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A METAPHOR STUDY ON THE CONCEPTS OF STATE, NATION AND DEMOCRACY

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ABSTRACT

The concepts of state, nation and democracy, which are among the subjects of political science, are among the most controversial topics in the literature. There are different definitions and approaches to all three concepts in the literature. Therefore, it is curious how these concepts are perceived by the society. The aim of this study is to determine university students' perceptions of the concepts of state, nation and democracy. The method of the study was designed in a phenomenological pattern from qualitative research methods. The metaphors produced for state, nation and democracy and the reasons for these metaphors and perceptions towards these concepts were tried to be determined. As a result of the study, it was seen that university students' perceptions of the state and nation were mostly explained with metaphors such as father, mother, unity, togetherness, and protector. However, it was concluded that the metaphors for democracy were different from each other. As a result of the study, it is suggested that the public's view of concepts should also be taken into consideration when looking at metaphors related to concepts in current literature discussions.

Anahtar Kelimeler: State, Nation, Democracy, Metaphor, Phenomological pattern

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DEVLET, MİLLET VE DEMOKRASİ KAVRAMLARI ÜZERİNE BİR METAFOR ÇALIŞMASI

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ÖZ

Siyaset biliminin konuları arasında yer alan devlet, millet ve demokrasi kavramları literatürün en tartışmalı konuları arasında yer almaktadır. Literatürde her üç kavrama ilişkin farklı tanımlar ve yaklaşımlar bulunmaktadır. Dolayısıyla bu kavramların toplum tarafından nasıl algılandığı merak konusudur. Bu çalışmanın amacı, üniversite öğrencilerinin devlet, millet ve demokrasi kavramlarına ilişkin algılarını tespit etmektir. Çalışmanın yöntemi nitel araştırma yöntemlerinden fenomenolojik desende tasarlanmıştır. Devlet, millet ve demokrasi için üretilen metaforlar ve bu metaforların nedenleri ile bu kavramlara yönelik algılar tespit edilmeye çalışılmıştır. Çalışma sonucunda üniversite öğrencilerinin devlet ve millet algılarının daha çok baba, anne, birlik, beraberlik, koruyucu gibi metaforlarla açıklandığı görülmüştür. Ancak demokrasiye yönelik metaforların birbirinden farklı olduğu sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Çalışma sonucunda, güncel literatür tartışmalarında kavramlara ilişkin metaforlara bakarken halkın kavramlara bakışının da dikkate alınması önerilmektedir.

Keywords: Devlet, Millet, Demokrasi, Metafor, Fenomolojik desen

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Introduction

In today's democratic societies, the concepts of state, nation and democracy are inseparable. Democracy is associated with nation-states. Again, the source of power in the modern nation-state is based on the theories of popular sovereignty or national sovereignty (Kapani 2018: 81-83). In today's world, which McLuhan (1962: 21) defines as a 'global village', three concepts are discussed. From Ancient Greece to the present day, all three concepts have constantly acquired new meanings and have influenced social and political life with these new meanings. According to approaches that explain the emergence of the state, the roles and expectations between citizens and the state have also changed. However, transformations in democratic standards also differentiate expectations regarding the state. All three concepts have sometimes been seen as evil and sometimes as sacred units. For example, while the state is a sacred entity in Hegel's thought, for Marxists the state is evil. Democracy, which was praised by some thinkers of Ancient Greece, was characterized as a state of corruption by some thinkers in the same society. On the other hand, democracies have been seen throughout history as both the cause and the only solution to political crises. This situation leads to the emergence of new forms of democracies against new crises. Finally, the concept of nation has undergone both semantic and structural transformations since ancient times. The concept has sometimes been used in exclusionary and sometimes in praise. Again, while sometimes characterized as natural and natural units, they are sometimes seen as designed or created communities. On the other hand, in today's world, there are individuals with multiple citizenships. The number of 'foreigners' living under the same law is increasing. Processes such as migrations, dual citizenships, cultural and individual differentiation transform the nation, which is characterized as the political unit of the nation-state and democracy. This transformation affects the literature and leads to the emergence of new definitions and concepts.

A review of the literature reveals that these three concepts are analysed separately (Jessop, 2012; MacIver, 2013; Sartori, 1987; Smith, 2013). However, the concepts of state, nation and democracy should be evaluated holistically. Therefore, in this study, these three concepts are analysed together. In addition, most of the studies in the literature that deal with the concepts of state, nation and democracy separately are theoretical studies (Gökalp, 1997; Kılıç, 2017; Zabunoğlu, 2018; Turan, 2023; Erden, 2023). However, this study, which deals with the three concepts of state, nation and democracy together, determined the perceptions of the public towards these concepts because there is an uncertainty in the literature on how these three concepts are perceived and defined by the public. Determining the perceptions towards these three concepts enables to reveal whether the semantic change in the literature towards these concepts creates a change in the perception of individuals. Therefore, in this study, how these three concepts are recognised and perceived by the public has been the focus of the research. In this context, in accordance with the qualitative research paradigm through metaphors, the perceptions of the public about these three concepts and the reasons for their perceptions were determined.

Concept of State

The concept of state is one of the most controversial concepts of social sciences. In 1931, Titus identified 145 meanings of the term "state" in his analysis of its various meanings (Titus, 1931: 45). Many thinkers from antiquity to the present day have tried to explain the state. For example, Plato, in his book "State", searched for the ideal state by finding answers to questions such as what kind of a state should be established, how it should be governed, who should govern, what qualities the citizens and rulers of the state should have in order for the people to achieve happiness (Aşar, 2017: 19). Cicero saw the state as a unity of law and a unity in benefit (Cicero, 1823: 28). According to Aquinas, the state is a natural, rational-based institution. The purpose of the state is to reveal our virtuous tendencies and to realize human nature (Tannenbaum, 2012: 94). Hegel defines the state as a self-knowing, thinking and rational entity (Hegel, 2015: 235). The state is a supra-individual and supernatural entity (Jessop, 2021: 41). Spinoza sees the basis of the state as a preferable evil that arises from the need of people to live in peace, security and tranquillity (Spinoza, 2007: 151, 198). According to Althusser (2002: 34, 37), the state works in the interest of a class with its ideology and instruments of repression.

The concept of the state is also defined differently according to societies. For example, there are significant differences between the emergence of the concept in Europe and its emergence in Arab societies. In Arabic, the primary letters of the word state (دوله) are "d د", "vو", "l ل". The same essential letters also appear in the word "tedavül" (تداول). Therefore, "state" means "circulating", that is, "passing from hand to hand". In this sense, the word "state" refers to the change of power (Gözler, 2020: 6). Again in Arabic, the term "dûlet" means to change, to come one after the other in turns, to prevail, to triumph. The concept includes the meanings of victory, power and dominance alternately changing hands (Davutoğlu, 1994). In Western societies, on the other hand, the word state is expressed with the concepts of "State / État / Staat / Stato / Estado". The Latin word status comes from the root sta and the first form of the root is st. The term connotes stasis, constancy and immutability (Gözler, 2017: 7). It is accepted that Machiavelli was the first to use the concept of state with this root form of the word (stato). Machiavelli characterizes the state as the unit that governs people (Machiavelli, 2008: 97).

