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Part I : Monitoring Hate Speech in the National and Local Press in Turkey

İdil Engindeniz

Part II : Discriminatory Discourse in Print Media

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MONITORING HATE SPEECH IN THE MEDIA

In Turkey, we frequently witness the use of biased, prejudiced and discriminatory language in the media. The provocative, racist and discriminatory language used in the news - in particular in headlines and news headings - becomes an instrument that entrenches stereotypes and fuels feelings of hostility and discrimination in society.

Despite the fact that there are universal and national principles of journalism and that some media organizations have even issued their own code of ethics, many journalistic end products happen to violate these principles. The use of such language entrenches unrest in society as well as a widespread prejudice against vulnerable groups. Targeted individuals and groups become restless and silent and are forced to renounce their right to participate in social and political life, a sine qua non for democracy. Such provocative and stigmatizing use of language can sometimes result in attacks on the members or gathering places of marginalized and antagonized groups.

At the core of hate speech lie prejudices, racism, xenophobia, partiality, discrimination, sexism and homophobia. Factors such as cultural identities as well as group characteristics have an impact on the use of hate speech; yet certain circumstances such as rising nationalism or intolerance towards what is different further increases hate speech as well as its impact.

Due to various reasons, Turkey has been witnessing polarization between various segments of society; thus intolerance towards the different, the "other" is becoming more and more widespread. Conflicts in Southeast Anatolia ongoing for years, the sudden demographic change in Turkey caused by forced displacement of people due to the conflict, as well as the economic, social and cultural conflicts have all played a role in the escalation of tension between communities. On the other hand, democratization efforts such as the initiatives in minority rights and liberal economy as well as the way the Cyprus Question debate is perceived and portrayed as "plots on Turkey by foreign powers" also nurture polarization and enmity. Furthermore, developments in the Middle East, discussions around the Kurdish and Armenian Questions, and the peace process currently on the agenda lead to individuals and institutions who have suggestions for solution to be targeted and certain ethnic groups to be portrayed as enemies. Finally, the way Taksim Gezi Park events were covered in the media was important as it showed how the media can foster polarization in society.

Hence, the manifestation of hostile perceptions and attitudes towards different groups and individuals, who are known or assumed to be members of such groups, has become an important and ever-growing problem in Turkey. Even opinion leaders such as government officials, opposition leaders and public servants have no qualms when it comes to using such racist and discriminating language. As is well-known, the claim of government officials that the Taksim Gezi Park events are organized by "foreign agents" and the discourse of "interest lobby" resulted in certain groups, the Jewish identity being the first among them, to be targeted. Recently, Prof. Ahmet Atan, the head of the Arts Department at Yıldız Technical University uttered the following words, "If you are a Jew, Armenian or Greek, I can understand you taking an active role in the Gezi protests. Please search and find out who your ancestors are". With these racist statements, he portrayed Jewish, Armenian and Greek identities as enemies whose goal is to harm Turkey. Such statements were also adopted by various publications.

Media, often dubbed as the fourth estate, is one of the most effective cultural transmitters. Therefore, as much as it has the power to highlight diversity and difference, it can also be extremely instrumental and guiding in terms of spreading or banalizing a conflict. If the media behaves irresponsible or careless, it can very easily trigger, nurture and strengthen racism and hatred between people, and worst of all, it can legitimize and justify such attitudes.

For many years, the media in Turkey has been one of the active sources of nationalistic and discriminatory discourse. Such a journalism practice substantially contributed to the polarization in society. When we look into some of the hate crimes that took place in recent years, it becomes easier to understand the impact of the media. Yasin Hayal, who is on trial as the instigator of the Hrant Dink murder, said in his statement that, "He did not know Hrant Dink personally, but had read from newspapers that he was an enemy of the Turks." The person who is accused of attacking the priest of the Church of St. Sophia in Izmir in December 2007 stated that he did the attack to become a hero like Ogün Samast.

One of the main objectives of the Hrant Dink Foundation, founded after the murder of Hrant Dink for the purpose of carrying on his dreams, ideals and struggle, is to contribute to ending the polarization and enmity in society.

MONITORING HATE SPEECH IN NATIONAL AND LOCAL NEWSPAPERS IN TURKEY

Aim and scope of the study

The overarching aim of the study Media Watch on Hate Speech is to contribute to combating racism, discrimination and intolerance in Turkey. Taking into account the importance of civilian oversight on the media, as one of the instruments for producing and reproducing racism, discrimination and alienation, the specific goal of this study is to foster newspapers' respect for human rights and differences, draw attention to the discriminatory language and hate speech used in news articles and columns and thereby raise awareness and encourage the print media to stop using hate speech and discriminatory language.

In the long run, the study aims to support non-governmental organizations in combating hate speech, enhancing media watch skills, and working together systematically to ensure that the media is respectful of social and cultural diversity and upholds equity in its language and methods.

Within the framework of the "Media Watch on Hate Speech" -a project carried out by the Foundation so as to achieve the abovementioned goals-, the national and local press are monitored, news articles and columns that feature discriminatory, alienating and target-making discourse are identified, analyzed and brought to public attention through reports and the website <u>www.nefretsoylemi.org</u>. The content provided on the project website is also shared through various social media, such as Facebook and Twitter. The report is sent to non-governmental organizations, media organizations and professional organizations, and also published on nefretsoylemi.org.

Apart from monitoring of newspapers, the project aims at raising sensitivity about hate speech by organizing search conferences, seminars and trainings with NGO representatives, jurists, academics, professional organizations and journalists.

Throughout the project, with a view to inform people about the concept of "hate speech", to provide opportunities for discussion of possible ways and methods of countering discriminatory and racist discourse, and to encourage a more conscious and respectful language towards human rights issues and minorities in the media; we hold panel discussions in participation with internationally acclaimed academics working in the field, we organize meetings on hate speech in universities whereby project findings are discussed based on specific cases. Furthermore, we make efforts so that there are lectures on hate speech, there are theses and dissertations that study hate speech and in line with these efforts, we prepared a one-semester syllabus. Moreover, we also plan to publish a book that will feature the themes and subjects covered by the syllabus.

Methodology

While the main focus has been on hate speech based on ethnicity and religious identity, we also included sexist and homophobic discourse in our media watch project. The media watch project has employed the critical discourse analysis method as well as some other associated techniques, which are the general method of choice in media studies. In line with the characteristics of the cases studied, textual and iconographic (photographs, pictures and other illustrations) analyses were carried out. With a view to designate specific indicators for the content and discourse of the news, a quantitative scaling has been used in the first place, followed by the exposure of the various elements such as where (on which pages) and how the hateful content is covered, which sources have produced it and which individuals/groups are targeted.

Afterwards, the news articles and columns containing hate speech elements - previously identified in accordance with the purpose and scope specified above - have been categorized in line with the characteristics of the discourse being used. In referral to previously conducted international scientific studies and in consideration of the country-specific lingual and cultural differences, the following hate categories have been identified:

1) Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion: Any discourse that features the elements of negative generalization, distortion, exaggeration or negative attribution targeting a community or a person based on a specific incident is considered under this category.

2) Blasphemy / Insult / Degradation: Any discourse that contains direct swearing, insult or denigration (e.g. use of words such as treacherous, dog, mud-blood etc.) falls under this category.

3) Enmity / War Discourse: Any discourse that includes hostile, war-mongering expressions about a community is classified under this category.

4) Use of Inherent Identity as an element of Hate or Humiliation / Symbolization: This category has been created for discourses that use various aspects of one's inherent identity as an element of hate, humiliation or symbolization. For instance, the negative implications of the phrases such as "your mother is Armenian anyway." or "is your surname Davutoğlu or Davutyan?"

Sampling Criteria

Approximately 1000 local newspapers and all national newspapers are watched through a media monitoring company based on pre-determined key words (such as collaborator, Turcophobe, separatist etc.).

Out of all the news items under media watch, the news articles and columns that contain direct and explicit hate speech against religious or ethnic groups as well as women or LGBT individuals are identified. Elements other than news articles and columns have been left outside the scope of the media watch exercise (such as ads, caricatures etc.). The data obtained as a result of a 4-month media watch exercise are examined in a periodical report, under two sections. The groups who are targeted by hate speech, the reasons why they are targeted as well as the targeting methods employed are all explained with examples through cases.

Unlike other periods of the study, in this one, a case study, which investigated discourse constructed in a more sophisticated way and gave more subtle messages of discrimination was included. This media screening of discriminatory discourse focused on the news articles and opinion columns written on the Black Sea visit of the People's Democratic Congress (HDK) committee including deputies from the Peace and Democracy Party (BDP). Between February 15-28, 2013, *Bizim Karadeniz, Taka, Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet, Sabah* and *Zaman* dailies featured opinion columns and news articles covering this subject. These news and opinion items were screened and studied using content and discourse analyses. The findings of this study can be found in the second part of the report (p.49-56).

PART I

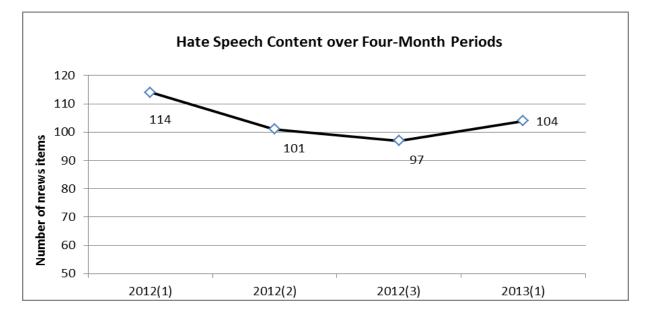
HATE SPEECH IN PRINT MEDIA

FINDINGS

During the four months covering **January, February, March and April 2013** of "Media Watch on Hate Speech" study, 104 opinion columns and news articles were identified as targeting national, ethnic and religious groups.

The period that consists of the first four months of 2013 showed a slight increase compared with previous periods in the number of articles that contained hate speech.

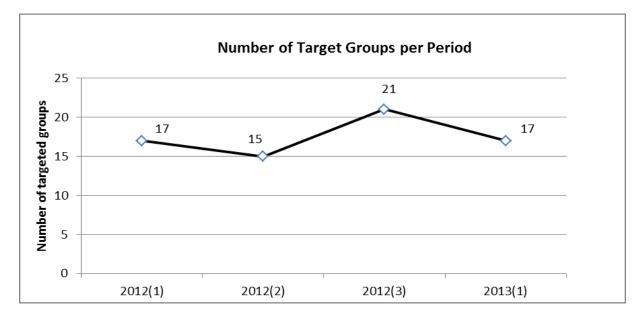
Graph 1:



Although there was an increase in the number of news items featuring hate speech, a decrease was observed in the number of targeted groups. Among the **17 groups**, **12** of them were targeted in multiple articles whereas some, in only one article. In order to portray the diversity of those groups, the ones that were targeted less often were not categorized under "Other Groups".

When we look for common characteristics of targeted groups, we observe that the groups were exposed to hate speech based on their ethnic, religious and national identities. **Three groups** based on **ethnic origins**, **six groups** based on **religious affiliation** and **four groups** based on **national identity** were subjects of hate speech.





As in previous periods, it was observed that the **national press** was responsible for publishing most of the articles identified to contain hate speech during the period covering **January-April 2013**. Among the **104 articles**, **94 (90%) were found in 13 national publications**. The remaining **10 articles (9.61%)** were published in **7 local newspapers**. Similar to previous periods, it was observed that most of the hate speech was produced in **opinion columns**. The investigated content consisted of **74 opinion columns**, **27 news articles** and one book review. Additionally, two articles were detected in the "Press Archives". As the articles in the "Press Archives" produce hate speech by commenting on news articles published in other newspapers, they specifically stand out. Such articles do not only target a specific group, but also newspapers or columnists who were quoted.

Most of the hate speech produced during this period was directed towards the **Armenian**, **Jewish** and **Christian populations**, in decreasing order. The other most frequently targeted groups were the **Greek and Kurdish populations**. During this period, compared to national, ethnic or religious groups, individuals and institutions were subjected to hate speech less often; however, an increase was observed in **hate speech targeting Peace and Democracy Party (BDP)**.

The news items that contained hate speech were mainly based on **BDP's Black Sea Tour**, the **anniversary of the Khojaly events**, the **murder of three women affiliated with the PKK in Paris** and **France's intervention in Mali**. Another interesting point observed during this period was the surge of opinion columns that were written with a strong tone of hate, without directly specifying its target group. The groups targeted in this type of columns were identified by examining the columns' content. It was possible to identify these groups sometimes under a general heading, such as "Non-Muslims", "Westerners" or sometimes more specifically, such as "the Kurds".

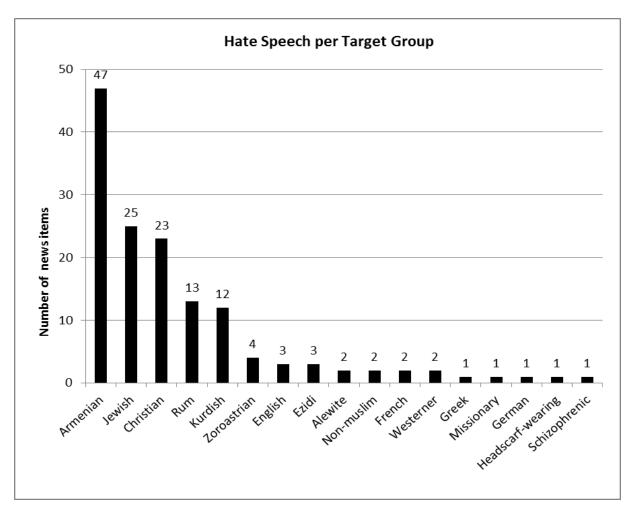
As in other periods, many columnists produced hate speech without citing names or sources, and used statements such as "one of my readers", "someone I've met", or "as far as I've heard" to refer to an external source. A similar trend was also observed in news articles; hate speech became part of the news through either affirming or not taking a critical approach towards expressions that belonged to third persons and that contained hate speech.

Although it was relatively less than other groups, hate speech towards Kurds showed a significant

increase during the January-April 2013 period. BDP's Black Sea Tour became the most important target of news articles and columns identified as containing hate speech towards Kurds.

The distribution of hate speech according to targeted groups is as follows:

Graph 3¹:



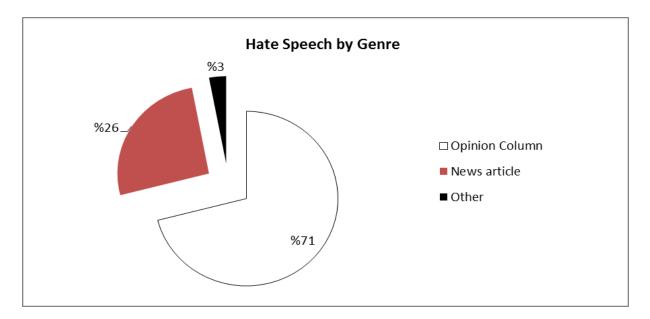
In addition to the above, **12 news articles and opinion columns** containing hate speech towards **women and LGBT individuals** were not included in the statistical analyses, but were handled separately in the second part. Hate speech towards women was detected in three news items and one of them was included in the first part as it also contained hate speech towards another group. The remaining nine news items targeted LGBT individuals' sexual orientation and identity.

