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Media Watch on Hate Speech Project is funded by Friedrich Naumann Foundation, Global Dialogue and MyMedia/Niras. The views expressed in this report do not necessarily reflect the views of the funders.

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### MONITORING HATE SPEECH IN THE MEDIA

In Turkey, we frequently witness the use of biased, prejudiced and discriminatory language in the media. The provocative, racist and discriminatory language used by the media – in particular in the headlines and news headings – become an instrument that entrenches stereotypes and fuels feelings of hostility and discrimination in society. Despite the fact that there are universal and national principles of journalism and that some media organizations have even issued their own code of ethics, many journalistic end products happen to violate these principles. The use of such language entrenches unrest in society as well as a widespread prejudice against vulnerable groups. Targeted individuals and groups become restless and silent and are forced to renounce their rights to participate in social and political life, something that is a sine qua non for democracy. Such provocative and stigmatizing use of language can sometimes result in attacks on the members or gathering places of marginalized and antagonized groups.

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

Due to various reasons, Turkey has recently 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 about 30 years, the sudden demographic change in Turkey caused by the forced displacement of people due to the conflict, as well as economic, social and cultural conflicts have all played a role in the escalation of tension between communities. On the other hand, presenting democratization efforts such as the initiatives in minority rights and inter-religious dialogue as well as the Cyprus Question debate as "plots on Turkey by foreign powers" also nurture polarization and enmity. Furthermore, the developments in the Middle East, discussions around Kurdish and Armenian Questions and peace process currently on the agenda causes those people and institutions, who have suggestions for solutions, to be targeted and certain ethnic groups to be portrayed as enemies. Such discourse, generated by particular publications with opposite standpoints, sets the ground for a conflictual atmosphere. Finally, the way the Taksim Gezi Park protests were covered in newspapers was important, as it revealed how media can intensify polarization in society.

As a result of this frequent use of discriminatory language by the media, 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 frequent allegation by the government officials that the Taksim Gezi Park protests were organized by foreign powers and the "interest rate lobby" caused certain groups, in particular Jews, to be targeted.

The media (press), often dubbed the fourth estate, is one of the most effective cultural conductors. Therefore, as much as it has the power to highlight diversity and difference, it can also be extremely instrumental and guiding in terms of spreading and banalizing a conflict. If the media behaves irresponsible and 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 journalistic practices substantially contribute to 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 in newspapers that he was an enemy of the Turks." The person who is accused of attacking the priest of the Church of St. Sophia in Izmir in December 2007 stated that he did the attack to become a hero like Ogün Samast. One of the main objectives of the Hrant Dink Foundation, 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 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** targeted towards people and groups about their certain identity characteristics and thereby **raise awareness**.

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 respects social and cultural diversity and upholds equality in its language and methods.

Within the framework of the "Media Watch on Hate Speech", the national and local press are scanned, news and opinion columns that feature discriminatory, alienating and target-making discourse are identified, analyzed and brought to public attention through reports and the website **www.nefretsoylemi.org.** The content provided on the project website is also shared through Facebook<sup>1</sup> and Twitter<sup>2</sup>. The report is sent to non-governmental organizations, media organizations and journalism-related professional organizations and also published on our website.

Apart from monitoring newspapers, the project aims to raise awareness about hate speech by organizing research meetings, conferences, seminars and trainings with NGO representatives, jurists, academics, professional organizations and journalists. In this context, international panel discussions are held and meetings on hate speech are organized at universities to facilitate the discussion of project findings in order to inform people about the concept of "hate speech", to provide opportunities for discussion of possible ways and methods of countering discriminatory and racist

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> https://www.facebook.com/medyadanefretsoylemi

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> https://twitter.com/NefretSoylemi

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 take initiatives that there are lectures on hate speech, and there are theses and dissertations that study hate speech. In the year of 2012, in close cooperation with academicians and representatives of non-governmental organizations, we prepared a draft of a one-semester **syllabus** named **"Discrimination, Hate Speech and Media"** and shared it with academicians. In this period, in line of the feedback from those academicians, we are working towards improving the content of the syllabus and for its application in universities.

In parallel with the curriculum studies, a multi-authored book that serves as a supplementary source for the syllabus and as an introductory source for the general reader, **"Media and Hate Speech: Concepts, Outlets, Discussions**<sup>3</sup>", was published in December 2013. The book was prepared in editorship of Mahmut Çınar, published with a preface by Fuat Keyman and has the potential to be a reference work in this field.

### 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.) via the media monitoring center.

While the main focus has been on hate speech based on national, ethnic and religious identity, sexist and homophobic discourse were also examined within the scope of the monitoring work. In this study, we mainly 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) context analyses were carried out. In order to determine specific indicators for the content and discourse of the news, first, we conducted quantitative analyses that manifested where (on which newspapers), how and through which sources hate speech was constructed and who were targeted via these news.

We based our definition of hate speech on the **1997 Recommendation** on hate speech accepted by the **Committee of the 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."

In accordance with the purpose and scope explained above, news articles identified as featuring hate speech 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 has categories as follows:

1) Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion: Any discourse that features negative generalization,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> http://www.hrantdink.org/?Publications=7&id=902&Lang=

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 Discourse: Any discourse that includes hostile, war-mongering expressions about a community (e.g. tyranny of Gawurs)

**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 (e.g. use of phrases with negative connotations such as "your mother is Armenian any way" or "is your surname Davutoğlu or Davutyan?").

### DISCRIMINATORY DISCOURSE FILE SUBJECTS

As of 2013, **discriminatory discourse reports** have been added to the periodical reports on hate speech covering a period of four months. Focusing on a certain subject matter, a specific research method is determined and a discriminatory discourse analysis is performed. The aim of these analyses is to uncover pieces of discourse that are formulated in a relatively implicit manner and that covertly convey discriminating or alienating messages.

In 2013, the first media study on discriminatory discourse involved the examination of discourse constructed around the **Black Sea visit of the People's Democratic Congress (HDK) members that included deputies from the Peace and Democracy Party (BDP)**. In that study, all news stories and opinion columns, in February 15 - 28, 2013 covering this event in Bizim Karadeniz, Taka, Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet, Sabah, and Zaman were analyzed<sup>4</sup>.

For the second report of 2013, all news articles and opinion columns published during the first week of the **Gezi Park events** from June 1-7, 2013 in Habertürk, Hürriyet, Özgür Gündem, Radikal, Sabah, Sözcü, Taraf, Yeni Şafak, and Zaman dailies monitored and analyzed using content analysis and discourse analysis methods<sup>5</sup>.

For the September-December 2013 period, Alevism was chosen to be the subject matter due to the high number of references made to it in the media as part of the contemporary politics. In relation to the subject Birgün, Habertürk, Hürriyet, Milliyet, Özgür Gündem, Star, Sözcü, Yeni Şafak, Yurt, and Zaman dailies were monitored<sup>6</sup>.

For the first period of 2014, the subject matter of this report is determined to be the April 24, which is the 1915 Armenian Genocide Remembrance Day. Taking this date as the baseline, all the news articles and columns published between April 22-26, 2014 in 8 newspapers among which were **Aydınlık, Birgün, Habertürk, Hürriyet, Radikal, Sabah, Türkiye** and **Zaman** were monitored and analyzed. The method used in this study as well as the findings can be found with the title "Discriminatory Discourse in Print Media" in the second part of this report.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> http://nefretsoylemi.org/rapor/Ocak-Nisan-2013-NS-Rapor-Final.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> http://nefretsoylemi.org/rapor/mayis-agustos-rapor-final.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> http://nefretsoylemi.org/rapor/Eylul-Aralik2013\_nefretsoylemi\_ayrimcisoylem\_raporu.pdf

# PART I

# HATE SPEECH

## IN

# **PRINT MEDIA**

İDİL ENGİNDENİZ ŞAHAN

### FINDINGS

During the four months covering January – February – March – April 2014 of the "Monitoring Hate Speech in Media" study, **188** opinion columns and news articles were identified as targeting national, ethnic and religious groups.

In this period consisting of the first four months of 2014, the increase in the number of instances of hate speech has continued. The mentioned increase is not in comparison to the last one year period but also in comparison with the same period in previous years as well: while the number of instances of hate speech was 114 in the first four months of 2012, 104 instances were studied in the same period of 2013. If we think that the periods covering the same months cover events independent of up-to-date developments, then from the way the topics, the details of which will be given below, are handled it will not be wrong to conclude that hate speech is gradually increasing.

As is seen every December and January, the Christmas season was discussed by generating hate speech for Christians (and sometimes for Jews as well) by publications, which frequently allowed for religious references. While expressing that different religions have different religious festivals and other types of celebrations are not accepted by some interpretations of religion is a matter of free speech, the way the newspapers approach it with expressions like, "the festival of the western mind which has no qualms about killing, stealing from and raping the oppressed" (**Bartin Pusula**, January, 1 2014) becomes a situation of insult and swearing. Hate speech about this topic is mostly seen in the way newspapers (re)produce and circulate hate speech by quoting the comments of certain local groups about Christmas season. As we have expressed in previous reports, it is quite possible to say that this discourse of publications appealing to a limited geographic location has a more direct and hence more dangerous impact on the people living in that geography.

In addition to Christmas season, April 24 and Khojaly commemorations were other headlines that specify the groups about which hate speech specifically target<sup>7</sup>. Another hot topic of debate was the dispute between the Gülen Congregation and Erdoğan Government. Through congregation, hate speech generally targeted Christians, Jews and Western civilizations. Although "Gezi Protesters" has found its place in hate speech context since June Resistance, the use of expression has decreased in this period, yet groups that were hard to be identified clearly like Masons, communists and "Gezi Protesters"" were targeted by hate speech during this period as well. That hate speech had been accepted as illicit within the legislation was the other topic that continued to be discussed.

Although monitored articles are classified in accordance with the above-mentioned categories, during this period it was observed that the use of "conspiracy theories" was an important tool in generating hate speech. An approach that saw every topic as a conspiracy of different religious and ethnic groups and isolated these from the historical context and has not taken into account the cause and effect relation, circulated erudition without any reliable reference.

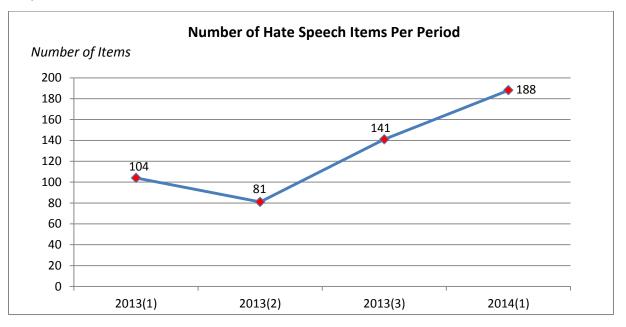
Although there was an increase in the number of items that generated hate speech, the number of groups that were targeted did not increase significantly. Out of the **21 different groups**, **9** of them were subjected to hate speech in only one item, **4** of them were subjected to hate speech in **two** 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> You can read the analysis of discriminatory discourse regarding the news on April 24 Armenian Genocide Remembrance Day, on the second part of this report.

