of people. In this way, it is used to create a sense of "the facts speak for themselves" (ibid.: 47), which function ideologically to sustain a particular view as if it is the general view of the whole society. The third type of impersonalization is **"instrumentalization"** which means representation of social actors with respect to the instrument which either they carry out an action or they are engaged with (e.g. 'the mortal shell' in the author's example "A 120mm mortar shell slammed into Sarajevo's marketplace") (ibid.: 46). Finally, the last type of instrumentalization is **"somatization"** which refers to representation of social action with reference to a part of the body (ibid.: 47) (e.g. representation of 'she' by her 'hand' in the example 'She gave her hand to the gentleman waiting in front of the door').

10-"Overdetermination": According to the author, **"overdetermination"** occurs when social actors who are participating the action are represented as being involved more than one social practice at the same time (van Leeuwen, 2008: 47). It can be realized in four major ways. These are "*inversion*, *symbolization*, *connotation*, and *distillation*" (ibid.: 48-49, emphases are in the original). First of all, in **"inversion"** social actors are linked to two opposite actions (e.g. the author's example on the comic strip 'Flintstones' in which the characters sustain contemporary practices of life although they live in the Stone Age). Second, **"symbolization"** means using of a fictional actor to stand for nonfictional social actors in representation. The author

43

claims that this fictional actor often exists in a distant, mythical past (ibid.: 48). To illustrate, we can give the example of 'modern Robin Hoods' which is used to name the people who work for the sake of disadvantaged people in contemporary societies. In this way, their present actions are related to actions of an iconic figure in the past which makes them belong to more than one temporality at the same time. Third, **"connotation"** is another type of overdetermination in which "a unique determination (a nomination or physical identification) stands for a classification or functionalization" (ibid.: 49). To recall our 'round bearded' example above, we have mentioned that a physical identification might be used to connote an identity, i.e., the people who are ideologically closer to political Islam in Turkey. A similar example is provided by the author in which the phrase "man with large mustache" comes to represent qualities of the Prussian military (ibid.: 49). Finally, in **"distillation"** overdetermination is realized "through a combination of generalization and abstraction" (ibid.). That is, a social actor can be connected to two different institutions and their practices at the same time and in this way the writer's delegitimation of one of these actors-institutions might be achieved by distillation. For instance, van Leeuwen gives the example of Ivan Illich's 1973 book *"Deschooling Society"* where teachers are overdetermined as "secular priests" and in this way a critique of contemporary schooling as well as teachers' role is achieved by relating them to the critiques of the church (ibid.: 50).

3.2.1.2 Tools for Analyzing Social Action

Following the tools developed by van Leeuwen to be used in linguistic analysis of social actors in the previous part, in this second part we will mention concepts emphasized in the same book but this time for analysis of social action. It is made in the chapter three of the same book which mainly focuses on the search for possible ways of representing action in English discourse (see. van Leeuwen, 2008: ch.3). Again, our intention we will to briefly summarize these concepts in the following part of this section.

1- "Action": The author divides social action into two categories as **"material"** and **"semiotic"**. While the former is about "doing" the latter is about "meaning" which are differentiated from each other on the basis of having a material purpose or an effect or not (van Leeuwen, 2008: 59). In that sense, materialized action refers to representing it as "action" (e.g. 'Someone attacked to me') and semiotic action refers to it as "meaning" (e.g. 'I found this attack disrespectful') (ibid., examples are mine).

Regarding material action the author proposes two types. That is, material action can be **"transactive"** and **"nontransactive"** (ibid.: 60). Transactive material action includes two participants, i.e. the "actor" and the "goal" in which the former is the "one who does the deed" and the latter is "the one to which the process is extended" (Halliday, 1985: 102-5 cited in ibid.) Conversely, in nontransactive action there is only one participant, i.e., the "actor", which points to the lack of the "goal" being understood as having "an effect on others or on the world". Therefore, it is important to look for transaction in representation of social action in which "ability to transact" necessities certain amount of power which means the more powerful an actor is so does the chance her actions are transacted (ibid.). Moreover, transactive processes also contain two dimensions in them based on transactions with respect to things and to people. The author names the former, i.e., transactions regarding things, as **"instrumental transaction"**, while the latter, i.e. transactions regarding people, is called as **"interactive transaction"** (ibid.: 60). In interactive transaction, representation of action is realized by the use of a verb being able to take "only human goals" (e.g. "hugging", "deny entry"). Conversely, in instrumental transaction "the goal may be human or non-human" and representation is realized in a way to interchange people with objects by using some verbs like "transport", "carry", "use" (e.g. "Make use of other children", "show Mary Kate the doll's house…") (ibid.: 61).

On the other hand, semiotic actions are also claimed to be transactive and nontransactive (ibid.: 61). For instance, semiotic action in the example 'The president addressed to the crowd' falls into the category of transactive action, while in the example 'The president spoke for two hours' the nature of semiotic action is

45

nontransactive. However, the author stresses that semiotic action has an extra dimension which is very crucial in the sense of making an action semiotic. That is, "it can convey meanings" (ibid.: 61). It can be made with regard to two process. First, once semiotic action is **"behavioralized"** this dimension of conveying meaning is removed and it is reduced just like other forms of action. In this way, it loses "its ability to reach beyond the here and now of the communication situation, its ability to represent the "then" and the "there," to remember the past and imagine the future" (ibid.: 61). On the other hand, when semiotic action is **"not behavioralized"**, the meaning conveying function of semiotic action is preserved which leads to what the author called *"embedded representation"* as "representation-within-the-representation" (ibid., emphasis added). On this point, the author specifies four types of realizing embeddedness in representation. The first of these is **"quotation"** in which not only meaning but also wordings of the actor is presented generally being reserved to high status actors in a representation or that can be used to "enhance credibility of an embedded representation" (ibid.: 61). Thus it is crucial for our discussion to recognize whose quotations are used in representation in which ways to increase credibility of a narrative. The second form of realizing embeddedness is **"rendition"** which lacks the wording and rather being realized by reported speech (ibid.: 62). (e.g. 'The president said that all the necessary precautions would be taken in order to help victims'). The third type of conveying meaning in a semiotic action might be made by using abbreviations. The two ways of doing this is making reference either to the nature of the signifier, which the author called as **"form specification"**, or of the signified, which he called as **"topic specification"** (ibid.: 62). Topic specification is typically realized by using "circumstance of matter", i.e., a phrase with propositions like "concerning", "about" and alike (e.g. "about the first day" in the author's example "Parents should make a point of talking about the first day.") (Halliday, 1985: 142, cited in ibid.: 62) Form specification, on the other hand, is achieved with reference to either by "denoting a kind of speech act" (e.g. "lesson", "nonsense", "story" etc.) or through "communicative act by using some other semiotic mode" (e.g. "drawing", "diagram" etc.) (ibid.)

2- "Reaction": van Leeuwen argues that textual representations do not only involve actions but also reactions which might be "a revealing diagnostic" for CDA (2008: 56). Therefore, investigating representations of reactions of actors and their nature might provide important insights for our analysis. For this purpose, the author suggests four types in terms of realization of reaction in representation. First, there is a basic distinction in reactions being as **"unspecified or specified"** reactions. While unspecified reactions are realized by the use of some verbs like "react", "respond" and related adverbs, nouns and adjectives, specified reactions refers to particular forms of reaction (ibid.: 57-58). Second, there are **"affective"** reactions being related to wants, needs and desires. Third, reactions can also be **"cognitive"** and rational (e.g. 'think', 'consider', 'calculate', 'evaluate' etc.). Finally, there are **"perceptive"** reactions which are about senses and perceptions (e.g. 'hear' 'see' 'perceive' etc.). The author claims that as the degree of social power that an actor possesses increases, her reactions are more likely to be represented as cognitive rather than affective (ibid.: 58). Thus we can infer that reactions of socially powerful actors are likely to be referred cognitively while reactions of less powerful actors and groups are represented more affectively. Of course those types of reactions can intertwine each other and some of the might exist as mixed in those representations. However, what is important for our discussion here is more about investigating which actors are assigned to cognitive and rational reactions while others are left with more affective or perceptive ones.

3- "Objectivation and Descriptivization": In this category the author mentions that actions and reactions can be represented either dynamically, i.e., **"activation"**, or as qualities and entities instead of dynamic processes, which is the case of **"deactivation"**. (van Leeuwen, 2008: 63). The author presents two ways of realizing deactivation in discourse. First, deactivation is realized by **"objectivation"** in which nominalizations or process nouns are used to function either as object or subject of the clause (e.g. objectivation of migration in the author's example "migration from traditional countries") or it can be formed as part of a prepositional phrase (e.g. "immigration") (ibid.: 63). Functionally, objectivation might be used to first to lessen

importance of a representation in order to make something else prior in it (e.g. in the author's example 'preparation' is prioritized than the action of 'the first day at school' "Preparation for the first day at school should start early") (ibid.: 64). In general, objectivation may function to legitimize or add purposes to representation through which logical relations are used to link different types of objectivation to sustain legitimacy and illegitimacy (ibid.: 64-65). In that sense, it is vital to trace those objectivated actions in our discussion which may give clues of legitimacy in the news discourse. The second way of realizing deactivation is **"descriptivization"** in which reactions and actions are presented as "more or less permanent qualities of social actors" (e.g. "smiling teacher", "specially trained squad" etc.) (ibid.: 65). Overall, we believe that this categorization of activation and deactivation of actions and reactions by social actors might add valuable insights for our analysis.

4-"Deagentialization": By this category, the author implies that actions and reactions are represented either as involving human agency, which he calls as **"agentialized"**, or they can be presented as "impervious to human agency", that is, as results of natural forces, unconscious processes etc., which refers to **"deagentialized"** representation (van Leeuwen, 2008: 66). He proposes three types of deagentilization as "*eventuation, existentialization, and naturalization*" (ibid., emphases are in the original). **"Eventuation"** refers to representation of actions and reactions as events, i.e., without involvement of human agency, as if they just happen. By presenting actions and reactions as events, a sense of passivity (e.g. "experience", "suffer" etc.) or generalization (e.g. "occurs", "happens") is created which serves to remove human agency in representation. (ibid.: 66-67). Second, **"existentialization"** means representing a social action or reaction as something "simply exists" (e.g. "there is…", "there exists…" etc.) (ibid.: 67). Third, in **"naturalization"** actions and reactions are reduced to natural processes with the help of abstract material processes (e.g. "develop", "expand", "vary" etc.). In this way, actions and reactions that are linked to certain kings of discourses being understood as particular interpretations of material process (e.g. "rise and fall", "growth and decay", "ebb and flood" etc.) (ibid.: 68). This category can contribute valuable insights to our analysis in the sense that both

removal of human agency –deagentilization- and in which ways it is achieved in news discourse are important dynamics.

5-"Generalization and Abstraction": van Leeuwen claims that in different representations actions and reactions are represented by **"generalizations"** with varying degrees (2008: 68). It is seen as a vital category for CDA in the sense that discourses which tend to legitimize or delegitimize social actions and reactions are likely to be highly generalized as including only names regarding episodes or social practices as a whole (ibid.: 69). According to the author, generalizations can be seen as a form of abstraction being made with extractions of "more specific micro actions" from actions and reactions (ibid.) On the other hand, abstractions can also be made as abstraction of "qualities" from reactions and actions, being called as **"distillation"**. In distillation, some qualities of actions and reactions by social actors are abstracted in a way to present them in relation to or "interact with" actions of another actor (e.g. the author's example of abstraction of parents' potential roles by reducing them only to interaction with teachers which is the only important action in representation) (ibid.: 69).

6- "Overdetermination": The last category specified by the author regarding social action is **"overdetermination"**. In the previous part we have referred to overdetermination of social actors as representing them being involved more than one action at the same time. Likewise, overdetermination can also be applied to social action in the sense that a represented action might symbolize more than one meaning (e.g. the author's examples of "Killing the enemy in the western standing for overcoming a disease" or "Killing the dragon in a fairy tale for overcoming the Oedipal conflict") (van Leeuwen, 2008: 71). Thus the first form of realizing overdetermination of social action is **"symbolization"**. The second form of overdetermination is **"inversion"** in which two inverted actions exist at the same time. To recall the author's example of the Flintstones comic series in the previous part it is possible to say not only actors but also their actions, which they possess contemporary life practices while living in the Stone Age, can be said as inversely overdetermined.

49

Therefore, it is crucial to investigate whether an action or reaction is "single determined" or "overdetermined" can be revealing for our analysis.

2.2.1.3 Visual Representation of Social Actors

After discussing semiotic tools for analyzing social actors and actions in written texts, now we seek to mention some other tools enabling us to analyze news photos whose analysis is also crucial for multimodality. For this purpose, in this part we will benefit from van Leeuwen's discussion in the book from which we have discussed two chapters so far. The related chapter is chapter eight in the same book (see. van Leeuwen, 2008: 136-149). Again, we continue to summarize those concepts in an itemized manner and just as a reminder all bolds used to emphasize concepts are belong to us in order to make follow up easier for the reader. For analyzing visual representation of social actors, the author proposes two ways of investigating visual discourse. The first one is how people are represented and how the relationship between the viewer and the depicted people is formed in news photographs (van Leeuwen, 2008: 136). In what following below a brief summarize over these two dynamics of visual representation will be made.

2.2.1.3.1 The Relationship between the Viewer and Representation

On the relationship between the viewer and visual representation of actors the author proposes three dimensions: "social action, social distance and social interaction between the viewer and the depicted people" (van Leeuwen, 2008: 138). This part aims at elaborating on those dimensions which are very crucial for our analysis in the following part.

1-"Social Distance": Distance is related to closeness in terms of relation and interaction with the depicted people. The author claims that in pictures distance gains a symbolic nature in which **"long shot"** is related to distance between the viewer and the depicted people whereas **"close shot"** represents closeness (ibid.: 138). Thus, picturing an actor with long shot refers to create a distinction between viewer and the depicted person. In the same way, close shot is believed to create closeness, i.e., by

inviting viewer to form a kind of interaction with the depicted person. This discussion is highly related to our emphasis in chapter one where we discuss "the two meanings of other" (Orgad, 2012: 110) in which the other might be distanced by coding her negatively (e.g. "dangerous classes") or she can be treated again as the other but this time as one of us (e.g. "distant sufferer"). Therefore, looking for how social distance is played out in news photos might be a revealing point for our discussion.

2- "Social Relation": The author claims that social relation in visual representation in pictures is formed with positioning of the people according to different angels. Angels are claimed to form two kinds of social relations between the viewer and the depicted people: "power and involvement" (ibid.: 139). Two different forms of angels, vertical and horizontal, are proposed. The vertical angle represents "power differences" through which the **"high angle"** gives power to the viewer over representation, whereas the **"low angle"** does the reverse, i.e. gives power to representation over the viewer. Finally, the **"eye level angle"** establishes equality between the viewer and the people pictured (ibid.). Moreover, in terms of involvement, the horizontal angle is seen as creating symbolic involvement and detachment between the two parties. Here, **"involvement** is created by the **"frontal angle"** where the viewer and the depicted people are brought to "face to face". **"Detachment"**, on the other hand, is realized by the use of **"oblique angle"** in which the represented people are "sidelined" (ibid.).

3- "Social Interaction": The third dimension regarding relationship between the viewer and the people who are pictured emanates from social interaction in this relationship. It is achieved through different relationships of "gaze" being formed between the viewer and the people who are pictured.[9] Regarding social interaction the author argues existence of two possible types of address between the viewer and the depicted people. First of all, if the represented person is also looking to the viewer then there is the relationship of **"direct address"**. In this symbolic relationship the

---

[9] Van Leeuwen assigns "distance, angle and gaze" to the three categories of the viewer representation relationship respectively, i.e. 'distance' with social distance, 'angle' with social relation and 'gaze' with social interaction (2008: 141).

depicted person's look means that he or she is expecting something from the viewer yet both the representation itself and the nature of this demand needs our interpretation (ibid.: 141). Second, there is the moment of **"indirect address"** when the depicted person does not look at us which makes her subject to our gaze and in a way constituting her as "a spectacle to our dispassionate scrutiny" and making us as "voyeurs rather than interactants" at the same time (ibid.: 140-141).

Taking all these together van Leeuwen mentions three strategies with respect to visual representation: The first of these is **"*distanciation*"**, which means representing people as distant from us, i.e., as "strangers". Second, **"*disempowerment*"** refers to representing people as being below from us, i.e., as "downtrodden". Finally, **"*objectivation*"** points to representing people as "objects for our scrutiny" instead of approaching them as subjects whom we can symbolically engage with (ibid.: 141, bolds are mine, italics are in the original)

3.2.1.3.2 Depicting People in Visual Representation

As the second dimension of visual representation of social actors, van Leeuwen applies some concepts that he uses in linguistic representation of social actors to pictorial representation (ibid: 142). In this part we indent to elaborate briefly on these concepts which might be very insightful for our analysis below.

1- "Exclusion": Just as in the verbal representation, social actors also have the potential of being excluded in images (ibid.: 142). This exclusion might be made as specific actors or groups and based on criteria like race, gender, class etc.

2- "Roles": This category refers to role assignment to the actors in visual representation. Thus, they can be represented as the "agents" as performers of an action or the "patients" whom the action is done to. How their actions and actions done to them are compatible with the realities they live through is an important dimension of this representation (ibid.: 142). In other words, it is important to point out which roles they are assigned to and whether those assigned roles oppress, exclude something or confine these people to certain roles (ibid.: 143).

3- "Specific and Generic": In this category, the main point of inquiry is visual representation of social actors either specifically or generically. However, unlike linguistic representation in photos it is more difficult to distinguish specific and generic representation as they are likely to intertwine (ibid.: 143). For example, even if a single poor person is pictured, it is highly likely that the picture also implies certain stereotypes regarding discourse on poverty.

4- "Individuals and Groups": In visual representation, people can be represented as individuals or as groups. Strategically while individualization brings to the fore personalities of the depicted person, representing them as groups serves to homogenize those different personalities (ibid.: 144).

5- "Categorization": The author argues that in visual representation actors might be pictured according to certain categories. In general, this can be done based on either **"cultural"** or **"biological"** categorizations or in some cases with a combination of these two (ibid.: 144, bolds are mine). In terms of cultural categorizations, "standard attributes" are used as common characteristics used to identify certain groups. For instance, picturing of head scarves to depict the relationship between Islam and woman or using of stylistic features like hairstyles etc. to depict certain social groups can be regarded within those standard attributes (ibid.). On the other hand, biological categorizations refer to use of "standard exaggerations of physical features to connote the negative or positive associations" which are related to certain social groups in societal settings. Picturing black people with exaggerated eyes and white teeth might be seen as an illustration of racist stereotypes against the black people (ibid.: 146).

In conclusion, in those three parts above we have examined linguistic and semiotical concepts developed by Theo van Leeuwen to analyze social actors and social action both verbally and visually. These concepts will be our reference points while analyzing selected news texts from our sample in the following chapter. However, before moving to the analysis we shall first provide some explanations for justifying our selection of newspapers based on their political positioning.

3.3 Selected Sample and Political Positioning of the Selected Newspapers

For the purposes of this chapter seven newspapers were selected which are published on a daily basis and distributed on a nationwide scale. Those selected newspapers are Birgün, Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet, Posta, Sabah, Yeni Şafak, and Zaman in alphabetical order. Based on their political leanings, we specified three categories as being 'pro-government', 'anti-government' and 'highly circulated mainstream newspapers without open political positioning' for these newspapers. In that sense, we picked Birgün, Cumhuriyet and Zaman as anti-government newspapers whose opposition is obvious while Sabah and Yeni Şafak own a pro-government political stance. Finally, we put Posta and Hürriyet into the category of highly circulated mainstream newspapers without open political positioning. Although we narrow our analysis to investigate discursive constructions in the news text and therefore omit an analysis of political economy of those newspapers, below a brief discussion is intended to be made regarding ownership structures of those newspapers and general positioning of the publishing sector in Turkey in order to better understand their political leanings.

In Turkey, newspaper ownership as business is thought to be an unprofitable investment (İnal, 1992). Therefore, most of the newspapers in Turkey is belonged to holdings which operate in many other sectors. Especially after the 1980s and parallel to initiation of the neoliberal transformation in Turkey, a "transformation from the 'press' to the 'media'" happened through the 1990s especially with acquisitions and mergers. Non-media capital began to invest in the media sector just like the media sector started to be interested in non-media sectors (Sönmez, 2014: 92). Of course the discussion on the relationship between media, capital and politics in Turkey is very voluminous and it has a long history which is beyond the scope of this thesis.[10]

---

[10] For more detail regarding the relationship between media, capital and politics in Turkey the reader is advised to see Sönmez, 2003, 2011, 2014; Kaya, 2009; Sözeri and Güney, 2011.

* The elected representative of the smallest administrative units –neighborhoods and villages– in Turkey. Hürriyet's use of this statement metaphorically contained a tone of insulting Erdoğan who in contrast to his expectations to be elected as a deputy within the same political party, the news implied that he would not be elected even as a muhtar to a neighborhood anymore.

Nevertheless, in order to clarify our categorization of newspapers according to political categories as pro-government, anti-government and highly circulated mainstream newspapers without open political positioning, we need to elaborate on what the relationship between media, capital and politics looks like under the AKP government.

First of all, we should admit the fact that the relationship between media, capital and politics in Turkey has important fractures in line with socioeconomic, sociocultural or sociopolitical crises and transformations. To give just one example, during the February 28 events in 1997 balance of power between the military and political elites in Turkey dramatically broke down with the army's 'advise' to the pro-Islamist Welfare Party to resign from the government because of its association with anti-secular movements. Then, mainstream media of that time voiced a pro-military tone and criticized the Welfare Party and its policies as being responsible for and indeed encouraging those anti-secular movements. At that time, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, who is the current president of republic, was the mayor of Istanbul from the Welfare Party and he had been sentenced to ten years of prison because of a poem with Islamist overtones he read in a demonstration of the Welfare Party in Siirt province in 1997. Following finalization of the court decision, in the newspaper Hürriyet there was a heading "His [Erdoğan's] political career is over" on the first page and it continued with a heading "He cannot be even a muhtar*" in the remaining part of the same news in inside pages (Hürriyet, 24.09.1998). This was a by far oppositional stance against Erdoğan and the Welfare Party at that time. However, when Erdoğan's political ban was lifted with the help of oppositional party following the November, 3, 2002 elections, both Erdoğan's revenge and as a result a need for political repositioning came to the agenda for Hürriyet. On May 16, 2015 a news appeared on the website of Hürriyet with a heading "The world is in shock: Death penalty for the president who was elected with fifty two percent of vote" as a discursive selection of one part of the Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu's speech. While he was actually criticizing the military government in Egypt which was thinking to punish the overthrown president Muhammed Mursi, Hürriyet tweezed Davutoğlu's speech and made an analogy

between Mursi and Erdoğan who both elected with the same percent of votes. This led to a sharp criticism especially by Erdoğan, the AKP government and the media closer to them. In a joint live broadcast in A Haber [News] and ATV in 2015, president Erdoğan showed the same issues of Hürriyet in the past and blamed the newspaper and its owner the Doğan Media Group for making perception operations against legitimacy of his presidency just as it did in the past (Sabah, 22.05.2015). Ironical enough, while these lines are written Turkey survived a recent coup attempt which the soldiers from the Gülen community[11] is blamed for its occurrence. When the coup attempt was broadcasted live, president Erdoğan addressed to the nation by a video talk on CNN Türk channel which is also belong to the Doğan Media Group. Thus the negative relationship between Erdoğan and the Doğan media group has been eased with the president's praising words for united and anti-coup attitude of the media, which implicitly include CNN Türk too.

As this one simple example shows the relation between media, politics and capital in Turkey is always prone to crises and political positioning of each media organization might change accordingly. A summary of those repositioning is provided in Sönmez (2014: 98-101). We can make some inferences from his discussion regarding the newspapers in our sample. In the past Sabah was thought mostly as a mainstream popular press without clear political positioning. However, after 2007, when control of the media sector was largely handled by the Doğan Media Group, the newspaper Sabah and the TV channel ATV were won by the Çalık Group as a result of a highly questioned tender (Sönmez, 2014: 98). From then on Sabah has taken a pro-government stance. Similarly, Yeni Şafak is owned by the Albayrak Group since 1994 which has organic relations both with Erdoğan and AKP. This relation both has

---

[11] After the outbreak of the December, 17-25 corruption operations in 2014 relations between the Gülen community and AKP went dramatically bad and Erdoğan claimed this case was not a case of corruption but actually a coup attempt against him and the legitimate AKP government. He then started to call the community as a 'gang' having leaked into all parts of the state and constituted a "parallel state structure" serving illegally not to the state but to Gülen himself. The showdown between AKP and the Gülen community hit the peak after the recent military coup attempt on July 15, 2016 in which the Gülenist soldiers and commanders are blamed as responsible. Currently, three months of state of emergency is declared nationwide in order to 'clean' the state from Gülenists and 'finish' the movement by closing down of all of its businesses, universities and media organizations irreversibly.

economic and political aspects as well as personal ones. For instance, the current minister of Energy and Natural Resources Berat Albayrak is at the same time groom of the president Erdoğan who is sometimes called by oppositional press as "Berat Albayrak the groom". Therefore, in this study we regard Yeni Şafak as a pro-government newspaper.

On the other hand, Birgün and Cumhuriyet are taken as oppositional newspapers in this study. While the former constitutes a left-wing opposition, the latter regarded as left-Kemalist and social democratic especially after changes in its cadre with Can Dündar's appointment to the chief editor position following the Gezi park protests in June 2014. Zaman is also put under the category of anti-government newspapers but as we have mentioned, this opposition is politically different from Birgün and Cumhuriyet and it is more because of the conflict between the Gülen community and the AKP government rather than emanating from ideological differences. When the mine disaster occurred in October, 2014 Zaman was owned by the Feza Journalism Corporation, which was a company closer to the Gülen community. However, after the December 17-25 corruption investigations and as a result of Erdoğan and the AKP government' changing rhetoric on the Gülen movement from supportive to negative, an investigation began claiming that Zaman was providing financial aid to the Gülenist "parallel state structure". Then on March, 2016 trustee was appointed to Zaman which ended the Gülenist ownership structure in the newspaper (Sabah, 5.3.2016). Nevertheless, as our intended period of analysis is in 2014 this does not harm our categorization of Zaman as an anti-government newspaper at that time.

The newspaper Posta is also owned by the Doğan Media Group just like Hürriyet but locating it into our category of 'highly circulated mainstream newspapers without open ideological positioning' is relatively easier compared to Hürriyet. Posta's position is characterized by its hesitancy to take political side openly but rather concentrating on entertainment and easily sellable content rather than informative and political news. However, it is more difficult to categorize Hürriyet neither as anti- nor as pro-government. Therefore we decide to put the Hürriyet under this third category

of highly circulated mainstream newspapers without open ideological positioning with Posta. To our opinion, Hürriyet might be seen as a hybrid newspaper where both anti- and pro-government discourses can exist mutually and "resisting the AKP government" takes place only sporadically (Sönmez, 2014: 101). Although in one interview in the late 1990s its owner Aydın Doğan mentions that "Hürriyet is a state newspaper" (cited in Arsan, 2004: 162), this support or opposition to the government discourse changes contextually depending on who is in the government and how powerful the government is to discipline the Doğan media.

Having mentioned some aspects regarding political positioning of the newspapers in our sample, in the remaining part of this section we will discuss technical details of our selection. The news texts we are concerned here were collected from the seven newspapers, Birgün, Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet, Posta, Sabah, Yeni Şafak and Zaman. Only news texts, i.e., linguistic body and news image –in case it exists–, were selected for analysis and therefore other types of texts like columns or letters to the editor are omitted. The mine disaster occurred on October, 28, 2014 and rescue operations lasted thirty eight days when the last dead miners were found in December, 5, 2014. However, concerning the scope and physical limitations of this thesis we limit our analysis to the first three days' coverage which itself contains a serious amount of news texts. In this selection, we picked each news texts that were directly related to the Ermenek disaster and also some other news like conditions of the Turkish mining sector as well as other information regarding labor security and working conditions in mining.

3.4 Research Questions, Assumptions and Limitations of the Analysis

3.4.1 Research Questions

We regard the following questions as our research questions in this study;

- How are actors and actions represented in the newspaper news made after the Ermenek mine disaster?

- In what respects do these representations differ from each other?

- What effects do political leanings of the selected newspapers have on their ways of representing actors and actions involved in the disaster?

- How do these representations affect ways of experiencing the disaster by the sufferers and the distant others?

3.4.2 Assumptions

Our analysis here includes following assumptions;

1- Media representations are one of the social practices in Faircloughian sense that exist between social structures and individual actions. Realities are discursively constructed by these intermediary representations to explain and/or close meanings in particular ways for the sake of particular interests of social classes.

2- The news media mostly presents a mediated representation of "the Others" (Fairclough, 2001: 125) and construct the news story in a way to personalize or dramatize events especially with regard to representation of the sufferers. Most of the time this is done for decontextualization purposes.

