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

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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 a biased, prejudiced and discriminating language. The provocative, racist and discriminatory language used in the news, and especially in the headlines and news titles, becomes an instrument that entrenches stereotypes and fuels feelings of hostility and discrimination in the society. Despite the fact that there are universal and national principles of journalism, and that some media organizations have been issued their own code of ethics, many journalistic end products happen to violate these principles. The use of such language entrenches unrest in the 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* of 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 and group characteristics have an impact on the use of hate speech; yet under certain conditions, 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 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, democratic 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 contribute to 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. Such discourse, produced by particular publications with opposite standpoints, sets the ground for a conflictual atmosphere. Finally, the way Taksim Gezi Park events were covered in newspapers was important, as it revealed how the media can fuel 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 "interest lobby" discourse lead certain groups, Jews being the first among them, to be targeted.

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 effective 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 accused for attacking the priest of the Church of St. Sophia in Izmir, on December 2007, stated that he committed the crime to become a hero like Ogün Samast.

One of the main objectives of the Hrant Dink Foundation, which was 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 the 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** featured in news stories and opinion 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 to achieve the abovementioned goals-, the national and local press are monitored, scanned, and news stories and opinion 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 outlets, 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 research 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 a 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 are dissertations that study hate speech, and in line with these efforts, we prepared a one-semester syllabus named "Discrimination, Hate Speech, and Media" in the year of 2012 and shared it with academicians. In this period, we are working towards improving the content of the syllabus and for its application in universities. Moreover, we also plan to publish a multi-authored book that will both

serve as a supplementary source for the syllabus and as an introductory source for the general reader.

Methodology

Within the scope of the media monitoring work focusing on hate speech, all national newspapers and approximately 500 local newspapers are scanned based on pre-determined keywords (e.g. collaborator, Turcophobe, separatist etc.).

While the main focus has been on hate speech based on ethnic and religious identity, sexist and homophobic discourse were also examined within the scope of the monitoring work. In this study, we used the critical discourse analysis method, as well as other associated techniques, commonly used in media studies. In line with the characteristics of news pieces, textual and iconographic (photographs, pictures and other illustrations) analyses were carried out. In order determine specific indicators for the content and discourse of the news, first, we conduct quantitative analyses on where (on which pages), how, and through which sources hate speech is constructed.

We based our definition of hate speech on the 1997 Recommendation on hate speech accepted by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe. Hate speech, as defined by the Council of Europe, "covers all forms of expression which spread, incite, promote or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, anti-Semitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including: intolerance expressed by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination and hostility against minorities, migrants and people of immigrant origin."

News articles identified as featuring hate speech -in accordance with the purpose and scope explained above- are divided into categories based on qualitative characteristics of the adopted discourse. Based on previously conducted international scientific studies, and in consideration of the country-specific lingual and cultural differences, hateful discourse was categories as follows:

1) Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion: Any discourse that features negative generalization, distortion, exaggeration or negative attribution targeting a community as a whole, based on a specific individual or event (e.g. "Turkey is drowned into the sound of bells!")

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.).

3) Enmity / War-mongering: Any discourse that includes hostile, war-mongering expressions about a community (e.g. tyranny of infields)

4) Use of inherent identity as an element of hate or humiliation / Symbolization: Any discourse that uses various aspects of one's natural identity as an element of hate, humiliation or symbolization. For example, use of phrases such as "your mother is Armenian any way" or "is your surname Davutoğlu or Davutyan?" with negative connotations.

In the year of 2013, besides hardline hate speech, discourses that are formulated in a relatively implicit manner, and that covertly convey discriminating or alienating messages were also tackled as the subject of a separate file. Media watch on discriminating discourse started with the examination of discourse constructed around the Black Sea visit of the People's Democratic Congress (HDK) members including deputies from the Peace and Democracy Party (BDP). In this study, all news stories and opinion columns, between February 15 and 28, covering this event in *Bizim Karadeniz, Taka, Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet, Sabah and Zaman* dailies were analyzed and the results were shared in the previous report.

In the second report of this year, all news stories and columns about Gezi Events published in **Habertürk, Hürriyet, Özgür Gündem, Radikal, Sabah, Sözcü, Taraf, Yeni Şafak and Zaman dailies** were analyzed. These newspapers were monitored during the first week of the events, June 1-7, 2013. News pieces were then analyzed using content analysis and discourse analysis methods. The results of this study can be found in the second section of the report.

HATE SPEECH IN PRINT MEDIA

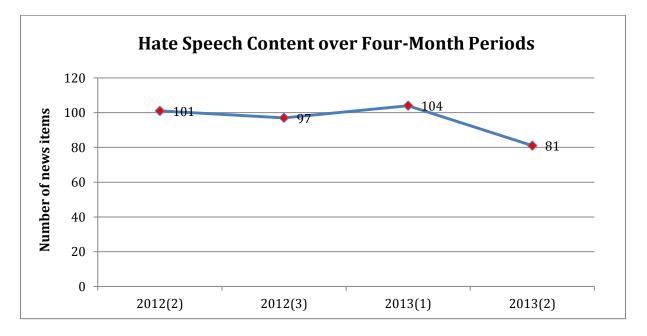
PART I

FINDINGS

During the four months covering May, June, July and August 2013 of the Media Watch on Hate Speech Research, 81 news stories and opinion columns were identified as targeting ethnic and religious groups.

The period covering the second four months of 2013 showed a significant decrease compared to previous periods; however, this decrease did not result from a reduction in hate speech. During the analyzed period in which the Gezi Events took place, hate speech was directed towards people who participated in the protests, a group that is difficult to identify. Detailed information on such content can be found in the special file included in this report, as well as in this section, where we present various samples, not included in statistical analyses. Again, connected with the news and columns concerning Gezi Events, there has been an increase in hate speech based on "targeting", which we usually avoid including among our categories unless a subject is targeted based on an inherent element of his/her identity. Since "targeting" was based on participation in and/or support to Gezi Events, we did not include these items in statistical analyses. However, we still presented various examples of this sort in the present section so that such content does not go unnoticed.

Another reason for the misleading reduction in the number of news items featuring hate speech was due to the way we evaluated covert hate speech based on verses from the Qur'an. While direct quotations from the Qur'an were not labeled as hate speech and were considered as a subject of another discussion, the addition of hateful expressions by the author was examined within the scope of hate speech.



Graph 1:

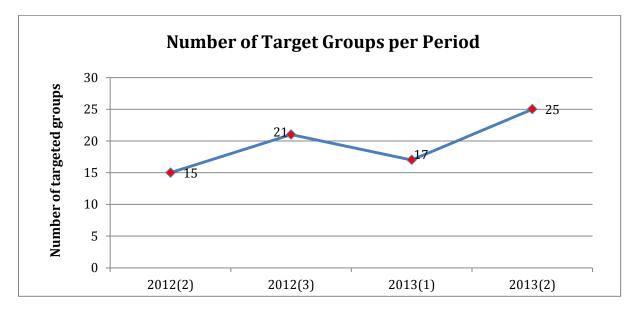
While there was a decrease in news items featuring hate speech, the number of targeted groups showed a remarkable increase. Among the 25 groups targeted by hate speech, some were targeted in a single article, while 15 of them were targeted in multiple articles.

In order to reflect the diversity of targeted groups, groups who had relatively less exposure to hate speech were not assembled into an "Other" category, as in previous reports. In this way, we tried to

reveal how groups that become targets of hate speech change depending on the context. That being said, the permanency of groups that have long been frequent targets of hate speech gives important clues as to their vulnerability against hate speech.

In the examination of pieces concerning political viewpoints, extra attention has been given to the boundary between criticism and hate speech. However, groups such as "Kemalists, socialists, and communists" had to be included in the category of hate speech as they were exposed to blatant insults.

When we assess common characteristics of targeted groups, we observe that groups were subjected to hate speech based on their ethnic, religious and national identities, in rank order. **Eight groups** based on **religious affiliation, and seven groups** based on **national identity** were subjected to hate speech. Apart from these, we also observed use of hate speech targeting groups with general expressions, such as "the West" and "ethnic minorities." Even though such discourse also targets groups based on their ethnic, national or religious identity, the particular focus is not explicitly identified. The phrase "the West" frequently involved references to "the Christian West", however, since the phrase itself was "the West", these articles were examined within a different category. Since a single article may target more than one group, when the articles with references to "the West – Christian – Non-Muslim" were examined together, hate speech was identified in a total of 120 instances. However, there were a total of 34 articles targeting these groups. This is important in terms of highlighting hate speech based on religious references, which may be misleading due to its potential to be constructed in different forms.





As in the previous period, most of the news items identified to contain hate speech were published in the **national press** during the period **May-August 2013**. Among the **81 analyzed news items, 53** (65.43%) were found in **13 national newspapers**. The remaining **28 articles (34.56%)** were published in **24 local newspapers**. Compared to previous periods, an increase in hate speech was observed in the local press together with an increase in the diversity of publications resorting to hate speech. Having said that, the groups targeted with hate speech in the local newspapers were included in general categories (except several instances where hate speech towards Syrian refugees was produced by a local newspaper published in Hatay).

Similar to previous periods, it was observed that hate speech was produced particularly in opinion columns. Of the analyzed pieces, 61 were opinion columns and 16 were news stories and one of the items was evaluated as a photo-news. Three pieces, published under different headings in sections allocated for readers' contributions, were identified to contain hate speech. It is beneficial to underscore this issue in terms of "readers' contributions". Finally, hate speech was identified in an item published under the section "Press Archive". Items published in this section are classified in two categories; 1) the reproduction of problematic discourse through a favorable representation of articles that contain hate speech, 2) the unfavorable presentation and targeting of articles without hate speech content, in accordance with the newspaper's ideology. If the original article referenced in the Press Archive section was among the newspapers monitored within the scope of this study, the reproduction of this discourse was not included in statistical analyses; however, referenced articles that come from different newspapers were included in analyses. While news items based on targeting were not included in this period's statistics, the "Press Archive" section of Yeni Akit daily published on June 18, 2013 stands out as an example of the second category described above. Under the heading, "Pervert liars calling people to civil war," authors such as Can Dündar, Mehmet Tezkan, Cengiz Çandar, and Hasan Cemal are targeted by hate speech based on their evaluations regarding Gezi Events. Examples of this sort taking place under a heading like "archive", point to an active participation in the production of hate speech, rather than a passive "reproduction" process, and demonstrates the variability of platforms where hate speech can be featured.

As mentioned above, even though their rank order changes, the most frequent targets of hate speech stay the same regardless of the analyzed period. Similar to previous periods, **Armenians** constituted the most frequent targets of hate speech followed by **Jews and Christians**, in rank order. While the theme "Christian / hostile West" was encountered in 13 pieces, **Kurds (5 pieces)**, **the British (5 pieces) and Rums (Turkey Greeks, 4 pieces) constituted the next frequently targeted groups**. Apart from national, ethnic and religious groups, institutions were subjected to hate speech relatively less than the previous periods, while **hate speech against BDP** prevailed. News items referring to BDP involved an implicit discourse based on suggestions without revealing any names. Such discourse can be exemplified with phrases such as, "Militants disguised as deputies" or "PKK's vowless politicians". Again, as mentioned above, we also pinpointed a type of discourse, directed at publicly prominent names, based on targeting and promoting hate due to their supportive stance towards Gezi Events

Two predominant issues, encountered in articles that featured hate speech, were evaluations of the process labeled as the "Kurdish opening" or the "Solution Process," and Gezi Protests.

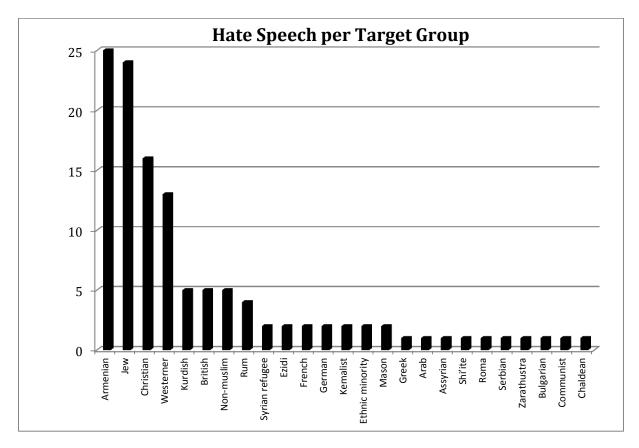
Concerning the Gezi Events, we observed a discourse based on generalization of people, who actually had gotten together within a flexible structure. On the other hand, concerning hate speech towards Kurds, in addition to the "good Kurds / bad Kurds" discourse, we observed the use of statements such as "Communities inhabiting various eastern cities" which obscure the target, however, just for the very reason are more dangerous. As well as groups who were described in general terms, such as "Non-Muslim" or "Westerner," explicitly named groups were also subjected to hate speech such as the "Syrian refugees". Hate speech produced through the interpretation of the Qur'an constituted one of the most remarkable strategies used in this period. The 51st versicle of the Maidah¹, even though translated with different words in different articles, was exploited to promote hostility against Jews and Christians. Even though different interpretations of the Maidah that do not harbor hostility do exist, by ignoring such interpretations, Qur'an, considered sacred by Muslims, was exploited in order to lend legitimacy to hate speech. This approach, particularly observed in opinion columns,

¹ "O you who have believed, do not take the Jews and the Christians as allies. They are [in fact] allies of one another. And whoever is an ally to them among you - then indeed, he is [one] of them. Indeed, Allah guides not the wrongdoing people."

gains significance when we consider its power to demonstrate how dangerous the manipulative characteristic of the press can get. Since the production of hate speech via the use of religious elements is a subject of another discussion, such articles were not included in statistical analyses unless the author produced hate speech with his/her own expressions.

The distribution of news items according to targeted groups is presented below.





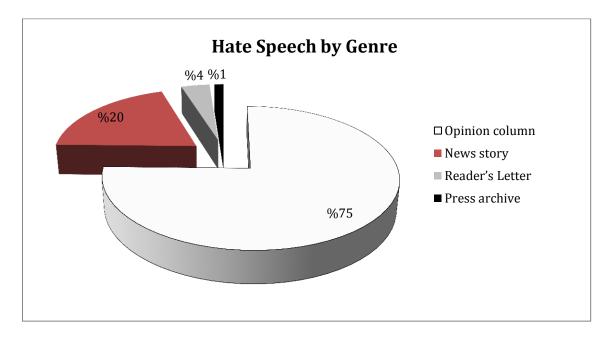
In addition to the above, 23 news stories and opinion columns containing hate speech against women and LGBT were not included in statistical analyses, but were examined separately in the second part. The visibility of LGBT during the Gezi Events and the passage of the law in the UK Parliament, granting approval to homosexual marriage played a role in the 100% increase in the number of news articles under this category. While hate speech targeting women was identified in 12 news items, hate speech against the LGBT was observed in 15 items and in some news items hate speech targeted both groups.

Distribution of Content According to Types, Newspapers, and Categories

As in other periods, hate speech was produced most often in **opinion columns (75.30%)**, whereas a decrease was observed in the number of **news stories (19.75%)**. Other content featuring hate speech consisted of pages allocated to the readers' contributions (3.7%) and to "Press Archive" (1.2%). Differing from previous periods, where news stories were commonly published without a reference,

² Since a single news item might have targeted more than one group, the total number of instances of each group being targeted (120) was higher than the total number of news items that featured hate speech (81).

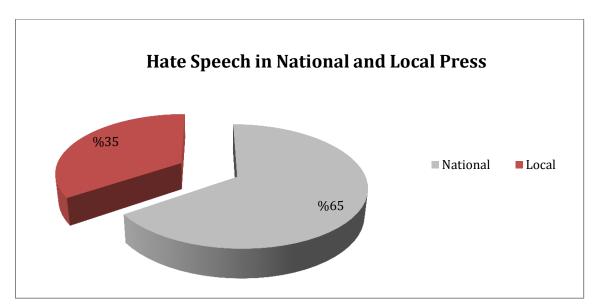
in this period 15 out of 16 analyzed news stories (93.75%) revealed their sources of information.



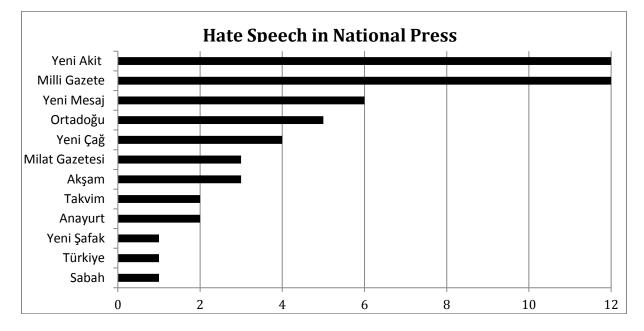
Graph 4:

Hate speech was more prominent in the **national press** during this period as well (65.43%) and the **local press** constituted 34.56% of the total amount.

Graph 5:



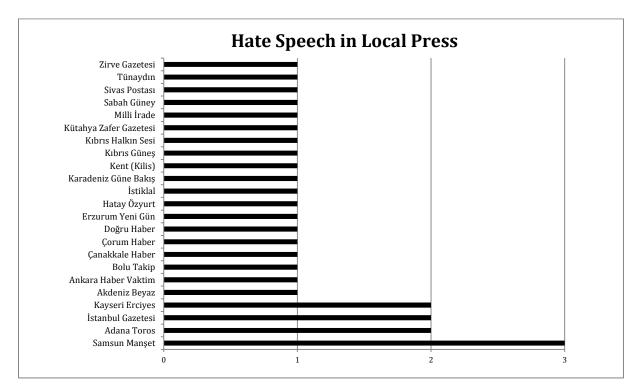
Among the newspapers where hate speech was most often encountered, the first rank is shared by **Milli Gazete** (12 pieces, 22.64%) and **Yeni Akit** (12 pieces, 22.64%). In the succeeding newspapers, the number of items containing hate speech was half or less than half of this number: **Yeni Mesaj** (6 pieces, 11.3%), **Ortadoğu** (5 pieces, 9.43%), **Milat** daily (3 pieces, 5.66%), **Akşam** (3 pieces, 5.66%), **Takvim** (2 pieces, 3.77%), **Anayurt** (2 pieces, 3.77%), **Sabah**, **Türkiye**, **Milliyet**, **and Yeni Şafak** (all having 1 piece, %1.88)



Graph 6:

In this period, the national press published a greater number of news articles featuring hate speech compared to the local press, similar to the previous periods. However, the difference between the national and local press was much smaller due to the 100% increase in the number of hateful articles published in the local press compared to the previous period (10 instances in the previous period, 28 instances in this period). Hate speech in the local press was prominent in news items concerning local matters, however, the solution process and the Gezi Events played a role in the increase of hate speech content.

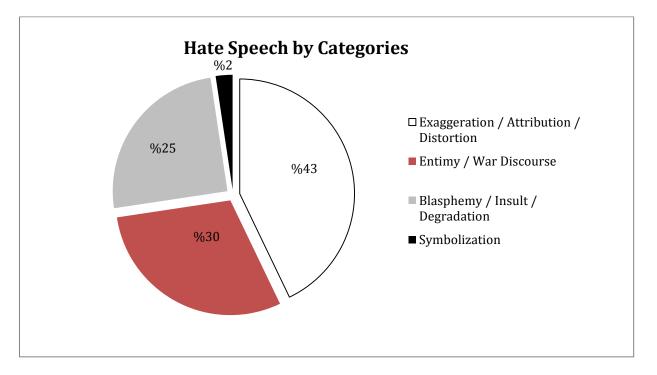
Graph 7:



Hate speech content in the press was examined based on 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 the basis of hate / Symbolization**

These categories were formed in order to help distinguish and understand hate speech, commonly constructed in different ways, expressed in an overt or covert manner. It is certainly possible to identify more than one category in a single media text, however, in those cases; the category considered as more dominant was assigned for the sake of classification. Only in cases where two different categories had equal dominance (particularly when different groups are subjected to different types of hate speech in a single piece), more than one category could be assigned to a single item.

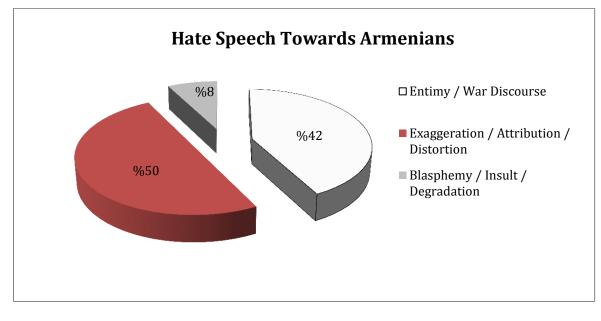
During the analyzed period spanning four months, the category labeled **Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion** ranked first (36 items) among the four categories. **Enmity / War Discourse** (25 items) and **Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration** (21 items) ranked respectively second and third. Finally, **Using a natural element of one's identity as the basis of hate / Symbolization** (2 items) constituted the least frequently adopted strategy.



Graph 8:

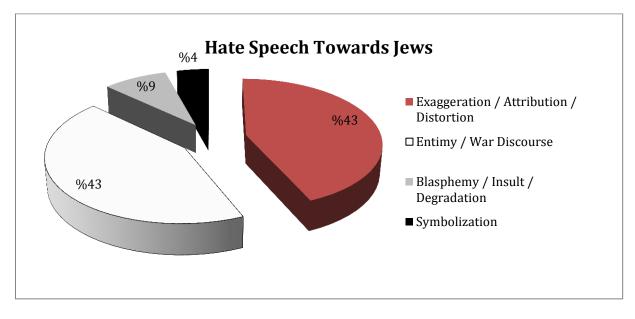
When the distribution of categories per target group is examined within the categories of hate speech directed at Armenians, who ranked first among the targeted groups, **Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion** came first with 13 instances, followed by **Enmity / War Discourse** present in 11 items. Finally, two news items were categorized under **Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration**.



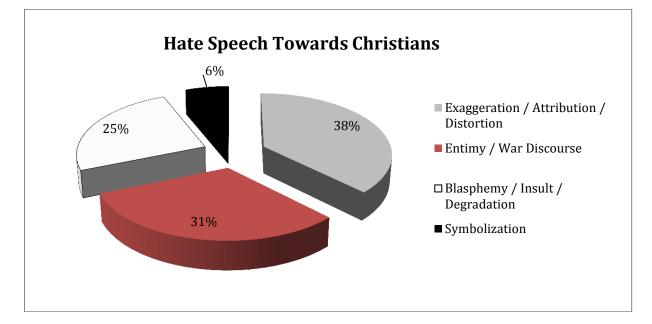


For Jews, who ranked second among the groups subjected to hate speech, the categories **Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion** (10 items) and **Enmity / War Discourse** (10 items) shared the first rank. Two news items were categorized under **Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration** and 1 item under **Using a natural element of one's identity as the basis of hate / Symbolization**.





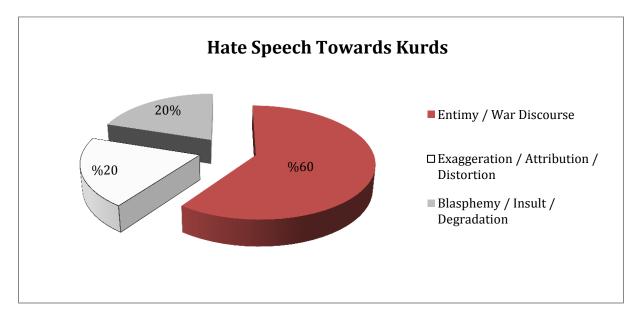
During the analyzed period, for Christians, who were among the three groups most frequently targeted by hate speech, the dominant category of hate speech was **Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion** assigned to 6 items, followed by **Enmity / War Discourse** appearing in 5 items. These were succeeded by the categories **Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration** identified in 4 items and **Using a natural element of one's identity as the basis of hate / Symbolization** identified in 1 item.



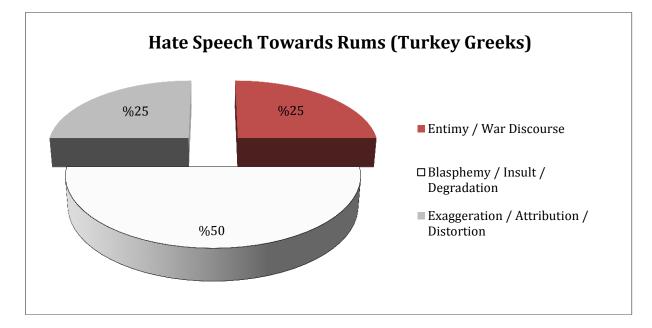
Graph 11:

In this period, there was a relative decrease in the frequency of hate speech against Kurds. Since Gezi Events were on top of the agenda, the "Solution Process" received less coverage. Therefore, hate speech against Kurds was encountered only in 5 instances during this period, as opposed to 12 instances identified during the previous period. Among the categories of hate speech targeting Kurds, **Enmity / War Discourse** ranked first again (3 articles), while **Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion** and **Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration** were each identified in a single article.





For **Rum**s (Turkey Greeks) who came right after Kurds as targets of hate speech, 4 news items were identified. The predominant category was **Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration** identified in 2 of the items, while one item was classified under both **Enmity / War Discourse** and **Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion**.



Graph 13:

As stated earlier, the four categories used to classify hate speech content were formed to understand better how hate speech is constructed. Only the dominant category was assigned to each news item. Therefore, it would be misleading to regard these categories as mutually exclusive.