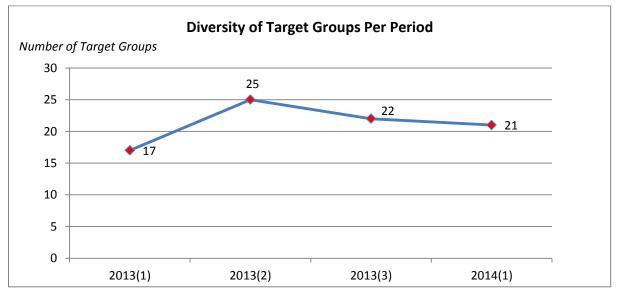
items, **1** group was targeted in **three** and **7** of **them** were targeted in **five and more** items. As in recent reports, the groups that are less often subjected to hate speech were not categorized under the "Others" category, in an effort to portray the variability/versatility of the target groups according to the context.

While those groups that are targeted in singular examples are dealt with periodic events and even more than that with an incidental example, it is possible to speak of systematic hate speech and conscious hostile attitude towards those frequently targeted groups in different publications. As it was indicated in previous reports, the fact that certain groups remain targeted for an extended period of time through great number of news items, not only shows the vulnerability of these groups to hate speech but also presents deep-seated and persisting effort of antagonizing those groups.

#### Graph 1



#### Graph 2



Looking at the common qualities of target groups, religious identity stands out as the primary cause for generating hate speech during this period. Hate speech is generated for 11 different groups of non-Muslim, non-Sunni or disbelievers in 220 items, whereas 10 groups are targeted in 30 items due to their ethnic and national identity. The items studied in the latter category include 10 items, which contain hate speech towards the Kurdish population, and this shows a decrease compared to the items found in the previous period (14 items). However, even if not directed towards the Kurdish population, the existence of hostile discourse towards Kurdish politicians should be taken into consideration. Mehmet Türker's article titled "Kurdish Show in CNNTÜRK!.." published in Sözcü in April 4 comes as an appropriate exemplar of this behavior. Although it is not listed under hate speech, and though Kurdish language and the name "Kurdish" are not used, the author uses alienating and hostile expressions towards Kurdish people over Cizre Municipal co-president Leyla Imret: "she wore a waistband knitted in yellow-red-green which are known to be the colors of PKK", "what this woman did was a defiance", "what she did on a national TV was an open incitation", "I wonder if Kurdism has a privilege." In the same way, although it does not target Kurdish people directly, in an article titled "BDP and HDP: As elections comes" by Muharrem Balatekin in Konya Postası newspaper in March 21, expressions like "a racist political party that defends Kurdish nationalism", "It is extremely natural for people in Ordu and Giresun to react BDP and HDP. The events in Fethiye can also be assessed in a similar way... As people's wound has still been open and as what happened yesterday is still too close, BDP and HDP should not expect tolerance from the people" approve and encourage violent acts. As we have expressed above, although the hostile expressions in the articles are not evaluated within the hate speech because that they are towards political institutions not directly towards ethnic groups, we have to underline those expressions because there could be extremely negative consequences.

Another point to underline is that hate speech is usually generated towards more than one group. After sorting the hate speech over the groups, **out of 188 context examined, 251 discourse of hate speech** are encountered. However, we have to point out that this distribution is more or less equal: while hate speech is generated for more than one group (between two and four groups) in 124 items, there are expressions containing hate speech for only one group in 127 items. The most important determinants of this distribution, as we have expressed above, are the April 24 and Khojaly commemorations. When we examine the contexts that handle this topic, we have seen that there are **59 items that generate hate speech towards only Armenians**. The remaining 68 items are distributed among 13 groups. In relation to hate speech, the groups mostly bound to each other are Christians and Jews. When Christians are considered with other groups, 23 items out of 24 items contain hate speech towards Jews as well. It is also notable that Armenians and Kurdish people are the other two groups that are bound together in generating hate speech.

During the **period of January – April 2014**, a majority of the items identified as containing hate speech were published in the national press, as in the previous periods; yet the difference is much smaller as compared to previous periods. **Of the 188 items** studied within the framework of the study, **96 (51.07%) of them were published in 17 different national newspapers**. The remaining **92 articles (48.93%) were published in 63 different local newspapers**. As is seen in previous periods, the number of items published in local newspapers showed a gradual increase, for the last three periods the number of items increased from 24 to 39 and during this period the number increased to 63. It is not wrong to say that this increase is NOT due to the increase in the number of publications

publishing items with hate speech rather the amount of usage of hate speech is gradually increasing in the local publications. Therefore, the aforementioned increase points to a dangerous situation. When we examined the distribution of hate speech with respect to the regions/cities, the Karadeniz (Black Sea) region is the leader with 12 different local newspapers. The items with hate speech in local newspapers showed an increase both on a percentage basis (40%-48.9%) and in the number of items (56-92). However, this increase is quite less in national press (81-96 items) and showed a decrease on a percentage basis (60%-51%).

Similar to previous periods, it is observed that hate speech was mainly generated within **opinion columns**. Of the items studied, **opinion columns constituted 113 items**, whereas **news items constituted 62** of the grand total. Under different headings, hate speech is seen in six items that target readers' or specialists' contributions. It is seen that four previously published articles were recirculated on a page titled "50 Years Ago" in **Kıbrıs Halkının Sesi**. On the other hand, while passing on some historical information, hate speech was generated on a page titled "Time Tunnel" in **Yeni Çağ** newspaper and "History from Çukurova to World" in **Adana Ekspres** newspaper.

In Turkish media, the groups towards whom hate speech, animosity and attempts at alienation were directed towards most often did not change during this period. During the period consisting of the first four months of the year, hate speech **primarily targeted Armenians** with 75 items. While, with 66 items, **Jews** were the **second group** targeted, **Christians were the third with 45 items**. These were followed by 21 items for Rûms, 10 items for Kurds and eight items for the British who have been exposed to hate speech.

While preparing the Hate Speech Report, one of the points to be investigated was how to draw the boundaries between criticizing the politics of the countries and hate speech towards the nations of these countries. However, especially the article titled "Why didn't Fetullah Gülen issue a message of condolence for Burak?" <sup>8</sup> written by Hasan Karakaya on Yeni Akit newspaper in March 14, 2014 had the characteristics that presented those boundaries. In the article mentioning June Resistance and Fethullah Gülen, by making numerous references to Israel about the events that had taken place in the country, he was placing the Jews of Turkey in a vulnerable position and opening them to violence.

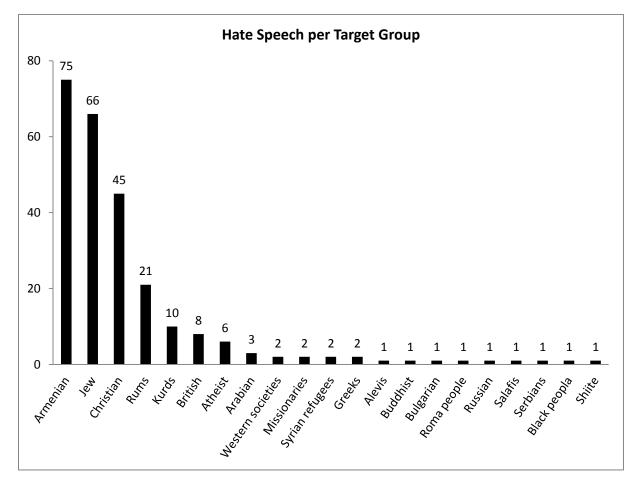
During the study period, it was seen that generalizations used in headings promoted generation of hate speech. When the actions taken by "Armenia" and "Israel" were reflected by expressions like "Jewish cruelty" or "Armenian atrocity", these were evaluated within the hate speech list.

Another example that showed how political criticism crossed its boundaries into hate speech was a news article titled "Christian barbarity in Central Africa" on Yeni Akit newspaper in February 7, 2014. Bringing Christians to the fore in the heading of the news article that reported an interreligious war within the region, causes partial reflection of the topic and instigation of hostile feelings on the readers.

For the items studied, we came across the following distribution of hate speech categorized by target groups:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Name was written as "Fetullah" in the original title, so it is used in the same way within the report. İ.E.Ş.





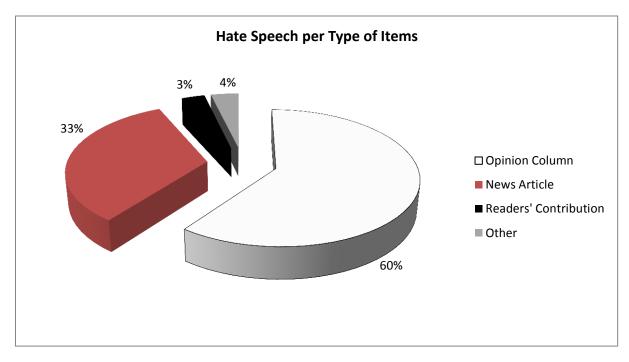
In addition to these, similar to previous reports, **34 news articles and opinion columns** that contain hate speech towards **women and LGBTI individuals** were not included in the statistical analyses and were evaluated separately in the second section. Three items with discriminatory content that laid the groundwork for hate speech were also evaluated in the same section.

### Distribution of Content According to Type, Newspaper and Categories

Hate speech was generated most often in **opinion columns** during this period **(60.1%)** as in previous periods, and an increase was observed in the amount of hate speech within content of the news **type (32.9%)**. Other content consisted of readers' or specialists' contribution pages (3.19%) and publications grouped under the "Other" category (3.72%). While 45.12% of the news items were anonymously written (28 news articles) one news item was published with the city it was reported from, seven news items used the phrase "News Center" and six news items were published with a "news agency". Whereas the number of the news items published with the reporter's name on the article was 21; 28 news items were prepared relying on their own human resources. This situation puts forward the importance of both the language and the agency journalism must look after and the education of the reporters. **While ihlas News Agency** (IHA) was the only agency that was shown as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> As an item may target more than one group, the total number of items targeting each group (220) is more than the total number of items (188).

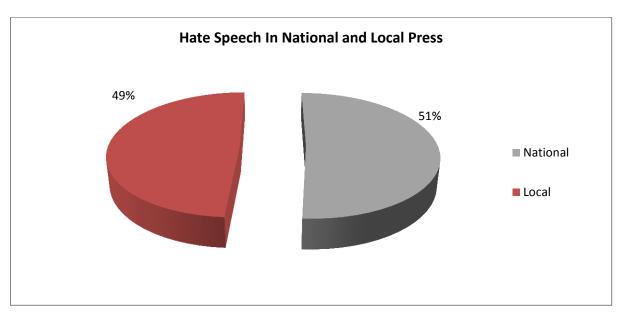
the reference to the news, it should be added that all the news with IHA as source were seen in local press.



### Graph 4

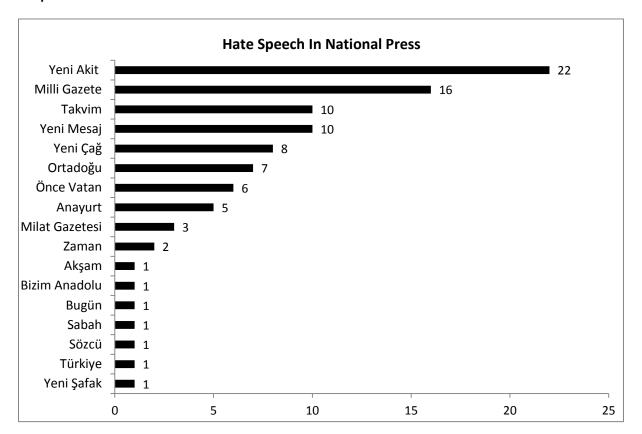
During this period, hate speech was generated almost equally by the national and local press. Whereas national press generated 96 items with hate speech, which is 51.07% of the total, local press generated 92 items and the percentage is raised to 48.93%.