3- Discursive constructions of actors and actions involved in the event provide symbolic content to the sufferers as well as to the distant others by –at least– influencing their ways of interpreting possible causes and responsibilities involved in the disaster.

4- The news media foregrounds some actors and actions while backgrounding others which influence very experiencing the event by leading differences in terms of interest and aids emanating from differences in visibility.

5- Visibility created by media representations does not always bring opportunities for the represented people. Instead, it can be experienced as "unwanted media exposure" (Madianou, 2013) especially concerning the lower class people' relationship with mediated visibility. Thus being visible can be paradoxical for lower class people as long as this visibility also means to be subjected to representation strategies of the media.

3.4.3 Limitations

Before going into details of analysis, it is plausible here to make some clarifications regarding limitations of our analysis. First of all, the analysis has some constraints like focusing more on the production side of representation as being limited to textual analysis and therefore it lacks an ethnographic analysis of reception. Similarly, news production process and journalists' preferences are omitted and here we narrow our analysis to an analysis of news texts. Although it lacks an analysis of reception and production processes, an analysis of news texts is still crucial in the sense of tracing different discourses which we consider that having affected perception, reception and action of those who watch and those who suffer. We claim here that those texts provide symbolic content to people both as the sufferers and audiences which affect their emotions, reactions and actions in certain ways. Indeed, they are very crucial in constructing realities and meanings in certain ways to explain, sometimes to cover up, possible reasons and responsibilities for the disaster. This inevitably contains a struggle among competing discourses of different parties as well as a struggle to close meaning in certain ways to legitimize particular ideological positions.

Another constraint in our analysis might be seen as our choice of the newspapers rather than TV news considering the centrality of the latter. According to a survey on public opinion made in 2011 by the Turkish Delegation of European Commission, only 11 percent of the Turkish respondents confirmed that they read a newspaper on a daily basis while this percentage rises sharply to 90 percent of watching TV daily. This disposition is also obvious concerning percentages of not watching and not reading. Only 1 percent of the Turkish respondents admit that they never watch TV in a day while not reading newspapers daily incomparably higher as 33 percent (Eurobarometer 76, 2011). However, two justifications might be made not selecting TV news for analysis. First, as a practical reason, it is nearly impossible to find recorded versions of main news bulletins at that time. Instead, they exist only as some videos on YouTube which makes consistency and comparison impossible. On the other hand, newspaper news as a form of print media is easier in terms of collection

and more permanent than audiovisual materials (Mautner, 2008: 32). Second, although TV and newspaper have different stylistic properties of making news, they use similar discursive strategies regarding the news discourse (İnal, 1996). Thus, we assert here that as the focus of analysis is to discover discursive strategies of media representation and their effects on construction and perception of the event, whether they are realized as streaming images or printed texts should be a secondary concern.

3.5 Concluding Remarks

In this chapter we have made some methodological clarifications concerning MCDA and also sketched some methodological tools which we will be using in the following chapter on news analysis. First of all, we have discussed the need for multimodality while making CDA on the basis that non-linguistic components of news discourse (e.g. news photos) is also used to construct the meaning in certain ways. Therefore, we have expressed our intention to include a visual analysis in addition to a linguistic analysis of the news. Second, we have outlined some methodological tools for analyzing social actors and actions in language as well as in images by drawing mainly on Theo van Leeuwen's (2008) theorization. We have regarded these tools as important in the sense that CDA actually in need of such specified and detailed tools in case of their absence the analysis has a risk of being vague. Third, we have categorized the newspapers into three categories as 'pro-government' newspapers (Sabah and Yeni Şafak), 'anti-government' newspapers (Birgün, Cumhuriyet and Zaman) and finally 'highly circulated mainstream newspapers without open political positioning' (Posta and Hürriyet). We assert that political leanings of these newspapers might have had effects on their discursive constructions of actors and events. Hence, their strategies of foregrounding and backgrounding in a way should have been influenced by this distance either by favoring or opposing to the political line of government. Even when they refrain from taking political positions openly, as in the case of Posta and Hürriyet, we assume that their representations cannot remain outside of this main political demarcation.

Following discussions on methodology and political positioning of the newspapers in our sample, in this chapter we have also mentioned some of the research questions, assumptions and limitations of our analysis. First, we have proposed some questions that how actions and actors are represented in those news; in what respects those representations differ from each other; what effects their political leanings have on their representations of actions and actors and finally in what respects those representations influence ways of experiencing the event by the sufferers and the distant others. Second, we have furthered our inquiry with a number of assumptions problematizing functioning of media representations as intermediary practices between social structures and actions through which people interact with possible reasons and responsibilities for the mine disaster. Likewise, we have claimed that those representations are discursive in the sense that they represent actors and actions in certain ways which serve to purposes like ideological legitimation of particular worldviews and they are often resulted in decontextualization of the event itself. Moreover, through foregrounding and backgrounding of actors, those discursive representations also lead to differences in interest shown and aids made to them. Therefore, we have claimed that being visible does not always contribute positively to the represented people. Especially if they are from lower classes, this relationship might be paradoxical to the extent that being visible also refers to be subjected to representational strategies of the media. Finally, we have discussed some limitations of our analysis as being devoid of an ethnographic reception analysis or a political economy analysis of news production. Instead, it is limited to textual analysis. Likewise, we have claimed that even though newspapers and TV are differed in means, they use similar strategies for representation. As a result, our primary concern is about understanding those strategies whereas on which medium they are presented should be a secondary concern in our opinion. In the next chapter we will operationalize those questions and assumptions over an analysis of the newspaper news made on the Ermenek mine disaster following its outbreak.

CHAPTER IV

A MULTIMODAL CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE NEWSPAPER NEWS MADE ON THE ERMENEK MINE DISASTER

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter we apply tools of MCDA, which we have discussed in the previous chapter, to examples of the news on the Ermenek mine disaster. At first, the analysis will proceed with linguistic analysis of actions and actors involved in the mine disaster. Then a visual analysis of news photographs, which actors are depicted, will be made. As the rescue operations lasted thirty eight days, news coverage of the disaster contains a vast number of news produced. Therefore, concerning physical limitations of this thesis we prefer to narrate our analysis in a number of ways.

First of all, we limit our analysis to the first three days' coverage in each newspaper since even such data constitute a large volume amount for analysis. Second, we prefer to conduct a general analysis over word selections as well as labelling of news actors and actions rather than a full analysis of textual structure of news text (see Van Dijk: 1988a, 1988b, 1993, and a good summary of this method in Özer, 2015: 197-287). Third, in our analysis 'action' will be understood as a) explanations on the possible reasons for the mine disaster and b) responsibilities assigned to actors. Likewise, by 'actors' here we refer to a) government authorities (the president, the Prime Minister, ministers and deputies from the governing party), b) oppositional politicians (politicians from the oppositional parties within the parliament), c) experts, d) the sufferers (relatives of the deceased miners as well as the surviving miners) and e) the distant others (distant people who watched/read about the event and act in some way, i.e. by protesting, sending aids to the sufferers etc.).

Fourth, our analysis will follow the abovementioned categorization by van Leeuwen (2008) and it will be composed of three parts, i.e., as 'linguistic representation of actions and actors' and 'visual representations of actors' in those sample news texts. Finally, we will compare representations in terms of political leanings of the selected newspapers which we have discussed in the previous chapter. As we also have mentioned in our research assumptions, we seek to investigate to what extent those discursive constructions of actors and actions in those news contribute to sustenance of certain ideological interests.

4.2 Linguistic Representations of Actions in the News

First of all, we start our analysis with how actions, which we take as possible reasons for the occurrence of the mine disaster and assignment of responsibilities here, are constructed in representations of those newspapers. In other words, we intend to look for what kinds of representational strategies are used by those newspapers to explain possible reasons for the disaster and also to assign responsibilities for its occurrence. Just a little remainder to the reader, unless we do not mention otherwise, all bolds and emphases are belong to us in order to make the discussion easier to follow.

4.2.1 Representations of the Possible Reasons for Occurrence of the Mine Disaster

In explaining why the mine disaster occurred, the newspapers seem to have different strategies. All the newspapers in our sample seems to approach the mine disaster as a *material action* which has either a material purpose or an effect as we have discussed above. They all perceive "flooding" from the abandoned mine nearby as the physical cause of the disaster. However, they differ in foregrounding either this physical cause or another political cause, which we regard here as making references to the government policies or to more structural reasons. In the two newspapers we have categorized as pro-government, i.e. Sabah and Yeni Şafak, the mine disaster is presented mostly by prioritizing the physical cause ('flooding') over possible political causes. In that sense, Sabah uses the heading "Disaster in the Mine: 18 Miners Struggle to Survive Underground" and links its occurrence mainly to "flooding" from

the abounded mine nearby (Sabah, 29.10.2014: 1). Similarly, Yeni Şafak approaches to the incident with a heading "Bad News" with a subheading on the left mentioning that "Bad news came from Karaman while the pain of Soma has not soothed yet. A flood hit the mine in Ermenek where 34 miners were working. 16 of them managed to escape" (Yeni Şafak, 29.10.2014: 1).

On the other hand, the anti-government newspapers prefer to refer to AKP's political role in the incident and make the physical cause secondary in their representation. For instance, Cumhuriyet uses the headline "Is this also Fıtrat*?" to recall the president Erdoğan's controversial use of the term. Likewise, Birgün uses the headline "The Sorrowing Mathematics of the Republic of Fıtrat: 1 Ak Saray [the presidential palace] = 1000 Rescue Chambers" again to direct the reader to the fact that Erdoğan was built an unnecessary luxury palace for him while a thousand rescue chambers could be built instead with the same amount of money. In this way, Birgün aims to establish a contrast between 'real problems' of the people and artificial needs of the political authority focusing these artificial needs rather than real problems of the people. A similar critical tone exists in the discourse of Zaman but this time criticism is not directed against the government but rather being generalized. Under the heading "Again Mine, Again Negligence", Zaman presents the disaster as "301 deaths was not a lesson. An accident happened in Ermenek because of similar negligence in Soma…" (Zaman, 29.10.2014: 1). Yet, we do not know to whom it should have been a lesson because of the generalized tone of the critique.

With respect to the two newspapers from our third category, i.e., Posta and Hürriyet, they also prefer to use 'flooding' as their main explanation for the disaster but they include both affirmative and critical points together. Thus, Hürriyet presents the disaster as "Water Disaster in the Mine" and mentions the flood of 11 tons of water

---

*Fıtrat: Turkish translation of the concept 'Fitrah' in Islam which means creation. President Erdoğan had used this concept after the Soma mine disaster to mention that the possibility of accident or death was intrinsic to the very nature of the mining as an occupation. Such an approach to a preventable disaster as destiny had taken sharp criticisms from oppositional politicians and media. Here Cumhuriyet makes reference to this previous comment by Erdoğan.

which was resulted in being stuck of 18 miners in the mine (29.10.2014: 1). Posta presents the disaster with the heading of "Death by Water [Sudan Ölüm]" and claims that underground waters brook the mine's dam and flooded inside (29.10.2014: 1). However, as we have mentioned while discussing political positioning of the selected newspapers, we have said that newspapers from the Doğan Media Group, Posta and Hürriyet here, actually abstain from taking direct political support or opposition to the government. Rather, their criticism is implicit and indirect. We can see signs of such a strategy in their presentation of the disaster. For instance, Hürriyet puts a small picture of the relatives on the upper left corner of the main news on the first page and gives a three line explanation on organic relations between the mine's owner and AKP by mentioning the owner's two times candidacy for mayoralty in 2004 and 2009. Likewise, Posta makes reference to Erdoğan's 'Fıtrat' declaration following the Soma mine disaster but gives no further positive or negative comment about Erdoğan or political involvement of AKP in the disaster (Posta, 29.10.2014: 1, see Appendix A).

We have mentioned that in all newspapers occurrence of the mine disaster is regarded as a material action. With respect to the other methodological concepts of representing social action, we see that except Birgün and Cumhuriyet the other newspapers present the mine disaster in a *deagentialized* way which lacks the agent that led to its occurrence. Thus, they use *eventuation* as if water hits the mine on its own by their use of the term 'flood' and verbs like 'happened', 'occurred', 'hit the mine'. This serves to delete human agency in its happening (van Leeuwen, 2008: 66-67) and gives the disaster a sense of natural event. This lack of agency in immediate representation of the disaster begins to disappear starting from the second day of representation. However, in assigning responsibility to agencies, the newspapers also strategically select who to blame or to improve his image, which is the topic of the following section.

4.2.2 Representations of Responsibilities in the Occurrence of the Mine Disaster

'Who was responsible for this mine disaster?' is perhaps the most appetizing but at the same time challenging question for the newspapers concerned here. It is appetizing

66

because assigning responsibility to a specific agent also means removing it from all the other actors or structures which might have an effect on the incident. It is also challenging in the sense that it restricts journalists' "ideological repertoire" (Hall, 1977) in which some agents and their actions must be justified at all costs. In what follows we will discuss whom the newspapers in our sample assigned responsibility for the occurrence of the mine disaster. We have regarded this point as crucial in our research assumptions above in the sense that whom the news discourse points as responsible for the disaster should also have an effect on ways of perceiving responsibilities by the sufferers and the distant others.

To begin with the pro-government newspapers in both of them the agent who is responsible for the disaster is the owner of the mine, Saffet Uyar. For instance, Sabah uses the headlines "Slavery in the mine: 18 miners became victims of the cruel boss" (30.10.2014: 1), "Will they [the boss as the responsible agent] get away with it again?" (31.10.2014: 1) or by quoting the president Erdoğan's comment "The bigoted employer is responsible for all this" (30.10.2014: 1, 24). In those news, the boss is narrated nearly as an evil who "…cut the food service, reduced the break time to thirty minutes and prohibited the canteen for reducing the cost" (Sabah, 30.10.2014: 1). Furthermore, his administration is equated metaphorically with slavery. In this way, Sabah's discourse *overdetermines* the miners who have to work like slaves although they live in the twenty first century at a time when slavery is abolished. The newspaper keeps giving negative background information on Uyar's irresponsibilities and negligence e.g. his debt to the Social Security Institution, previous disasters happened in his family's mine in Manisa and so on. Likewise Yeni Şafak assigns all the responsibility to deficiencies caused by the boss's irresponsibility. To illustrate, it uses the headline "the Mine Gang" to describe working conditions in the region in which "the 5 mining companies in Ermenek acted like a gang. Having cancelled provision of food and service, any resigning worker could not manage to find a job in any other mine in the region" (Yeni Şafak, 30.10.2014: 1). It furthers targeting the boss in the same day's issue (October 31) parallel to Sabah's narration. Using "Relentlessness" as its heading, the newspaper comment on the situation as follows:

> "Saffet Uyar, who is the boss of Has Şekerler Mining Co., tried every option to reduce the cost. He did not pay the wages for three months, he cut the food subsidy, seized the coal aid of the workers, and used electricity illegally. He also disappeared after the disaster" (Yeni Şafak, 31.10.2014: 1).

In those news, we witness representation of the boss Saffet Uyar in an active way who both materially and semiotically involved in a number of pejorative actions. By using the metaphor of 'gang' Yeni Şafak implies *appraisement* as a categorization strategy which is used to present actors as loved or hated (van Leeuwen, 2008: 45). In both newspapers, the principal agent seen as responsible for the occurrence of mine disaster is the boss himself. In this way, they achieve two things: First, by reducing responsibility to misbehaviors of the boss, they give the impression of the disaster as an extraordinary situation which can be prevented by responsibly behaving bosses. Therefore, as we expect, no references to external factors like the government's policies or insecure structure of the mining sector exist in their representation. Instead, as their second achievement, the government authorities gain a status of 'saviors' who fix the wrong things and punish the bad guys, which is apparent in their overrepresentation and in their assumed roles of 'problem solver'.

In the anti-government newspapers we see a different attitude on assigning responsibilities to actors. Although in these newspapers negligence of the boss is mentioned too, they move one step further from the pro-government newspapers in the sense of assigning responsibility also to external factors like government policies or to the structure of mining sector. For instance, Cumhuriyet gives place to a news "Profit came with blood in the mining sector" arguing that the mining sector is three times profitable than the manufacturing sector because of low labor costs. The news is also supported by expert opinion in order to increase its persuasiveness (30.10.2014: 11). Similarly, in the issue of October, 31 it has "Erdoğan Disaster" as its main title on the first page which is used to link the boss's explanation on the disaster as "natural event" to AKP's failure to keep its promises having made after the Soma mine disaster (Cumhuriyet, 31.10.2014: 1). Similarly, Birgün assigns more responsibility to the AKP government by perceiving what happened in Ermenek not as a distinct case but as the continuation of previous disasters occurred in Soma or in Zonguldak. The

newspaper not only presents the "cruel production" in Ermenek but also the governing party's role in "work murders" by emphasizing the dramatic number –ten thousand– deaths related to work accidents under the AKP government (30.10.2014: 4-5). In those two newspapers' representation, we perceive more *active* and *agentialized* actions in which actors and goals are presented more directly in contrast to the pro-government newspapers in which *deactivation* and *deagentialization* are more apparent. Lastly, Zaman also seems to give priority to political responsibility rather than reducing it simply to the boss's misbehaviors. It uses headings making references to inadequacy of steps taken with the Omnibus Bill (see related discussion in the first part of the fifth chapter) following the Soma mine disaster. To illustrate, Zaman uses headings like "The Omnibus Bill hit Ermenek" or other news which aim to emphasize connections between the owner and the government as "Plaque [was given] from the minister to the Uyar family" (29.10.2014: 6). In the meantime, Zaman keeps assigning responsibility to political failures of the government with news like "Aggregate deaths have risen in work accidents" (30.10.2014: 7) or from the first page as "Death fell to the wretch's share from the Omnibus Bill" (31.10.2014: 1). As it is clear from its "Aggregate deaths have risen in work accidents" news, it narrates the rise in deaths as factual data as if they rise or fall by themselves. In this way, it *deletes* responsible agency –which was AKP in Birgün and Cumhuriyet' representations– and creates a sense of "the facts speaks for themselves" giving impersonal authority to utterances like reports, surveys etc., i.e., *utterance autonomization* as a form of objectivation (van Leeuwen, 2008: 46). Therefore, we can say that Zaman's political opposition to the government's policies tend to be more *generalized* and *abstract* compared to the two other oppositional newspapers in our sample.

In the newspapers of our third category, at first in Hürriyet we see convincing background information on working conditions in the region. In a series of articles the newspaper covers that the workers had not been paid for three months; they had to eat underground, to satisfy their toilet needs with plastic bottles; there is no syndication in the region to protect their rights and so on (30.10.2014: 11). Hürriyet maintains its hybrid attitude including both affirmative and critical tones. On the one hand, it

denounces the Uyar family and their oligopolistic control of the mining sector in the region (e.g. "Two families had parceled the field", "the Uyar mining's record is loaded") (31.10.2014: 8). On the other hand, a moderate reproach also apparent in its criticism of the government. For instance, on October 31, Hürriyet gives the headline "How did not you hear this cry?" in order to reproach to the government's failure in hearing and responding the miners' complaints (p.1). We are unable to know actually who this 'you' is but we can guess that the call is made to the government authorities, which is a strategy of *backgrounding*. In the continuation of the same news in inside pages a large heading is used as "There are 124 complaints [from the workers to the Ministry of Labor and Social Security] but no single person to hear them" (31.10.2014: 8). Ironically, in the newspaper both kinds of news exist which affirms the Ministry's position and also criticizes it. In one of these news, "The Ministry of Labor had warned [that mine]: There was the danger of flooding" (ibid.) is used to give the impression that the ministry actually did what it supposed to be. Conversely, on the next page, there is a news mentioning that production in another coal mine had continued for six months and indeed the state keeps taking its royalty (rödövans) share from this mine which was closed by the same Ministry of Labor based on inconformity with necessary occupational health and safety measures (31.10.2014: 9). As this single example demonstrates Hürriyet hesitates to criticize government openly but rather prefers to do it moderately. Therefore, criticism of the boss is open and fierce but when it comes to the political authority the criticism becomes reluctant. Hence, we see *backgrounding* and *deactivation* of political actors who might have responsibility in the incident.

Finally, in Posta, similar to the pro-government newspapers, the responsibility is mostly assigned to poor working conditions which the boss is responsible. It uses the headline "Not a mine but a graveyard" (30.10.2016: 16) in a full page representation. What is unique in this representation is *passivation* of actions as we do not know who did not pay the wages, cancel food and transport supply or not take necessary precautions although the same mine was flooded two times in the past. Interestingly, it mentions reactions by some of the relatives to the ministers but who reacted to the minister and what was said in these reactions remain unknown. Almost no kind of

critique of the government authorities exists in those representations. Instead, again similar to the pro-government newspapers, the government authorities are represented as the ones who will call the responsible persons to account as the expected 'problem solvers'. They are the responding party to senseless declarations of the boss and his company claiming that the event was a "natural disaster". The government authorities and their declarations are presented in a highly *activated*, *transactive* manner.

4.3 Linguistic Representations of Actors in the News

Having discussed some strategies regarding representation of actions, now our focus will be on how actors are represented in the newspaper news concerned here. As we have mentioned in the opening of this part, the analysis will be divided into some subcategories on which different actors are analyzed. These include a) government authorities (the President, ministers and deputies from the governing party), b) oppositional politicians (politicians from the oppositional parties within the parliament), c) experts, d) the sufferers (the deceased miners and their relatives as well as the surviving miners) and e) the distant others (distant people who watched/read about the event and act in some way, i.e. by protesting, sending aids to the sufferers etc.). Again we will be benefitting from the van Leeuwen's concepts developed for analyzing representation of social actors which we have discussed in the previous part.

4.3.1 Representations of the Government Authorities

Thinking about the main distinction in our categorization of the newspapers as anti- or pro-government, it is presumable to claim that there should be differences in their affirmative or critical representation of the officials. Nevertheless, the importance of those representations rests on their ability to present politicians in certain ways to affect people's perception. Thus by presenting them either as 'responsible' or as 'problem solver' those representations –at least– influence people's perception to ease possible reactions against those authorities.

In this context, in the pro-government newspapers the government authorities seem to be overrepresented. In other words, they are included in every possible way within the

incident. The president and the Prime Minister as well as the three ministers, i.e., of Energy, Labor and Transportation who followed the rescue operations, are represented as personally involved in the event. Starting from the next day following the outbreak of the disaster, they are shown as on duty, making statements, giving orders etc. regarding the disaster and rescue operations. In this way, first, they are *activated* in their representation and they are also presented as *participants* with their explicit identities and actions. Second, they are *specified*, that is, represented as specific, identifiable individuals. In other words, they are *individualized* and *differentiated* by their unique identities. We may also say that they are *functionalized* in those newspapers in the sense that they are not only represented with their unique identities but also with what they do (e.g. "participated in the rescue operations", "gave orders", "examined operations on site" and so on.). In addition, *rendition* and *direct quotation* are intensely used in their representations which serve to increase credibility of what they say as officials. This kind of overrepresentation is also apparent in photos they are represented visually (see the section on visual representation of actors below).

In the anti-government newspapers, government authorities are also referred as specific*, individualized, activated and differentiated* persons because of their official status. However, what distinguishes these newspapers from the pro-government ones is related to two points. First, in these anti-government newspapers, the government authorities are assigned more with negative actions and reactions. To recall Cumhuriyet's headline on October 31 as "the Erdoğan Disaster", we see a negative connotation of the president as someone causing disasters. Likewise, in the same issue Cumhuriyet presents the Minister of Energy, Taner Yıldız with a heading of "They forgot their exploitation of breaking fast" (31.10.2014: 6) to denounce his criticism of eating underground. The newspaper reminds that politicians also break their fast with miners underground during Ramadan and they do no problematize this situation. Similarly, Birgün contains negative representations of the government officials with news like "Davutoğlu [the Prime Minister at that time] has just understood!" to denounce his call for modernizing mines, which is something already well known but recently understood by the Prime Minister (30.10.2014: 1,7). Furthermore,

72

Davutoğlu's highly foregrounded comment in the pro-government newspapers as well as in Posta and Hürriyet "If there is mistake, it is called to account for sure" is regarded by Birgün as repeating a "cliché" (ibid.: 7). President Erdoğan is also represented negatively as making "propaganda instead of account" by hiding political responsibility of the AKP government in his speech during the republican day celebrations (30.10.2014: 7). The second difference of these two oppositional newspapers from the pro-government newspapers is their more active representation of the sufferers which means not limiting concepts like activation, individualization, specification only to the elite people. We will argue this point in the following sections when we discuss representations of the sufferers. As the last newspaper in the anti-government side, in Zaman there is no such negative connotation of the government authorities but they are rather *underrepresented* compared to the pro-government newspapers. That is, the same news in which Erdoğan and Davutoğlu are brought to the fore by the pro-government newspapers are presented smaller and just in passing (Zaman, 30.10.2014: 13). However, although Zaman does not overrepresent the government officials, it also does not contain negative or blaming phrases for them unlike Birgün and Cumhuriyet did. Instead, it leaves their comments and declarations untouched without providing further comments on them.

In the newspapers of our third category, Posta and Hürriyet, representations of the government authorities share many commonalities with the pro-government newspapers. Hence, they are highly visibly both linguistically and visually in those newspapers. A remarkable feature of Hürriyet's representation is its attachment of at least a small picture of ministers in almost every news when it makes reference to the government authorities. In this way, the newspaper gives a sense of credibility and persuasiveness to declarations of the government authorities. In Posta, the government authorities are again represented as specific, active individuals yet they are given less space compared to Hürriyet and the pro-government newspapers. For instance, the same news we have mentioned including declarations by the president and the Prime Minister is given very little space. Indeed, the newspaper only makes reference to Erdoğan and does not give place to Davutoğlu's declarations (Posta, 30.10.2014: 16).

The overrepresented agents in Posta's representation are mostly the sufferers but this is not done in an activated, functionalized but rather in an objectivated and pathetic manner.

4.3.2 Representations of Other Politicians

We think that ways of representing oppositional politicians can provide important insights into the newspapers' sustaining political positions which they feel closer. As those statements contain mostly critical opinions addressing possible responsibilities of the government authorities, including or excluding them should be an ideological choice in order to tell the story in certain ways.

In this context, we see that the pro-government newspapers rarely refer to oppositional politicians and to their opinions regarding possible causes and responsibilities in the disaster. To illustrate, in the first three days of coverage which we concern here, oppositional politicians are represented only two times in Sabah in very small news. In the first news headed as "CHP Deputy Öz: There is the Same Company's Mark also in Soma", CHP deputy Sakine Öz's explanations are presented by using verbs like "claimed", "asserted" which creates a sense of doubtfulness regarding what she said (30.10.2014: 20). Similarly in the second news, CHP vice president Sezgin Tanrıkulu is represented by informing that he gave a parliamentary question to the Prime Minister Davutoğlu to ask whether the Ministry of Labor had changed the inspectors' closure decision into a fine. However, we do not see any background information regarding the event or the minister Çelik's involvement in it (30.10.2014: 22). Therefore we can say that compared to overrepresentations of the government authorities, oppositional voices is almost absent in Sabah's representation. In Yeni Şafak, the situation is even worse as in the first three days' coverage oppositional politicians were not represented even in a single news on the mine disaster. Instead, we witness lots of visual and verbal overrepresentations of the government authorities while oppositional opinions are *suppressed*.

As we have expected, the anti-government newspapers give more space to oppositional politicians and their declarations. For instance, Birgün leaves a half page

to CHP deputies operations in Ermenek with a picture showing them sleeping on plastic chairs. In the same news CHP deputy Özgür Özel, who were also actively involved in the Soma disaster as the deputy of that province, says "We have seen this film before" to criticize the minister Faruk Çelik's declarations as "already known declarations". The newspaper gives their opinion that it was needed to "abolish the subcontracting system" or to "change mining policy of Turkey" which exist nowhere in the pro-government newspapers (30.10.2014: 6). At first glance, it might be seen as normal that oppositional politicians are represented as *active, individualized* and *specified* persons because of their elite status. However, the distinguishing point about these two newspapers is their representation of oppositional politicians and their opinions in a *functionalized* way which reaches beyond merely citing them. In this way, they provide alternative explanations and responsibilities which enable the reader to question external structural factors more compared to the pro-government newspapers which try to close alternative explanations on the disaster. In the third newspaper Zaman, oppositional politicians are represented similar to the other two oppositional newspapers with strategies of *activation, individualization, specification* and *functionalization*. Nonetheless, Zaman differs from them in *associating* politicians from different political lines together under the same category as "opposition" (e.g. "The Ermenek Disaster has been Reported by the Opposition") (31.10.2014: 14). In terms of giving place to critics of the government Zaman seems to quote directly what oppositional politicians argued. However, as we mentioned before, it hesitates to make further comments on these critics but leave them as untouched. Indeed, it seems to fuse ideological differences within the oppositional politicians under the common theme 'opposition' which we do not see in the other two newspapers.