NEWS ITEMS IDENTIFIED DURING THE PERIOD MAY-AUGUST 2013

Date	Newspaper	Туре	Author	Heading	Target Group	Hate Category
02.May.13	Yeni Çağ	Opinion Column	Selcan Taşçı	Stop coming between "people" and the "Republic"	Jews, Armenians	Enmity / War Discourse (Armenians), Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion (Jews)
03.May.13	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Ali Öncü	"They" are now free!	Kurd, Armenian, Assyrian, Chaldean, Zarathustra	Enmity / War Discourse
03.May.13	Kent (Kilis)	Readers' Comments	Selim Diyarbakırlı	A witness is required	Jews, Armenians	Enmity / War Discourse
06.May.13	Akdeniz Beyaz	Opinion Column	Nedim Seferoğlu	2 police men, 4 soldiers, 6 citizens, 1 police fell martyr	Syrian Refugees	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
07.May.13	İstanbul Gazetesi	Opinion Column	Necdet Buluz	"Armenians betrayed, Ottomans protected themselves"	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
08.May.13	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Nurullah Çetin	O Turk! How great you are, your blood protects Oneness	West	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
08.May.13	Erzurum Yeni Gün	Opinion Column	Dursun Şen	The Essence of the Issue	Armenians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration - Enmity / War Discourse
09.May.13	İstanbul Gazetesi	Opinion Column	Necdet Buluz	Towards Kurdish- Armenian alliance	Kurds, Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
09.May.13	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Mustafa Aslan	A friendly, Turk'ish warning!	Christians, Jews	Enmity / War Discourse
09.May.13	Yeni Çağ	Opinion Column	Servet Avcı	Dead children with hooked jaws	Ezidis	Enmity / War Discourse
09.May.13	Takvim	Opinion Column	Bekir Hazar	Stamped cattle	Germans	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration

10.May.13	Hatay Özyurt	News story	News Service	'Do not be treacherous!'	Syrian refugees	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
13.May.13	Milli Gazete	News story	Abdüssamet Karataş	Bartholomeos also uttered that statement	Christians, Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
14.May.13	Milli İrade	Opinion Column	Vehbi Örs	Thousand-year-old brotherhood	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
14.May.13	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Mustafa Aslan	Yuruk tents fuming in Taurus Mountains	Armenians	Enmity / War Discourse
14.May.13	Yeni Çağ	Opinion Column	Selcan Taşçı	Don't give your blessings if you don't want to pay "the price" by your life…"	Armenians	Enmity / War Discourse
17.May.13	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Şevki Yılmaz	Ezidi Esed drinks blood, the modern (!) world watches	Ezidis	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
20.May.13	Kütahya Zafer Gazetesi	Opinion Column	Süleyman Canan	Profound structuring	Jews	Use of inherent identity as an element of hate or humiliation / Symbolization
20.May.13	Kayseri Erciyes	Opinion Column	Nurullah Aydın	Message of the May 19 Commemoration of Ataturk, Youth and Sports Day	Ethnic minorities	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
22.May.13	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Şükrü Alnıaçık	"They are Gypsies, we are Turkmenians"	Roma	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
22.May.13	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	İsmail Hakkı Akkiraz	Muslim standing against enemies of İslam	Non-Muslim	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
22.May.13	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Faruk Köse	Ummah consciousness and total jihad	Western countries, Jews	Enmity / War Discourse
27.May.13	Zirve Gazetesi	Opinion Column	Nurullah Aydın	Who are PKK and Armenian converts?	Armenians	Enmity / War Discourse

29.May.13	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	İhsan Muslu	The West and the Civilization	West, the British	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
30.May.13	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Akın Aydın	Dear Bozdağ! Is Erdoğan the Satan?	Christians, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
05.June.13	Milli Gazete	News story	Mustafa Kılıç	We cannot be allies with the infidels	Westerners	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
06.June.13	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Abbas Bozyel	Two martyrs of a just case: Selçuk Duracık, Halil Esendağ	Armenians, Serbians, <i>Rum</i> s, Bulgarians, the French	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
10.June.13	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Mahmut Toptaş	We are raising hypocrytical Muslims	Christians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
17.June.13	Yeni Akit	News story	Muhsin Bayraktar / Ankara	Government is revitalizing the monastery	Armenians, Christians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
18.June.13	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Murat İde	Get Your Hands off of Our Flag	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
21.June.13	Doğru News	Opinion Column	Mehmet Baran	"SUSA" is an enlightening document of a period	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
21.June.13	Milli Gazete	News story	Mustafa Kılıç	Blatant Mason Propaganda	Masons	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
24.June.13	Yeni Akit	News story	Hüseyin Kulaoğlu / İstanbul	Infidels come out of everywhere!	Non-Muslim	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
24.June.13	Yeni Şafak	Opinion Column	Yusuf Kaplan	The Key Point	West	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
25.June.13	Sabah	Opinion Column	Rasim Ozan Kütahyalı	No such cowardice was ever seen before	Kemalists, Socialists	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
26.June.13	İstiklal	Opinion Column	Ali Bektan	Why is UEFA an enemy of the	The French	Exaggeration / Attribution /

				Turks?		Distortion
26.June.13	Takvim	Opinion Column	Ergün Diler	War started	The British, Jews	Enmity / War Discourse
28.June.13	Milli Gazete	Reader's Comment	Samet Paçacı	Why does a Muslim exist?	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
01.July.13	Milat Gazetesi	Opinion Column	Muhammed Özkılıç	Turning the Qur'an into mus'haf	Shi'ism / Shi'ites	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
04.July.13	Yeni Akit	Readers' Voice	Fuat Çakır	Let's be one against satanic minds	Christianity	Use of inherent identity as an element of hate or humiliation / Symbolization
05.July.13	Anayurt	Opinion Column	Fuat Yılmazer	The independence of the nation will be ensured by the will and determination of the very nation	Ethnic groups inhabiting Turkey	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
05.July.13	Adana Toros	News story	Anonymous	Deputy received his last award in a church	Christianity	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
10.July.13	Yeni Çağ	Opinion Column	Hüseyin Macit Yusuf	We should not have any business with the <i>Rum</i> s	Rums	Enmity / War Discourse
10.July.13	Sivas Postası	Opinion Column	Ayhan Batur	25 Days to Getting the Discharge Paper July 14 2011	Kurds	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
12.July.13	Ankara News Vaktim	Press Archive	Anonymus	Armenian Cruelty!	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
13.July.13	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Mustafa Özcan	The merit of deceiving a Muslim!	Christians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
16.July.13	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Mahmut Toptaş	Infidels are getting all the marbles	Non-Muslims	Enmity / War Discourse
16.July.13	Samsun Manşet	Opinion Column	Dursen Özalemdar	Betrayal Among Us	Armenians	Enmity / War discourse

17.July.13	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	İsmail Hakkı Akkiraz	Qur'an and believer	Western World, Jewish, Christian	Enmity / War discourse (directed to the West) Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration (for Christians and Jews)
17.July.13	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Mustafa Çelik	No acquittal will come from Council of Wolves	West, Kemalists	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
22.July.13	Bolu Takip	News story	Durhasan Koca, Head of the Confederation of Turkic Tribes	"87.9% of this country says 'I am a Turk'"	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
22.July.13	Karadeniz Güne Bakış	Opinion Column	İsmet Hacısalihoğlu	Civilization of blood and hatred	Christians, Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
24.July.13	Kıbrıs Halkın Sesi	Opinion Column	C. Turanlı	Unwavering hatred and grudge	Rums, Greeks	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
29.July.13	Kayseri Erciyes	Opinion Column	Nurullah Aydın	Are Arabs a damned society?	Arabs	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
29.July.13	Adana Toros	Opinion Column	İsmail Çevik	Infidel looters Snail sellers of the Infidel Neighborhood	Non-Muslims	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
30.July.13	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Serdar Arseven	Gezi Events, PKK and Armenians of 2015!	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
30.July.13	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Mehmet Şevket Eygi	Are we ready for the second act of disaster?	Armenians, Jews, Christians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
30.July.13	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Abdullah Yıldız	Know Thy Friend and Foe with the Qur'an!	Christians, Jews	Enmity / War Discourse
31.July.13	Samsun Manşet	Opinion Column	Dursen Özalemdar	Dance with the PKK	Armenians, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
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31.July.13	Milat Gazetesi	Opinion Column	Behçet Canöz (President of STAM)	El Sisi's of the Harlot Civilization	West, Zionists, Jews	Enmity / War Discourse
31.July.13	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Nurullah Çetin	Unbearable lightness of taking revenge from Atatürk	Christianity, West	Enmity / War Discourse
31.July.13	Çorum News	Opinion Column	Selahattin Aydemir	Wake up already!	West, Armenians	Enmity / War Discourse
31.July.13	Çanakkale News	Opinion Column	Necmi Akyalçın	Flag	Kurds, Jews	Enmity / War Discourse
31.July.13	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Abdurrahman Dilipak	Masons, Communists and Jews!	Masons, Communists, Jews	Enmity / War Discourse
31.July.13	Milat Gazetesi	Opinion Column	Abdülkadir İkbal	The War's filth left to Muslims	West, The British	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
02.Aug.13	Samsun Manşet	Opinion Column	Dursen Özalemdar	From EMPHATY to YOUPATHY!	Armenians, Jews, Kurds	Enmity / War Discourse
06.Aug.13	Anayurt	Opinion Column	Mustafa Nevruz Sınacı	Recurrence in heedlessness, betrayal and calamity!	Jews, Non- Muslims	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
06.Aug.13	Yeni Akit	News story	Sinan Kaya / Ankara	We are not comfortable in our uplands	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
13.Aug.13	Akşam	News story	DHA	German violence to a Turk	Germans	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
19.Aug.13	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Mahmut Toptaş	World Rabiat'ül Adeviyye Square	West	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
20.Aug.13	Milliyet	News story	Senad Ok	British Torture	The British	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
20.Aug.13	Akşam	News story	Nebahat Koç	British Robbers of Karacaahmet	The British	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion

20.Aug.13	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Mustafa Aslan	Are you coming?	Christians, Armenians, Jews	Enmity / War Discourse
21.Aug.13	Yeni Akit	News story	Sinan Yavuzoğlu / Ankara	Church tour for primary school kids in the Foster Land!	Christianity, Judaism	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
21.Aug.13	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Yusuf Altuntepe	Bloodsucker vampires, may God's curse be upon you!!!	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
21.Aug.13	Kıbrıs Güneş	Photo-News	Anonymous	Greek Hostility towards Turks!	Greeks	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
27.Aug.13	Türkiye	Opinion Column	Mustafa Necati Özfatura	Developments in the Islam World	Western world, Christianity	Enmity / War Discourse
27.Aug.13	Akşam	Opinion Column	Turgay Güler	Will the Prime Minister give such a talk one day?	Jews	Enmity / War Discourse
28.Aug.13	Yeni Akit	News story	Ramazan Alkan / Ankara	Armenian Game in Van	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
28.Aug.13	Tünaydın	News story	іна	Missionary snare in Van	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion

EXAMPLES BY CATEGORY

Enmity / War Discourse

Heading: Masons, communists and Jews! Newspaper: Yeni Akit Date: 31.07.2013 Type: Opinion column Author: Abdurrahman Dilipak

In this column authored by Abdurrahman Dilipak, we see an example of hate speech built on political views. Dilipak, who positions the groups mentioned in the title against Muslims, first, depicts those who share a particular group membership, an ideology or a religious identity as "deep state" and "mafia," and defines them as "carrion crows". Second, he creates a sharp contrast between a group, in which he also includes himself, and the groups he explicitly names, by his statement "this is an eternal and a never-ending world-wide war." Dilipak quotes from Imam Humeyni, "If all Muslims poured a glass of water, Israel would be flooded" and couples this with a quote from the poet Necip Fazil Kisakürek, "O! My enemy, you are my expression and my pace / Like the morning needs the night, for me you are a must". Via such quotes, he promotes a violent conflict among people and establishes an "us – other" relationship based on conflict and hate.

ABDURRAHMAN DILIPAK abdurrahmandilipak@yeniakit.com

Masonlar, komünistler ve Yahudiler!

Yetmedi mi hâlâ! Evet Masonlar, komünistler ve Yahudiler var. Mafia var, derin devlet var,

var da var! Hepsinden önemlisi "Seytan" diye biri var ve o da nefsimize taht kurmuş otu-

ruyor.. Onların Seytanın dostu olan dostları var. Mason locaları, Mafia tanıdıkları var. Si-

zin kadiri mutlak, vareden ve yok eden, hüküm sahibi bir Allahınız var! Peki kim daha güçlü ve şanslı.. Hem değil mi ki, Şeytan ve onun askerleri Allah'ın muttaki kullarına bir zarar veremezler.

Masonlar, Yahudiler, derin devlet ve Mafia var ve hep de varolacaklar.. Biz ise onlarla hep mücadele edeceğiz.. Bu hep böyle olacak.. Dúnya ölçeğinde ezeli ve ebedi bir savaş bu!

Masonlar, Yahudiler, komünistler geldiği için biz bu duru-ma düşmedik. Biz Allah'ın ipini bıraktık, Allah da bizim ipimizi bıraktı, bu hallere düştük, onlar da leş kargaları gibi başımıza musallat oldular ..

Değişmesi gereken biziz biz! Biz kendi hakkımızdaki hükmü değistirmedikce Allah bizim hakkımızdaki hükmünü değiştirmeyecektir.. Karanlık aydınlığın yokluğudur! Işık gelince karanlık yok olur!

"Ey düşmanım, sen benim ifadem ve hızımsın / Gündüz geceye muhtaç, bana da sen lazımsın" diyen anlayışa ne oldu?

Masonlar finans dünyasını, mediayı, siyaset ve bürokraside kilit noktaları, istihbarat ve gü-

si olup Hz. Asiye olmak da! Hz. İbrahim'in torunu olup, çocuk-larının kardeşleri Yusuf'u kuyu-

ya atmak da var, Firavunun sarayında Hz. Musa, Puthanede Hz. İbrahim olmak da var! Hz. Ali zamanında Mekke'de yaşayıp cehenneme gitmek de, Stalin zamanında Moskova'da yaşayıp cennete gitmek de!

Şeytan ne yalanlar fısıldıyor kulağımıza: Şöyle olmasaydı, böyle olmazdı! Şöyle yapsaydın, böyle olurdu! İyi, birileri Tanrıyı kıyamete zorluyor, biz de (Hasa) Allah'ı iktidara ve servete zorlayalım (mı)!

Şöyle olsaydı/olmasaydı, böyle olur ya da olmazdı demek bizi ilahı rızaya götürmez.

Sahi babam kız olsaydı, ben kim olurdum. Olan olmustur ve onun üzerinde ihtimal hesabı yaparak, ilahi takdiri tartısma konusu yapamazsınız! Ben bu süreçte şöyle yapmam gerekti ve yap-madım. "Sonuçlarında benim de sorumluluğum var" diye düşünür, tevbe eder ve olandan ders çıkarır ya da güzellikler karşısın-da hakka ve hayra vesile oldu-

ğunuz için şükredersiniz.. "İyi eğitim verseydik, böy-le olmazdı!" mı demek istiyorsunuz yoksa?! Ne yani, Hz Nuh oğluna, Hz. Lut kızlarına, Hz. Yakup çocuklarına iyi eğitim vermediği için mi böyle oldu! İyi örnek olmak başka bir şey, sonucu tayin ve takdir etmek başka bir sey. Allah bizi mallarımız, canlarımız ve sevdiklerimizle kimi zaman artırarak, kimi zaman eksilkilit noktaları, istihbarat ve güvenlik örgütlerini ele geçirmişler.. Yeni mi bu!

Bakın Şeytanın varlığı günah işlememizin gerekçesi / bahanesi / mazereti değildir, olamaz! Uydurma, anlamsız bahanelerin arkasına saklanmayalım.

"Hak geldi, batıl zail oldu DE!" denmiyor mu bize. Allah öyle demiyor, bizim öyle dememizi istiyor.. Biz de tam aksine "batıl geldi hak nail oldu" diyoruz. Bu Şeytanın bir hilesi. Masonlar komünistler ve Yahudiler geldiği için biz bu hallere düşmedik, biz bu hallere düşünce onlar leş kargaları gibi başımıza üşüştüler..

Işık gelince kararlık yok olur! Zaten karanlık yokolmaya mah-kûm değil mi? Karanlık diye bir ey yok. O aydınlığın yokluğudur ya hu! Gözümüze, Masonları, komü-

nistleri, Yahudileri o kadar cok yaklaştırıyoruz ki, arkasında bir ormanı kaybediyoruz! Onları çok fazla yüceltiyor, onların çok zengin ve güçlü olduğunu düşünüyor ve korkunuzu büyütüyorsu-nuz. "Allahu ekber" diyen siz değil misiniz ya hu! "iyya kenağ-büdü ve iyya kenestalyn" diyen kim? Sizler değil misiniz: "Hasbunallahu ve niğmel vekiyl, ve niğmel mevla, ve niğmel nasiyr, Gufraneke Rabbena ve ileykel masiyr" diyenler!

Güç ve kuvvet bizde.. Bizim kadiri mutlak bir Allahımız var. Rezzak, rahman, rahiym, hafiz! Biz şikayet makamında değil çözüm makamındayız.. Yoksulluğumuzun sebebi cimriliğimizdir. Allah yolunda neyi harcarsanız O, size onun karşılığını on, yüz, hatta yediyüz katı ile geri vermeyecek mi?

Hiç kimse çaresiz ceğil, ya da hiç birimiz mutlak arlamda güvende değiliz.. Hz. İbrahim'in yeğeni Hz. Lut'un kansı olup taş kesilmek de var. Firavunun karıman artırarak, kimi zaman eksilterek imtihan etmeyecek mi? Hz. All'ye iktidar vermedi! Hz. Ebubekir'in oğlu, Hz. Osman'ı şe hid etmeye gelenler arasında idi, Hz. Ebubekir iyi örnek olmadı mı yoksa oğluna. Ebazer acından öldü, karısı da, keçisi de! Çok tembel biri mi idi! Niye keramet gösterip bu işleri hal yoluna koymadılar.. Hz. Nuh kavmini ikna edemedi, ikna kabiliyeti olmadığı için mi?

"Komünistler, Masonlar, Yahudiler" diye başlayan o söylemler, suuraltında aslında gizli bir propagandaya dönüşüyor. Biz ise hayalimizde büyüttüğümüz düşmanın gölgesi altında eziliyoruz.. 1,5 milyarlık İslam ümmetinin gövdesinin ağırlığı altında da eziliyoruz öte yandan.

İmam Humeyni'nin dediği gibi Her Müslüman bir bardak su dökse, İsrail'i sel alır." Kendi cesametimizin gölgesinin ağırlığı altında ezilen bir kalabalıktan söz ediyoruz.. İnsaf ya hu!

N'olacak böyle bilmiyorum. Kimi Mesih'le iş görüyor, kimi Mehdi ile. Kimini Nebiyi zişan ziyarete geliyor, kimi 3'ler, 7'ler, 40'lar dergahından çıkmıyor. Kimi "Hz. Resul okuma yazma biliyor mu idi ki, nerden çıkardıniz bu okuma yazmayı" diyor ... Öbür taraftan haber getirdiklerini iddia edenlerin iddiaları da tutmuyor birbirini ve hepsinin de müşterisi var, garip şekilde.

Akleden bir topluluk olamamak! Kendi zannını din edinip başkasına zulmetmek.. Baksanıza, Allah'ın emrine uymazsan haram, Resulün sünnetine uymazsan mekruh, birinin düşüncesine itiraz edersen dinden çıkivorsun. "Kendine din ara" divor adam! Sen kim oluyorsun ya hu!

Resulün bize öğrettiği gibi bizim yeniden iman etmekten başka bir caremiz vok. Selâm ve dua ile.





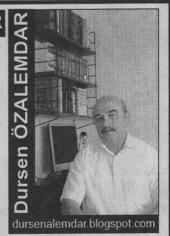
Enmity / War Discourse

Heading: From EMPATHY to YOUPATHY! Newspaper: Samsun Manşet Date: 02.08.2013 Type: Opinion column Author: Dursen Özalemdar

In this article, the recent developments in Syria and Egypt are juxtaposed with the developments during the Gezi Events and the "Solution Process" without explicitly naming the latter events. The article portrays Kurds as "the country's enemies" and associates them with Jews and Christianity. The text makes an implicit call for violence by stating that Turkey is showing "patience and endurance" to what Kurds, who actually belong to the said religions, are "doing" and justifies potential acts of violence. The Peace and Democracy Party (BDP) deputies, named once in the article, are depicted with expressions such as "those who commit crime of betrayal to the homeland," and "militants under the disguise of deputies." Moreover, concerning the situation Turkey is confronted with, he emphasizes that "patience" is shown. The text refers to the characterization of police intervention during Gezi Events as "excessive use of force" and defines those who object to the use of excessive force as "sold out". Publishing this kind of an opinion column, especially in a locality that can be considered more vulnerable in terms of being prone to danger, and during a sensitive period, contributes to social polarization, which may potentially result in violence.

TEFEKKÜR Empati'den Senpati'ye !

Suriye ve Mısır'daki insanlar, kendi durumlarını görüp, Türkiye'de 40 yılı aşkın bir zamandır devam eden, Ermeni ve Yahudi kökenli kürt-lerin, yaptıkla-



rını karşılaştırdıklarında, Türkiye'nin ne kadar SABIR ve TAHAMMÜL gösterdiğini görerek, kendilerine reva görülen KATLİAMLARA feryat etmektedir.

Devlet'in BABA gibi olması prensibinde, Mısır ve Suriye'deki KATLİAMLARA karşın, daha da azgınlık içinde olan PKK lılara, Vandallara, Sadece Cop ,Biber gazı ve Su sıkarak karşılık veren Güvenlik güçlerinin, durumu ile mukayese ettiklerinde, Mısır ve Suriye'deki katliamlar yanında, Türkiye'dekinin baba şefkati ile yapılan İKAZ gibi görüldüğüdür.

VATANA İHANET SUÇU İŞLEYEN, Millet Meclisi çatısı altındaki Vekil kimliğindeki Mİ-LİTANLARA dahi, âlicenaplık içinde olan Türkiye, En üst düzeyde maaş, makam ve imkânlar sağlayarak bu insanları İHANETLERİNE rağmen adam yerine koyma SABRINI göstermesi, hayat hakkı tanıması, Türk milletinin gücüne rağmen, bu azınlığın, AZGINLIĞINI hoşgörü ve Kanunlar muvacehesinde uygulama görü ve Kanunlar muvacehesinde uygulama yaparak ADALETİ SAĞLAMA da, Mısır ve Suriye insanın kendine uygulananla, Türkiye'de uygulananı yan yana getirdiğinde EMPATİ yapabilecek bir KANTARİ bulmasının da mümkün olmadığıdır.

ORANTISIZ GÜÇ yaygarası ile, TERÖRİST-LERE karşı sıkılan su, biber gazı'nı dahi çok gören satılmışların, POLİS ve Güvenlik güçlerimize, Teröristlerin attığı, MOLOTOF BOMBASI, ÇİVİLİ HAVAİ FİŞEK, Çelik bilye atan SAPAN-LAR, KALDIRIM TAŞLARI ve ellerine geçirdikleri, tedarik ettikleri her türlü yaralayıcı, ÖL-DÜRÜCÜ madde ile saldırırken, bunları MA-SUM gençler olarak telaffuz etmeleri, ne denli bir İHANET içinde olunulduğunu görmemek ve anlayamamanın sapıklığıdır.

Altan yukarı doğru, aynı eylem içinde bulunan ülke düsmanı bu insanların. Kuzev İrak' taki oluşumu, aynı oyunu oynayarak, Suriye' deki faaliyetleri, fiilen ortada iken, Heyetler ve şahıslar gönderilerek, Türkiye'yi UYUTMA politikalarının, yoğunluğunu bu günlerde görmekteyiz.

BDP lilerin, boşluk bulduklarındaki yaptıkları çıkışlar, Güney doğu illerimizdeki PKK faaliyetleri, Tehdit içeren beyanatlar, Suriye'deki durumlar bir araya getirildiğinde, Suriyeli milyonlarca vatandaşın ENPATİSİNE sığmayan, PKK ya, Türkiye'de gösterilen müsamahanın, ANTİ-PATİ olması gerçeği ile şekillenebilmektedir. İrak ve Suriye'de Türkmen gerçeğini dile getiremeyen Türkiye'nin,

PKK yetkilileri ve PYD sözcüleri ile, neyi konuştuğu merak konusu iken, işin SENPATİYE dönüşmemesi Milli menfaatlerimiz açısından önemlidir.

Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion

Heading: German violence to the Turk Newspaper: Akşam Date: 13.08.2013 Type: News story Author: Dogan News Agency (DHA)

According to the Turkish Journalists' Declaration of Rights and Responsibilities "An action or an offence committed by an individual should not be attributed to his or her race, nationality, religion, sex or sexual choice, any disease or physical or mental disorder unless there is relevance or evident public interest." It should first be asserted that this news story, which is sampled with reference to the above-mentioned principle, is problematic in terms of journalism ethics among other things. If we examine the news story with regards to hate speech content, the manner in which the event in the story is covered is troublesome, considering the history of the relationship between Turkey and Germany. When we consider the past assaults of xenophobic groups labeled "Skinheads" or "Neo-Nazis" who targeted Turks living in Germany, the title seems to make a generalization, associating this group with the whole German population. Moreover, the production of such discourse by a news agency requires extra attention since hate speech content produced by news agencies has a higher likelihood of being reproduced via various media outlets that give place to news from news agencies.