The concept of state is generally explained with the elements of human, territory and sovereignty with the approach also called "Three Elements Theory". Accordingly, a state is a specific human community that is sovereign over a specific territory (Gözler, 2020: 4). Weber also defines the state as a human community that has a monopoly on the legitimized use of physical force over a certain territory (Weber, 1994: 310-311). Indeed, Jellinek also mentioned three elements of the state: territory, human element (citizens/people) and sovereignty (Jellinek, 1914: 394-395). Jessop, on the other hand, includes institutions and organizations that can make binding decisions for everyone in the elements of the state (Jessop, 2021: 78-79).

Views on the emergence of the state differ. According to some views, the source of the state is God. According to St. Paul, there is no government that is not from God. As a matter of fact, whoever resists the government goes against the command of God (Holy Book, 2002:

1439). Augustine attributes the basis of political society to the original sin (Pagels, 1994: 238). Man was sent to earth by God to test. Again, Aquinas says that human government comes from the divine government and must imitate it (Tannenbaum and Schultz, 2005: 127). In addition, the power that comes from God must be endured (Ağaoğluları, 2015: 260-261). A second view attributes the origin of the state to the growth of the family. In this view, the expansion of the family headed by the father is generally mentioned (Arsal, 2018: 67-71). A third view likens the state to an organism. The state is like a biological entity that is born spontaneously, grows and develops and disappears over time. In addition, the state organism is similar to the human organism (Gözler, 2018: 44). A fourth view attributes the origin of the state to class conflicts. For example, according to Marx, the worker does not even have a country (Marx and Engels, 2015: 30). The state is a tool that serves the ruling class (Timur, 2011: 29). As a matter of fact, the executive power of the modern state is a board that carries out the common affairs of the bourgeoisie (Marx and Engels, 2020: 52). A fifth view attributes the origin of the state to the social contract. The formation process of the state is a covenant made by everyone with everyone else and the unification of all in one and the same personality (Hobbes, 2016: 136). The purpose of the state is individual security (Hobbes, 1985: 223). According to Rousseau, each individual submits his existence and power to the general will with a contract. This is the basis of the state (Rousseau, 1968: 61-62). According to Locke, the origin of the state is the process of people leaving the state of nature (Arnhart, 2016: 244-245). In the state of nature, the execution of natural law is in the hands of each person (Locke, 2012: 11-12, 15). The irregular and uncertain conduct of the punishment process created a need for a centralized and settled administration (Locke, 2017: 40). Finally, there are approaches that base the existence of the state on power and force. Man's nature requires him to live under the roof of a superior authority. Because people have the characteristics of hostility and aggression towards each other. For this reason, a superior authority is needed to ensure social order (İbni Haldun, 2016: 214-215). Oppenheimer (1984:45) also bases the origin of the state on the process of subjugation of one class by another.

Expectations from the state also vary depending on the meaning and emergence of the state. This situation causes the emergence of new definitions and concepts such as gendarmerie state, social state, liberal state, socialist state, limited state, paternal state. The concept of social state or welfare state refers to the state that deals with the social situation of citizens and is responsible for providing them with a minimum standard of living. The main purpose of the welfare state is to protect human dignity. For this reason, it aims to ensure social justice. The way to achieve social justice requires the active intervention of the state in social and economic life (Bulut, 2003: 174). Opposite to this idea is the gendarmerie state approach. It is used synonymously with the concepts of gendarmerie state, minimal state, neutral state and advocates a free market economy in which the state will not intervene (Tayyar and Çetin, 2013: 109). The classical liberal view argues that the state mind is not capable of everything. This limitation makes it difficult to make perfect planning (Hayek, 1973: 8-9). In the paternalist approach, the state is assumed to have more maturity, knowledge and experience (Hershey, 1984: 18). Paternalism is defined as the restriction or intervention of

the freedom of individuals on behalf of the welfare, benefit, happiness, needs, interests or values of individuals (Dworkin, 2012: 72).

Concept of Nation

It has always been difficult to define and conceptualize the concept of a nation. Seton-Watson (1977: 5) pointed out this issue and thought that a scientific definition could not be made for the nation.

The concept of nation sometimes refers to a natural group extending from history to the future. Sometimes the concept refers to a construction process and creation (Vergin, 2016: 215, 227; Tilly, 1975). According to Greenfeld, the nation has been identified with the people over time. Accordingly, a nation means a unique people (Greenfeld, 2017: 27-28). However, the concept is considered separate from the concept of people on the grounds that it includes the past and the future (Yayla, 2015: 123-124). Again, the concept is often associated with the words race, people and nation (Bolaffi et al., 2003: 94). Generally, the concept of nation is used to express communities with common elements such as language, religion and land. However, these elements alone are not always enough to define a nation. Sometimes sharing the legend of coming from common ancestors is enough for a community to become a nation (Leca, 1998: 12-13).

The concept of nation is the equivalent of the Latin word natio. Natio has the same root as the word natus. The origin of both words comes from the word nascor. This word means "birth". The concept refers to a group of people who belong to a group due to similarity of birth or being born in the same land. In Rome, the concept refers to strangers connected to each other by similarity of origin (Zernatto, 1944: 351-352). It is also said that the concept comes from the Latin verb nasci, meaning to be born (Heywood, 2016: 148). The origin of the verb nasci is derived from the verb gnasci. The origin of the verb Gnasci comes from the word genus, which means race, species, origin, birth and family (Korkmaz, 2016: 34). In some uses, these concepts emphasize the positive characteristics of the group, while in others they emphasize the negative characteristics of the group. It was used in a positive sense when expressing philosophers of a certain school, when describing the aristocracy class (Schulze, 2005: 99) or when referring to university students (Kerestecioğlu, 2018: 315; Dieckhoff and Jaffrelot, 2010: 11). In its negative uses, it was used synonymously to indicate barbarians, those of other religions (Greenfeld, 2017: 20) or to refer to lower classes (Kerestecioğlu, 2018: 315-316). Apart from this, the concept defines professional associations and members of commercial guilds (Dieckhoff and Jaffrelot, 2010: 11). It was also used to express representatives of cultural and political authority or a political, cultural, social elite group or their ideas (Kerestecioğlu, 2018: 315). Later, the concept began to describe a community that exists under the same laws and of which the individual becomes a part through birth (Schulze, 2005: 99). In its use after 1884, the concept was used to describe the state as the supreme authority or the lands belonging to this state and the people living in these lands (Hobsbawn, 2010: 30). While the concept of nation was defined as an ethnic unit in the 1908 edition of the New English Dictionary, in the current editions it is defined with an emphasis on political unity and independence (Korkmaz, 2016: 35). Before the French Revolution, the concept of nation was used to mean a community of people living under a common law (Sieyès, 2005:

13). The concept gained a political character with the French Revolution. With this revolution, the idea of people's self-government and the feeling of national unity were born (Heywood, 2007: 192).