Lastly, in Posta and Hürriyet, oppositional politicians are represented but compared to representations of the government authorities they remain secondary and given less space. In the following three days' coverage, for instance, Posta refers only once to an oppositional politician, i.e., vice president Umut Oran who prepared a report on the disaster. His critique of provision of mine licenses only to the persons closer to AKP

is mentioned in the news. However, the news makes no further reference to problems stated by Oran but rather limits his critique to one single sentence quoted in a small news (31.10.2014: 21). This choice conforms to its hesitancy to take clear political positions as a popular newspaper. In the case of Hürriyet oppositional politicians are given space but not as much as the government authorities. Interestingly, Hürriyet manages to sustain its hybrid position by balancing oppositional opinions with official ones. To illustrate, the newspaper juxtaposes one oppositional and one official declaration to balance them out. In the former, an oppositional politician, HDP deputy Erol Dora, says "Ermenek is Organized, the Ministers should Resign". Next to it there is news citing the minister of energy, Taner Yıldız, as "No Question Remains Unanswered just like any Responsible Person Unpunished" (31.10.2014: 16). In this way, Hürriyet seems to balance the possible criticisms directed to the official line of the government.

4.3.3 Representations of Experts

Using expert opinion in representation might be useful in many aspects. Backing a claim with expert opinion increases its credibility. Likewise, it may be more persuasive to attach an expert opinion to a news text. Therefore, we think that which experts are given place in these representations and how their statements are represented might provide insights into a better understanding of representation strategies of those newspapers.

In the first three day's coverage, we do not see any reference made to the experts in the pro-government newspapers. They rather prefer to use official declarations of the government authorities who are effectively foregrounded in their representations. This can be interpreted as these official statements and explanations do not need to be backed by an expert opinion because they already have enough credibility and persuasiveness in themselves.

In the anti-government newspapers we see effective use of expert opinion to back their critique of the government and its policies seen as responsible for the occurrence of the disaster. On this account, for instance, Cumhuriyet refers to the former president

of the Chamber of Mine Engineers (MMO) Mehmet Torun, who states the condition of the mining sector functioning with "low labor costs and high profits in which subcontracting is very common" especially during the AKP government (30.10.2014: 11). Similarly, Birgün also refers to expert opinion to support its claim on worsening of the conditions of mining sector under the AKP government. The same statements of Mehmet Torun was given in a half page news in explaining how the mine disaster occurred and in assigning responsibility to the ministry of energy. Similarly, opinions of a hydrogeology engineer, an former chair of a mining syndicate were also given to support its way of explaining why the disaster had happened and who were responsible for its occurrence (30.10.2014: 4). Zaman also benefits from the expert opinion but the experts it refers are from organizations like "Hak-İş", "Pak Maden-İş" which are known as conservative, that is, closer to ideological leaning of the newspaper (29.10.2014: 6). However, in contrast to the other two oppositional newspapers, in those expert opinions criticisms are more generalized and vague in terms of assigning responsibility directly to the government.

Regarding the newspapers of our third category, Posta does not give place to expert opinion in its first three day's coverage. However, in Hürriyet, we see references are made to experts who are even politically closer to the left. Thus, it quotes Tayfun Görgün who is the president of 'Dev Maden-Sen' as a leftist trade union at length that he mentioned the Uyar family and their cruel administration of the mine (30.10.2014: 12). Nevertheless, we can imply that this sort of radical critique is given place due to it is directed to the Uyar family in order to emphasize their poor administration and negligence. It is questionable whether such critiques from a radical expert would have a place in case they targeted the government authorities openly. In general, we might say that expert opinion in Hürriyet is mostly used to back its assignment of responsibility to the Uyar family rather than including criticisms of the government's responsibility or more structural dynamics regarding the mining sector.

4.3.4 Representations of the Sufferers

We mean by the term 'sufferers' here those people who experienced the event directly, i.e., the deceased miners and their families as well as the surviving miners. How they are represented is very strategic for the newspapers in question here as we think that they constitute the demarcation line between the more systemic and event level representations of the disaster. Moreover, they are perhaps the most objectivated actors in news discourse who are continuously narrated in a number of ways which this section aims to investigate.

First of all, while representing the sufferers both the pro-government newspapers and the two newspapers belong to our third category share much in common what Gökalp et al. argue in terms of media representations of the poor. In their study, they stress four types of representing the poor in news discourse (Gökalp et al., 2010): First of all, in "phobic representations" poor people are represented as the source of fear and crime. Second, in "pathetic representations" they are dramatized over tragic events they experienced in which the representation aims to create a sense of "sensitiveness" or "pity" in the reader (Gökalp et al., 2010: 161). Third, in "pseudo-objective representations" poverty is abstracted as being reduced to numbers and percentages and partial facts extracted by news sources are told as if they are the truth itself (ibid.: 165). This is in line with our abovementioned discussion on "utterance autonomization" as a form of objectivation which gives utterances a sense of informal authority however partial they are in reality (van Leeuwen, 2008: 46). Finally, the news discourse may represent the poor with "symbolic annihilation" (Tuchman, 1978 cited in Gökalp et al., 2010: 168). In this way, an accident is presented as *decontextualized* for instance in the authors' example of narrating killing of seasonal workers as a traffic accident without making reference to why they had to travel on a truck bed, i.e. material hardships they face (Ibid.).

In our case of representation of the sufferers first we need to make a distinction between the deceased miners and their relatives and the surviving miners. While the former is represented pathetically in almost every representation, except in the two oppositional newspapers Cumhuriyet and Birgün, the surviving miners are mostly

78

assigned with 'eyewitness' status. In this way, they are often quoted as witnesses to the poor working conditions in the mine under the administration of the Uyar family. However, they are put to the *generic category* of 'miners' which *deletes* their unique identities. Both in linguistic and visual representations they possess a *nontransactive* role of 'complain' about the working conditions in the region, 'asking' the ministers to punish who is the responsible or 'demanding' solutions to their problems from the government authorities. In short, they are only activated in their eyewitness accounts but in other times they are *genericized* and their actions represented as *nontransactive*.

On the other hand, the deceased miners and their relatives are intensively *individualized* and *specified*. Their personal stories and hardships they live through are extensively cited to create *pity* and *sensitiveness* in the reader. Hence, their individualization by no means leads to a kind functionalization, i.e., what they do, but rather constitutes *identification*, i.e. who they are, with respect to emotional situations they are in. For example, adjectives like "tearful", "grieved", "heartbreaking" are often used to refer to their situation. This becomes concrete considering emotional descriptions they are often assigned in news discourses, except Birgün and Cumhuriyet which represented them less pathetically. Some of the headings used for this purpose might be illustrative here: "My Son does not How to Swim: Morning Never Comes to us Again", "He could not Take His Wage for Three Months", "His Father had not been able to Bring Him to the Doctor" (Hürriyet, 31.10.2014: 15-16); "301+18: The Unchanging Destiny [of the miners]" (Posta, 29.10.2014: 22), "He will Never See His Child Again" (Posta, 30.10.2014: 1), "My Son does not Know Swimming" (Posta, 31.10.2014: 1). The same tendency is also perceivable in headings used by the pro-government newspapers. For instance, "He was born while His Father was under the Wreckage", "First His Husband [were], now His Two Sons [are trapped in the wreckage]", "My father will Bring me Baby Food", "She Waits Her Husband's Arrival like this" (Sabah, 30.10.2014: 20-21). Yeni Şafak also dramatizes the sufferers in its representation by using headings like "Again the Same Suffering", "He had Three children and One More who is on the Way", "He Hugged the Minister and Cried" (29.10.2014: 6). This is also apparent in photos they are depicted.

In contrast to pathetic representations of the sufferers, in the two oppositional newspapers of our sample Birgün and Cumhuriyet, their specification and individualization serve not to create pity but to an *active* and *functionalized* presentation of their actions. For instance, in those representations the miners in the region are represented as reacting against the ministers (e.g. "Where were you before?" (Cumhuriyet, 29.10.2014: 1)). Unlike the other newspapers in which their reactions are represented mostly as *affective*, in Birgün and Cumhuriyet reactions of the relatives are also represented as *cognitive-rational*, i.e., they not only cry or mourn but also react and criticize the government authorities. In this way, these two newspapers break the status quo in which only the elite persons are assigned to cognitive-rational reactions and the lower class people left with affective reactions (cf. van Leeuwen, 2008: 58). However, in Zaman we see a similar pathetic representation of the sufferers for instance through headings like "As hopes go down, tears go up", "The stuck miner became father yesterday", "I have two sons down there, while there is God there is hope" (30.10.2014: 4). Although it seems to present the sufferers as reacting to the ministers, the Omnibus Bill etc. this is realized mostly by *indetermination* for instance by the use of anonymous phrases like "some miner relatives", "some miners reacted" etc. in which they are *aggregated* as unspecified totalities.

4.3.5 Representations of the Distant Others

By the term 'distant others' we mean here people who are temporally and/or spatially remote from the sufferers but involved in their suffering through mediation of the news discourse (see the discussion on "distant suffering" in part one). In other words, they are those people who watch or read about the suffering and act afterwards. In terms of our discussion, we are concerned here with how they are represented in the first three days' coverage of the newspapers in our sample.

At first, in the pro-government newspapers there is only one time reference made to actions of the distant others. It exists as a very small news in passing in Sabah mentioning "Miners from Soma march to Ankara", which their reason for marching

is presented as not getting their wages. Here we see a conscious "information reduction" (Van Dijk, 1988a) which is made probably because of fending off the reason why miners from Soma changed their route, that is, criticizing the government and showing solidarity with the sufferers in Ermenek. In Zaman too we do not see any reference to actions of the distant sufferers although there were demonstrations in different parts of the country to protest the mine disaster at that time. This might be another indicator of Zaman's opposition not as ideologically rooted but as a result of conjectural clash of interest between the newspaper and the AKP government. An alternative comment might be Zaman's hesitancy to bring public demonstrations to the fore as a conservative newspaper.

On the contrary, in the two anti-government newspapers, Birgün and Cumhuriyet, we witness a more active and specified presentation of the distant others in which the actors as well as their actions and intentions are explicitly mentioned. For instance, Birgün informs about the protests made following the disaster from the first page with the heading "The murderer of the miner is the order of AKP" and provides the names and reactions of protesting parties explicitly (30.10.2014: 1). In the continuation of the same news (p.8), a half page space is devoted which emphasizes both actors, places and slogans used in those demonstrations. They are based mostly on a critique of AKP as the responsible for the disaster. The distant others are presented as *active*, *specified* and *functionalized* agents through which both their identities, actions and reactions are referred explicitly. Similarly, Cumhuriyet gives the demonstrations of democratic mass organizations as "the Life Watch". It highlights statements and slogans used in these demonstrations as "Not work accident but murder at work", "Subcontracting must be abolished immediately" and alike (29.10.2014: 11). Again we see explicit presentation of the actions and reactions of the distant others, who are depicted as protesters here, which exist nowhere neither in the narratives of the pro-government newspapers nor in Zaman.

Finally, in Hürriyet and Posta we also see references made to actions of the distant others. Thus they also present for instance the abovementioned news on change in

route of the miners from Ankara to Ermenek. However, their tone is less critical compared to Birgün and Cumhuriyet's explicit representation of not only who protests but also what they express in those protests. Instead, in Posta and Hürriyet those actions of the distant others are represented as eventuated and they are devoid of critical tone.

4.4 Visual Representations of the Actors in the News

Having discussed some of the strategies employed by the newspapers in our sample to represent actors and actions linguistically, the last dimension of our analysis will be analyzing visual representations of actors in news photos. For this purpose, two main actors of the news discourse of the mine disaster who are the most visually depicted, i.e., the government authorities and the sufferers, will be analyzed. We choose to exclude the other actors on the basis that they are not applicable to visual analysis since they are represented mostly linguistically rather than with photos. For comparison purposes we seek to use pictures from the same news we have analyzed linguistically in the previous parts of this chapter. Our analysis will make us of the tools developed by van Leeuwen for analyzing actors in visual representation (2008: ch.8).

4.4.1 Visual Representations of the Government Authorities

We have mentioned that the government authorities are overrepresented in the pro-government newspapers as well as in Hürriyet while the oppositional newspapers and Posta give less space to their representation. This tendency is apparent in their visual depiction too. Considering the increasingly visualized nature of media texts and semiotic potential of visuals in news discourse (see our discussion on multimodality in chapter three), visual depictions of the government authorities gain importance as indicators of those efforts on ideological closure of meaning in particular ways.

In this context, we see a similar tendency for overrepresentation of the government authorities in visual representations both in the pro-government newspapers and in Hürriyet. For instance, in Sabah's representation of the president Erdoğan and the

Prime Minister Davutoğlu (30.10.2014: 1, 8), *close shot* is used which aims to create closeness between the viewer and them. However, in terms of addressing to the viewer, both politicians are *addressed indirectly* by not looking to the viewer which removes the interaction in between and preserves the depicted politician's superior position as being above the viewer. Second, while talking to the miners who participate in the rescue operations and to the relatives both the Prime Minister Davutoğlu and the president Erdoğan are represented with *oblique angle* which also sustains their hierarchical position over whom they seem to listen. Thus even the speaking actor in the representation is miners or one of the relatives, they are reduced to secondary position compared to the authorities. The same news are also represented with similar images in Yeni Şafak too (30.10.2014: 1, 15). For instance in the same news picture depicting the president Erdoğan while giving ear to the miners, only him and the miner whom he listens are focused and the remaining miners –even the Prime Minister Davutoğlu behind Erdoğan– are blurred. In this way, the only interlocutor in the picture becomes Erdoğan who does not interact neither with the viewer nor any other person around him. It strengthens his superior position over the miners and even over the Prime Minister Davutoğlu by making the act of talking to the president as an exclusive action. Parallel to Sabah, in Yeni Şafak, the Prime Minister is depicted as emotionally assisting the relatives by hugging a child. Compared to Erdoğan, Davutoğlu has also an elite status but he is depicted as closer to the people than Erdoğan. In general, we can say that in the pro-government newspapers news pictures depicting the government authorities are used to back their 'problem solver' status. Indeed, they do not include even a single clue for a possibility of guilt or responsibility concerning their involvement in the disaster.

In the oppositional newspapers, we see a completely different depiction of the government authorities in news photos. For instance, in Cumhuriyet there is not any single visual depiction of Erdoğan or Davutoğlu in the first three days' coverage. There are only two visuals that the newspaper uses to depict the government authorities visually: In one of them the picture is used to refute the minister of energy Taner Yıldız's critique of the boss's forcing the miners to eat inside. In that news

(Cumhuriyet, 31.10.2014: 6) Taner Yıldız is depicted in a photo while he is breaking his fast with miners but again inside the mine. In this way, the visual is used to refute the persuasiveness of the minister's critique. Likewise in the second picture, which is also used by other newspapers showing the three ministers in muddy boots, the picture is inserted as the third part of the same story "Life, Reality and Lie" (30.10.2014:1, see Appendix A). In this news, a picture of the newborn infant of a stuck miner is depicted as 'Life'; a miner relative's effort to dig the ground by hand with the hope for a better emptying of the flooded water as 'Reality'; and the ministers' picture showing them in muddy boots is depicted as 'Lie' to denounce them. Secondly, in Birgün's coverage, we see a similar tendency not to give place to visual representations of the government authorities. Instead, they are depicted only as portraits in the news they are referred, i.e., just to inform the reader about the spokesperson's identity. Therefore, we can say that both in Birgün and Cumhuriyet there is a conscious choice of not giving place to visual representations of the government authorities. Finally, in Zaman, the government authorities are more visible compared to Birgün and Cumhuriyet but they are not foregrounded unlike the pro-government newspapers. Instead, they are depicted in small pictures and not as single individuals but with a group of people around them. This is most apparent in Zaman's depiction of the president Erdoğan in the same news where he is criticizing "intolerant bosses" who misbehaved to the contrary of the government's regulations. In that news (Zaman, 30.10.2014: 14), we do not see the president Erdoğan either as foregrounded or sustaining his hierarchy. Instead, he is just getting out of the car and we can see only his head as there are lots of surrounding people. Another interesting feature in terms of visual representation of the government authorities, they do not look at the viewer directly but instead looking down as if they are guilty of something. In other words, in Zaman's depiction, beyond sustaining their hierarchy or enjoying an exclusive status, their faces are down as if they are ashamed.

In the newspapers of our final category, Hürriyet and Posta, there is a contrasting visual depiction of the government authorities. Thus in Posta we see that the newspaper uses same pictures of Erdoğan and the three ministers in muddy boats but

instead of overemphasizing them it prefers to mention them minimally and with direct quotation. Therefore, rather than assigning affirmative or critical reinterpretations, it simply informs the viewer about what they say (Posta, 30.10.2014: 16). A salient feature of Posta is that pathetic representations of the sufferers are given more space than the government authorities also in terms of visual representation. On the other hand, in Hürriyet we see a kind of visual representation which is very similar to the pro-government newspapers. Hence, it foregrounds the government authorities but not overemphasize them in contrast to the pro-government newspapers. For instance, the same news in which the president Erdoğan is pictured as listening to a miner (30.10.2014: 18) is given very smaller compared to Sabah and Yeni Şafak. However, this does not mean that Hürriyet takes a critical stance in visual depiction of the government authorities. Rather, they are depicted again with *indirect address*, *close shot* with *frontal angle* in which the viewer is again invited to interaction but with preserving the elite status of the government authorities.

4.4.2 Visual Representations of the Sufferers

In this part, we intend to look for some of the ways of depicting the sufferers visually in news photos, who are understood here again as the deceased miners, their relatives and as well as the surviving miners.

To begin with the pro-government newspapers the photos depicting the sufferers are seemed to be used to strengthen their pathetic representations. To this end, the sufferers presented mostly as *patients* rather than *agents* involved in action. In terms of distance, they are depicted with *close shots* in which their faces or body are apparently visible. However, the choice of using close shot is not the same as in the visual representation of government authorities. In case of authorities, close shot serves to sustain their elite position and to remind the viewer hierarchical position between officials and her. Conversely, in case of the sufferers, its use contributes to create a sense of pity and sensitiveness between the viewer and the suffering person. In other words, in terms of the relation formed, the sufferers are brought to the fore by the use of *frontal* angle and they are shot mostly in the *eye level*. In this way, the two

of van Leeuwen's three strategies of visual representation strategies are realized: "*disempowerment*" which means to represent people below from us and "*objectivation*" which constitutes the people as objects to our gaze (van Leeuwen, 2008: 141). Hence, these people are treated as patients who are depicted mostly in actions like 'crying', 'holding their children' or 'digging the ground with their bare hands desperately' and so on. Although they are shown as specific individuals, this individualization by no means provide them an active agent status but rather they are *objectivated* to create a sense of pity in the viewer.

In the two oppositional newspapers, Cumhuriyet and Birgün, visual depiction of the sufferers are nearly nonexistent except Cumhuriyet's use of some agency photos which are not taken by its correspondents. The lack of visual depiction of the sufferers in these two newspapers might be related to their conscious abstaining from creating sense of pity against them through pathetic representations. Instead, in line with their linguistic representation of the sufferers, they seem to preserve their agent status by foregrounding what they think, express or react rather than objectivating them in photos as objects to our gaze. On the other hand, in the third newspaper in the oppositional newspapers category, Zaman, we see a similar strategy of pathetic representations of the sufferers in their visual representations. To illustrate, in one of these photos (30.10.2014: 4) there are three women and two children. They are pictured by using *close shot* in order to lessen the distance between the viewer and those depicted relatives. Likewise, they are pictured at the same level with the viewer by using *eye level* shot but they are sidelined and in this way detached from the viewer. In the meantime, they do not look at the viewer but to different directions which leads to *indirect addressing*. In this way, they are *objectivated* to become scenes of our gaze. The adult women are pictured as thoughtful while one of the children is crying and the other lowers his head. Thus the picture invites us again to develop the sense of pity against those people who are depicted as a half grieved half thoughtful group which deletes their agent status. The picture seems to strengthen the news's narrative mentioning "Tears are increasing as hopes are fading".

86

In the newspapers of our third category, Posta and Hürriyet, we see a similar strategy of depicting the sufferers pathetically. In both newspapers, the sufferers depicted with *close shot* and from *frontal angle* to reduce distance between the viewer and them. The sufferers are mostly involved in actions like crying or grieving. Likewise, they are mostly depicted as groups of people rather than as specific individuals. Even when they are represented as specific individuals they are *objectivated* either as looking down (e.g. Posta, 31.10.2014: 20) or with colorful spots attached to their pictures in order to intensify their pathetic representation (e.g. Hürriyet, 31.10.2014: 16). In either representations, eye level shot from frontal angle is used but this does not go beyond intensifying their objectivation. In other words, they are again not depicted as agents but *patients* who are given the role of being objects of the viewer's scrutiny rather than being interacting agents with equal status.

4.5 Concluding Remarks

In this chapter we have tried to apply methodological tools developed by van Leeuwen for analyzing social actors and actions to the news in our sample. For this purpose, we have specified some categories for analyzing actors as government authorities, oppositional politicians, experts, the sufferers and the distant others. Likewise, we specified two categories for analyzing action as explanations on the possible reasons for the mine disaster and responsibilities assigned to actors. Finally, for the visual representations of actors we have analyzed the two most visually depicted actors as government authorities and the sufferers in news photos. For the newspapers in our sample we have proposed three categories emanating from their political positioning as the pro-government newspapers (*Sabah* and *Yeni Şafak*); the anti-government newspapers (Birgün, Cumhuriyet and Zaman) and highly circulated mainstream newspapers without open political positioning (*Hürriyet* and *Posta*).

In terms of linguistic representations of actions in those newspapers, we have witnessed that in the pro-government newspapers the physical cause of 'flooding' is prioritized over possible political causes. We see a similar tendency for expressing flooding as the main reason for the disaster in the two newspapers of our third

category. In those two lines of newspapers, we perceive a narrative as if the water broke into the mine by itself. Conversely, in the oppositional newspapers political reasons are prioritized over the physical cause of flooding. Although Zaman's opposition is more vague and generalized in compared to Birgün and Cumhuriyet, in general we might say that their emphases on political responsibility is important in the sense of enabling alternative ways of thinking the incident not as a natural but as a social disaster. Unlike strategies of deagentialization and eventuation in the pro-government as well as in Posta and Hürriyet, in the oppositional newspapers we see more references are made to political reasons and possible responsibilities of political authorities.

Secondly, in terms of assigning responsibilities to actors, the pro-government newspapers seem to specify the owner of the mine as the only responsible actor for the disaster. Thus he has a highly active representation but this activation is used to relate him with a number of pejorative actions. We have seen that by foregrounding the boss as the sole responsible person for the disaster, these newspapers achieve two things: First, the disaster actually is an extraordinary situation and it can be prevented with responsibly behaving bosses. Second, no reference is made to possible external factors as well as the government authorities' possible involvement in the disaster as the sole responsible actor is the boss himself. Instead, the government authorities are depicted as 'saviors', 'problem solvers' who will punish all responsible actors in the name of the sufferers. On the other hand, in the two anti-government newspapers, Birgün and Cumhuriyet, in addition to responsibilities of the boss, we witness to a more critical reference to external factors like the policies of AKP government or the insecure structure of mining sector. Thus in the two newspapers the mine disaster is not considered an anomie emanated from misbehaviors of the bosses but rather as a continuation of other mine disasters which are all rooted at more macro reasons like insecurity, privatization and subcontracting in the mining sector. The third oppositional newspaper Zaman also seemed to prioritize political responsibility over the boss's responsibility by giving place to news emphasizing factors like the Omnibus Bill or deaths in work accidents during the AKP government. Nevertheless, its

opposition is tend to be more generalized and abstract rather than specific and direct unlike the two other oppositional newspapers. Finally, concerning the newspapers of our third category, in Hürriyet we see a convincing amount of information on cruel administration by the boss. However, when it comes to expand the critique towards government authorities the newspaper prefers to use a moderate criticism. To illustrate, on the same page where it seems to criticize the ministry of labor for its failure of hearing the miners' complaints, there is also a news nearby stating that the ministry actually did its duty by having warned the mine against the danger of flood (31.10.2014: 8). Thus we may say that Hürriyet benefits from strategies of deactivation and backgrounding of political actors in terms of possible responsibilities they might have in the disaster. In Posta, on the other hand, the direction of criticism is also towards the poor working conditions of the mine whose responsibility belongs to the boss. Different from Hürriyet, there is almost no critique of the government authorities but they are presented rather as 'problem solvers' similar to the pro-government newspapers.

With respect to linguistic representations of actors, in the pro-government newspapers we witness to overrepresentation of the government authorities by continuously referring to them in every possible ways in the event. In those representations they are highly activated whose identities and actions are openly emphasized. Likewise, they are highly differentiated with their unique identities and their actions are also functionalized in the sense that they are represented not only with who they are but also with what they do (e.g. giving orders, examining operations on the site etc.). They are often quoted directly to increase credibility of their statements.

Second, in terms of linguistic representation of other oppositional politicians, they are almost absent in the pro-government newspapers in the first three days' coverage. Thus, they are effectively suppressed in those newspapers considering that their declarations are highly likely to include critiques of the government policies which is against the strategies of these two newspapers.

Third, we also do not see any references being made to the experts in the pro-government newspapers. Instead, they choose to give place to official declarations of the government authorities which does not require backing by an expert opinion considering the fact that they are already highly credible.

Fourth, in representing the sufferers, the pro-government newspapers intensely represented the relatives of deceased miners as individualized and specified. However, this specification does not lead to constitute them as active agents whose actions are transactive, i.e. including an emphasis both on the actor and the goal she performs. Rather, they are represented what Gökalp et al. called in their discussion of representation of poverty in the media as "pathetic representation" (2010: 161). The sufferers act in some ways in those representations but their actions are reduced to the ones which aim to create a sense of pity (e.g. being "tearful", "grieved" etc.). In other words, they are highly dramatized in those representations and individualization of them only serve to strengthen this dramatization.

Fifth, in representing the distant others, we encounter with an absence of them as well as of their actions and reactions in those two pro-government newspapers. In our opinion, the reason for this might be similar to absence of oppositional politicians in order to fend off possible criticisms of the government authorities which the actions of the distant others potentially include (e.g. slogans they use in those demonstrations).

In the oppositional newspapers, we have found following tendencies with respect to linguistic representations of actors. First, in Birgün and Cumhuriyet, the government authorities also seem to be represented as active, specific individuals because of their elite status. However unlike the pro-government newspapers, here their activation does not serve to strengthen their 'problem solver' roles but it is rather linked with negative connotations to stress their responsibility for the occurrence of the mine disaster (e.g. Cumhuriyet's main heading on October 31 as "the Erdoğan Disaster", see Appendix A). The politicians are blamed for telling already known facts as newly discovered solutions or making government propaganda in order to hide political responsibility of the government. In Zaman, we do not see such negative connotations

of the government authorities but rather they are subjected to underrepresentation in contrast to their overrepresentations in the pro-government newspapers. For instance, statements by the Prime Minister or the president Erdoğan are given smaller space and expressed only in passing although they are highlighted very much by the pro-government newspapers. Therefore, it is possible to claim that the government authorities are less foregrounded in Zaman.

Second, considering representations of the oppositional politicians, Birgün and Cumhuriyet seem to leave more space to them. The same strategies of individualization, specification and functionalization are also given to oppositional politicians because of their elite status. However, what distinguishes these two newspapers' from the pro-government newspapers is that they openly quote critiques by the oppositional politicians who express the government's responsibility in the disaster as well as deficiencies in rescue operations. This leads to breaking their image of 'problem solver' that they seem to enjoy in the representations in the pro-government newspapers. In the third oppositional newspaper Zaman we also encounter with representations of oppositional politicians but it is realized by generalizing them under the common category of 'opposition'. In this way, politicians from different political parties with different ideologies are merged together in a sense erasing ideological differences among them. Likewise, we perceive another tendency in Zaman by leaving their statements untouched, i.e., not providing further comments on them, just as it does the same in declarations of the government authorities. Therefore, Zaman might be seen as abstaining from extending statements of politicians or extending their critique.

Third, regarding representations of the experts we see in Birgün and Cumhuriyet they are used to support the newspapers' claims on criticizing the government policies as well as structuring of the mining sector into a privatized, insecure structure. The two newspapers also make reference to increasing deaths in work under the AKP government. Thus, the experts who speak in those representations are highly active and critical against the government's possible role in the occurrence of the mine

disaster. In Zaman expert opinion is also used to discuss the newspaper's claims on assigning responsibility to the government and inefficient legal regulations. However, this assignment is realized again in a generalized way which makes the critique of the government authorities vague in contrast to the other two oppositional newspapers.

Fourth, with respect to the linguistic representation of the sufferers, unlike the pro-government newspapers whose depictions of the sufferers aim to represent them pathetically, in the two oppositional newspapers we see the sufferers represented as active, individualized and functionalized agents as much as the government authorities. In this way, Birgün and Cumhuriyet break the status quo of assigning functionalization or cognitive-rational reactions only to the government authorities. Instead, they quote them openly and not only as patients expressing emotional reactions but also as agents criticizing the government authorities and the government policies. In other words, through their representation in these two oppositional newspapers, the sufferers are freed from being mere pathetic objects but they gain an active status in which not only their emotions but also their critiques are valued. However, in Zaman, a similar pathetic representation of the sufferers comes to the fore. Although they are occasionally depicted as reacting to the politicians, these reactions are all seemed to be aggregated and undetermined into reactions of anonymous groupings like "some miners reacted", "some miner relatives said" and so on.