Türk'e Alman şiddeti

IIIII ALMANYA'NIN Duisburg kentinde yaşayan Albayrak Ailesi, yakınlarını uğurlamak için gittikleri Köln-Bonn Havalimanı'nda polis şiddetiyle karşılaştı. Başına aldığı cop darbesiyle bayılan Yaşar Albayrak (51) hastanelik oldu. Albayrak "Almanya'da işverenim. Vergi veriyorum. Hukuki yollardan mutlaka hakkımızı arayacağız" dedi. • 10'DA



Türk vatandaşına Alman polis şiddeti

ALMANYA'NIN Duisburg kentinde oturan Trabzonlu Albayrak Ailesi, bir yakınlarını uğurlamak için gittikleri Köln-Bonn Havalimanı'nda Alman polisinin şiddetiyle karşılaştı. Alman polisi tarafından tartaklanan 51 yaşındaki Yaşar Albayrak, başına aldığı cop darbesiyle bayılıp yere yığıldı. Başında 3.5 santimlik yara açılan, gözü moraran ve kolu incinen Albayrak, tedavisinin ardından taburcu edildi. Almanya'da işveren olduğunu ve bu memlekete vergi verdiğini söyleyen Albayrak, "Hukuki yollardan mutlaka hakkımızı arayacağız" dedi. Sözlüsünün biletiyle ilgili bir yetkiliden bilgi almaya çalıştığını söyleyen Ediz Albayrak, "Bizimle ilgilenmeyince 'Neden bize yardımcı olmuyorsunuz?' dedim, aramızda kısa süreli bir tartışma oldu. Bu sırada gelen polisler babama saldırıp dövmeye başladı" dedi. (DHA)

Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion

Heading: 'Do not be treacherous!' Newspaper: Hatay Özyurt Date: 10.05. 2013 Type: News story Author: News Center

The news story, by citing the statements of Mehmet Fettah Çiftçi, the head of Hatay Bayır Bucak Turks Association, contributes to the circulation of hate speech. Çiftçi makes a statement concerning various events that occurred in the camping region of Syrian refugees. On the basis of claims regarding Syrian refugees' assaults against citizens of the Turkish Republic, he defines such acts as "treason against the homeland." When the tension in the region is taken into account, such statements can be considered as precursors of extremely dangerous results. Indeed, such results are hinted at by the statement "(...) don't be treacherous, since you came, we want you to stay smart until these events come to an end." The "good / bad" differentiation discourse produced for Armenians and Kurds in the previous period is produced this time, in Çiftçi's discourse, for Syrian refugees. This is important since it shows the common patterns of hate speech.



HABER MERKEZİ atay Bayır Bucak Türkleri Derneği Başkanı Mehmet Fettah Çiftçi, geçtiğimiz günlerde Reyhanlı ilçesinde yaşanan olayları sert bir dille eleştirdi.

Suriye'den gelip Türkiye'de olay çıkarmak isteyenlere seslenen Başkan Çiftçi, "Türkiye Cumhuriyeti vatandaşlarına saldırılmasını şiddetli kınıyoruz. Hem ülkendeki olaylardan kaçıp Türkiye'ye sığınacaksın hem ekmeğini yiyip yatacaksın hem de bu devletin vatandaşına saldıracaksın. Bu vatan hainliğidir" dedi.

REYHANLI'DAKİ OLAY HEPİMİZİ DERİNDEN ÜZDÜ

Hatay Bayır Bucak Türkleri Derneği Başkanı Çiftçi, 'Suriye'den Türkiye'ye gelen sığınmacı Türkmenlerin Hatay'ın hemen hemen her ilçesinde akrabaları bulunmaktadır'

Hatay Bayır Bucak Türkleri Derneği Başkanı Mehmet Fettah Çiftçi, Suriye'den gelen ve Reyhanlı'da huzursuzluk yaratanlara seslendi..

diyerek, "Reyhanlı'da yaşanan olaylar hepimizi derinden üzmüştür. Reyhanlı'daki Suriyeli vatandaşların Türkiye Cumhuriyeti vatandaşına saldırmasını şiddetle kınıyoruz.

TÜRK BAYRAĞININ YAKILMASINI LANETLİYORUZ

Ayrıca Türk Bayrağımızın yakılmasını da lanetle kınıyoruz. Bizler Bayır Bucak Türkmenleri olarak her zaman söylüyoruz;

hem ülkemize geleceksin cannı zor kurtaracaksın, hem bu devletin, milletin ekmeğini yiyip suyunu içeceksin hem de bu devletin vatandaşına saldıracaksın. Bu bizim için vatan hainliğidir. Suriye'den gelen bu tür olaylara karışanlara sesleniyoruz; hainlik yapmayın, geldiğiniz gibi bu olaylar bitene kadar da akıllı durmanızı istiyoruz. Bu milleti birbirine düşürmek için emeller kuruyorsanız bunu başaramayacaksınız" dedi.

AMACIN İÇ KARIŞIKLIK YARATMAK OLDUĞUNU DÜŞÜNÜYORUZ

Hatay Bayır Bucak Türkleri Derneği Başkanı Mehmet Fettah Çiftçi, karışıklık yaratmadaki amacın iç karışıklık çıkarmak olduğuna dikkat çekerek, "Bu millet birdir, milli birliğini ve bütünlüğünü hiçbir zaman kaybetmemiştir. Bizlerin Suriye'den gelen akrabalarımız bulunmaktadır. Akrabalık bağlarımız birinci dereceye kadar dayanıyor. Bu gibi olayları çıkaranlar Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devletini karıştırmak ve iç karışıklığa götürmek amaçlı olduğunu düşünüyoruz. Çok şükür ki; Türkmen soydaşlarımız bu gibi olaylara bugüne kadar katılmamıştır. Bugünden sonra da Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devletini zora ve sıkıntıya sokacak hiçbir olayın içerisinde olmayacaklardır.

TÜRKİYE CUMHURİYETİ TÜRKMENLERİN İKİNCİ VATANIDIR

Bayır Bucak Türkmenleri olarak gerek çadır kentlerde kalan ve gerekse pasaportuyla gelip evler de kalan Türkmenlerimizin Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devleti ikinci vatanlarıdır.

Dernek yönetim kurulu olarak öncelikle bizler yakinen bu insanları birebir olarak takip ediyor, bu insanlara gerekli bilgileri veriyoruz. Yaklaşık iki yıldan bu yana Suriye'den gelen akrabalarımıza yardımlarımızı esirgemiyoruz, bununla ilgili olarak gerekli ilgililerle görüşüp bu insanları ikinci vatanlarında, kendi evlerindeki rahatlığı, huzuru mutluluğu verdirmeye çalışıyoruz.

Bu konuda derneğimizle irtibata geçip görüşen tüm ilgili mercilere Hatay Bayır Bucak Türkmenleri adına çok teşekkür ediyorum" dedi.

Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration

Heading: Unwavering hatred and grudge Newspaper: Kıbrıs Halkın Sesi Date: 24.07.2013 Type: Opinion Column Author: C. Turanlı

Turanlı's column, besides constituting an example to hate speech, gives an idea about journalism practices. The original piece was published in 1963 and referred to an event that occurred at that time. In the present column, this piece is taken out of context and hate speech towards a particular group is situated in a continuity. Turanlı's column looks at history from a particular perspective and accepts this perspective as the absolute truth. Through this perspective, built on a perception of "hostility," the events claimed to have taken place in the past become the foundation and justification for hostility today. The piece contains expressions about *Rums* and Greeks such as "Some rich *Rums* bearing hostility against Turkishness" and "cannibal herd" and ends with the statement that reads "The Turk is so chivalrous and noble that he nurses his mortal enemies in his bosom." This statement goes beyond "othering" and fuels hostility, by implying that "this state of affairs might change some day" and by posing a threat that could turn into a physical act from a verbal one.



İngilizce "TIME" dergisi, Büyük Atatürk'ümüze saygısızca dil uzatmış. Ama Atatürk ulu bir cınar, bir dağ parcasını andırır. O, dünya durdukca bir insanüstü dev adam olarak anılacaktır. "TIME" dergisi ise, işte gördü gümüz gibi, bayağı hırslara, seviyesiz kinlere alet olabilen bir sürüm gazetesi.., Bunu yapmakla "TIME" dergisi yükselmiş mi? Yooo, bilakis çok aşağılara düşmüştür. Neden yapmıştır bu dergi, bu saldırıyı? Cünkü birtakım Türklük düsmanlarının tuzağına düşmüştür, "TIME" gibi dünyaca meşhur bir dergiden bu beklenmezdi ama, işin herhalde bir de maddi yönü vardır. Çünkü şimdiye kadar bu nevi saldırışları hep Türklük düşmanı bazı zengin Rumlar finanse etmislerdir. Bunun da ardında bu tip, "yeni dünya" zengini Rumların

bulunduğu şüphesizdir. "TIME" dergisi ne yazmış Atatürk icin? Simdi buna gelelim: Atatürk. Kurtuluş Savaşı sırasında Anadolu da bulunan bir buçuk milyona yakın Hıristiyan'ı katlettirmis ve bir kısmını da Anadolu'dan çıkarmış! "TIME" işte böyle diyor! Hâlbuki bu ger ceklere hic de uymuyor. 1919'dan 1923'e kadar Anadolu'da cereyan etmis olan müthiş maceraya, bütün dünya şahit olmuştur. Bu tarih cok uzaklarda değildir. Daha dün denecek kadar yakın bir gecmiste vuku bulmustur. Bunu değiştirmek, tahrif etmek ayıp değil mi? "TIME" dergisinin tarihi bilgisi bu kadar mı kıt? 1919'da Yunanlılar, Türk vatanı Anadolu'va asker çıkarmışlar ve içerilere olmadik doğru mezalim yapmışlardır. Bir imha planıyla hareket eden o devrin Yunanlıları. Ege bölgesindeki bütün Türk köy ve kasabalarını insafsızca ateşe vermişler, masum ve silâhsız Türk halkını kılıçtan geçirmişler, gebe kadınları süngü ile ikiye biçmişler, ihtiyarların ve çocukların başlarını dom dom kurşunlarıyla delik deşik etmişlerdir.

Bu yamyamlar sürüsü öylesine müthis vahset örnekleri vermişlerdir ki, tarihte gene Hıristiyanların eseri olan "engizisyon" mezalimi, bunların yanında çocuk oyuncağı kalmıştır. Buna mukabil, Atatürk ortaya atilmis, Türkün haklarını savunmuş, bir ordu teşkil ederek istilâcı sürüleri yurdundan kovmuştur. Bu arada tabii ki, Çetin harpler olmuş, savaşan her iki taraf da kayıplara uğramıştır. "TIME" dergisi acaba bu savaşlarda ve Yunan ordusunun vahseti sırasında ne kadar Türkün hayatını kaybettiğini kaç yuvanın yıkıldığını, kaç Türk köyü ile kasabasının yıkıldığını biliyor mu ve acaba bunları incelmek zahmeti ne katlandı mı? Hâlâ bir Haçlı zihniyetiyle hareket eden "TIME" dergisi, Türkleri, kendi vurtlarında boğmağa gelenlerden hesap soracağına, o yamyam sürülerine insanlık adına takbih edeceğine kalkmış da, Atatürk'e dil uzatmış... Bu, doğrudan doğruya cehaletin, Türk düşmanlığının eseridir ve bunun gerisinde, muhakkak ki Athena goraslar, Türkün asaletinden, insanlığından faydalanan parazitler vardır. "TIME" dergisi, işte gözüyle görsün ki, Türk can düşmanlarını koynunda besleyecek kadar civanmert ve asidir.

C. TURANLI (13 Temmuz 1963 Halkın Sesi)

Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration

Heading: No such cowardice was ever seen before Newspaper: Sabah Date: 25.06.2013 Type: Opinion Column Author: Rasim Ozan Kütahyalı

The piece by Rasim Ozan Kütahyalı takes Gezi Park Events as its basis and associates the events with advocacy for US intervention, collaboration with imperialism etc., while attributing the protests to Kemalists, socialists, neo-nationalists and CHP. As mentioned in the beginning of this report, we were conservative in labeling a particular statement as hate speech if it concerned a political group, in most cases favoring the label criticism over hate speech. However, Kütahyalı surpasses this boundary by insulting certain individuals who define themselves in accordance with particular ideologies and/or a particular political stance. Assertions such as, "(...) appealed to baseness," "(...) licking their butts," "maniacal talks", "pinnacle of nuttiness and being sold out", "those deprived of dignity," "frontrunner of this ignominy," "because you are unscrupulous, wretched and shameless", and "I already knew that you were impertinent and utterly worthless", combined with the insults to certain sects mentioned in the piece serve to foster differentiation (and even hate and hostility) among different ideologies.

Alçaklığın böylesi görülmemiştir

Biliyorsunuz yıllarca ensemizde "Emperyalizm" diye "Tam bağımsızlık" diye boza pişirenler vardı.

İşte bu palavraları sıkan Kemalistler ve sosyalistler bu süreçte "**emperyalist güçler**"in köpekliğine soyundu.

Çünkü tek amaçları vardı: Erdoğan'ı

devirmek... Bu amaç uğruna her şey mubahtı. Hiçbir ahlaki ilkeleri yoktu.

Erdoğan devrilsin de isterse ülkede kan gövdeyi götürsün umurlarında değildi.

ABD'ye ve İsrail'e "**Şu Tayyip'i devirin. Ne isterseniz yaparız**" diyen hain generallerle aynı zihniyetteydiler.

Bu tipler Esad konusunda CNN, BBC ve Al Jazeera'yı her gün "**Emperyalizmin**

kanalları" diye suçluyordu. Şimdi aynı adamlar bu kanallardan medet umuyor. Emperyalizmin maşası dedikleri çevrelere tapıyorlar.

Emperyalistlere "Lütten daha fazla Frdoğan karşıtı yayın yanın" diye her **Erdoğan karşıtı yayın yapın**" diye her gün yalvarıyor bunlar.

Yıllarca emperyalist dedikleri güçlerin popolarını yalamak için tüm ulusalcılar ve solcular kuyrukta bekliyor.

Erdoğan'dan kurtulmak için Türkiye'ye bir ABD müdahalesini savunan sosyalistler ve Kemalistler var.

Bu manyakça lafları Twitter'da açık açık da yazıyorlar. Delirmişliğin ve satılmışlığın son noktası artık bu.

Yıllarca "Alçak Soros, turuncu devrimler, Amerikan emperyalizmi" dediler. Açık Toplum Enstitüsü'ne küfrettiler.

Şimdi sürekli küfrettikleri büyük kapitalist Soros'tan para dilenir halde bu haysiyet yoksunları.

En acı olanı maalesef Türkiye'nin anamuhalefet partisi CHP bu şerefsizliğin bayraktarlığını yapıyor.

Yıllarca **"Tam Bağımsız Türkiye**" diyenlerin **"Emperyalizme tam bağımlı Türkiye**" için savaştığına şahit oluyoruz.

İşte bu kadar ilkesiz, bu kadar sefil, bu kadar hayasız olduğunuz için bu halkın çoğunluğu sizden tiksiniyor.

Demokratik yollarla hiçbir zaman iktidara gelemeyeceğiniz için resmen emperyalistlere uşaklık yapıyorsunuz.

Utanmaz ve aşağılık olduğunuzu zaten biliyordum ama bu derece alçaklığı ben de tahmin etmiyordum.

Böyle bir alçaklık görülmemiştir...

rasimozan.kutahyali@sabah.com.tr SMS: RO yaz 4122'ye gönder. (1.60 TL) MH: 0216 531 73 73 facebook.com/rasimozankutahyali.sabah



Using a natural element of one's identity as the basis of hate / Symbolization

Heading: Let us be one against satanic minds Newspaper: Yeni Akit Date: 04.07.2013 Type: Reader's Voice Author: Fuat Çakır

This piece, published in the "Readers' Voice / Television" section of the Yeni Akit newspaper, refers to Gezi Events like many other articles published in this period. Fuat Çakır interprets the events as "malice to the government" and points at "Christians" as the group responsible from these events by using the word "priest". He uses the word "priesthood" as a symbol for Christianity and he presents an inherent element of identity as a basis for hatred. With expressions such as "The rise of the government from clearing out all priests", "(...) this time we will shut out the voices of these priests till doomsday" hostility among societies and within a particular society is cultivated.



lerce verden düğmeye

Bu papaz takımının 150 yıldır milletimize vermiş oldukları tahribatı tedavi etmemiz ge-rekirken, kişisel menfaatlerimiz için klikçilik asaryayana yüzlerce yerden düğmeye asarak, beynlerini devşirdikleri, milli ve nanevi degerlerini altüst ettikleri, pril pi-il gençlerimizi kendi devletine ve milletirsı bir anda sokaklara dö

oulunan kripto Turkler, krip-nlar ve Mason teşkilatlarıyla ldır milletimize her türlü fiteyi yaparak bugune kadaru asından ortalığı karıstıran b alar, ilk defa bu kadar net bir aktalar. Bu sefer hemen hemen hepsint ner bir sekilde yakaladık. Onların bu son tiyaf rosu ve son cirpinişlarıdır. Allah'ın izn ile inşallah bu sefer kıyame te kadar bu papazların seslerini keşeceğiz Devletimizi ve milletimizi bu şeytani ka faların şerrirden inşaallah sonsuza kada

içerisinde bulur

Devletimini iverininde bulannt, avy millete ayn dine mensup kardesleriniz bu gytani kölalara kars son 40 yiln en büyük müxadeksini verirken, devletimi in jersinde, ayn millete ayn dine men-sup bir takını insanlarınız, kilkçilik yapa-nek Senin ensamin", "Benin maritatını", "Benim partin" gibi tefrikalar yapark mil-letimiz aynştırmaktadırlar. Kerdi men-timaterin devletine ve milletin menfattler-nin önünde tutarık devlete ve millete nin öründe utarak devlete ve mildet iha net etmektecirler. Bu tarzda harbkat eder insanların ne davasına ne de saiminiyeti ne hiç kimse inanmasın. Bu tip insanlarır çoğu bulundikları cemaat, tarikit ve parti terin içersinen girmiş hain, Türk ve Müsila man kriptolardır. Eger bilinesiz bi sekilde in terin kenesine denbe terese bilinesiz ket edenler varsa bunlar da co büyük ahmaklardır Herkesin bir an önce klikciliği hımkural

devlet aklını bütün hücrelerine sind rekmektedir. Avni zamanda Islâmi ha tleri bûtûn hareketlerinin önûnd vletin birim öz malımız olduğunu as

ren ve vermeyen eac ğunluk hükümetin ya ir Zuma de gurur verici dik du ia hem de icerdek Artik per

Vandallar - Capulcular

Ayrsigi, 28 Suhat, 12 Evilu

• Mustafa Ulu Içerde ve dısarıda sami-ni herkes bugün sunu ka-ul ediyor. AKP hükümeli, sem başarılı hem de tepki

anda demokratik

aktir. Bu kadar büyük bir davayı göremeyen ku "Banim hocam", "Benim partim beyinliler, "Benim hocam" gibi ucuz işlerle uğraşanların acil bir şekild uyanlarak onlara hedefin net bir şekilde gös terilmesi gerekmektedir. le: Allah'a emanet olun.

etimize, milletimize ve dinien büyük ihanettir. Bir an önce



• Dursun Ali Ağdağ YALOVA

foplumda yeri belli olar neden susuyorsunuz? I amları, sivil foplum kury luşları neyi bekliyors Bugûn susup da ne zaman k nizi koymuyorsunuz, bari pa izi taşa dej niz belli olsun kolay mi geldi bu

Kurulu

33

Using an inherent element of one's identity as the basis of hate / Symbolization

Heading: Profound Structuring Newspaper: Kütahya Zafer Date: 20.05.2013 Type: Opinion column Author: Süleyman Canan

The reason why this piece was included in this category was due to the way Jews were positioned in the beginning of the article, which does not have a sound connection with the end of the article. Through his statements that read "The Jewish Society has been historically subjected to many exiles and even mass killings. In a way, Jews invited and deserved such ill-treatments and cruelties. Because whichever society they inhabited, they abused and morally debased that society", Canan uses an inherent element of identity as a basis for hate and also presents a remarkable example of an understanding that might turn hate speech into a hate crime. The piece makes covert associations between Jews and unsolved murders, conspiratorial international meetings and their participants. By such implicit associations, the perception that Jews are behind all these atrocities is fostered and possible hate crimes are lent legitimacy.



DERİN YAPILANMA

Hayatın her sahasında, devlet yapısından ferde gelinceye kadar iki cephesi ile tezahür etmiştir. Tarih boyunca çeşitli kuruluşlarda ve devletler yapısında bunları okuyoruz. Zamanımızda da görüyoruz. Yahudi toplumu tarih boyunca cok sürgüne uğramış, hatta toplu ölümlere bile maruz kalmıştır. Bu eza ve zulümleri bir bakıma kendisi davet etmis ve hak etmiştir. Çünkü bulunduğu her toplum içinde, o toplumu sömürmüş, ahlaken yozlaştırmıştır. Kendisini üstün ırk olarak görmüştür. Belirlediği hedeflerine ulaşmak için de faaliyetlerini gizli tutmaya, hatta kendisini bile gizlemeye dikkat etmiştir. Çok yerde çift kimlikli olarak yaşamaktadır. Onun için" Dönme " kelimesi, Sabutay sevi den beri onları anlatır. Bu gizlilikleri zaman zaman öğrenilse dahi, onlar usullerini değiştirmezler. Mesela Bildenberg grup toplantıları her sene yapılır. Ama ne görüşülüp konuşulduğu açıklanmaz. Bizden de çok kimseler bu toplantılara katılmıştır. Hiçbirisi dışarıda bir cümle dahi söylememiştir. Bir toplantıya iştirak eden müteveffa Ecevit; basının ısrarı karşısında, " Parti başkanlığını bırakırım ama toplantıda görüşülen mevzuları söylemem mealinde konuşmuştur. Başbakan yardımcısı Ali babacan bu toplantılarının müdavimidir. Ama ağzından bir

müdavimidir. Ama ağzından bir kelime duyulmamıştır. Bir zamanlarının mukaddesatçı gazetesi bile Bildenberg grup toplantısına katılmıştır. Maalesef.... Fehmi koru.

Ergenekon ismi ile görülen davaları, hepimizin gözü önünde yapılmaktadır. Davadaki şahit ve yazılı deliller arttıkça, ifadeler alındıkça, devletin bir yüzü daha gün yüzüne çıkmaktadır. Cumhuriyet idaresi bizi nereye getirmiş, hep beraber bir daha düşünmemiz lazım. Düşünmeliyiz ki, yarın başka Ergenekon kadroları kurulmasın.

Tarih boyunca her ülkede faili meçhul ölümler eksik olmamıştır. 1963 yılında ABD Başkanı Kennedy, Teksas'ta vuruldu. Kennedy'yi vuran Oswald ismindeki katil zanlısı da vurularak öldürüldü. Kennedy'nin ölümü karanlıklara gömüldü belki biliniyor ama mahkeme zabıtalarına geçemedi bizde de benzer faili meçhul cinayetler çok Uğur Mumcu, Muammer Aksoy, Ahmet Taner Kışlalı, Bahariye Üçok ve daha niceleri hepsi sahasında isim yapmış şahıslar, ama cinayetler hala meçhul.

Susurluk davasından beş sene hapse mahkûm olmuş olan Mehmet Ağar, bir sene hapis dışarı çıktı. Çıkarken söylediği düşündürücü: " Devlet gir dedi, girdik. Çık dedi çıkıyoruz"

Başbakanın çalışma odasına bile dinleme cihazı yerleştirebilen yapılanma, nasıl bir yapılanmadır?

Hepimizin hemfikir olduğu bir kanaat vardır: Her şey insanda başlar, insanda biter onun için Türkiye'nin tek bir meselesi vardır: Eğitim...

İnsanını sen eğitmezsen, başkaları kendi usulüne göre eğitir.

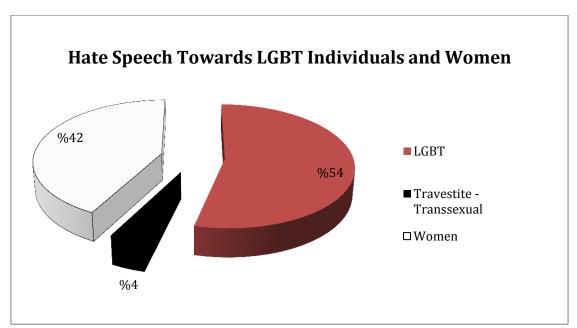
OTHER DISADVANTAGED GROUPS

A total of 23 news items, consisting of 22 items that were not examined in the first section of the report due to their target groups (women, lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transgender / LGBT) and another article analyzed in the first section with regards to another target group, were examined in this section with regards to the adopted discourse.

The sources of the increase in the number of articles examined within this category in this period were referrals to LGBT and women using a hateful language within the context of Gezi Events and the issue of homosexual marriage on UK's agenda. The news items concerning Gezi Events reveal that, whenever there is an incentive to disparage a certain group, it is the women and LGBT individuals, still among the vulnerable groups, who get used.