The concept of nation can be defined in different ways. According to its socio-psychological elements, nation refers to people who are connected to each other with feelings such as patriotism, commitment or loyalty (Heywood, 20015: 342). According to socio-political elements, a nation refers to the community of people who submit to the same laws and institutions in a certain country (Uzun, 2003: 133). According to the cultural approach, a nation is a group of people held together by a common history, religion, language and traditions (Heywood, 2016: 148). According to objective criteria, a nation refers to a human community connected to each other by a number of objective and concrete ties such as race, religion and language (Gözler, 2020: 51). Such definitions may cause concepts such as race and ethnicity to become intertwined with the concept of nation. The concept of race is based on objective factors that a person cannot change, such as skin color, blood ties and place of birth. The concept of ethnicity relates to a mass mixed with cultural elements that developed later. Ethnic identity is mostly associated with minority groups within the population (Giddens and Sutton, 2017: 694-695). A nation is a community of people bound together by deeper bonds of solidarity (Bolaffi et al., 2003: 94). Weber defines the nation with a special kind of feeling associated with the idea of a strong political community (Weber, 2018: 521). In ethnicity, as in nation (Abizadeh, 2001: 25), there may be a belief that people come from common ancestors and the same roots. However, nation differs from ethnicity in that they have a common territorial homeland, common economic cooperation and common legal order (Smith, 2016: 70-73).

In many of today's nation-states, there are communities of different languages, ethnic origins and beliefs. Such differences have led to the development of the subjective understanding of nation. Accordingly, the criteria that constitute a nation are of a spiritual nature. These consist of a number of emotions and thoughts (Gözler, 2019: 36; Gözler, 2020: 57). According to Renan, nation is a feeling, a spiritual principle. This feeling, this principle, is created by two things that are actually one. One is in the past, the other is in the present. The first is to have a common legacy of rich memories from the past. The other one is reaching a common decision in the present, the desire to live together and the will to continue developing the common heritage (Renan, 2016: 50). According to Renan, elements such as race, language, religion cannot be a necessary condition for being a nation (Renan, 2016: 49). Communities that have suffered together, rejoiced and hoped together constitute a nation (Burns, 1984: 443). In fact, a nation exists when a significant number of people in a community think that they form a nation (Seton-Watson, 1977: 5).

Concept of Democracy

The concept of democracy is one of the controversial issues in political science. Some thinkers have preferred to use different concepts instead of the concept of democracy. For example, Maine used the concept of 'people's government' (Pareto, 1984: 25), Dahl (2008) used the concept of 'Polyarchy' and Aristotle (2014: 98) used the concept of 'polity'.

In most cases, democracy is used to mean majority rule, a political system in which sovereign rights belong to the people, and a state with this form of government (Yıldız, 2013: 67). It is controversial when and where democracy emerged as a form of political governance. However, the first examples date back to B.C. It is said to exist in Ancient Greece in the 5th century (Aktan, 2005: 3). The concept consists of the combination of the words demos and kratein. Demos means people, mass of people or citizens. Kratein means to dominate or to exercise power. In this sense, the concept of democracy means popular sovereignty, majority sovereignty, popular assembly sovereignty (Schmidt, 2002: 13). However, who constitutes the 'demos' is controversial. For example, in one usage, demos refers to women and slaves who are outside the citizen class (Sevinç, 2021: 213). In another usage, it refers to the poor and the majority (Heywood, 2015: 170). For example, Plato refers to workers and low-income (uninformed) citizens with the concept of people (Plato, 2010: 476-477). In some cases, it is used to mean crowd, multitude and a community of citizens that includes everyone (Sartori, 2009: 16). In this sense, demos refers to the population of a city-state where citizens govern themselves (Sarıbay, 2012: 12). With the emergence of representative democracies, the concept began to be used in the sense of government by the representatives of the people. But again, the people are the basic unit of government through representatives. For this reason, democracy is used to mean the government of the people, by the people, for the people (Lijphart, 2014: 15). In this sense, people refer to the nation, which is one of the elements of the state (Jessop, 2021: 44). In the 18th century, the Age of Enlightenment, the concept of nation replaced the demos. The source of sovereignty is demos. However, in democratic theories of sovereignty, the source of sovereignty is something other than God. This thing can be the public, people, a nation or a certain group (Küçük, 2015: 322). In this sense, the scope of demos as the source of sovereignty in the Enlightenment is unclear. When demos is evaluated with the concept of nation, the mass that constitutes demos turns into an abstract entity. This abstract mass represents the general will. However, the general will is operated through representation. Since not everyone is included in the general will, the representation is based on the will of the majority. The will of the majority also includes the will of those outside the majority (Kapani, 2018: 82). In fact, the concept of the will of the people and the concept of "common good" were used together (Schumpeter, 1994: 250). Sieyes (1951: 185) stated that nothing, including the constitution, can limit the nation. The theory of popular sovereignty is based on the idea that the general will of the people based on the majority of concrete individuals is the supreme power. The sovereign is the sum of the (living) people who make up the people (Nal and Çirkin, 2021: 623). On the other hand, the concept of nation includes the segments that are currently living, have lived in the past and will live in the future as a whole (Küçük, 2015: 323).

In antiquity, the demos lived in a small, autonomous and self-sufficient city-state. In contrast, modern nation-states are quite different from city-states (Arblaster, 1999: 27, 29). The change in the demos and the state has led to the emergence of different forms of democracy. Direct democracy, semi-direct democracy and representative democracy are the results of this change. The growth of states in terms of population and surface area, the fact that the mass defined as the people in the modern period includes all segments and the difficulty of participation in political processes have led to representative democracies (Yayla,

2015: 147). Today, it is argued that democracy is only possible within a national democracy (Habermans, 2012: 43). Moreover, the relationship between demos and authority and sovereignty has led to the formation of a new classification. Liberal democracy, social democracy and totalitarian democracy refer to different democratic systems in different states (Barry, 2018: 426).