Finally, as the fifth category of actors, the distant others are also given an active and specified representations in Birgün and Cumhuriyet. Their identities, actions and reactions are explicitly referred which make their representations active, specified and functionalized. In most of their actions, the distant sufferers are involved in public demonstrations with slogans blaming both the government policies and also more macro structures like neoliberalism, subcontracting in the mining sector etc. Nevertheless, in Zaman we do not see any representation of actions of the distant others. In that sense, Zaman shares the same tendency with the pro-government newspapers in which no place is given to the actions and reactions of the distant others.

We have related this tendency to the newspaper's general policy of not giving place to public demonstrations as a conservative newspaper.

Regarding the newspapers of our third category, i.e., as mainstream newspapers with high circulation without open political positioning, we see a similar tendency for representing the government authorities just like the pro-government newspapers. Thus, in those newspapers they are represented as specific, active individuals who are highly functionalized and directly quoted and whose statements are regarded as highly credible. Although in Posta they are given less space than Hürriyet, it does not give way to suppress or background them. Instead, depiction of the government authorities remain secondary considering physical limitations since Posta seems to give more weight to pathetic representations of the sufferers.

Second, in terms of representations of oppositional politicians, we see that they are not absent as in the pro-government newspapers but they are instead given less space so that they remain secondary in comparison to the government authorities. One strategy by Hürriyet is very interesting here that the newspaper places opinion of an oppositional politician and of a minister side by side in order to balance critique and support in the same place at the same time (30.10.2014: 16). Thus these two newspapers might be said to abstain consciously from making direct criticisms to the government or to its authorities but they make it moderately by balancing out criticisms with official statements.

Third, in terms of representation of experts, we do not see any reference to expert opinion in the first three days' coverage in Posta. On the contrary, Hürriyet seems to benefit from expert opinion a lot even by giving place to experts from the left. We have claimed that existence of such critiques might be linked to their limited scope as critiques of the boss and his poor administration. Hence, it is doubtful same radical opinions by experts might have founded themselves a place if the direction of critique was the government authorities.

Fourth, in terms of representation of the sufferers, we witness a similar tendency for creating sensitiveness and pity in the reader through pathetic representations of the

sufferers, which was also the dominant strategy in the pro-government newspapers. They are represented mostly with their emotional statuses like crying, grieving, waiting in pain and so on. Fifth, with respect to linguistic representations of the distant others, they also seem to give place to identities and actions of the distant others like the two oppositional newspapers, i.e. Birgün and Cumhuriyet. However, representations of the distant others and their actions are eventuated and depicted, which are mostly devoid of a critical tone.

Finally, in terms of visual representations we have analyzed the two most prominent visually depicted actors in those newspapers. These are the government authorities and the sufferers respectively. First of all, with respect to visual representation of the government authorities, we have seen that in the pro-government newspapers they use photographs taken with close shot to reduce the distance between the viewer and the depicted official. However, by using indirect address in which these authorities do not look directly to the viewer, those visuals seem to sustain their hierarchical position. In other words, you look at them as the viewer but they do not look at you since their statuses are superior to yours. Likewise, they are often positioned as constituting the focal point in the news photo where the people around them are often blurred. This tendency is valid especially for visually depicting the president Erdoğan. The Prime Minister Davutoğlu and other ministers seem to go into interaction with the sufferers for instance by 'hugging' them, 'listening to' them or standing 'side by side' with them. Hence, they are hierarchically in a secondary position compared to Erdoğan's centrality who rarely comes into interaction with the sufferers. On the other hand, in the two oppositional newspapers, Birgün and Cumhuriyet we see a completely different strategy. Thus, the government authorities are not visually depicted in those newspapers, except two pictures used by Cumhuriyet. Even these two photos are used to denounce their 'problem solver' image by depicting them in contrast to what they claim. Similarly, the government authorities are almost absent visually in Birgün where they are pictured only as portraits for identification purposes. In Zaman, the government authorities are more visible compared to the other two oppositional newspapers but they are not foregrounded or overrepresented as they are in the pro-

government newspapers. Finally, in Posta and Hürriyet, we see a differentiation among them while depicting the government authorities visually. In that sense, while Hürriyet's depiction shares similarities with the pro-government newspapers by foregrounding the government authorities, in Posta they are pictured in very small photos in which no effort seems to be made to foreground them. Indeed, in Posta, pathetic representations of the sufferers are given more space than the government authorities.

As our final category, visual representation of the sufferers, we see that several newspapers that we put under different categories actually employ similar strategies for pathetic representations of the sufferers in news photos. Thus, except from Birgün and Cumhuriyet, in the other five newspapers we have seen that the sufferers are depicted with close shot and frontal angle. Thus, although some sort of invitation is created with the use of these tools, they are by no means constitute the sufferers as equal participants of a communicative action. Instead, they are treated as patients who are disempowered, i.e. as people below from us, and objectivated, i.e., as objects of our scrutiny. Conversely, in the two oppositional newspapers Birgün and Cumhuriyet, we see a conscious choice of not using the visual depictions of the sufferers in order to refrain from subjecting them to pathetic representations. Thus, in line with their linguistic representations of the sufferers, these two newspapers seem to maintain the sufferers' active agent status by abstaining from objectivating them also in the news photos.

In conclusion, we have seen in this chapter that our assumption on the discursive constructions of the disaster are effectively conducted in those newspapers we have analyzed to explain, cover up and indeed close the meaning in certain ways. In line with their political leanings, those newspapers seemed to construct reasons, responsibilities and actors involved in the disaster accordingly. Those strategic constructions are important in the sense that they are not only remain at the textual level but they also –at least– influence ways of experiencing the event either as a sufferer who directly experienced the disaster or as a distant other who come to know

about the disaster through these representations. As we shall see in the following chapter, the mine disaster should not be seen neither as a reflection of structural factors nor as a mere representational incident in which only symbolic forms are influential. Instead, as we have claimed throughout the thesis it should be seen as an interlocking point of what we perceive as 'the context', i.e., transformation of the mining sector in Turkey into a highly privatized, insecure sector and the 'construction' which emanates from its strategic representations as a media event. As our study focuses more on the construction side, in the following chapter we will investigate to what extent those representations influence ways of experiencing the event by the sufferers while we will be telling a story of the mine disaster.

CHAPTER V

THE MINE DISASTER AS AN INTERLOCKING POINT OF THE CONTEXT AND CONSTRUCTION

5.1 Introduction

Up to this point we have discussed how the Ermenek mine disaster was constructed as a media event in which different discourses compete to explain, cover up and indeed close the meaning with respect to certain ideological positions. We have claimed that people never interact with material conditions of their existence directly, but rather through mediation by ideology to understand the world and their place in it. As Norman Fairclough claims, between social actors and social structures there are "social practices" through which these two layers of social reality come together (2003: 25). As a result, media representations constitute one form of these social practices which strategically construct and narrate people, events and places in particular ways. Thus it is this intermediary function of discursive construction of actors, events and places in particular ways that we have assumed as having an impact especially on the sufferers who directly experienced the event and on the distant others who come into interaction with this suffering by mediation of news discourse. However, this is by no means to claim that all social phenomena might be reduced to discursive constructions. For this reason, we have preferred to name our research as "media-centered" rather than "media-centric" (Morley, 2009). We agree with the idea that there are social structures external to the domain of discourse, i.e. existence of a 'non-discursive' space, and here what we perceive as 'the context' of the mine disaster is also somewhere beyond the domain of discourse. In other words, the context of the Ermenek mine disaster is actually the transformation of coal mining into an increasingly a flexible, insecure and privatized sector under the AKP government. As we have found in our analysis of the news texts in the previous chapter, it is this

context that media representations strategically suppress by individualizing, eventuating and decontextualizing the disaster.

Keeping these points in mind, in this final chapter we intend to tell a story of the Ermenek mine disaster based on semi-structured interviews we made with the sufferers, i.e., relatives of the deceased miners and some of the surviving miners. As we have argued in the Introduction this is for giving the sufferers a chance to tell what happened in their own words. Likewise, it might be a vital opportunity to see to what extent discourses those narratives of the sufferers converge and diverge from the news discourse as well as to the extent of effects of those representational strategies on those narratives.

Before moving to how the chapter is structured, we intend to give brief information regarding the field research. First of all, we used snowball sampling to make contacts in the field. We reached a contact person from Konya and he gave us contact details of the relatives of the deceased miners. By using his reference we managed to establish contacts with other useful people in Ermenek, who would provide us further access in the district. There were eighteen families who lost one of his members in the mine disaster as well as there were eight surviving miners. Within the scope of our field research, we managed to interview with at least one person from the seventeen families who lost one of their members in the mine disaster. Among the eight surviving miners we managed to talk five of them. In addition, we interviewed with three miners who live in the region but was not affected from the mine disaster. In sum, we interviewed with a total of thirty three persons who dispersed into two districts and four villages in total. The interviews were conducted between January 24 and February 7, 2016 which lasted around fifteen days.

This chapter is divided into three parts. In the first part, we will discuss 'background of the disaster' which will include a discussion on 'the context' of the disaster. Here, economic structure of the district and place of mining in it as well as working conditions in Ermenek in general and in that specific mine 'Has Şekerler' in particular will be argued. We will also provide some information regarding hardships

experienced by those miner families before the disaster. Furthermore, this part will also include a brief discussion on the Omnibus Bill which came into force after the Soma mine disaster and seemed to have drastic effects on the Ermenek region too.

The second part of the chapter aims to narrate 'outbreak of the disaster', i.e., how these people experienced the disaster as a lived event and what they thought about rescue operations and the government authorities' actions at that time. It will also include a discussion on whom the sufferers assign responsibility for the mine disaster. Here we assume that fueled by media representations, it should be less likely for them to extend the scope of responsibility to more macro actors and dimensions, i.e., politicians or structural characteristics of the mining sector.

Finally, in the third part of this chapter we will argue what happened 'after the disaster'. In this context, what they thought about our assumed situation of 'being visible with the disaster' will be a matter of discussion. As our second point of inquiry in this part, sources of visit, support and aids made to the families following the disaster will be discussed. We believe that this is another important dimension that can provide important insights into whether differences in visibility between the sufferers created by media representations led to "hidden injuries" (Sennett and Cobb, 1977), i.e., differences in interest shown and aids made to them. These two dimensions will be the place of controlling our central claim that media representations do not only have an effect on discursive construction of the disaster as a media event but they also influence the very experiencing of the event itself by creating injuries. It is realized both in the moment of representation as unwanted exposure of the sufferers to those representational strategies and also in the aftermath of the disaster as creating differences in interest and aids.

5.2 Background of the Disaster

This part aims to discuss the context of the mine disaster which we regard here as coal mining and working conditions in mining in Ermenek. The disaster's background will be discussed in three parts. The first part provides some information regarding the district, its economy and place of mining in this structure as well as type of firms and

volume of their production. In the second part, we intend to discuss working conditions in mining in the region in order to point out how the situation was in terms of working conditions before the mine disaster. Finally, in the third part we will discuss the Omnibus Bill and its effects on the working conditions in the region that will link our discussion to the outbreak of the disaster.

5.2.1 The Economy of Ermenek and the Place of Mining in It

Ermenek is a county of Karaman province with a three hundred thousand population in the southwestern part of central Anatolia. It has an unfortunate geography where a very rugged terrain limits agriculture in wide lands. Instead, people are left with small amounts of land enabling only fruit growing in which grapes, apple, cherry and walnut constitute the main products. Because of small lands, production costs and infertile nature of agriculture, most of the people in our sample mentioned that their agricultural activity is only for subsistence. Likewise, livestock raising in the region is also limited again due to the structure of land which constraints pasture areas.[12] As a result of such unsuitable structure of land, mining is an irreplaceable sector in the region. As illustrated in one of the news having made after the disaster with the heading "People in Ermenek have to either study or work in a mine", there is no third alternative exist for the people in region. Responding our question about whether this was the case one of the respondents said:

> "Those who manage to study gets a job. If he fails to succeed, he directly goes to mine. We do not have another option [she means subsistence]. He will either go to the city to find a job or if he says that he would not go as he does not like the city, then he has to go down the mine. We do not have another source of income, not another option" (Respondent number four, female, domestic laborer, wife of a deceased miner)[13]

---

[12] According to a report on the county by the regionally responsible Mevlana Development Agency (MEVKA) agricultural lands constitute only 20.90 percent of the total land while only 9.79 percent of the total land in the county is composed of pasture areas. Therefore, Ermenek is seen as below averages of both Karaman and Turkey in terms of percentage of lands available for agriculture (MEVKA, 2014: 2-3).

[13] "Okuyan başını gurtarabilirse bir meslek sahibi oluyor. Gazanabilirse bir şey oluyor, gazanamazsa direk madene gidiyor. Başka seçim [geçim] kaynağımız yok bizim. Çalışma, para edecek bizim… Ya

As the respondent seems to accept, alternatives are very limited in the region in terms of doing another job. Investments are also rare because of transportation costs which again as a result of rugged terrain and it makes transportation too long and difficult compared to alternative routes. Indeed, during our interviews, we had an impression that the bosses in the region ('*ağa*' in local language) consciously hesitate to invest in alternative sectors in the region because of not letting the cheap and disorganized labor force quit mining. Instead, they are claimed to earn the money from operating mines in Ermenek but invest in other sectors in other provinces like Konya or Antalya, which abolishes the possibility of finding another job in alternative sectors in the district.

In terms of the types of mining firms, they are mostly privately owned small enterprises which have been owned by a few families since the late 1960s. According to a news in Hürriyet, mining activity has been done in the field, Ermenek Cenne Mining Co., since 1967 and the company was established in 1976. Two families, Özbey and Uyar, control all the firms in the site and owners of those firms are also relatives to each other. Thus the site was composed of nine mining corporations at that time which owners of the firms working as subcontractors to the main firm Cenne were at the same time its shareholders (Hürriyet, 30.10.2014: 8). Compared to the mine sites belonging to Turkish Coal Enterprises (TKİ) where the state makes royalty contracts with private firms in return for a royalty share, which is taken either as coal or as money from the subcontractor, the volume of production in Ermenek is very less than the amount of lignite produced in TKİ's sites. According to a report by the Chamber of Geological Engineers (JMO), which is an affiliated chamber within TMMOB (Union of Turkish Engineers and Architects), the amount of 'declared' production in the region was "88.000 tons in 2010, 97.000 tons in 2011, 178.000 tons in 2012 and 179.000 tons in 2013" (JMO, 04.11.2014). However, as also mentioned in the report those declared amounts seem very suspicious since those firms are

---

gidip şehirde bi iş bulacak, yok şehiri sevmiyorum gitmem derse madene gitmek zorunda yani. Başka gelir kaynağı, bişey yok" (Dördüncü görüşmeci, kadın, ev emekçisi, madenci eşi).

claimed to involve in illegal production. In fact this was also often stressed by some of the respondents in our interviews:

> "[After the Omnibus Bill] [e]veryone closed [the mines] but don't you [the boss] earn that money? You earn double. How does he earn? As I said, he operates in four chimneys where he mines illegal coal but he shows [only] one chimney to the inspectors. He gets money from the state by saying that he is making losses. He does not draw it [the production made] on the map but its project is drawn at the surface. It tells you that this part of the mine has already mined so you can mine in those other three areas. It says that this part has already mined however there is more coal than it [the map] shows. He gets that coal illegally. Who does give you a fuck in case you are dead [as a worker involved in that illegal production]? He forces you to get that coal from there. In other words, he drags you to death. Namely, he postpones the coal in his project and first mines the illegal coal." (Respondent number six, male, unemployed, brother of a deceased miner)[14]

Hence, although we were told that the maximum amount of coal to be mined by a team composed of four to five miners shall be no more that fifteen tons in eight hours in order to provide a safe working environment, the respondents in our sample stressed that the miners were actually forced the workers to produce more. Indeed, we were told that sometimes the duration of work was decided not in terms of hours but a specified production quota expected in each shift. It means as a worker you were allowed to leave the job only after you reached the daily quota independent of how many hours you work. On this point, a respondent claimed that

> "For instance, they tell you fifty wagons. You stay at work until you finish mining that fifty wagons of coal. If you manage to mine it by noon you can go off. But [if you fail] you have to work when it is finished, until the evening. Thus sometimes it was not like this [working hourly] but they specify kabala*. In other words, coal, the only motivation they have is to mine [more] coal" (Respondent number five, male, public servant, brother of a deceased miner)[15]

---

[14] [Torba Yasa'dan sonra] Herkes [ocakları] kapattı ama sen o parayı gazanmıyon mu, iki gatıyla gazanıyon. Nası gazanıyo, dediğim gibi dört baca çalıştırıyor gaçak kömür alıyor içerden ama denetleyicilere bi baca gösteriyor. Zarar ediyom diye devletten para alıyor. İşletmiyo şimdi dışardan projesi mesela yeryüzünde projesi çizilmiş bunun. Diyo ki sana şurası alınmış diyo, sen şurdan şöyle şu üçünü alabilirsin diyo. Şurası alınmış diyo zaten burda da kömür var ama burayı kaçakla alıyor. Sen ölürsen afedersin kimin sikinde? Burayı sen alacan diye seni buraya katıyo. Ölüme sürüklüyor yani seni. Yani kendi projesindeki kömürü sonraya bırakıyo, önce o şeyi [kaçağı] alıyo" (Altıncı görüşmeci, erkek, işsiz, madenci kardeşi)

[15] "Mesela sana 50 vagon diyollar, 50 vagonu çıkarasana kadar kalıyorsun. 50 vagonu mesela öğlen çıkarı bitirisen öğlen çıkar gidersin. [Ama çıkaramazsan] [a]aşama kadar beklersin. İşte öyle [vardiya

In the interviews we heard lots of reproaches with regard to how poor working conditions were in the region. In the second part below, we seek to discuss those working conditions before the disaster.

5.2.2 Working Conditions in the Region before the Mine Disaster

In the previous part we have emphasized that a few families owned and operated the mining companies in the region which are small family enterprises. Those families earn money from the mining and invest it to other sectors in other provinces not to allow emergence of alternative sectors in the region. Workers on the other hand face hardships in terms of working conditions which we intend to discuss here.

First of all, in the region there has never been such a thing as unionization. As a result, labor force in mining is completely disorganized. Consequently, the bosses perform arbitrary actions over the workers just like not paying their wages, dismissing them whenever they want or doing everything possible for preventing a quitting miner to get his deserved compensation or to find a job in another mine. For these reasons, the workers we talked to asserted that they had nothing to do for defending their rights against arbitrary decisions of the bosses or rough working conditions.

Thus the *ağas* in the region seem to establish their own order in which they arbitrarily regulate working conditions without a serious counter reaction by workers. Another example to this arbitrariness is temporality in the job, that is, the workers work sometimes fifteen, sometimes ten days in a month and they are sent unpaid leave for the remaining days based on the boss's claim that no need for mining coal as there is no sale. Furthermore, they are often unpaid for long periods of time like three months or more again based on the assertion that the sales are not good. Then, they are advised to continue to work but wait for the payment.

---

usülü] değil, kabala da veriyollardı. Yani kömür, bunların derdi fikri kömür başka bişe değil yani" (Beşinci görüşmeci, erkek, memur, madenci abisi)

* Kabala: an expression used in the region for arrangement of work not according to hours but to daily production quota.

Under these circumstances domestic economy of miner families are severely affected from this negative economic conditions. During the interviews we were told lots of stories similar to each other telling the hardships they had to struggle while no income was brought to the house. Thus it is apparent that even the wages were very low before the Omnibus Bill, which they were raised to two minimum wages after following the Soma mine disaster, the bosses again were not paying wages in time with similar excuses. Indeed, the relatives we talked to seemed as not convinced with the idea that actually the bosses were struggling with economic hardships. Rather, most of them seemed to claim that the bosses earned lots of money to use in other means but when it comes to pay the wages they state that they cannot.

> "If the bosses say that they are making losses, it is a lie. You go to Cyprus, gamble and hang out with women there, then you don't pay wages of the citizen [He means worker]. In other words, it is impossible for them to make losses, instead they do this to earn more. How can a mine make loss where you produce 40-50 tons in a day from a single chimney? In the past [when the wages were low] the workers worked two days for themselves and the remaining twenty eight days for the boss. Now although wages have been increased, the order is the same, i.e., the ağa again makes profit. However, when he pays 2000 [liras] he urges the worker more. He cuts the food, he makes cuts in everything" (Respondent number twelve, male, retired, father of a deceased miner)[16]

We have stated that the workers had no capacity to counter arbitrary decisions of the bosses. This was also true when they tried to reach the complaint line "Alo 170" established by the Ministry of Labor and Social Security for the miners deliver their complaints. Although it was also specified in the news having made following the disaster, "There were 124 calls [to the complaint line] but not a single person had heard" (Hürriyet, 31.10.2014: 11), neither before nor after the disaster the miners seemed to make themselves heard to the authorities. On this point, an interviewee who was also working as a miner at the time of interview complained that

---

[16] "Maden patronları zarar ettim diyorsa yalan. Sen git Kıbrıs'ta kumar oyna, hovardalık et, sonra vatandaşın emeğini vermiyorsun. Yani bunların zarar etmeleri mümkün değil, daha çok kazanacaz diye öyle yapıyorlar. Günlük bir bacadan 40-50 ton kömür çıkan yer zarar mı eder? Önceden [asgari ücret düşük iken] iki gün kendilerine yirmi sekiz gün patronlara çalışırlardı. Şimdi asgari ücret yükselse bile düzen aynı ağa yine kazanıyor. Yalnız iki bin [lira] verdiği zaman işçiyi daha fazla sıkıştırıyor. Yemeği kısıtlıyor, her yerden kısıtlıyor" (Onikinci görüşmeci, erkek, emekli, madenci babası)

"Right now this man [the boss] has given us unpaid leave for a week since January 1. He said "I gave you leave". We said OK and did not go to work for a week. He had sent a message to the village and said "They shall come back to the work if they work for 1900 liras". We did not go. We ask him to give 2160 liras which was the old wage according to the last year's law. He had told that he couldn't. We as workers came together and went to the mine and we said "Okay since you don't earn money, give us the old wage, 2160 liras". He responded that he could not. He hardly made an increase of 100 lira, to 2000 lira, and that was all. For example, this month he gave us 1000 lira as wage, 1000 lira! The president is shouting, Tayyib is shouting but all for nothing. You call 170 [and nothing happens]. If you are responsible in there you must perform your duty. Here everybody is the same including the district governor.

[Our voice] cannot be heard to nowhere, it reaches nowhere" (Respondent seven, male, mine worker, brother of a deceased miner)[17]

Lastly, with respect to physical conditions of the mine before the disaster, the respondents mentioned serious absences of material and safety measures in the mine Has Şekerler. One of the most obvious lack was drilling machine which is specified as a legal obligation in mines for making control drills of at least twenty five meters before moving to look for whether water or poisonous gases exist in that direction. However, neither in Has Şekerler nor in any other mine in the region this twenty five meters drilling machine has never existed. Again with the same excuse, i.e., the boss's being unable to afford its cost, the workers were left to use a simple three meters drilling machine for controlling what exist in front of them. Nevertheless, there was no point in using a three meters machine as in case of a potential danger of flooding or poisonous gas leakage the distance was too close to escape. After all, the mine disaster had occurred exactly for this reason since the workers were only six meters away from the huge body of water which was exploded and stormed the mine. Indeed, the respondents informed us about that even cheap equipment like properly working gas masks, an alarm system or a simple water pumping system were all nonexistent in

---

[17] "Şu anda biz geçen 1 Ocak'tan beri, 1 Ocak dedi bize bir hafta gafa izni verdi bu adam. "İzin veriyom" dedi. İyi dedik bizde bir hafta getmedik. Bir hafta sonra köye haber göndermiş; "1900 liraya çalışırlarsa gelsin" diye. Biz getmedik. "Eski ücretten versin 2160 liradan" dedik, geçen seneki yasaya göre, "vermem" demiş. İşçi toplandı getti oraya dedik böyle böyle "taam madem gazanamıyorsun bize dedik eski ücretten ver 2160'tan", "vermem" dedi adam. Zorunan 100 lira çıktı, 2000 liraya, başka çıkmadı adam… Mesela bize bu ay maaş yatırdı, 1000 lira yatırdı. 1000 lira! Cumhurbaşkanı bağırıyoru, Tayyib'i bağırıyoru hep boşa bağırıyor abi. 170'i arıyon de felan. Ya sen orda görevliysen yapacaksın. Burda gaymakamı da aynı, hepisi aynı ya!…[Sesimiz] [b]i yere duyurulmuyor abi, bi yere çıkmıyor bizim burdan." (Yedinci görüşmeci, erkek, maden işçisi, madenci kardeşi)

the mine. This showed that even simple safety measures were seen as unnecessary extra costs by the boss rather than caring for the workers or their lives.

In conclusion, the working conditions in Ermenek prior to the mine disaster were harsh in the sense that they were defined by insecurity, lack of unionization, temporality of jobs vis-à-vis arbitrariness of the bosses. They led to a kind of passivation of workers who were experiencing economic hardships, which was also exploited in news discourse to create pathetic representations of the sufferers following the mine disaster. The mine also had material and security problems which were not paid attention simply because of being regarded as extra costs. Finally, we witnessed that there was a conscious policy by the bosses of not investing alternative sectors in the region in order not to let cheap labor to move to alternative jobs.

5.2.3 The Omnibus Bill and Its Effects on the Working Conditions in the Region

After the Soma mine disaster, which was the biggest mine disaster in Turkish history resulted in the killing of three hundred and one miners, the government enacted an Omnibus Bill (Law Number 6552) which brought a number of 'improvements' to working conditions in mining and miners' rights. Those changes included some of the following regulations (Bulut, 2014): First, overwork was prohibited except obligatory and extraordinary situations and working hours were fixed to thirty six hours in a week. In case of a situation which working hours exceed thirty six hours weekly, then the payment had to be done as doubled for each extra hours of work. Second, duration of annual leaves in mines would become four days more than other sectors. Third, maximum duration of work would be six hours in a day and thirty six hours in total in a week.[18] As the fourth and perhaps most controversial regulation in terms of labor relations following its enforcement, minimum wage in underground mining could not be less than two minimum wages. As we shall see below, this was the most

---

[18] However, the government stepped back from this regulation and decided thirty seven and half hours as the maximum duration of work in a week (cited in the news "They did the reverse of what they promised" Cumhuriyet, 31.10.2014: 1).

catastrophic issue in the aftermath of the law. Fifth, age of retirement was reduced from fifty five to fifty in the mining sector.

After enforcement of the Omnibus Bill mine bosses nationwide declared that it was a serious blow to their business. They started either to stop production or to fire some of their workers on the basis that they could not afford increased costs of production. The bosses in Ermenek region followed this trend and they also closed down the mines in the region to protest the Omnibus Bill. In line with what we know as the main contradiction of capitalism between profit and wage, i.e., an increase in the latter seems unacceptable for the former, the bosses claimed that they were losing money and operating the mines were not profitable under those circumstances. However, what was the case in the words of sufferers we interviewed, they were not making losses but "less profit" than they used to be.