Until now, in the articles targeting women and LGBT, the **Enmity / War Discourse** category of hate speech has been encountered very rarely or never. On the other hand, 3 pieces were interpreted under this category during this period. If in a particular content women and LGBT were held responsible for violent acts that were perpetrated or that might be perpetrated against women and LGBT that item was evaluated based on its potential to promote hate crimes. Extending the boundaries of hate speech may cause concern for the importance placed on this issue. To the contrary, when we consider the number of women killed within a year, expressed in hundreds and tens of LGBT individuals subjected to hate crimes; the interpretation of these pieces under the hate category **Enmity / War Discourse** aims to emphasize the particular importance given to the issue.

Among the content examined under the title "Other Disadvantaged Groups", hate speech targeting women was encountered in 11 instances and hate speech targeting LGBT individuals was encountered in 14 instances. One of these pieces targeted individuals labeled as "transvestites." This news story, involving a common mistake in the Turkish media, deems it necessary to once again repeat the difference between the terms transvestite and trans. Transvestism involves interest in cross-dressing and taking pleasure in behaving like the opposite sex whereas trans individuals define themselves as a member of the opposite sex, whether or not they had a sex reassignment surgery.



Graph 14:

Date	Newspaper	Туре	Author	Title	Target Group	Hate category
10.May.13	Halkın Gazetesi Sonsöz	Islam Library	Anonymous	Islam Library	LGBT / Women	Enmity / War Discourse (targeting LGBT) Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration and Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion (targeting women)
10.May.13	Milli Gazete	Opinion	Mehmed	Sunni Muslims, get	Women	Blasphemy / Insult /
		Column	Şevket Eygi	together!		Denigration
13.May.13	Yeni Şafak	Opinion Column	Yusuf Kaplan	Third sexual revolution: A disaster in the making	LGBT	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
20.May.13	Kayseri Gündem	Opinion Column	Kasım Okut	An undignified woman is in tame of hell	Women	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
23.May.13	Antalya Körfez	Opinion Column	Mehmet Tosun	Does Antalya constitute a crime scene?	LGBT	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
27.May.13	Vatan	News story	Anonymous	Homosexuals are not wanted	LGBT	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
03.June.13	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Hasan Karakaya	Meat grinders yesterday The girl run over by police panzers today!	LGBT	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
07.June.13	Malatya Bakış	Opinion Column	İzzettin Aslan	Protection from filth and cleaning (2)	Women	Enmity / War Discourse
14.June.13	Antalya Hilal	Opinion Column	Dr. Selahattin Çelik	The people of Lot (2)	LGBT	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
25.June.13	Takvim	Opinion Column	Emin Pazarcı	Those are very honorable, really!	LGBT	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
26.June.13	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Hasan Karakaya	Today I will listen to the 'purling of peace instead of the clatter of Taksim'!	LGBT	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
28.June.13	Milli Gazete	News story	Anonymous	A pleasing decision in the USA for perverts	LGBT	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
17.July.13	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Mustafa Çelik	No acquittal will come from the committee of wolves for sheep	Women	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration

17.July.13	Sivas Hürdoğan	Article published in Ramadan Page	Anonymous	The Lives of our Prophets / Prophet Lot	LGBT	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
19.July.13	Milli Gazete	News story	Anonymous	UK also went nuts!	LGBT	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
19.July.13	Yeni Akit	News story	Anonymous / London	APPROVAL TO PERVERSION from Queen Elizabeth II	LGBT	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
30.July.13	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Mehmed Şevket Eygi	Unholy Reform Fires in Mosques	Women	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
31.July.13	Yeni Akit	Press Archive	Anonymous	Isn't wearing a miniskirt a kind of perversion when it is possible to dress normally?	Women	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
31.July.13	Yeni Şafak	Opinion Column	Ömer Lekesiz	What is art to you!	LGBT / Women	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
22.Aug.13	Çanakkale Kalem	Opinion Column	"Sister Vildan"	A woman was raped but	Women	Enmity / War discourse
25.Aug.13	Yeni Akit	News story	Intelligence Service	Secularist women attacked the imam!	Women	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
28.Aug.13	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Fatma Tuncer	Disciples of Independence	LGBT	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
29.Aug.13	Yeni Akit	News story	Kenan Kıran / Naim Taşbaşı	<i>Kokona</i> s shut out the azan.	Women	Targeting

Among the 23 articles featuring hate speech, 14 were opinion columns, 6 were news stories, 2 articles were published under headings with religious references such as "Islam Library" and "Ramadan Page," and finally, one article was published in the "Press Archive" page.

Differing from the previous periods, hate speech targeting LGBT and women was observed more frequently in opinion columns than in news stories. This difference shows that while the issues regarding these groups are not considered as important to be discussed in opinion columns; when they become politically relevant as in Gezi Events, the media discourse also changes though not necessarily in a positive way. What did not vary compared to previous period were the pejorative designations used for homosexuality. Again, words such as "perversion" and "deviancy" were used to describe homosexuality and were even carried to the headings in some instances. The use of statements like "(homosexuality, a sexual perversion, without a cure at present that causes AIDS)" and "Feminism, a pervert ideology" contributed to the reproduction of clichés surrounding both issues.

A significant part of the discourse involving **hate speech content against women** held women, who are implied to be "unchaste", responsible for the atrocities. Again, the coverage of events related to trans individuals was **associated with crime**. Even though not considered as hate speech, a violent act committed against a trans individual was covered with the heading "10 year imprisonment to armed robbery of a transvestite", obscuring the person to whom the crime was committed against (Habertürk Ankara, 21 August 2013)

A majority of the examined articles (69.5%, 16 items) were published anonymously or without citing any source. **Yeni Akit** was again, the newspaper that produced the **highest number of articles featuring hate speech against LGBT individuals and women** with 7 such articles. **Vatan and Takvim** dailies also helped hate speech circulate in the mainstream media by publishing one article each. Seven local newspapers produced hate speech within a general framework, without an event occurring in their region of interest.

The reason why we also included these 23 items in the present report, in accordance with the 1997 Recommendation by Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe on Hate Speech, is because they produce discriminatory, exclusionary or insulting discourse against LGBT individuals and women via the methods and language they endorse and the overall meaning they generate or because they carry secondary meanings that legitimize and promote exclusionary attitudes. The examination of articles, apart from the ones labeled as hate speech, revealed that sexist discourse is not yet wiped out. This tendency manifested itself by the presence of headings such as "Female driver spread terror" (Türkiye daily, 8 August 2013) and "56 years old but still like a rock!" (Sözcü daily, 14 August 2013).

EXAMPLES BY CATEGORY

Enmity / War Discourse

Heading: Islam Library Newspaper: Halkın Gazetesi Sonsöz Date: 10.05.2013 Type: Islam Library Column Author: Anonymous

This piece is striking in terms of the fact that it involves hate speech against groups from different categories, targeting both LGBT individuals and women, and is indicative of discriminatory discourse that does not limit itself to just one group. The piece starts with references to arranged marriages according to Islam and presents examples of hate speech classified as **Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration** and **Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion.** In the piece, women are attributed certain characteristics through statements such as "As already known, women are more desirous then men" and "women who endorse nudity as a principle for the sake of being trendy". Then, it is asserted that the attitudes women are claimed to have developed as a result of these characteristics, might trigger certain adversities they might face: "The sources of men's adultery are women's way of walking, their revealing clothes, and their seductive look at men. However, we cannot make immoral claims about women who do not dress very revealingly, who act with dignity/solemnity and who preserve their looks." These statements create a dichotomy between "women who act with virtue" and "women who are desirous and who tend towards adultery"; setting the ground for legitimation of "women killings" under the name of "honor killings."

The part of the piece about LGBT individuals, along similar lines, associates homosexual relationship with the devil and asserts that this is "unpardonable." The following statement, "What befalls them is registered in these books. Besides, there are live witness-proofs in front of your eyes in this world" provides legitimacy and encourages crimes against LGBT individuals, whether or not this was intended. The article goes one step further and continues with the statement "I am guessing that volcanic mountains that God did not create for nothing, will all at once come into effect; 'pouring fire on guilty sinners'" and ends with the phrase "Those among the believers who wish for shamelessness to become widespread deserve a painful punishment in the hereafter." In a legal system where a "reverse sexual intercourse" offer is considered as a reason for mitigation, such statements encountered in the press promotes animosity among groups with different characteristics.

Lüzumuna binaen ifade edelim ki, erkeğin dörde kadar hanımla nikah yapması caizdir ve nikahla olduğu müddetçe bu evlilikleri Islam'a göre geçerlidir. Bu kişi zina yapmış olmaz. Evli veya bekar 18 yaşından küçük veya büyük, hencins veya karşı cinsten her şahsın arada dini nikah bulunmadan yapuği cinsel temas Islam fikuna göre zinadır, günahlır. Mahşerde hesabi sorulur. Allah her şeyi bilen ve görendir. Allah'ın azabı pek şiddetlidir.

Her ne kadar dünya hayatında sorumlular zinayı şimdilik rafa kaldırdık deseler de Allahu Teâlâ rafa kaldırdık deseler da zina yasak olmasın diye kabul etmese, bu sözlerle zinanın haramlığını kabul etmiyorlarsa imanlarına zarar verir. Haramı haram olarak kabul etmemek küfurdür.

"Şarap, zina, zulüm, haksız yere adam öldürme gibi şeylerin helal olmasını temennî etmek küfürdür." (Ömer Nesefi Akaidi, shf.219)

Nikah dışı ilişkiyi arzu edenlerle ilgili Peygamberimiz sallallahu aleyhi ve sellem şöyle buyuruyor:

"Nikah benim sünnetimdir. Kim benim sünnetimle amel etmezse benden değildir." (İbni Mace)

GÖZ ZİNASI (!)

Bu kavram da sapiklardan nasibini almış'çarpıtılmıştır. Ayetteki "gözlerini sakınsınlar" dan maksat (kadınlar için) "tahrik edici bakmasınlar" - ki böylece zinaya sebebiyet vermesinler demektir. Her nedense şeriatçılar "yüze bakmasınlar - gözler ve eller dışında heryeri namahremdir" diye çevirerek kadınlarını zorla çuvala sokmaya çalışmışlardır. İnann kadınlara da söyle, gözlerini sakınışınlar, iffetlerini konuşanlar ve açıkta olması gereken yerleri hariçı, alımlı yerlerini göstermesinler. Örtülerini göğüslerinin üzerine kapasınlar. üzerine kapasınlar. Vücutlarının alımlı yerlerini kimseye göstermesinler; ancak kocaları, babaları, akoclarını

babaları, oğulları, kocalarının oğulları, kardeşleri, erkek kardeşlerinin oğulları, kızkardeşlerinin oğulları, diğer kadınlar, cinsel iktidara sahip olmayan erkek hizmetkarlar

ve işçiler ve kadınların cinsel yönlerini henüz anlamayan çocuklar hariç. Gizledikleri alımlı bölgelerini sergilemek/bildirmek için ayaklarını yere vurmasınlar. Ey inananlar, topluca ALLAH'a yöneliniz ki başarılı olasınız. 24/31

Ayette geçen ifade şu şekildedir, kadınlar "gözlerini sakınsınlar - iffetlerini korusunlar alımlı yerlerini göstermesinler". Bilindiği gibi kadınlar erkeklerden daha arzuludur (12/24). Kadınların kırıtarak yürümeleri, açılıp saçılmaları ve erkekleri cezbedici biçimde bakmaları, kendilerini zinaya götüren nodeherdendir. Oysa fızla açılıp saçılmayan, vakarlı iffetti davranan ve gözlerini sakınan hanımlar hakkında, ahlaksız

iddialarda bulunamayız. Fakat arsızlar, iffetli bir yaşayış tarzı benimseyen hanımlarımıza, kafirlerin Meryem'e yaptığı gibi çirkin iftiralar atmaktan geri durmazlar! Ama bilme-





zler ki Allah, bu iftiracıları/iftirayı sevmez. Moda uğruna çıplaklığı ilke edinen kadınların evliliklerinin yürümediği ve güvenilir bir aile bağı kuramadıkları da bir gerçek! Meşru olan evlilik sözleşmesini hiçe sayıp metres eşler edinerek ilişkiye girenlerin, zina etmiş sayılacağı da bir gerçek. Tek eşle evliliği öngören Kuran, iki veya daha fazla eşle evlenmek zorunda kalan bireyler için şa hükmü benimser:

Ne kadar isteseniz de eşlerinize adaletle davranmak elinizde değildir. Dolayısıyla diğerlerini dışlayarak ve onları kocası hem var hem de yokmuş gibi bir durumda burakarak (içlerinden sadece) birine yönelmeyin. Ancak her şeyi yoluna koyar ve O'na karşı sorumluluğunuzun bilincinde olursanız, bilin ki Allah çok bağışlayıcıdır, rahmet kaynağıdır. (4:129) Cinsel hayata gerekli/yeterli ölçüler kişisel hükümleriyle dejenere eden mezhepliler, böyle bir hassas konuda veterli eğitimi çocuklarına verememektedirler. Fiili zinayı - göz zinası(!)ndan daha büyük bir günah olarak öğreten mezhep mukallitlerí, her nedense kendileri fiili zina etmekten geri kalmıyorlar. Yeter ki ellerine bir firsat geçsin!

getiren Islam'ı.

İMAM NİKAHI - DEVLET NİKAHI

Evlilik bir sözleşmedir. Bu sözleşmeyi halkın önünde imzalarsınız. Evlilik, hem hukuki kurallara hem de dini kurallara uygun bir biçimde yapıtrılmalıdır. Her ikisinin de çoğunluk önünde yapılması gerekmektedir. Sevgililer ve sadcee imam arasında yada sadece nikah memuru arasında yapılan nikahlar (kısınen) geçersiz sayılırlar. Bilindiği gibi zinanın cezası halk önünde uygulanacak olan yüz celdedir. Niçin halk önünde? Eğer öyle olmasaydı sapık'iftiracıların ekmeğine yağ sürülmüş

İmam nikahı ve devlet nikahı ikisi birden ve halkın huzurunda yapılmalıdır. Bu şekilde ileride, size atılan iftiraları batıl kılmış olursunuz! Sadece imam nikahının veya sadece devlet nikahının halk önünde yapılması, nikahın geçerli olduğu anlamına gelmez. Nitekim halk önünde yapılan imam nikahı ile 5-10 kadınla birlikte olanlar bulunmaktadır. Oysa Kuran'da önerilen evliliğin tekeşililik olduğunu daha sonra göreceksiniz! İki sevgilinin, bir imama yada nikah

memuruna giderek evlenmeleri de geçersiz sayılmaktadır!

SINIRI ASANLAR

Allah, kendi saltanatı altındakilere hep iyiyi-güzeli öğretmektedir. Şeytan ise bunun tam tersini telkin eder. Öyle ki insan artık kendi hemeinisleri ile zina etmeye başlar (geçmişte olduğu gibi). Hangi inanışa sahip olursanız olun, kendi cinsterinizle ilişkiye girmeniz alfedilemez! Bütün ilahi kitaplarda bu mesaj vardır. Onların başlarına neler geldiği de bu kitaplarda kayıtlıdır. Ayrıca bunların cınlı tame, kanıtları da yeryüzünde gözlerinizin önünde darmaktadır.

"Yoksa siz, sizden öncekilerin başına gelenler gibisi sizin de başınıza gelmeden cennete gireceğinizi mi sanıyorsunuz?2/214 " ayeti gereğince, geçmişte bu tür ters-sapkın ilişkilere girmiş kavimlerin hortlayacağım-çoğalacağını ve akabinde Allah'ın boşuna yaratmadığı volkanik dağların, hepsinin, aynı anda faliyete geçip "suçlu günahkarların boşuna ateş yağdıracağını" tahmin ediyorum (51/32-34). Ama bu aaaime katlırısınız yada katılmazsınız, o sizin bileceğiniz bir işl.Allahım! Ümme-i Muhammed'i Kur'an'a mahkum et!

İnananların arasından hayasızlığın yaygınlaşmasını arzulayanlar, dünya ve ahirette acı verici bir cezayı hakketmişlerdir. ALLAH bilir, siz bilemezsiniz. (24/19)

Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion

Heading: Homosexuals are not wanted Newspaper: Vatan Date: 27.05.2013 Type: News story Author: Anonymous

The news story is about the legislation voted in France allowing homosexuals to get married and making it easier for them to adopt children. Even though, the article seems to have a neutral tone, starting from the heading, their condition of "being unwanted" is emphasized. Furthermore, such reactions are not criticized or at least the opinions of the other party are not covered. Even though it is not possible to talk about an absolute objectivity in journalism; explicit or implicit distortion of information/news event or misleading the reader with a particular agenda is certainly out of ethical principles. However, when the news story is examined in depth; the last sentence that reads "Despite the show organized in France, according to recent surveys, two thirds of the people want 'protests against gay marriage to stop'' contradicts the negative portrayal in the news story supported by the heading and visuals and reveals the extent of exaggeration / distortion.



Annemin adı Robert olmasın

Soyalist Parti iktidarındaki Fransa'da önderliğinde 18 Mayıs'ta yasalaşan, nakki tanıyan Taubira Yasası'din protesi to odildi. Paris'te cumartesi akşamı başla-şanı ve 56 kişinin gözattına alındığı olayları 1500 polis meniuru görev aldı.

Paris'te yüz binler protesto etti Ana muhalefet partisi UMP, sivil top-lum derneklerive Klliserini desetköyle or-ganize edlien 'Manif pour tous' (Hejmiz için eylem) adlı yürüylüşiçin, ülkenin farklı yerlerinden polise göre 150 bin, eylemetlere göre 1 milyon kişi Paris'e gelirken, şehrin farklı yerlerinde dört kortej düzenlendi.

'Annemin adı Robert olmasın'

Armennin dei KODERT OIMASIM İçişleri Bakanı Manuel Vallış'ın 'Baaı sağı-lar olay çıkarabilir. Çocuklarınızı getirmeyin' uyarısına rağınen, eylemde çok sayıda çocuk da yer aldı. Çocukların ellerinde 'Annemin adının Robert olmasın' pankartları bulunurken, UMP lideri Jean François Cope 'Yürüyüşün amacı Pransa'da aile birliğini korumaktır' dedi.

Hollande'a partisinde istifa şoku

Bazı göstereciler Sosyalist Parti binasanı te-rasına çıkarak Hollande İstifa yankartı açtı. Dünyada eştinsel evliliklerine izin veren 14. ülke olan Fransı'da dün dürgenlenen gösteriye rağmen, yapılan son anketlere göre halkın üçte ikisi "Eşcin-sel evliliklere karşı yapılan protesto eylemlerinin sona ermesini' istiyor. sona ermesini' istiyor.



Organizatöre meydan dayağı



Ortodokslar ayaklandı

DİNİN güncel hayatta halen büyük role sahip olduğu Ukrayna'da eşcinsellerin, ülkenin önde ge len ulusal bayramlarından birisi olan "Kiev Günü"nde eşitlik yürüyüşü yapmak istemesi ülkede tansiyonu artırdı. Ülkede yapılacak ilk eşcinsel vürüvüse binlerce sikavet gelmesi üzerine bas kent merkezindeki eylem yasaklandı. Ancak eşcinsel örgütler yasağa rağmen Kiev so-kaklarına inince karşılarında ellerinde haç taşıyan papazlar ve başörtülü yaşlı kadınları buldu. Eşcinsel-liğin normalleştirilmesine karşı olduklarını belirten kilise "Burada halk savunması yok. Günahın ve sapkınlığın propa gandasını yapıyorlar" açıkla-masında bulundu. Polis çatış maları engellemek icin iki gruba da müdahale etti.







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Eylemciler bir eşeğin üzeri-ne 'Hollande'a

oy verdim kartı ast

Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration

Heading: Secularist women attacked the imam! Newspaper: Yeni Akit Date: 25.08.2013 Type: News story Author: Intelligence Service

The news item conveys the story of a group of women, depicted as "secularists" "raiding a mosque." The word "kokona" is used to describe these women. When we look at the dictionary of Turkish Language Association, we see that this word has two meanings: 1) Christian woman 2) Old woman indulgent of her adornment. Whichever meaning is accepted, the choice of this word depicts women either by their age or religious identity and uses these characteristics as basis for denigration. Another news story concerning the same issue published in the same newspaper on August 29 bears the title "Kokonas shut out the azan" In both stories, the said women's faces are presented in a recognizable manner and the latter news story goes one step further by openly declaring the names and addresses of these women. Even though not among the hate speech categories, the news item was interpreted as "targeting". The tone endorsed by both stories serves to promote social polarization, while the information presented in the second news story serves a facilitatory function for a criminal condition.





Mugla'nın Bodrum ilçesinde bulunan Torba Camıı'nde okunan vakit ezanlarından rahatsız olan laikçi kokonalar, camiyi basıp imam Abdullah Ece'ye saldırdı. Ece'yi darp edip küfürler yağdıran kadınları çevredeki vatandaşlar uzaklaştırdı. İmamın şikayetçi olması üzerine tartışma karakolda bitti. Ancak tehditlerle yıldırılan imam Ece daha sonra şikâyetini geri aldı.



Ezanı yüksek sesle okuyor diye imam Abdullah Ece, laikçi-yobaz kadınların saldırısına uğradı.

KISIN DIYE CA RΛ

Muğla'da ezan sesinden rahatsız olan laikçi zorbalar, cami basıp imama saldırdı. İmam "tamam sesi daha da kısacağım" demesine rağmen azgın kadınlar saldırçanlıklarını sürdürerek tehditler yağdırdı. Muğla'nın Bodrum ilçesinde bulunan Torba Cami'nde okunan vakit ezanlarından rahatsız olan laikçi kokanalar, imam Abdullah Ece'yi darp ettiler. İmam Ece'yi, saldırgan kadınların elinden, çevredeki vatandaşlar kurtardı. İmamın şikayetçi olması üzerine tartışma karakolda bitti. Ancak tehditlerle yıldırılan imam Ece, daha sonra şikâyetini geri aldı.

ISTIHBARAT SERVISI

Muğla'da ezan sesinden rahatsız olan laikçi zorbalar, cami başıp imama saldırdı. Muğla'nın Bocrum ilçesinde bulunan Torba Cami'nde okunan vakit ezanlarından rahatsız olan laikçi ko-kanalar, camiyi basıp imam Abdullah Ece'ye saldırdı. Ece'yi darp edip küfür-ler yağdıran kadınları çevredeki vatandaşlar uzaklaştırdi. İmam şikayetçi ol-ması üzerine tartışma karakolda bitti. EZAN SESINE TAHAMMÜL

DAHİ EDEMEDİLER

Torba Mahallesi'nde bulunan Tor-ba Camii'nde yüksek sesle ezan okun-duğu gerekçesiyle bir grup site saki-ni bayan cami imamına sözlü saldırı-dı bulura da bulundu. Olay dün Abdullah Ece (25) isimli imamin okuduğu ikindi eza-nı sonrası meydana gedi. Bir anda ca-miye gelen bir grup site sakini bayan, yüksek sesle okunan ezandan rahat-sız olduklarını belirterek, cami imamisız olduklarını belirterek, cami imami-na tepki gösterdi. İmam yapılan şika-yet üzerine ezan sesin kısarak bayan-lan sakinleştirmeye çelişti. Tepkilerine devam eden site sakılıları. İddiaya op-re Ece'yi cami avlusında tehdit etti. Çevrede bulunan vatandaşlar tarafın-dan kızımı taliçiler camiden uzaklaştı-tan cami imam Ece, polisi arayarak şi-kevetci oldu. Daha sırma site sakinle kayetçi oldu. Daha sonra site sakinle-ri ile birlikte karakola giden cami ima-mı, alınan ifadelerin ardından şikayetini geri çekti. İMAM OLAYI ANLATTI alavla ilgil gazı

an olayla ilgil gazetecilerin so-

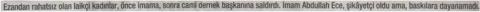
annı cevaplayan Torba Camii imamı Abdullah Ece, ikindi ezani okunurken ezan sesi yüksek gerekçesi ile tepki-ye maruz kaldığını belirterek. "Torba Camii'nde ikindi namazı vakti, tam ezan okunurken oradaki bayanlar dan sekiz-on tanesi bize hakaret etmeye başladı. Gidip sordum neden böyle bir şey yapıyorsunuz di-

ye. Dediler ki ezanın sesi çok yük-sek. Ben de tamam diyerek ezanın sesini kıstım. Daha sonra hakaret-ler ederek ağza alınmayacak şey-ler söylediler. Biz de sabrettik ve polisi çağırdım. Şikayetçi olduğu-mu söyledim, ama daha sonra di-nimiz hoşgörü dini olduğu için şi-kayetimizi geri aldık" dedi.

Ece'yi karşılayan cami cemaatinden bir vatandaş Bodrum'da bu gibi olay-ların sıkça yaşandığını da dile getir-di. Ece ise can güvenliğinin olmadığını belirterek eski görev yaptığı camiye döneceğini ifade etti. İmam Abdullah Ece'nin Torba Camii'ndeki görevinden aynimasi durumunda yeni biri atanana kadar cami imamsiz kalacak.







Ezandan rahatsız olan kokonalar caminin vanındaki Alt Mandalya Sitesi'nde oturuyormuş.

Muğla'nın Bodrum ilçesinde çok kısık sesle ezan okunmasına rağmen imama saldıran kokonalar sebebiyle camide ezan sesi kesildi.