Distribution of Content According to Type, Newspapers and Categories

As in other periods, hate speech was produced most often in **opinion columns (71%)**, while **26%** of the examined content was **news articles**. Other content featuring hate speech consisted of "Press Archives" (1.9%) and book launches (0.9%). Fifteen out of 27 news articles did not cite any sources (56%).

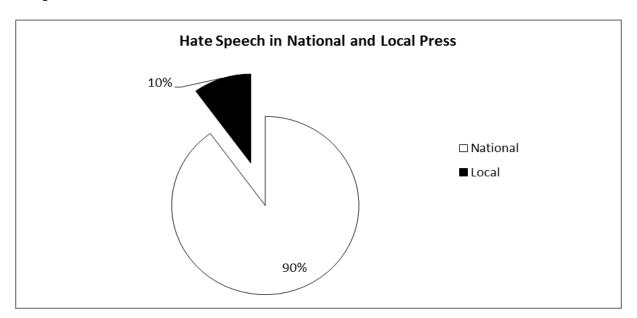
¹ Since one news item can target more than one group, the total number of items that contain hate speech is more than the total number of items (104).

Graph 4:

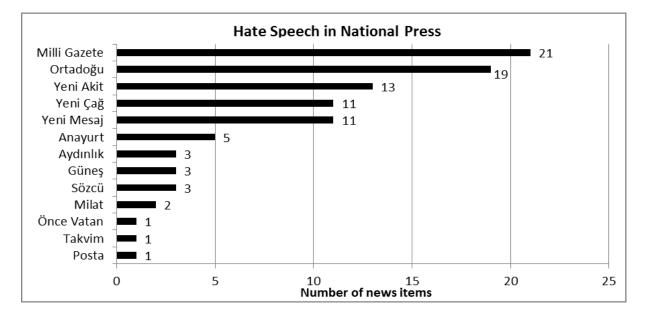


Hate speech was more prominent in the **national press** during this period as well (90.4%), and the **local press** generated 9.6 percent of the total amount.

Graph 5:



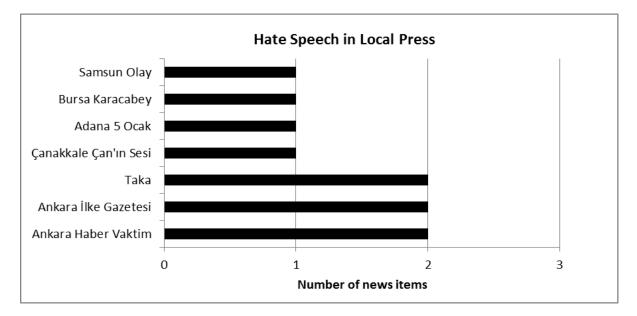
The national where hate speech was most often encountered were Milli Gazete (21 issues, 20.19%), Ortadoğu (19 issues, 18.26%), Yeni Akit (13 issues, 12.5%), Yeni Mesaj (11 issues, 10.57%),Yeni Çağ (11 issues, 10.57%) and Anayurt (5 issues, 4.8%).



Graph 6:

The number of content featuring hate speech in the **local press** was numerically small during this period as well. However, considering the events that took place during the BDP's Black Sea Tour and the possible effects of the mentioned publications, it could be stated that this scarcity is not insignificant.

Graph 7:



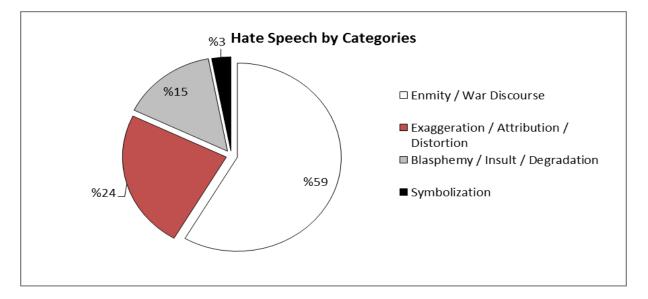
As in previous periods, hate speech samples published in newspapers were studied in four predetermined categories: (1) Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion, (2) Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration, (3) Enmity / War Discourse, (4) Using a Natural Element of One's Identity as a Cause for Hate / Symbolization

These categories were determined in order to separate and assist in the understanding of hate speech, generated in different types, expressed in an implicit or explicit manner. It is certainly

possible to detect qualities that pertain to more than one category in an article, but in those cases, the more dominant category was taken into account for the sake of classification. However, two articles were each labeled with two categories since both categories are equally dominant in those cases.

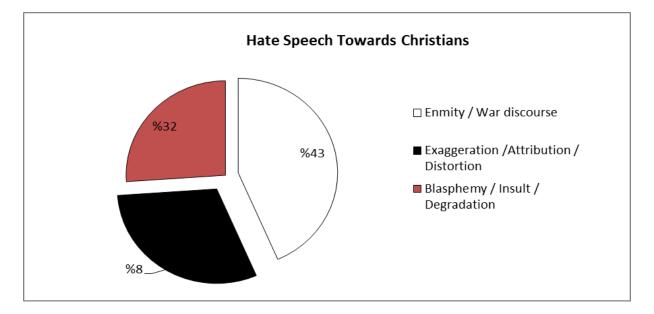
During this study period, **Enmity / War Discourse** ranked first in the distribution of the categories (62 items). It was followed by **Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion** (25 items) and **Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration** (16 items). The method used least often was **Using a Natural Element of One's Identity as a Cause for Hate / Symbolization** (3 items).

Graph 8:

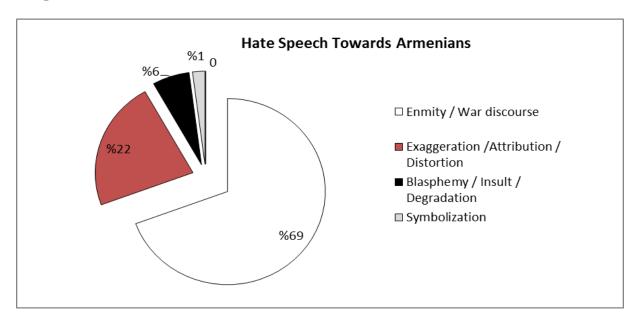


Looking at categories according to targeted groups, it was observed that **Enmity /War Discourse** dominated hate speech towards **Christians** (10 items), as in the previous period. It was followed by 7 items of **Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion** and 6 items of **Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration**.

Graph 9:



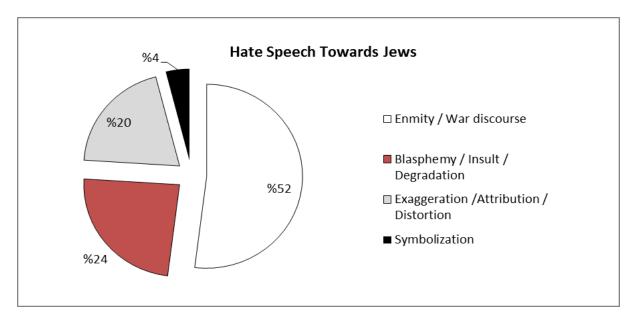
As for hate speech towards **Armenians**, **Enmity / War Discourse** was substantially the most often used category (34 items). The second most used category was **Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion** with 11 items, 3 items contained **Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration**, and 1 item, **Symbolization**.



Graph 10:

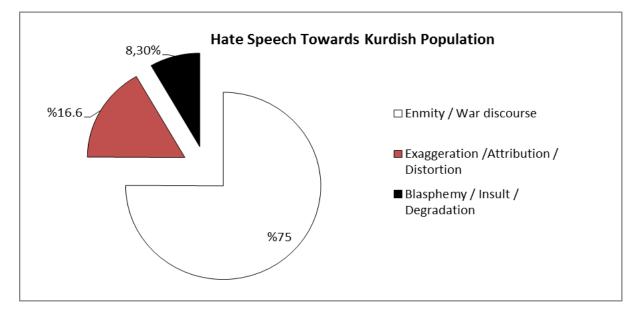
Being one of the top three groups that were subjected to hate speech, the **Jewish population** was mostly targeted within the category of **Enmity / War Discourse** (13 items). Six of the items detected fell under the **Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration** category, 5 items under the **Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion** category and 1 under **Symbolization**.





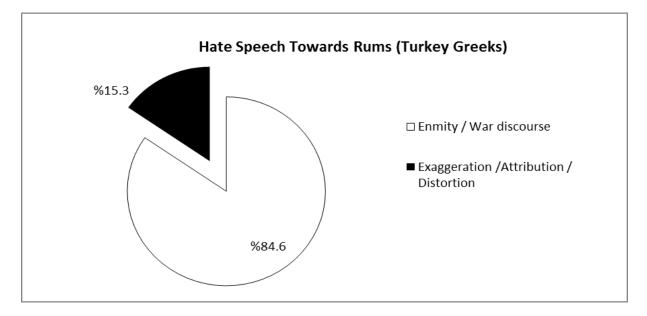
Being the fifth group subjected to hate speech, the **Kurds** were targeted mostly within the **Enmity / War Discourse** category (9 items). Two items belonged to the **Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion** category and 1 to the **Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration** category.





Being the fourth group subjected to hate speech with 13 items in total, the **Greek population (with Turkish residence)** was targeted by hate speech mostly in the category of **Enmity / War Discourse** with 11 items, and 2 items that belonged to the **Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion** category.

Graph 13:



As mentioned earlier, these four categories used to classify news content were determined to help better understand how hate speech is produced, and only the category with the most apparent qualities was used for classification. Therefore, it would be misleading to view these categories as mutually exclusive.

NEWS TIEMS SELECTED DURING THE JANUARY-APRIL 2013 PERIOD						
Date	Newspaper	Туре	Author	Title	Targeted Group	Hate Category
January 1, 2013	Ankara Haber Vaktim	News Article	Habervaktim	Curse Your New Year's Eve!	Christians	Exaggeration, attribution, distortion
January 3, 2013	Milli Gazete	News Article	Adnan Yavuz	Bloodshed At Christmas time	Christians	Exaggeration, attribution, distortion
January 7, 2013	Yeni Akit	Press Archive	-	Hürriyet Article Titled "Religion Related Test Questions to Non- Muslim Students"	Non-Muslims	Blasphemy, insult, denigration
January 7, 2013	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Mehmet Şevket Eygi	2015 Will Be Very Tough For Turkey	Armenians	Enmity, war discourse
January 8, 2013	Yeni Akit	News Article	Muhsin Bayraktar	Christian Propaganda At The Library	Christians and Jews	Exaggeration, attribution, distortion
January 8, 2013	Milli Gazete	News Article	Yusuf Han Kardelen	Here's Jewish Thinking	Jews	Symbolization
January 9, 2013	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Faruk Köse	Jewish Charlatans' Plea For Innocence	Jews	Enmity, war discourse
January 9, 2013	Yeni Akit	News Article	Anonymous	Ferocious Jews, Attacked A Mosque and an Ottoman Heritage In Jerusalem	Jews	Blasphemy, insult, denigration
January 11, 2013	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Hasan Demir	What am I supposed to tolerate?	Christians and Jews	Enmity, war discourse
January 14, 2013	Posta	News Article	Hasan Dönmez (DHA)	That's rude!	Schizophrenics	Exaggeration, attribution, distortion
January 14, 2013	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Mustafa Miyasoğlu	Terror Would End With Informed Politics	Armenians and Alevis	Enmity, war discourse
January 14, 2013	Milli Gazete	News Article	Mustafa Kılıç	Unexpected Zoroastrianism	Zoroastrians	Enmity, war discourse
January 16, 2013	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Mehmet Şevket Eygi	Covert Non- Muslims Wanting To Create Tension Between Sunnis and Alevis	Alevis, Armenians, Jews	Enmity, war discourse
January 16, 2013	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Ali Karaca	Weird Creatures With Tongues Sticking Out	Jews	Blasphemy, insult, denigration
January 22, 2013	,Yeni Akit	Köşe yazısı	Asım Yenihaber	From Sara to Sakine, Kurdish Supporters From Armenian Supporters!	Armenians	Enmity, war discourse.

NEWS ITEMS SELECTED DURING THE JANUARY-APRIL 2013 PERIOD

January22, 2013	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	İshak Beyazay	PKK Is Hormuz With Seven Husbands!	Armenians	Enmity, war discourse
January 22, 2013	Milli Gazete	News Article	Mustafa Kılıç	ANOTHER FIRST IN THE AKP GOVERNMENT: YEZİDÎ TEMPLE	Zoroastrians Yezidis, Christians	Blasphemy, insult, denigration
January 22, 2013	Ankara İlke Gazetesi	Opinion Column	Nihat Kaşıkçı	WHERE AND HOW WILL YOU DIVIDE IT?	Armenians	Enmity, war discourse
January 28, 2013	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Mustafa Aslan	Enough Is Enough!	The British, The French, Christians	Enmity, war discourse
January 28, 2013	Yeni Çağ	Opinion Column	Servet Avcı	This Parliament Would Bring Forth A War!	Armenians, Greeks	Enmity, war discourse.
January 28, 2013	Milli Gazete	News Article	Fatih Yedier	Efforts Of Subversion By The Ministry	Christians	Exaggeration, attribution, distortion
January 29, 2013	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Bayram Coşkun	Tricked By Santa Clause, Child States: "I Will Become Christian"	Christians and Jews	Blasphemy, insult, denigration
January 29, 2013	Milli Gazete	News Article	Anonymous	Home For Treachery And Agents	Greeks	Enmity, war discourse
January 29, 2013	Ortadoğu	News Article	Anonymous	Treaty of Serves Rises From The Grave!	Greeks and Armenians.	Enmity, war discourse
January 29, 2013	Ankara Haber Vaktim	Archives	Arşiv	Hunt For Şahin!	Armenians and Jews	Enmity, war discourse
January 30, 2013	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Fikri Atılbaz	Service Has No Limits – Halki Seminary On Its Way To Become A University	Greeks	Enmity, war discourse
January 31, 2013	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Neval Kavcar	Neat Solution: The Seminary Should Move To Athens!	Greeks, Kurds	Exaggeration, attribution, distortion
January 31, 2013	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Ali Erkan Kavaklı	Armenian Presence In The PKK	Armenians and Jews	Enmity, war discourse
February 4, 2013	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Ali İhsan Karahasanoğlu	The Agenda On The Socialist International Meeting is Mali and the Dismissal of CHP	The French	Enmity, war discourse