Today, there are many classifications of democracy in social sciences. As Beetham (2006: 1-2) points out, some approaches base democracy on normative criteria, while others base democracy on procedural principles. This distinction is based on the difference between what democracy should be and what it is Dahl (2001: 27). For example, Schumpeter (1994, 131, 269) defines democracy in a procedural approach as a process of making political decisions and determining the representatives who will make political decisions through competition. The task of Demos is to determine the winner of the competition. For some thinkers, however, democracy requires more. Dahl (1998: 85) argues that a democracy requires elected officials; free, fair and frequent elections; freedom of expression; alternative sources of information; institutional autonomy; and the involvement of citizens in political decisions. Beetham (2006: 51-52), on the other hand, argues that fundamental rights should be guaranteed, the separation of powers should be essential, there should be an elected representative parliament, a limited state should be based on the distinction between public and private spheres, and there should be no absolute truth to determine what is good for society. According to Sartori (1987: 31, 133, 183), it is not enough for a democracy to have regular elections, majority rule, political parties or opposition groups. In addition, the powers of the elected must be limited by the constitution in a way that guarantees the rights of minorities. Sartori rejects the majoritarian understanding of democracy based on the absolute and unlimited superiority, infallibility and righteousness of the majority (Yavuz, 2009: 289). Democracy should be inspired by the principle of limited or moderate majority (Sartori, 2009: 17). Mouffe, on the other hand, argues that democracies must take into account different identities. People cannot be isolated from the community they live in. Therefore, a sense of common identity develops within certain groups and communities. This leads to a distinction between us and the other based on opposition (Mouffe, 2011: 26; Kanatlı, 2014: 119). According to Mouffe, collective emotions and group identity play a central role in politics (Mouffe, 2011: 28). Politics aims to create unity in the context of conflict and diversity. This conflict between groups needs to be established in a way that is compatible with pluralist democracy (Mouffe, 2000: 101). Conflicts of interest and power struggles between people were also expressed by thinkers such as Hobbes and Machiavelli (Held, 1987: 44). In this sense, Mouffe sees agonistic conflict as the condition for the existence of democracy. The specificity of modern democracy lies in the recognition and legitimization of conflict and the refusal to suppress it by imposing an authoritarian order (Mouffe, 2011: 30). Habermas emphasizes the necessity of public deliberation for a healthy and sustainable democracy. According to this idea, political decisions should proceed through public debate and reasoning among equal citizens (Habermas, 1996: 305). Habermas argues that the principle of the rule of law is not enough for democratic governance to be sustainable. A democratic polity must also ensure the participation of all segments of society in decision-making processes

(Habermas, 2002: 24). In this approach, known as deliberative democracy, it is advocated that political decisions are taken by wider masses (Kanatlı, 2014: 120).

Procedural definitions say very little about the raison d'être of democracy. Beetham explains the basis of democracy in the context of "equal participation in shared decisions" through the principles of "popular control" and "political equality". These two principles of democracy are based on the idea of "equal human dignity" and the belief in the "capacity for self-determination" (Beetham, 2006: 9-10). Dahl (1998: 60-61), on the other hand, characterizes democracy as a government that should be preferred due to its various benefits. For example, democracies prevent dictators from ruling, they give their citizens more fundamental rights and personal freedoms, they help citizens protect their fundamental interests, they give people better opportunities for self-determination, they are much more conducive to human development, they offer greater political equality among citizens, democracies do not fight each other. Democratic governments are richer and governments are better able to fulfill their moral responsibilities.

There are different definitions of the concepts of state, nation and democracy in the literature. Therefore, it is a matter of curiosity how these concepts are perceived by the public. For this reason, this study was conducted to determine people's perceptions of the concepts of state, nation and democracy through metaphors. The research was conducted with university students through criterion sampling, considering that it would represent the public. According to the purpose of the research, answers were investigated to the following questions:

With what metaphors do university students explain their perceptions of state, nation and democracy?

How do university students explain the reasons for the metaphors they identify?

Method

In order to determine the perceptions of university students about the concepts of state, nation and democracy, this study was designed in a phenomenological design, one of the qualitative research methods. Phenomenology focuses on the in-depth interpretation and interpretation of individuals' perceptions and experiences of a phenomenon. The researcher situates the situation within a broad context (Creswell, 2012). In the phenomenological design, the subjectivity and meaning of experiences are brought to the forefront and the feelings, thoughts and perspectives of people towards a phenomenon in question are made meaningful (Tekindal & Uğuz Arsu, 2020). Since the study was conducted on university students taking political science courses, it is thought that the participants gained experience with the concepts. In this context, the pattern of the research was determined as a phenomenological approach pattern.

Participants

In this study, which was conducted to determine the perceptions of the public towards the concepts of state, nation and democracy with metaphors, university students were selected as the participant group. In this context, the participant group of this study consists of first-year students studying in the Social Studies Teacher Education program at Artvin Çoruh University. The reason for choosing this participant group is that the students have taken a political science course. Experience is very important in phenomenological studies and directs

the perceptions of individuals (Kocabıyık, 2016). Therefore, the determination of the participant group of the study was also made in accordance with the phenomenological approach. The participant group was determined through criterion sampling in accordance with the nature of qualitative research.

Data Collection Tool

The perceptions of university students about the concepts of state, nation and democracy will be determined through metaphors. Lakoff and Johnson (2005) stated that metaphors are tools to understand one phenomenon according to another phenomenon and to help people perceive the world. In other words, according to Perry and Cooper (2001), metaphors are the expression of an unknown thing with known things. For this purpose, the researcher prepared a form including metaphors related to the concepts of state, nation and democracy. In this form, examples of concepts outside the research are given and then metaphorical definitions are expected to be made about the concepts of state, nation and democracy. For example, after examples such as "Curiosity is a rat because it gnaws the human brain", metaphorical definitions of the related concepts are asked. For the purpose of this study, the participants were asked to fill in the following blanks using metaphors.

"The state is like .... Because...;

Democracy is like... Because...;

Nation is like.... Because..."

Data Analysis

The metaphors related to the concepts of state, nation and democracy were first descriptively analyzed and frequency values were calculated. Then, content analysis was conducted to determine university students' perceptions of the concepts of state, nation and democracy in depth. Thus, the meanings attributed by university students to the concepts of state, nation and democracy were revealed. Content analysis was conducted in Maxqda 2020 qualitative analysis program. Thus, the main codes and sub-codes of the metaphors were analyzed more systematically. In this context, the main codes for the metaphors were first determined individually by two experts. After the experts decided on the main codes, sub-codes were created. For example, in all three metaphors related to state, nation and democracy, events related to nature (rain, snow, etc.); living beings (forest, ant, herd, etc.) and inanimate beings (sun, etc.) became the main code as nature. Where the experts were undecided about the sub-codes, the discussion continued until a consensus was reached. The percentage of agreement for the reliability of the data was calculated as 90%.

Findings

In line with the purpose of the study, the findings were analyzed under three headings: the examination of metaphors for the state, nation and democracy. The findings for each concept were presented first as descriptive analysis and then as content analysis.

Analysis of Metaphors Related to the State

The frequency distribution of metaphors for the concept of state is given in Table 1.