Abdullah Ece ve cami cemaatine saldıran kokonalar; "Şerefsizler, yobazlar, hayvan herifler, p.çler, gidin Mekke ve Medine'de yaşayın. Biz Müslüman değiliz, Yahudiyiz" şeklinde hakaretlerde bulundu. İmam da can güvenliğim yok diyerek camiye gitmez oldu. • 11'DE

n kanalar ezami susi

Muğla'nın Bodrum ilçesinde çok kısık sesle ezan okunmasına rağmen imama saldıran kokanalar sebebiyle camide ezan sesi kesildi.

KENAN KIRAN / NAİM TAŞBAŞI Muğla'nın Bodrum ilçesinde ezan okundu-ju gerekçesiyle imam Abdullah Ece'ye saldı-nda bulunulması kamuoyunda tepkiyle karşı-MÜFTÜ, IMAM ECE'NIN ğu gerekçesiyle imam Abdullah Ece'ye saldırıda bulunulması kamuoyunda tepkiyle karşı-landı. Akit'in, adli kaynaklardan edindiği bilgilere göre, ezandan rahatsız olan kisiler imam Abdullah Ece'ye ağza alınmayacak ağır hakaretlerle bulunm

IMAM VE CAMAATE AĞIR HAKARETLER

Adli kaynaklar, bir grup kadının ezanın duyul-mayacak şekilde kısılmasına rağmen saldırıya devam ettiğini, imam Abdullah Ece ve cami ce maatine; "Şerefsizler, yobazlar, hayvan herif-ler, p.çler, gidin Mekke ve Medine'de yaşayın, biz Müslüman değiliz, Yahudiyiz" şeklin-de hakaretlerde bulunduklarını tespit etti.

EZANDAN RAHATSIZ OLANLARIN İSİMLERİ Ezandan rahatsız olan Seval Şimşek, ablası Sevil Şimşek, İlgin Barlas'ın Alt Mandalya Sitesi'nde oturdukları öğrenildi.

AMI ACILISINDA DA

PROTESTODA BULUNMUSLAR

40 bin kişinin yaşadığı Torba mahallesinin tek cami olan Torba Camii'nin 2000 yılında inşaa edilmeye başlandığı, cami inşaatına başlarken, cami inşaatının durması için imza kampanya-sı düzenlediği, 2010 yılında cami açılışı sırasında protesto düzenlendiği öğrenildi. Torba Ca-mii'nde ezanların kısık seslerle okunduğu, vatandaşların ezanı duyamadıkları ifade ediliyor.

OLAY NASIL GERÇEKLEŞTİ?

Gazetemiz, 23 Ağustos 2013 tarihinde Bod-rum'un Torba mahallesinde Torba Camii'nde yaşanan olayın tutanaklarına ulaştı. Tutanaklarda, söz konusu olav sövle anlatilivor:

"Torba Camii'nde ikindi namazı okunurken, coğunluğunu kadınların olusturduğu 10 kişilik grup şadırvanın önüne geldi. Grup üyeleri in Abdullah Ece ve abdest alanlara, 'Kapatin su ezanı' diye bağırdı. İmamın (Abdullah Ece) ezanı duyulmayacak şekilde 0-1 seviyesine getirmesinin ardından grup yeniden, 'Kapatın şu eza-nı' şeklinde tepki gösterdi. Cami cemaati, 'Bu-rası Müstüman ülke. Müslümanlar ezandan rahatsız olmaz. Ezan okunmayacaksa camiyi yıkın' şekilde sözlerle tepki gösterdi.

Bunun üzerine kadınlar, 'Biz Müslüman değiliz. Yahudiviz' dediler ve imam Abdullah Ece ve

ŞİKÂYETİNİ GERİ ÇEKTİRMİŞ Adli kaynaklar, İmam Abdullah Ece'nin Bodrum İlçe Emniyet Müdürlüğü'ne giderek söz ko-nusu gruptan şikayetçi olduğunu, Bodrum İlçe Müftüsü Emin Arık'ın araya girerek imam Ab dullah Ece'nin sikayetinden vazgecmesini sağladığını ifade etti

ERHAL: CAMININ ACILISINDA PROTESTOLAR YAPTILAR

Torba Camii ni yapan işadami **Yılmaz Erhal**, 2000 yılında inşasına başladıkları caminin tüm engellemelere rağmen 2010 yılında bitirildiğini belirterek, "Caminin açılışında protestolar yap-

tılar" dedi. Caminin 2010 yılında yapıldığını, caminin açılışından bugüne değin camiye tepkilerin devam ettiğini kaydeden Yılmaz Erhal, "Oradaki bazı ateist kadınlar ezana karşılar, İslam'a karşılar. 8-10 kadın ezanın sesi çok çıkıyor diyerek caminin hocasına hücum edivorlar, sonra da olav karakola intikal ediyorlar. Biz bu camiyi yaparken, burada bir grup, bu caminin yapılmaması için elle-

rinden geleni yaptı. İmza topladılar, bayrak açtılar, caminin açılışında protestolar yaptılar. Bun-



İmam Abdullah Ece

ların zoru, derdi ne, anlayamıyoruz, biz kimseyi zorla camiye getirtip ibadet ettirmiyoruz. Burası yazın 40 bin kişi olan bir yer. Burada cami yoktu, vatandas Cuma namazina gitmek istivor. Bavram namazına gitmek istiyor, gidemiyordu. Bu milletin bir ihtiyacıdır. Türk milletinin 2 tane umdesi var. Birincisi bayrağı, ikincisi ise minaresidir. Biz dünyada böyle temsil ediliyoruz. Caminin hocası, 'benim can güvenliğim yok' diyerek camiye de elmiyor" diye konuştu. ÖZTÜRK: İŞGAL ALTINDA MIYIZ ACABA?

Bodrum'a tatil için gelen Murat Öztürk ise, yaşanan olayı televizyondan gördüğünü ve çok üzüldüğünü ifade ederek, "Televizyondan öğrendiğimde Türkiye Cumhuriyeti devletinde hiç olmaması gereken bir şey oldu. Ben Bodrum'a tatil için geldim. Burada böyle bir şey olması-na çok üzüldüm. 'İşgal altında mıyız acaba?' diye sordum kendime. Bu sikayet eden insanlar adına ben utandım Türk vatandaşı olarak" dive konustu

Bodrum Müftüsü Emin Arık ise, Torba Camii'nde görevli imamım izinli olduğunu ve göre-vine en kısa süre içinde başlayacağını belirterek, yaşananların ortada olduğunu ve üzüldük-

DHA'NIN ZİKİR YALANI

Doğan Haber Ajansı (DHA) camiyi yaptıran Yıl-maz Erhal'ın, "Vekil imam camide zikir çektirdi" dediğini öne sürdü. Yılmaz Erhal, DHA'ya vekil imamın camide zikir çektirdiğine yönelik sözle-rinin kendisine ait olmadığını, DHA'nın yalan haber yaptığını söyledi.



Ezandan rahatsız olan kokanalar caminin yakınındaki sitede oturuyormuş. Torba Camii'ni yapan işadamı Yılmaz Erhal, Torba mahallesinde 40 bin kişinin yaşadığını, 2000 yılında inşasına başladıkları caminin tüm engellemelere rağmen 2010 yılında ancak bitirebildiklerini söyledi.

Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration

Heading: Those are very honorable, really!

Newspaper: Takvim

Date: 25.06.2013 **Type:** Opinion Column Author: Emin Pazarci

As stated earlier, the Gezi Events (and correspondingly the Pride March) played an important role in the production of hate speech against LGBT individuals and women in this period. Five items out of the total twentythree items were based on these events. In his article, Pazarcı associates Gezi Events with LGBT Pride March. In the piece starting with the statement "Looters were also supported by lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transvestites and transsexuals", LGBT individuals are described as "these people who became public's nightmare" and as "those in a state of sexual perversion". The participation of CHP in the Pride March was presented as a proof that they are "disconnected from the public" and LGBT individuals were used, one more time, for denigrating another group.

In the statement that goes "Even transvestites believe that they will gain reputation by organizing "honor" rallies!", the use of the word "even" pushes the said groups to the bottom ranks of the "human hierarchy" understood to exist in the author's mind.

Çok onurlu bunlar, çok!

apulculara, lezbiyen, gay, biseksüel, travesti, transeksüel desteği de geldi. Onlar da Taksim'de toplandılar; adına "Onur Yürüyüşü" verdikleri bir eylem düzenlediler. "Her ver Taksim, her yerde direniş" sloganları attılar. Eylemciler, herhalde artik kendilerini daha güclü hissediyorlardır! Üstelik, bu evleme **CHP** Genel Baskan Yardımcısı Sazgin Tanrıkulu ile milletvekili Binnaz Toprak da destek verdi.

CHP'liler.

emin.pazarci@takvim.com.tr

C

PAZA

capulcular, gayler ve travestiler kol kola! Sövlediklerine bakılırsa, daha özgür bir Türkiye yaratacaklarmış. Bu eylemlerle "sokaklarda özgürlük şarkıları söyleyecekleri" günlere ulaşacakmışız.

Tabi ki CHP'nin desteği ile!

İşte CHP belini bu yüzden bir türlü doğrultamıyor. Vatandaş geceleri evine giderken, köşe başlarını tutan bu insanlarla karşılaşmamak için yol değiştiriyor. Aracların camlarından kafasını uzatıp pazarlık yapan yarı çıplak, erkek-kadın karısımı travestilerle ilgili olarak cocuklarının "Bunlar kim?" sorularına verecek cevap bulamıyor. Belli yerlerdeki bayanlar, bunlar yüzünden akşamları sokağa çıkamıyor. Ama, pek çok bölgemizde halkın kabusu haline gelen bu insanlarla CHP'li milletvekilleri yan yana!

Üstelik, "daha fazla özgürlük" diyorlar. Daha rahat hareket etmek istiyorlar. Gariptir, bu talepleri de CHP'den karsılık buluvor.

Türkiye'de her şey birbirine karışmış durumda...

Belli gruplar "özgürlük" adına kamu mallarına saldırıyor. Bazıları, yarasa misali geceleri sokağa çıkıp vatandaşı huzursuz ediyor. Kimisi "özgürlük" derken, batıdan gelen talepleri yerine getirmeyi marifet sayıyor. Cinsel sapkınlık içinde olanlar ise "onur" mitingleri

icinde olanlar ise "onur" mitingleri düzenleyip "daha fazla" diyor.

Bu ülkede özgürlük sadece çoğunluğa ve sade vatandasa haram!

Garip ve anlasılmaz bir durumla karsı karsıyayız. Herkes bir yol tutturmuş gidiyor. Ülke öyle bir hava estiriliyor ki... Travestiler bile "onur" mitingleri düzenleyip, itibar kazanacağını sanıyor!

Dün gazetede bir haber gözüme çarptı. Ankara'daki eylemleri kendi bakış açısı ile vatandasa sunuvordu...

Gece saat 22:00 civarında "halkın" sokaklarda biriktiğini yazıyordu.

Eylemcilerin iclerinde pek cok cocuğun bulunduğundan bahsediyordu.

Kalabalıkların vuvuzellalar ile tencere ve tava çaldığını, ayrıca çeşitli sloganlar attığını ortaya koyuyordu.

Gazeteye göre, buraya kadar herhangi bir sıkıntı yoktu.

Sıkıntı, polis müdahalesi ile başlıyordu. Polisin yaptığı müdahale, okuyucuya "polis siddeti" ara başlığı ile sunuluyordu.

Oysa, polis müdahalesi en son noktaydı.

Gece yarısına doğru bazı insanlar sokağa cıkmışlardı. Kaç kişiydiler bilemiyorum. Ama, tencere, tava, hatta vuvuzella çalarak halkı rahatsız etmişlerdi. Üstelik, bu eylem insanların dinlenmeye çalıştığı pazar gününün akşamı yapılıyordu. Muhtemelen çevrede bol miktarda çocuk ve hasta ile birlikte ertesi gün yapılacak önemli bir sınava hazırlananlar da vardı.

Ayrıca, önceki akşam Berat Kandili'vdi. İslam inanısına göre cok önemli bir gündü ve camilerde, evlerde ibadet edenler bulunuyordu.

Gazetenin yazdığına bakılırsa, eylemcilerin arasında çocuklar da yer alıyordu. Onları gece yarısı sokağa salanlar, kaba bir çocuk istismarı sergiliyordu. Bunların hepsi suçtu...

Ayrıca, yine gazetenin haberine göre, o kalabalık, "Her yer Taksim, her yer direniş" sloganı atıyordu. Slogana bakılırsa, polisle çatışmak için sokağa cıkmıştı. Bu durumda ne yapması gerekiyordu polisin? Bu suçu seyretmesi, sessiz kalması ve huzurunu korumak için var olduğu evlerinde oturan masum insanların hakkını ve hukukunu hiçe sayması mı? Tabi ki değil. Dünyanın herhangi bir yerinde polis ne yapıyorsa, Türkiye'de de onu yapıyor. Kimse kusura bakmasın, ama burası Patagonya değil!

Apart from this column, all articles featuring hate speech against women and LGBT within the context of Gezi Events are classified under the **Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration** category and are listed below:

Date	Newspaper	Туре	Author	Title	Target Group	Hate Category
03 June. 2013	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Hasan Karakaya	Meat grinders yesterday The girl run over by police panzers today!	LGBT	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
26 June. 2013	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Hasan Karakaya	Today I will listen to the 'purling of peace instead of the clatter of Taksim'!	LGBT	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
17 July. 2013	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Mustafa Çelik	No acquittal will come from the committee of wolves for sheep	Women	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
31 July. 2013	Yeni Şafak	Opinion Column	Ömer Lekesiz	What is art to you!	LGBT / Women	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration

PART II

DISCRIMINATORY DISCOURE IN PRINT MEDIA

DISCRIMINATORY DISCOURSE OF THE PRINT MEDIA IN THE COVERAGE OF GEZI PARK PROTESTS

1) Aim and Scope of the Study

The Gezi Protests started in May 2013 with the attempt of the authorities to demolish the Gezi Park and rapidly grew as a result of civil resistance by individuals from a diversity of social layers. The protests have been a landmark event in the social, economic, ecological and cultural history of Turkey. The protests led to a crack in the political mindsets, which was extremely vital for Turkey's democracy adventure. This crack, on the one hand, necessitated actors in the social sphere to reposition themselves in the face of social subversion; and on the other, the public observed reactions developed against Gezi Events with great attention.

During this period of social mobilization, the print media, one of the most important mediums enabling exchange of information and ideas among people, was put through a test of professionalism and ethics with regard to the tone and language it adopted in the light of freedom and objectivity principles. The most important addresses of this test had been media members who did not cover the events on television and newspapers in the first of week of the protests³ during the most heated days. It would not be unjustified to claim that this period was managed by (auto)censorship,⁴ considering the media members who resigned, were warned or fired during the Gezi Events.⁵ On the other side, media institutions that chose to resist against (auto)censorship were subjected to political and physical violence,⁶ and they subsequently received public support by means of the social media.⁷ People, by declaring boycott lists,⁸ expressed their criticisms regarding editorial policies endorsed by media organizations. In light of all these discussions, it has become essential to understand how the media layout reshaped during Gezi Events and its social impact. The primary objective of this study was to examine how the media covered discriminating discourse produced in the political and social spheres and the mechanisms through which such discourse was reproduced and to explore the cognitive mindsets of the media. Within the scope of this goal, the definition of discriminating discourse was not restricted to discourse that targeted particular social groups and was founded on ethnic or religious grounds. To the contrary, all social layers bearing the potential to be targeted/stigmatized and that were overtly or covertly referenced were included in the media analysis, just as in political analysis of discriminating language.

2) Methodology and Sampling Criteria

In this study, all types of items regarding the Gezi Protests were examined using content analysis, a method commonly adopted in media studies. Firstly, in order to allow for quantitative measurement, data regarding all news stories and columns (reporter/columnist's name, name of the newspaper, news type, page number, title) were created in a computerized format. Then, all items were coded

³ For an article on the evaluation of media institutions in terms of journalism principles, please see Mehveş Evin, "Gezi ve Gazetecilik", *Milliyet daily*, 25.07.2013.

URL: http://cadde.milliyet.com.tr/2013/07/25/YazarDetay/1741210/

⁴ For detailed information about the condition of media members working in big media institutions during Gezi Events, please see Kerim Karakaya, "Gezi Olayları Türk medyasını sarsmaya devam ediyor", The Wall Street Journal, 04.07.2013.

URL: http://www.wsj.com.tr/article/SB10001424127887324399404578585543820609944.html

⁵ For a list of media members who resigned or were dismissed during Gezi Event, please see Emel Gülcan, "Medyanın Dört Aylık 'Gezi' Güncesi", bianet, 23.10.2013.

URL: http://www.bianet.org/bianet/ifade-ozgurlugu/150727-medyanin-dort-aylik-gezi-guncesi

⁶ For the assaults and prison sentences against media members, please see Emel Gülcan, "#Diren Basın Özgürlüğü!", bianet, 24.07.2013

⁷ For public support to media members via social media please see Twitter, #DirenBasin

⁸ To read the full boycott list please see Twitter, #boykotediyoruz or http://boykotlistesi.com/tum-liste/

based on the stance taken against Gezi Protests (critical, supportive, equivocal,⁹ informative, and express no stance about the protests). Additionally, the theme/emphasis of the news article (fueling enmity, targeting discourse, denigration, rhetoric of democracy, informative, creating opposition) and keywords referenced in the media texts were included as variables. With this template, it was possible to observe the statistical relationships among the variables and to obtain the results that will be explained below.

The data collection phase was restricted to the time period between June 1 and 7, 2013. The primary reason for choosing this particular time period was the effort to analyze spontaneous reactions of the media organizations, which, in the face of Gezi Events, were in a period of political repositioning and restructuring. The initial and instant reactions were believed to bear the potential to disclose the mindset of print media more explicitly.

Another important reason was that such a comprehensive research encompassing quantitative and qualitative analyses would, provided the necessary resources, trigger other comparative research covering a wider time period.

Two crucial criteria were established in order to determine the newspapers that would be monitored within the designated time span. First, all national newspapers published in Turkey were listed and categorized based on their supposed standpoints about the Gezi protests, prior to any research.¹⁰ The three categories were as follows: 1) Newspapers that were critical of the Gezi Protests, 2) Newspapers that were supportive of the Gezi Protests, 3) Newspapers that did not state a definite stance on the issue. For each category, three newspapers with the highest circulation were determined, among which two were included in the sample.¹¹ Secondly, the third newspaper to be included in each category was chosen among papers that could be classified, based on their circulation, as appealing to a minority and at the same time, has a significant degree of representativeness in the media. The newspapers in the first category (critical towards Gezi Events) were specified as **Sabah**, **Habertürk and Yeni Şafak**,¹² newspapers in the second category (supportive of Gezi Events) were **Sözcü**, **Taraf**, and **Özgür Gündem**,¹³ newspapers in the third category (stating no definite stance) were **Zaman**, **Hürriyet and Radikal**.¹⁴

⁹ The "equivocal stance" category encompasses arguments that criticize some aspects of the protests while supporting other aspects.

¹⁰ The categorization of papers was not based on any previous research. Additionally, it should be noted that this categorization did not imply any criticization of newspapers regarding their endorsement of journalism principles such as objectivity and independence. To the contrary, the purpose of this categorization, formulated with limited resources, was to allow for sampling criteria to be independent and objective. The most objective method to categorize the newspapers would be to classify the dailies based on their assumed / claimed policies and motivations in news production. Even this very assumption is the subject of this report and will be tackled in the section on findings.

¹¹ The Directorate General of Press Advertisement (Basın İlan Kurumu), Haziran 2013 Circulation Report URL: http://www.bik.gov.tr/istanbul/haziran-2013-tiraj-raporu/

¹²It would not be unjustified to describe the overall editorial policy of Yeni Şafak daily within the media order, as endorsing Islamic conservative values.

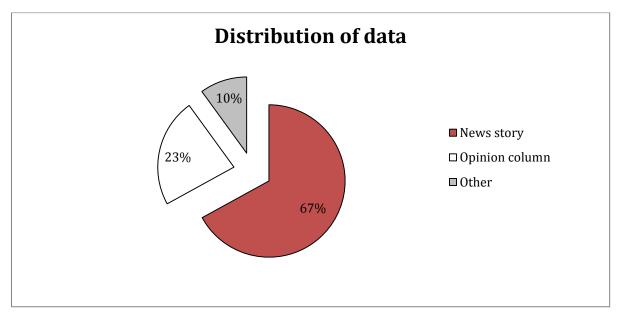
¹³ It would not be unjustified to claim that the Özgür Gündem daily accomodates representation of Kurds, considering the fact that it brings Kurds' political and social struggles to the fore.

¹⁴It would not be incorrect to assert that Radikal daily is followed by readers with a relatively liberal democratic standpoint emphasizing and giving importance to democratic rights and freedoms.

3) Findings

In the above-mentioned newspapers, a total of 1893 news stories, photo news, cover pages, opinion columns, interviews and commentaries were published.¹⁵ Upon further inspection, it was observed that among the 1893 items, 67% constituted news stories, 23% constituted opinion columns and the remaining 10% consisted of photo news, headlines and commentaries.

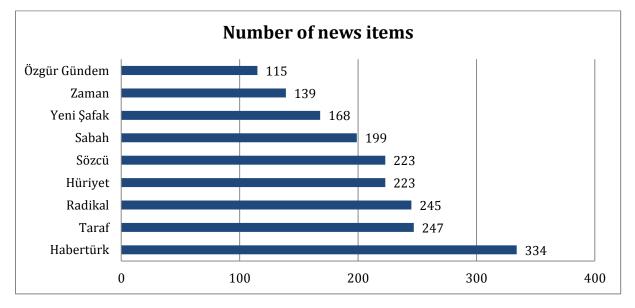




The number and variety of items published during the data collection period illustrates the interest of the print press towards the Gezi Events. The interest of the print press corroborated by the quantitative data emphasizes the parallelism between turbulent agenda of the political life and the speed of news production in the press.

Nonetheless, the number of items regarding the Gezi Events varied among the monitored newspapers. Habertürk, with 334 items, came the first in terms of the number of news items published on the issue and Özgür Gündem came the last with 115 items. Zaman, the newspaper with the highest circulation in the sample, published a total of 139 items.

¹⁵ The importance and impact of the images used by the print press during the Gezi Events necessiates a detailed content analysis; therefore, in the present study, visual content was not subjected to analysis.

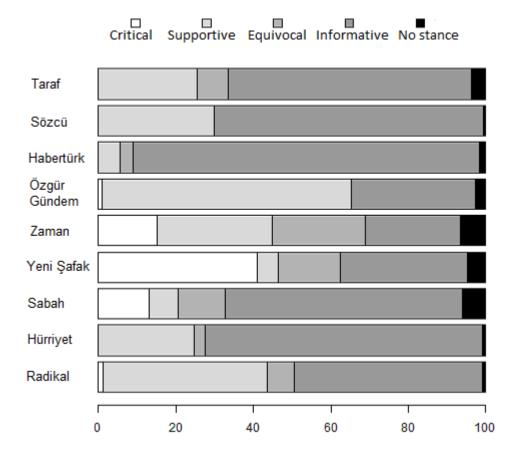


Graph 16:

It does not seem possible to suggest a meaningful explanation for the large variation among newspapers in terms of the total number of items they published on Gezi Events. The number of items published on the event can be reliably explained neither by the degree of interest shown by each newspaper nor by the newspapers' political stance toward the events. Nevertheless, the editorial policy, the manner of covering the news, and even the number of pages are plausible factors that predict the number of items published about Gezi Events.

3.a. Stances of Newspapers towards Gezi Events

When the overall stance of the press towards the protests was evaluated, it was seen that the editorial policies of the newspapers have been *cautious* following the unexpected outbreak of the Gezi Events. The number of news stories and opinion columns classified under the informative, no definite stance and equivocal categories, highly outnumbered the news stories and columns classified under supportive and critical categories. The higher proportion of the content adopting a cautious approach can be explained by the time period this study covers, a period when the political, social and legal dynamics of the Gezi Events just started to be apprehended and the Gezi Events was still ongoing.



Graph 17:

As seen from the graph above, news stories and columns regarding Gezi Events that were classified as informative, no stance and equivocal constitute more than half of all items. The proportion of content for each newspaper classified under these categories is as follows: Habertürk (94.3%), Sabah (79.9%), Hürriyet (75.4%), Taraf (74.6%), Sözcü (70.2%), Radikal (56.4%), Zaman (55.1%), and Yeni Şafak (53.6%). As the rankings indicate, Özgür Gündem differs from other papers in terms of the proportion of informative, no stance and equivocal content it published, which was 34.5%.