As in the previous periods, the first one among the national newspapers where hate speech was most often generated was **Yeni Akit** (22 issues, 22.91%). Although the number of news items

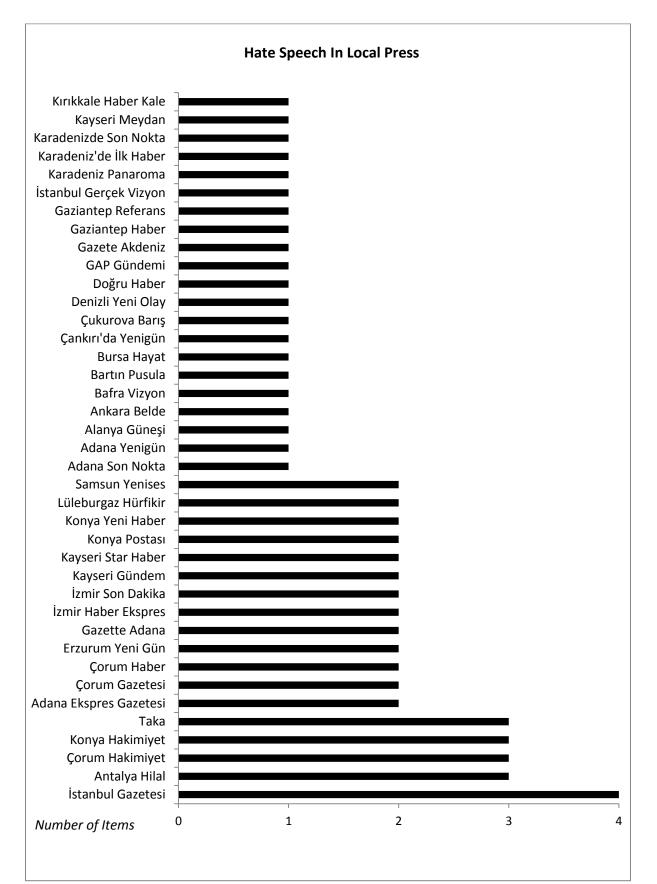
increased by one item, there was a 7 percent increase in the content consisting of hate speech published in the newspaper. Yeni Akit was followed by Milli Gazete with 16 issues (16.66%); Takvim and Yeni Mesaj shared the same place in the list by 10 items (10.41%). Following these newspapers, Yeni Çağ had 8 items that contained hate speech (8.33%), Ortadoğu had 7 (7.29%), Önce Vatan had 6 (6.25%), Anayurt had 5 (5.20%), Milat had 3 (3.12%), Zaman had 2 (2.08%), and Akşam, Bizim Anadolu, Bugün, Sabah, Sözcü, Türkiye and Yeni Şafak had one item (1.04%) that generated hate speech. There has been a serious decrease in Yeni Şafak newspaper which had generated 13 items that contained hate speech during the previous report term, in the same way there has been an approximately 50 percent decrease in the number of items in Ortadoğu that generated hate speech. On the other hand, the number of items increased from 3 to 8 in Yeni Çağ newspaper. During this period, though they were listed with one item containing hate speech, some national press like Sabah, Zaman and Akşam appeared in the list.



Graph 6

During this period, the number of items that contained hate speech in the **local press** converged to the number appeared in the national press. Though the topics discussed related to the local were in various ways, they were not exactly related to the problems encountered; rather the topics discussed were about the country's agenda like April 24 and Khojaly.

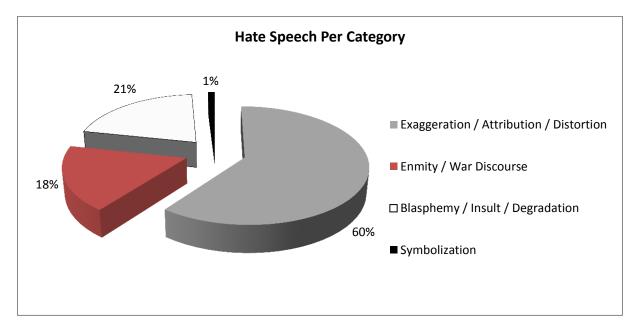
#### Graph 7



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

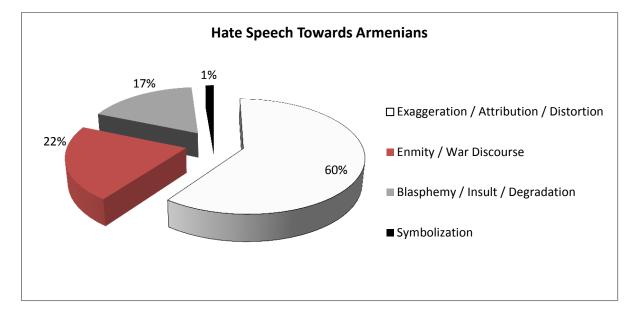
These categories were determined in order to assist in the understanding of hate speech, generated in different types and expressed in an implicit or explicit manner. Although it is undoubtedly possible to detect qualities that pertain to more than one category in an article, each article is analyzed under the category for which it contained qualities most relevant to the defining characteristics of that particular category. Even though not categorized under a certain category, this report also contains examples from items that target a certain group and/or use provocative language.

During this four-month period studied, **Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion** ranked first (114 item) in the distribution of the categories. It was followed by **Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration** (39 items) and **Enmity / War Discourse** (34 items). During this study period, there was only one item under the category **Using a Natural Element of One's Identity as a Cause for Hate / Symbolization** and that item targeted Jews, Armenians and Alevis together.



#### Graph 8

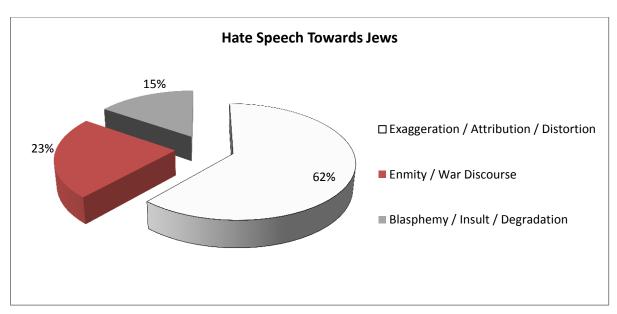
Looking at categories according to target groups, it was observed that **Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion** dominated hate speech towards the **Armenian** population with 45 items. It was followed by 16 items of **Enmity / War Discourse**, 13 items of **Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration** and one item of **Symbolization**. Thirty-two of the items containing hate speech towards the Armenian population were published in the national press and 42 items in the local press. As can be seen from these numbers, the number of news items containing hate speech towards Armenians in the local press exceeded the number appeared in the national press, for the first time. That public statements of local political groups had press coverage in detail could be said to be quite effective in this result.



Graph 9

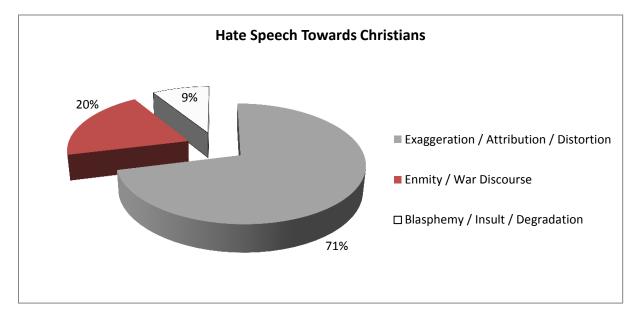
The second group that was exposed to hate speech most was the **Jewish population** and **Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion** was the most often used category (40 items). This was followed by **Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration** with 15 items and 10 items contained **Enmity / War Discourse**. 46 of the items containing hate speech towards the Jewish population were published in the national press and 20 items in the local press. It was observed that by titles like "Jewish racism" in **Milli Gazete** (February 21, 2014) and "Jewish tyranny in Al-Aqsa Mosque" in **Yeni Akit** (January 9, 1014), hate speech was generated by attributing several events to all Jews.





During the four-month-period of the study, **Christians**, the third of the top three groups that were subjected to hate speech, were mostly targeted within the category of **Exaggeration / Attribution /** 

**Distortion** (32 items). This was followed by **Enmity / War Discourse** by 9 items and 4 items detected fell under the category of **Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration**.

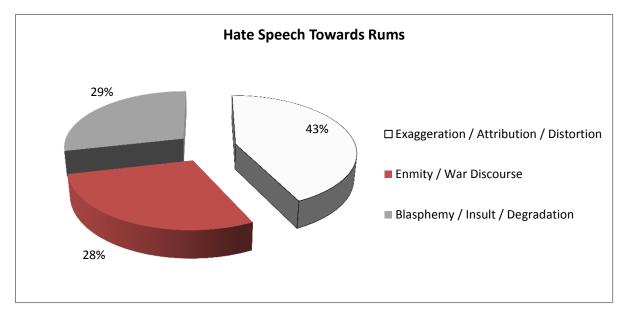


#### Graph 11

During the studied periods the Jewish and Armenian populations usually share the first two places among the groups exposed to hate speech. As was the case in the previous periods it was visible that during the first four months of 2014 there was a significant difference in the number of items that produced hate speech towards these two groups and other ranking groups. As Armenians and Jews were subjected to hate speech with 75 and 66 items, respectively, Christians followed them with 45 items, Greek population (Rûms) with 21, Kurds with 10 and British with 8 items. In the light of these data, it will not be wrong to deduce that from the viewpoint of publication that produce hate speech, Armenians and Jews are the main "enemies". Although this hostile discourse sometimes hides behind an approach like the "good Armenians" - "bad Armenians" differentiation, especially during specific anniversaries it is observed that even this difference disappears and all the Armenians within Turkey borders are evaluated as threats.

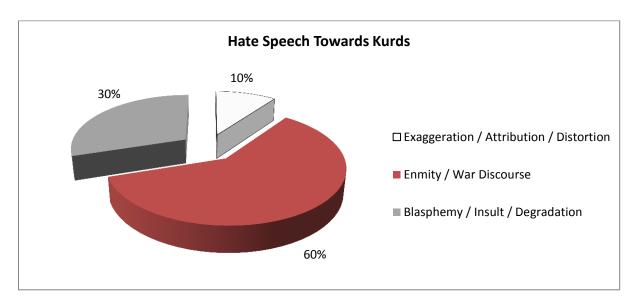
In comparison with the two previous periods, it was seen that there was an increase in hate speech produced towards the **Greek population (Rûms)**. Looking at the distribution among categories, hate speech was mostly produced in the category of **Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion** with nine items, which was followed by **Enmity / War Discourse** and **Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration** by six items for each category. Whereas there was one news article titled "Rampageous Rûms set our flag on fire" published in **Yeni Çağ** newspaper (April 7, 2014), 18 items consisted of new or republished opinion columns. Nine of those contents were published in Cyrus newspapers. When the political background of Cyprus is taken into account, we can say that those contents each played a negative role in instigating inter-communal hostility.





Even though the category under which the Kurdish population was usually targeted was Enmity / War Discourse, during this period Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion was the first category with six items. There were three items under Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration and one item under Enmity / War Discourse. Three of the items generating hate speech towards Kurds were in the national press and seven of them were in the local press published in Central Anatolia, Mediterranean and Black Sea regions.