Table 1. Descriptive analysis of metaphors for the state

	Categories Related to Metaphors	Metaphors	Frequency
State	Home-nest	House	6
		Column of the house	1
		Roof	2
		Construction of a house	1
		Walls of the house	1
	Family members	Father	11
		Familiy	3
		Mother who has just given birth	2
		Mother and father/Parent	1
		Kin community	1
	Nature	Soil	1
		Bird	1
		Tree	1
	Organ	Organ	2
		Body	1
		Skeleton	1
	Occupational group	CEO	1
		Police	1
		Shepherd leading the flock	1
	The other	Buying a house jointly	1
		Form of administration	1
		Shield	1
		Homeland	1
		Ship	1
			44

When the metaphors produced by university students regarding the concept of state are analyzed in Table 1, it is seen that the concept of state is defined more with family members. It was also observed that the state was explained with the father metaphor more than family members. Among the reasons for explaining the state with the father metaphor, it was determined that the protective feature of the father came to the fore. In addition, the father's characteristics such as ownership, trust, managing the family, and taking responsibility were also emphasized. On the other hand, the fact that there are university students who express the state with the metaphor of a mother who has just given birth is among the striking findings of the study. It is seen that the concept of state is explained with the metaphor of home and nest more frequently (f=11) than other metaphorical categories. When the metaphors related to home and nest are analyzed, it is seen that the state is characterized by the walls of the house, the columns of the house and the roof. The reasons for the use of the metaphor of home and nest include features such as feeling safe, sustaining, being solid and keeping together. In addition, it was determined that there were a small number of university students (f=4) who explained the concept of state with the metaphor of organs in our body and skeletal system in terms of providing order. In addition to this, the fact that university students explained the state with metaphors such as CEO, police and shepherd who manages the herd shows the richness of the metaphors within themselves. It is also seen that there are university students who explain the state with animate/inanimate objects in nature such as soil, bird, etc. In

addition, it is also seen that the state is explained by unrelated events/objects such as homeland, ship and shield.

It was determined that university students attributed similar meanings to the same metaphor related to the concept of state as well as different meanings. The different meanings attributed to the metaphors related to the concept of state are shown in Figure 1.
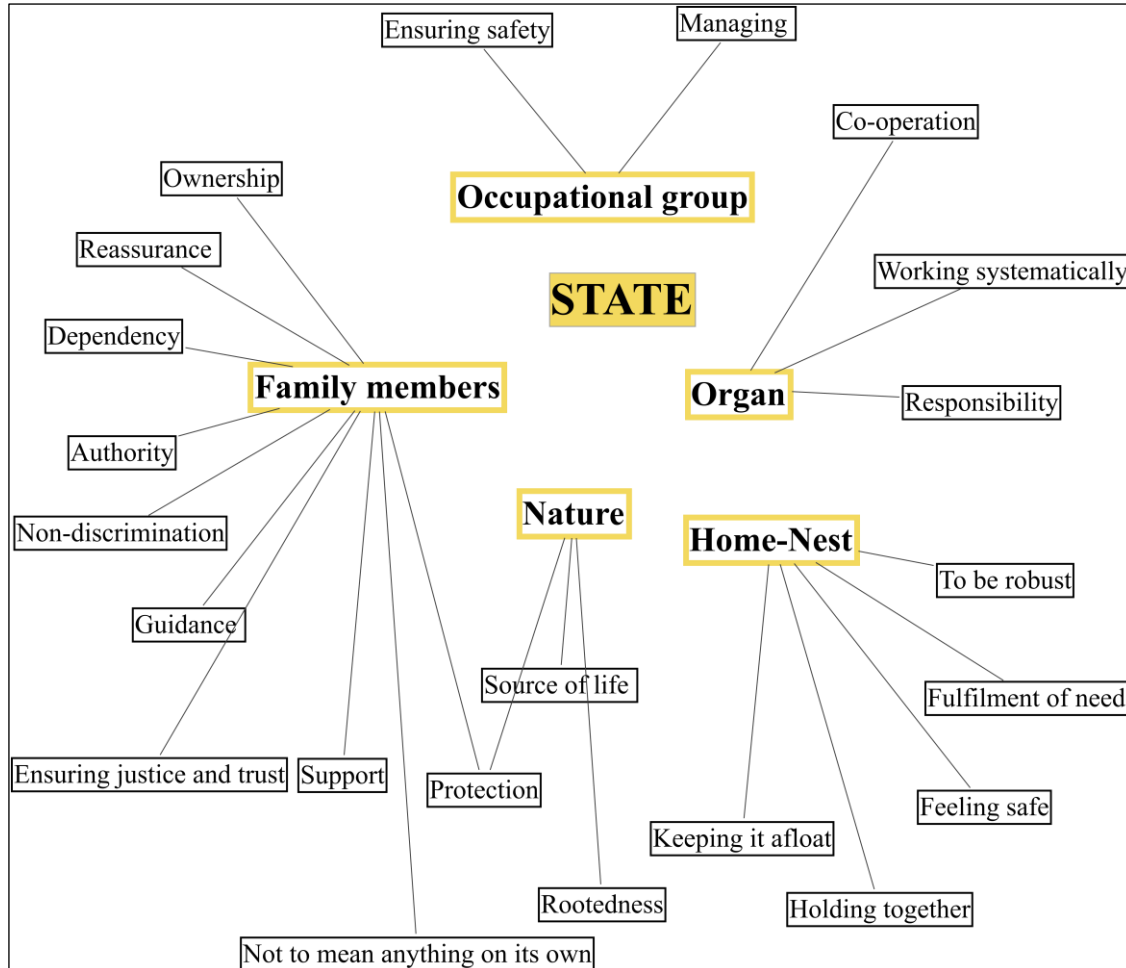

Figure 1. Meanings attributed to metaphors related to the concept of state

As seen in Figure 1, different meanings are attributed to the same metaphorical categories related to the concept of state. In this context, university students who explain the state with family members express that the state is like a father/mother who provides protection, support and trust. It is seen that the state being protective like a father/mother is expressed more frequently. In this context, it has been determined that university students have expressions such as "protects us and takes care of us", "always protects you without seeing you", "protects us, gives us a salary if we are civil servants, gives us opportunities such as free schooling", etc. In addition, one of the meanings attributed to these metaphors is that the state is perceived as a father in ensuring justice and trust, giving confidence and being responsible. For example, the statement of the university student coded S34, "The state is like a father to me, because the father is the pillar of the house, the source of money, the one who suffers, the one who takes responsibility and the one who carries the economy. Both the state and the country are like fathers, taking care of every issue" supports this situation. In addition,

it was determined that the state, like the family, embraces the citizen, does not discriminate between citizens as it does between children, and provides guidance. It is also seen that different meanings are attributed to the metaphors explaining the state with the occupational group. For example, the university student coded S5, who explained the state with CEO, stated that "the person who manages the company is the CEO. The state also manages the people. It ensures the functioning of the public within the framework of certain rules", showing that he has a perception that the state is a manager. In addition, the meaning attributed to the shepherd metaphor, which is one of the metaphors related to the occupational group, is that the state is the manager. In addition, it was determined that university students have a perception that the state provides security like the police. On the other hand, among the meanings attributed to the metaphors related to the organs in our body, it was determined that there were perceptions about the systematic, cooperative and harmonious work of the state. For example, the university student coded S23 said, "The state is like the human body; because it includes the whole of many subsystems. A deficiency in any system causes a disruption in the whole formation. For example, if our stomach hurts, it causes weakness, and weakness affects our daily life." This statement shows that he has a perception that the state works systematically. On the other hand, it was determined that university students who explained the state with the metaphor of home and nest had the perception that the state keeps the people alive and together like a home and nest. It is seen that these metaphors attribute the meaning that the state keeps people together without discriminating religion, language and race. In addition, it is understood that the state has a solid structure by likening the state to a building. For example, the statement of the university student coded S7, "Because the foundation starts from the building and if the building is not solid, all organs are not solid and that building is doomed to collapse." supports this situation.