On the other hand, the comparison of the proportions of critical and supportive content revealed important clues about the editorial policies of papers concerning the Gezi Events. For Yeni Şafak Daily, having a relatively lower proportion of informative, equivocal and no stance content, the critical content (41%) gains weight, while this proportion is 15.2% and 1.2% in Zaman and Radikal, in respective order. If we evaluate the data based on supportive stance towards Gezi protests, it is possible to observe the divergence between Radikal and Zaman. In the Zaman Daily, where we observe a balanced distribution of all categories, the proportion of supportive content is 29.71% while this proportion is 42.4% in Radikal Daily. In other words, the editorial policy of Zaman differs from that of Radikal concerning the Gezi Events, such that in Zaman the critical content has a relatively higher proportion and the supportive content has a relatively lower proportion of 7.3% supportive content, together with Yeni Şafak daily (5.3%) and Habertürk daily (5.7%) published a smaller proportion of supportive content compared with the overall average proportion (25.6%) of supportive content. However, while 12.7% of the content published in Sabah had a critical stance, there was no news stories or columns in Habertürk criticizing the protests. This finding is striking

considering the fact that Habertürk was classified among the papers critical of the protests¹⁶ prior to research. In the Özgür Gündem daily where there are fewer instances under equivocal, informative, and no stance categories compared to other papers, the proportion of supportive content is 64.2%. The proportion of supportive content published in Hürriyet, Sözcü and Taraf, all among the papers with higher circulations, was around 20-30% and none of these newspapers published critical content.

Furthermore, while Sözcü did not publish any content that was classified as equivocal, in Hürriyet and 8.2% in Taraf dailies the proportion of equivocal content was 2.7%. Therefore, it is possible is to assert that these newspapers revealed their cautious attitude through the informative content they published instead of taking an equivocal stance or taking no stance at all.

In conclusion, even if we noticed an overall tendency towards publishing cautious content (news and columns with informative, equivocal or no stance contents), the political orientation of newspapers revealed itself as an important factor effecting/determining the editorial policy. It is possible to see how political orientations of papers differ from each other by looking at the following data:

1) The increase in proportion of content critical of the protests (e.g. Yeni Şafak) or supportive of the protests (e.g. Özgür Gündem) in newspapers where cautious content has a relatively lower proportion

2) The distribution of critical and supportive content in newspapers where cautious content has a relatively higher proportion.

3) The distribution of cautious (i.e. informative, equivocal, no stance) content,

4) How higher or lower the proportion of supportive and critical content of each paper is compared to the corresponding overall averages.

These findings enable us to examine similarities and differences between content commonly published and content published during Gezi Events in newspapers whose editorial polices and political attitudes we are already familiar with.

3.b. Differences between content of news stories and columns

The findings reveal that one of the factors affecting the formation of editorial policies is the different viewpoints endorsed by news stories and opinion columns. The analysis of this difference, which cannot be directly observed by looking at the overall distribution, is important for manifesting this commonly observed phenomenon. The differences between the content of news stories produced by news services and the opinions expressed by columnists hints at the fact that the newspapers do not have an absolute and homogenous editorial policy.¹⁷

¹⁶ The reason why Habertürk was classifed among the papers "critical of the protests" prior to research, was firstly because of the fact that on June 1 and 2 protests were not covered in headlines and secondly, because of the public reactions against Fatih Altaylı, editor in chief of Habertürk, following his interview with PM Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. Consequently, Habertürk was one of the papers included in boycott lists.

¹⁷ As mentioned above, dismissal of authors whose columns do not comply with the relevant editorial policies, is a frequently encountered condition in Turkey. This hints at censorship, on the one hand, and at the existence of a conflict of opinion within a newspaper as well as to the fact that editorial policies are not actually homogeneous. However, dismissals of journalists during Gezi Events might be evaluated as a tendency to homogenize editorial policies.

		Critical	Supportive	Equivocal	Informative	No Stance
Habertürk	Opinion column	0	46.34	26.82	14.63	12.19
Haberturk	News story	0	0	0	100	0
Hürriyet	Opinion column	0	80	12	4	4
nuniyet	News story	0	8.62	0	91.37	0
Özgür	Opinion column	0	95.45	0	0	4.54
Gündem	News story	1.17	54.11	0	42.35	2.35
Radikal	Opinion column	4.22	76.05	16.9	0	2.81
Ndukai	News story	0	24.05	1.26	74.68	0
Sabah	Opinion column	27.27	21.21	34.84	0	16.66
Sabali	News story	5.79	0.72	0.72	92.02	0.72
Sözcü	Opinion column	0	96.87	0	3.125	0
30200	News story	0	17.39	0	82.06	0.54
Taraf	Opinion column	0	66.03	22.64	1.88	9.43
Ididi	News story	0	14.13	4.18	79.58	2.09
Yeni Şafak	Opinion column	49.15	10.16	28.81	0	11.86
feni şalak	News story	38.83	1.94	4.85	53.39	0.97
Zaman	Opinion column	10.52	34.21	28.94	10.52	15.78
zaman	News story	17.34	27.55	21.42	30.61	3.06

Graph 18:

According to the data regarding the distribution of thematic emphases across different genres, while news services preferred to produce informative content, the columnists explicitly expressed their critical or supportive opinions of the protests. For example, while 74.7%, 91.4%, 82.1%, 79.6% of news stories published by the news services of Radikal, Hürriyet, Sözcü and Taraf, respectively, were informative, for opinion columns, this proportion ranged between 0-14%. In other words, while the news stories are used to produce informative content, the columns mostly convey a certain political attitude. Likewise, the proportion of columns published in the above-mentioned papers, that are supportive of the protests is 76.1%, 80%, 96.9%, and 66%, in the order of presentation. On the other hand, while 92% of the news stories published in Sabah daily were informative, it had a more oscillating position in terms of its columns, which were 27% critical and 21% supportive of the protests. However, when we look at the overall proportion of columns with supportive content published in Sabah daily (7.3%), supporting the protests does not present itself as a dominant political attitude. While the proportions of new stories classified as informative were 53.4% and 42.4% in Yeni Şafak and Özgür Gündem, respectively, the proportion of columns that were supportive of the protests was 49.1% and critical of the protests was 95.4%, again in the order of presentation. The differing political attitudes of these two papers, revealed by the overall proportions, become more apparent when we look into the content of news stories and columns. One the other side, Habertürk and Zaman showed different trends of all the papers examined. While Habertürk did not publish any news stories that were not informative, it also did not publish any columns that were critical of the protests. Furthermore, again in Habertürk, it was observed that the proportions of columns that had an equivocal stance (26.8%) and that expressed no stance (12.19%) were higher compared to other papers.

On the other hand, the balanced distribution of these proportions for both news stories and columns published in Zaman daily did not allow us to reveal any difference across the two genres. In Zaman daily, 10.5% of the opinion columns had a critical stance, 34.2% had a supportive stance, 28.9% had an equivocal stance and finally, 15.7% of the columns did not express any stance. Thus, of the two papers harboring similar proportions of cautious content, the proportion of columns supportive of the protests were 46.3% in Habertürk while this proportion was reduced to 34.2% in Zaman daily. Differing from Habertürk, 10.5% of the columns published in Zaman daily had a critical stance. Even though the difference between Habertürk and Zaman can be anticipated from these proportions, the political standing of both papers towards Gezi Events is ambiguous compared to the other papers.

On the basis of the findings presented above, it can be claimed that the editorial policy of a newspaper cannot be predicted by the content of news stories. To the contrary, the columns/ columnists, even though not quantitatively dominant, carry predictive power over editorial policies since they form and articulate opinions. Therefore, in order to understand the standpoint of a particular newspaper towards any issue, it is crucial to conduct a dichotomous investigation and analysis.

3.c. Discriminating Content in Newspapers

To understand the dominant thematic emphases of the overall content of the newspapers is crucial for analyzing discriminating discourse produced in the print press during the first week of the Gezi Events. Prior to coding, we designated six themes/emphases with a potential to result in discriminating discourse: fostering enmity, targeting, denigration, rhetoric of democracy, informative content and sole opposition. Among these themes, assumed to exist in the news content, the category labeled **fostering enmity** entails racism, ethnic and religious discrimination, xenophobia, polarization and hierarchization of social groups and economic conspiracy theories. The second category labeled **targeting** entails discriminating discourse that marginalizes or criminalizes certain social groups. The label **denigration**, which can encompass an infinite diversity of acts, is defined with regards to discriminating discourse based on the concepts of national will, democratic rights, condemnation of violence and multiculturalism. The **sole opposition** label implies discriminating discourse based on attribution of particular opinions regarding Gezi Events to a certain social group, political party, individual etc.

	Thematic Emphasis of News Content										
		Fostering			Rhetoric of	Sole					
	Other	Enmity	Targeting	Denigrating	Democracy	Opposition	TOTAL				
Habertürk	1	6	2	0	37	6	52				
Hürriyet	9	1	2	0	101	0	113				
Özgür Gündem	4	0	1	0	55	9	69				
Radikal	2	5	5	0	62	0	74				
Sabah	17	19	18	0	26	5	85				
Sözcü	3	3	3	0	34	27	70				
Taraf	4	7	3	0	76	11	101				
Yeni Şafak	4	64	19	0	32	23	142				
Zaman	1	1	5	0	76	2	85				
TOTAL	45	106	58	0	499	83	791				

Graph 19:

Above, we see the distribution of discriminating news stories and columns with different thematic emphases across newspapers. First, it should be noted that a particular news piece could have more than one theme; therefore, in some cases, a news item was counted more than once. Even though this way of analyzing the data could be quantitatively misleading, if a certain news item bears more than one emphasis in the framework of the production of discriminating discourse, it was considered as justified to represent that item more than once in terms of its impact. The distribution of data revealed that Yeni Şafak daily the produced the highest proportion of discriminating discourse with the themes fostering enmity, targeting, denigration, and sole opposition (101 news items). Other newspapers that produced discriminating discourse involving the same thematic categories are as follows, in rank order: Sabah (59), Sözcü (36), Taraf (26), Habertürk (15), Özgür Gündem (14), Hürriyet (12), Radikal (12) and Zaman (9). On the other hand, Hürriyet produced the highest proportion of discriminating discourse constructed by rhetoric of democracy (101 news items). This discourse was based on groups, which held different views about the fulfillment of requirements of democracy, blaming each other. Other newspapers that developed such a discourse are as follows in rank order: Taraf (76), Zaman (76), Radikal (62), Özgür Gündem (55), Habertürk (37), Sözcü (34), Yeni Şafak (32), Sabah (26). Based on this data, it is possible to assert that for newspapers that commonly produce discriminatory discourse using direct methods such as fostering enmity, targeting and sole opposition; the production of indirect discriminating discourse (i.e. rhetoric of democracy) is reduced.

3.d. The Cross Analysis of Newspapers' Stances Towards Gezi Events and Emphases of the News Items

One of the most important contributions of this study is the analysis of the relationship between the stance towards Gezi Events and the content/tone of the news items. Such an analysis will provide the opportunity to question the techniques used in news coverage/production, considering the fact that all news stories and columns, wherever they stand (critical, supportive, informative, equivocal or express no stance), have the potential to contain discriminating language/discourse.

Out of the news items with a critical stance against the Gezi Protests, which were published in Sabah and Yeni Şafak dailies, 10% in Sabah and 36.5% in Yeni Şafak involved discriminatory discourse based on "fostering enmity". For discriminatory discourse based on "targeting", these proportions were 31% and 10%, and finally, for discriminatory discourse based on "sole opposition" the proportions were 15% and 15%, all in respective order. On the other hand, in the news items with a supportive stance towards the protests, published in the same papers, the emphasis on "rhetoric of democracy" attracts attention. While the news content that does not take any stance against Gezi protests are mostly informative in Sabah daily, similar content in Yeni Şafak contain discriminating discourse based on "fostering enmity" (12.5%), "targeting" (12.5%), and "sole opposition" against certain targets (37.5%).

Prior to research, we assumed that Hürriyet, Zaman and Radikal dailies would take an equivocal stance towards the protests. After conducting the study, we saw that these papers published news content with a supportive stance and most of these contents were built on rhetoric of democracy and providing information regarding Gezi Events. However, 2% of the news items with a supportive stance were based on "fostering enmity" and 4% were based on "targeting". In Zaman daily, 10% of the supportive content involved the theme "targeting" and in Radikal daily, 50% of the news critical of the protests had the theme "fostering enmity" and "targeting".

Similarly, Taraf and Sözcü dailies, both of which supported the protests with their editorial policies, published news items with a supportive stance towards the Gezi protests that involved discriminating content based on "fostering enmity" and "sole opposition" against certain targets. Of the supportive news items published in Taraf daily, 1% contained discriminating discourse based on "fostering

enmity" and 8% contained discriminating discourse based on "sole opposition". On the other hand, these proportions were 3% and 29%, in respective order, in Sözcü daily. Furthermore, of the supportive news items published in Özgür Gündem, 1% contained "targeting" and 10% contained "sole opposition" against certain targets.

Finally, in Habertürk daily, endorsing an editorial policy based on strategies to criticize the protests; 4% of the supportive news items involved discriminating discourse based on "targeting", 12.5% were based on "sole opposition", finally 75% were based on "rhetoric of democracy". In the same newspaper, 29% of the news items both supportive of and critical of the protests were based on "fostering enmity", 14% on "sole opposition", and finally, of the news items that did not take any stance, 20% contained discriminating discourse based on "fostering enmity".

To conclude, the statistical relationship between the political standing of the newspapers towards Gezi Events and thematic emphases of the news contents reveals that discriminating discourse is produced regardless of political stance. However, it can be said that the thematic emphases of discriminating discourse were contingent on the political stances taken against the event.

3.e. Targets of Discriminating Discourse

Discriminating Discourse based on Fostering Enmity, Targeting and Denigration

Among the newspapers that produced discriminating discourse based on "fostering enmity" and "targeting", Yeni Şafak came first with 64 news stories and opinion columns in the first, and 19 items in the second category. Sabah came the second with 19 items in the first and 18 items in the second category. However, the quantitative difference between the two papers in their production of content based on "fostering enmity" necessitates handling Yeni Şafak daily separately.

In the production of discriminating discourse based on "fostering enmity", xenophobia was the most salient element in Yeni Şafak. Especially in stories where international governments, intelligence services, international investors and international media are the primary targets, the emphasis is made on the international sources of Gezi Events. In this framework, some of the keywords that give clues as to the use of discriminating language are as follows: the manipulation by foreign groups, ulterior motives of the West in their evaluation of the protests, foreign provocateur, foreign governments, to tame Turkey, foreign press, agents, Israel, instigation, agent-provocateur, international organization cutting down ads, methods of CIA, international foundation, intelligence organizations.¹⁸

Another salient feature of the news discourse was fuelling social polarization. This sort of discourse draws on the past and present dynamics of the country's politics while emphasizing social differences as differentiating factors. Salient keywords in such contents are as follows: headscarf, faithful segment, the new temple of the Left (referring to Gezi Park), Anıtkabir out, provocateur, chaos, wax-finished comical soldiers (referring to demonstrators in İzmir), revolutionary machos, political rant, anti-capitalist, artist, revolutionary, the resurgence of the pro-tutelage mentality, to go too far, instigators ready to ambush, Taksim Platform, çapulcu (looter), artist, foolish, adulation, ignominy,

¹⁸ For an article that contains phrases such as, "'An evil filthy conspiracy' camouflaged by 'innocent pauses'", deep barons, provocateurs with diplomatic passports, provocateurs, the Irish among us, militant media, evil calculation, international base, foreign nationality, intelligence member, and agent, please see: Tamer Korkmaz, "Pusudakiler", Yeni Şafak, 07.08.2013. URL:

http://yenisafak.com.tr/yazarlar/TamerKorkmaz/pusudakiler/38038

stupid, alcoholic çapulcu (looter), lazy generation, reclamation, manners, neo-nationalist, coup d'état, exploitation, white Turk.¹⁹

Discriminating discourse based on hierarchization of social groups can be described as making comparisons among groups and favoring one over the other. The most frequently encountered keywords in content classified under this category were as follows: Different segments at Gezi, Alewite-Sunnite, secular-religious, the young, innocent environmentalists, to be a decent person, those who prefer to perceive the events as hostility towards the ruling party and take advantage of the conflict, those who wish for a civil war, those who see fighting with the police as a political behavior, those who made a career out of vandalism or instigation of a coup d'état, demonstrators taking advantage of peaceful masses for their own provocation, demonstrators who mistakenly consider themselves as anti-authoritarian, protests of a group of high school kids not even in their puberty.²⁰

The least encountered content in Yeni Şafak, within the category of fostering enmity, is discourse built around economic concerns. The stories emphasizing the impact of Gezi Events on Turkey's economy involved the following keywords: political and economic harm, the trend Turkey attained in the last decade, the relationship between lumpen capital and the state, increase in unemployed young, economic stability, IMF.²¹

Upon having a closer look at all the keywords and situating them in Turkey's political context, it is observed that, indeed, the categories cannot be evaluated independently from one another and that they have intersections. In conclusion, discriminating discourse based on "fostering enmity" both targets social groups that gained prominence during Gezi Events as internal enemies, and portrays foreign individuals and organizations, who were either considered as the sources or the instigators of Gezi Events, as external enemies.

With regards to discourse based on "targeting", Sabah and Yeni Şafak produced an equivalent number of stories. In this content category, where an effort was made to exclude or criminalize certain groups, the most striking keywords were as follows: those playing pot and pan, Marxist terrorists and provocateurs, Republic Protests, provocation of Ergenekon circles and opposition parties, alcohol lobby, "the police has no culpability", Marxists and Maoists, media valeting the demonstrators, the provocation of CHP circles and nationalist Jacobins, DHKP-C, TİKKO, "this has far gone from the purpose of protecting the green", to prevent opportunists slandering the "Don't touch my park and life" protest you started without herding any ideology, "What are flags with the hammer and the sickle, even extinguished in Russia, doing in Taksim?", "Fractions left over from Tito's Yugoslavia", weird images of parties and fractions, "you are paralyzing life in the city", personally harmed people, those who want to make a splash from love for trees, exploitation, those groups, the

¹⁹ For an article that contains phrases such as, Muharrem İnce got out of control, one-eyed half-witted fake guerilla members, well-off clowns, so-called artists that became symbols of artificiality, blindness and vandalism, wax-finished comical soldiers, please see: Ömer Lekesiz, "Rağmen", Yeni Şafak, 05.06.2013. URL: http://yenisafak.com.tr/yazarlar/OmerLekesiz/ragmen/38013

²⁰ For an article that contains phrases such as, artists, marginals, those who call themselves militarists, several well-intentioned youngsters steered away from their struggle, may a looter ever be a businessman, cheap heroes, and sign of honour(!), please see: Mehmet Ziya Gökalp, "Direnişte en ucuz yol çapulcu işadamlığı", Yeni Şafak, 07.06.2013. URL: http://yenisafak.com.tr/yazarlar/ZiyaGokalp/direniste-en-ucuz-rol-capulcu-isadamligi/38033

²¹ For an article that contains phrases such as, the trend Turkey attained in the last decade, IMF, a lumpen capital that made a habit out of earning money from money, easy income methods maintained by this capital through its corrupt relations with the state, the concoction of the Gezi Park issue, please see: Süleyman Seyfi Öğün, "Gezi Parkı notları", Yeni Şafak, 06.06.2013. URL:

http://yenisafak.com.tr/yazarlar/SuleymanSeyfiOgun/gezi-parki-notlari/38018

sincerity of some citizens, streets closed up by the protestors, war zone, illegal organizations, POMA²², conflict, (the recycler man) thrown down the bridge (by the protesters), partisan of terrorist organization, MLKP, Revolutionary High-schooners, TKP.²³

Differing from Yeni Şafak, the keywords identified in Sabah daily were as follows: Taksim, streets, drugs, wave of anger surpassing opposition of CHP, protester violence, Molotov cocktail, the internet program Zell, marginal task force, agitating people, MOBESE, organizing the young.²⁴

As revealed by the keywords, discourse of the news items in both newspapers aim to judge and target others based on their own political or religious standpoint. When each key word is evaluated with reference to debates on the agenda, the message aimed to be given and the discursive methods can be understood more clearly. Again, by examining the keywords, it is seen that different fragments of Gezi Events and their life styles are characterized by certain terms bearing negative connotations within the context of the stories. The social groups mentioned above are mostly targeted on the grounds that they are the perpetrators of political exploitation.

Another striking point revealed by the findings is the fact that no discriminating content based on denigration of gender or gender identity was encountered in any newspaper. Actually, a few stories regarding the visibility of LGBT during the Gezi Events were published in Radikal, Özgür Gündem, Taraf, and Habertürk dailies. However, in Sabah, Zaman, Yeni Şafak and Hürriyet dailies no content was observed regarding LGBT individuals. The limited coverage of LGBT individuals by the print press, being relatively less than the coverage of other social groups bring with it the risk for LGBT to be ignored. When the close relationship between the categories is considered, the absence of such discourse does not conceal the discrimination LGBT are subjected to through being ignored.

Discriminating Discourse based on Sole Opposition

Discriminating discourse based on "sole opposition" against a particular social group, political party or individual was encountered most frequently in Sözcü daily with 27 such stories. Yeni Şafak followed Sözcü with 23 stories. The fact that these two papers contained an equivalent number of stories within the "sole opposition" category and the highest number of such stories do not indeed seem surprising. The two papers, known to be in opposite political poles, cultivate opposition based on the references of the other.

When discriminating discourse based on "sole opposition" in Yeni Şafak is examined, the following keywords are encountered: CHP mentality, psychological warfare, February 28, malice, struggling Ezidi mentalities, reaction against the government, status quoist forces, overthrowing the government, trap, chaotic atmosphere, opposition, those who want to take advantage of the conflict, indecisive opposition, pro-Ergenekon-neo-nationalist-status quoist forces, Janissary looters,

²² "Intervention Vehicle for Communal Events" abreviated as TOMA are water cannon trucks commonly used by the police forces during the protests. During the protests, a group took control of a construction vehicle in Besiktas and chased the police. They called it POMA, which was a word game on TOMA meaning "Intervention Vehicle for Police Events".

²³ For an example that contains the following phrases, Marxist terroist groups, slanderers blinded by ambition, those playing pots and pans, Marxist terrorists and provocateurs, provocations of the opposing parties, alcohol lobby, enemies of the ballot box; please see Hasan Celal Güzel, "Demokrasimizi deldirmeyiz, başbakanımızı yedirmeyiz", Sabah, 04.06.2013. URL:

http://www.sabah.com.tr/Yazarlar/guzel/2013/06/04/demokrasimizi-deldirmeyiz-basbakanimizi-yedirmeyiz

²⁴ For a sample item that contains phrases such as, marginal segments, illegal organizations, neo-nationalist and partly fascist opportunists who only look after their own interests, crudeness; please see: Yasin Doğan, "Fırsatçılar ve düşen maskeler...", Yeni Şafak, 05.06.2013.

URL: http://yenisafak.com.tr/yazarlar/YasinDogan/firsatcilar-ve-dusen-maskeler/38006

terrorizing the streets, policy of exploitation, political project, lacking opposition, CHP turned demonstration for democratic demands into a street protest, trying to tweak democracy, Republic celebration walk.²⁵

By examining the keywords encountered in Yeni Şafak, it is possible to see that "sole opposition" discourse mainly targets the Republican People's Party (CHP). The use of adjectives such as neonationalist and status quoist to describe CHP and phrases such as overthrowing the government, trap, and policy of exploitation reveals that Yeni Şafak prefers to fabricate conspiracy theories and to stay on defense in its opinion formation process.

On the other hand, the keywords used by Sözcü were as follows: "One Minute's Darkness for the Sake of Perpetual Light" Protest, footsteps of fascism, glorious resistance, authoritarian ferocity, Mr. Tayyip, the person who always creates tension, partisan businessmen and political parties, pro-Sharia zealots, AKP's game, religion trade, religious exploitation, oppressive regime, power-drunk, teachers wearing headscarves, an attitude of infallibility, Kadir Topbaş at least has some dignity, relentless police state, the person called Tayyip, arrogance of a dictator, one man power, PKK rags, thousands of AKP supporters assembled by a text message.²⁶

In Sözcü daily, opposition strategies used against the ruling party are built on national values and exclusionary secularism. The keywords such as "pro-Sharia zealots", "religion trade", and "religious exploitation" point at religious factors, whereas phrases such as "the person who always creates tension" and "an attitude of infallibility" point at the ruling party and the personality of the Prime Minister as targets.

As revealed by the keywords, attitude of both newspapers towards the political groups with opposing standpoints was the main source of discriminating discourse they endorsed. Yeni Şafak based its criticisms of Gezi Events on concepts supposed to be represented by CHP and adopted a conspiratorial attitude, whereas Sözcü based its support for Gezi Events on the current policies of AK Party and adopted an oppositional attitude. This may serve as an example of debates in Turkey's political arena being reflected in the media outlet. To conclude, analysis of media discourse demonstrated that political conflicts constitute an important source of discriminatory discourse based on "sole opposition" against the "other".

Discriminating Discourse based on Rhetoric of Democracy

Up to this point, we tried to understand the references utilized in the production of direct discriminatory discourse during Gezi Events. To pinpoint discriminatory discourse built on rhetoric of democracy is not as simple as the first. The reason for this is the use of rather implicit references. Moreover, the overall gist of this type of content is considered as "politically correct" since the arguments are grounded on the concept of democracy. As a matter of fact, the greatest number of news item belonged to this category. This might be due to the fact that discriminating discourse permeates to politics and political discourse in Turkey and is produced on a nonconscious level.

²⁵ For a sample article that contains phrases such as, pro-Ergenekon--neo-nationalist—status quoist forces, Janissary looters, dark spheres and political looters, illegal organizations that collaborate with well-known governments -adversaries of Turkey- terrorizing the streets, and policy of exploitation; please see, Mehmet Metiner, "Başbakanı yedirmeyiz", Yeni Şafak, 06.06.2013.