February 4, 2013	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Yusuf Karaca	Islamist Nuns!	Christians (and women)	Blasphemy, insult, denigration
February 5, 2013	Yeni Çağ	News Article	Anonymous	Armenian Reinforcement to Upper Karabakh from the AKP government	Armenians	Enmity, war discourse
February 5, 2013	Milli Gazete	News Article	Mustafa Kılıç	Surerstitous powers on the loose in the region!	Yezidis, Christians, Zoroastrians	Enmity, war discourse
February 5, 2013	Anayurt	Opinion Column	Mustafa Nevruz Sınacı	This parliament would bring forth a war!(I)	Kurds, Greeks, Armenians, Jews	Enmity, war discourse
February 6 , 2013	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Mustafa Çelik	Losing to an organized icon- worshipping minority	Christians and Jews	Enmity, war discourse
February 6, 2013	Önce Vatan	Kitap sayfası, Kuşbakışı	Oğuz Çetinoğlu	Publicity of a book ('Deportation')	Armenians	Enmity, war discourse
February 6, 2013	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Mehmet Şevket Eygi	It's not as easy or cheap!	Armenians, Christians, Jews	Enmity, war discourse
February 7, 2013	Anayurt	Opinion Column	Nalan Keziban Atay	Torture to a prisoned Turkish soldier	Armenians	Enmity, war discourse
February 7, 2013	Anayurt	Opinion Column	Mustafa Nevruz Sınacı	This parliament would bring forth a war! (II)	Greeks, Armenians, Jews	Enmity, war discourse
February 11, 2013	Anayurt	Opinion Column	Mustafa Nevruz Sınacı	Dirty game, treachery and devious trap	Armenians	Exaggeration, attribution, distortion
February 12, 2013	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Mehmet Şevket Eygi	Reformist theologians who sabotaged madrasas and sects	Armenians	Exaggeration, attribution, distortion
February 12, 2013	Bursa Karacabey	Opinion Column	Serkan Ökçe	They don't forget about it	Armenians	Enmity, war discourse
February 14, 2013	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Davut Şahin	Vatican's secrets	Christians	Blasphemy, insult, denigration
February 14, 2013	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Hasan Karakaya	If Pope did not resign, Vatican would have been in trouble	Christians	Blasphemy, insult, denigration
February 14, 2013	Milli Gazete	News Article	İmzasız	Becoming like Non-Muslims	Jews and Christians	Enmity, war discourse
February 15, 2013	Aydınlık	Opinion Column	Mehmet Perinçek	Armenians Right Before War	Armenians	Enmity, war discourse
February 18 , 2013	Adana 5 Ocak	Opinion Column	Dr. Necat Yaycıoğlu	Mad Hadji Aga and bandits with	Armenians	Enmity, war discourse

				neckties		
February 18, 2013	Ortadoğu	News Article	Anonymous	A Turkish union will be formed	Armenians	Enmity, war discourse
February 18, 2013	Yeni Çağ	Opinion Column	Hasan Demir	English Trickery!	The British	Blasphemy, insult, denigration
February 19, 2013	Milli Gazete	News Article	Anonymous	Fe eyne tezhebun (Where are you going?)	Christians and Jews	Exaggeration, attribution, distortion
February 20, 2013	Milli Gazete	News Article	Anonymous	Crusade Dinner	Christians and Jews	Enmity, war discourse
February 20, 2013	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Yıldıray Çiçek	Black Sea did not allow separationist germ to pass through	Kurds	Enmity, war discourse
February 20, 2013	Sözcü	Opinion Column	Mehmet Türker	How dare did they go to Sinop?	Kurds	Enmity, war discourse
February 20, 2013	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Prof. Dr. Nurullah Çetin	Perfect time to remember Ataturk's message to the youth	Armenians	Exaggeration, attribution, distortion
February 21, 2013	Güneş	Opinion Column	Metin Özkan	BDP's Black Sea game	Kurds	Enmity, war discourse
February 21, 2013	Sözcü	Opinion Column	Mehmet Türker	Movie-maker Sırrı's IQ	Kurds	Enmity, war discourse
February 21, 2013	Yeni Çağ	Opinion Column	İsrafil F. Kumbasar	Racists who planted the 'wind' should take the storm	Kurds	Enmity, war discourse
February 25, 2013	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Şükrü Alnıaçık	ARMENIAN REVENGE SQUADS!	Armenians	Enmity, war discourse
February 26, 2013	Yeni Çağ	Opinion Column	İsrafil K. Kumbasar	Don't forget or let forget the Hodjali genocide	Armenians	Exaggeration, attribution, distortion
February 26, 2013	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Orhan Karataş	Khodjali Genocide and Armenians' real face	Armenians	Exaggeration, attribution, distortion
February 27 , 2013	Çanakkale Çan'ın Sesi	News Article	Anonymous	Çan Grey Wolves makes press release on Khodjali Massacre	Armenians	Enmity, war discourse
February 27, 2013	Yeni Akit	News Article	Hasan Önal (TBMM Bürosu)	The Khodjali curse with the 'We are all Armenians'- sayers	Armenians	Enmity, war discourse

February 27, 2013	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Mustafa Aslan	In Turkish to the Turkish nation	Jews and Christians	Blasphemy, insult, denigration
February 28, 2013	Yeni Çağ	News Article	Anonymous	Lynch to Azeri youth from Armenians	Armenians	Exaggeration, attribution, distortion
February 28, 2013	Sözcü	News Article	Anonymous	Lynch attempt from Armenians to 2 Turkish youth in the French parliament	Armenians	Exaggeration, attribution, distortion
March 1, 2013	Yeni Çağ	News Article	Anonymous	The Khodjali massacre of Armenian murderers made into a movie	Armenians	Symbolization
March 1, 2013	Güneş	Opinion Column	Mehmet Memiş Hoca	Armenian attack in the French parliament	Armenians	Blasphemy, insult, denigration
March 5, 2013	Milli Gazete	News Article	Anonymous	Wake up you, Muslim!	Jews	Exaggeration, attribution, distortion
March 11, 2013	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Enver Gökdemir	TO ALL DISTURBED BY THE TURKISH IDENTITY	Armenians and Greeks	Enmity, war discourse
March 11, 2013	Anayurt	Opinion Column	Mustafa Nevruz Sınacı	On black nights	Kurds, Armenians and Greeks	Exaggeration, attribution, distortion
March 13, 2013	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Haydar Baş	Greater Middle Eastern Project is a tool for exploitation	Missionaries	Exaggeration, attribution, distortion
March 14, 2013	Güneş	Opinion Column	Mehmet Memiş Hoca	I waited and waited but Germany remained silent	Germans	Enmity, war discourse
March 19, 2013	Milli Gazete	News Article	Anonymous	Non-believers' torture	Non-Muslims	Enmity, war discourse
March 19, 2013	Ankara İlke	Opinion Column	Ali Kaybal	The spirit of the Gallipoli war should be kept alive	Armenians	Enmity, war discourse
March 21, 2013	Milat Gazetesi	Opinion Column	Halil Mert	Dardanelles: Combat in a thousand and one fronts	Jews	Enmity, war discourse
March 21, 2013	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Orhan Karataş	New reason for betrayal	Armenians	Enmity, war discourse

March 22, 2013	Aydınlık	Opinion Column	Türker Ertürk	Virus	Students with headscarves	Symbolization
March 22, 2013	Aydınlık	Opinion Column	Mehmet Perinçek	(Nazi- Tashnagsoutioun Collaboration-II) Enmity towards Turkey under Hitler's leadership	Armenians	Enmity, war discourse
March22, 2013	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	A.Ender Gökdemir	GALLIPOLI VICTORIES; WON AT THE COST OF TURKS' LIVES	Armenians	Enmity, war discourse
March 28, 2013	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Yıldıray Çiçek	WHO IS DISTURBED BY THE SAYING "HAPPY IS THE ONE WHO SAY I'M A TURK"	Kurds	Blasphemy, insult, denigration
March 28, 2013	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	A.Ender Gökdemir	This is Bursa Kent Square, This is the "Soldier's Square" (2)	Kurds	Enmity, war discourse
March 28, 2013	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Orhan Karataş	O, my brother, who voted for AKP!	Jews	Blasphemy, insult, denigration
April 1, 2013	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Adnan Öksüz	April 1st; fool's day or the day the Crusaders massacred the Muslims!	Christians	Enmity, war discourse
April 4, 2013	Yeni Çağ	Opinion Column	Uluğtekin Yılmaz	We are the children of the Black Sea!	Kurds	Enmity, war discourse
April 8, 2013	Samsun Olay	Opinion Column	M. Halistin Kukul	27 things about Turks	Armenians	Enmity, war discourse
April 8, 2013	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Ender Gökdemir	WILL YOU BE ABLE TO ERASE THE TURK FROM TURKEY AND ERASE OUT THE TURKISH NATION?	Armenians, Greeks	Enmity, war discourse
April 9, 2013	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Mehmet Şevket Eygi	Turkey's cryptos	Jews	Exaggeration, attribution, distortion
April 10, 2013	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Yusuf Karaca	Masked non- believers with an Islamic sauce	Christians	Exaggeration, attribution, distortion
April 10, 2013	Yeni Çağ	Opinion Column	Hüseyin Macit Yusuf	We did it in 1974,and we'll do it again	Greeks	Enmity, war discourse
April 10, 2013	Yeni Çağ	Opinion Column	Hasan Demir	Those who don't know what	Armenians	Exaggeration, attribution,

				they're saying!		distortion
April 11, 2013	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Davut Şahin	English politics and Thatcher	The British	Exaggeration, attribution, distortion
April 11, 2013	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Neval Kavcar	Soros mess for the Wise Men (?)	Armenians	Exaggeration, attribution, distortion + Enmity, war discourse
April 12, 2013	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Akın Aydın	Forgotten Turks at the European hole	Christians, Jews	Enmity, war discourse
April 17, 2013	Milat	Opinion Column	Hatice İslamoğlu Erdem	Lousy apology, great repentance	Jews	Blasphemy, insult, denigration
April 17, 2013	Yeni Çağ	Opinion Column	Hüseyin Macit Yusuf	Time to face with the Greeks	Greeks	Enmity, war discourse
April 18, 2013	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	A.Ender Gökdemir	Fly birdies, fly to Izmir	Greeks, Armenians, Zoroastrians, Christians	Enmity, war discourse
April 18, 2013	Taka	Opinion Column	Osman Yazıcı	PKK claims Black Sea as a state	Kurds	Enmity, war discourse
April 18, 2013	Taka	Opinion Column	Dr. Enver Uzun	What the novel 'Yaban' makes you think	Armenians	Enmity, war discourse + Blasphemy, insult, denigration
April 18, 2013	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Yusuf Karaca	"Joyful Games"week!	Christians and Jews	Exaggeration, attribution, distortion
April 23, 2013	Yeni Akit	News Article	Ramazan Alkan	BDP run municipality opens Yezidi house	Yezidis	Enmity, war discourse
April 23, 2013	Takvim	News Article	Anonymous	Armenian mud	Armenians	Exaggeration, attribution, distortion
April 24, 2013	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Behiç Çelik	The alleged Armenian genocide, the flag and Izmir	Armenians	Blasphemy, insult, denigration
April 29, 2013	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Nazif Kurucu	Turkish genocide in Europe	Westerners	Exaggeration, attribution, distortion
April 29, 2013	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Necdet Sivaslı	Calculations are being made in Armenia for a divided Turkey	Armenians	Enmity, war discourse

EXAMPLES BY CATEGORY

Enmity/War Discourse

Title: This parliament would bring forth a war (I) (II) Newspaper: Anayurt Date: February 5, 2013 / February 7, 2013 Type: Opinion Column Author: Mustafa Nevruz Sınacı

Although this information is not provided in Mustafa Nevruz Sınacı's writing, it was observed that both of his articles were written in continuity with the articles written by Servet Avcı under the same heading on January 28, 2013 in Anayurt newspaper. All three of these writings provide information on "Meclis-i Mebusan" (House of Representatives during the First and Second Constitutional Eras of the Ottoman Empire), where they refer to events of that time period. Servet Avcı's article provides this information only at the very end of the column, thereby creating an impression throughout the writing that it is about the current national assembly of Turkey. Sınacı's writings do not provide this information in any explicit way at all.

These writings contain statements that target groups directly, such as "Separatist Greeks", and they try to associate concepts like "ethnic fanaticism", "civil war", "disintegration", "betrayal" and "taking 100 years' worth of revenge on behalf of their loathsome roots and beliefs" with "Kurdish, Greek, Armenian and Jewish lobbies". They glorify the Turkish identity and incite hatred towards the mentioned identities, talking about "historical grudges" they are claimed to have.



Bu meclis savas cıkarır (I)

slında, her ne kadar adı ve kurumsal anılış biçimi "Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi" ise de, bu şanlı ad'ın kadim manâ ve tarihi muhtevası ile "parlamenter" namiyla maruf kutsal çatı altında iş görenler, ta-ban tabana aykırı ve inadına zıttır. Özellikle "Kurucu Meclis" vasfi ile efsanevi "Milli Mücadele"den mütevellit "Gazi" unvanıyla müseccel ve "İslâm Halifeliği şahsında mündemiç" yüce bir isimle müsemma olma (ad ile örtüşme) yönünden aralarında çok büyük çelişkiler bulunmaktadır.

Çok kısa ve özne cihetiyle tarihe bakalım. Şöyle ki:

"İlk başkanı Mustafa Kemal (AtaTürk) olan TBMM, son "hür ve hükümran" Türk devleti "Türkiye Cumhuri-yeti"nin kurucusudur. Kuruluş amacı ile varlık nedeni bakımından "Millet adına tek egemendir." Millet Mec-lisi'nin üzerinde hiç bir güç, hiç bir irade, vesayet veya makam yoktur. Yaşama, yürütme ve yargı dahil, ad "kuvvetler birliği" veya "kuvvetler aynliği" isim ve biçi-mi her ne olursa olsun nihayetinde bütün hak, kuvvet ve yetkilerin tek ve yegâne sahibidir. Zira yargı, yaşa-ma ve yürütme (icra) gücü: Milli "egemenlik kayıtsız şartısız milletindir." Umdesi gereği Türk Milleti'ne altıt. Türk Milleti; Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ni fiilen kuran ve "Kurtuluş Savaşını" yapan millettir. TBMM'nin üstünde bir güç tanınamaz. TBMM Gazidir. Milli Kuruluş Sava-şını sevk, idame ve idare etmiştir. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devleti ve TBMM Ebed müddettir, devamlılık arz eder. Şiarı mutlak adalet ahlâk, kadım hukuk ve hakkaniyet "İlk baskanı Mustafa Kemal (AtaTürk) olan TBMM, Şiarı mutlak adalet ahlâkı, kadim hukuk ve hakkaniyetle egemenlik, insan haklarına saygı muvacehesinde tam bağımsızlıktır. 1923 – 1946 yılları arası meclis iki dereceli sistem-

le olusurdu.

le oluşurdu. Buna göre: "İntihabı evvel" denilen birinci derece-de: Önce bizatihi haik tarafından, yörenin en namuslu, dürüst, tahsilli, terbiyeli, seviye ve seciyesi (ahlâk ve karakteri yüksek) vaten daşlar arasından delege seçilir; Bu delegeler de "yöreye isabet eden vekil sayısının iki katı" aday adayı seçerlerdi. İkinci derece olan "intihabı sanı" aşamasında. Vilâyet delegeleri tarafından liçeler-den gelen vekiller arasından, "İl Vekil Sayısı kadar" se-cim vaplık ve intihabı ederek Ankaratıya nönderilirdi çim yapılır ve intihab derek Ankar'ya gönderilirdi. Yani: Seçilenlerin istisnasız tamamı Millet Vekili olup; İki dereceli sistem gereği doğrudan halk tarafından ve

yerinden seçilip Meclise gelirlerdi." 1946'da Halk Partisi tarafından ilk kez "tek dere-cell" seçim öngörüldü. Partizan ve Jandarma teminatlı "Açık Oy Gizli Sayım" esaslı bu usul; Yalnız Türkiye'nin değil, belki de dünya tarihinin en ğirenç seçim usulü biçiminde, tam bir alçaklık ve kalleşlik olarak siyaset tarihine geçmiştir. Ancak, bundan sonradır ki; O'da, daima iltraz, şikâyet ve tartışma konusu olan "yargı gözetimi" ihdas edilmiştir..."