We have claimed that the mines in this region involved in illegal production with more worker than they informed MİGEM. The same claim was also stressed by some of the interviewees we spoke when the mines remained close around forty days. Thus while in one village the workers did not accept to work because of the boss's hesitancy in applying regulations brought by the Omnibus Bill, the same mine 'Has Şekerler' was actually continuing production illegally with workers from other villages in Ermenek. In other words, inside of the mine kept geographically changing because of this illegal production while nonworking miners did not know that it was the case. On this issue one of the respondents told us that

> "My son did not go to the work for two months but some others were going from Güneyyurt and also from other places to this mine. They told our boys that they had closed the mine but actually they worked, kept the mine working by concealing it from the state" (Respondent number fourteen, female, domestic laborer, mother of a deceased miner)[19]

---

[19]"İki ay gitmedi benim çocuğum ama Güneyyurt'tan giderlerimiş, başka memleketten de giderlerimiş bu gettiği ocağa. Bizimkilere kapattık dediler, çalışmış, çalıştırmışlar [ocağı] devletten ayrı" (Ondördüncü görüşmeci, kadın, ev emekçisi, madenci annesi)

While the mines were closed in the region, there were negotiations between the administrators of Has Şekerler and the workers for several times. In those negotiations we were told that the administrators laid down some conditions that they would not provide food and transportation services anymore, which meant that everyone would bring his own food and the transportation would have to be arranged by the workers. What was crueler than this proposition was that the boss would not let the workers to go out the mine for meal break or smoking based on the claim that working hours were too shortened –six hours– and he could not afford a loss of an extra hour for breaks. Thus, whereas before the Omnibus Bill the workers were eating in the outside of the mine they would no longer be able to get some fresh air and satisfy their needs outside the mine. Furthermore, the boss negotiated the legal obligation of paying two minimum wages after the Omnibus Bill. The process was that the boss invested the wages in bank in order to avoid an investigation but he requested for the return of 500 liras of the wage by hand to the mine's accounting unit. He delivered those words to the workers by the administrators of the mine and stated that the mine could be reopened only under those conditions. In addition, there was a 'secret agreement' between the mining companies in the region. Accordingly, if one miner sought to resign, then he would not be able to find another job in other firms because of this secret agreement between the companies. In other words, the workers had no choice than accepting these conditions since they had already resisted too long without getting income which worsen their economic conditions. To illustrate, one of the respondents mentioned that

> "My husband or her [the other respondent next to her] husband did not go to the mine for forty, forty five, fifty yes for fifty days! We were drinking this tea without sugar, why, my husband could not buy it. My son was ill. I brought my child to all hospitals in Konya but none of them accepted him, brother. My child had an operation when he was four months old. The doctor [in Konya] told us that "He [her son] has cyst on a very dangerous part of his body [brain] if we ameliorate him he might die". He said "Bring your child to home and wait for his death at home". Yes, he told us this exactly! Therefore, it was not an option not going to the mine, you had to go. If your parents or parents-in-law do not help you, you have no chance to find money. You go and demand money either from her [the other respondent] husband or from my husband's brother live in the vicinity and they can only give you 50, 100 liras. This amount of money only solves your problem for a day and you cannot request money from

another person" (Respondent number four, female, domestic laborer, wife of a deceased miner)[20]

To conclude, we have discussed in this section what happened in Ermenek the aftermath of the enforcement of the Omnibus Bill. We have witnessed that the bosses opposed to regulations enforced by the law which brought extra financial responsibilities. On this basis, like many other mines nationwide, they stopped operating and claimed that they could not afford production costs. Especially the doubled minimum wage and lessened working hours were the most intolerable ones among them. However, in reality, they did not lose money but rather they could not stand with the idea of making less profits than they were used to make in the past. Consequently, the boss of Has Şekerler proposed harsh offers to the workers that they had to eat and rest inside anymore and also they had to arrange transportation by themselves. Thus as working hours lessened in the Omnibus Bill, the boss sought to compensate this by prohibiting the workers to go outside during work time as he could not bear to the idea of losing another one hour of production. Under these harsh circumstances, the miners had to accept the offer as they did not have another option or bargaining power due to the fact that they were already estranged by lack of money they need to reproduce lives of both themselves and their family. Indeed, as we have mentioned, there was even a 'secret agreement' between the different firms if a miner sought to resign from one firm, he would immediately put the black list and could not find a job in other firms. In the end, we can say that the workers in the region was besieged by the harsh working conditions and arbitrariness of the bosses both before and after the Omnibus Bill.

---

[20] "Benim eşim veya bunun [yanındaki diğer madenci eşi] eşi olsun 40 gün 45 gün, 50 gün ocağa gitmediler, 50 gün yani! Biz şo çayı şekersiz içerdik, neden, eşim alamıyodu borcu vardı bunun eşi alamıyodu. Benim çocuğum hastaydı ben çocuğumu Konya'da ne kadar hastane varsa gezdim hiç biri gabul etmedi abi. Benim çocuğum 4 aylıkken ameliyat oldu işte "çok telikeli yerinde kist var biz bunu şey yaparsak ölüm şeyini şey yaparız" veya "götürün" dedi bize doktor açık açık söyledi ki "götürün evde ölümünü bekleyin" dedi yani. Gitmemek yani bişey değil ocağa artık, mutlaka gitmek zorundasın. Annen-baban yardım etmezse veya kayınvaliden-kayınpederin yardım etmezse para bulacak hiçbir şey yok. Bunun eşine varısın veya şorda abisine varısın 50-100 lira para verir. O da senin işini görmez ama bir günlüğüne görür. Bi daha kimseye varamazsın yani." (Dördüncü görüşmeci, kadın, ev emekçisi, madenci eşi)

5.3 Outbreak of the Disaster

Having argued some information regarding how the context was like before the disaster, now in this second part we seek to narrate how these people experienced the disaster as well as what they thought about rescue operations and the government authorities' actions at that time. We also intend to investigate here to whom the sufferers assign responsibility for the mine disaster. We have assumed that media representations might have had an influence on them to determine the extent of responsibility they assigned by the sufferers to more macro factors and dimensions, just like politicians or structural characteristics of the mining sector. Here in this part we want to investigate validity of those reactions over the sufferers' responses.

5.3.1 The Mine Disaster as a Lived Experience

Before its construction as a media event, the mine disaster was above all a lived experienced whose pain were still out there even if one and a half year had been passed when we were conducting interviews. Without objectivating their suffering here we intend to elaborate on how the disaster happened according to their own understandings. To begin with, the mine disaster occurred on October 28, 2014 at around 12.15 pm. Under normal circumstances the miners should have been outside for lunch break. However, as we have mentioned above, the boss had stipulated eating inside on the basis of working hours were shortened by the Omnibus Bill. Therefore, the miners were caught the disaster inside and eight of them managed to escape while eighteen miners were stuck in the mine. Besides, for six of the workers from Aşağı Çağlar village it was their first day at work after the abovementioned closure process following the Omnibus Bill. They all had their own reasons for coming back to work. Two dynamics were prominent in their return. The first one was obvious as they had to earn money for themselves and their family. The second reason was about early retirement. As in the mining sector the retirement age is lower than other jobs, i.e. around forty in mining and sixty in other insured jobs. Likewise, in order to provide themselves and their family to benefit from health care, they have to work in an insured job in which the only option for an insured work in the region is working in a mine.

110

Therefore, most of the respondents in our interview emphasized early retirement as a crucial indicator for the workers' unwillingness to quit. Hence, the early retirement and insurance were two other factors for the workers endure arbitrariness of the bosses as well as though working conditions. From a different point of view, we can say that as the bosses were aware of the workers' dependency to the job for insurance and retirement concerns, they abused this dependency by paying less insurance premiums than a worker's actual numbers of working days. For instance, they were showing a worker as having worked one week, ten days etc. although he had fully worked in a month. This dependency gave way to another abuse by the bosses to threat the worker with firing as they knew that he had to work to complete necessary number of days for retirement. On this point, some of the respondents in our sample informed us that some of the deceased miners would not returned to the work if they had completed their working days necessary for being retired:

> "My son has 150 days left [to complete necessary premium days for retirement]. Moreover, he would get 8-10 thousand liras as compensation. He [came back to work] with those fears by saying 'All in all I have only 150 days, I should not let it go to the waste'" (Respondent number fourteen, female, domestic laborer, mother of a deceased miner)[21]

Most of the relatives expressed their remorse for their failure in preventing their husbands, brothers or sons to rework in the mine. However, we believe that there was nothing for them to feel remorseful as working in mines was the only option for these people to sustain their lives. As they could not earn enough money and provide their family health insurance by any other means, like agriculture being made mostly for subsistence, they had to work in those mines albeit such harsh working conditions. Therefore, to our opinion, responsibility should have been somewhere else like working conditions, the government policies etc. rather than those sufferers. The next

---

[21] "Şimdi benim oğlumun yüz elli günü vardı [emekli olabilmek için gereken prim gün sayısını tamamlamasına]. Bunun dışında 8-10 milyar tazminat parası alacaktı. Bu korkuyla şey yaptı [işe geri döndü]. 'Hepi topu 150 günüm kaldı, bu ziyan olmasın diyerek'" (Ondördüncü görüşmeci, kadın, madenci annesi)

section will aim to discuss this dimension of who the sufferers we interviewed see as responsible for the disaster.

5.3.2 Opinions of the Sufferers on Rescue Operations and Responsibilities for the Mine Disaster

One interesting point in our interviews was that there were few critical reactions to the government authorities and their involvement in rescue operations. Nearly all respondents seemed to believe that the state did its best in terms of rescue operations. Thus the state's efforts like bringing of equipment, helicopters, and rescue teams from other provinces etc. are all seemed to be appreciated by the sufferers. For instance, two respondents from the same family commented on this point as

"- In other words, the state made a single favor which was following about the event. Namely, on this issue there is nothing to complain about the state, or about the nation (Respondent number seven, male, mine worker, brother of a deceased miner)

- If the state's facilities were not there, there was no way of unearthing brother. For instance, maybe, how many billions of liras had been spent? If the state's facilities were not there, you could not find them even if you had sold whole Ermenek. You might have seen, the man [the president Erdoğan] gave everything that the state had at that time (Respondent eight, male, retired, father of a deceased miner)" [22]

Here we see another influence created by media representations of the actors involved. As we have discussed in chapter four, in the pro-government newspapers and other newspapers like Hürriyet we had witnessed overrepresentation of the government authorities especially through news images sustaining their 'problem solver' position. In those news the government authorities were often depicted as being inside the mine, listening to the miners' complaints, emotionally interacting with the relatives and

---

[22] "-Yani tek bi eyilik yaptı devlet o olayda ardını salmadı, tek bi iyiliği o oldu. Yani o konuda devlete, millete diyecek yok yani. (Yedinci görüşmeci, erkek, maden işçisi, madenci kardeşi)

- Adamların çabası olmasa çıkma imkanı yoktu abi. Dünyanın mesela belki gaç trilyon para gitmiştir. İmkanı dövletin olmasa Ermeneği satsan gene çıkmazdı. Sen belki de görmüşsündür. Devlete o şeyde olan gücü verdi adam. (Sekizinci görüşmeci, erkek, emekli, madenci babası)"

being at work (e.g. just recall the visual depiction of the three ministers in muddy boots). In this way, those representations seemed to create positive reactions on the side of the sufferers regarding the involvement of government authorities in rescue operations. On this point one of them told us that

> "The ministers went down to the mine for instance. Whether it was Tayyip [the president Erdoğan] or the minister of Energy, the men went down. Tayyip for example said "I went down to the mine for peasant children of here" or "I did not have fear on my mind" he said. He said "I went down to the water which reached up to my waist with these men". [Normally] [t]he state, a minister do not go into the mine, do they? They do not put themselves at risk. I suppose these men stayed here for one week" (Respondent number eight, male, retired, father of a deceased miner)[23]

Just as the mainstream media representations had aimed to achieve, the interviewees in our sample seemed to assign responsibility mostly to the boss and his inhuman administration in the mine. Nevertheless, different from the news discourse, the respondents equally blamed MİGEM inspectors for their misconduct of their duty by establishing close relations with the bosses. Indeed, we were told that they were "wined and dined by the bosses", "taking bribes" etc. rather than performing proper inspection.

> "They had not perform inspection my son, they had not gone to the mine and inspected it! I don't know who the head of this mine is but…As far as I know these inspectors, these men, had eaten and drunk in Güneyyurt and not gone to the mine. They had not inspected the mine, not asked whether the mine had a negligence or whether it had something in need of inspection by not going closer to it" (Respondent number fourteen, female, domestic laborer, mother of a deceased miner)[24]

---

[23] "Bakanlar işçiyle girdi mesela, Tayyip olsun, enerji bakanı, adamlar girdi. Hani ta burama su çıkar diyor Tayyip mesela "ben buranın köylü çocuğu için girdim" diyor yani "kafamda büyük korku yok" diyoru. "Buranın gucağa kadar suyun içinde girdim ben" diyor adamlarla. [Normalde] [d]evlet, bakan girmez demi, kendini şeye atmaz adam. Heralde adamlar bir hafta getmedi burdan" (Sekizinci görüşmeci, erkek, emekli, madenci babası)

[24] "Denetim yapmıyorlarmış evladım, varıp ocağı denetlemiyorlarmış, denetim yapmıyorlarmış! Yani bu ocağın başı kimse ben bilmem…Duyduğum kadarıyla bu işte denetime gelenler, bu kişiler Güneyyurt'ta yerler içerlermiş, ocağın yanına varmazlarmış bunlar evladım. Ocağı denetimden geçirmezlermiş. Bu ocağın içine varıp da bir eesiği var mı, gediği var mı, denetimden geçirilecek yeri var mı diye varıp da bakmazlarmış ocağa evladım" (Ondördüncü görüşmeci, kadın, ev emekçisi, madenci annesi)

113

Although we did not encounter with explicit assignment of the responsibilities to more macro structures like privatization, insecurity in mining or to policies of the AKP government, we witnessed signs of such a critique implicit in "popular consciousness" of the sufferers. It was mostly formed around dualities as being wretched ['gariban'] versus rich, rural versus urban, workers versus bosses or the oppressed versus ağas. For example,

> "…Everything is money here. In other words, here, let me tell you one thing, the law is enacted in Ankara, I am aware of this very well, the law is enacted in Ankara but never comes to Ermenek. Ermenek is a distinct country, distinct state. *No law enacted in Ankara is implemented here.* Ermenek does not benefit from anything, i.e., the wretched. If you have money then you are rich and you can conduct your business whenever you go. But it is me here who cannot conduct his business, *because you are wretched you are a worker, you are working in the mine.* If you leave you know you will not find another job, you complain to somewhere but you get no response. Therefore, you say 'go on' and continue." (Respondent number six, male, unemployed, brother of a deceased miner, emphases added)[25]

In conclusion, in responses of the sufferers we perceived a similar trend with mainstream media representations in which government authorities or more macro structures are not criticized. Instead, we saw that the level of critique was limited to the boss and his way of administration. However, different from the noncritical news discourse, the sufferers criticized misconduct of the inspectors who were blamed for profiting from their relations with the bosses. Similarly, we witnessed implicit critiques of those macro structures existed as dualities in popular consciousness of the sufferers.

5.4 Aftermath of the Disaster

In this final part of the chapter our main point of inquiry will be arguing what happened 'after the disaster'. In this context, we seek to examine what the sufferers thought

---

[25]"…Herşey para burda. Yani burda sana şunu söyleyim Ankara'da yasa çıkar, ben bunun iyi farkındayım, Ankara'da yasa çıkar Ermeneğe uğramaz. Ermenek ayrı bi ülke, ayrı bi devlet, burda *Ankara'da çıkan yasanın hiçbiri uygulanmaz.* Burası böyle bi devlet. Yasada, yasalarda yani. Ermenek hiç bi şeyden yararlanmaz burda, gariban takım, ha paran varsa zenginsin zaten işini nere gitsen yürüdüyosun. Ama bura işini yürütemez ben varım, *gariban olduğun için işçisin, ocakta çalışıyosun.* Ordan da çıksan bi iş bulamayacaksın, bi yere şikaat ediyosun bişey gelmiyor, gene devam diyosun." (Altıncı görüşmeci, erkek, işsiz, madenci kardeşi, vurgular bana ait.)

about our assumed situation of 'being visible with the disaster', i.e. ways of experiencing the exposure to media, which is a crucial dimension throughout this study. Secondly, we will discuss sources of visit, support and aids made to the families following the disaster. In addition to the situation of being visible with the disaster, here we think that this is another important dimension that can provide important insights into whether differences in visibility between the sufferers created by media representations led to "hidden injuries" (Sennett and Cobb, 1977) in terms of differences in interest shown and aids made to them. These two dimensions will be the place of controlling our central claim that media representations do not only have an effect on discursive construction of the disaster as a media event but they also influence the very experiencing of the event itself by creating injuries as a result of varying degrees of visibility in which some actors are foregrounded while some others are put into the background.

5.4.1 Views of the Sufferers on the Relationship between Themselves and the Media

In chapter one, while we were arguing possible meanings of mediated visibility for the lower classes, we have claimed that this relationship occurs mostly as "unwanted mediated exposure" due to the "power asymmetry" between them and the producers (Madianou, 2013). Thus we have claimed that the lower class people are left as exposed to representation strategies of the media in which they are unable to control their own image or to object any misrepresentation of them in those strategies. Similarly, as we have also witnessed in our analysis of the newspaper news on the disaster, those people are mostly objectivated and their reactions are fixed to affective ones which serve only to create sensitiveness and pity in the reader. Here in this part, we will assess those claims in the words of the sufferers. Hence, we will look for what they thought about the media's approach to them but perhaps more important than that their opinions about our claim on 'being visible with a disaster'.

In contrast to our assumption, the respondents seemed not problematizing the correspondents' treatment of them. Instead, they showed an inclination to perceive

their treatment with a generalized thankfulness that they also expressed to the other visitors. Hence, we did not see them as complaining about their objectivation. Nonetheless, nearly all respondents in our sample confirmed our assumption of 'being visible with the disaster', that is, these people are beyond the scope of ideological repertoires of what the mainstream media values in Turkey. Instead, both in terms of their place of residence and also because of their disadvantaged class position, they only become subject to media representations in extraordinary situations like natural and/or social disasters happened to them. Some of the respondents agreed with our assumption by stating that

> "No, was there anyone knowing Ermenek at that time? Apart from the village, was there anyone knowing Ermenek? No there was not. Everything had been waiting for those eighteen workers. Eighteen workers gone and those who were blind before awakened, those who could not write started to write, and those who could not hear started to hear. All those hardships had been for these eighteen workers" (Respondent number three, female, domestic laborer, wife of a deceased miner)[26]

As we might infer what she expressed, the sufferers seemed to agree with the idea that Ermenek was an unknown district before the disaster, which most people even did not know its geographical location. It was a distant place not only in terms of its tough geography but also symbolically being on the margin of what the Turkish media give value in normal times. Indeed, as we have discussed in chapter two, contrary to what John Thompson appreciated as increasing chances of visibility with advances in communication technologies, being visible in the media brought more negativity than advantages it provided. The following part aims to discuss this point over the sufferers' opinion about aids and interests shown to them following the disaster. In other words, we will look for what kinds of injuries that differences in visibility created in these people.

---

[26] "Yok, o zaman abi Ermenek'i tanıyan var mıydı ki? Geçtim köyünden Ermenek'i tanıyan var mıydı? Yok, yok. Bütün herşey 18 gişinin başındaymış 18 gişi gitti gözü kör olan açıldı, yazması olmayan yazdı, duymayan duydu hani herşey oldu. Bütün darlık 18 gişiyeymiş" (Üçüncü görüşmeci, kadın, ev emekçisi, madenci eşi)

5.4.2 Opinions of the Sufferers Regarding Visits and Aids after the Disaster

Even though the respondents during our interviews did not seem to problematize the journalists' treatments of them, when it came to differences in aids or in the degree of interests shown to them then it becomes disturbing. Before going to the field one assumption we had was that differences among the sufferers in term of representations in the news might have created differences in interests shown or aids made to them. As we had discussed in chapter four while were analyzing representation of the sufferers in the newspaper news, the newspapers were foregrounding pathetic representations of the sufferers in order to eventuate the disaster and to arouse a feeling of pity for them. For this purpose, especially the pro-government newspapers and newspapers from the Doğan media group with high circulation, i.e. Posta and Hürriyet, made use of those strategies of foregrounding. For instance, the Uncle Recep case was a crystallization of this strategy. After he was pictured with torn rubber shoes in his son's funeral, he claimed to become the symbol of the disaster. Those newspapers intensively (ab)used his picture and whenever they intend to make a news on him they made reference to the shoe either by visually focusing on it or mentioning it verbally. This created a situation that even the district governor of Ermenek had to remember that he understood people were seeking to send aids to Uncle Recep but there were seventeens families more who were in need of help (Hürriyet, 21.11.2014: 4).

When we asked the sufferers whether they were thinking a strategy of foregrounding of some relatives while backgrounding others, they seemed to agree with the idea that the media overemphasized some families while not giving enough place to the others. On this point some of the interviewees told that

> "Yes, they discriminate two, three families. As correspondents, they quickly foregrounded them and these families got many aids. In general, they were more visited in terms of aids. As we were not seen…I was not in a mode of advertising. We don't make a movie here, we don't do such things. I did not appear anywhere. I did not ask anything from anyone. As I have said before, if they had come to my house and gave something we took it. I also did not tell anything to the people who ask. I said "We are not shooting a film here, we are not a kind of people who make our own advertisement". More aids were made to them [the foregrounded sufferers] as they

117

could make their advertisement. They were selected and visited more" (Respondent one, female, domestic laborer, wife of a deceased miner)[27]

As it was clear from these statements what we witnessed here was that in addition to construct the disaster in certain ways, representation strategies of the media also led to inequalities in interest and aid. Therefore, exposure to media representations meant to the sufferers not only being unable to control their own representations and preventing their objectivation by news discourse but also creating new, hidden injuries resulted from strategies of foregrounding. One could observe this tendency through their anger at the foregrounded relatives as well as denouncing what was presented as poverty or absence by the news discourse as not reflecting reality or as being mere exaggeration.

> "-Well I don't know, they [the media] exaggerated things very much. Do we also not wear the rubber shoes that Uncle Recep wear? Our fathers, grandfathers are wearing it when they go to field. They exaggerated too much (Respondent number three, female, domestic laborer, wife of a deceased miner)
>
> - Now if you give him normal shoes he again wears those rubber shoes. In other words, as they [the journalists] do not know ways of living here it became news, in other words they exaggerated the situation. Those shoes are already called as the 'Ermenek rubber'. It has a point to use, I mean, when you go to yards, pastures you can wash these shoes when you come back. If you wash other shoes they wear out but nothing happens to rubber shoes. (Respondent number five, male, public servant, brother of a deceased miner)"[28]

---

[27] "Evet, onlara ayrımcılık yaptılar iki üç tane aileye. Böyle reklamlarda böyle ayakkabısı olarak şey olarak onlara çok yardımda bulundular, onları hemen öne sürdüler yani onlar haberci olarak. Genelde onların gapılarına çok geden oldu, yardım olarak. İşte bizler görülmediğimiz için, ben reklam yapacak durumda değildim. Biz bi filim çevirmiyoz yani bişeler yapmıyoz. Ben hiç bi yere çıkmadım. Kimseden bişey istemedim. Deminki dediğim gibi eeme geldiler de göyüverdilerse, bişeyler verdilerse aldık. Ben yani soranlara da bişey demedim, biz filim çevirmiyoz bizi reklama çıkacak bir insan değiliz dedim. İşte onlara yani reklama çıktıkları için şey oldukları için onlara yardımlar daha çok gittiler ayırdılar seçtiler." (Birinci görüşmeci, kadın, ev emekçisi, madenci eşi)

[28] "-Ya bilmiyom [medyayı kasteder] bazı şeyleri çok aberttılar bence. Recep dedenin giydiği lastik ayakkabıyı biz şuan giymiyor muyuz? Tarlaya giderken giyiyor babalarımız, dedelerimiz. Çok aberttılar (Üçüncü görüşmeci, kadın, ev emekçisi, madenci eşi)

- Şimdi O'na iskarpin alıversen gene lastik ayakkabı giyer. Yani buraların olayını bilmedikleri için o şey oldu haber oldu yani, abartma oldu. Zaten Ermenek lastiği diyorlar. Onun bi şeyi var yani normal dağa taşa gittiğin zaman gelip yıkayabiliyorsun onu. Diğerlerini yıkasan eskir ama bunda hiç bişey olmaz (Beşinci görüşmeci, erkek, memur, madenci abisi)"

Finally, regarding the respondents' opinions on the visits made to them after the disaster, we perceived a similar generalized thankfulness just as they showed to correspondents' treatment of them. In other words, they inclined to say "May God bless whoever comes to our visit". However, one common reproach we often heard was that they wished all these aids, visits would not be needed if this disaster did not happen. That is to say, money or other aids having made to them after the disaster did not mean too much considering their losses.

One last point worth attention regarding aids was that hidden injuries did not occur only among the relatives but also with the relatives and the surviving miners as well as inside the families of relatives, i.e., between brides and mothers/fathers-in-law. Thus while the surviving miners were complaining about they did not receive enough aid compared to 'excessive' amount of aid made to the families of deceased miners. For instance, one surviving miner we talked to stated that

> "Aids made to the relatives of deceased miners are already unnamable. For instance, one billion liras had come to one of the women from England…You have already sued [to emphasize that they would get compensation], we didn't lose our lives but if the money was collected in the name of Ermenek, it should have been distributed to all. I heard that the governor had given instructions to distribute the money only to the relatives of the deceased miners" (Respondent number twenty one, male, seasonal worker at the time of interview, one of the surviving miners)[29]

This tension was also apparent within the families on the basis that brides and fathers-in-law were blaming each other. Parallel to the surviving miners' complaints, some fathers-in-law complained about that the state and benefactors only helped to the brides and not cared about parents as expressed in the following statement by a mother-in-law.

> "They disregarded the parents in the matter of aids. The pain belongs to the parents, can I find a second son? No. However, she [her bride] has a chance to marry again. They disregarded us, they ignored us. We were disregarded both next to the bride and

---

[29] "…Ölen işçilerin yakınlarına yapılan yardımın haddi hesabı yok zaten. Mesela kadının birine bir trilyon para gelmiş İngiltere'den….Sen mahkemeye vermişsin [tazminat alma ihtimaline vurgu yapma amacıyla], bizden can yitmedi ama Ermenek adına açılan bir hesapsa bu gelen paranın herkese dağıtılması lazım. Ben Vali'nin [sadece] ölenlerin yakınlarına dağıtın gibi bir talimatını duydum." (Yirmibirinci görüşmeci, erkek, görüşme tarihinde mevsimlik işçi, kurtulan madencilerden biri)

also to the people who came to help her" (Respondent number thirty one, female, domestic laborer, mother of a deceased miner)[30]

In conclusion, in this part we have discussed that differences created by media representations in visibility caused differences in interests and aids towards the sufferers. This led to a sense of "hidden injury" in Sennett and Cobb's words in which foregrounding of some relatives (e.g. the case of Uncle Recep) posed disturbances among the families. A similar discomfort was also created between the surviving miners and the families of deceased miners as well as within those families among brides and parents of the deceased miner. Therefore we can say that our assumption was mostly valid which was about outcomes of visibility is more injuring than beneficial for the lower classes. Finally, we failed to perceive critical reactions by the sufferers neither to the journalists' treatment of them nor to extending responsibility to more macro factors like economic system and the government policies.

5.5 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has aimed to narrate a story of the mine disaster over several assumptions and dimension through which we sought to learn about the sufferers' opinions. At first, we have regarded the mine disaster here as an interlocking point of the context and construction in the news discourse. In other words, our aim was not reducing the disaster simply to a media event but rather emphasizing that media constructions had influences on interpretations regarding why the disaster had happened, who was responsible for it as well as how it was experienced by the sufferers themselves. Parallel to our findings in the news analysis chapter (see chapter four above) ways of representing actors and actions in the media also seemed to have important influences on the sufferers' interpretations. In that sense, we have looked for how the context, i.e. Ermenek economy, labor relations as well as living and working conditions were in the region before the disaster. In that sense, we have seen that workers had to cope

---

[30] "O yardımlar konusunda anayı babayı hiçe saydılar. Acı ana babanın, ben bir evlat bulmaya şansım var mı, yok. Ama o hanımın [gelini] bir ta evlenme şansı var. Biz hiçe sayıldık, hele biz hiçe sayıldık. Gelinin yanında da geline yardım yapanların yanında da hiçe sayıldık" (Otuzbirinci görüşmeci, kadın, ev emekçisi, madenci annesi)

with very harsh working conditions which lack of alternative sectors curb their bargaining power. Therefore, the bosses (*ağas* in the local language) operate the mines as they wish as a result of those workers' dependency to work in the mines because of lack of alternative job opportunities as well as for some factors like providing health insurances to their families and early retirement. Just as one of the respondents said "the workers are in a cage in Ermenek" in which they had to endure those cruel working conditions. It can be said that the situation has always been the same since the mine site operated by those private firms, which are owned by two families. Even before the Omnibus Bill, which was enforced following the Soma mine disaster when the minimum wage was very low, the workers were again facing unpaid wages for three-four months that had made their life harder. Therefore, the bosses' claim that they started to lose money after the Omnibus Bill was by no means accepted by the respondents we interviewed since actually they were not losing money but instead they could not stand with the idea that they would make less profit than they used to be. After the bosses stopped operation of the mines to protest the Omnibus Bill they negotiated with the workers and made even crueler proposals like cancelling food and transportation subsidies, forcing the workers to satisfy all their needs inside the mine. Moreover, they demanded the workers to give back nearly a quarter of their wages by hand since they claimed that they could not afford to pay this amount of wage, which was fixed to two minimum wages after the Omnibus Bill. Besieged by not being paid for long times and also in need for sustaining lives of their family, the workers had no choices but to go back to the work and sadly they were caught by the flood. Indeed, for the six of stuck miners from Aşağı Çağlar village it was their first day in the work.

Surrounded by these harsh working conditions we have seen that the workers were unable to make themselves heard to the authorities although they had made 'one hundred and twenty four' calls to the responsible ministry for complaining about the working conditions in the mine. However, not a single one of these calls was heard by the authorities. Parallel to one of the central assumptions in this thesis, the only option for them to make themselves visible and hearable was emergence of an extraordinary situation like a social disaster like this. Thus, we witnessed that our claim on 'being

visible with the mine disaster' was actually a valid assumption which was also agreed by the interviewees we spoke to. They stated that they had never seen the place they lived, i.e., Ermenek, nor their living or working conditions on a news before. In other words, they were out of criteria for what the Turkish media values in normal times and they could gain visibility only with an extraordinary situation like this mine disaster.