URL: http://yenisafak.com.tr/yazarlar/MehmetMetiner/basbakani-yedirmeyiz/38020

²⁶ For a sample article that contains phrases such as, a person called Tayyip, Tayyip mayyip, one man power, their envy for an oppressive regime and sultanate; please see, Emin Çölaşan, "Koyun sürüsü(!) uyanınca", Sözcü, 04.06.2013. URL: http://sozcu.com.tr/2013/yazarlar/emin-colasan/koyun-surusu-uyaninca-307237/

In this section, we preferred to conduct an overall content analysis rather than looking at each newspaper separately. The slippery concept of democracy in today's society and especially its usage during the Gezi Events make it more appropriate to conduct an overall analysis. Besides, it would be ill-advised to judge the editorial policy of a newspaper based on the content of news stories and columns as they have differing understandings of democracy.

In this context, the keywords encountered in the content supportive of the protests were as follows: Tahrir of Turkey, arrogance, "enough", democracy garden, the President is disconnected from the public, from Kasımpaşa, oppression, an attitude that declares all, who do not adhere to one's moral values, as second-class citizens, archaic democracy, adolescent syndrome which involves trying to get approval from a father figure, a single moral code, tear gas, police violence, 'police, do not terrorize,' a government that has 50% visual and auditory impairment, bad management, uncompromising, stubbornness, polluted power, a government that castigates, feeds, and claims guardianship, AKP turning into a state, divisive discourse, Gezi Spring, police oppression, rhetoric of "because, I said so", oppressive government, fear politics, forces against life, rebellion against authoritarianism, power drunk, threatening tone, a sovereignty that is crazy for the 50%, initiatives to personalize the government, irresponsibility of AKP.

Murat Utkucu, while criticizing the attitude of the ruling party during the Gezi Events uses the simile, "The ruling party is **'intoxicated'** by the feeling of having excessive power, as much as I would not like to make this simile, it has the self-confidence of a typical 'drunkard' needling here and there, making a great display." With such a statement, Utkucu responds to the Prime Minister's targeting discriminatory statements and uses the word "drunkard" referring to PM Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's frequent criticisms against alcohol users. He reflects this criticism back to his party's government, by embracing the word "drunkard" which the PM commonly uses with a negative connotation. Just as the pejorative word used by the Prime Minister contains discriminatory elements, using the same adjective for the ruling party, which frequently expresses its faith in Islamic values, is effective but at the same time bears a quality that reproduces discriminatory discourse.

Her taraf

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Makûs talihi değiştiren park Makûs talihi değiştiren park Mesele Gezi Parkırım ağaçları değil sadece, biliyoruz. Bir kedinin de sikşişli köşeden hasmının üzerine atıldığı bir an yar ve bu kez kedi, farklı olduğu için aşağılanan ve çocuk yerine konulan haktı; (Cok tanıdık geldi değil mi hani bidon kafalar filan) ve 31 Mayıs 2013'te kedi sıçradı. İleride tarihçiler buşünü anlatırken makûs talihi değiştiren bir parktan söz edecek ve ihtimal insanlar anlamakta zorlanacak. Oysa Erdoğan, Kasımpaşalı küthanbeyi edasıyla halka güven aşılanıştı. Saminniydi, dobraydı, ağırına geleni söyilyör, tartmıyordu. İlesapsızdı. Ama bir

zamanlar hanesine puan yazan bu özellikler, gün gelip halk ayaklammasının sebeplerinden biri oluverdi. Çünkü Erdoğan, her muktedir gibi güçlendikçe ilahlaştı ve bir tanrı gibi katdısıne iman etti. Zalimleşirken hâlâ kendini mazlum ilan edebiliyor, bu toprakların kadım mazlumlarını marjinal diye aşağılıyordu. Hâlbuki bir zamanlar Hz. Muhammed de Mekke'nin marjinali değil miydi? Zerdüştler, ateistler, Aleviler, içki işçiler, taşerona direnenler, muhalif Kürtler vesaire ülke çoğunluğunu marjinal ilan edip üstfinü çlerken hâlâ yüzde eli oy orarınından söz ediyordu Başbakanı Nihayetinde, yüzbimlerce eylemciyi ve enteri kopardı. Kaddafi de yayaklanmacılara böcek demiyor muydu? Ve Erdoğan, yüksek aklıyla Kaddafi'yi uyanp durmuyor muydu? Şimdi dünyada Türk Bahar'ndan söz edilirken mesela kanserli kıza sadaka vermeye kalkan bakanım harcayarak bu işten sıyrılabileceğini sanmıyor herhalde?

siyrilabileccğini sanmıyor horhalde; Sokaklar hâlâ dolu ve boşalacağa benzemiyor. Birkaç gün sonra tansiyon düşse bile bir zamanlar örgüt evi iddiasıyla yoksul öğrenci evleri basılıp da gencecik solcu delikanlı ve kızlar kurşuna dizilirken alkış tutanların çocukları, artik polisi, genzindeki gaz yanşısı sırtındaki çop izinden tanıyor, Şu ⊡na kadar yüzbinlerce insan bu teması yaşadı ve yaşayacak görünüyor, Polis şiddetinin devletin Osmanlı'dan miras tokadı rolis şiddetinin devletin Osmanlı'dan miras tokadı olduğunu çoğu yeni öğrendi. Öğrenmek de devrimcidir bazen. Eski rejimin dışladığı halk adına İktidara geldiğini söyleyen AKP, devletin tokadı olduğunu ülkenin bütün meydanlarında bir kez daha gösterdi.

"Her yer Taksim, her yer direniş" Erdoğan pervasızlığıyla öyle bir tablo yarattı ki meydanlara akanların sadece niceliği değil niteliği de herkesi hayrete düşürdü. Aynı sokakta, barikatın arkasında komünist devrimci demokrat gençlerle uluşalcılar yan yana görünüyor ve günlerdir İbrahim Kaypakkaya, Mahir Çayan gibi devrimci önderlerin posterleri yanında Türk bayraklı çeylemciler yan yana gelebiliyor. İlk kez bayrak, "eski rejim"in

"Durun!" diyor bir avuç genç. 9urmuyorlar. "Yapmayın" diyo Durmuyorlar. diyor. Yapıyorlar. Bir anda halk, kim olduğunun farkına varıyor. Ezildikçe çoğalıyor. Tükenmiyor tüketilemiyor

Yayımlanmasını istediğiniz yazılarınızı 4500 karakterden fazla olmamak kaydıyla, word dosyasına kayıtlı ve unvanınız, mesleki bilgileriniz eklenmiş hâlde "hertaraf@taraf.com.tr" mail adresine gönderebilirsiniz.



simgesi olmaktan çıkıp taşıyanın eylem içindeki duruşu ile bütünleşiyor nötralize oluyor. Simgeler önemli olmakla birlikte belirleyici olan eylemin niteliği ve Gezi Parta Eylemi Taksim üzerinden yüzbinlerce insanı bir şekilde sola kaydınıyor. **"Her yer** taksim, her yer direnişi" sloganı kim atarsa atsın, atanın angajmanını sarsacak güce sahip bir rota çünkü. Taksim'in kadim kızıl hatırası bugün Gezi Parkı'nın ağaçları üzerine vurdukça kızıl hatirası bugun Gezi Park ağaçları üzerine vurdukça katılımcılar da bu renkten nasibini istese de istemese de alıyor. Elbette bir yere kadar! de

Bir ağacın hayat hakkını savunmak gibi eşi benzeri az görülür bir masumiyete karşı estirilen polis terörü, kitlelerin sokağa çıkması ve bir daha evlerine dönmemesinin sebebi oldu

Meydanlarda yüzbinlerin defalarca attığı **"Paşizme karşı** o**muz omuza"** sloganı, eylemin rengini koruyan bariyer görevi görüyor asılında. Eyleme katılan ülkücülerin bile herhalde hayatlarında ilk kez attıkları bu

henüz teoriyle taçlandırmış değil ve bu teorinin ne olacağı meydanın nabzını kimin tutacağına bağlı...

tutacağına bağlı... Kiteler eylem içinde öğrenip dönüğüyor Ne olursa olsun, apolitik yüzbinlerce insanı meydanlara çeken ve günlerce direnmesini sağlayan başta Sayın Başbakan olmak üzere polis teşkilatımızın gazlayan, coplayan ve su sıkan bütün personelini tek tek kutlamak gerekiyor. Başbakan çok hakl... Kervan yolda düzülüyor, kitleler eylem içinde öğrendiğüyor. Son olarak, "Tirk Bahan"nın siyasi sonuçlarını buşdınden testirmek zor görünse de şu an için Başbakan dChil herkesin öğrendiği bir gerçek var: 1. Taksim kestirmek zor görtinse de su an için Başbakan dÜhli herkesin öğrendiği bir gerçek var: **1. Taksim** b**u tilkenin direniş kalesidir.** Ezilenin, mazlumun kendini iyi hissettiği bir yedir. Çünkü direniş iyileştiri. **2. Taksim, 1 Mayıs Meydam'tir.** Bu haktat **Gerşenin Başbaş Başbaş Başbaş** çabadır. Ülkenin en karizmatik başbakanının yasaktan bir ay sonra düştüğü trajik durum ortadadır. **3. Taksim'e çıkan da çıkana karşı koyan da bir daha jifah olmamaktadır.** Meydana girmek ve orada kalmak için polis şiddetinin her türlisüne katlanan yüzbinlerin artık eskisi gibi olamayacağı aşıkfardır. Çünkü cop bilinçlendirir. Kafaya incen her cop darbesi kırk kitapıtan daha aydınlatıcıdır. 4. Taksim, bütün ülkeyi harekete geçirecek manevi olakuya kantlamıştır. Kudreti, solun kantlamıştır. Kudreti, kudrete sahip bir meydan olduğunu kantlamıştır. Kudreti, solun kadim ve direnişçi geleneğinden ve meydanda hatıraları yatan ölülerinden gelmekte, halka sirayet etmektedir. Şimdi sıra **Taksim Ruhu**nun, direnişçileri kardeşlik barıkatının edir. arkasına çağırmasında. Belki de bu, Barş'ın tesisi için bir büyük şans olacak.



Taksim Gezi Parki'ndaki ağaçların kesilmemesine yönelik barışçı direnişle başlayıp polisin müdahatesi nedeniyleye'ye yayılan destek gösterileri, polisin çekilmesiyle, paylaşımın hakim olduğu bakim olduğu bayanışma hareketine

As in Utkucu's article, Ayşe Batumlu's article also endorses a supportive stance towards Gezi Events. However, in Batumlu's piece it is being questioned why the political reactions expressed during Gezi protests haven't been expressed for other events that happened in Turkey, with the reproachful statement "Where have you been before?" The author's examples focus on the Uludere/Roboski

massacre as revealed by the striking statements that read "Let's come to more recent times. Even the Roboski massacre realized 525 days ago was not able to stop you from watching "love is a fairy tale" series" or "When 34 saplings in Roboski, just like many others, were killed extrajudicially by the state, let alone getting up, didn't you even have the strength to touch on your light switches?" With such statements involving the second-person plural pronoun, Batumlu adopts a discourse with a potential to create a we / you contrast. She bases her piece on a hierarchization of suffering by juxtaposing the feelings of people that participated in the Gezi Events and lost their loved ones to the suffering of Kurds as a result of the mass violence against Kurds committed by governments.



ğında, küçük Uğur 13 devlet kurşunuyla katledildiğinde, Ceylan'ın küçük bedeni havan mermisiyle dağıtıldığında, küçük Enes'in ve onlarcasının eylemlerde gaz bombası ve plastik mermiyle katledilişinde verilen "kaza" süsüne inandınız diyelim. Onlarca, yüzlerce böyle vakada, ulaşılabilir gerçek kaynaklara ulaşamıyordunuz ve devletinize kondurulan toza da inanasınız gelmiyordu belki. Peki ama "sosyal medya" denilen sansürsüz kanal açıldıktarı çok sonra da devam eden onlarca "suç" karşısında ya da bireysel süsü verilen Hrant cinayetindeki sahte yargılamada verilen "bireysel" ve düşük cezalar karşısında nasıl "sakin" olabildiniz böylesine?

Tamam, çoğunuz çok gençti yukarıda saydıklarımın bir kısmı olurken. Daha yakına gelelim o halde. 525 gün önce işlenen Roboski Katliamı'da mı kaldıramadı en sevdiğiniz "aşk bir masal" dizisinin başından sizi?

Yok sayılmaya, aşağılanmaya tepki göstermek, alkışlanası bir duruş; yaşam tarzına müdahaleye "dur" demek çok onurlu bir tutumdur. Saltanatın karşısına dikilmek de, dünyanın en kadim canlısı ağaca sahip çıkmak da dört kitapta da insanlık kanunlarında da yeri olan büyük birer erdemdir. Elbette Gezi Parkı'nın çok ötesine geçen bu direnişn içinde yer almak boynumuzun borcu, tabiatımızın gereğidir. Ama Roboski'de 34 fidan, tıpkı diğerleri gibi devlet dersinde yargısız sualsız katledildiğinde, sözüm tepki gösterenlerden dışan, çoğunuzun bırakın yerinizden kalkmayı, lambalannızın düğmesine dokunmaya bile mi mecali yoktu? İşte bunu anlayamıyorum bir türlü...

Sıra geldi bündan sonrasına. Yok sayılan, diline mühür, eline kelepçe, geleceğine ipotek konan Kürt halkının varlık mücadelesinin neresinde olacaksınız, bireysel tarihinize geçecek bu onurlu direnişinizin ardından? Ki eğer gerçek bir özgürlük kalkışmasıysa "Gezi" direnişi, yanıtı bellidir bu sorunun. Elbette ezilen,

hakları için direnen ve varlık ve statü mücadelesi veren Kürt halkının yanında "edi bese" diyecektir. Gezi Direnişçileri, Gezi'de onlara "yetti be" dedirten öfkeyle.

Aksi fenadır!

Padişahların geçişi sırasında askerler padişahı görmeye gelen kalabalığı dağıtmak için "çabuk dağılın" anlamında "yort savul" derlermiş. Ama Ece Ayhan, "boğaziçi bir istanbul ırmağdır, nice akar huruc alessultanlarda bayraksız davulsuz" dizelerini içeren müthiş şiirinde, hükmedenin değil tüm direnenlerin isyan sloganı haline dönüştürmüştür onu. İşte o dizelerdeki gibi "yort savul" olabilmeli bu direniş. Bu direnişe ulusalcıların renginin hakim olmasına izin vermek, onu direniş olmaktan çıkarır, darbe çağırsına dönüştürür. Direnişin Kürtler dışındaki unsurları, açığa çıkan bu kendiliğinden, bu muazzam bir aradalığı Kürt hak mücadelesi ile birleştirmek gerektiğini görmezden gelir, "Gezi"yi demokrasi ve özgürlük kalkışmasına dö nüştüremezlerse, yaşanan, vuslata ermeyen bir anı olarak kalır belleklerde. Çok ama çok yazık olur...

In his piece, Mehmet Türker, while supporting the Gezi protests and the protesters, bases his criticisms on the ruling party and the PM Recep Tayyip Erdoğan who negotiated with the Kurdish movement during the peace process. The author addresses the PM with the phrase "Mr. Tayyip", and accuses the PM for protecting "herds of pro-PKK murderers" while firing tear gas to the protesters. It

was observed that Türker adheres to discriminating discourse based on opposition and fostering enmity targeting the Kurdish movement, as well as the PM for executing the peace process.

PKK ile barıştı halkla kavga ediyor!

Mehmet TÜRKER

Bu ülkenin Başbakanı, 30 yıldır Türkiye'nin kanını emen, 8 bin askerimizi şehit eden ve 40 bin insanımızın ölümüne neden olan PKK'lı teröristleri affederek, sorgusuz sualsiz ülkeyi terk etmelerine izin verdi; baskıya karşı tepki koyan, yeşile ve kentine sahip çıkanlarla kavga etmeye başladıl.. 2 bine yakın terörist elini kolunu salla-

2 bine yakın terörist elini kolunu sallayarak, Türk halkına nanik yaparak gidiyor, ama halkımız hak arayınca "çapulcu" oluyor, gazlanıyor, coplanıyor!...

Kentleri yakıp yıkan, araçları ateşe veren, camı çerçeveyi indiren, polise molotoflarla, havai fişeklerle, taşlarla saldıran PKK kuyrukları şeker çocuk oldu, tertemiz duygularla tepki gösteren, baskıcı rejime direnen halk aşağılanıyor!..

* * *

İktidar, "Aman kızmasınlar, bizim rahatımızı bozmasınlar, seçimlere giderken maraza çıkarmasınlar" diye PKK karşısında teslim bayrağını çekiyor, sürekli alttan alıyor;

Dayatmacılığa, yasakçılığa, hayat tarzına kanşmaya, ülkenin İslami reflekslerle yönetilmeye kalkışılmasına tepki gösterenlerin gözüne biber gazı sıkılıyor!..

Ülkesini seven gençler, sade vatandaşlar artık çileden çıkmış vaziyette!..

Halkın sokaklara dökülmesinin asıl nedeni, iktidarın **çemberi daraltıp** insanların adeta boğazını sıkmasıdır!..

* * *

Diyarbakır'dan İzmir'e terfi eden Vali Mustafa Toprak'ın dünyadan haberi yok!..

lik gün sopalarla, demir çubuklarla insanları döven şahısların polis olmadığını söyleyen vali, gerçeği bir gün sonra Emniyet Müdürü'nden öğrenmiş, "Sopalı polis mi olur?" diyor!..

Ohur!..

Ülke diktacı yöntemlerle idare edilirse, ortaya eli sopalı, demir çubuklu sivil polisler de çıkar ve "rejim muhafızı" olarak adam dövmeye başlar!..

Ülke diktacı yöntemlerle idare edilirse, polis kaşkları üzerindeki numaralar da kapatılır ve insanlar kim vurduya gider!.. * * *

Tayyip Bey, turistik K. Afrika gezisine çıkarken twitter'ın yeni bir bela olduğunu söylemişti!..

Sosyal medya iktidara direnişin öncüsü olunca, **Tayyip Bey** küplere bindi!.. Onun acısı üç gün sonra İzmir'de çı-

karıldı ve insan avı başlatıldı!.. "Sosyal medyada halkı isyana teşvik ettikleri" iddiasıyla ve organize suç kapsamında evlere başkınlar yaptılar, şimdilik 26 kişiyi gözaltına aldılar!..

Bu kadanna da "yuh" denilmez de ne denir?!.

* * *

Çankaya'nın 11'incisi ile Başbakan vekili **Bülent**, demokrasi numaralanyla güya toplumu yumuşatmaya çalışıyor!.. **Hikaye!..**

Tayyip Bey geziden dönünce çıkıp, "Bunlar (çapulcular) Türkiye'nin imajını zedelediler, ekonomiyi hiç düşünmediler, devlet ve şahıs mallarına zarar verdiler" diyerek hak arayanları suçlar, kendini temize çıkarmaya çalışırsa hiç şaşmavın!..

Tayyip Bey artık bütün Türkiye'nin değil, yandaşlarının başbakanıdır!..

Haklı tepkilerini gösterenlere "capulcu" diyen Başbakan Türkiye'yi yönetme iradesini kaybetmiştir!..

Asker meşru müdafaa halinde!..

TAYYIP Bey'in affedip ülkeden çıkmalarına izin verdiği PKK'li katil sürüleri giderken herhalde bir "veda hatırası" (!) bırakmak için karakoldaki askerlere taciz ateşi açmış!..

Bir askerin yaralandığı olayda, karakoldan da teröristlere ateşle karşılık verilmiş...

Genelkurmay teröristlere açılan ateşi, "meşru müdafaa hali" olarak açıklıyor!.. Yani, terörle mücadele değil!..

Acaba "Biz onlan görmezden geldik, fakat ateş açılınca da kusura bakmasınlar kendimizi savunmak zorunda kaldık, özür dileriz" demek mi istiyorlar?..

lş artık bu noktaya geldi, asker terörle mücadele etmiyor kendini savunuyor!.. Aman yanlış anlaşılmasın, kimse kız-

masın çözülme süreci aksamasın!.. Ne hale geldik farkında mısınız?..

As revealed by the keywords, stories supportive of the protests are based on feelings of anger and resentment that have the potential to support discriminative discourse. Such discourse, in some

cases, involves denouncement of the ruling party and Recep Tayyip Erdogan, in other cases, creates a we / you contrast, and while in other cases, fosters enmity.

The keywords encountered in stories critical of the protests were as follows: Ballot box, deflection from the goal, instigation, undemocratic, normalization, election, naive citizens, wannabe, public's will, fifty percent, the protest at the beginning, getting out of hand, those who want to turn Turkey into Syria, showing off power, alcoholism, property damage, those who make sincere demands, those who damage public property, minority, majority, uncontrollable streets, advanced democracy.

Sevilay Yükselir tries to investigate why Gezi protests got more intense and draws attention to how the legitimate goal of the protests was altered. The author, in her evaluation of the motives of people with whose viewpoints and actions she does not agree with, uses statements such as "pursesnatchers who want to take advantage of conflictual atmosphere in the streets", "scurvy and treacherous dark forces", "a terrifying plot in which global actors are involved as well", "Some want everywhere to become Sivas, everywhere to become Madımak". Such statements, on the one hand, bear the risk to public trust and to target the legitimacy of Gezi protests and on the other, cultivate the concept of an enemy whose identity we cannot clearly define. For this reason, it can be argued that the content of the column is based on warning the readers against the dangers of an indefinite enemy.

Oyun büyük! Bu oyuna gelmeyelim!

ağlığımla ilgili sıkıntılar devam ettiğinden her gün, her dakika sokağa çıkıp, "Neler oluyor memlekette?" sorusunun karşılığını yoklayamıyorum. 10 gündür yaşananları hem sos yal medya ve basından, hem görevi icabı meydanlarda yatıp kalkan muhabir arkadaşlardan, hem de eylemci arkadaşlardan takip ediyo rum. Sokağın yaşadıkları-

nı her daim canlı canlı izlemeye alışık bir muhabir, gözlemci için çok hoş bir durum değil belki bu durum ama olan bitene dışarıdan, tamamen objektif bir gözle bakmak için de inanılmaz bir fırsat yakaladığımı düşünüyorum.

Televizyonun karşısında oturup gün boyu Türkiye'de yaşananlarla ilgili yurtiçi ve yurtdışındaki yayınları izlemek, iktidarı canhıraş savunan kalemler dahil, eylemlerle ilgili tüm yazılıp çizilenleri okumak ister istemez fotoğrafı daha büyük görmemi sağlıyor

Şaka maka iyi oldu aslında bu benim için. Cünkü belki ben de sokakta olsaydım insanların duygu ve düşüncelerini anlamak için, olayları bu kadar büyük pencereden izleme şansına sahip olamayacaktım. Öğrencilik yıllarımdan bilirim. Meydanlara daldığınızda ruhunuz ister istemez etkilenir o havadan. Giderken bi başka, gittikten sonra bambaşka bi ruh haline bürünürsünüz. Meydan size göre her şeyi anlatıyordur; oysa değildir. Bir meydanlar, sokaklar vardır, bir de o meudanların, sokakların havasından faydalanmak isteyen kapkapçılar



YÜKSELİR

vardır. Bazılarına bakarsanız bugün meydanlar sadece demokrasi ve özgürlük çığlıkları atan insanlarla dolup taşı yor. Onlara göre bilgisayarının başından kalkıp sokaklara akan yeni bir nesil var ve bu yeni nesil geleceğinin bu iktidarın istediği gibi değil, kendi istediği gibi şekillenmesini istiyor. Ama isin aslı o

değil! Evet o yeni nesil sokaklarda haykırıyor;

"Yaşam tarzıma dokunma" diyerek ama diğer yanda da pislik ve hain birtakım karanlık güçler pek bi heyecanlı olan o yeni nesli nasıl kullanacağının planlarını vapıvor

Olay büyük değerli okurlarım Emin olun şu anda, çıktığı noktadan bambaşka bir yerlerde. Ve ne yazık ki göremiyor insanlar bunu. Sırf Recep Tayyip Erdoğan'a ya da onun iktidarına hasmane duygularından dolayı kendini meydanın coşkusuna kaptıran son derece akliselim insanlar bile rüzgâra kaptırmış bi halde tam gaz sürdürüyor "eylemler devam etsin" alkışını. Oysa iş artık Gezi Parkı projesine karşı olmaktan çıktı ve küresel aktörlerin de dahil olduğu korkunç bir kumpasa dönüstü.

Birileri diyebilir ki şimdi; "Ne diyorsun Sevilay? Ne kumpası, ne kirli elleri? Hükümet ağzıyla konuşma lütfen! Gör artık gözünün önündeki gerçeği. Ayrıca ne Gezi'si, ne parkı! O bir kıvılcım oldu. Biz sadece Gezi için değil artık, canımızı sıkan her şey için sokaktayız! Hükümetin yaşam tarzlarımızla ilgili

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uygulamalarına, yeni çıkardı ğı kanunlarına ya da düzenlemelerine, eğitim sisteminde yaptığı köklü değişikliklere, 3. köprüye Yavuz adının verilmesine hayır demek için meydanlardayız! Ben de o zaman onlara derim ki;

"Bi dakika arkadaşlar!"