Analysis of Metaphors Related to Nation

The frequency distribution of metaphors for the concept of nation is given in Table 2.

Table 2. Descriptive analysis of metaphors for the nation

	Family members	Family	9
		Brother/Sister	5
	Nature	Herd	1
		Root	2
		Orange	1
		Field of Wheat	1
		Pomegranate	1
		Ant	1
		Garden	1
		Flower garden/field	1
		Forest	2
		Wheat grains in the field	1
		Rainbow	3
		Tree branch	1
Nation	Goods	Chain/chain ring	2
		Ball of string	1
		Flag of a country	1
		Puzzle	1
	Tablo 2. devamı		
	Organ	Heart	2

	Hands	1
Human	Team work	2
	Orphan child	1
	Army	1
	A thousand people	1
Symbol	İnfinity	1
Other	History, country	3
		47

When Table 2 is examined, it is seen that the metaphors produced by university students regarding the concept of nation are mostly living/inanimate objects in nature. In this context, the fact that university students explain the concept of nation with quite different living/inanimate objects in nature shows the diversity in university students' perceptions of the concept of nation. It can be said that only a few university students who explained it with forest (f=2) and rainbow (f=3) from nature have common perceptions. In addition, it is also seen that the concept of nation is explained with living objects in nature. For example, while there are objects such as ants, herds, etc. from animals; it was determined that there were university students who explained it with objects such as oranges, wheat grains, etc. from plants. On the other hand, it is seen that university students explain the concept of nation with family members more than other metaphorical categories. In this context, it is understood that university students see the concept of nation more like family. In addition, it was determined that university students explained the concept of nation with objects (chain link, ball of string, puzzle, etc.). In addition, it was seen that there were university students who explained the concept of nation to human-related items (orphan child, army, etc.), albeit in very small numbers.

It was determined that university students attributed different meanings to the same metaphor as in the concept of state. In addition, the attribution of similar meanings to different metaphors is among the striking findings of the study. The different meanings attributed to metaphors related to the concept of nation are shown in Figure 2.
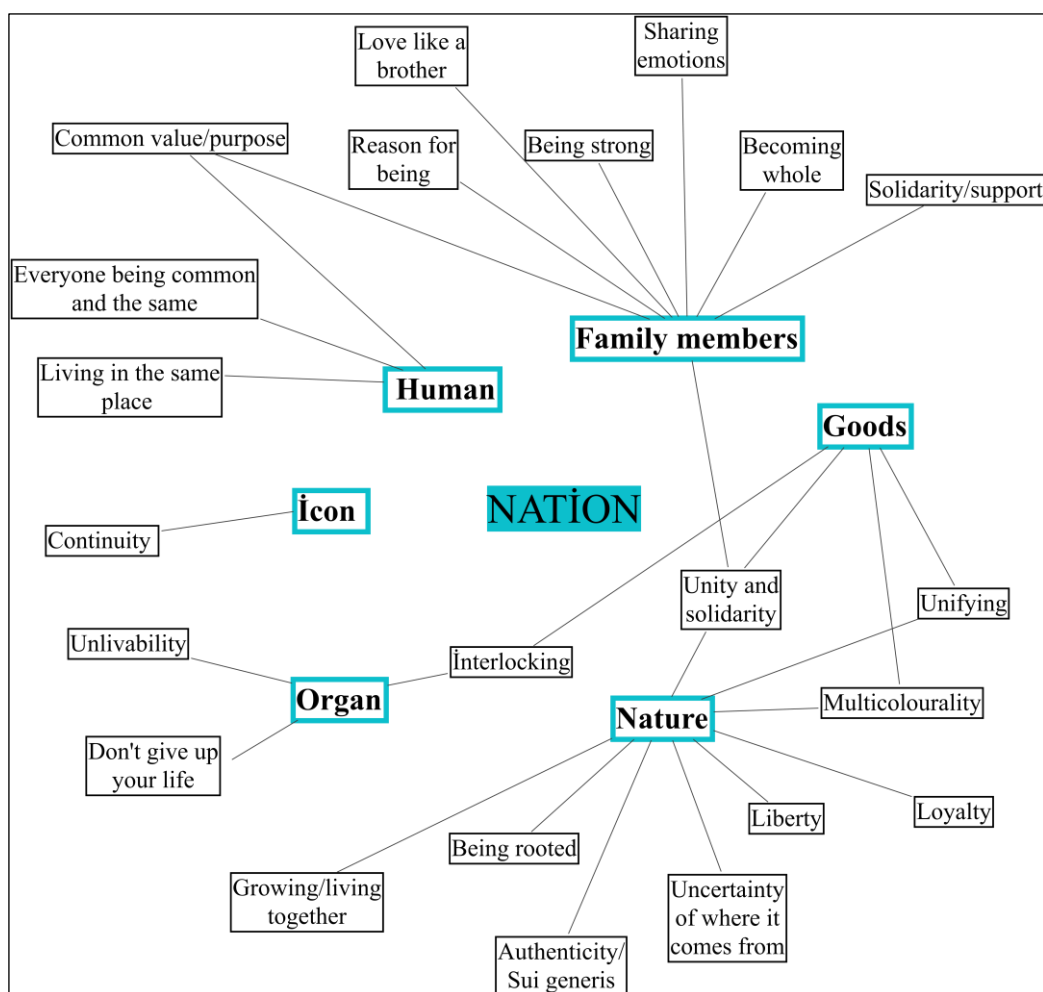
Figure 2. Meanings attributed to metaphors related to the concept of nation

As seen in Figure 2, different meanings were attributed to the same metaphorical category related to the concept of nation. For example, it is seen that those who likened the nation to a root among the metaphors related to nature stated that it was not clear where the root came from, while those who likened it to a forest stated that it was rooted.

In this context, university students compare the concept of nation to animate/inanimate objects in nature and state that the nation is multicolored, unique and free. For example, it was determined that university students who compared the nation to a forest and a field of flowers saw the nation as a community of people living together among different cultures, religions and geographies. On the other hand, when other metaphors in nature were examined, it was seen that the unifying and collective living characteristic of the nation was emphasized. For example, it is understood that university students who likened the concept of nation to wheat grains, ants and herd in the field emphasized collective living, while university students who likened it to pomegranate and orange emphasized the unifying feature of the nation among citizens. University students who explain the concept of nation with the flag of a country from the category of objects draw attention to the unifying feature of the nation. It is seen that other metaphors related to objects have similar meanings to metaphors in different categories. In the metaphors related to objects, it is stated that the nation provides unity and solidarity among citizens and unites them. By drawing attention to the fact that the links of the chain, the pieces

of the puzzle come together to form the whole, it is stated that the concept of nation provides unity and solidarity. For example, the university student coded S23 said, "If we compare the whole puzzle to Turkey, each puzzle piece that makes up the puzzle represents a Turkish person. As a result of the combination of these parts, the Turkish nation is formed. The nation is thus born from unity and solidarity" the statement supports this situation.