After the disaster occurred we had seen the news media initiated representation strategies to explain and cover up possible reasons and responsibilities regarding the disaster (see chapter four). Here in this chapter we have seen that those strategies had influenced the sufferers in a number of ways. First, especially they reduced responsibilities to the mine's owner and therefore more macro structures and actors had left immune from responsibility. The sufferers seemed to share this limited frame of responsibility in the way that they blamed only the boss and misbehaving inspectors as responsible actors for the disaster. The government authorities and more structural reasons like transformation of the mining sector into an insecure sector were left out of the picture. Second, media representations of the disaster were also able to present the government authorities as 'problem solvers' rather than having responsibilities in the disaster. Especially with images depicting the government authorities at work (e.g. going into the mine, wearing muddy boots etc.) news discourse seemed to achieve constructing a positive image towards the government authorities in the sufferers' perception. Third, media representations of the disaster seemed to bring more negativity than benefits they provided to the sufferers. Hence, differences in visibility created by foregrounding some sufferers while backgrounding others (e.g. as in the case of Uncle Recep) eventually led to differences in interest shown and aids made to the sufferers. Therefore, a sense of 'hidden injury' occurred within the sufferers against those foregrounded relatives. Indeed, this tension was created not only between the more and less foregrounded sufferers but also in between the surviving miners and relatives of the deceased miners as well as within the families of relatives itself as occurring between brides and parents of the deceased miner. Consequently, we were able to back our claim that mediated visibility had been experienced as an

"unwanted negative exposure" (Madianou, 2013) in which the lower classes were only left with being unable to control their own image as well as with certain types of injuries posed by differences in interests and aids emanated from differences in visibility.

In conclusion, this chapter has tried to show that the mine disaster was actually neither merely a reflection of structural conditions nor a media event formed only with representations. Instead, it was an interlocking point of these two in which the people interacted with their material conditions of existence through those intermediary discursive formations as we have claimed throughout the thesis. Media representations of the disaster discursively constructed actors, events and places in specific ways to influence ways of interpreting and experiencing the disaster. They are also influential in the aftermath of the disaster by specifying the framework for discussing possible causes and responsibilities involved in the disaster as well as by creating injuries rooted at strategies of visibility. Our aim in this final chapter was to understand how those representation strategies influenced the experiencing of the disaster by the sufferers and we have reached the conclusion that actually they were causing more negative situations compared to benefits they brought. Thus although those people desperately needed those representations to be heard, to the extent that it was also meaning to be exposed to those discursive strategies, they were more likely to be injured rather than being better off. Therefore such relationship between the lower classes and the media tend to be paradoxical in the sense that what seems beneficial at first sight might actually be injuring for the lower classes in their relationship with the media.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has attempted to analyze the Ermenek mine disaster with a media-centered perspective. We have claimed that the mine disaster is best understood as an interlocking point of the context and construction to emphasize the intermediary role of media representations between social structures –the context– and social event –the mine disaster–.

For this purpose, first, we have argued that visibility is a crucial dynamic in today's late modern societies where people constantly encounter with other people, events and places through media representations. Hence, without the need for sharing the same spatiotemporal presence, we witness lives and suffering of the other people who are 'distant others' for us just as we are for them. In this way, the media enable new forms of actions and interactions between the people who are physically remote from each other. Indeed, as Thompson argues (1995: 219-225), "non-mediated reciprocal intimacy at a distance" defines this relationship between the sufferers and the distant others.

Drawing on the concept of "distant suffering" (Boltanski, 1999; Chouliaraki, 2006), we have regarded our case of the mine disaster as a form of distant suffering in which the relationship between those who suffer and those who read/watch this suffering is created by media representations. Here the people who experience the event constitutes 'the sufferers' while the people who witness to this suffering are 'the distant others'. On the role of media representations in this relationship, we have claimed that by showing the emergency of the situation and human pain involved in the incident, media representations call for developing emotions, actions and reactions for the sufferers on the side of distant others. This is apparent in the news we have

examined in which the distant others seem to involve in actions like protesting aganist the disaster or sending aids to the region.

Although advancements in mass communication seem to increase access opportunities of the people, we have claimed that visibility might be also disadvantageous for some social groups especially for the lower classes. We admit that being visible in the media is a crucial dimension for the people to be seen and being heard as well as to advance their cause. Nevertheless, since media representations do not abolish inequalities in the social sphere, those representations might also be disadvantageous and indeed injuring for the people it represents. Especially with respect to the lower classes, who are among the disadvantageous groups in the social sphere as a result of their lack of economic, social and cultural capital, we have claimed that visibility might work against their own good. Because visibility does not only include the dimension of being visible but also being subjected to representation strategies of the media in front of a potentially indefinite number of audience. To the extent that those strategies serve to sustain pathetic representations of the sufferers, they are likely to be injuring rather than being advantageous. This also becomes apparent when we think of the "structural asymmetry" (Thompson, 1995) or "power asymmetry" (Madianou, 2013) involved between the producers and the subjects of the media representations in which the lower class people seem to be less likely to control their representation or correct any misrepresentation of them.

In the fourth chapter we have sought to investigate reflections of these assumptions in the news discourse. Drawing on the methodological tools we discuss in chapter three, we have founded following results regarding representation of social action in news discourse. First of all, we have attempted to understand how possible causes of the mine disaster are told in those newspapers. We see two main strategies are used for explaining possible reasons of the disaster. We have called the first one as 'the physical cause', i.e., explaining its occurrence as a result of flooding from a deserted mine nearby. The second one is 'the political cause' in which the mine disaster is regarded as a continuation of the previous disasters, which all have been claimed to

happen due to the poor conditions of the mining sector that the government policies are assumed as responsible. In that sense the pro-government newspapers point the first strategy as the reason which eventuates it by reducing it to almost a natural disaster. In this way they delete responsibility of human agency in the occurrence of the mine disaster.

On the other hand, the three oppositional newspapers claim the reverse by bringing the political cause over the physical cause. They emphasize negligence on the part of the government as responsible for the disaster. In this context, their representations are more enabling for perceiving the mine disaster not as an extraordinary case but as a result of more structural reasons. Also by recalling the government authorities' statements in previous mine disaster (e.g. Cumhuriyet's recalling the president Erdoğan's 'fıtrat' declaration after Soma), the oppositional newspapers seem to question the political responsibilities and more macro dynamics as underlying reasons for the mine disaster. In the newspapers belong to our third category, i.e., Hürriyet and Posta, they are also seem to give priority to the physical cause over the political cause in their explanations, which is an attitude closer to the line of pro-government newspapers.

Regarding the second category of action in which we have looked for the ways of assigning responsibilities to actors in the news discourse, we have seen that in the pro-government newspapers the only responsible agent is the "cruel", "relentless" boss who formed an order like slavery in the mine. In this way, these newspapers make use of overdetermination through which present day working conditions are equated with the slavery in the past. They also use appraisement with metaphors like "the mine gang" (Yeni Şafak, 30.10.2014: 1) again to denounce cruel administration of the boss. Also these two newspapers bring to the fore the government authorities' statements condemning the owner of the mine to strengthen their discourse on the boss's responsibility. As expected these who newspapers do not contain no traces of possible involvement of the government authorities in the disaster. Instead, as we have

126

mentioned before, they are represented as 'saviors' or as 'problem solvers' who are expected to punish whoever responsible for the disaster.

Conversely, the two anti-government newspapers in our sample, Birgün and Cumhuriyet, also do not overlook inhuman working conditions created by the boss. However, they put a similar or sometimes more emphasis on the government's responsibility for the mine disaster. Thus more external factors like insecure conditions of the mining sector as well as the government policies are blamed for happening of the mine disaster. In other words, they extend the responsibility from the boss to the government policies and more macro structures in their representations. In this way, they enable to think reasons and responsibilities involved in the disaster in alternative ways. However, as we have witnessed through the interviews we conducted with the sufferers, mainstream representations remain prominent. In the third oppositional newspaper, Zaman, political responsibility is emphasized more than the boss's personal responsibility particularly with reference to process like failure of the Omnibus Bill in responding problems of the mining sector or to increased work accidents under the AKP government. However, Zaman's opposition inclines to be more abstract and generalized compared to more specific and direct oppositions in Birgün and Cumhuriyet.

Finally, in the newspapers of our third category, we witness a serious amount of background information in Hürriyet regarding how poor the working conditions were in the mine whose responsibility belong to the cruel boss. Nevertheless, Hürriyet hesitates to expand this critique to government authorities and to more macro structures and it takes a rather moderate position while making a critique of them. This is achieved by balancing out the criticism of government authorities by giving place to affirmative news about them on the same page. Therefore, concerning the government authorities' responsibilities, Hürriyet seems to deactivate and background them in assigning responsibilities for the disaster. In Posta, we do not see almost no reference to the government authorities' possible involvement in the disaster. Instead,

its discourse is very much like the pro-government newspapers which blame the boss as the sole responsible for the disaster.

In our news analysis we have witnessed those theoretical assumptions on the lower classes' relationship with media representations are mostly hold true. Both linguistically and visually the sufferers seem to be represented through pathetic representations which aim to create pity and sensitiveness in the reader. This is true for all the newspapers except the two oppositional newspapers, Birgün and Cumhuriyet, in our sample. Although they are specified and individualized, we have seen that these are not made to activate them but rather to reduce the event in personal stories in order to decontextualize it. Their reactions are mostly affective like 'crying', 'grieving, 'tearful' etc., which lead to their objectification. We have seen that the newspapers except Birgün and Cumhuriyet make use of hardships they experience as testimonies to intensify their dramatization of the sufferers as well as the sense of pity. This tendency is also prominent in the pictures they are depicted visually. They are pictured not as agents involved in actions but as patients, i.e., as objects of actions. They are depicted often with close shot and in the eye level to make them closer to the viewer. However, this closeness by no means aims to empower them. Instead, they are disempowered as people below from us. They are also objectivated which constitute them as objects to our scrutiny rather than as equal participants of a communicative action.

On the other hand, we have witnessed in the two oppositional newspapers in our sample, in Birgün and Cumhuriyet, this tendency for pathetic representations of the sufferers are tried to be broken. Linguistically the sufferers are represented more actively in those two newspapers and their actions go beyond simply being acts of crying, grieving etc. towards reacting and criticizing the government authorities. Thus, they are activated and functionalized unlike the other newspapers in which these features have seemed to be assigned only to the government authorities. Likewise, their reactions are not limited to affective reactions just in case of pathetic representations, but they are also cognitive-rational just as the reactions of government

authorities in other newspapers. In terms of visual representations, again, those two oppositional newspapers make a conscious choice to refrain from depicting the sufferers pathetically in news photos. Thus, they incline to preserve agent status of the sufferers, just as they try to the same in their linguistic representations, instead of objectivating them in photos.

With respect to the government authorities as the other most represented actor in the news together with the sufferers, we encounter with their overrepresentation in the pro-government newspapers both in terms of language and pictures used to depict them. It means that they are included whenever possible in the news texts. In those representations, they are depicted as individualized, specified and highly activated agents. Even though it might be because of their elite status at first sight, we have claimed that this foregrounding is mostly about the ideological leanings of Sabah and Yeni Şafak rooted at having a pro-government stance. Therefore, we see lack of representations of oppositional politicians in these two newspapers however elite positions they also have. To our opinion, then, simply having an elite status does not lead to be represented because of lack of ideological concordance. The government authorities seem to be functionalized in these the pro-government newspapers in which they are represented not only with their unique identities but also with their actions. Similarly, their reactions are mostly cognitive and rational unlike affective reactions assigned to the sufferers.

In the three oppositional newspapers we see a reverse case of representing the government authorities. Especially in Birgün and Cumhuriyet, we have seen that the government authorities are connoted with negative concepts to denounce their 'problem solver' image, which is a prominent theme in the pro-government representations. Instead, they are assigned responsibility for worsening the working conditions in mining as well as work murders, which are claimed as having drastically increased under the AKP government. A similar tendency is also perceivable in visual representations of the government authorities in these oppositional newspapers as they consciously abstain from picturing them openly in order to prevent them being

canonized in those photos with the roles of 'problem solvers' or 'saviors'. Instead, they are either not represented visually (e.g. Birgün) or with a few picture denouncing their criticisms as 'lie' or 'exploitation' (e.g. Cumhuriyet 30.10.2014: 1). In the third oppositional newspaper in our sample, Zaman, we also see criticisms of the government authorities as well as the sufferers' reaction to them. However, this opposition is often vague and generalized in contrast to more open and direct critiques we see in the other two oppositional newspapers. Another inclination by Zaman in representing the government authorities is not providing further comment on their statements and left them as they said instead.

In the newspapers of our third category, i.e. Posta and Hürriyet as highly circulated mainstream newspapers without an open ideological positioning, we see in both newspapers the government authorities are represented as credible sources similar to the pro-government newspapers. However they are not overrepresented unlike they are in the pro-government newspapers. On the one hand, Hürriyet seems to leave more space to their representation. Although it also depicts oppositional politicians, it balances their criticism out by mutually giving statements of the government authorities and of oppositional politicians in the same place. On the other hand, Posta leaves very small space to representation of the government authorities especially in terms of their visual depiction. For instance, the same news depicting the president Erdoğan and showing the ministers in muddy boots are compressed into a small news in passing unlike their foregrounding in the pro-government newspapers. We have inferred this strategy by Posta as its tendency for devoting the available space to pathetic representations of the sufferers rather than to the government authorities.

In terms of representations of the distant sufferers, we have founded in our news analysis that the pro-government newspapers consciously exclude them in their representations. We have related this choice to the fact that since actions of the distant others are more in the form of public demonstration, i.e., mostly with slogans criticizing the government, those newspapers abstain from giving place to such criticisms because of their ideological leaning. Conversely, in the two oppositional

newspapers, Birgün and Cumhuriyet, actions and reactions of the distant sufferers are frequently stressed including their slogans which criticize the AKP government or more structural factors like neoliberalism are openly represented. In other words, they maintain the critique of the government also by giving place to public demonstrations organized by the distant others to protest the mine disaster. In the third oppositional newspaper, Zaman, we have not witnessed representation of the distant sufferers and we relate this situation to the newspaper's general policy of not giving place to public demonstrations as a conservative newspaper. In the newspapers of our third category, Posta and Hürriyet, the distant others and their protests seem to find themselves a place but their actions are mostly eventuated and also presented as being devoid of criticism.

With respect to representation of experts in those news we again see a hesitancy in the pro-government newspapers in giving place to expert opinion. Since the most frequently cited actors are the government authorities in those representations, their statements are in no need of being backed up by expert opinion as they are already seen as highly credible. Conversely, the three oppositional newspapers references are made to experts. Especially Birgün and Cumhuriyet frequently quoted experts and their opinions which are mostly composed of critiques of the government policies as responsible for the occurrence of the disaster. Zaman also seems to give place to expert opinion but contrary to the two other oppositional newspapers criticisms made in their statements are more generalized and vague. In the third category of newspapers, Posta does not include any expert opinion in its first three days' coverage. However, Hürriyet seems to give place expert opinion more just like with the two oppositional newspapers and some of these opinions come from leftist experts. At first glance this may seem as contradictory concerning mainstream characteristics of the newspaper but we have claimed that such radical criticisms may find themselves place as long as they keep the frame of critique with the boss, i.e. not extending it to the critique of the government.

Representation of oppositional politicians is the final category of actors we have looked through media representations. On this issue, we have seen that in the pro-

government newspapers oppositional politicians are rarely referred. In contrast to their overrepresentation of the government authorities, oppositional voices can be said as being absent in their representation. Again, this is related to their hesitancy to give place any party who criticize the government for its possible involvement in the occurrence of the disaster. On the other hand, the two anti-government newspapers, Birgün and Cumhuriyet, seem to give more space to oppositional politicians and their statements. This is important in the sense that alternative explanations for possible causes and responsibilities are made visible by giving place to these statements. Thus beyond 'asking for explanation' or giving 'parliamentary questions', oppositional politicians are functionalized with reference to explicit reactions and criticisms they made. Nevertheless, Zaman constitutes a different position within the oppositional newspapers regarding its representation of oppositional politicians. Thus the newspaper associates politicians with different ideological views together under the same category 'opposition'. Similar to its general strategy, it also does not further their critiques by commenting on them but it leaves them untouched. Finally, in Posta and Hürriyet, oppositional politicians and their statements are given less space compared to the government authorities. Especially Hürriyet's strategy is interesting here which balances out criticisms of oppositional politicians with statements by the government authorities given side by side.

In the final chapter of this thesis we have tried to incorporate our findings from the news analysis with personal opinions and testimonies of the sufferers. We have regarded the mine disaster as an interlocking point of the context and construction, which means its construction through media representations should have influenced ways of experiencing it by the sufferers. We have not wished to reduce the context of the disaster to mere media representations. Instead, we perceive the context of the disaster existing in the transformation of the mining sector into a highly privatized and insecure sector. In that sense, media representations of the disaster constitute one form of social practices which constructs actors and actions in certain ways to negotiate the relationship between social events –the mine disaster here– and social structures – what we perceive as the context here–. In line with our discussion on ideological

discourses, we have claimed that social realities reach to persons as being refracted as they pass through the mediation. Hence, through media representations what we claim as 'context', 'cause', 'victim' or 'responsibility' are all become part of the "struggle over meaning" (Hall, 1979; 1986) in which different discourses clash explain causes and responsibilities in certain ways as well as close the meaning according to their ideological positioning. In chapter three we have analyzed how discursively actors and actions are constructed in the news to explain actors and actions involved in certain ways vis-à-vis to close the meaning for the sake of certain ideological interests.

In that sense, we have reached following results concerning our assumptions on media representations' possible effects on ways of experiencing and interpreting the disaster by the sufferers. First of all, we have seen that working and living conditions in Ermenek before the disaster are very harsh in which the labor force is highly disorganized because of the lack of unionization in the region. As a result, the mine site is besieged by two families who perform cruel administration practices and arbitrary decisions on continuity and security jobs of the workers. Actually, we have seen such background information existing in the narratives of newspapers in our sample. However, by strategically reducing those conditions as being limited to this specific disaster, i.e., by eventuation, they evade more structural factors lying behind the disaster. As they construct the event in this way, we see that criticisms of the sufferers generally do not go beyond assigning the all responsibility to the boss. For instance, during the interviews we do not encounter with responses problematizing disorganized condition of the labor force in the region. Therefore, we can claim that media representations seem to achieve determining the scope of discussion by providing what can be arguable, which ensure the sufferers' remaining within this frame.

Another claim we have had before conducting interviews was the ironical situation of 'being visible with the disaster'. We have seen that this assumption is also true for the sufferers. Nearly all of them admit that they have never seen a news neither on their place of living nor conditions of working and living in the region. It supports our claim

that because of the disadvantaged position they have due to their class status as well as their place of residence, those people are beyond what the Turkish media values in normal times. However extraordinary their daily struggle are (Erdoğan, 2001), they are only attract the media's attention when something extraordinary happen to them, like a social disaster just as in our case. Therefore, we might claim that the lower classes chances to be visible are mostly limited with those extraordinary situations happened to them.

Thirdly, we have claimed that even if the sufferers manage to become visible, it does not always work for the good of them as being visible in the media also means being subjected to its representation strategies. As we have seen in our news analysis except the two oppositional newspapers, i.e., Birgün and Cumhuriyet, nearly all newspapers produce pathetic representations of the sufferers. In our interviews we have encountered with lots of cognitive-rational reactions by the sufferers on their criticisms regarding the causes and responsibilities for the disaster. On the contrary, those pathetic representations limit the sufferers' reactions to be affective and assign no more actions than crying, grieving, being in despair etc. to them. In this way, we they are both objectivated and disempowered in the news discourse constituting them as objects to our gaze rather than active, functionalized actors. In other words, visibility seems to mean being injured rather than something advantageous for the sufferers.

Another central assumption in this thesis has been that differences in visibility lead to differences in interests shown and aids made to the sufferers. We have seen in our interviews that foregrounding of some sufferers in the news have led to the feeling of discomfort among other sufferers, who seem to accept that some families are brought to the fore while others are remained in the background. Especially, the case of Uncle Recep, who was pictured with torn rubber shoes in his son's funeral, is a crystallization of this. In our interviews we have witnessed that the respondents use some counter arguments for denouncing the case of torn rubber shoes as a normal practice in the district, which actually there was nothing to be exaggerated. Therefore, differences in

visibility seems to create "hidden injuries" (Sennett, 1977) among the sufferers by leading to further differences in interest shown to them as well as concerning the aids. Indeed, we have learned during the interviews that those hidden injuries do not only occur between the families but also between the families of deceased miners and the surviving miners as well as within the families themselves, i.e., among brides and parents of the deceased miner. We have witnessed situations in which each side blames each other for getting more aids while they are forgotten by the state or the benefactors. This is especially true for the parents of deceased miners and for the surviving miners who took relatively less or no aid at all compared to wives of the deceased miners. Therefore, we have seen that media representations do not only create injuries during the act of representation but also in the aftermath of the disaster as a result of foregrounding some of the sufferers while and backgrounding the others.

On the other hand on two points we have seen that our assumptions have failed. First of all, we have claimed that the relationship between the sufferers and the correspondents as well as the benefactors result in a form of objectivation on the side of the sufferers. However, the sufferers seemed to be thankful to all the people who visited to them for help. In other words, they do not think perceive this relationship as a form of objectivation but rather with goodwill. The second failed assumption of us is that the sufferers should have criticized the government authorities' involvement in the disaster as well as their actions during the rescue operations. However, they mostly seem to appreciate the state's use of every means possible during the rescue operations as well as the government authorities' direct involvement in the disaster site.

In conclusion, in this thesis we have attempted to analyze the Ermenek mine disaster as an interlocking point of the context and construction with a 'media-centered' perspective. We have discussed that in today's late modern societies 'struggles for visibility' is a crucial dimension for people to make themselves seen and being heard across the distant others whom they do not share same spatiotemporal presence but again able to interact. Nevertheless, we have claimed that visibility does not always something beneficial especially taking into consideration that being visible also means

135

being subjected to certain representational strategies of the media. In that sense, especially for the lower classes, visibility can be injuring rather than being advantageous by creating injuries both during the act of representation as well as in the aftermath by creating differences in interest or in aids resulted from different degrees of visibility which the sufferers subject to.

REFERENCES

Abercrombie, N., Hill, S. and Turner, B. (1980) The Dominant Ideology Thesis, London: Routledge.

Althusser, L. (1969) "Ideology and the Ideological State Apparatuses" in Lenin, Philosophy and the Other Essays, New York: Monthly Review Press.

Arsan, D. E. (2004) "Medya-Güç-İdeoloji Ekseninde Merve Kavakçı Haberlerinin İki Farklı Sunumu" [Two Different Presentations of Merve Kavakçı News in the Axis of Media-Power-Ideology], in Haber, Hakikat ve İktidar İlişkisi [The Relationship between News, Truth and Power], (ed.) Ç. Dursun, Ankara: Elips.

Blommaert, J. and Bulcaen, C. (2000) "Critical Discourse Analysis", *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 29, pp.447-466.

Boltanski, L. (1999) Distant Suffering: Morality, Media and Politics, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bulut, M. (11.09.2014), "Bir bakışta torba yasa" [The Omnibus Bill at a glance], *Radikal* daily, http://www.radikal.com.tr/yazarlar/dr-mehmet-bulut/bir-bakista-torba-yasa-1211998/ last accessed 16.08.2016.

Büyükkantarcıoğlu, N. S. (2012) "Söylem Çözümlemelerinde Eleştirel Dilbilimsel Boyut: Eleştirel Söylem Çözümlemesi ve Ötesi" ["The Critical Linguistics Dimension in Discourse Analyses: Critical Discourse Analysis and Beyond"] in Haberi Eleştirmek [Criticizing the News], (ed.) Ö. Özer, Konya: Literatürk, pp.161-199.

Champagne, P. (1999) "The View from the Media" in The Weight of the World: Social Suffering in Contemporary Society, (ed.) P. Bourdieu et al., California: Stanford University Press, pp.46-60.

Chouliaraki, L. (2015) "Afterword: The dialectics of mediation in 'distant suffering studies'*, the International Communication Gazette*, 77(7), pp.708-714.

Chouliaraki, L. (2013) The Ironic Spectator: Solidarity in the Age of Post-Humanitarianism, Cambridge: Polity.

Chouliaraki, L. and Orgad, S. (2011) "Proper distance: mediation, ethics and otherness"*, International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 14(4), pp.341-345.

Chouliaraki, L. (2006) The Spectatorship of Suffering, London: SAGE.

Couldry, N. (2012) Media, Society, World: Social Theory and Digital Media Practice, Cambridge: Polity.

Dayan, D. (2013) "On Whose Terms Are You Shown?: (or, at least, following what principles?), in Ethics of Media, (eds.) N. Couldry, M. Madianou and A. Pinchevski, London: Palgrave, pp.161-178.

Deacon, D. and Stanyer, J. (2015) "'Mediatization and' or 'Mediatization of'? A response to Hepp et al."*, Media, Culture & Society*, 37(4), pp.655-657.

Deacon, D. and Stanyer, J. (2014) "Mediatization: key concept or conceptual bandwagon?"*, Media, Culture & Society*, 36(7), pp.1032-1044.

Dahlberg, L. (2011) "Discourse Theory as Critical Media Politics? Five Questions" in Discourse Theory and Critical Media Politics, (eds.) L. Dahlberg and S. Phelan, London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.41-64.

Dolby, N., Dimitriadis, G. and Willis, P. (2004) Learning to Labor in New Times, New York: RoutledgeFalmer.

Eagleton, T (1991) Ideology: An Introduction, London: Verso.

Ehrat, J. (2011) Power of Scandal: Semiotic and Pragmatic in Mass Media, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Erdoğan, N. (ed.) (2001) Yoksulluk Halleri: Türkiye'de Kent Yoksulluğunun Toplumsal Görünümleri, [States of Poverty: Social Perspectives on Urban Poverty in Turkey] Istanbul: İletişim.

Eurobarometer (2011) "Avrupa Birliği'nde Kamuoyu: Türkiye Ulusal Raporu" ["Public Opinion in the European Union: The National Report on Turkey"] available at http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb76/eb76_tr_tr_nat.pdf last accessed 31.07.2016.

Fairclough, N. (2003) Analysing Discourse: Textual analysis for social research, London: Routledge.

Fairclough, N. (2001) "Critical Discourse Analysis as a method in social scientific research", in Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis, (eds.) R. Wodak and M. Meyer, London: SAGE, pp.121-139.

Foucault, M. (1980) "Two Lectures" in Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977, (ed.) C. Gordon, New York: Pantheon, pp.78-109.

Fuchs, C. (2011) Foundations of Critical Media and Information Studies, New York: Routledge.

Gökalp, E., Ergül, H. and Cangöz, İ. (2010) "Türkiye'de Yoksulluğun ve Yoksulların Ana Akım Basında Temsili" ["Representation of Poverty and the Poor in Mainstream Media in Turkey], *Journal of Sociological Research*, 13(1), pp.145-182.

Hall, S. (1999) "Encoding, Decoding" in The Cultural Studies Reader (2nd Edition), (ed.) S. During, London: Routledge.

Hall, S. (1997) "Introduction" and "The Work of Representation" in Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices, (ed.) S. Hall, London: Open University Press, pp.1-75.

Hall, S. (1986) "'The rediscovery of "ideology': return of the repressed in media studies', in Culture, Society, and the Media, (eds.) M. Gurevitch et al., London: Methuen, pp.56-90.

Hall, S. (1984) 'Signification, representation, ideology: Althusser and the post-structuralist debates', *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 2(2), pp.91-114.

Hall, S. (1977) "Culture, the media, and the 'ideological effect'", in Mass Communication and Society, (eds.) J. Curran et al., London: Edward Arnold, pp.315-348.

Henderson, R. (2005) "A Faircloughian approach to cda: Principled eclecticism or a method searching for a theory?", *Melbourne Studies in Education*, 46(2), pp.9-24.

Hepp, A., Hjarvard, S. and Lundby, K. (2015) "Mediatization: theorizing the interplay between media, culture and society", *Media, Culture & Society*, 37(2), pp.314-322.

Hepp, A. and Krotz, F. (eds.) (2014) Mediatized Worlds: Culture and Society in a Media Age, London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hepp A. (2013) "The communicative figurations of mediatized worlds: mediatization research in times of the 'mediation of everything'", *European Journal of Communication*, 28, pp.615-629.

Hjarvard, S. (2008) "The mediatization of society: a theory of the media as agents of social and cultural change", *Nordicom Review*, 29(2), pp.223-228.

İnal, A. (1996) Haberi Okumak [Reading the News], Istanbul: Temuçin.

İnal, A. (1992) "An Analysis of Turkish Daily Press: event selection, text construction and news production", (Unpublished PhD Thesis) Ankara: METU.

Jorgensen, M. and Phillips, J. L. (2002) Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method, London: SAGE.

Kaya, R. (2009) İktidar Yumağı: Medya, Sermaye, Devlet [The Coil of Power: Media, Capital, State], Ankara: İmge.