Bi dakka çünkü evet sen sadece bu gerekçelerle sokaktasın, o eylemlerin içindesin ama bil ki yanı başınızda bu gerekçelerden yola çıkıp ülkede kaos yaratmak isteyen birile ri de var. Bu kaostan faydalanıp Kürt Meselesi'nin çözümü için atılan adımları durdurmak, toprağı henüz üzerine örtülen derin devleti mezardan kaldırmak, ekonomide son düzlüğe çıkmış Türkiye'nin eski günlere geri dönmesi için bir iç çatışma, iç savaş çıkartmak derdinde olanlar var.

Bunları da gör güzel kardeşim. Bunları da gör ve ne yapıp yapma-yacağına öyle karar ver derim! Derim çünkü bu benim sorumluluğum. Bir gazeteci olarak bir dost olarak öngörüm. Önceki aksam Rize'de yasananlar bariz bir örnek ne demek istediğime

Bazıları istiyor ki artık her yer Sivas olsun. Her yer Madımak olsun. Görün görmeyin ama bilin ki mey danlardaki insanların haklı demokratik talepleri, haykırışları korkunç bir kavgaya doğru yol alıyor. Bir iç çatışma çıkarılmak isteniyor. Lütfen bu oyuna gelmeyelim. Bu oyun sadece hükümeti zora düşürmez. Ya da meydanlara çıkan insanları... Bu oyun büyük bir oyun ve unutmayın ki hepi-mizi zora sokar. Bütün ülkeyi. Çünkü gerçek olan şudur, Albert Einstein'in da dediği gibi: **"Kavganın kazana-**nı yoktur. Ya kaybedersiniz ya da daha çok kaybedersiniz!

On the other hand, Erdal Şafak, while evaluating the criticisms and curses directed to him, characterizes the "opposite" side as "a group of high school kids not even in their puberty". Then, he goes on to express his pity for the youth "for being manipulated by those with ulterior motives, by those who have different plots in mind". These statements are remarkable for the author's reliance on ageism. While the author criticizes political attitudes and actions of the young, he bases his criticism on their young age. Moreover, the author's remark about his pity for the young reveals that he perceives the young people within the political landscape as passive individuals.

Mayıs planları

Su bir haftada, halk deyimiyle, "Bir araba dolusu" küfür ve hakaret işittim. Sosyal medya üstünden, mail'lerle, gazetenin önünde yapılan protesto gösterileriyle...

En çok koyan, ergenlik çağına bile gelmemiş bir grup liselinin eylemi oldu. Aslında o çocuklara kızmadım, acıdım. Başka hesaplar peşinde koşanların, başka başka senaryo-

lar yazanların aleti oldukları icin.



Çünkü çevre duyarlılığı olanların başlattıkları eylem ne yazık ki artık renk değiştirmeye başladı.

Bu değişimi "Türk baharı" kılıfına uydurmaya kalktılar. Mızrak çuvala sığmayınca, vazgeçtiler. Yeni bir model aramaya, yeni bir kulp bulmaya koyuldular.

Buldular da.

Yeni şablonları: "1968 Mayıs'ı". Yani, Fransa'nın 45 yıl önce bugünlerde

yaşadığı çalkantıyı, Türkiye'ye uyarlamak! 1968 Mayıs'ının nedenlerini, gelişmelerini ve sonuçlarını anlatmayacağım; merak eden Wikipedia'da bulup okuyabilir.

Ama gerek içerideki, gerekse dışarıdaki sözüm ona siyasal-toplumsal analizcilerin Türkiye'deki tabloyu 1968 Mayıs'ı Fransa'sına benzetmeye, hatta dayatmaya kalkışmalarında bir amaç, bir hesap var: General Charles de Gaulle senaryosunun bizde de tekrarlanması beklentisi.

Malum, 1968 Mayıs'ı olaylarında otoritesi sarsılan, siyasal gücü yıpranan Cumhurbaşkanı Charles de Gaulle, 11 ay sonra, 1969 Nisan'ında düzenlediği referandumu kaybedince görevi bırakmış, evine çekilmişti.

"Acaba" diyorlar, "Başbakan Erdoğan da böyle bir tuzağa düşebilir mi?.."

Düşmez. Ne 2013 Türkiye'si, 1968 Fransa'sına benziyor, ne de Erdoğan'ın siyasal kariyeri ve duruşu, General Charles de Gaulle ile benzerlik taşıyor.

Onun için boş yere ne kendilerini yorsunlar, ne de bizi... The keywords detected in the content with a critical stance against the protests, by describing the course of Gezi Events as having the potential to harm majority's democracy and the Gezi protesters as violence-prone, have a tendency to create a hierarchy among the society.

In conclusion, it can be asserted that different facets of democracy are tackled in the critical and supportive content of different newspapers. Whereas the stories supportive of the protests underscore the legitimacy of Gezi protests with regard to the use of democratic rights and freedoms, and criticize government's attitude and particularly the police violence; the stories critical of the protests maintain that the ruling party (national will) who came to power by democratic elections is opposed by illegitimate methods. Discriminatory discourse featured in media texts with different standpoints, which can be considered as the two sides of a political debate, results from the severe attempts of both sides to confute the legitimacy of the other being reflected in discourse. For this reason, discriminatory discourse based on the rhetoric of democracy is indirect and allows room for legitimation/normalization of discriminatory statements.

3.f. What do headlines say?

Headlines manifest the daily political attitudes of newspapers and are vital for reaching the intended audience since the cover page and the headline of a newspaper is the part that first catches attention and is regarded as worthy of reading. Therefore, headlines constitute the parts of a newspaper where the use of discriminating discourse is the most consequential and where utmost effort should be paid to avoid using such discourse.

	June 1, '13	June 2, '13	June 3, '13	June 4, '13	June 5, '13	June 6, '13	June 7, '13
Habertürk	-	-	Trees in Taksim would increase, not decrease	'WELL- INTENTIONED MESSAGES ARE HEARD'	YES TO DEMOCRACY NO TO VIOLENCE	GEZI MESSAGE OF THE LITTLE SPARROW: WE NEED TO LEARN THIS NEW LANGUAGE	'We are all for democratic demands'
Hürriyet	VETERAN PARK	#taksimin5days	GEZİ CLEANING	Message is heard	Is it possible for the police to carry a stick?	Social custody	It cannot be managed by 'take this and give that' mentality
Özgür Gündem	-	Resistance won	OPPORTUNITY FOR DEMOCRACY	STOP THE POLICE TERROR	DEMOCRACY IS THE ONLY REMEDY	-	URGENT DEMOCRACY REFORM PACKAGE
Radikal	Why this anger why this rage? *Mehmet Akif Ersoy	Finally COMMON SENSE	Now is the time to learn a lesson	This voice should be heard in person	'Democratic process is on'	#resist twitter	Stubbornness of the barracks

Graph 20:

Sabah	-	Gas cut down fog lifted	'The past decade is tomorrow's assurance'	The message is received, time for common sense	An Olive Branch from the Government to the Gezi Park Protesters	The bar has been raised in the Platform	All for democratic demands
Sözcü	PHOTOSTORY OF TORTURE AND VIOLENCE AGAINST THE PUBLIC	Tayyip Gave In, Police Retreated from Taksim VICTORY OF THE PEOPLE!	People Are Getting Furious as Tayyip Speaks!	Threatened and left	TAYYIP, JUST GET IT ALREADY	HERE IS AKP'S UNDERSTANDING OF AN ADVANCED DEMOCRACY: 34 YOUNG PEOPLE TAKEN INTO CUSTODY FOR TWEETING ABOUT THE VIOLENCE	A Democrat or a Sultan? WHICH ONE DO YOU THINK?
Taraf	State Lost its Temper at Taksim	Invasion is Over The Square Belongs to the People	Has not taken his lesson	One person's whim	Business world is in panic	Organization called Why did you share this photo	Will collapse the economy
Yeni Şafak	-	Who is managing this anger?	Ad Blackmailing	There is a foreigner in the Square	Tension Reduced	Attack to Economy	A harsh message to the interest lobby
Zaman	The Court Suspended the Execution at Gezi Park	Call to protesters for peace, Call to the government to 'hear out the concerns' from Gül	Environmental Conscience Turned into Ravage	AN INVITATION TO COMMON SENSE FROM GÜL	We are open to all kinds of demands as long as there is no violence	Provocateurs caught in the act	All for democratic demands

When the headlines were published on June 1, the day following the evacuation attempt to Gezi Park, are evaluated, we see only 5 newspapers that covered Gezi Events in their headlines: Hürriyet, Taraf, Zaman, Radikal and Sözcü. Among these dailies, Hürriyet, Radikal, Taraf and Sözcü's headlines emphasized police violence and injuries, while Zaman captioned the decision of the court to suspend the redevelopment plans of Gezi Park. Sözcü's headline that read "PHOTOSTORY OF TORTURE AND VIOLENCE AGAINST THE PUBLIC" forms a direct association between the government and violence and differs from the other papers by its choice of words.

In the second day of our monitoring, all dailies except Habertürk covered Gezi Events in their front pages. Following the retreat of the police from Taksim, Zaman and Radikal emphasized common sense, while Sözcü and Özgür Gündem prefer headlines with a focus on the victory of the protesters. The manner in which Sözcü covered the news story becomes more apparent in the heading that read "Tayyip gave in, Police Retreated From Taksim VICTORY OF THE PEOPLE". Özgür Gündem preferred a

much simpler heading: "Resistance Won". Sözcü's depiction of the adversities during Gezi Events through the personality of the Prime Minister and the emphasis placed on the victory gained against the PM can be regarded as an indicatory of the paper's discursive style based on "sole opposition" to the government. On the other hand, Taraf daily, with the following heading, makes the same emphasis without personalization, "Invasion is over - the square belongs to the people/ Everywhere Taksim, everywhere resistance". Hürriyet daily alludes to the impact of the social media, with its headline, "#taksimin5days" and portrays the changes in Taksim Square since the beginning of the events. Sabah daily uses the headline, "Gas cut down fog lifted," highlighting the violence of the events. As for Yeni Şafak, it came with a different headline that goes, "Who is managing this anger?" With this headline, it questions individuals and groups behind the events, describing Gezi Events as a directed social movement. Here, again, we witness the creation of the image of an enemy, not yet clearly defined.

In the third day of our monitoring, the dailies Hürriyet and Radikal emphasized "environmental" sensitivity by displaying images of the Gezi protesters cleaning Taksim Square, whereas, Zaman daily came out with the headline, "Environmental conscience turned into ravage," a quotation from an interview with Ülker Durukan, the head of the Environment-Friendly Association. Here, it is questioned whether Gezi Protesters are sincere in their environmental sensibilities and provocative features of the violent events are underscored. Sabah and Habertürk came out with the headlines quoted from different parts of Fatih Altayli's interview with PM Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, on June 2. While Sabah quoted the part regarding the protection of life styles and democratic rights, Habertürk focused on government's environmental policies. However, it is remarkable that both dailies carried to their headlines the parts where arguments were proposed against the social demands of Gezi protesters. On the other hand, Sözcü daily came out with the headline "People are Getting Furious as Tayyip Speaks" which personalized the social demands and directed them at PM Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. While this personalization is more moderate in Taraf daily, with the heading "Has not taken his lesson," the Prime Minister is criticized because of the way he evaluates Gezi Events. Yeni Şafak daily interpreted international advertising agencies cutting down their ads for TV channels as a strategy to create pressure and threaten; and supported the rhetoric of external enemy with its heading "Ad Blackmailing". Finally, Özgür Gündem daily, with its heading "Opportunity for Democracy" highlighted the importance of Gezi Events with regard to democratic rights and demands.

In the fourth day of monitoring, the dailies Hürriyet, Zaman, Radikal, Sabah, and Habertürk came out with headings referring to Abdullah Gül's statement, "The Message is Received" calling all parties to order. However, the heading used by Habertürk "WELL-INTENTIONED MESSAGES ARE RECEIVED" emphasized the well intentions of some of the Gezi protesters, implying that some others may not be so well-intentioned. Özgür Gündem's headline was critical of police *terror*, while Sözcü placed the emphasis on Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's speech which was described as threatening, and Taraf's headline read "One person's whim" targeting the Prime Minister. Finally, Yeni Şafak daily used the headline "There is a foreigner in the Square" claiming the existence of a foreign hand in Taksim protests.

Following Deputy Prime Minister Bülent Arınç's reconciliatory speech, a majority of the papers came out with headlines displaying the contradiction between democracy and violence. While Zaman, Sabah, Habertürk, and Yeni Şafak, referring to the moderate declarations of the government, came out with headlines drawing a thick line between democracy and violence; Radikal used quotations from BDP deputy Sırrı Süreyya Önder's declarations following his negotiations with Abdullah Gül and Bülent Arınç. On the other hand, Özgür Gündem emphasized social call for democracy in its headline quoting from BDP co-chairman Selahattin Demirtaş's speech. While the Sözcü daily called out to the Prime Minister with its headline "Tayyip, Get It Already", Hürriyet questioned the attacks of the *men*

holding sticks to the protesters during Gezi events in İzmir. Finally, Taraf daily conveyed how particular companies were affected because of their political attitudes via its headline "Business world is in panic".

On the sixth day, following the detention of the protesters who actively used the social media, Hürriyet, Radikal, Sözcü and Taraf captioned this event. Taraf's headline that read "Organization named 'Why did you share this photo'" reveals how active social media users are perceived within the legal arena. On the other hand, Zaman daily emphasized its position against violence with the heading "Provocateurs caught in the act" and announced the arrestment of provocateurs who leaked into groups of citizens using their democratic right. When this headline of Zaman is evaluated together with the news story below (the story is about the accusation of foreigners with diplomatic passports as well as a young adult and two children making a stun grenade), it can be said that the headline brings social distrust into the forefront, and targets particular social groups by defining a crime without waiting for the judicial process to end. Sabah daily gave place to Taksim Platform, who communicated its demands to Bülent Arınç, in its front page with the headline "THE BAR HAS BEEN RAISED IN THE PLATFORM". The newspaper claimed that the Platform has included "irrelevant" items about the third bridge and the third airport in their list of demands concerning the Taksim Gezi Park. It would not be unjustified to claim that, the paper aims to discredit Taksim Platform and its reliability with these statements. Yeni Şafak maintained its xenophobic discourse by accusing the British and American media for taking advantage of Gezi Events to harm Turkey's economy. Habertürk, on the other hand, differed from the other papers by giving place to Sezen Aksu's magazinish message of democracy in its front page. Finally, Özgür Gündem emphasized the urgent necessity to meet democratic demands.

Finally, coming to June 7, all papers featured in their front pages, different parts of the speech PM Recep Tayyip Erdoğan made while he was in Tunisia. Hürriyet and Radikal dailies with their headings "It cannot be managed with 'take this and give that' mentality" and "Stubbornness of the barracks" in corresponding order, focused on the Prime Minister's stance against negotiations. On the other hand, Zaman, Sabah and Habertürk dailies quoted the same phrase from Prime Minister's speech: "We are all for democratic demands". Because this political discourse draws a sharp line between what is and what is not democratic, it would be justified to claim that such a discourse might end up creating an excluded group. Sözcü used a headline that read, "A Democrat or a Sultan? Which one do you think?" criticizing Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and his manner of administration. On the other hand, Özgür Gündem repeated its expectation of an urgent reform package to ensure democratization. Finally, Yeni Şafak and Taraf dailies evaluated the declarations of the Prime Minister with two different economic agendas. Yeni Şafak maintained the Prime Minister's discourse by targeting the interest lobby, and evaluating the PM's abrasive speech positively. Contrarily, Taraf emphasized the responsibility of the Prime Minister for damaging the Turkish economy by his sharp declarations.

In conclusion, as can be seen from the headlines, the discriminating discourse used in the political sphere is reflected on the headlines and is thus reproduced in the social sphere. In their headlines, all newspapers stuck with a certain attitude; while some newspapers could not abstain from using discriminating discourse, some newspapers endorsed discriminatory discourse as their editorial policy. As we also tried to emphasize earlier, fostering enmity, targeting and hierarchizing were frequently encountered thematic emphases in the headlines.

Conclusion

In this report, we tried to examine how discriminating discourse, produced in the political and social spheres during the Gezi Park Events, was covered in the print press and the mechanisms used to reproduce such discourse. It was observed that discriminatory language and discourse categories

were present in the Turkish media and such discourse was reproduced in a fragmented, yet deepseated fashion.

In this study, we examined all news stories, opinion columns, headlines, interviews and commentaries regarding Gezi Park Events published in the print press from June 1 to 7, 2013 by content analysis; a method commonly used in media studies. Newspapers, manually monitored during the designated time period, were classified into 3 categories. Sabah, Habertürk, and Yeni Şafak dailies were categorized as having a "critical stance against the protests", Sözcü, Taraf, and Özgür Gündem dailies as having a "supportive stance towards the protests," and Zaman, Hürriyet, and Radikal dailies as "having an equivocal stance".

When the standpoint of the newspapers is evaluated in terms of their editorial policies, it is observed that media organizations behaved *cautiously*. The number of news stories and columns that were categorized as having an equivocal stance, declaring no stance and as having informative content, were much higher than the number of news items with a supportive or critical stance towards the protests.

However, the proportion of news items that have a critical vs. supportive stance, gives important clues about the editorial policies of newspapers. As the number of news items categorized as having an equivocal stance, as declaring no stance and as having informative content decreases, the proportion of critical and/or supportive content increases. For example, Yeni Şafak and Özgür Gündem constituted the two newspapers that published the lowest number of cautious articles, however, they endorsed different editorial policies. While Yeni Şafak, with its critical articles, stands against Gezi Events, Özgür Gündem endorses an editorial policy that is supportive of the Gezi Events. Apart from the cautious content, all news items published in Taraf, Radikal, Sözcü and Hürriyet dailies were supportive of the Gezi Events showing that all four papers endorsed a positive editorial policy towards Gezi Events.

On the other hand, the examination of the supportive and critical news items published in Habertürk and Sabah, two dailies with the highest proportion of cautious content, revealed that there were no critical news items and a small number of supportive news items in Habertürk. Differing from Habertürk, in Sabah daily, the critical news items outnumbered supportive news items.

Finally, in Zaman daily, the proportions of cautious, critical and supportive articles were evenly distributed. Hence, no claims can be made regarding the standpoint of the paper regarding Gezi Events.

Based on these findings, the newspapers, which were categorized prior to research can be recategorized after examining their stances towards the Gezi Events: 1) Newspapers with a critical approach against the protests: Yeni Şafak, Sabah; 2) Newspapers with a supportive approach towards the protests: Hürriyet, Radikal, Özgür Gündem, Taraf, Sözcü; 3) Newspapers that do not reflect a particular approach: Zaman and Habertürk.

It was observed that one of the factors playing a role in the formation of editorial policies following Gezi events was the difference of opinion disclosed in news stories and opinion columns. The distribution of news content revealed that, while the news services mostly preferred to produce informative news, the columnists were more direct in expressing their opinions, whether supportive or critical of the protests. For instance, 76.1%, 80%, 96.9%, and 66% of the opinion columns published in Radikal, Hürriyet, Sözcü and Taraf, respectively, were supportive of the protests. However, in the same papers the average proportion of supportive news stories was 16%. Hence, it can be concluded that, while news stories are functionally used to convey informative content, opinion columns commonly reflect a particular political attitude.

The research findings did not reveal a significant relationship between the production of discriminatory discourse and the overall stance of the newspapers towards Gezi Events. All papers used discriminatory discourse surrounding different subjects and in different ways. However, direct discriminatory discourse, which involved fostering enmity, targeting, denigration and sole opposition, was more frequently observed in newspapers with a critical stance against Gezi Events. Meanwhile, indirect discriminatory discourse, which involved rhetoric of democracy built on the accusation/remonstration of groups with different views about the requirements of a democracy, was most frequently encountered in papers supportive of the Gezi Events. Based on the findings, it can be claimed that newspapers that produced a higher proportion of direct discriminatory discourse involving fostering enmity, targeting and sole opposition, featured less indirect discriminatory discourse discourse.

In Yeni Şafak daily, which featured the highest proportion of news items based on fostering enmity and targeting, it was possible to come across articles that emphasized the role of foreign governments, intelligence services, international investors and the international press, as well as articles emphasizing international sources of Gezi Events. Moreover, it was also possible to detect polarizing discourse that drew on the past and present dynamics of the country's politics, and that emphasized social differences as differentiating properties, hierarchizing discourse based on making comparisons among different groups and favoring one over the other, as well as discriminating discourse that emphasized adverse effects of Gezi Events on Turkey's economy, that is, discourse based on economic concerns. To conclude, discriminating discourse based on fostering enmity targeted prominent social groups as internal enemies and portrayed foreign individuals and organizations, who were either perceived as the sources or the instigators of Gezi Events, as external enemies.

In terms of content based on targeting, Sabah and Yeni Şafak produced almost equal numbers of news items of this sort. Within this category, involving exclusion or criminalization of certain social groups, both newspapers produced content that judged and targeted others based on their own political and religious stance. References to different constituents of Gezi Events and their life styles were made by different jargons, which were assigned negative meanings within the context of the articles. These social groups were mostly targeted on the grounds that they prepared the foundations for political exploitation.

Another striking point revealed by the findings is the fact that no discriminating content based on denigration of gender and gender identity was encountered in any newspaper. As we mentioned above, when the close relationship between the categories is considered, it does not seem reasonable to argue that expressions encountered in content that fosters enmity or targets certain groups do not involve denigration.

Discriminating discourse based on sole opposition against a certain individual, social group, or political party was encountered most frequently in Sözcü daily followed by Yeni Şafak daily. The fact that these two papers had an equivalent number of articles within the sole opposition category and the highest number of such articles does not seem surprising. For as much as the two papers, known to be in opposite political poles, cultivate opposition based on the references of the other.

The articles published in Yeni Şafak daily within the sole opposition category mostly targeted Republican People's Party (CHP). On the other hand, discriminating discourse based on sole opposition produced by Sözcü daily was based on national values and exclusionary secularism. In conclusion, one of the most important factors cultivating discriminatory discourse was the attitude of the two papers towards political viewpoints that they did not endorse. As this example also reveals, the discussions in the political sphere are reflected in the media discourse and political opposition became an important element of discriminating discourse based on sole opposition.

The rhetoric of democracy entailed discriminatory discourse emphasizing democratic rights and freedoms and criticizing the events with references to democracy. Detecting this type of discriminatory discourse is more difficult compared to direct discriminatory language/discourse, because while the content of these articles is *politically correct*, the tone of the articles carries the risk to reproduce discrimination. Since rhetoric of democracy penetrated into all examined newspapers, we preferred not to base our inferences on particular newspapers. Instead, analyzing the data on supportive and critical content was considered as more purposeful for understanding how rhetoric of democracy penetrated into press discourse. Based on the analyses, it was observed that supportive news items drew on feelings of anger and resentment while making harsh criticisms against AK Party and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. On the other hand, critical news items might promote creation of a social hierarchy, by claiming that Gezi Events might be harmful for the majority's democracy and by describing the Gezi protesters as violence-prone. To conclude, it can be said that supportive and critical news items tackled different facets of democracy.

While the stories supportive of the protests underscored the legitimacy of Gezi protests with regard to using democratic rights and freedoms, and criticized government's attitude and especially, the police violence, the stories critical of the protests maintained that opposition to the ruling party (national will) who came to power by democratic elections is illegitimate. Discriminating language featured in viewpoints, which can be considered as the two sides of a political debate, results from the severe attempts of both sides to confute the legitimacy of the other being reflected on the tone of their discourse. For this reason, discriminating discourse based on rhetoric of democracy is indirect and allows room for legitimizing/normalizing itself.

Finally, it was observed that the progression of the headlines was concurrent with political developments. While the headlines of Sabah, Habertürk and Zaman newspapers referred to declarations of the ruling party, Prime Minister or President Abdullah Gül calling for democracy and sobriety, the headlines of Hürriyet and Radikal dailies were critical of the police violence and drew attention to the significance of social media. Therefore, it can be said that the headlines were in conformity with the overall standing of the newspapers towards the Gezi Events. Additionally, headlines of Sözcü and Taraf newspapers had a harsher tone, giving prominence to and criticizing the ruling party and Prime Minister Erdoğan. To the contrary, in accordance with its critical attitude towards Gezi Events, the headlines of Yeni Şafak depicted Gezi Events as plotted by those who aim to hamper economic and political development of Turkey. On the other hand, Özgür Gündem's headlines were critical of police violence and emphasized social democracy. Yeni Şafak and Sözcü newspapers stand out when all the headlines are examined with regard to the production of discriminatory discourse. Yeni Şafak's emphasis on international forces and Sözcü's criticisms solidified in the personality of Tayyip Erdoğan resulted in headlines based on fostering enmity, targeting and sole opposition.

The examination of the media discourse during the Gezi Events, which carry great political, social and cultural importance for Turkey, is an important pursuit for revealing the close relationship between political developments in Turkey and discriminatory discourse of the print press. The study revealed that each new expression/phrase that appears with each political development is used by the print media and is reproduced in different ways. During the reproduction phase, even though the political attitudes of the papers do not prevent the production of discriminating discourse, they shape how such discourse is constructed. One of the most important contributions of this study is opening the way for future studies to investigate how discriminating discourse is organized. Due to limited resources the sample size and the time period covered by this study was restricted. It will be particularly rewarding to conduct a comparative study with a larger sample covering a longer time period.