As mentioned earlier, these four categories used to classify news content were determined to help better understanding of how hate speech is generated. For the process of classification, the category to which the content with the most relevant qualities belongs, was used for classification. Therefore, no matter how it is named, taking into account that at the basis of hate speech lies "hostile" ideas in all cases, it would be misleading to view these categories as mutually exclusive.

### **NEWS ITEMS SELECTED DURING THE JANUARY – APRIL 2014 PERIOD**

Date	Newspaper	Туре	Author	Title	Target Group	Hate Category
01-Jan-2014	Çorum Gazetesi	News Article	іна	'An Unsolved Accident is a Covered Up Murder According to Us'	Christians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
01-Jan-2014	Samsun Yenises	News Article	Anonymous	We Do Not Celebrate the Christmas of the Crusade Mentality that Slaughtered Muslims!	Christians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
01-Jan-2014	Bartın Pusula	News Article	Anonymous	'Stop This Game!'	Christians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
01-Jan-2014	Denizli Yeni Olay	Opinion Column	Metin Alkan	Judgment on Celebrating Christmas Under the Light of Verses and Hadiths	Jews, Christians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
02-Jan-2014	Antalya Hilal	News Article	Abdullah Özbay	Here Is Your Product: Christmas Youth!	Christians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
02-Jan-2014	Çorum Hakimiyet	News Article	Anonymous	'An Unsolved Accident is a Covered Up Murder According to Us'	Christians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
02-Jan-2014	Yeni Akit	News Article	Ramazan Alkan / Ankara	Gezi Protesters Enjoyed Under Pine Trees!	Christians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
02-Jan-2014	Taka	Opinion Column	Muharrem Ulusoy	To Stand Tall!	Christians, Jews	Enmity / War Discourse
03-Jan-2014	Yeni Akit	Readers' Mail	Arif Erez / Ankara	Who Are These Jews?	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
03-Jan-2014	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Şevki Yılmaz	Let's Not Allow Them Revenge on the 'One Minute'!	Jews, Christians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
06-Jan-2014	Adana Son Nokta	News Article	Anonymous	January 6 <sup>th</sup> Message From Mayor Sözlü	Armenians, Kurds	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
06-Jan-2014	Milat Gazetesi	Opinion Column	Muhammed Özkılıç	Those who sleep with dogs will rise with fleas	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion

07-Jan-2014	Kayseri Star Haber	Opinion Column	Ahmet Sıvacı	To Make a Pelt Out Of a Bear! (1)	Serbians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
08-Jan-2014	Önce Vatan	Opinion Column	Levon Panos Dabağyan	New Years or the Christmas We Cannot Welcome Sober!	Atheists, Blacks	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
08-Jan-2014	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	İsmail Hakkı Akkiraz	The biter is bit	Jews, Christians	Enmity / War Discourse
09-Jan-2014	Çukurova Barış	News Article	Anonymous	"We should take a lesson from the liberation of Adana"	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
09-Jan-2014	Taka	Opinion Column	Muharrem Ulusoy	Don't Touch My Flag!	Armenians, Rûms	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
09-Jan-2014	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Ali Öncü	THEY ARE THE REAL SEPARATISTS	Armenians, Jews, Rûms	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
09-Jan-2014	Yeni Akit	News Article	Anonymous	Jewish tyranny in Al-Aqsa Mosque	Jews	Enmity / War Discourse
10-Jan-2014	Şanlıurfa İpekyol	Opinion Column	Abdullah Yılmaz	SADNESS OF AHL-E HAQQ	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
13-Jan-2014	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Hasan Demir	Davutoğlu critizes "Crusade mentality", but…	Christians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
13-Jan-2014	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Yusuf Karaca	I invite the congregation to faith!	Jews, Christians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
14-Jan-2014	İstanbul Gazetesi	Opinion Column	Ahmet Özdemir	LIBERATION OF BAYBURT (1)	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
14-Jan-2014	Takvim	Opinion Column	Ergün Diler	We lost in Crimea	British, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
14-Jan-2014	İstanbul Gerçek Vizyon	Opinion Column	Nevzat Laleli	WE BECAME EUROPEAN WITHOUT JOINING	Rûms, Christians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
15-Jan-2014	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Akın Aydın	The Muslim cannot regard "dialogue"as mercy	Christians, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion

15-Jan-2014	Konya Hakimiyet	Opinion Column	Dursun Seyis	Peace and Process	Kurds, Rûms Armenians, Arabs	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
16-Jan-2014	Bafra Vizyon	News Article	Anonymous	WE DO NOT CELEBRATE THE CHRISTMAS OF THE CRUSADE MENTALITY THAT SLAUGHTERED MUSLIMS	Christians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
16-Jan-2014	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Mustafa Aslan	Is the Imperial period over?	Christians, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
17-Jan-2014	Doğru Haber	Opinion Column	Aynur Sülün	The scenario of child brides	Western Societies	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
17-Jan-2014	Çorum Hakimiyet	Opinion Column	Dilaver Çevik	A Sahabah Who Converted to Islam from Judaism: ABDULLAH IBN SALAM (r.a)	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
22-Jan-2014	Anayurt	Opinion Column	Orhan Selen	What color is Arabian conscience?	Arabs	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
22-Jan-2014	Konya Rasyonel Haber	Opinion Column	Şahin Akıncı	Aren't 1300 Turks equal to one Hrant Dink?	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
22-Jan-2014	Kıbrıs Halkın Sesi	News Article	Anonymous	"A typical British treachery"	British	Enmity / War Discourse
22-Jan-2014	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Faruk Köse	"A Muslim Turk who overloves Jews"	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
23-Jan-2014	Yeni Çağ	Opinion Column	Agah Oktay Güner	The Responsibility of Turkey	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
23-Jan-2014	Milli Gazete	News Article	News Center	AREN'T THEY!/Geneva -2 started with recriminations	Christians	Enmity / War Discourse
23-Jan-2014	Takvim	Opinion Column	Bekir Hazar	Stroke	Jews	Enmity / War Discourse
24-Jan-2014	Çorum Haber	Opinion Column	Dursun Kaplan	Cross vs. Crescent	Christians, Jews	Enmity / War Discourse

24-Jan-2014	Kıbrıs Halkın Sesi	"50 Years Ago Today"	Dr. Fazıl Küçük	Flag Flag Flag	Rûms	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
24-Jan-2014	Lüleburgaz Hürfikir	Opinion Column	İlyas Şen	What did İshak Alaton imply?	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
25-Jan-2014	Yeni Akit	News Article	Talha Çolak / Ankara	Here are the highbrows of the congregation!	Jews, Armenians, Alevis	Natural Element of Identity As a Cause for Hate - Denigration/ Symbolization
27-Jan-2014	Kıbrıs Volkan	Opinion Column	Hüseyin Laptalı	We all are even, you go your way I'll go mine	Rûms	Enmity / War Discourse
28-Jan-2014	Kayseri Meydan	News Article	News Center	We are going to call them to account for all Cenghizs	Armenians	Enmity / War Discourse
29-Jan-2014	Akşam	Opinion Column	Turgay Güler	Why BBC, why Wall Street Journal?	British, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
29-Jan-2014	Kıbrıs Halkın Sesi	"50 Years Ago Today"	Dr. Fazıl Küçük	The sound of Turkish mujahids	Rûms, Greeks	Enmity / War Discourse
30-Jan-2014	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Mehtap Yılmaz	Who will you blame when you are bit by a mad dog?	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
04-Feb-2014	İzmir Haber Ekspres	Opinion Column	Atty. A. Erdem Akyüz	Halal gas	Syrian Refugees	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
05-Feb-2014	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Şükrü Alnıaçık	Guilty, Stand Up!	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
05-Feb-2014	Milli Gazete	News Article	News Center	One foot of the Jew is in Turkey	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
06-Feb-2014	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Prof. Dr. Nurullah Çetin	Larceny, corruption, right and justice according to Ziya Pasha-VI	Christians, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
06-Feb-2014	Kıbrıslı	Opinion Column	Hakan Yozcu	On "Maybe One Day" (1)	Rûms	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion

07-Feb-2014	Yeni Mesaj	News Article	Recep Bahar / İstanbul	2014-model Bulgarian cruelty	Bulgarians	Enmity / War Discourse
07-Feb-2014	Van Olay	Opinion Column	Meryem Başak	The West and betrayal	Christians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
07-Feb-2014	Yeni Akit	News Article	Anonymous	Christian barbarity in Central Africa	Christians	Enmity / War Discourse
07-Feb-2014	Yeni Akit	Remark	Ali Aksoy	Hodja is said to be at the end of his tether	Christians, Jews, Atheists	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
07-Feb-2014	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Abdurrahm an Dilipak	Trying for the prediction of election results	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
10-Feb-2014	Bursa Hayat	Opinion Column	Ali Aydoğan	Never with the Rûms!	Rûms	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
11-Feb-2014	Konya Yeni Haber	Opinion Column	Hamdi Bağcı	To Collapse the State with Party State Discourse	Jews, Christians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
12-Feb-2014	Zaman	News Article	Ali. H. Aslan / Washington	A reaction from Turkish NGOs to Sabah: Our democratic participation right in the USA	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
13-Feb-2014	Yeni Şafak	Opinion Diary Page	İbrahim Sancak	The first important examination of the new era	Salafis, Shiites, Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
14-Feb-2014	Milli Gazete	News Article	Mustafa Kılıç / İstanbul	Big Compromise	Christians, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
14-Feb-2014	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Mustafa Aslan	Legal liars	Christians, Jews	Enmity / War Discourse
14-Feb-2014	Anayurt	Opinion Column	Orhan Selen	Killers of the Middle East	Syrian Refugees	Enmity / War Discourse
14-Feb-2014	Anayurt	Opinion Column	Orhan Selen	Killers of the Middle East	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
14-Feb-2014	Takvim	Opinion Column	Ergün Diler	Open Your Eyes!	Jews, Kurds, British	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion

17-Feb-2014	Erzurum Yeni Gün	News Article	іна	Conference on Khojaly Massacre hosted in Kulu	Armenians	Enmity / War Discourse
17-Feb-2014	Yeni Akit	News Article	Kahraman- maraş	Yıldırım: Türkiye is the fortress of the World Muslims	Christians, Jews, Budists	Enmity / War Discourse
17-Feb-2014	Kıbrıs Halkın Sesi	"50 Years Ago Today"	Haz. Altay Sayıl	They thought our voice wouldn't be heard	Rûms	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
17-Feb-2014	Antalya Hilal	News Article	Emre Miyasoğlu / İstanbul	Booby trap	Jews, Christians	Enmity / War Discourse
18-Feb-2014	Milli Gazete	News Article	Mustafa Kılıç / İstanbul	Bible came out of the package	Christians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
19-Feb-2014	Adana Ekspres Gazetesi	History Page	Cezmi Yurtsever	Armenians' Turcophobia Has Transferred to the 21 <sup>st</sup> Century	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
19-Feb-2014	Milli Gazete	News Article	Mustafa Kılıç / İstanbul	They choose the poor	Christians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
20-Feb-2014	Antalya Hilal	News Article	Mustafa Kılıç / İstanbul	They choose the poor	Christians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
20-Feb-2014	Milat Gazetesi	Opinion Column	Adem Çaylak	Neroist Knights Templar	British, Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
21-Feb-2014	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Mevlüt Özcan	Jewish racism	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
24-Feb-2014	Konya Merhaba	News / Interview	Berkhan Parlak	Khojaly is Turkey's sore spot/Khojaly is our sore spot	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
24-Feb-2014	Yeşil Bayburt	News Article	Anonymous	Armenian Brutality in Photographs	Armenians	Enmity / War Discourse
24-Feb-2014	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Prof. Dr. Nurullah	Our base of getting up: 'Halal is a nation, liberty is	Christians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion

			Çetin	a state'		
24-Feb-2014	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Ekrem Şama	A blatant dead end	Christians, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
24-Feb-2014	Takvim	Opinion Column	Ergün Diler	Tape!	British, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
25-Feb-2014	Muğla Haber	Opinion Column	Hüseyin Akar	25/26 February 1992	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
25-Feb-2014	Samsun Manşet	Opinion Column	Dursen Özalemdar	Khojaly Armanian Massacre!	Armenians, Russians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
25-Feb-2014	Yeni Akit	News Article	Sinan Yavuzoğlu / Ankara	Zionist betrayal passed a century	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
26-Feb-2014	Türkiye	News Article	Anonymous	Khojaly genocide is not forgetten	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
26-Feb-2014	Karadeniz'd e İlk Haber	Editorial	Editor	Khojaly: The place where conscience is dead!	Armenians	Enmity / War Discourse
27-Feb-2014	Taka	Opinion Column	Muharrem Ulusoy	The Second Tanzimât (2)	Minorities, Kurds	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
27-Feb-2014	Zaman	News Article	Osman Uçak / Bakü / CİHAN	Khojaly martyrs were commemorated in the 22 <sup>nd</sup> anniversary of the massacre / Azebaijan cried for its Khojaly martyrs	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
27-Feb-2014	Çankırı'da Yenigün	News Article	Anonymous	"Our noble nation will remember Armenian immorality with rage and curse"	Armenians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
27-Feb-2014	Ortadoğu	News Article	Anonymous	'Khojaly massacre is one of the biggest calamities of the century'	Armenians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
27-Feb-2014	Önce Vatan	Conversati on	M. Kemal Sallı	Khojaly Massacre Is A Genocide	Armenians, Rûms	Enmity / War Discourse

27-Feb-2014	Kayseri Gündem	News Article	Mahmut Hop	He explained the wicked plan of Israel	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
28-Feb-2014	Önce Vatan	News Article	Mehmet Babar	22 <sup>nd</sup> Anniversary of Khojaly Massacre Was Commemorated in Iğdır	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
28-Feb-2014	Kırşehir Çiğdem	News Article	іна	22 <sup>nd</sup> Anniversary of Khojaly Massacre	Armenians	Enmity / War Discourse
28-Feb-2014	Sakarya Yenigün	News Article	Hakan Arslan	'Turkish nation will not forget'	Armenians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
28-Feb-2014	GAP Gündemi	Opinion Column	Mehmet İmre	In The Sight of Allah, The Only Religion is Islam	Jews, Christians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
03-Mar- 2014	Yeni Çağ	Time tunnel	Kerrar Esat Atalay	General structure of minority societies is built on disrupting national unity and integrity	Armenians, Jews, Rûms	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
05-Mar- 2014	Konya Yeni Haber	Opinion Column	Sezai Keskin	Pope and the Jews	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
07-Mar- 2014	Milli Gazete	News Article	Anonymous	Priests are in summit	Christians	Enmity / War Discourse
07-Mar- 2014	Yeni Akit	News Article	Sinan Yavuzoğlu / Ankara	In the center of betrayal are Crypto Jews	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
08-Mar- 2014	Milli Gazete	News Article	Anonymous	Hagia Sophia belongs to Islam!	Christians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
10-Mar- 2014	İstanbul Gazetesi	Opinion Column	Ahmet Özdemir	Nene Hatun in Erzurum Bastions	Armenians	Enmity / War Discourse
11-Mar- 2014	Gazete Akdeniz	Opinion Column	Vehbi Kaya	Snake and the fox	Armenians, Kurds	Enmity / War Discourse
12-Mar- 2014	Erzurum Yeni Gün	News Article	Samet Özünal	BROTHER'S BAIRAM / Today is bairam in ERZURUM	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
12-Mar- 2014	Trakya	News Article	іна	Khojaly massacre was condemned in Çerkezköy	Armenians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration

12-Mar- 2014	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Mustafa Çelik	Reactionaries of the Islamic ummah	Christians, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
12-Mar- 2014	Takvim	Opinion Column	Ergün Diler	GÜLEN'S CHOICE	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
14-Mar- 2014	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Hasan Karakaya	Why didn't Fethullah Gülen issue a message of condolence for Burak?	Western societies	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
14-Mar- 2014	Önce Vatan	Opinion Column	Mustafa Akkoca	Do not tend to tyrants, do not vote for them!	Jews, Armenians, Rûms	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
17-Mar- 2014	Konya Hakimiyet	Opinion Column	Yaman Adam	Before it is too late	Christians, Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
18-Mar- 2014	Yeni Marmara	News Article	Anonymous	İnegöl did not forget the 'Khojaly'/ İnegöl did not forget the 'Khojaly Massacre'	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
18-Mar- 2014	Sabah	Opinion Column	Hasan Celal Güzel	Sorrow and pride on the 'Day of the Martyrs'	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
18-Mar- 2014	Alanya Güneşi	Opinion Column	İbrahim Akdağ	Motherland is	Armenians, Jews	Enmity / War Discourse
18-Mar- 2014	Yeni Akit	Readers' mail	Mücahit Akıncı	Gülen is not prudent, he is arrogant	Christians, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
18-Mar- 2014	Takvim	Opinion Column	Bekir Hazar	SOCIAL MEDIA!!!	British, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
18-Mar- 2014	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Şevki Yılmaz	Fortress fell due to the treachery of those who invite trouble!	Masons	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
19-Mar- 2014	Ortadoğu	Article Series Research	Yavuz Müftüoğlu	The Day We Made Our Mark In History	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
20-Mar- 2014	Takvim	Opinion Column	Bekir Hazar	Eyvallah!	Masons, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion

20-Mar- 2014	Kayseri Gündem	Opinion Column	Vedat Önal	He Did Not Satify Either Kayseri or Turkey -2	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
20-Mar- 2014	Yeni Akit	News Article	Haber Merkezi	Erdoğan: Gülen became like Jews	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
21-Mar- 2014	Anayurt	Opinion Column	Cenap Serdar	Treason ve treacheries -1-	Armenians, Kurds	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
24-Mar- 2014	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Akın Aydın	To Cheat the Turk with a Turk	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
25-Mar- 2014	Kayseri Star Haber	Opinion Column	Mustafa Temizer	What have we been forced into doing ever since history?	Armenians, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
25-Mar- 2014	Takvim	Opinion Column	Bekir Hazar	Rotten!!!	Rûms, Armenians, Jews, British	Enmity / War Discourse
25-Mar- 2014	Gaziantep Referans	Opinion Column	Zabit Durmuş	ARE THESE INCIDENTS TO PREVENT PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO GAZA?	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
25-Mar- 2014	Konya Telgraf	Opinion Column	Saffet Alp Kuramaz	Rotten apple	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
26-Mar- 2014	Yeni Konya	Opinion Column	Kazım Öztürk	Çanakkale Should Never Be Forgotten and Made Forgotten	Christians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
27-Mar- 2014	Ankara Belde	Opinion Column	Prof. Dr. Nurullah Çetin	Tragedia of the Village Dog	Christians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
28-Mar- 2014	Konya Anadoluda Bugün	Opinion Column	Özcan Dalgıç	Çanakkale: For A National Soul for Our Children -2	Christians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
28-Mar- 2014	Kıbrıs Havadis	Opinion Column	Eşref Çetinel	DID YOU UNDERSTAND HOW PEACEFUL AND PRO- SOLUTION THE RÛMS ARE?	Rûms	Enmity / War Discourse
31-Mar- 2014	Milat Gazetesi	Opinion Column	Seyit Mehmet	Yorgos take action	Greeks, Rûms	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion

			Deniz			
01-Apr-2014	Milli Gazete	News Article	Anonymous	March 31 <sup>st</sup> victims are commemorated	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
03-Apr-2014	Yeni Akit	News Article	Anonymous	A handful of Turk prevented the raid	Armenians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
04-Apr-2014	Anayurt	Opinion Column	Hamdi Yılmaz	"You lost Karabakh, Mount Ararat is Ours"	Armenians	Enmity / War Discourse
04-Apr-2014	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Haydar Baş	Greater Middle East Initiative as a project of exploitation	Christians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
04-Apr-2014	Ortadoğu	News Article	Anonymous	Turkish in cold storage	Kurds	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
04-Apr-2014	Lüleburgaz Hürfikir	Opinion Column	İlyas Şen	Those who want to take this country through the back door	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
07-Apr-2014	Kıbrıs Havadis	Opinion Column	Eşref Çetinel	THE THING THAT BOTHERS US, IN SHORT: (THAT WHO WANTS AND PROTECTS THE PEACE IS THE TURKISH SIDE)	Armenians, Rûms	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
07-Apr-2014	Kıbrıs Vatan	Opinion Column	Ahmet M. Kerim	As a Rûm	Rûms	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
07-Apr-2014	Yeni Çağ	News Article	Anonymous	Rampageous Rûms set our flag on fire!/ Rûms burnt the Turkish flag	Rûms	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
09-Apr-2014	Önce Vatan	Opinion Column	Muhsin Bozkurt	Eastern Reality MY TURKEY IS SPOTLESS	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
11-Apr-2014	Çorum Haber	Opinion Column	Selahattin Aydemir	FABRICATED APRIL 24 <sup>TH</sup> IS COMING	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
11-Apr-2014	Konya Postası	News Article	News Center	"If Damascus is gone, İstanbul falls!"	Christians, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion

14-Apr-2014	Karadeniz Panaroma	News Article	Anonymous	"Atrocity is never forever! Malice will absolutely be frustrated."	Christians, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
15-Apr-2014	Kıbrıs Halkın Sesi	"50 Years Ago Today"	Dr. Fazıl Küçük	Turkish mother raised her sonorous voice	Rûms	Enmity / War Discourse
16-Apr-2014	Samsun Haber	Opinion Column	H. Mustafa Genç	April 24 and Religious Affairs -II-	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
16-Apr-2014	Yeni Akit	News Article	Hasan Önal / TBMM Bureau	They are more despicable than the enemy	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
16-Apr-2014	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Mustafa Çelik	Nobility is not in the blood but in the faith	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
18-Apr-2014	Çorum Gazetesi	News Article	Anonymous	GENOCIDE: The biggest lie of the world	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
21-Apr-2014	Gaziantep Haber	Opinion Column	Prof. Dr. Mehmet Özarslan	Who killed whom in 1915?	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
21-Apr-2014	Gazette Adana	Opinion Column	Adnan Fişenk	To bite the hand that feeds you	Armenians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
22-Apr-2014	Milli Gazete	News Article	News Center	MUSLIM! EXPLAIN THIS!	Atheists	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
22-Apr-2014	Adana Ekspres Gazetesi	News Article	İHA	Celebration of Turkish Nationalist Forces (Kuva-yi Milliye) in Karaisalı	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
22-Apr-2014	İzmir Haber Ekspres	Opinion Column	Atty A. Erdem Akyüz	A Turkish and Armenian Problem	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
22-Apr-2014	İzmir Son Dakika	Opinion Column	Özcan Pehlivanoğl u	We Could Not Understand Our Armenian Problem	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
22-Apr-2014	Yeni Çağ	News Article	Anonymous	Armenians attacked Turkish office!/An attack to Turkish tourism office	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion

22-Apr-2014	Gazette Adana	Opinion Column	Adnan Fişenk	To bite the hand that feeds you 2	Armenians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
22-Apr-2014	Milli Gazete	News Article	Anonymous	Gedikli martyrs were commemorated	Armenians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
22-Apr-2014	Konya Postası	Opinion Column	Muharrem Balatekin	Wild East!	Kurds	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
23-Apr-2014	Milli Gazete	News Article	News Center	They started to attack / Here are their purposes!	Atheists	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
23-Apr-2014	Önce Vatan	News Article	Mehmet Babar	1919 Martyrs Were Commemorated in Iğdır	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
23-Apr-2014	Yeni Çağ	News Article	Anonymous	We are going to fight for the indivisible unity of the homeland	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
23-Apr-2014	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Mustafa Çelik	The habit of taking Allah's harams as halal	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
24-Apr-2014	Samsun Halk	Opinion Column	Ragıp Göker	What Did Arabs Think in Bandırma Ship	Arabs	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
24-Apr-2014	Konya Memleket	Opinion Column	Salih Sedat Ersöz	Turkey even saw this, what will happen to the homeland?	Atheists	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
24-Apr-2014	Milli Gazete	News Article	Anonymous	NEGLIGENCE!/ They became a subject of praise for the government	Atheists	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
24-Apr-2014	Adana Yenigün	News Article	іна	The extent of the massacre is gut wrenching	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
24-Apr-2014	İstanbul Gazetesi	Opinion Column	Hulûsi Yavaşlar	99 years old lie of Armenian Genocide	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
24-Apr-2014	Konya Yenigün	Opinion Column	Anuş Gökçe	ARMENIAN GENOCIDE LIE AND THE HISTORICAL TURTH-1	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion

24-Apr-2014	Yeni Çağ	News Article	Anonymous	Armenian inititative after the Kurdish initiative /	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
				"Armenia" initiative after "Kurdistan"		
24-Apr-2014	Bizim Anadolu Gazetesi	Opinion Column	Nazım Güvenç	"April 24": one gains the self-reliance	Armenians	Enmity / War Discourse
24-Apr-2014	Sözcü	Opinion Column	Emin Çölaşan	The genocide of ours (!)	Armenians	Enmity / War Discourse
24-Apr-2014	Yeni Çağ	Memoir/ Comment	Cazim Gündüz	Diaspora's 'deportation' rent /The dead awakens, the accounts are settled	Armenians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
24-Apr-2014	Kırıkkale Haber Kale	Opinion Column	Mehmet Gençer	My Nobel Peace Prize Nominee is Prime Minister Erdoğan	Kurds	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
24-Apr-2014	Takvim	Opinion Column	Bekir Hazar	While crossing the bridge, you shall keep your eyes open!!!	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
24-Apr-2014	Takvim	Opinion Column	Ergün Diler	The Turk's mind	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
27-Apr-2014	Bugün	Opinion Column	Nazlı Ilıcak	While showing courage	Gypsies	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
28-Apr-2014	Konya Hakimiyet	Opinion Column	Dursun Seyis	A selection of topics!	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
28-Apr-2014	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Nazif Kurucu	NAGORNO-KARABAKH GENOCIDE AND OUR MARTYRED DIPLOMATS	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
28-Apr-2014	Yeni Çağ	Opinion Column	M. Hanefi Bostan	Wake up national conscience	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
28-Apr-2014	Samsun Yenises	Opinion Column	Fikret Karadeniz	ARMENIAN ATROCITY AND NEW TRAPS	Armenians	Enmity / War Discourse
28-Apr-2014	Kocaeli Pusula	Opinion Column	M. Nejat Gacar	THE ALLEGED ARMENIAN, REAL OTTOMAN SLAUGHTER!.	Armenians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration

29-Apr-2014	Çorum Hakimiyet	Opinion Column	Anonymous	"Armenians should make the apology, not us"	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
29-Apr-2014	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Ali Öncü	FIRST OF ALL NATURALIZE MESKHETIAN TURKS	Armenians	Enmity / War Discourse
30-Apr-2014	İstanbul Gazetesi	Opinion Column	Necdet Buluz	"Armenians slaughtered 1 million Turks"	Armenians	Enmity / War Discourse
30-Apr-2014	İzmir Son Dakika	Opinion Column	Özcan Pehlivanoğl u	WOULD WHAT HAPPENED IN BOSNIA HAPPEN IN TURKEY?	Armenians, Rûms	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
30-Apr-2014	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Mehmed Şevket Eygi	They want to subvert Islam and Muslims from the inside.	Christians, Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
30-Apr-2014	Karadenizde Son Nokta	Opinion Column	Osman Diyadin	We are from the Black Sea!	Kurds	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion

#### **EXAMPLES BY CATEGORY**

#### Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion

Title: Khojaly martyrs were commemorated in the 22<sup>nd</sup> anniversary of the massacre / Azerbaijan cried for its Khojaly martyrs Newspaper: Zaman Date: February 27, 2014 Type: News Article Author: Osman Uçak / Baku / CİHAN

The news article published in Zaman newspaper is а significant example of how subtle the distinction between information transfer and hate speech. Instead of using expressions like "Armenians killed (...)", "Armenian forces" etc. if the article used "Forces of Armenia", "Army of Armenia", then it would differentiate the countries who did the action and an identity which contains more people than a country. Consequently, the discourse generated and the language used could be accepted to some extent as protecting those who belong to the mentioned group and are in a vulnerable position.

## Hocalı şehitleri, katliamın 22. yıldönümünde anıldı

🔪 📕 Dağlık Karabağ bölgesindeki Hocalı kasabasında 26 Subat 1992'de Ermeniler tarafından öldürülen Azeri siviller, katliamın 22. yıldönümünde Azerbaycan ve Türkiye'de düzenlenen törenlerle anıldı. Bakü'de Hocalı sehitleri icin dikilen 'Ana Feryadı' anıtı önünde gerçekleştirilen törene Azerbaycan Cumhurbaşkanı İlham Aliyev ile birlikte binlerce Azeri katıldı. Ülkenin dört bir vanından gelen vatandaşlar, şehitlik önünde uzun kuyruklar oluşturdu. Sivil toplum kuruluşları, siyasî partiler, ülkedeki bazı büyükelçilikler ve kanlı olayın şahitleri anıta çelenk koydu. NDIŞ HABER 15

#### **Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion**

Title: The scenario of child brides Newspaper: Doğru Haber Date: January 17, 2014 Type: Opinion Column Author: Aynur Sülün

The title of the news article is based on the news about a 14 year old, Kader Erten, who was found shot to dead with a rifle in Pervari, Siirt. Erten was married off and was referred to as a "child bride" in the media. Stating that she takes side with the idea that, for minors, instead of being "encouraged to licentiousness", they should be able to use "the right Allah rendered halal", Aynur Sülün blames organizations and people, who are against early marriage, for "legitimizing licentiousness" and purports that their purpose is to shape the society according to the Westerners' sinful lives. By defining Western societies according to her own point of view, Sülün defines gay couples' right to adopt a child as "state giving away a child from the orphanage" like there is no legal procedure for adopting a child; she reflects welfare for single mothers as something "not normal" and in order to tell how disconnected the family bonds in Western societies are, she says old people are "found dead many years later in their houses". By using these examples she conveys several systems in Western societies and singular events that can be encountered anywhere with exaggeration and distortion. Hereby she interrelates the people she classifies under Western societies and Turkish people in an otherness relation.

#### Çocuk gelinler senaryosu

Siirt'in Pervari ilçesinde ölü bir şekilde bulunan ve 12 yaşında evlendiği, 14 yaşında anne olduğu söylenen Kader hakkında ortalık ayağa kalktı. Her gün kadın ölümleri, cinayet ve intihar olaylarını yansıtan medya bu olayı kaç gündür gündem yapıp sulandırıyor ve bu konu üzerinden programlar yapılıyor. Çocuk gelinler konusunda çeşitli paneller düzenleniyor. Ölen şahısın ailesi her ne kadar onun yaşının kimlikte küçük yazıldığını ve gerçek yaşı olmadığını söylese de medya yaş konusunu abarttıkça abartıyor. Çünkü piyasaya sürülmesi gereken senaryo hazırdı ve uygun zamanını buldu.

Yıllardır 18 yaş altı evliliklerin önüne geçilmesi gerektiğini düşünüp bu durumu kadına şiddet olarak değerlendiren "ÇOCUK GELİNLER DERNEĞİ", "UÇAN SÜPÜRGE DERNEĞİ" gibi dernekler 54 bin imza toplayıp bu evliliklerin kanunen yasaklanması için TBMM'ye yasa teklifinde bulunmuşlardı. Bu yasaya göre çocuğunu 18 yaşın altında evlendiren ebeveynler cezaya çarptırılacak ve çocuklarına el konulacaktı. Kadın derneklerinin onca ısrarlarına ve dayatmalarına rağmen teklifleri henüz mecliste onanmadı. İşte bu olay da ortalığı gümbürtüye vermelerine zemin hazırlamış oldu.

Yanlış anlaşılmasın ben 12-13 yaşında olan evliliklerin yanlısı ve savunucusu değilim. Fakat bunca ahlaksızlığa özendirme varken buluğ çağına girmiş bir genç eğer evlenmek istiyorsa Allah'ın helal kıldığı hakkı ailesi ona tanımalı ve yardımcı olmalıdır. Böylece zinanın önüne geçilmiş olacaktır. Aslında bu çocuk gelinler safsatasını ortaya atanların amacı nikâhı ortadan kaldırıp zinayı meşrulaştırmaktır. Sistem, toplumu zinaya teşvik ederken, zina ortaokul yaşına kadar inmişken bunlara çözüm üretmek, gençliğe ahlak ve edep kazandırmak düşüncesinde olmayanlar ve gençlerin her türlü melaneti yapmasını ve hatta hamile kalıp kürtaj olmasını dahi bir hak olarak görenler, iş aile olmaya gelince bunu zulüm olarak görüyorlar. İşte rezaletlerin en beteri de bu değil mi? 18 yaş altı yuva kuramaz, ama zina



yapabilir.

Bu olayın hemen ardından Üniversiteli Kadınlar Derneği (TÜKO) bir panel düzenleyip kadın haklarını savunan derneklerle bir araya geldi. Panelde 18 yaş altı evli kızların resmi kayıtlarda bulunmadığı, resmi kayıtlarda geçen çocuk gelinlerin geçen çocuk gelinlerin sayısının 4 senede 181 bine ulaştığı açıklanıp bu acı rakamların önüne geçilmesi gerektiği vurgulandı. Konuşma yapan Antalya Milletvekili Gürkuk Acar, konunun kadının istihdamıyla ilgili olduğunu söyleyip şu açıklamayı yaptı: "Kadınlar 3-5 çocuk sahibi olmaya yönlendirilerek iş yaşamından uzaklaştırılırken kürtaj yasağı ile kendi üzerlerindeki haklarına izin verilmemektedir. Türkiye bu şiddetten etkilenmektedir."