Şimdi uygulanan bilgisayarlı sistem ise: Tam bir

simol uygulanan oligisayani sistem ise; Tam bir sir, gizem ve şalbeden ibarettir. Halkın vekil seçiminde artık hiçbir dahli yoktur. Resmi delege seçimi, önseçim veya teskilât yoklaması bile yapılmamaktadır. Evvelinde telâffuz bile edilmeyen (kürsü masuniyeti hariç) dokunulmazlık, ayrıcalık ve imtiyazlar "Millet Vekilliği" kurumunu lekelemiş, şalbe-ur, bidemu unde deniçe kuruterutur. Meklemiş kanbeye bulamıs, yok etmis ve kurutmustur. Halkın kanaati-ne göre: Şu haliyle parlamentoda "vesayet, sulta, cun-ta" cardir.Miletin vektii yoktur. Dolayısıyla bunlar. Memlekette ne huzur bırakır,

ne milli birlik, ne de Misak-i Milli... Bu parlamento ü-keyi adım adım iç savaşa, bölünmeye götürür... Bir milletin vekilleri, 'etnik fanatizm'e sanlırsa, yıllarca, si lah olarak kullanmak istedikleri milliyetlerini, firsati bul-dukça, Türk düşmanlığına yöneltirlerse, bunun sonucu kesinlikle savaştır... Evet, bu emare kıstasları böyle oluyor, öyle yapıyorlarsa (ki, maalesef öyle oluyor) bu vekiller, devletin zayrıfadığını gördükce, içlerindeki kini kusmaya başladılar... Batılı dostlarının koruması altın-Australya başladılar... Batılı döstarilmi koldinləsi attir-da, bildikteri bütün ihanet türlerini gerçekleştirdiler... Türk milletinin gözünün içine baka baka, menfur kök ve inançlarının 'yüzlerce yillik intikam'ını almaya çalış-tılar... Bunu yaptıkları bir vakıa, yani millet buna her gün tanık olmakta; verdikleri demeç veya attıkları kimi nutuklarını izleyerek. Gömetteriz ki parlametterin örde kürt Bum

nutukarını izeyerek. Görmekteyiz ki parlamentoda sözde Kürt, Rum, Yunan, Ermeni ve Yahudi lobileri mevcutl.. Üstelik "Milli Devlet" ten yana değil; Milli Devlete karl... Olacak şey değill..



Bu meclis savas cıkarır (II)

Bu sözde milletvekillerinden birisi, Rum gazetelerine yazılar göndererek, bizim vatandaşlarımız olan Rumların gerçek vatanlarının Yunanistan olduğunu id-dia etmiştir... Ne kadar dehşet verici, büyük utanç ve yüz kara-

si.Doğrusu, bu yapılandan hiç haberim yoktu..! Yani, bir bu eksikti!?

Bövle hainlerin cirit attığı bir Meclis'e sahip olan devlet hiç ayakta kalabilir mi? Orada özgürlük, bağım-sızlık, milli devlet ve milli hâkimiyetten söz edilebilir mi? Bu olumsuz soru ve sorunlara elbette ki, evet denilemez. Onay verilemez ve onun için de millet enin-de sonunda bunlara "hayır" diyecek. Her şeye rağmen Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devleti mutlak kalacak ve de öz-gürlük ve egemenliğini "inkitaa uğrasa bile" mücadele-sini sürdürecek, gerekirse, yeniden kazanacaktır. Çün-kü, başka yolu yok bunun, diyorum. Bunları konuşmalıyız.

Bu Meclis'te sadece bölücü Rumlar yok, yasadışı Ermeni terör örgütlerine üye milletvekilleri de var. Hat-ta içlerinden birisi 'banka basmak'tan sabikalı azılı bir terörist. Bunlar ülkede kanşıklık çıkarıp, Batı'nın deste-ğini arkalarına alarak, Doğu Anadolu'da özerk bir yapı kurmak için çalıştıklarını bildiğimiz tipler. Yıllardır banş içinde yaşayan bir ülkede, sanki savaş varmış gibice sine "barış" isteyen de bunlar...

Bu kadar, aleyhte bilgi ve belge varken, buna sim-diye kadar önlem alınıp, dur denilmemesine (her şeye rağmen) şaşmıyor, değilim. Türk devletine değil, siyonizme hizmet eden, artik emellerine ulaşmalarının mümkün olduğuna' inanan ve İstanbul'a bu amaçla büro açmış o dört Siyonist milletvekilini barındıran bu

Meclis'e güvenilebilir mi? Her etnik grubun kendi menfaatleri doğrultusun-da, çekiştirdiği bu devlet parçalanmaz da, ne olur? Bu dahi varit ise, bu durumda her şey olgunlaşmış veya bu minval (iç savaş isteniyor demek için) üzeredir, dememek için bir sebep yok, demektir. Kanun ve yö-netmeliklerin nasıl ilan edileceği konusu Meclis gündemine gelmisti..

Bazı milletvekilleri bu ilânın sadece Türkçe yapılmasına itiraz ettiler

Aslında iyi niyetliydiler. Halkımızın daha iyi anlaması' için, her bölge ve her etnik grup için, tercüme edilerek, birlikte ilân edilmesini teklif ettiler... Asıl adı Ohannes olan bir Erzurum milletvekilimiz bu gruba ön-cülük etti... Bu Meclis öyle ihanet potansiyeli taşımak-tadır ki, bir Aydın milletvekili, 300 bin Rum'un, zorla göç ettirildiğini söylemis, Tekirdağ milletvekili de onu doğrulamıştı. Trabzon milletvekili ise, bu 'sürgün'ün çeteci yöntemlerle 'canice' yapıldığını bu Meclis çatısı altında dile getirmişti...

Vay anasını sayın seyirciler! Demek öyle?! Trabzonlu dahi, ihanet edenlere iştirak etmiş!? De, bu Trabzoniu dani, inanet edora simatiya etmişti de, ol olanlar ve dahi bu şahıslar hakkında şimdiye kadar bir şey duyulmamış olması çok garip... Bütün bunlan söyleyenler hep "süret-i hak'tan gözüküler... Ada-na'nın bir ilçesinden gelen ve asıl adı Hamparsum olan Ermeni kökenli bir milletvekilimiz, kavimlere göre dernek kurulmasını yasaklayan kanun maddesine şöyle itiraz etmişti:

"Bu kanunun kabul edilmesi durumunda, düşünce özgürlüğü zarar görür. Eğer ırk ve cinsiyet esaslı siyasî örgütlerin kurulmasına izin verilmeyecek olursa, toplumun değişik unsurları gizli örgütler kurmaya teşvik etmiş olunur...

Ne kadar hâlisane ve ne kadar iyi niyetli değil mi? Evet evet, yazar'ın, basta, neden böyle Suret-i Hak'dan gözüktülerdemiş olduğunu şimdi anlıyorum aleni ihanet ifşaatına, mümkünse, kılıf göstermek... millet ancak bu kadar aptal yerine konulabilir... Kabul edelim ki, bu Meclis çökmüş, millî iradeyi temsil yetkisi kalmamıştır... İçlerinde banndırdıkları tarihî kinlerini, 'Türk' zayıf düştlükçe kusanlar, bu Meclis'i adeta 'ihanet odağı' hâline getirmişlerdir... Bütün bunlardan sonra, bu öngörüyü onay-

lamamak için, ya onlardan biri veyahut da, hakikaten gerzek olmak lazım. Onun için, vesselam, diyor, incelemeyi burada kesiyorum

Türk demek: Türkçe düşünmek, Türkçe konuşmak ve Türkçe yaşamaktır. Ne mutlu TÜRK'ÜM diyene.....

Enmity/ War Discourse

Title: BDP-governed municipality opens Yezidi house Newspaper: Yeni Akit Date: 23.04.2013 Type: News Article Author: Ramazan Alkan

In this news piece containing hate speech towards Ezidis, they are identified as "devil-worshippers". They are claimed to worship the devil, which is thought to be "evil" by religious beliefs, and this identification leaves them vulnerable to a possible religiously fanatic act of violence. This news article is also important in terms of showing how hate speech towards a certain group can be used as a means to target another individual, group or institution. The individual/institution who is claimed to support Ezidis (BPD or BDP Mayor of Sur) are indirectly presented as targets. The news item states that Demirbaş (BDP leader) is "making way for a new agitation" by saying "Kurds of Yezidi descent are slaughtered". It is also mentioned that BDP is trying to "sell snails in a Muslim neighborhood". Such statements are supported by another sub-heading, "Citizens of Diyarbakir also react adversely", and prepare grounds for a possible conflict. It is observed that using statements such as "work somebody up", the article's tone does not reflect a proper news tone, but rather uses more provocative language.



BDP'li belediye Yezidi Evi açıyor

RAMAZAN ALKAN / ANKARA

Müslüman mahallesinde salyangoz satmaya çalışan BDP'li Sur Belediyesi Başkanı Abdullah Demirbaş bölgedeki Yezidi vatandaşlara katliam yapıldığını iddia ederek, Yezidilerden özür diledi. BDP'li Başkan bununla da yetinmeyerek, şeytana tapan Yezidiler için Diyarbakır'da "Yezidi Evi" açma sözü verdi.

Almanya'nın Hannover kentinde düzenlenen ve Yezidilerin bayramı olarak adlandırılan "Kırmızı Çarşamba" festivaline katılan Diyarbakı'ın Sur Belediyesi Başkanı Abdullah Demirbaş, yeni bir "icat" ortaya çıkardı. Yezidi olan Kürt vatandaşların katledildiğini ileri süren Demirbaş, adeta yeni bir tahrik için yol gösterdi. Bütün Yezidilerden özür dileyen Demirbaş, kendilerini affettirmek için Diyarbakır'da bir Yezidi Evi açacağını müjdesini de verdi!

YEZIDILERE BDP DESTEĞİ

Almanya'da faaliyetlerini yürüten Yezi-

di Demekleri Federasyonu'nun bu yil ilkini organize ettiği "1. Festivala Çarşema Sor (1. Kırmızı Çarşamba Festivali)"ne çok sayıda BDP'li siyasetçi katıldı. Uzun süredir Yezidilere destek veren BDP, yurtdışındaki bu organizasyondan da desteğini esirgemedi. BDP heyetini Sur Belediyesi Başkanı Abdullan Demirbaş temsil ederken, programa, PYD Eş Başkanı Salih Müşlim de katıldı.

BDP YEZIDILERDEN ÖZÜR DILEDI

Abdullah Demirbaş burada yaptığı konuşmada, Yezidilere katilam yapıldığı iddiasında bulundu: Demirbaş, Kürt halkıyla Yezidileri bir araya getiren kişinin terörist başı Abdullah Öcalan olduğunu söyledi. Demirbaş, "Katliamlarla Yezidileri bitiremediler. Bugün binlerce kişi bulunması bunun örneğidir. Bu katilamlardan dolayı Yezidilerden özür diliyoruz. Abdullah Öcalan sayesinde, bugün birliğimizi pekiştiriyoruz. Bu mücadele olmasaydı biz birbirimizi tanımıyorduk. Onun için hepirniz Öcalan'ın başlattığı barış sürecini desteklemeliyiz" dedi.

"YEZIDI İNANCI KORUNMALI!"

BDP olarak Yezidileri korumaya ve kollamaya devam edeceklerini belirten Demirbaş, Yezidilerden övgüyle bahsetti. Demirbaş, dünyadaki Yezidi inancinın korunup yaşatılması gerektiğini söylerken, "Biz de size bir müjde veriyoruz; gönüllerin başkentinde Yezidi Evi açacağız" dedi. Demirbaş'ın bu tutumu "BDP Müsilüman mahallesinde salyangoz satiyor" yorumlarına sebeb oldu.

DİYARBAKIRLI VATANDAŞLAR TEPKİLİ Diyarbakırlı vatandaşlar ise BDP'yi sert bir dille eleştirerek, Yezidiliği tekrar can-

landırmak istemekle suçladı. Müslümanhöjn en güzel yaşandığı yerlerden biri olan Diyarbakır'da şeytana tapan Yezidilerin yeri olmadığını belirten vatandaşlar, BDP'nin Yezidl Evi açma isteğinden de vazqeçmesini istediler.



Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion

Title: Armenians tried to lynch 2 young Turks at the French parliament Newspaper: Sözcü Date: February 28, 2013 Type: News Article Source: Not cited

During the Khodjali events' anniversary, the attack on the two young people who wanted to bring the subject up in the French Parliament was published in the Sözcü newspaper, as well as Yeni Çağ, under the heading "Lynch by Armenians on Azerbaijani youth". The fact that these two newspapers with different and irreconcilable political views used very similar language shows that hate speech is not a characteristic of a certain political approach.

Both news articles claimed that "Armenians living in France", "Armenians" or "40 Armenian members of the racist Dashnaksutyun party" were the offenders in these events, described as "lynching" or "lynching attempts". Moreover, the Sözcü newspaper used the words "Armenian murderers" while talking about the Khojaly events. Both news articles demonstrate examples of news stories going beyond information conveyance and criticism by emphasizing a certain identity and attributing certain qualities to that identity.



Exaggeration/Distortion/Attribution

Title: Armenian mud Newspaper: Takvim Date: April 23, 2013 Type: News Source: Not Cited

The news article is about an offense committed against the Turkish Airlines (THY) that has recently added Buenos Aires to its travel destinations. In the sub-heading of the article, it is stated that THY's success with the new destination was disturbing Armenians and that they were trying to slander Turkey and THY. By combining the statements such as "Armenian mud", "started an attack" with the "information" about the claimed events, all the Armenians are negatively portrayed. Also, looking at the parts of the text written in bold letters, we see that the Armenian identity is emphasized. As can be seen from the heading written on a background with a THY plane ("They envy success"), it can be observed that the news in its whole is based on verbs that carry emotions such as "envy" and "disturbance". The information conveyed is not based on facts and is not cited, rendering the situation exaggerated and distorted.

This news article is also interesting in terms of visuals. A picture of a woman, although completely irrelevant to the subject matter, brings forth yet another problem in terms of women's representation in media. The image portrays a woman sitting on what is guessed to be a suitcase, and she is dressed up in a way that suggests she is going on a vacation, as she has a sun-hat and sunglasses. Her legs, which are revealed in her shorts, constitute a major part of the image. This irrelevant use of visuals can be interpreted as an example of how women are used as "attractive" elements or "sexual objects".