It was observed that the concept of nation was explained as a whole in solidarity like a family. For example, according to the university student coded S13, "a nation is like a family where one does not feel like a stranger. The nation is a family where individuals are united with their customs and traditions, their own culture, their blood and life. Just like relatives and friends who stand by each other at weddings and funerals, there is unity and solidarity between the individuals who make up the nation on good and bad days. Nothing can replace the nation and the family. Both are reliable and permanent. The nation is the safest friend and the safest harbor. The nation is eternal." It was also stated that there are common values and feelings among the individuals who make up the nation, just like among family members. The statement of the university student coded S4, "The nation is like a family because sometimes you sulk, sometimes you make up, sometimes you even get angry, and sometimes you experience beautiful moments together" supports this situation. In addition, it is seen that there are university students who express that the nation is in solidarity with the metaphor of siblings. On the other hand, as in the concept of state, it is seen that the concept of nation is explained with organs and vital importance is emphasized. For example, the statement of the university student coded S2, "Just as a person cannot live without a heart, he would be incomplete without a nation." supports this situation. Finally, it was observed that university students who explained the nation with the infinity sign emphasized the continuity feature of the nation.

Examination of Metaphors Related to Democracy

The frequency distribution of metaphors for the concept of democracy is given in Table 3.

Table 3. Descriptive analysis of metaphors for democracy

Democracy	Family members	Child	1
		Mother	1
	Life/death	Life	1
		Death	1
		Breath	1
	Nature	Bird	1
		Tree	1
		Sun	1
		Rainbow	1
		Root of plant	1
		Snow	1
		Rain	1
		Ant	2
	Justice icon	Seesaw	1
		Scales	6
		Equality	2
	Project/exam	Project/exam	2
	Tablo 3. devamı		
	Action/movement	Making an important decision at home	1

	Running	1
Abstract concept	Hope	1
	Friendship	1
	Love	1
Goods	Key	1
	Dice	1
	Puzzle	1
	Magic wand	1
Garden-school	Garden-school	3
Food	Manti	1
Professional group	Judge	1
Organ	Brain	1
Orchestra	Orchestra	2
Other	Mixture	1
	Revolution	1
	Victory	1
	Liberty	1
		46

As can be understood from Table 3, it is seen that university students explain the concept of democracy more with symbols related to justice or living/inanimate objects in nature. Among the symbols related to justice, it was determined that the metaphor of democracy as a scale was produced more. It was observed that university students likened democracy to a scale due to the equality and balance feature of the scale. It was also observed that university students explained democracy to seesaw in terms of providing balance. On the other hand, likening the concept of democracy to different objects in nature is among the striking findings of the study. For example, university students explained democracy with ants and birds because they choose their own nests and have freedom. In this context, university students' perceptions of democracy reveal that democracy gives citizens the right to freedom and choice. In addition, one of the university students explained the concept of democracy with a rainbow and stated that different parties add color to the election. It was observed that university students explained the concept of democracy with the sun and rain among inanimate objects in nature, and with the tree and the root of the plant among living objects. In addition, it was determined that the concept of democracy was explained with family members as in the concept of state and nation. However, the number of university students (f=2) who likened democracy to family members was lower than the other metaphorical categories and the concept of state and nation. Among family members, it was seen that it was explained more with children and family. In addition, unlike the concept of state and nation, university students explained the concept of democracy with metaphors such as friendship, hope, love, etc., which are abstract concepts. Explaining the concept of democracy with metaphorical categories such as life/death is also different from the concept of state and nation. In this context, university students emphasize that democracy is equal to everyone like death, while they emphasize that democracy is compulsory like breathing. In addition, with the explanation of democracy as a school/garden, it was emphasized that everyone has equal and the same rights. One of the university students emphasized equality by explaining democracy with ravioli. In addition, the fact that university students explained the concept of democracy with metaphors such as project/exam shows that the concept of democracy is different from the metaphors of state and nation. On the other hand, university students explained the concept of democracy with metaphors related to objects such as keys, dice, etc.

It was determined that university students attributed different meanings to the same metaphor as in the concept of state and nation. The different meanings attributed to the metaphors related to the concept of democracy are shown in Figure 3.
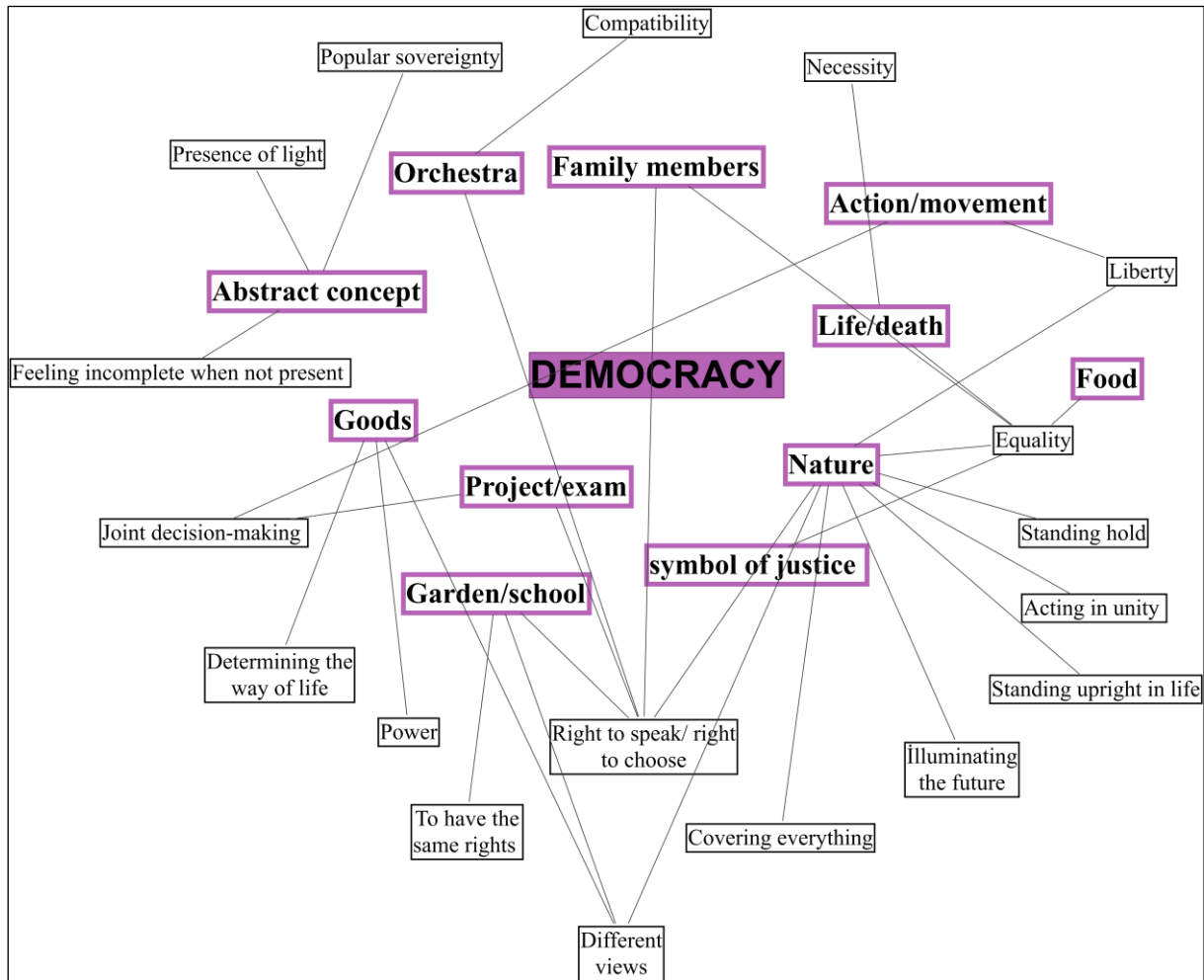