Kress, G. and van Leeuwen, T. (2001) Multimodal Discourse: Modes and media of contemporary communication, London: Arnold.

Kress, G. and van Leeuwen, T. (2006) Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design (2nd edition), London: Routledge.

Krotz, F. (2009) "Mediatization: a concept with which to grasp media and social change" in Mediatization: Concept, Changes, Consequences, (ed.) K. Lundby, New York: Peter Lang.

Livingstone, S. (2009) "On the mediation of everything: ICA Presidential Address 2008, *Journal of Communication*, 59(1), pp.1-18.

Lundby, K. (ed.) (2009) Mediatization: Concept, Changes, Consequences, New York: Peter Lang.

Lunt P. and Livingstone, S. (2016) "Is 'mediatization' the new paradigm for our field? A commentary on Deacon and Stayer (2014, 2015) and Hepp, Hjarvard and Lundby (2015), *Media, Culture & Society*, 38(3), pp.462-470.

Machin, D. (2013) "What is multimodal critical discourse studies?", *Critical Discourse Studies*, 10(4), pp.347-355.

Machin, D. and Mayr, A. (2013) "Personalising crime and crime-fighting in factual television: an analysis of social actors and transitivity in language and images", *Critical Discourse Studies*, 10(4), pp.356-372.

Machin, D. and Mayr, A. (2012) How To Do Critical Discourse Analysis: A Multimodal Introduction, London: SAGE.

Machin, D. and van Leeuwen, T. (2007) Global Media Discourse: A Critical Introduction, Abingdon: Routledge.

Madianou, M. (2013) "Ethics of mediation and the voice of the injured subject" in Ethics of Media, (eds.) N. Couldry, M. Madianou and A. Pinchevski, London: Palgrave, pp.178-197.

Madianou, M. (2011) "News as a looking-glass: Shame and the symbolic power of mediation", *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 15(1), pp.3-16.

Mautner, G. (2008) "Analyzing Newspapers, Magazines and Other Print Media" in Qualitative Discourse Analysis in the Social Sciences, (eds.) R. Wodak and M. Krzyzanowski, London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.30-54.

MEVKA (2014) "Ermenek İlçe Raporu" [Ermenek District Report], available at http://www.mevka.org.tr/Download.aspx?filePath=hqkdQweaLnIL7ZmiqQzYZg== last accessed 16.08.2016

Mills, S. (2003) Discourse, London: Routledge.

Morley, D. (2009) "For a Materialist Non-Media-centric Media Studies", *Television & New Media,* 10(1), pp.114-116.

Molotch, M. and Lester, M. (1974) "Accidents, Scandals and Routines: Resources for Insurgent Methodology", *Critical Sociology*, 25(2), pp.247-259.

Orgad, S. (2012) Media Representation and the Global Imagination, Cambridge: Polity.

Özçetin, B. (2010) "Kullanımlar ve Doyumlardan İzlerkitle Sosyolojisine: Türkiye'de İzlerkitle Çalışmaları" [From Uses and Satisfactions to the Sociology of Audience: Audience Studies in Turkey], *İletişim Araştırmaları*, 8(2), pp.9-37.

Özer, Ö. (2015) "Teun Adrian Van Dijk Örneğinde Eleştirel Söylem Çözümlemesi" ["Critical Discourse Analysis in Teun Adrian Van Dijk"] in İletişim Araştırmalarında Yöntemler [Methods in Communication Research], (ed.) B. Yıldırım, Konya: Literatürk, pp.197-287.

Özer, Ö. (2011) Haber, Söylem, İdeoloji: eleştirel haber çözümlemeleri [News, Discourse, Ideology: critical news analyses], Konya: Literatürk.

Phelan, S. and Dahlberg, L. (2011) "Discourse Theory and Critical Media Politics: An Introduction" in Discourse Theory and Critical Media Politics, (eds.) L. Dahlberg and S. Phelan, London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.1-41.

Purvis, T and Hunt, A (1993) "Discourse, Ideology, Discourse, Ideology, Discourse, Ideology...", The British Journal of Sociology, 44(3), pp.473-499.

Richardson, E. J. (2007) Analysing Newspapers: An Approach from Critical Discourse Analysis, London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Sennett, R. and Cobb. J. (1977) The Hidden Injuries of Class, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sönmez, M. (2014) "Türkiye'de Medyanın Ekonomi Politiği" [Political Economy of Media in Turkey] in Medya ve İktidar: Hegemonya, Statüko, Direniş [Media and Power: Hegemony, Status quo, Resistance] (eds.) E. Arsan and B. Çoban, İstanbul: Evrensel.

Sönmez, M. (2011) Medya, Kültür, Para ve İstanbul İktidarı [Media, Culture, Money and the Istanbul Rule], Istanbul: Yordam.

Sönmez, M. (2003) Filler ve Çimenler: Medya ve Finans Sektöründe Doğan-Anti Doğan Savaşı [Elephants and Grasses: The Doğan Anti-Doğan War in Media and Finance Sectors], Istanbul: İletişim.

Sözeri, C. and Güney, Z. (2011) Türkiye'de Medyanın Ekonomi Politiği [Political Economy of the Media in Turkey] Istanbul: TESEV available at http://www.aciktoplumvakfi.org.tr/pdf/medya2.pdf last accessed 04.08.2016

Tenorio, H. E. (2011) "Critical Discourse Analysis: An Overview", Nordic Journal of English Studies, 10(1), pp.183-209 available at http://ojs.ub.gu.se/ojs/index.php/njes/article/view/658, last accessed 04.08.2016

Thompson, B. J. (2005) "The New Visibility", *Theory, Culture & Society*, 22(6), pp.31-51.

Thompson, B. J. (2000) Political Scandal: Power and Visibility in the Media Age, Cambridge: Polity.

Thompson, B. J. (1995) The Media and Modernity: A Social Theory of the Media, California: Stanford University Press.

TSSA (2016) "İki Yılın Ardından Soma Maden Faciası Raporu" [Report on the Soma Mine Disaster after Two Years], available at http://sendika10.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/somaraporu-8Nisan2016-en-son.pdf last accessed 20.08.2016

Van Dijk, T. (2001) "Critical Discourse Analysis" in the Handbook of Discourse Analysis, (eds.) D. Schiffrin, D. Tannen and H. E. Hamilton, Oxford: Blackwell, pp.352-372.

Van Dijk, T. (1998) Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach, London: SAGE.

Van Dijk, T. (1993) "Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis", *Discourse & Society*, 4(2), pp.249-283.

Van Dijk, T. (1988b) News Analysis, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Van Dijk, T. (1988a) News as Discourse, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Van Leeuwen, T. (2008) Discourse and Practice: New Tools for Critical Discourse Analysis, New York: Oxford University Press.

Webb, J. (2009) Understanding Representation, London: SAGE.

Willis, P. (1977) Learning to Labor: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs, New York: Columbia University Press.

A.1 "Disaster in the Mine" (29.10.2014)

A.2 "Slavery in the Mine" (30.10.2014)

A.3 "Will they get away with it again?" (31.10.2014)

A.4 "Black News" (29.10.2014)

A.5 "The Mine Gang" (30.10.2014)

A.6 "Relentlessness" (31.10.2014)

147

A.7 "1 AK Saray = 1000 Rescue Chambers" (29.10.2014)

A.8 "The Blatant Disaster" (30.10.2014)

A.9 "The Mine Company is Shameless, Government is Barefaced" (31.10.2014)

148

A.10 "Is This Also Fitrat?"
(29.10.2014)

A.11 "Greed for Profit Choked"
(30.10.2014)

A.12: "The Erdoğan Disaster"
(31.10.2014)

A.13 "Again Mine, Again Negligence" (29.10.2014)

A.14 "The Disaster Waiting to Happen" (30.10.2014)

A.15 "Death fell to the wretch's share from the Omnibus Law" (31.10.2014)

150

A.16 "Water Disaster in the Mine" (29.10.2014)

A. 17 "They are under This Water" (30.10.2014)

A.18 "How did not You Hear This Cry?" (31.10.2014)

151

A.19 "Death from Water" (29.10.2014)

A.20 "He will Never See His Child Again" (30.10.2014)

A.21 "My Son does not Know Swimming" (31.10.2014)

152

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

B.1 MÜLAKAT SORULARI (MADENCİ YAKINLARINA YÖNELİK)

1- Kaç yıldır _____ köyünde/kasabasında yaşıyorsunuz?

2- Ailede çalışan kimseler kimlerdir? Kaza öncesi geçiminizi nasıl sağlıyordunuz?

3- Eşiniz/oğlunuz/_____ınız ne kadar zamandır madende çalışıyordu? Daha önceden yaptığı bir iş var mıydı?

    * Eşiniz/oğlunuz/_____ınızın madende çalışma sebepleri nelerdi?

4- Eşiniz/oğlunuz/_____ınız madendeki çalışma koşullarına yönelik size neler anlatırdı?

5- Hatırlaması sizin için zor olabilir biliyorum ama bana kaza haberini aldıktan sonra neler yaptığınızı anlatır mısınız?

    * Olay yerine gittiniz mi? Gittiyseniz orada neler gördünüz?

6- Peki sizce bu kazaya neden olan sebepler nelerdir?

7- Kamuoyunda kazada bazı ihmaller olduğuna ilişkin yorumlar var. Siz bu konuda ne düşünüyorsunuz?

8- Maden kazası olmadan önce hayatınızın herhangi bir döneminde gazetede veya televizyonda yer aldınız mı?

    *Aldıysanız bu tecrübenizden bahsedebilir misiniz? Almadıysanız sizce bunun sebebi ne olabilir?

9- Kaza öncesinde televizyon veya gazetelerde Ermenek ile ilgili haberlere rastladığınız oldu mu?

* Rastladıysanız bunlar ne tür haberlerdi, rastlamadıysanız sizce bunun sebebi ne olabilir?

10- Kaza olduktan sonra buraya haber yapmak amaçlı çeşitli televizyon kanalları ve gazeteler geldi. Sizinle konuştular mı? Size neler sordular?

11- Gazetecilerin ve televizyoncuların size karşı tutumları hakkında neler düşünüyorsunuz?

12- Kaza sonrasında hükümeti temsilen bakanlar Ermenek'e geldiler. Bakanların kaza sonrası buradaki çalışmaları ve yaptıkları açıklamalar hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

13- Diğer siyasi partilerden sizi ziyaret edip, başsağlığı dileyen kimler oldu? Bu isimlerin kaza sonrası buradaki çalışmaları ve yaptıkları açıklamalar hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

14- Şimdi size kaza ile ilgili yapılmış haberlere ait bazı resimler ve manşetler göstereceğim. Bu görseller ile ilgili neler düşündüğünüzü anlatır mısınız?

15- Kaza sonrasında ne tür yardımlar aldınız?

16- Bu yardımları yapan kişiler veya kurumlar kimlerdi?

17- Kazadan sonra yapılan bazı haberlerde lastik ayakkabı, ev gibi şeylerin ön plana çıkarıldığı görüldü. Siz bu yardımlar hakkında neler düşünüyorsunuz?

* Yardımların yapılış tarzında sizi memnun ve rahatsız eden noktalar nelerdi?

Tamamlayıcı sorular (follow up questions). Kendilerinden önce sorulan soruya alınan yanıta göre ya da yanıt yetersiz görüldüğünde sorulacak.

B.2 MÜLAKAT SORULARI (SAĞ KURTULAN MADENCİLERE YÖNELİK)

1- Kaç yıldır _____ köyünde/kasabasında yaşıyorsunuz?

2- Ne kadar zamandır madende çalışıyorsunuz? Daha önceden yaptığınız bir iş var mıydı?

    * Madende çalışmanızın nedenleri nelerdir?

3- Kaza olmadan önce madendeki çalışma koşullarından biraz bahsedebilir misiniz?

4- İşvereniniz ve madende amiriniz konumunda olan (çavuş, başçavuş, şef, mühendis gibi) kimselerin size karşı olan tutumları nasıldı?

5- Soma'daki maden kazasından sonra çıkarılan torba yasa kapsamında bir süre madende üretime ara verilmiş ve sonradan çalışmalar tekrardan başlamış. Bu yasa ile birlikte çalışma şartlarınızda ne tür değişiklikler oldu?

    * İşveren veya mühendisler torba yasadan sonra çalışma koşullarında değişiklikler olacağı türünden şeyler söylediler mi?

    * Yemeklerin madende yenmesinin sebebi neydi? Torba yasa ile birlikte yemek ve servislerin kaldırıldığı iddiası doğru mu?

6- Hatırlaması sizin için zor olabilir biliyorum ama bana kazanın nasıl meydana geldiğini anlatır mısınız?

7- Peki sizce bu kazaya neden olan sebepler nelerdir?

8- Kamuoyunda kazada bazı ihmaller olduğuna ilişkin yorumlar var. Siz bu konuda ne düşünüyorsunuz?

9- Maden kazası olmadan önce hayatınızın herhangi bir döneminde gazetede veya televizyonda yer aldınız mı?

    *Aldıysanız bu tecrübenizden bahsedebilir misiniz? Almadıysanız sizce bunun sebebi ne olabilir?

10- Kaza öncesinde televizyon veya gazetelerde Ermenek ile ilgili haberlere rastladığınız oldu mu?

    * Rastladıysanız bunlar ne tür haberlerdi, rastlamadıysanız sizce bunun sebebi ne olabilir?

11- Kaza olduktan sonra buraya haber yapmak amaçlı çeşitli televizyon kanalları ve gazeteler geldi. Sizinle konuştular mı? Size neler sordular?

    *Gazetecilerin ve televizyoncuların size karşı tutumları hakkında neler düşünüyorsunuz?

12- Kaza sonrasında devlet yetkilileri ve hükümeti temsilen bakanlar Ermenek'e geldiler. Sizinle iletişim kurdular mı? Bakanların kaza sonrası buradaki çalışmaları ve medyaya yaptıkları açıklamalar hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

13- Diğer siyasi partilerden sizi ziyaret edip, geçmiş olsun diyen yetkililer oldu mu? Bu isimlerin kaza sonrası buradaki çalışmaları ve medyaya yaptıkları açıklamalar hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

14- Şimdi size kaza ile ilgili yapılmış haberlere ait bazı resimler ve manşetler göstereceğim. Bu görseller ile ilgili neler düşündüğünüzü anlatır mısınız?

15- Kaza sonrasında ne tür yardımlar aldınız?

    *Yardım almadıysanız sizce bunun nedenleri nelerdir?

16- Bu yardımları yapan kişiler veya kurumlar kimlerdi?

17- Kazadan sonra yapılan bazı haberlerde lastik ayakkabı, ev gibi şeylerin ön plana çıkarıldığı görüldü. Siz bu yardımlar hakkında neler düşünüyorsunuz?

    * Yardımların yapılış tarzında sizi memnun ve rahatsız eden noktalar nelerdi?

18- Kazadan sonra hayatınızda neler değişti? Şimdilerde geçiminizi nasıl sağlıyorsunuz?

Tamamlayıcı sorular (follow up questions). Kendilerinden önce sorulan soruya alınan yanıta göre ya da yanıt yetersiz görüldüğünde sorulacak.

TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Bu çalışma 28 Ekim 2014 yılında Karaman iline bağlı bir kasaba olan Ermenek'te meydana gelen maden faciasını medya merkezli bir perspektiften incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Medya merkezli yaklaşım, facianın bağlamını temsillere indirgemeden, ancak medya aracılığıyla kurulan temsillerin facianın deneyimlenmesinde, muhtemel sebepleri ve sorumlarının açıklanmasında ve sonrasında bölgeye gösterilen ilgi ile yapılan yardımlar üzerinde etkili olduğu savına dayanmaktadır. Bu amaçla çalışma maden faciasını 'bağlam ile inşanın kesişim noktası' olarak ele almakta ve odağını daha çok inşa boyutu oluşturmaktadır. Çalışmada facianın bağlamı özellikle AKP hükümetleri döneminde Türkiye'de madencilik sektörünün giderek özelleşen, güvencesiz ve istikrarsız bir yapıya dönüşmesi olarak görülmektedir. İnşa ise facia meydana geldikten sonra medya dolayımıyla görünür kılınması ve medya temsilleri aracılığıyla söylemsel olarak temsil edilmesine karşılık gelmektedir.

Çalışmanın temel savlarından biri medya aracılığı ile kurulan temsillerin her ne kadar faciaya neden olan bağlam üzerinde etkisi olmasa da facia meydana geldikten sonra nedenlerinin ve sorumlularının kim olduğunun açıklanması noktasında önemli etkileri olduğudur. Norman Fairclough'un (2003: 23) söyleme eleştirel gerçekçi yaklaşımı çerçevesinde sözünü ettiği aktörlerin toplumsal yapılar ile doğrudan değil ancak aradaki toplumsal pratiklerin dolayımıyla ilişkiye girdiği savından hareketle, çalışmada medya temsilleri aktörler ve toplumsal yapı arasındaki ilişkiyi söylemsel olarak inşa eden toplumsal pratiklerin bir türü olarak ele alınmaktadır. Bu temsillerin önemi ise salt olayın aktarılmasında değil yorumlanması ve bizzat hadiseyi yaşayan insanlarca deneyimlenmesinde etkilerinin olmasında yatmaktadır. Kısacası maden faciasının bu temsiller yoluyla bir 'medya olayı' olarak kurulması

faciaını hangi çerçevede tartışılacağı, sorumluluğun ve suçun hangi aktörlere yükleneceği, hangi aktörlerin ön plana çıkarılıp hangilerinin arka planda bırakılacağı gibi noktalarda etkili olmaktadır.

Bu genel çerçeveyi takip ederek çalışmada temel olarak araştırılan şey medya temsillerinin facianın söylemsel olarak kurulmasında oynadıkları rol ile bu rolün faciayı bizzat deneyimleyen mağdurlar açısından etkileridir. Çalışma merkezine 'faciayla görünür olma' sorunsalını koyarak medya temsilleri aracılığıyla facianın söylemsel olarak kuruluş biçimlerini saptamakta ve bunların alt sınıftan insanlar olan facianın mağdurları açısından etkilerini tartışmaktır.

Bu amaçlarla çalışma dört ana bölümden oluşmaktadır. İlk bölümde maden faciasının bir medya olayı olarak kurulmasının teorik temelleri tartışılmaktadır. Bu kapsamda ilk olarak özellikle yirminci yüzyıla ait bir görüngü olan kitle iletişim araçlarında yaşanan değişim ve gelişimlerin insanlar arası yeni eylem ve etkileşim biçimleri yaratması "görünürlüğün dönüşümü" (Thompson, 1995) kavramı üzerinden tartışılmaktadır. Burada temel olarak günümüz geç modern toplumlarında insanların gündelik yaşamlarında sürekli olarak kendilerinden zamansal ve mekânsal olarak uzakta meydana gelen olaylar ve bu olayların aktörleri ile medya dolayımıyla karşı karşıya geldikleri belirtilmektedir. Başka bir deyişle, medyanın gelişiminin yarattığı durumlardan biri olarak uzaktaki insanlarla etkileşime girmek için aynı zaman-mekân birlikteliğini paylaşma zorunluluğunun ortadan kalktığı iddia edilmektedir. Bu yolla etkileşimin ve eylemin biçimi giderek 'uzaktaki ötekilere' yönelik olmakta ve izleyici ile olayı yaşayan aktör arasındaki ilişki medya dolayımıyla kurulmaktadır. Kısaca medya temsilleri 'sembolik içerik' sağlamanın ötesinde insanlara uzaktaki ötekiler için eylem ve etkileşim biçimleri yaratmaktadır.

Çalışmada maden faciasının bir medya olayı olarak kurulması "uzak acı" ("*distant suffering*" Boltanski, 1999; Chouliaraki, 2006, benim çevirim) kavramının bir veçhesi olarak ele alınmaktadır. Buna göre izleyiciler uzak yerlerde meydana gelen olaylar, doğal veya sosyal faciaları medya temsilleri aracılığıyla

158

deneyimlemektedirler. Bu ilişki taraflarını bir yanında faciayı yaşayanlar olarak acı çeken mağdurlar, öte yanında ise bu acıya medya temsilleri yoluyla tanıklık eden izleyiciler oluşturmaktadır. Bu tezin konusunu oluşturan alınan maden faciasında da faciadan ilk elden etkilenen 'mağdurlar' ile faciaya tanıklık eden 'uzak ötekiler' arasındaki ilişki medya temsilleri yoluyla kurulmuştur. Bu temsiller uzak ötekiler için sadece haberdar etme işlevi taşımamış bunun yanında hadiseye yönelik olarak çeşitli tepki ve eylem biçimlerinin gerçekleştirildiği görülmüştür. Ancak bu iki grup insan arasındaki ilişkinin niteliğinin facianın yapısal temellerinin ve olası siyasi sorumluluğun sorgulandığı bir çerçevede mi yoksa acındırıcı temsiller yoluyla yaratılan bir tür "acıma siyaseti" (Boltanski, 1999 akt. Chouliaraki, 2006: 2-3) çerçevesinde mi ele alındığı haber medyasının temsil stratejileri ile ilgilidir. Bu çalışmanın içerdiği başka bir argüman medya temsillerinin faciayı acındırıcı temsiller yoluyla olaylaştırarak bağlamından kopardığı iddiasıdır.

İlk bölümün teorik olarak sorunsallaştırdığı bir başka konu görünürlükte yaşanan dönüşümlerin alt sınıfların medya ile kurdukları ilişki açısından etkileridir. Günümüz geç modern toplumlarında görünürlük ve "görünürlük mücadelesi" (Thompson, 1995; 2005) insanların kamusal alanda görünür olma, seslerini duyurma ve isteklerini iletmeleri ile ilişkisi bakımından önemli bir yere sahiptir. Hatta görünür olmama durumu aktörler için bir nevi "tanınmama" hatta "sembolik ölüm"(Honneth, 1996 akt. Dayan, 2013: 179) anlamına gelebilmektedir. Bu nedenle günümüz toplumlarında görünür olma mücadelesi toplumsal aktörler açısından kamusal alanda önemli bir yere sahiptir. Sosyal facialar sonrası sıklıkla işittiğimiz "-Herkes bizleri unuttu" ya da "-Sesimizi kimse duymuyor" türünden sitemler bu tür bir görülmeme haline işaret etmektedir. Buradaki sitemin adresi medyadır çünkü uzaktaki ötekiler ile acı çeken mağdurlar arasındaki ilişkiyi kuran başat aygıt olarak 'kendilerini görmesi' veya 'seslerini duyurması' beklenen aktör medyadır. Tüm bunlar birlikte düşünüldüğünde günümüzde kamusal alanda var olan mücadelelerden önemli birisinin de görünür olmaya dair olan bu mücadele olduğu söylenilebilir.

Görünürlük üzerine olan bu tartışma, çalışmanın sıklıkla referansta bulunduğu ideoloji, söylem ve temsil kavramları ile ilişkilidir. Stuart Hall'un (1997) tartıştığı gibi temsil sadece gerçek dünyada var olan nesnelerin ve kavramların 'yerine geçen' (*stand for*) bir kavram değil aksine onları aktif şekilde 'inşa eden' bir süreçtir. Buna göre temsiller bir toplumun "ideolojik repertuvar"ında bulunan kavramları kullanarak "tercih edilen anlamlar" ve "tercih edilen okumalar" yaratmak, bu yolla alternatif okumaların ve anlamların önüne geçme amaçlı çeşitli stratejiler kullanırlar (Hall, 1984). Burada amaçlanan anlamın çoğul yapısını toplumdaki "tanınmış düzen" ("*acknowledged order*", Hall, 1977 benim çevirim) yararına kapatmaktır. Bu, toplumdaki bütün sınıfların iletişim kurmak için aynı dili konuşmak zorunda oldukları gerçeği ölçüsünde dili ve dil dolayımla kurulan temsilleri "anlamlar üzerinde sınıf savaşı"nın alanı haline getirir (Voloshinov, 1973'den akt. Hall, 1977). Kısacası yukarıda bahsettiğimiz görünür olmaya yönelik mücadelenin yanında, medya temsilleri dolayımıyla işlenen stratejiler aynı zamanda farklı toplumsal sınıfların anlamlar üzerinde verdikleri mücadelenin de bir alanıdır. Bu temsiller strateji düzeyinde çeşitli söylemleri kullanarak aktörleri ve olayları belirli yönlerde inşa etmekte ve bu söylemsel inşalar sonuçları bakımından toplumdaki belirli ideolojilerin yararına anlamın kapatılması gibi sonuçlar doğurmaktadır.

Görünürlüğün ve anlamın toplumsal mücadele alanları olması ölçüsünde toplumsal alandaki eşitsizlikler bu alanlara da yansıtmakta ve farklı sınıflar açısından farklı etkiler yaratmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın temel savlarından bir diğeri toplumsal alanda dezavantajlı gruplardan olan alt sınıfların görünürlüğe yönelik olan mücadelede de dezavantajlı bir konumda bulunmasıdır. Bu durum ilk olarak medya alanının yapısal olarak ve güç anlamında asimetrik şekilde yapılanmasından kaynaklanır. Buna göre mesajın üretildiği bağlamın tekil, alımlayıcılarının ve alımlandığı bağlamların sayısının ise neredeyse sınırsız olmasından dolayı bu ilişki yapısal olarak eşitsizdir ve çoğunlukla karşılıklı değil, üreticiden alımlayıcıya doğru tek taraflı, 'monolojik'tir (Thompson, 1995). İkinci olarak bu ilişki güç anlamında eşitsizdir çünkü her ne kadar izleyicilerin "aktif anlam üreticileri" olarak medya mesajlarına direniş imkânı ve alternatif kodaçım potansiyelleri her zaman mevcut olsa da (Hall,

160

1999),"temsil etme gücü" hala üreticilerde bulunmaktadır (Madianou, 2013). Dolayısıyla alt sınıfların medya ile olan ilişkileri çoğunlukla "istenmeyen medya maruziyeti" ("*unwanted media exposure*", Madianou, 2013 benim çevirim) şeklinde yaşanmaktadır. Özellikle acındırıcı temsiller yoluyla kurulan alt sınıf anlatıları hâlihazırda toplumsal alanda sahip oldukları ekonomik, kültürel veya sosyal sermaye açısından dezavantajlı konumda olan bu insanları kendi temsillerini kontrol edemedikleri veya yanlış temsil olarak gördükleri bir durumu düzeltemedikleri durumlarla karşı karşıya bırakır. Bu nedenle alt sınıfların medya ile olan ilişkileri "dolaylı zarar" içermektedir ("*mediated harm*", Madianou, 2013 benim çevirim). Bu, dolaylı olmayan zarardan daha yaralayıcı bir durumdur çünkü temsile konu olan kişilerin sınırsız sayıda potansiyel alımlayıcının bakışına ve yargılamasına maruz kalmasını getirmektedir. Bu sebeple çalışmanın bir başka temel iddiası, görünürlüğün sadece erişim imkânlarının artmış olması anlamında olumlu değil, aksine özellikle alt sınıflar açısından bu türden temsil stratejilerine maruz kalmayı da gerektirdiği ölçüde daha çok olumsuz ve yaralayıcı olduğu savıdır. Başka bir deyişle, medyada görünür olmanın bir bedeli vardır ve bu bedel alt sınıflar açısından kendi temsilerini kontrol edemedikleri, aksine nesneleştirilerek sınırsız sayıda alımlayıcının bakışlarının nesnesi haline getirildikleri yaralayıcı bir süreçtir. Yani dolaylı görünürlük alt sınıflar açısından getiriden çok götürüsü olması noktasında paradoksal bir duruma işaret eder.

Bu kısma kadar anlatılan teorik noktalar ışığında çalışmanın ikinci bölümü, üçüncü bölümde yapılan haber analizi için teorik ve metodolojik araçlar sağlamayı hedeflemektedir. Bu kapsamda nitel metin analizinde çok sık kullanılan Eleştirel Söylem Çözümlemesi (ESÇ) geleneği içerisinde yer alan Çok Kipli Eleştirel Söylem Çözümlemesi (ÇKESÇ) ("*Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis*", çeviri ve kısaltma bana ait) metodundan yararlanılmıştır. Çok kiplilik üzerine yapılan vurgu, ESÇ uygulamalarında çoğunlukla dilsel öğelere ağırlık verildiği ve resim, ses, vurgu gibi dil dışı öğelerin analiz dışında bırakıldığı eleştirisi ile ilişkilidir. Bu nedenle bu çalışmaya konu edilen haber metinlerinin analizinde ÇKESÇ metodundan yararlanılmış ve yapılan haberlerde hem haber dili hem de haber fotoğrafları analiz

edilmiştir. Analize konu olan haber metinleri maden faciasının yaşandığı günden sonraki ilk üç günü (29,30 ve 31 Ekim 2014) kapsamaktadır. Analiz için Türkiye'de ulusal düzeyde yayın yapan yedi günlük gazetenin (Birgün, Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet, Posta, Sabah, Yeni Şafak ve Zaman) Ermenek maden faciası ve bunun yanında olayla bağlantılı olarak yaptıkları Türkiye'deki madencilik ve çalışma koşulları ile ilgili haberler seçilmiştir. Gazetelerin seçimi sahip oldukları politik pozisyona göre yapılmış ve bu amaçla gazeteler üç kategoriye ayrılmıştır: 'hükümet yanlısı gazeteler' olarak Sabah ve Yeni Şafak; 'hükümet karşıtı gazeteler' olarak Birgün, Cumhuriyet ve Zaman; 'açık siyasi pozisyon almaktan kaçınan yüksek tirajlı ana akım gazeteler' olarak Hürriyet ve Posta sınıflandırılmıştır.