Ne dönemlere kaldık, kimlerin eline düştük? Allah bu toplumu bu zihniyetle şekillendirmeye çalışanların ellerinden kurtarsın. Toplumu işte böyle ahlaksızlığı meşru, Allah'ın helal kıldıklarını zulüm olarak gören insanlar şekillendiriliyor. Tek amaçları nesli, aileyi, toplumu tahrip etmek. Batılıların batık hayatlarına göre toplumu şekillendirmek. Artık karşı cins ile tatmin olmayıp köpeklerle evlenen ve çocuk sahibi olmak yerine köpek sahibi olmayı tercih eden; köpekleşmiş ruhlarına ancak köpeğin hitap edeceğini anlayan Batı'nın kokmuş neyi varsa onu dayatma peşindeler. Avrupa'da artık hastanelerin yanında cocuğundan kurtulmak isteyen anneler için bir bölme yapılmış. Amaç; çocukların çöpe atılmasını, tuvalete bırakılmasını veya öldürülmesini engellemek. Hastane personelleri her gün orayı kontrol edip bırakılan bebekleri topluyor ve sağlık kontrolünün ardından yetimhanelere teslim ediyor. Yine Avrupa'da bebeklerinin ağlamasına tahammül edemeyen aileler onlara düşük düzeyde uyuşturucu içeren ilaçlar veriyorlar. İşte Avrupa'nın vicdansız, haz odaklı ve ferdiyetçi hayatlarının bataklığa dönüşü, yani batışı, bitişi, yok oluşu!

Yine Avrupa'da eşcinsel evlilik yapanların çocukları olmuyor diye o duyguyu da tatmak isteyenlere devlet yetimhaneden çocuk veriyor. Bekârken anne olmak isteyenlere sahip çıkıp maaş bağlıyor ve çocuğunun tüm temel ihtiyaçlarını, eğitim masraflarını karşılıyor. Aile bağlarının tamamen koptuğu Avrupa'da yaşlıların ölüsü evlerinde seneler sonra bulunuyor. İşte Avrupa'nın bu hayat standartları toplumumuza dayatılıp normalleştirilmeye çalışılıyor.

Toplumu şekillendiren ve dizayn eden siyaset eli ile toplumumuz helake doğru sürüklenmeye çalışılıyor. HÜDA PAR'la inşallah kirli oyunlar son bulup bu millet felah bulacak. Üstelik insanlığını kaybetmiş Avrupa'nın da yeniden insani standartlara kavuşabilmesi için HÜDA PAR'a ihtiyacı vardır. Tüm dünyaya kurtuluş projeleri sunacak olan HÜDA PAR'ın yolunu Rabbimiz açık eylesin. Bizler, Allah'ın yardımı ve zaferinin onun uğrunda nice sıkıntılara göğüs gerenlere ulaşacağına iman etmişiz. Selam ve dua ile...

#### Blasphemy/Insult/Denigration

Title: To bite the hand that feeds you! Newspaper: Gazette Adana Date: April 21, 2014 Type: Opinion Column Author: Adnan Fişenk

Although based on different sources there could be different interpretations of history and these interpretations might have explicable political foundations; Adnan Fişenk, in the article based on the April 24 commemoration, defends his ideas by using expressions like "can you see how shameless they are", "carrions", "more aggressive than the mad dogs' seeing red", "nobody could have stopped these stark raving mad people", in a way far beyond the calm manner to approach history. He uses a language that adds fuel to the flames between Turkish people and the Armenians and justifies possible violence.



Küresel toplumun fertleri biz insanlar, yaşa-dığımız bu dünya, Tavistock ve İlluminatı yönetim sınıfının izin verdiği ve programladığı kadar demokrat, liberal, sosyal demokrat, yada muhafazakar oldurulursak, dünya siyasileri olarak işte aynen birçok şeyde üzerimize çullandıkları gibi, ermeni meselesinde de olduğu gibi, Türk kamuoyu üzerinde (tabii bu sistemi diledikleri ülkelere de tatbik ederler, hedef ülke kimi seçerlerse genelde de bu ülkeler ne hikmeti ilahi ise hep Müslüman ağırlıklı ülkelerdir.!) Toplum mühendisleriyle, dönüştürücü, değiştirici, hatta köleleştirici bir sistemi dikta etmeye var güçleriyle calışırlar.Bu güçler öyle etkin ve aktif haldedir ki bunların bir ayağı Mısır'da - Musa da bir ayağı Kudüside İsaidır. Neyse biz konumuza gelelim fazla dağıtmayalım.

Bir Ermeni meselesidir gırla gidiyor 24 Nisan Ermeni soykırımı ilan edildi. 100.yılı kutlamaları için büyük hazırlık içindeler utanmadan sıkılmadan adamlardaki arsızlığa bakar mısınız, sütten çıkma ak kaşıklar adeta, en son hocalı katliamını sanki hiç yapmamışlar o kadar masumlar ki,ne hikmeti ilahiyse hep Türk'ler yakalayıp, yakalayıp bunları öldürmüşler, yalan olur da bu kadar olmaz, yani biz Türk'lerde bu kadar ermeni öldürme dürtüsü olsaydı Osmanlı imparatorluğunun en güçlü olduğu, en tavan yaptığı ve hiçbir dünya devletinin gıkını bile çıkaramadığı zaman da Bu Fatih Sultan zamanı, Kanuni Sultan zaman'ı, Yavuz Sultan zamanı olurdu, komple dünya'dan ırkınızı kazırlardı da bir Allah'ın kulu da hesap soramazdı.Bizim Ata babalarımız oysaki size o zamanın koşullarında ki en kaliteli yaşam şeklini hiçbir ayrım yapmadan sunmuşlar.Sizler bunlara karşılık ne yapmışsınız, anlatayım isterseniz de utanmazsınız, ama en azından yalanlarınız ortaya çıksın.Osmanlı Devletinin 19.yüzyılda önce Rusya sonra İngiltere ve diğer Batılı emperyalist devletler Rumeli'deki Hıristiyan halkları ve Anadolu'daki Ermenileri Osmanlı Devleti'ne karsı isyana tahrik ve teşvik etmiştir. 93 harbi diye bilinen Türklerin venilgisi ile biten 1877 - 1878 Türk - Rus Savaşından sonra Türkler, 500 yıldan sonra sahip oldukları Rumeli topraklarından sökülüp atıldılar. Bu durum Ermenileri de harekete geçirdi. Ermeni patriği ve Ermeni ileri gelenleri Türk temasından olmalarına rağmen Rus başkumandanı Grandük Nikola'yı tebrike gittiler. Anadolu'da hicbir verde coğunluk olmadıkları halde, kendilerine Ermenistan devleti kurulmasını istediler.Bunda başarılı olamadılar ama Ermeni adı ilk defa uluslararası bir antlaşmaya yani 1878 Yeşilköy Türk - Rus Antlaşmasına girmiş oldu. Sonrasında gelişen İngiliz - Rus rekabeti ve diğer devletlerin vardımı ile Ermeni terör örgütleri iste

devletlerin yardımı ile Ermeni terör örgütleri işte o tarihlerde kuruldu. Anadolu'nun çeşitli şehirlerinde Osmanlı Devletine karşı işyanlar başlatıldı.

14 Kasım 1914 yılında Almanlarıın oyunu ile Osmanlı Devleti, İngiltere, Fransa ve Rusya ile savaşa girmiştir. 1. Dünya savaşında birçok cephede savaşmaktan Osmanlı Devleti yorgun, bitkin ,bir o kadar da yoksullaşmış, bir çok şeyini de kaybetmiş olarak çıkmıştır. Bunlardan en önemlisi de yitirilen binlerce canlar, olmasına rağmen biçare kalanlarıyla Çanakkale'de , Filistin'de, ve Balkanlar'da Rusya, İngiltere, Fransa gibi ülkelerle kahramanca Osmanlı sınırları içindeki halkının bekası için savaşmış olmasıdır . Fakat bu duruma düşmesini fırsat sayan leş yiyiciler de boş duramazdı elbette, fıtratlarının gereğini yerine getirmekle meşguldüler.

Cephe gerisinde yaralı, sivil, silahsız çocuk, kadın ve yaşlılara yönelik saldırı, katliamlar bu zamana kadar dost bildikleri, komşu belledikleri Ermeniler tarafından sinsice, kahpece, kalleşçe,acımasızca yapılmaktaydı.

Bu isyancı ermeni çeteciler Osmanlı Devleti'nin savaştığı devletler tarafından özelliklede Rusya tarafından organize ediliyorlardı. Bu çeteler Osmanlı askerlerini ikmal yollarına, Müslüman Osmanlı halkına saldırılarının şiddetini artırdı. Osmanlı Devleti Başkenti İstanbul'a özellikle doğudan gelen raporlar hiç iç açıcı değildi .Bu çetelerin yapmış oldukları vahşetin boyutunu artık ifade edemiyorlardı. Erkeklerinin neredeyse tamamına yakınını cephelere gönderen Müslüman Osmanlı halkı korumasız ve savunmasızdı. Rus işgali adeta bu Ermenileri coşturmuştu , gözünü kan bürümüş kuduz köpeklerden daha bir saldırgan ruh haline sokmuştu. Vahşette sınır tanımıyorlardı. Yıllardır bilinç altında sakladıkları kin, nefret ve ezikliklerini bütün yapılan iyiliklere rağmen acımasızca açığa vuruyorlardı . Maske düşmüş gerçek ortaya çıkmıştı ama artık çok geçti, Osmanlı Devleti koynunda bir yılan beslemişti. Artık bu kudurmuşları kimse durduramazdı. Müslüman Osmanlı halkının kanını canını alıp, kanını ice, ice gözlerini Van sehrine diktiler hatta Van'ı hayallerinde kurdukları Ermeni devletine baskent olarak düsünmekten kendilerini alamadılar . Van'a saldırdılar 1915 Nisan'ında önce Van ve çevresinde ayaklanmalar çıkarıldı. Van'a girdiklerinde Van'da dünyada belkide eşi benzeri olmayacak işkence, tecavüz ve katliam yaptılar, o kadar çok insana kıvmışlardı ki caddeler cesetlerden geçilmiyor, yerler kan gölüne bürünmüştü . Şehit edilenler tamamı sivil halkıdı, kadın, çocuk,yaşlılardı. Katliamları nice sonra aynı Bosnalı Müslümanlara reva görülen gibi, toplu mezarlarda 1990 yılında yapılan kazılarda ortaya çıkarıldı Azerbaycanlı Türklere yaptıkları gibi bu coğrafyada sistematik bir etnik temizlik gerçek bir soykırımını ermeliler yapmıştır.Doğudan gelen bu katliam haberleri ve resmi raporlar artık bunlara bir dur demek zamanın gelmişte geçmiş bile olduğu anlaşılmaktaydı artık. Osmanlı Devletinin Başkenti İstanbul devredeydi artık ilk olarak batı himayesinde ve batı destekli faaliyet gösteren ermeni komitelerinin kapatılması emrini verdi.

(Devamı yarın)

#### Blasphemy/Insult/Denigration

Title: Rampageous Rûms set our flag on fire!../ Rûms burnt the Turkish flag Newspaper: Yeni Çağ Date: April 7, 2014 Type: News Article Author: Anonymous

The news article is based upon an event in that a Turkish flag was burnt in Apoel grandstands, during a match played between Omonia Nicosia and Apoel Nicosia in 1<sup>st</sup> League Championship Group in Greek Cypriot Side. While handling a topic that is newsworthy, the news article puts hostile feelings before information by using expressions that generate hate speech. Even if the expression "rampageous" in the title had been used to indicate the fans of a certain team, it would have been an insulting meaning. Besides the article uses a title that generates hostile feelings from a singular event towards all Rûms and reinforces misunderstandings when not read in detail.