Figure 3. Meanings attributed to metaphors related to the concept of democracy

As seen in Figure 3, the meanings attributed to democracy by university students are quite different from each other. Although similar meanings are attributed from different metaphorical categories, Figure 3 shows that university students' perceptions of democracy are different from each other. For example, university students who express democracy with the symbols of justice such as scales and seesaw emphasize that democracy is about equality. Similarly, university students who express democracy with metaphors related to life and death emphasize equality. For example, university student coded S18 said, "If you put equal things on the scale, you will see that they balance each other. There is equality in democracy. ...And in order to ensure this equality, every person is put on the same scale and no discrimination is made." and the statement of university student coded S41 "democracy is like death; because it is the only place where everyone is considered equal" supports this situation.

One of the meanings attributed to multiple metaphorical categories is that democracy gives citizens the right to speak/choose. For example, the reason why the key, a metaphor for objects, and the child, a metaphor for family members, are explained with democracy is the right to speak/choose. For example, the university student coded S7 said, "If we have a key in

our hand, we can open the door with the locked one, we can enter the place we want to reach. In a democracy, if we are granted many freedoms such as the right to choose and be elected, we have actually arrived at the right place. So that key has opened the doors to the place we want to enter. If there is no democracy, we are no different from staying in a locked room." This statement supports this situation. Most of the metaphors emphasize the right to have a say and the right to choose. On the other hand, among the meanings attributed to the concept of democracy is that it allows for different views. For example, the university student coded S6 said, "A puzzle is made up of pieces with different shapes and colors, and they are completed by coming together. Similarly, democracy is completed with the coming together of different ideas, thoughts and cultures. Each different thought and idea is a puzzle piece that ensures the integrity of democracy." The fact that the participant coded S6 explained democracy with the puzzle metaphor draws attention to different opinions on democracy. On the other hand, freedom is also among the meanings attributed to democracy. University students who express democracy with the action of running and flying like a bird, which are metaphors related to action/movement, draw attention to the freedom and movement/behavior skills aspect of democracy. In addition, explaining democracy with metaphors such as project/exam emphasizes the opportunity for citizens to participate in common decisions and the concept of responsibility. In addition, by explaining democracy with metaphors such as friendship and breath, it is stated that when there is no democracy, lack is felt; and by explaining it with the sun, it is stated that it illuminates the future. Figure 3 also shows that the meanings attributed to democracy include power. For example, the university student who likened democracy to a magic wand pointed to the power in democracy with the expression "because whoever has it has the power to rule".

Discussion and Conclusion

The interrelated concepts of state, nation and democracy are used in different meanings in the literature. There are many different approaches to how the concepts emerged, what they mean and what kind of principles they are based on. It is seen that social contract theories have been systematized more recently in approaches to the state (Horwitz, 2011), instrumentalist approaches have recently become widespread in studies on the nation (Nairn, 2015; Breuilly, 1993; Brass, 1991; Hobsbawn ve Ranger, 2013), and procedural and empirical approaches (Sartori, 1987; Bethaam, 2006) have developed in democracy studies.

In this study, university students were asked to explain the concepts of state, nation and democracy with what (by constructing metaphors) and to write justifications for these explanations. The state was mostly associated with the metaphor of the father. It is also seen in the literature that the state is defined as a father (Kanadıkırık, 2020). In this context, it brings to mind that the state, like the father, is expected to protect and protect its citizens (Köksal, 2011: 103; Rousseau; 1968). It is seen that the state is generally associated with concepts such as father (Arsal, 2018: 67), family, organ, house, ship, roof, homeland. These concepts can be associated with concepts such as common destiny, authority, unity and security. The nation is more like a family. This finding of the study coincides with the theory of Ibn Khaldun (1958: 108, 375), who explains nation-state building on the basis of father and family. The main concepts associated with the concept of nation are unity, oneness, unity-togetherness, common value and purpose (Renan, 2016: 50), loyalty, solidarity (Geertz, 2010:

289), sympathy, growing together, being strong, reason for existence (Hegel, 2003: 115), continuity (Smith, 2013: 74-75), multicolor, living in the same place (Hobsbawn, 2010: 30).

The concepts associated with the concept of democracy are mostly scales and equality. In metaphors related to democracy, it can be said that political equality is emphasized with the metaphor of scales. Because it is known that the scales symbolize justice and equality (Safi, 2018: 65). The principle of political equality is seen as one of the basic principles in democracy theories (Beetham, 2006). The concepts associated with democracy are seesaw, freedom, right to choose, right to speak, garden-school, orchestra, harmony in diversity, joint decision-making, enlightenment, and development. Among these concepts, the concepts of freedom of speech and diversity overlap with participatory democracy (Pateman, 1988) and deliberative democracy (Habermas, 2012), and the concepts of enlightenment and development overlap with Dahl's (1998: 45) benefits of democracy approach.

In general, it is seen that the concept of state and the concept of nation are almost identical. The concept of democracy, on the other hand, is characterized differently, such as equality, diversity, harmony in diversity, source of development, and decision-making process. While the concepts of state and nation can be associated with concepts of protection and preservation such as power, security and solidarity, the concept of democracy is associated with forward-looking and change-oriented processes such as diversity, development and enlightenment. The concepts of state and nation are mostly explained by family, patriarchal and organism-based approaches. The concept of democracy is similar to pluralist democracy, radical democracy and deliberative democracy in that it overlaps with both normative and procedural approaches and emphasizes diversity and harmony within diversity. It can be said that there are important differences as well as parallels between the changes in the literature and the participants' perception of the concepts. While the concepts of state and nation overlap more with ethno-symbolist approaches, the concept of democracy overlaps with more contemporary approaches such as participatory, deliberative and pluralist democracy. These three concepts are likely to take on new meanings in the future. It remains to be seen how changes in the literature and society's perception of the concepts will unfold.

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