Analize konu olan haberler ÇKESÇ geleneği içerisinde yer alan bir teorisyen olan Theo van Leeuwen'in kitabında (2008) aktörler ve eylemlerin analizi için kavramsallaştırdığı çerçeveleri kullanarak incelenmiştir. Bu amaçla ilgili kitabın ikinci bölümündeki 'Toplumsal Aktörlerin Temsili', üçüncü bölümündeki 'Toplumsal Eylemin Temsili' ve sekizinci bölümündeki 'Toplumsal Aktörlerin Görsel Temsili' bölümlerinden yararlanılmıştır. İkinci ve üçüncü bölümler dilsel analiz, sekizinci bölüm ise görsel analiz için metodolojik araçlar içermektedir. Çalışma haber temsillerinde aktörleri ve eylemlerin analizi için şu kategorileri kullanmaktadır: Aktörler olarak a)hükümet yetkilileri (cumhurbaşkanı, başbakan, bakanlar ve iktidar partisi milletvekilleri), b)muhalif siyasetçiler (mecliste bulunan diğer siyasi partilerin temsilcileri), c)uzmanlar, d)mağdurlar (faciada yakını kaybetmiş madenci aileleri ile sağ kurtulan madenciler) ve e)uzak ötekiler (faciayı medyadan okuyarak/izleyerek haberdar olmuş ve sonrasında –protesto etmek, bölgeye yardım göndermek gibi– bir şekilde eylemde bulunmuş insanlar) seçilmiştir. Eylemlerin analizinde ise a)facianın olası sebeplerine yönelik açıklamalar ve b)aktörlere yüklenen sorumluluklar olmak üzere ikili bir kategorileştirmeye gidilmiştir. Görsel analiz açısından ilgili haberlerde görsel olarak en çok işlenen iki aktör a)hükümet yetkilileri ile b)mağdurların haber görsellerindeki temsilleri incelenmiştir.

Çalışmanın üçüncü bölümü haber analizine ayrılmıştır. Bu amaçla incelenen haber metinlerinde şu bulgulara ulaşılmıştır. İlk olarak 'hükümet yanlısı gazeteler' yaptıkları haberlerde facianın 'kullanılmayan yan madendeki suyun gerçekleştiği ocağı basması' şeklinde özetlenebilecek 'fiziksel neden' sebebiyle gerçekleştiğini vurguladıkları görülmüştür. Dolayısıyla bu iki gazetede 'herhangi bir şekilde hükümetin ya da daha yapısal faktörlerin sorumluluğunu vurgulamak' şeklinde özetlenebilecek 'siyasi neden'e yönelik hiç vurgu yoktur. Aksine maden faciası adeta bir 'doğal afet'e indirgenip olaylaştırılarak siyasi ya da sistemsel herhangi bir faktörün sorumluluğu silinmektedir. Sorumluluğun atfedilmesi açısından hükümet yanlısı gazetelerde yegâne sorumlu aktör olarak madenin patronu suçlanmaktadır. "Zalim patron", "vicdansızlık", "madende köle düzeni", "maden çetesi" gibi başlıklar ve ifadeler yoluyla patronun acımasız yönetimi eleştirilmiş ve neredeyse patron o şekilde davranmamış olsaydı bu facianın yaşanmayacağı yollu bir anlatı kurulmuştur. Hükümet yetkilileri ise hiçbir şekilde facia ile ilişkilendirilmemekte, aksine sorumluları cezalandırması beklenen 'sorun çözücüler', 'kurtarıcılar' olarak yansıtılmaktadırlar. Bu iki gazetede de hükümet yetkililerinin 'aşırı temsil' (*overrepresentation*) edildikleri görülmektedir. Mümkün olan her durumda hükümet yetkililerinin açıklamalarına referans verilmiş, bu yolla hükümet yetkilileri sorunu tespit eden, sorumluyu saptayan ve gerekeni yapması beklenen kimseler olarak işlenmiştir. Öte yandan hükümet yanlısı gazetelerde muhalif siyasetçilere neredeyse hiç yer verilmediği, Sabah gazetesinin sadece iki kez ve çok kısa şekilde referans verdiği (30.10.2014: 20, 22), Yeni Şafak'ta ise muhalif siyasetçilerin demeçlerine hiç yer verilmediği görülmüştür. Benzer bir durum uzman görüşü temsillerinde de söz konusudur. Her iki gazete de ilk üç günkü yayınlarında uzman görüşüne yer vermemiştir. Bunun nedenlerinden biri hâlihazırda hükümet yetkilileri aşırı temsil edildiklerinden ve söyledikleri inandırıcı bulunduğundan bu açıklamaları uzman görüşü ile desteklemek ihtiyacı duyulmamasıdır. Uzman görüşüne yer verilmemesinin ikinci bir sebebi, görüşü alınacak uzman kişilerin faciadaki muhtemel sorumluluklara dair yorumlar da getirebilecekleri ve bu yorumların iktidar kanadındaki siyasetçilere de uzanabileceği tehlikesidir. Bu tür bir tehlikeyi

163

savuşturmak ve hükümet yetkililerinin herhangi bir şekilde sorumluluğunun olabileceğini sezdirecek türden yorum ve açıklamalara yer vermemek her iki gazetenin de temel stratejilerinden biridir.

Hükümet yanlısı gazetelerde mağdurların temsili bu çalışmada 'medya söylemlerinin alt sınıflara dair acındırıcı temsiller yoluyla onları nesneleştirerek bir tür 'acıma siyasetinin' nesnesi haline getirdiği' savını destekler niteliktedir. Bu hem haber metinlerinde hem de kullanılan haber fotoğraflarında göze çarpmaktadır. Mağdurlar açısından; faciada bir yakınını kaybetmiş aileler neredeyse bütünüyle acındırıcı temsillere konu edilirken, sağ kurtulan madencilerin olayın nasıl olduğuna dair görüşleri alınan görgü tanıkları olarak temsil edildiği görülmektedir. Bu tanıklıklar her iki gazetede de baskın söylem olarak öne çıkan 'bütün suçu maden patronuna atfetme' stratejisini destekleme amacıyla kullanılmaktadır. Faciada bir yakını kaybetmiş aileler ise neredeyse bütünüyle acındırıcı temsillere konu edilmektedir. Sağ kurtulan madenciler aksine faciada bir yakını kaybetmiş madenci yakınlarının büyük ölçüde kişiselleştirildiği ancak bu kişiselleştirmenin onları aktif aktör konumuna getirmekten çok, pasif bir role indirgeme amaçlı yapıldığı göze çarpmaktadır. Van Leeuwen'in de bir araştırmasında saptadığı üzere, haber söyleminde alt sınıflar sadece "duygusal" tepkiler veren kimseler olarak temsil edilmekte, "rasyonel" ya da "bilişsel" tepkiler elit kimselere atfedilmektedir (2008: 58). Bu çalışmada da benzer bir durumla karşılaşılmıştır. Faciada yakını kaybetmiş ailelerden kimselerin eylemlerinin neredeyse tümü "yürekleri dağlamak", "yürek burkmak", "gözyaşı dökmek", "çaresizce beklemek" gibi pasif ve okuyucuda acıma hissi uyandırma amacı taşıyan niteliktedir. Rasyonel-bilişsel tepkiler hükümet yetkililerine atfedilirken, facianın mağdurları sadece maden patronuna ve madendeki acımasız çalışma koşullarına verdikleri tepkilerde bilişsel-rasyonel olarak temsil edilmektedir. Bunun haricindeki bütün durumlarda mağdur yakınlarının tepkileri duygusaldır ve okuyucuda acıma hissi yaratacak şekilde resmedilmektedir.

Hükümet yanlısı gazetelerde uzak ötekiler ve eylemlerinin temsillerinin neredeyse hiç yer almadığı görülmektedir. Bunun sebebi tıpkı uzman görüşü ve mağdurların

164

maden sahibini aşan eleştirilerine yer verilmemesinde olduğu gibi uzak ötekilerin eylemlerinin çoğunlukla protesto gösterileri şeklinde olması ve bu protestolarda hükümeti eleştiren veya hükümetin sorumluluğunu vurgulayan sloganlar kullanılmasıdır. Bu türden eleştirilerin bu iki gazetede yer almaması daha önce de belirtildiği gibi siyasi iktidarın sorumluluğunu herhangi bir şekilde sezdirecek her türlü ifadeye yer vermekten kaçınmaları ile ilgilidir.

Hükümete muhalif gazetelerin aktörleri ve eylemleri temsil ediş tarzları hükümet yanlısı gazetelerden ciddi ölçüde farklılaşmaktadır. Ancak bu gazetelerde yer alan haberlerden elde edilen bulguları tartışmadan önce hükümete muhalif gazetelerin politik çizgilerine dair kısa bir hatırlatmada fayda vardır. Buna göre Birgün ve Cumhuriyet'in hükümet karşıtlığı onların ideolojik çizgilerinden gelmekte iken, Zaman'ın muhalefeti ideolojik olmaktan çok politiktir ve gazetenin o dönemki sahibi olan Gülen cemaatinin hükümet ile yaşadığı kopuştan kaynaklanmaktadır.[1] Facianın niçin meydana geldiği noktasında Birgün ve Cumhuriyet'te yukarıda 'herhangi bir şekilde hükümetin ya da daha yapısal faktörlerin sorumluluğunu vurgulamak' şeklinde özetlediğimiz 'siyasi neden'e 'fiziksel neden'e göre daha fazla vurgu yapıldığı görülmektedir. Hükümet yanlısı gazetelerden farklı olarak, bu iki muhalif gazete maden faciasını tekil bir olarak görmemiş, aksine Ermenek'teki facia daha önce Zonguldak'ta, Soma'da yaşanan faciaların bir devamı, hükümetin madencilik politikalarının ve neoliberalizm gibi yapısal faktörlerin bir sonucu olarak değerlendirilmiştir. Bu tutumun bir sonucu olarak hükümet karşıtı gazetelerde facianın sorumlusu olarak madenin patronunun kötü yönetimi vurgulanmış ancak bunun bir adım ötesine geçerek hükümet politikalarının ve madencilik sektörünün güvencesiz yapısı gibi dışsal faktörlerin rolü vurgulanmıştır. Gazeteler bunu "Erdoğan afeti", "1 AK Saray=1000 Yaşam Odası" gibi manşetler yoluyla gerçekleştirmiş, hükümetin ve cumhurbaşkanının yapay ihtiyaçları ile madencilerin

---

[1] Kamuoyunda '17-25 Aralık yolsuzluk soruşturmaları' olarak bilinen ve o dönemki AKP'li bakanlara ve hatta Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan'a ait olduğu iddia edilen ses kayıtlarının yayınlanmasının ardından AKP hükümeti ve Erdoğan ile Gülen cemaatinin arası açılmış. O zamana kadar desteklenen Gülen cemaati 'ihanet çetesi', 'paralel devlet yapılanması' olarak değerlendirilmeye başlanmıştır.

karşılanmayan gerçek ihtiyaçları arasındaki çelişkiyi vurgulamışlardır. Muhalif gazeteler kategorisindeki üçüncü gazete olan Zaman'da da siyasi nedenin fiziki nedenin önüne geçirildiği, hükümetin politikalarının madencilerin sorunlarına çare olmadığı yollu bir anlatı bulunmaktadır. Ancak Birgün ve Cumhuriyet'in açık ve belirgin eleştirisinden çok, Zaman'ın eleştirisi genelleştirilmiş ve soyuttur. Bu durum gazetenin sorunlu bir durumla ilgili eleştirel açıklamaları sadece aktarma yoluna gitmesi, bunları ileri götürmeyip olduğu gibi bırakmasından anlaşılmaktadır.

Hükümet yanlısı gazetelerden farklı olarak, hükümete muhalif gazetelerde muhalif siyasilerin görüşlerine sıklıkla yer verildiği göze çarpmaktadır. Özellikle Birgün ve Cumhuriyet'te muhalif siyasetçilerin ve demeçlerine sıklıkla vurgu yapıldığı ve bu yolla okuyucunun facianın oluş nedenleri ve sorumlularına dair dışsal faktörleri sorgulamasını sağlayacak alternatif açıklamalar sağlandığı görülmektedir. Zaman gazetesinin de muhalif siyasetçiler ve açıklamalarına yer verdiği ancak 'genelleştirilmiş eleştiri' stratejisinin ideolojik çizgileri farklı muhalif siyasetçileri bir bütün olarak "muhalefet" olarak nitelemesinden ve açıklamalarını salt aktarma yoluna giderek dokunulmadan bırakmasından anlaşılmaktadır.

Muhalif gazetelerde uzman görüşlerinin AKP hükümetinin ve siyasalarının maden faciasının meydana gelmesindeki sorumluluğunu vurgulama amacıyla etkili şekilde kullanıldığı göze çarpmaktadır. Özellikle MMO, TMMOB gibi muhalif meslek örgütlerinden uzmanların görüşlerine yer verildiği, bu yolla AKP hükümeti döneminde Türkiye'de madencilik sektöründe çalışma koşullarının kötüleştiği savı uzman görüşü ile desteklenmektedir. Zaman gazetesi ise ideolojik çizgisine yakın muhafazakâr sendikaların sözcülerinin görüşlerine yer vermiş, ancak eleştirilerin yönü hükümete doğrudan ve açık eleştiriler olmaktan çok daha genel ve belirsizdir.

Mağdurların temsili açısından üç muhalif gazete kendi içerisinde farklılaşmaktadır. Birgün ve Cumhuriyet'in hükümete yakın gazetelerin aksine facia mağdurlarını acındırıcı temsillere konu etmekten özellikle kaçındığı görülmektedir. Bu iki gazetenin temsillerinde facia mağdurları diğer gazetelerde görülmeyecek şekilde

166

bilişsel ve rasyonel tepkiler ile resmedilmiş, bu tepkilerde hükümeti eleştirdikleri noktalar da açıkça belirtilmiştir. Yani Birgün ve Cumhuriyet bilişsel-rasyonel tepkilerin sadece elit kimselere atfedilmesine yönelik olan statükoyu kırmış ve mağdur yakınlarını acıma hissi uyandırılacak nesneler değil aktif, eleştiren özneler olarak kurmuştur. Ancak üçüncü muhalif gazete olan Zaman'da durumun böyle olmadığı aksine acındırıcı temsillere yer verme bakımından bu gazetenin hükümet yanlısı gazetelere yakın bir anlatıya sahip olduğu görülmüştür. Mağdur yakınları bakanlara tepki veren kimseler olarak resmedilseler de "bazı madenci yakınları", "bazı madenciler" gibi ifadelerle belirsizleştirilmişlerdir.

Uzak ötekilerin temsili açısından Birgün ve Cumhuriyet gazetelerinin uzak ötekilerin tepkileri ve eylemlerine açıkça yer verdiği görülmektedir. Genellikle hükümetin sorumluluğunu vurgulayan, hükümeti ve daha yapısal faktörleri eleştiren sloganları barındıran uzak ötekilerin bu eylemlerine diğer gazetelerde olmadığı kadar yer verilmektedir. Bununla hedeflenen facianın sorumluluğunun AKP hükümeti ve onun politikalarının bir sonucu olarak görülen madencilikte yaşanan güvencesizleşme, taşeronlaşma gibi süreçler olduğu savını desteklemektir. Keza "Madencinin katili neoliberal AKP düzeni", "Kaza değil iş cinayeti" ya da "Taşeron sistemi acilen kaldırılmalıdır" gibi sloganların başlıklara taşınması bu savı destekler niteliktedir. Öte yandan Zaman gazetesinde uzak ötekilerin tepkileri ya da eylemlerine yer verilmediği görülmekte, bu tutum bizce gazetenin muhafazakâr çizgisinden ötürü genel bir politika olarak sokak eylemlerine yer vermemesi ile ilişkili olabileceği düşünülmüştür.

Son olarak 'açık siyasi pozisyon almaktan kaçınan yüksek tirajlı ana akım gazeteler' olarak değerlendirdiğimiz üçüncü kategorideki gazeteler Posta ve Hürriyet'in hem hükümet yanlısı, hem hükümet karşıtı olabilecek açıklamalara yer verdikleri görülmüştür. Hükümet yanlısı gazeteler ile mağdurların acındırıcı temsillere konu edilmesi, sorumluluğun çoğunlukla maden sahibinin yönetimine indirgenerek hükümeti veya daha dışsal faktörlerin etkisinin göz ardı edilmesi noktasında benzeşen söylemelere sahip oldukları görülmektedir. Hükümete muhalif siyasiler,

uzman görüşleri ve uzak ötekilerin eylemlerinin özellikle Hürriyet gazetesinde belirgin şekilde yer aldığı görülse de her iki gazetenin de dengeleyici bir tutum izledikleri gözlenmektedir. Bu durum özellikle Hürriyet gazetesinin hükümet eleştirisi gibi görünen bir uzman görüşü ya da muhalif siyasetçi açıklamasını dengelemek için aynı sayfanın başka bir kısmında hükümetin üzerine düşeni yaptığı yollu açıklamalara yer vermesi ile örneklendirilebilir (örn. Hürriyet, 31.10.2014: 16). Yine Hürriyet gazetesinde radikal uzman görüşlerine yer verildiği görülmüştür ancak bu görüşler maden sahibinin sorumluluğunu vurguladığı ve madendeki kötü koşulları eleştirdiği ölçüde kendine yer bulmaktadır. Eleştirinin ucu hükümete dokunduğu noktada bu uzman görüşlerinin yer alma ihtimalinin de çok zayıflayacağı anlaşılmaktadır.

Hürriyet ve Posta'nın facia mağdurlarının temsili noktasında da hükümet yanlısı gazeteler ile benzeştikleri görülmektedir. Her iki gazetede de mağdurların temsilindeki baskın eğilim acındırıcı temsillerdir. Hatta Posta gazetesinin mağdur yakınlarına hükümet yetkililerinden daha fazla yer verdiği ama bu stratejinin onları aktif aktörler olarak değil, pasif bakış nesnesi kimseler olarak kurarak acıma siyasetinin parçası haline getirme amacı vardır. Bu nedenle olaylaştırma, nesneleştirme ve bu yolla bağlamından koparma stratejileri bu gazeteler tarafından da kullanılmıştır. Mağdur ailelerin yaşadıkları geçim sıkıntısı ve zorluklar büyük ve renkli başlıklarla ön plana çıkarılmış ancak bölgedeki bu yokluk durumunun neden böyle olduğuna dair daha yapısal sebeplere vurgu yapılmamıştır. Aksine bölgedeki emek rejiminden ve onun bağlantılı bulunduğu Türkiye'deki madencilik sektörünün genel yapısından kaynaklanan bu zorluklar bağlamından koparılarak sadece acıma siyasetini besleyecek 'iç burkan', 'yürek dağlayan' durumlar olarak aktarılmıştır. Son olarak, uzak ötekilerin tepki ve eylemlerine Posta ve Hürriyet'te yer verildiği ancak bu temsillerin daha çok olaylaştırılarak sunulduğu Birgün ve Cumhuriyet'te olduğu kadar eleştirel bir tonda aktarılmadığı göze çarpmaktadır.

Çalışmanın son bölümünde Ermenek maden faciası bağlamın ve medya temsilleri yoluyla kurulan inşanın bir 'kesişim noktası' olarak görülmüş ve mağdurlar (faciada

bir yakınını kaybetmiş aileler ve sağ kurtulmuş işçilerden bazıları) ile yapılan yarı-yapılandırılmış mülakatlardan yararlanılarak facianın hikâyesi aktarılmaya çalışılmıştır. Burada amaçlanan facianın bağlamını medya temsillerine indirgenmeden ancak facianın bu temsiller yoluyla inşa ediliş biçimlerinin facianın, nedenlerinin ve olası sonuçlarının yorumlanmasında etkileri olduğunu tartışmaktır.

Vaka çalışmasının bulguları açısından ilk olarak Ermenek yöresinde çalışma ve yaşama koşullarının maden faciasının öncesinde de sonrasında da oldukça ağır olduğu gözlenmiştir. Bölgede sendikalaşma hiç yoktur ve bu nedenle emek gücü oldukça örgütsüz bir haldedir. Bunun bir sonucu olarak yöredeki madenciliği yarım asırdan fazla bir süredir ellerinde bulunduran birkaç ailenin acımasız yönetim pratiklerine ve keyfi uygulamalarına yol açmaktadır. Her ne kadar bu durum bazı gazetelerin anlatımlarında vurgulansa da gazetelerin temsil ediş biçimlerinin daha yapısal faktörleri sildikleri ve faciayı olaylaştırdıkları yukarıda tartışılmıştı. Olayın bağlamı bu şekilde inşa edildiğinden mağdurlarla yaptığımız mülakatlarda da sorumluluğun genel olarak maden patronu ve onun yönetimine atfedildiği görülmüştür. Örneğin, mülakatlar esnasında bölgedeki emek gücünün organize olmayan yapısının eleştirisine çok az rastlanmış ve bu durumun görüşmeciler tarafından bir sorun olarak görülmediği saptanmıştır. Bu sebeple medya temsillerinin facianın tartışılacağı bağlamı sınırlamada bu anlamda başarılı olduğundan ve facia mağdurlarının da olayı bu çerçevede tartıştıklarından bahsedilebilir.

İkinci olarak, mülakatlar öncesinde çalışmanın temel sorunsallarından biri olan 'facia ile görünür olma' durumu ve alt sınıftan olan bu insanların sadece olağanüstü hallerde görünür oldukları savının geçerli olduğu görülmüştür. Görüşmecilerin neredeyse tamamının facia öncesinde yaşadıkları yer olan Ermenek ve/veya yaşama veya çalışma koşulları ile ilgili bir haber görmedikleri, aksine Ermenek'in bu facia ile birlikte görünür olduğu görüşüne katıldıkları görülmüştür. Bu durum, bu çalışmada alt sınıfların sınıf konumları ve yaşadıkları yerler sebebiyle Türkiye

169

medyasının normal zamanlarda ilgi alanına girmedikleri ve ancak olağandışı durumlarda medyanın ilgisini çektikleri savını destekler niteliktedir.

Çalışmanın bir diğer sorunsalı olan görünürlüğün alt sınıfların her zaman yararına çalışan bir durum olmadığı aksine temsil stratejilerine maruz kalmayı da gerektirmesi ölçüsünde olumsuz ve yaralayıcı olabileceği savı idi. Görüşmelerde bu savı destekler nitelikte yanıtlar alınmıştır. Medya temsillerinde mağdurların tepkileri duygusal tepkilere indirgenmişken, mülakatlarda facianın oluş nedenlerine ve sorumlularına dair birçok rasyonel-bilişsel yanıtla karşılaşılmıştır. Ancak salt haber temsilleri üzerinden değerlendirildiğinde mağdurların 'acı çeken', 'ağlayan', 'yürek burkan' aktörler olmaktan öteye gidemedikleri, bu temsiller üzerinde kontrol veya düzeltme şansları bulunmadığından bu şekilde yansıtılmalarının yaralayıcı bir işlevi olduğu görülmüştür.

Görünürlüğün alt sınıflar açısından başka bir olumsuz yanının görünürlükteki farklılıkların mağdurlara gösterilen ilgi ve yapılan yardımlarda da farklılıklar yarattığı bu çalışmanın bir başka temel iddialarından birisiydi. Gerçekten de mülakatlar esnasında bazı ailelerin ön plana çıkarılmasının diğer ailelerde rahatsızlık hatta ön plana çıkarılan ailelere karşı öfke şeklinde deneyimlendiği görülmüştür. Özellikle oğlunun cenaze töreninde ayağındaki yırtık lastik ayakkabılar ile resmedilen 'Recep amca olayı' bunun cisimleştiği bir durumdur. Recep amcanın ön palan çıkarılması sebebiyle bölgeye giden yardımlarda bir dengesizlik olduğu, insanların yardım yollamak için bizzat Recep amcanın adres bilgilerini sordukları bizzat ilçe kaymakamı tarafından dile getirilen bir durumdur (Hürriyet, 21.11.2014: 4). Bu durumun kendisine daha az ilgi gösterilen ve daha az yardım yapılan ailelerde bir tür "gizli yaraya" (Sennett and Cobb, 1977) sebep olduğu görülmüştür. Mülakatlar esnasında öğrendiğimiz bir başka durum bu farklılıkların sadece ön plana çıkarılan ve geri planda bırakılan aileler arasında değil, faciada bir yakınını kaybetmiş aileler ile sağ kurtulan madenciler ve hatta mağdur aileler içerisinde de gelin ve kayınvalide-kayınpeder tarafında farklılıklara ve yaralara sebep olması gerçeğidir. Bu durum medya temsillerinin sadece temsil

esnasında değil, facia sonrasında da farklılıklar ve yaralara neden olduğu savını destekler niteliktedir.

Bu çalışmanın sahip olduğu iki savın ise mülakatlar sonucunda geçerli olmadığı görülmüştür. Bunlardan ilki, mağdurların hem yardımseverler hem de muhabirler ile olan ilişkilerinde bir tür nesneleştirilmeye tabi tutuldukları savıdır. Ancak yaptığımız görüşmelerde bunun görüşmeciler açısından bir sorun teşkil etmediğini aksine yardım amaçlı gelen herkese muhabirleri de içerecek şekilde genel bir 'Allah gelenden gidenden razı olsun' şeklinde iyi niyetle değerlendirildiği görülmüştür. Benzer şekilde mülakat öncesi çalışmanın bir başka savı olan hükümet yetkililerinin faciadaki sorumluluğunun ve kurtarma çalışmalarındaki rollerinin eleştirileceği iddiası görüşmeciler tarafından sorunsallaştırılmamıştır. Aksine görüşmecilerin büyük çoğunluğu devletin imkânları olmasa cesetlerin çıkma imkânı olmayacağını belirtip hükümetin bütün imkânları seferber ettiğini belirtmişlerdir. Elbette bu durumda medya söyleminçe hükümet yetkililerinin yoğun olarak 'kurtarıcı', 'problem çözücü' olarak yansıtılmasının etkisi olabileceği de düşünülmelidir. Facianın inşa edilişinde hükümetin sürekli sorumlulardan biri olarak değil de sorunu gidermesi beklenen temel aktör olarak işlenmesinin sorumluluğun maden sahibinden daha siyasal ya da yapısal aktörlere aktarılmamasında etkisi olabileceği ihtimali ortadadır.

Sonuç olarak, bu tez boyunca maden faciası bağlam ile inşa arasında bir kesişim noktası olarak düşünülmüş ve inşasında kullanılan temsil stratejilerinin facianın alımlaması, temsili ve hatta sonrasında yaşananlar üzerinde etkili olduğu iddia edilmiştir. 'Görünürlük mücadelesi' günümüz toplumlarında kişilerin kendilerini görünür, işitilir kılmaları ve dolayısıyla kamusal alanda taleplerini iletmeleri noktasında önemli bir boyuttur. Ancak toplumsal alandaki eşitsizlikler görünürlük alanına da taşındığından farklı sınıfların medya ve görünürlük ile olan ilişkileri de farklı olacaktır. Bu çalışmanın kendisine konu ettiği maden faciasının mağdurları alt sınıftan insanlar açısından medya ve görünürlük ilişkisi çoğunlukla paradoksaldır. Bu ilişkinin her ne kadar kamuoyunda görünür olma anlamında avantajları olsa da

aynı zamanda meydanın temsil stratejilerine maruz kalma anlamına da geleceğinden olumsuz ve yaralayıcı olma ihtimali yüksektir. Bu stratejiler hem facianın bir medya olayı olarak inşasında, hem hangi çerçevede tartışılacağı, nedenlerinin ve olası sorumlarının kimler olarak belirleneceği ve hem de sonrasında yaşanan süreçler üzerinde etkili olmaktadır. Bu anlamda görünürlükte yaşanan farklılıklar sonrasında faciadan etkilenenlere gösterilen ilgi ve yapılan yardımlarda farklılıklar yaratmakta, bu sebeple hem temsil esnasında hem de sonrasında bu insanlar için yaralayıcı sonuçlar doğurabileceği görülmüştür.

APPENDIX D

TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü	☐
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü	X
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü	☐
Enformatik Enstitüsü	☐
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü	☐

YAZARIN

Soyadı : Sümbül
Adı   : Uğur
Bölümü : Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) : Accidentally Seen: A Case Study on the 2014 Ermenek Mine Disaster and Its Media Representation

TEZİN TÜRÜ :   Yüksek Lisans   X   Doktora   ☐

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.   X

2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.   ☐

3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.   ☐

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ:

173