THY'nin Arjantin'de Buenos Aires'e yaptığı seferlerin başarılı olması, Ermeniler'i fazlasıyla rahatsız etti. Panolara yazılar asan Ermeniler, Türkiye ve THY'yi karalamaya çalışıyor	Text And And And And And And And And And And

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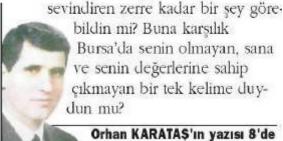
Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration

Title: O, my brother, who voted for AKP Newspaper: Ortadoğu Date: March 28, 2013 Type: Opinion Column Author: Orhan Karataş

In his column, while making a list of all the people that are "attacking the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP)", Karataş also uses the term "Jewish converts" as an insult and produces hate speech towards both Jewish people and those who converted to other religions from Judaism for various reasons. The article also contains insults towards the individuals who are part of the group known as Commission of Wise People. Karataş first describes a group that is "pious and in love with their country, their nation and their flag" and then states that the people in this commission are completely against all these values. He describes them as a "treacherous group" and states "Everyone is following what their own blood directs them to do." Thereby, he produces a discourse that targets members of this commission whose names are publicly known.

Ey, AKP'ye oy veren kardeşim

İşte bir akil adamlar listesi yayınlandı. Tamamı senin bütün değerlerine küfretmiş, alay etmiş, en ağır hakaretleri sıralamışlardır. Bunların hangisiyle senin ne ortak tarafın var? Bu sicilleriyle AKP'ye tetikçilik etmeleri seni hiç düşündürmüyor mu? Diyarbakır'da senin olan, seni ilgilendiren, seni



Ey, AKP'ye oy veren kardeşim,

BU memleketi sahipsiz zannedip, yıkmak ve yok etmek için seferber olan ihanet güruhu, MHP'nin Bursa mitingi ve Genel Başkan Dr. Devlet Bahçeli'nin konuşmalarından sonra, bu hain emellerine hiçbir zaman ulaşamayacaklarını, heveslerinin kursaklarında kalacağını gördüler. Bu cümleyi sık tekrarlıyoruz, ama olup biteni anlatabilmek için bunu yapmak zorundayız. Bursa mitingi bu ihanet yolunun çıkmaz olduğunun tarihe geçen ispatıdır. 20 Nisan'da İzmir'de yapılacak ve toplam 9 ili kapsayan bu mitinglerin tamamının aynı coşkuda, aynı kararlılıkta, aynı inatça ve aynı mesajda olacağından, bu ülkenin ve bu milletin sahipsiz olmadığının, bu ihanete daha fazla seyirci kalınmayacağının dosta- düşmana tekrar tekrar gösterile-

<u>GÜNDEM</u> Orham KARATAŞ ceğinden zerre kadar şüpheniz yoktur.

AKIL SAĞLIKLARI BO-Zuldu

Nitekim, ihanet güruhu da bunu anlamış ve fark etmiştir. İşte bu yüzden aynı yerden verilen talimatla, hep birlikte ve organize şekilde MHP'ye saldırıyorlar. Fakat ne söyleseler, hangi yalanı söyleseler, hangi yalanı söyleseler, hangi yalanı söyleseler, hangi yalanı yapsalar fayda etmiyor. Özellikle sayın Bahçeli'nin kararllığı karşısında kimyaları ve

hatta akıl sağlıkları bozulmuş haldeler. Kelimenin tam anlamıyla şaşırmış durumdalar. Çaresizlik içinde çırpınırken maskelerini düşürüyorlar ve kendilerini ele veriyorlar. Türk milleti bunların aslını, kirli geçmişlerini, bozuk niyetlerini, Türk ve Türkiye düşmanlıklarını bir defa daha görüyor.

BİR TÜRLÜ ANLAYAMADIĞIMIZ ŞEY

Şu tesadüfe bakın ki, MHP'ye saldıranların içinde özel hesapları, özel hedefleri olan din bezirganları da var, iflah olmaz İslam düşmanları da var. Nesli tükenmiş, fakat hala bir ümit peşinde koşan zavallı Marksistler de var, renksiz, kıblesiz liberal ve Yahudi dönmeleri de var. İmralı canisinin kendisi de var, Soros artığı, Sevr özlemcisi hainler de var. Tamamını burada isim isim saymak, bu milletle, bu ülkeyle, bu bayrakla mücadeleyle geçmiş sicillerini ortaya dökmek mümkündür.

Zaten Yıldıray Çiçek kardeşim bunu sık sık yapıyor. Bizim bir türlü anlayamadığımız ve kabul edemediğimiz şey, AKP'ye oy veren, hatta AKP milletvekili olan ve ezici çoğunluğu dini bütün, ülkesine, milletine, bayrağına sevdalı kardeşlerimizin bu durumu nasıl göremedikleri ve bu ihanete nasıl onay verdikleridir. İnandıkları ve yaşadıkları bütün değerlerle kavgalı olan bu hain güruhuyla aynı yönde olmayı, hatta onları daha da cesaretlendiren bir siyasede olmayı, hatta onları daha da cesaretlendiren bir siyasete destek vermeyi nasıl içlerine sindirdikleridir.

BİR DİYARBAKIR'A BİR DE BURSA'YA BAK

Ey AKP'ye oy veren ve hala vermeyi düşünen kardeşim, İşte bir akil adamlar listesi yayınlandı. Bunların tek ortak tarafı, asıl niyetlerine ulaşabilmek için AKP'yi bulunmaz bir firsat olarak görmeleridir. Onun dışında senin yaşamınla, senin değerlerinle, senin beklentilerinle, senin hedeflerinle hiçbir ilgi ve alakaları olmadığı gibi, tamamı bu değerlerle kavgalıdır. Küfretmiş, alay etmiş, en ağır hakaretleri sıralamışlardır. Bunların bu sicilleriyle AKP'ye tetikçilik etmeleri seni hiç düşündürmüyor mu? Elini vicdanına koy ve bu listedeki isimlere yakından bir bak. Bunların hangisiyle senin ne ortak tarafın var? Adına "çözüm" denilen ve Türkiye'yi çözüp lime lime eden, İmralı'daki katilin insaf ve inisiyatifine bırakan gelişmelerden son derece memnun olmaları, senin kafanda soru işaretleri uyandırmıyor mu? Sonra bir de dön, MHP'nin söylediklerine ve duruşuna bak. Bir Bursa mitingini izle, bir de Diyarbakır'da yaşananları düşün. Bunların hangisi seni rahatsız ediyor, hangisi sana daha yakın geliyor? Diyarbakır'da senin olan, seni ilgilendiren, seni sevindiren zerre kadar bir sey görebildin mi? Buna karsılık Bursa'da senin olmayan, sana ve senin değerlerine sahip çıkmayan bir tek kelime duydun mu? Bu BOP Eşbaşkanlığı'nı ve bunun gereği olarak İslam dünyasında yapılan katliamlara sağlanan desteği, Obama'nın elindeki beyzbol sopasıyla verdiği talimatları, sifonun çekilmemesi için verilen teminatları, İsrail'le oynanan tiyatroları içine nasıl sindiriyorsun? Bu soruları cok daha uzatabiliriz. Gemicikleri, mısır düzenlerini yazmaya kalksak ne sayfalar yeter, ne kitaplar. Bunların hangisi İslama, vicdana, ahlaka, siyasete, insanlığa sığıyor? Bunların hangisinde senin menfaatin, senin geleceğin, senin onayın var?

MHP'DEN BAŞKA ÇARE KALMADI

Bu ihanet güruhunun içinde bulunanlardan her hangi biri MHP için tek kelime olumlu bir laf etseydi, AKP-PKK ortaklığından rahatsızlık duysaydı, Diyarbakır'da yaşananlara itirazda bulunsaydı, Bursa için olumlu görüş bildirseydi, biz kendimizden endişe eder, bir yerlerde yanlış yaptığımızı düşünürdük.

Bu ihanet güruhunun AKP-PKK ortaklığına destek verip MHP'ye saldırması varlık sebeplerine son derece uygun olduğu gibi, Türk milliyetçilerinin doğruluğunun ve haklılığının da ispatıdır. Her zaman söylediğimiz gibi, öyle bir dönemden geçiyoruz ki, herkes damarlarında akan kanın gereğini yapıyor.

Türk'den Türklükten, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nden rahatsız olan kanı bozuklar, bozmaya, bölmeye, yıkmaya, yok etmeye çabalıyor; asalet ve cesaretin sahipleri, ülke ve millet sevdalıları da bu alçaklığa set çekiyor ve direniyor. Artık herkes tavrını buna göre belirlemek, safını buna göre seçmek zorundadır. MHP'den başka çare kalmamıştır.

Bu kadar kesin, bu kadar net, bu kadar belgindir. Bunun dışında söylenenler de, yazılanlar da yalandır ve bu milletin aklıyla, değerleriyle, geleceğiyle alay etmekten başka bir şey değildir.

orhankarata@yahoo.com

Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration

Title: Vatican's secrets Newspaper: Milli Gazete Date: February 14, 2013 Type: Opinion Column Author: Davut Şahin

In this writing, which begins its narrative with Pope Benedict XVI's resignation, Christianity is described as deviancy. Davut Şahin elaborates on his opinion as such: "When you observe the pictures and statues at church, you can tell that the road to deviancy is built early on. Almost the whole church is full of semi-nude or completely nude male and female figures" and he claims that it is impossible for a regular church going child "not to be extremely affected by all these figures underlying an enormous amount of 'sexual' messages". He then goes on to add, "Under these circumstances, the church automatically produces 'psychopaths' who had been 'sexually abused', as he interprets various religious figurines in an insulting fashion and in accordance with his personal views, stigmatizing people belonging to that faith with a mental disorder.

Vatikan'ın sırları

VATİKAN'DA Papa'nın istifası, Katolik Kilisesi'nin liderliğine ciddi anlamda gölge düşürdü.

Aslında konunun uzmanı Prof. Dr. Aytunç Altındal, bir söyleşisinde Papa'nın istifa edeceğini önceden bildirmişti.

Arda Uskan, Vatikan cephesinde neler olduğunu sorduğunda, şöyle cevap vermisti:

"En önemli gelişme şu: Papa 16.Benedict yıl sonuna kadar gitmiş olacak! Onu devre dışı bırakacaklar. Senin anlayacağın gidici adam."

"Hasta olduğu söyleniyor ama..." "Yok hastalıktan değil; Vatikan artık stratejisini değiştiriyor. Zaten Papa'nın başında çok büyük belalar ve mahkemeler var... Üstelik hakkında tutuklama kararı çıkarılmış."

"Bizim bildiğimiz Vatikan'da kol kırılır yen içinde kalırdı."

"Bu defa kalamıyor maalesef, çünkü iş çok dallandı. Papa 17 bin erkek çocuğuna cinsel tacizde bulunan 4 bin 500 Katolik din adamını korumakla suçlanıyor, bu işin üzerini kapatamazlar."

"Vatikan'da bu kadar tacizci mi var?" "Sadece Vatikan'da değil. Tüm dünyadan söz ediyorum. Bunların hepsi Papa'ya bağlı ya..." (01.03.2012, Takvim)

Altındal rakamlar veriyor: -4 bin 450 papaz, 1950-2002 yılları arasında dinen "Delicta Graviora' diye adlandırılan "erkek çocuklarına cinsel taciz" sucunu islemis.

Dahası; 2001 yılında Amerika'da bu konuda büyük bir skandal yaşanmış... 6 papaz bu suçlamalar karşısında kilisenin onurunu kurtarmak için intihar etmiş. KİLİSEDEN KAÇAN KAÇANA Avrupa'nın göbeği, Avusturya'da da kili-

selerde ortaya çıkan cinsel taciz skandallarının patlak verdiği merkezlerden biri. Sonrasında kilise aleyhinde suçlamalar

ve davalar. Son üç ay içinde:

-Aşağı Avusturya Eyaletindeki kiliselerden 1000...

-Voralberg Kilisesi'nden 850,

-Tirol Kilisesi'nden 650,

-Salzburg şehir merkezindeki kiliselerden ise 120 kişi kiliseden ayrıldığı kayıtlara gecmis.

-Viyana Kilisesi ise rakam vermek istememiş. Ama geçen yılın resmi rakamlarına göre 52 bin 216 kişi kiliseyi terk etmiş.

Çocuklara yönelik cinsel taciz vakaları medyada geniş yer bulunca utancından kiliselere kayıtlı bulunan 5.6 çalışan, işi bırakmış. (BBC, uk)

Yani kaçan kurtuluyor!

SİSTEMATİK ÖRT-BAS

Bir din kurumunun üstelik *sistematik" bir şekilde cinsel taciz olaylarını ört-bas ettiğini, yayımlanan raporlar ortaya koyuyor. Yanı sıra Papa'nın 1970 ve 1980'lı yıllarda Münih Başpiskoposu olduğu dönemdeki sicili uluslararası medya tarafından didik didik ediliyor.

Daha bunun gibi Avrupa'nın birçok ülkesinde benzer sıkıntılar had safhaya ulaşmış.

Mesela Papa'nın kendi ülkesi Almanya... 16. Benediktus, Münih'te Başpiskoposluk yaptığı dönemlerde rahiplerin karıştığı taciz olaylarını biliyordu. Sonrasında, Alman bir piskopos, Münih'teki olayların örtbas edilmesinin sorumluluğunu üzerine aldı. Vatikan'ın üst düzey yöneticilerinden Charles Scicluna, yalnızca son on yılda rapor edilen *taciz* olaylarındaki büyük artışla ilgili bir mülakat vermiş.

ABD'deki rahiplerin cinsel taciz olaylarına karıştıkları yönünde suçlamaların akın akın önlerine geldiğini anlatmış bir bir (2003/2004).

O dönemlerde Benediktus, dünya genelinde suç olaylarına karışan rahiplerin cezalandırılmasından sorumlu olan birimin başındaymış, Sadece konuları "cesaretle ele almış" olmanın dışında bir iş yapmadı Benediktus.

Scicluna'nın açıklamalarına göre, suçlamaların;

-Yüzde 60'ı eşcinsel ilişkiler...

-Yüzde 30'u heteroseksüel, -Yüzde 10'u pedofil, vak'alarını içeriyor...

muş. Bununla beraber *cinsel istismar* va da

Sutumi beraber cinsel sutsmar ya ta "suç olaylarıyla ilgili" olarak 3 bin Katolik rahibin Vatikan'a rapor edildiği... Ki bu oran, yaklaşık 300 rahibe denk düşüyor... Kilisenin yani Vatikan'ın savunmaları komikten öte... Traji-komik!

KİLİSEDE ÇIPLAK FİGÜRLER

Yani; kapalı toplumlarda cinsel sapkınlığın alabildiğine yayıldığı görülür.

Sözümüz sadece "Katolik kiliselerine" yönelik değil. Hiristiyanlık inancına mensup diğer "mezhepler"i de bu kategoride değerlendirmek mümkün.

Kilisenin resim ve heykellerine baktığınızda aslında sapkınlığa giden yolun daha ilk adımlarda atıldığını görebiliriz.

Aslında neredeyse bütün kilisede yarı-çıplak veya çırılçıplak erkek ve kadın figürleri yer alır. "İkon" diye tabir ettikleri "İsa" portrelerine ne demeli?

Vaftiz edilmiş küçük bir çocuğun kiliseye adım attığı an itibariyle, belli bir yaşa gelene kadar düzenli kiliseye gittiği hesap edilirse, anormal derecede "cinsel" içerikli mesaj içeren bu figürlerden anormal bir derecede etkilenmemesi mümkün dežil.

Kilisede bulunan çıplak bedenlerin, kiliseyi sürekli ziyaret edenlerin bilinçaltını nasıl fesat edeceğini düşünmek bile korkunç bir durum.

Hele bir de kronik biçimde "taciz"e uğramışsa.

Hele bir de tahrif edilmiş İncil varsa! Ne dine mensubiyet kalır, ne de tacizlerden dolavı kiliseye inanç...

Hal böyle iken, kilise *cinsel tacize uğramış" binlerce *psikopat" üretiyor otomatik olarak.

PAPANIN İSTİFASI VE KURTULUŞ

Papanın istifası; sapıklığın ve sapkınlığın kol gezdiği, aslında Hıristiyanlık inancının tartışılır hale geldiğini gösteren en önemli bir delildir.

Asırlardan beri "din" unsurunu bir sömürge aracı olarak kullanan Vatikan, manen iflas etmiştir. Şatafatlı saraylarda, muazzam bir hazinenin zangoçluğunu yapan papazların anlatacak hiçbir şeyi kalmamıştır. Ahlaken çökmüş bir dinden kim ne medet umabilir. Tek kurtuluş çaresi:

Vatikan'ın günahlarından arınıp, İslam inancına dahil olmalandır. Tevhid esasını benimseyip "Eşhed-ü en La ilahe İllallah ve eşhedü enne Muhammeden abduhü ve resulü" demeleridir.

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Symbolization

Title: Here's Jewish thinking Newspaper: Milli Gazete Date: January 8, 2013 Type: News Author: Yusuf Han Kardelen

This news article, which demonstrates, even in the title itself, "Using a Natural Element of One's Identity as a Cause for Hate/Symbolization", talks about how a New York based company turns rocket pieces sent from Gaza to Israel into various items for sale. The article uses statements such as "Jewish thinking", "Jewish commercial thinking" and "Jewish merchants", strengthening the preconceived relation between the Jewish population and trade, and targets a nation as a whole, generating negative feelings towards the Jewish population by using words such as "ferocious Zionist".

İşte Yahudi kafası

İsrailli uyanıklar Gazze'den atılan Kassam roketlerini işlemlerden geçirerek satıyorlar. Aldıkları roketleri anahtarlık, çiçeklik ve yüzük gibi semboller yapıp 2500 dolara kadar internet üzerinden pazarlıyorlar. Merkezi New York olan Amerikalı şirket ayrıca İsrail - Amerika Birliği diye bir birliğin de üyesi. Gerbitz kardeşler olarak bilinen şirket sahipleri web sitelerinden Siyonizm'e hizmet ettiklerini söylerken kazançlarının bir kısmını da direkt İsrail Ordusuna teslim ettiklerini açıkça yazıyorlar.

YUSUF HAN KARDELEN/İSTANBUL

SYAHUDİ tüccar kafası parçalanmış roketleri dahi pazarlamanın yolunu buldu. Ahlaksız ambargo ve sık sık yapılan katliamlara cevap olarak Gazze'den İsrail'e firlatılan Kassam roketleri Yahuldi tüccarlar tarafından pazarlanıyor.

2500 DOLARA ÇİÇEKLİK

Merkezi New York'ta olan Amerikalı bir şirket internet üzerinden Kassam Roketlerini sativor, Rose into rockets isimli Roketler içerisindeki gül taktiğini paraya tedavül eden şirket aynı zamanda İsrail - Amerikan Birliği isimli bir birliğin de üyesi. İsrail'de de bir bürosu bulunan şirket şimdi dünya genelinde bavilikler arıvor. İnternet üzerinden satışı yapılan ürünlerin fiyatları ise 2500 dolara kadar yükseliyor. İşgal altındaki bütün Filistin topraklarını İsrail sınırları içerisinde gösteren anahtarlıkların ve gül şeklindeki süslerin 50 dolardan basladığı mağazada roketlerin direkt alt parçalarından yapılan çiçeklik gibi ürünler ise 2500 dolara satılıyor.

KAZANÇLARINI İSRAİL ORDUSUNA BAĞIŞLIYORLAR

Chaim Pinsky ve Michael Gerbitz isimli Siyonistlerden oluşan ekibin kurduğu ve pazarladığı şirket sıkı İsrail taraftarı olarak biliniyorlar. Azılı Siyonistler kendi web siteleri üzerinden de Filistinlilere hakaret ediyorlar. Gerbitz kardeşler olarak bilinen şirket sahipleri



web sitelerinden Siyonizm'e hizmet ettiklerini söylerken kazançlarının bir kısmını da direkt israil Ordusuna teslim ettiklerini açıkça yazıyorlar. İsrail halkı ve çocukları için huzurlu bir dünya arzu ettikleri için bu çalışmayı yaptıklarını söyleyen Gerbitz kardeşler amaçlını ise şöyle açıklıyorlar; "israil'de masum insanlar katlediliyor. Buna karşı bizim de bir seyler yapmamız gerekiyordu."



sahipleri web sitelerinden Siyonizm'e hiz met ettiklerini söylerken kazançlarının bin kısmını da direkt İsrail Ordusuna teslim ettiklerini açıkça yazıyorlar

İŞTE SİYONİST KAPİTALİST KAFASININ SON ÜRÜNLERİ

Kassam Roketlerinin parçaları ile yapılmış Kalp şeklindeki gül şamdanları 495 dolar yerine 395 dolar, (100 dolar tasarruf notu ile beraber satılıyor.) İşgal altındaki bütün Filistin topraklarını İsrail içerisinde gösteren ve Kassam Roketlerinin parçalarından yapılmış anahtarlık 25 dolar. (4 adet alınması halinde 95 dolara satılıyor ve 5 dolar tasarruf ediliyor notu ile birlikte.) Gerçek Kassam Roketlerinin alt kısmından üretilen büyük çiçeklik 2495 dolar. Kassam Roketlerinin parçalarından yapılmış İsrail'i ve Yahudileri sımgeleyen 6 kollu şamdan 2495 dolar.



Kassam Roketlerinin parçaları ile yapılmış kalp şeklindeki gül şamdanlar 495 dolar yerine 100 dolar tasarruf notu ile birlikte 395 dolara satılıyor. İşgal altındaki bütün Filistin topraklarını İsrail içerisinde gösteren ve Kassam Roketlerinin parçalarından yapılmış anahtarlık 25 dolara satılıyor. Ürün, 4 adet alınması halinde 95 dolara verileceği ve 5 dolar tasarruf edileceği notu ile pazarlanıyor.





Symbolization

Title: Virus Newspaper: Aydınlık Date: March 22, 2013 Type: Opinion Column Author: Türker Ertürk

Türker Ertürk talks about his impressions at a panel held to commemorate the naval victory during the Battle Gallipoli on March 18, where he participated as a guest speaker. In his column, he addresses the matter of why none of the head-scarfed students of the university participated in the panel. Starting his discussion on head-scarf users that wear it as part of their faith, Ertürk goes on to use other sources which he does not cite, and presents the head-scarf as a symbol for a certain ideology, thereby stigmatizing everyone wearing one. Ertürk discusses this ideology, associating it with certain qualities such as "treachery" and "lack of knowledge" and desires such as "wanting to take over the country". He also describes this group of people and the ideology he attributed to them as such: "at enmity with national values and expecting help from the ignorance of the middle ages". In this way, Ertürk strengthens the prejudices against women wearing headscarves, which is already prevalent in some groups.



Virüs

Geçtiğimiz Pazartesi günü Bilkent Üniversitesi İşletme ve Ekonomi Topluluğu'nun 18 Mart Çanakkale Deniz Zaferi ve Şehitleri Anma Günü münasebetiyle düzenlediği panele konuşmacı olarak davetliydim.

Panelde bana tanınan süre içerisinde yabancıların Gelibolu bizim Çanakkale Savaşları olarak adlandırdığımız bu kanlı mücadeleyi, sebeplerini, bölgeye ve dünyaya etkilerini neden sonuç ilişkileri içinde anlatmaya çalıştım.

Öğrencilerden etkilendim

Gerek beni panele davet eden ve Bilkent yerleşkesi içinde bulunduğum süre içerisinde bana mihmandarlık yapan gerekse panele dinleyici olarak katılan öğrencilerden gerçekten etkilendim ve pozitif elektrik yükü aldım. Hepsinin gözlerinin ışıldadığını, öğrenme duygusu içinde olduklarını ve ruhlarında bilim ateşinin yandığını gözlemledim. Bu öğrencilerle aileleri ve hocaları ne kadar öğünse azdır.

Panel sırasında dikkatimi çeken hususlardan birisi de bizi dinlemeye gelenler arasında türbanlı kız öğrencilerin bulunmamasıydı. Çok garibime gitti! Çünkü panel başlamadan önce yerleşke içinde bana mihmandarlık yaban öğrenci ile dolaşmış ve türbanlı kız öğrenciler görmüştüm.

Beklentim onların da panele katılacağı yönündeydi. Daha bir hafta önce Kartal Uğur Mumcu mahallesinde düzenlenen Milli Anayasa Forumu sırasında bizi dinlemeye gelen türbanlı kadınlarımızı görmüş ve sevinmiştim.

Türbanlı öğrenci yoktu

Panel bitikten sonra bizi dinlemeye gelen bir grup öğrenci ile konuşurken onlara "Salonda niçin türbanlı öğrenci yoktu?" diye sordum. Cevaben "Türbanlı arkadaşlaye sordum. Cevaben "Türbanlı arkadaşlarımız bu tür milli günlere katılmazlar" dediler. Bu cevabı duyunca şaşkınlığım bir kat daha arttı.

Hatta öğrencilerden biri "Geçenlerde okulda Atatürk'ün Nutuk kitabını dağıtıyorduk, kitabı bir türbanlı öğrenciye uzattığımda 'Ben komünist miyim ki Nutuk'u okuyacağım' diyerek kitabı almadığını " anlattı.

Aman Allah'ım bu nasıl bir cevap, bu ne biçim düşmanlık! Böyle bir hainliğe ve bilgi fukaralığına dünyanın hiçbir yerinde gerçekten rastlayamazsınız. Siz saf ve temiz zihinleri virüsle kirletiyor ve toplumsal ortak aklın düzgün çalışmasını engelliyorsunuz. Bunun toplumsal barışa bir katkısı olabilir mi?

Hukuk ve siyaset bilimi

Başka bir öğrenci türbanlı öğrencilerin en çok hukuk ve siyaset bilimi dallarında kümeleştiklerini mühendislik bölümlerine pek itibar etmediklerini anlattı. Sizce bunun nedeni ne olabilir?

Bunların bilgi ile bilimle işleri yok, akılları fikirleri devleti ele geçirmek. Altın nesil bu işte! Evlere girip Delil Üretim Merkezleri'nde ürettikleri evrakları koymak, bilgisayarlara dijital terör unsuru belge atmak! Daha sonra da Ergenekon ve Balyoz türü operasyonları vizyona koymak. Amaç çok açık, karşı devrime yönelik olarak darbe yapmak! Bir buluş, bir patent veya bir sanat eseri ürettiklerini ve ortaya koyduklarını gören duyan var mı? En iyi bildikleri yalan, dolan, karalama ve iftira!

AKP ve Cemaat

Ülkemizde birbirine düşman iki tip insan yetişiyor. Birincisi eleştirel aklın hakim olduğu, bilim egemen kafalı ve milli değerlerine bağlı, ikincisi ise milli değerlerine düşman olan ve ortaçağ karanlığından medet uman insan tipi. Bu gidiş kanlı kapışmaya ve iç savaşa gidiştir. Batı'da eğitim ve öğretim sistemleri böyle bir bölünmeye ve kamplaşmaya asla izin vermez.

Bu kötü gidişin baş sorumlusu emperyalizm ve onun işbirlikçileri olan AKP ve misyoner okulları/dershaneleri ile Cemaattir. Saygılar sunarım.

OTHER DISADVANTAGED GROUPS

Twelve articles, which consist of 11 articles that were not included in Part One based on the groups they target (woman, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender /LGBT) and one article already analyzed in Part One with regards to another category, were subjected to discourse analysis in this part.

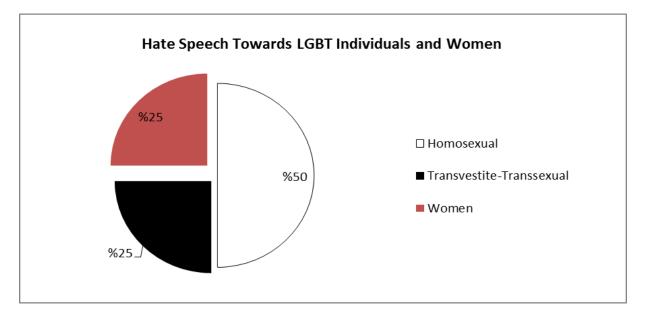
Although the articles analyzed used the word "transvestite", it is a misuse of the word, and therefore we have preferred to use the acronym LGBT for all articles. What is meant by "transvestite" in these articles is transgender individuals. Transvestism involves the enjoyment of cross-dressing and behaving as members of the other sex, whereas transgender individuals define themselves as a member of the other sex, regardless of a sex change operation.

Date	Newspaper	Туре	Author	Title	Targeted Group	Hate Category
January 7, 2013	Sabah	Opinion Column	Refik Erduran	l cannot tolerate dust, but I can tolerate dustmakers	LGBT	Symbolization
January 9, 2013	Yeni Akit	News Article	Furkan Altınok	That's what ODTÜ is!	LGBT	Blasphemy, insult, denigration
January 15, 2013	Yeni Şafak	News Article	Anonymous	Covert NATO operation ('Come from the land, if you're a real man!')	Women	Blasphemy, insult, denigration
January 21, 2013	Şok	News Article	Anonymous	Killing Machine!	LGBT	Exaggeration, attribution, distortion
January 28, 2013	Yeni Akit	Readers' Opinion	Kubilay Ertekin (Kuşadası)	Terrorist women and Alawism (!)	Women	Blasphemy, insult, denigration
February 4, 2013	Yeni Akit	News Article	Furkan Altınok	Support from BDP and CHP to the perverse	LGBT	Blasphemy, insult, denigration
February 4, 2013	Kocaeli Demokrat	News Article	Anonymous	Police raid to transvestites	LGBT	Exaggeration, attribution, distortion
February 4, 2013	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Yusuf Karaca	Islamist Nuns!	Women (and Christians)	Blasphemy, insult, denigration
February 11, 2013	Yeni Akit	News Article	Senai V. Akfırat	Act of homosexual seduction	LGBT	Blasphemy, insult, denigration
February 14, 2013	Milli Gazete	News Article	Anonymous	France living in immorality!	LGBT	Blasphemy, insult, denigration

March 6, 2013	Şok	News Article	Kadir Özen (DHA)	When the transvestite undressed, Emre died of a heart attack	LGBT	Blasphemy, insult, denigration
March 25, 2013	Yeni Akit	News Article	Yiğit Doğaner/Ankar a	CHP's new interest is in the perverse	LGBT	Blasphemy, insult, denigration

Although lesbian and bisexual individuals are often not directly subjected to hate speech, it would not be incorrect to detect animosity towards both male and female homosexuals where the term "homosexual" is used. **Half of the articles** that were analyzed under the title "Other Disadvantaged Groups" **contain hate speech towards (male and female) homosexual individuals**. Hate speech towards **transgender individuals**, described as "transvestites" in articles, are found in **three items** (25%), and hate speech towards women were detected **three times** (25%) within the covered period and publications.

Graph 14:



Among the 12 articles with hate speech, 2 were opinion columns, 9 were news articles and 1 was an article found in the "Readers' Opinion". Considering that hate speech towards national, ethnic and religious identities are produced mostly in opinion columns, it could be observed that hate speech towards LGBT individuals and women are more easily penetrated into news articles. The adjectives defining homosexuality remained the same as in previous periods, and homosexuality was often defined as a "perversion" and "deviancy".

Samples that contained **hate speech towards women** revolved around women's **physical qualities** and **sex work**. News about **transgender individuals** were either related to **crime** or contained the word "transvestite" as a degrading quality.

Most articles (8 items, 67%) were published without an author's name or any cited sources. As in previous periods, **Yeni Akit** was the newspaper that produced **the highest number of articles containing hate speech against LGBT individuals and women**. Newspapers such as **Şok** and **Sabah** also helped hate speech circulate in the mainstream media by publishing 3 articles each.

Hate speech against LGBT individuals was used to defame BDP and Republican People's Party (CHP), as in previous periods.

The reason why these 12 articles are analyzed separately is because they generate discriminatory, exclusionist and insulting speech towards LGBT individuals and women through the methods and speech they employ and the general meaning they create, and because they create subtle meanings that legitimize and affirm the exclusionary approach they take.

EXAMPLES

Exaggeration/Attribution/Distortion

Title: Killing Machine! Newspaper: Şok Date: January 21, 2013 Type: News Article Author: Not Cited

We can see that this news article did not differentiate between transvestite and transgender individuals like many other articles. Using the title "Killing Machine!" in a sensational journalism approach, the article serves more to frighten people than to inform them. A woman in lingerie, of whom we do not know if she's the person mentioned in the article, is used as a visual. This article affirms the association of transvestism with sex and sex work, and its visual aid gives us a clue about women's representation in media in general. From the very beginning of the article, it is repeated that the person mentioned is a "transvestite" and that she has "had sex with dozens of people". The referral to sex work is clarified by the statement that she "hit the streets the next day" and by using this statement, the article drifts away from a formal news article tone. This article, which would have required responsible journalism, does not in any way inform readers about AIDS or ways to prevent AIDS, and it does not go beyond defining transvestites (transgender individuals) as "people spreading disease" and involved in crime.

Arkadaşlarının ihbar ettiği İ.E. adlı üravestinin AİDS olduğunu bildiği halde onlarca kişiyle cinsel İlişkiye girdiği ortaya çıktı. Polisin yakaladığı travestiden ki<mark>mse davacı olmayınca sərbest burakıldı</mark>



The Resin'de yaşayan İ.E. adlı travestinin yıllardan beri AİDS olduğunu bile-rek onlarca kişiyle cinsel ilişkiye girmesi sonunda arkadaşlarını de isyon ettirdi da isyan ettirdi. İ.E.'nin hasta olduğu bilmesi-

ne rağmen cinsel ilişkiye girdiği-ni belirten arkadaşlarını soluğu polis merkezinde aldı. Arkadaş-ları tarafından şikayet edilen travesti, polis tarafindan kısa sürede yakalandı. Ancak traves-tilerle ilgili yasan bir düzenleme

almamasının yanında, İ.E. hak-kında kimseden herhangi bir şikayet gelmeyince, travesti polis tarafından bırakıldı.

Sadece para cezası kesildi

Gözaltına alınan İ.E.'nin hastanedeki muayenesi sonucunda AIDS hastası olduğunu belirten ALDS Hastasi olduğunu belirlen yetkililer, İ.E.'nin bir dönem te-davi gördüğünü ifade etti. Polis, hasta olduğunu bilmesine rağ-men çok sayıda kişi ile ilişkiye girdiği belirlenen İ.E.' yi yasal

bir yaptırım olmaması nedeniyle Kabahatler Kanunu çerçevesinde çevreye rahatsızlık vermek suçundan para cezası kestikten sonra serbest bıraktı. Karakoldan ayrılır ayrılmaz ertesi gün işe çıkan İ.E'ye kişiyi teşhir et-menin, hastalığını bildiği halde başkasıyla olmaktan daha büyük suç olduğu için yetkililer tarafın-dan bir şey yapılamadı. Polis vatandaşları zührevi has-talık ve tehlikelere karşı dikkatli

olmaları yönünde uyardı.

Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration

Title: Islamist Nuns! Newspaper: Yeni Mesaj Date: 04.02.2013 Type: Opinion Column Author: Yusuf Karaca

Yusuf Karaca's writing aspires to describe a certain group of women and produces hate speech against them; however, it ends up targeting a wider group of women due to the article's ambiguity. Talking about the existence of a "group of soldiers that fight for the West and the cross, under the Islamic attire", he mentions that "the female version" is even more dangerous. He claims that these women who wear headscarves, yet do not talk badly about Christianity, and "defend the equality of religions, promote churches or praise Christian individuals aim to "carve a fickle hole in a Muslim's faith". With these statements, Karaca turns all women with such views into "enemies" and "traitors". Stating that these women's priority is to look "pretty", making it sound as if this were a fault, Karaca also mentions that some of them are separationists (Kurd or Armenian supporters). Lastly, Karaca talks about a certain style for wearing the headscarf, which he claims that "it is said to have belonged to prostitutes in the past", and he tries to disgrace these women by associating them with sex work.



çul çaput tercihi ile açıklanamaz. Adam sarıklı, şalvarlı, cübbeli olacak gezdiği bir kiliseyi ağzının suyu akacak şekilde anlatacak. Olacak şey değil...

Yıllar önce izlemiştim soyadı Türk olan bir kanalda, o çok "ünlü Cübbeli" bir kiliseyi geziyor. Kilisenin dekorlarını ve mermerlerini allandıra, ballandıra anlatıyordu. O zamanlar bu kadar ünlü değildi! En azından ahlak dışı bir olayla henüz ünlenmemişti. Neyse bunları artık herkes gördü tanıdı...

Bunların bir de dişi versiyonlarından bahsetmek istiyorum. Bunlar erkeklere oranla daha da tehlikeli... Çünkü bunları hemcinsleri izliyor. Başlarında örtü veya çarşafı görünce kadınlarımız, kızlarımız bunları kendilerinden sanıyor. kızlarımız bunları kendilerinden sanıyor. Hâlbuki bunların örtüleri İslam'ın emrettiği tesettür amaçlı değil, Haçlı batı dünyasının askeri kıyafetleridir. Araziye uygunluk özelliği olan, sızma amaçlı, içten çökertme ve teslim alma elbiseleri...

Şimdi bir düşünəlim bir Hıristiyan ekranlarda kendi inancını ve kilisesini anlatsa bu toplumda etkili olabilir mi? Elbette olmaz. Ama başı kapalı bir hanım bunu yaparsa durum çok farklı olur.

Ekranlarda onlarca defa rastlamışımdır bu tiplere... Ya bir kiliseyi tanıtıyorlar, ya dinlerin eşiftiğini savunuyorlar ya da Hıristiyan şahsiyetleri övüyorlar. Amaç Müslüman'ın kalbini Hıristiyanlığa ısındırmak ve Müslüman'ın imanından kahpece bir delik açmak...

Müslüman iç dünyasında "bunlar da hak dine inanıyor ya da bunların dini de haktır" inancına sahip oldu mu maksat hâsıl oluyor. Yani Müslüman'ın imanına ve kanına sızıyorlar bu kıyafetlerle. Cünkü inandırıcı oluyorlar bu şekilde...

Kendileri güzel görünümlü ve bakımlıdırlar. Giyimlerinde tesettür birinci öncelikleri değil... Birinci öncelikleri güzel görünmek, ama kapalı olarak...

Bakıyorsunuz kapalı bir hanım, ama yabancı bir erkekle ekranda milyonların gözü önünde seviyesiz muhabbetlere giriyor. İslam'ın terbiye anlayışından ve adabından eser yok...

Geçenlerde bir tanesi Clinton çiftinin, aldatan eşler için örnek aile olduğunu iddia etmişti. Bazıları da oldukça bölücü, hem İslamcı hem Kürtçü, hatta Ermenici olanlar bile var.

Hele bir tanesi her gün ekranlarda... Baş bağlama şekli ise Müslüman kızlara örnek gösteriliyor. Şu anda genç hanımların çoğunluğu maalesef bu kadın gibi örtünüyor... Oysa bu baş bağlama şeklinin, eskiden fahişelere ait olduğu söyleniyor. Müslüman hanımları onlara benzetmek amacındalar...

Bazı seçilmişlerin eşleri ise, örtünme şekilleri ile sanki rahibeleri örnek alıyorlar. Bunlarda İslamcı Rahibeler!...

Using a Natural Element of One's Identity As A Reason for Hate-Denigration / Symbolization

Title: I cannot tolerate dust but I can tolerate dustmakers Newspaper: Sabah Date: 07.01.2013 Type: Opinion Column Author: Refik Erduran

Refik Erduran's column titled "I cannot tolerate dust, but I can tolerate dustmakers" was analyzed as hate speech as it inaccurately discusses the terms transgender and transvestite and uses a natural element of one's identity as a reason for hate and denigration. After stating that "saving the honor of manhood" is an "exaggerated allergy", Erduran talks about the peace process and the support he shows for the possibility of peace. After listing a number of qualities that Erduran believes the public holds for being a "real man", he claims that he has all those qualities, yet with the following statement, he depicts the transvestite, which in fact he means to say the transgender, as the opposite of manhood, a negative option and a perversity: "If there will be peace in this country (...) if I knew that I could help save a single life of a Kurdish or Turkish youth, I would turn transvestite. A pervert, a coward or a sycophant...I wouldn't care what people would call me." This sentence Erduran becomes an interesting example of how transphobia can be stated in such a "natural tone".

Toza değil, tozkoparana razıyım

Titizliği hastalıklı ölçüye vardırmış kadınlar vardır; ellerinde bezle oda oda dolaşıp öteberi sıvazlayarak "toz alırlar" boyuna. Ama öylesinin zararı kendinedir. Bizim cinsin "erkekliğe toz kondurmama" denilen abartılı alerjisi ise herkes için tehlike yaratır.



Otoyolda kimseye geçilmemek için slalom zikzaklarıyla şerit tikayan hödük de o dertten mustariptir, bir oğlana baktı diye kızını öldüren canavar maganda da. Salakça efelenmeye çoğu kez "onur koruma" kisvesi giydirilir ama doğru adı ego savunmasıdır. (Normal bayınt ya bieim

boyut ve biçimde ego değil tabii.

Özgüveni kıt, şişkin, çarpık olanı.) Söz konusu tutumu kolaylaştıran bir yanlış da soyut "onur" uğruna zırvalarken somut sonuçların göz önünde bulunmamasıdır. Otoyol manyağı bir kaza kalıntısına yakından baksa, yanık ceset kokusu burnunu yaksa, ayağı gaz pedalına coşkuyla abanamaz bir daha.

Savaş da bir sözcük ve bir kavramdır. Çarpışmak, şehit düşmek, etkisiz hale getirmek, zayiat vermek ya da verdirmek... Sovut düzevde harf dizileridir dirmek... Soyut düzeyde harf dizileridir hepsi.

Her gün ekranlarda vurulup pattadak ölen öyle çok film ve dizi kurbanı izlemekteyiz ki, o olay bir oyun görüntüsü gibi rutinleşiyor kafamızda. Gerçek ise çoğu zaman farklıdır. Gözü çıkan, bacağı kopan, bağırsakları pırtlayan insan feci ve iğrenç debelenmelerle can çekişerek ölür.

Şimdi yine -ve bu sefer galiba daha gerçekçi biçimde- barış peşindeyiz. O da bir kavram. Ama beş harfli sözcüğün yansıttığı tablo harika bir görüntü: bugünkünden çok daha temiz Türkiye.

Yazık ki ısrarla karşı çıkanlar var. "Dünya savaşına girmediğimiz için erkekliğimiz zedelendi" tezine benzer görüşleri bugün bile savunabiliyorlar. Barış isteyen kişi ya vatan haini hin oluyor onların gözünde, ya Erdoğan yalakası cin.

Söyleyeceğimi kanıtlamak için önce aptalca böbürlenir gibi konuşayım. Toplumumuzun en maço kesiminde bile "erkeklik" ölçüsü diye benimsenen ne var? Hesapsızca gözü karalık, donkişotça serüvencilik, yerli yersiz kavgacılık, kadın budalalığı, katır inatları, vb.

Hepsinin daniskasını sığdırdım ömrüme. Ağır faturalarını ödedim ve ödemekteyim. Ama ülkeye barış gelecekse, ulusal bekayı tehlikeye atmayacak her dileğin karşılanmasına, kendi hesabıma da o özelliklerin tersine sahip sayılmaya razıyım. Bir tek Türk ya da Kürt gencinin canının kurtulmasına yarar sağlayacağını bilsem yarın travesti olurum.

Sapık, korkak, dalkavuk... İsteyen istediğini desin.

Elverir ki insanlık onurumuz "erkeklik" saplantımıza ağır bassın artık.

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PART II

DISCRIMINATORY DISCOURSE IN PRINT MEDIA

Black Sea Visit of HDK and BDP Representatives

The Appearance of HDK and BDP Representatives' Black Sea Visit in the Media

Goal

In this study, news articles and opinion columns that appeared in **six newspapers** from **February 15-28**, **2013** regarding the Black Sea visit of a committee from the People's Democratic Congress (HDK), including parliament members from the BDP, were examined. The study screened **two local** newspapers- Bizim Karadeniz and Taka, and **four national** newspapers- Cumhuriyet, Sabah, Hürriyet and Zaman. News articles and opinion columns were studied in terms of racist and discriminatory speech using the content analysis method.

When selecting the national newspapers, an effort was made to include papers that represented different ideological approaches in Turkey. *Cumhuriyet* was selected because it represented the Kemalist thought; Hürriyet for having a liberal, albeit timid opposition stance toward the government; Sabah, for adopting an approach that stands in close conformity to the government, and Zaman for appealing to the conservative faction of society.

The HDK Committee and BDP Representatives, who have been holding meetings in various parts of Turkey as part of a process publicly known as the "Settlement Process", also travelled to the Black Sea region as the next destination for their meetings and held the first one in Çorum. Although not confronted with any difficulties in Çorum, the Committee was, however, met with very harsh protests in Sinop and Samsun, including lynch attempts, and therefore, the Black Sea visit was suspended.

The analysis below was limited to news articles and opinion columns that appeared in local and national newspapers before, during and right after the visit. One hundred and one items, consisting of 72 news articles and 29 opinion columns that appeared in two local and four national newspapers, constituted the sample in this study. In identifying the racist and discriminatory strategies used in the titles and content of the news and opinion pieces regarding the committee's Black Sea visit; the focus was on choice of words, syntax, choice of main actors and the way they were presented.

Content Analysis

HDK and BDP Representatives' Black Sea visit appeared more often in news articles as compared to opinion columns. The texts studied consisted of 29 opinion columns and 72 news articles. It was observed that *Cumhuriyet* daily covered the events more often in the opinion columns compared to the other newspapers.

Newspapers	News Articles	Opinion Columns	Total
Bizim Karadeniz	19	4	23
Cumhuriyet	12	8	20
Hürriyet	12	4	16
Sabah	11	4	15
Taka	8	5	13
Zaman	10	4	14
Total (Number of Items)	72	29	101

 Table 1 Distribution of newspaper items subjected to content analysis according to type

The titles of news articles and opinion columns were separated into three categories as "Positive", "Neutral" and "Negative", regardless of the content of the items. These evaluations were made objectively, based on the approach taken towards the treatment shown to the committee during their Black Sea visit. For a title to be placed in a certain category, it was mandatory that three independent researchers agreed on the same category. When there was no consensus, the researchers discussed the item among themselves until they reached an agreement.

All titles that justified, legitimized and/or held BDP guilty with regards to the lynch attempts, were grouped under "Negative". Titles such as **What are PKK representatives doing in Sinop?** (*Bizim Karadeniz, February 15, 2013*) or "**Black Sea visit-a devious plan**" (*Sabah, February 20, 2013*) were categorized as "Negative" as they created the impression that the BDP representatives were responsible for the events. Presenting the title in quotation marks, as seen in the second example, can mean that the newspaper editor keeps a distance between him/herself and the sentence, or the person responsible for constructing the sentence. However, it is an important editorial choice to determine whose views are turned into news or what kind of statement was extracted from the entirety of an article and made into a title. If the title consists of statements that affirm the racist/discriminatory approach, as seen in the example, it could be claimed that the newspaper editor's title choice is ideologically motivated.

On the other hand, all titles that condemned the lynch attempt and showed support for the committee's right to travel were grouped under "positive". For example, titles such as **Nationalism Again** (*Hürriyet, February 21, 2013*) and **Nation's War, People's Peace** (*Zaman, February 26, 2013*) were categorized as "positive" as they created an impression that condemned the lynch attacks. Finally, all other titles that did not have a positive or negative impression were categorized as "neutral", such as **BDP Deputies Began Their Black Sea Tour From Çorum** (*Sabah, February 18, 2013*) or **BDP Deputies are in Trabzon** (*Taka, February 20, 2013*).

As in the case of titles, news content was also evaluated under the same three categories – "positive", "neutral" and "negative". The same evaluation method used for categorizing titles was also used for news content. If the content of a news article or opinion column whose title was categorized as "negative" was conveyed without any editorial intervention, such pieces of content were evaluated as "neutral". As a result, the number of negative titles superseded the number of news articles/opinion columns that had negative content.

Table 2 Distribution of positive, negative and neutral titles of news articles and opinioncolumns/commentaries

Newspapers	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Total
Bizim Karadeniz	2	9	12	23
Cumhuriyet	6	12	2	20
Hürriyet	4	12	0	16
Sabah	4	8	3	15
Taka	2	5	6	13
Zaman	3	8	3	14
Total (Number of Items)	21	54	26	101

As can be seen in Table 2, about half (54%) of the titles were neutral, 21% were positive and 25% were negative. In other words, in broader sense, newspapers conveyed an equal amount of negative and positive titles. Looking at the distribution of titles in terms of newspaper type, a difference between newspapers was observed. A large majority (69%) of negative titles were encountered in local newspapers. No

"negative" titles were encountered in *Hürriyet* daily, and more "positive" titles were found than "negative" ones in *Cumhuriyet. Sabah* and *Zaman* dailies had almost an equal number of "positive" and "negative" titles, and *Bizim Karadeniz* and *Taka* had significantly more "negative" titles than "positive" ones.

Newspaper	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Total
Bizim Karadeniz	1	13	9	23
Cumhuriyet	7	13	0	20
Hürriyet	3	13	0	16
Sabah	2	11	2	15
Taka	2	5	6	13
Zaman	3	8	3	14
Grand Total (Number of				
Items)	18	63	20	101

Table 3 Distribution of positive, negative and neutral in terms of news content

As can be observed in Table 3, **the distribution of the content of news articles and opinion columns** showed a similar trend to the distribution of titles. Similar to the news titles, positive (18%) and negative (20%) pieces of content were nearly equal. No negative content was encountered in *Cumhuriyet* and *Hürriyet* dailies. The newspapers where negative content was most often detected was *Taka*, constituting 46 percent, and *Bizim Karadeniz*, with 39 percent. The negative content found in *Zaman* (21%) and *Sabah* (14%) was relatively less. Except for *Cumhuriyet* and *Bizim Karadeniz*, the ratio of positive news content to total news content was almost the same (14-21%). *Cumhuriyet* daily differed from other dailies in its high rate of positive content (35%) and *Bizim Karadeniz* in its low rate of positive content (4%).

As can be observed in Table 3 and 4, more than half of the titles and pieces of content were grouped under "neutral". Like the titles, the great majority of the negative content (75%) was encountered in local papers. Although national newspapers contained relatively less "negative" pieces of content, publishing news on the lynch attack of the committee, which included parliament members from the BDP, with "neutral" language, was evaluated as a problematic approach in light of journalism ethics. A journalist is expected to condemn any attack that threatens a human being's life, regardless of their ethnicity, religious beliefs or their ideas. Newspapers that write about the trapping of the committee in a building and the threatening of their lives in a "neutral" tone, without mentioning how their rights to travel and to freely express themselves were restrained, normalize the violent attack by presenting it to the public without any filters. This kind of approach, which is taken especially by the mainstream media, shows that one of the fundamental principles of journalism that of defending public peace, is not being fulfilled. It is required that all studies that perform content analysis in the media should highlight the problem of presenting such news articles in a neutral tone, and the importance of rethinking the concept of "neutral" under such circumstances.

	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Total
BİZİM				
KARADENİZ	1	13	9	23
News Article	0	13	6	19
Opinion Column	1	0	3	4
CUMHURİYET	7	13	0	20
News Article	1	11	0	12
Opinion Column	6	2	0	8
HÜRRİYET	3	13	0	16
News Article	0	12	0	12
Opinion Column	3	1	0	4
SABAH	2	11	2	15
News Article	0	10	0	10
Opinion Column	2	0	2	4
ТАКА	2	5	6	13
News Article	0	5	3	8
Opinion Column	2	0	3	5
ZAMAN	3	8	3	14
News Article	1	8	1	10
Opinion Column	2	0	2	4
Grand Total	18	63	20	101

Table 4 Distribution of the content of news articles and opinion columns as positive, neutral and negative

When *Bizim Karadeniz* daily, which stood out for having negative content, was observed in terms of type of news items, it was seen that opinion columns with negative content (67%) was more than negative news articles (33%). On the other hand, *Taka* daily had an equal number of negative news articles and opinion columns. As for *Cumhuriyet* paper, which stood out for its positive content, most of the content identified as "positive" were opinion columns (86%). Similarly, all the content identified as positive in *Hürriyet* and *Sabah* consisted of opinion columns (Table 4).

Racist/Discriminatory Speech in News Articles and Opinion Columns

Within the context of the news articles and opinion columns, titles have a significant importance, as they state the main idea of the writing and convey the most important information about the writing to the reader. Since the titles have an undeniable role in the circulation and popularization of racist and discriminatory speech, one of the main focus areas of this study is title analysis. In the following content analyses, the choice of words, syntax and main actor whose words are used, within titles and the content of the news article or opinion column, will be taken as the main components of the study.

In this context, when the titles of news articles and opinion columns written on the Black Sea visit of BDP deputies and the attack they were subjected to are studied, the first interesting point is the implication that this trip arouses "suspicion". This implication shows itself in the form of an exclamation mark: What will they be telling to the people of the Black Sea! (*Bizim Karadeniz, February 18, 2013*); What are BDP representatives trying to do! (*Bizim Karadeniz, February 20, 2013*); Parliament Members of BDP and HDK are in Sinop! (*Bizim Karadeniz, February 20, 2013*). In other pieces of context, it is emphasized that this visit is part of a 'devious' plan that 'serves some secret goals': 'Black Sea visit- a devious plan' (*Sabah, February*)

20, 2013), **Do not attempt to fool the Black Sea** (*Taka, February 21, 2013*). In this way, BDP deputies are identified as people 'with sinister plans' and 'hoping to fool the people of the Black Sea', parliament members are presented as enemies and their visit is presented as a threat by news editors and columnists. This implication made in the titles is further developed and explained in detail in the content of the articles and BDP deputies are claimed to be supporters of the PKK. Furthermore, they make statements that hold these parliament members responsible for over 30 years of ongoing violence: "Where were these parliament members when 30 to 40 thousand of our people were being killed, being martyred by the 30-year-long PKK terror? Were they not supporting the PKK? Were they not in the front lines during the PKK demonstrations and protests, provoking the Kurdish people and children to attack our soldiers and police?" ²In the remaining part of the writing, it is conveyed that "we", Turks, are always the injured party and maintain the "superiority" even in the face of terror: "Our children did not have molotov bottles, sidewalk bricks, guns or bombs. They did not work havoc everywhere or burn things down." Such statements also serve to emphasize the conflict between "us" and "them".

In another news article, the title quotes from the Public Workers' Syndicate's Confederation's (Kamusen) Provincial Director, asking "**What are PKK representatives doing in Sinop**?" (*Bizim Karadeniz, February 15, 2013*). The content of this article claims that BDP deputies are "traitors, co-conspirators and pawns", thereby creating enmity towards the deputies.

In a column of another newspaper, *Zaman*, the implied 'suspicion' behind the committee's Black Sea visit is strengthened by information on the individual parliament members' personalities or their past:

"...I found the identities of those parliament members interesting, too. Only one is originally affiliated with BDP; that is Sebahat Tuncel. She was elected as a parliament member for Istanbul while she was under arrest and therefore was acquitted. The other three belong to the 'Labour, Democracy and Freedom Block'. The deputy for Mersin, Ertuğrul Kürkçü is a well-known public figure. He is a former Revolutionary Left Party (DEV-SOL) leader. He is the only Revolutionary Youth (DEV-GENÇ) survivor of the 1972 Kızıldere raid. He spent many years in prison. He had been the object of some accusations by the leftist circles. Levent Tüzel was the leader of the Labour Party (EMEP) for years. He was elected deputy for Istanbul during the last election. There are people who want to create tension in the streets. Beware!"³

The 'provocation-motived' visit of the BDP deputies, which already is looked at 'suspiciously', is strengthened with these pieces of personal information, whereby both members of the parliament and BDP, as a political actor, are shown as targets. It appears that the information on the pasts of SIrrI Süreyya Önder, Sebahat Tuncel and Ertuğrul Kürkçü are chosen to invoke the *de facto* negative judgments of the leftist movements of the 70s, and to strengthen the image of 'provocating' and question their reliability. In this way, an attempt is made to form a relationship between the past of the deputies and their Black Sea visit, and to support the implied meaning that they have gone to the Black Sea not for peace, but for 'provocation'. Moreover, Ertuğrul Kürkçü is presented as a leader of the DEV-SOL, although this title is still uncertain.

In news articles about Sirri Süreyya Önder, he is especially shown to be responsible for the events: Önder from BDP ignited the wick (*Bizim Karadeniz, February 21, 2013*), Condemn Önder first / He cursed out of the window and caused havoc (*Bizim Karadeniz, February 25,2013*). Another article with the title 'BDP has to learn its lesson' quoted from deputy prime minister Bülent Arinç (*Sabah, February 22, 2013*), contains

² Erkan Turan, "Parliament Members of BDP and HDK are in Sinop!", *Bizim Karadeniz*, February 20, 2013, p.7, Column

³ Mustafa Ünal, "There are people who want to create tension in the streets", *Zaman*, February 20, 2013, p.21, Column

more statements from him: "Instead of getting support from the wave of democracy continuing for over ten years, and to strengthen the political channels that were widened every year, BDP either gave into to PKK terror or to the chaos of the streets". Thereby, the article acts as a mediator in holding the committee members responsible for the attack. To support this claim, certain newspapers publish writings stating that 'even' people within BDP did not agree that this visit was a good idea, thereby strengthening the claim that these parliament members were not reliable and that they visited the area with 'provocative goals': **Some members within BDP were against the visit** (*Sabah, February 21,2013*), **BDP left for Black Sea despite warnings of provocation** (*Zaman, February 23, 2013*), **What Sinop showed** (*Sabah, February 23,2013*), **Not a matter of committee but a matter of will** (*Cumhuriyet, February 20, 2013*) and **Does the thief have no fault?** (*Sabah, February 24, 2013*).

In all these news articles and columns, it is emphasized that the real injured party is the people of the Black Sea, of Sinop and Trabzon: Anger Overflowing at Sinop (*Bizim Karadeniz, February 25, 2013*), The Goal is Trabzon (*Taka, February 27, 2013*). This way, the attack on the committee is justified and shown to be a natural event: Good friends of the treacherous PKK members, the BDP deputies were welcomed as such in Sinop!, Sinop shock for BDP deputies! (*Bizim Karadeniz, February 19, 2013*), BDP was welcomed with stones at Black Sea (*Taka, February 19, 2013*), Wish you welcome (*Taka, February 19, 2013*).

In the details of all the news articles and columns, BDP deputies are shown to be responsible for the violence and losses that have been continuing for over 30 years, thereby legitimizing the attack on the parliament members:

"The unusual explosion at Sinop, was caused by an "overflowing of anger". The anger that grew over the years with martyred soldiers and the provocations of PKK and BDP could not be contained any longer and it was waiting to be ignited. It is only natural... "⁴

In short, the media that commented "negatively" on the Black Sea visit made by the HDK Committee and BDP deputies in an attempt to discuss the peace process with the public, presented the visit as an act of 'provocation', and the message of peace was either put aside or completely ignored. This way, the 'motivation' of BDP deputies, who are already presented as 'the usual suspects' by news editors and columnists, were questioned, and they were shown to be inducers of the attacks. Media institutions that made news on the event using a "neutral" tone failed at contributing to national peace. Through the committee's visit, Kurdish people were subjected to discrimination and hate speech by being associated with terror, instigation, violence and provocation, as opposed to being associated with political rights and demands. Considering the rise of lynch attempts in Turkey, media institutions' normalizing role points to a situation against global human values.

⁴ Ahmet Küçükbaş, "Anger Overflowing in Sinop", Bizim Karadeniz, February 25,2013, p.4, Column