Lefkoşa'nın Rum kesimindeki derbi maçta Omonia'ya sözde gönderme yapan APOEL taraftarı, tribünde Türk bayrağı yaktı.

# Azgın Rumlar bayrağımızı ateşe verdi!..

**KIBRIS** Rum Kesimi 1. futbol liginde Omonia Nicosia ile APOEL Nicosia arasında oynanan derbi, Türk düşmanlığına sahne oldu. Omonia'yı Türk sempatizanlığıyla suçlayan APOEL taraftarı, tribünde Türk bayrağı yaktı. Futbol Federasyonu ve yetkililerin UEFA'ya başvuru yapıp yapmayacağı merakla bekleniyor. **Sayfa** 14

#### Enmity / War Discourse

Title: "A typical British treachery"<sup>10</sup> Newspaper: Kıbrıs Halkın Sesi Date: January 22, 2014 Type: News Article Author: Anonymous

Even if the statement of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus Security Forces Command Retired Noncommissioned Officers' Association President, Esen Ömürlü, about the accord signed between Greek Cypriot Administration of Southern Cyprus and Britain about the land and immovable properties within the British base territories, was cited in quotation marks in the title of the news article, the choice of expression in question results in re-generating a hostile discourse. In addition, by using the sentence "We will not retreat from any struggle against any attacks that could take place" in his statement, Ömürlü covertly implies war and violence threats. On the other hand, by citing these statements without including the opinions of the other side, the newspaper makes a unilateral publishing and supports hate speech.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Whereas the same news is published in Kıbrıs Volkan newspaper by the title "Why don't Turkey and TRNC react?", the expression "A typical British-Rûm treachery" is used in the subtitle for the continuing news body.

### **"Tipik bir İngiliz kalleşliği"** GKK Emekli Astsubaylar

Derneği, "Egemenliğimize karşı yapılmaya çalışılan saldırılara karşı uyanık olmalıyız" dedi

KKTC Güvenlik Kuvvetleri Komutanlığı Emekli Astsubaylar Derneği Başkanı Esen Ömürlü, Güney Kıbrıs Rum Yönetimi ile İngiltere arasında imzalanan İngiliz üs bölgeleri içerisindeki arazi ve taşınmaz mallarla ilgili anlaşmayı kınadı.

KKTC makamlarından ve garantör Türkiye'den, bugüne kadar bu konuda resmi bir açıklama yapılmamış olmasını da eleştirerek, bu durumu "kuşku verici ve manidar" olarak niteleyen Ömürlü, "Zaman KKTC Devleti'ne ve halkımızın egemen varlığına karşı yapılmaya çalışılan saldırılara karşı uyanık olma ve mücadele etme zamanıdır" dedi.

Ömürlü dün yayınladığı açıklamada, Kıbrıs Türk halkının 1960 Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti'ndeki siyasi eşit ortaklığını ve egemen varlığını yok sayan bu girişimi, tipik bir İngiliz "kalleşliği" olarak değerlendirdiklerini belirtti.

Esen Ömürlü, "Bunu, Kıbrıs Türk halkına, Rum tahakkümünü dayatıcı ve Rumları tüm Kıbrıs'ın hakimi kılma oyununun, bir parçası olarak değerlendiriyoruz" dedi.

Ömürlü, şöyle devam etti:

"Adil ve kalıcı bir çözümden kaçan, sözde ortak açıklama ile müzakere sürecini, kendi lehlerine ipotek altına almaya çalışan Rumların bu ve benzer oyunlarına karşı sessiz kalmayacağız. KKTC Devletine ve halkımızın Egemen varlığına yönelik olarak, nereden gelirse gelsin, vaki olacak tüm saldırılara karşı, hiçbir mücadeleden kaçmayacağız. Çözüm adına, tek Egemenliği savunarak, mandacılığa boyun eğmeye çalışanlara geçit vermeyeceğiz... Siyasi mutlak eşitliğimize ve Egemen bir halk olarak, Egemen ortaklığımıza dayanmayacak çözümlere karşı, her mücadeleyi kararlılıkla sürdüreceğimizin bilinmesinde büyük yarar görüyoruz."

#### Enmity / War Discourse

Title: To Stand Tall!! Newspaper: Taka Date: January 2, 2014 Type: Opinion Column Author: Muharrem Ulusoy

Without basing his article on a specific topic, after Ulusoy starts with patriotism and telling that the source of patriotism is the Quran, he continues saying "The West and the treacherous among us de facto started occupying our country by the support from indifference of our governors!" and expressing that the Christians and the Jews are always "mischievous, shifty and hypocritical". Excluding possible different interpretations and the context of the Surah Al- Maidah, which we have encountered in the previous reports as well, Ulusoy cites "Whoever is ally to them is one of them" and says "For a Muslim, identity of the enemies are expressed clearly". Then by continuing with the sentence "We all know that our biggest enemy is the Christian Europe since we first arrived in Anatolia", the writer contributes to generate enmity, which contains potential for violence, between Christians, Jews and Muslims.

#### **DIK DURMAK!**

Vatan sevgisi imandandır. Vatan, din ve millet sözcükleri

gerçek vatanperverin ruhunda farklı heyecan yaşatır. Vatanını seven, hakikatte onun uğrunda canını ve malını seve seve feda edendir. Çünkü bizdeki vatan sevgisinin kaynağı Kuran'dır! Bizler vatan uğrunda kan-

larıyla destanlar yazmış, tarihi her adım toprakta şüheda ile yoğrulmuş; Maveraünnehir'de tattığımız aşk şerbetini iki bin yıldır yudumlayan bir milletiz! Oğuz Kağan'la "Ya Devlet Başa, Ya Kuzgun Leşe" diyerek yola çıktık; buna Mustafa Kemâl'le "Ya İstiklâl, Ya Ölüm" andıyla karşılık verdik. Asla eğilmedik!

Yüce Allah (cc) vatanın kutsi-

bütün acımasızlığıyla devam

etmektedir! Batı ve icimizdeki hainler. idarecilerimizin aymazlığından destek bularak ülkemizi fiilen isgale başlamışlar! Hıristiyan ve Yahudiler her zaman fitnedir, kaypak Muharrem ULUSOY ve riyakârdır... Bu nedenle onlara asla

güvenilmez! Allah, ayetinde "Onları dost edinen

onlardandır" (Maide 51) buyurmaktadır. Bu ayetle, Müslüman için düşmanların kimliği açıkça belirtilmiştir. Dolayısıyla vatanımızı düşmana karşı Allah'ın ipine sımsıkı sarılarak müdafaa etmek zorundayız. Ancak böyle olursa bize emanet edilen bu güzel vatanı biz de bizden sonrakilere kusursuz olarak bırakabili-

Yüce Allah (cc) vatanın kutsiyetini ve müdafaa edilmesini açıkça emrediyor; "Size harp hiç durmamış, günümüzde bile açanlarla, fitne kalmayıncaya ve din sadece Allah'ın oluncaya kadar, Allah yolunda savaşın!" (Bakara 190,193) Sevgili Peygamber Efendimiz de hadislerinde "Düşmana karsı silahınızla güçlü olun."

> buyurmaktadır. Kuran'da buyrulduğu ve Peygamber Efendimizin de vurgu vaptığı üzere vatana sahip olmak varlığımızın gereğidir. Çünkü vatanın bağımsız olması, üzerinde yaşayan milletin de hür olmasının işaretidir. Bu nedenledir ki tarih sahnesinde, ecdadımız bunu hep üstün vasıflarla başarmış ve tüm dünyaya "Türk Gibi Kuvvetli" devimini parmak ısırtarak söyletmiştir. Anadolu'ya ayak basalı beri en büyük düşmanımızın Hıristiyan Avrupa olduğunu hepimiz biliriz! Kan içici Haçlı Ordularının saldırıları asırlar boyunca

re kusursuz olarak bırakabiliriz. Üçüncü bin yılın başlarını yaşadığımız bu yıllarda idarecilerimiz sık sık "Siyasetimizde dik durmaktan taviz vermeyiz" diye bir ifade kullanır oldular. Bu nasıl dik durmak ki idraki mümkün değil! Sen gel "AB olmazsa olmazımızdır" diyerek Türkiye düşmanlarıyla göz göre göre ittifak yap; fitratımıza ters Medeniyetlerin Çatışmayacağı" iddiasıyla maneviyatımızı Hıristiyan Batı'ya alay konusu et; camilerimiz dökülürken Atatürk'ün "Kesinlikle kapatılmalıdır" dediği yabancı vakıfları ve kiliseleri ihya et: Mehmetçik'in başına çuval geçirilmesine aldırma; ülkeni müttefiklerinin emirleri doğrultusunda böl parçala ve buna demokrasi de... Ondan sonra da sıkılmadan dik durmaktan bahset! Yoksa modern çağın "Dik Durus" anlayışı bu mudur?

#### **OTHER DISADVANTAGED GROUPS**

**34** articles, which consist of 30 articles that were not included in the first part due to differences in groups targeted (**women, lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transgenders, intersex /LGBTI**) and four other articles that were analyzed in the first part under another category to which they mainly belonged, were subjected to discourse analysis in this part.

Although the articles analyzed often use the word "transvestite", it is a misuse of the word, therefore we have preferred to use the acronym LGBTI for all articles. What were actually meant by "transvestite" in these articles were transgender individuals. Transvestism involves the enjoyment of cross-dressing and behaving as members of the other sex, whereas transgender individuals define themselves as a member of the other sex, regardless of whether or not there has been a sex change operation.

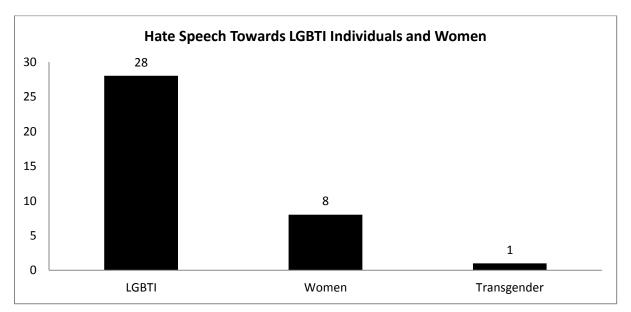
Date	Newspaper	Туре	Author	Title	Target Group	Hate Category
01-Jan-2014	Yeni Akit	News Article	News Center	No limits at the Service	LGBTI	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
03-Jan-2014	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Hasan Karakaya	Lie, mud, slander Is everything permissible for the Gülen Congregation?	LGBTI	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
06-Jan-2014	Yeni Akit	News Article	Yiğit Doğaner / Ankara	CHP collaborates with the deviants	LGBTI	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
07-Jan-2014	Kayseri Star Haber	Opinion Column	Ahmet Sıvacı	To Make a Pelt Out Of a Bear! (1)	Women	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
08-Jan-2014	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	İsmail Hakkı Akkiraz	The biter is bit	LGBTI	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
10-Jan-2014	Akdeniz Gündem	News Article	Batuhan Ülker	1 million from the transvestites	LGBTI	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
14-Jan-2014	Batman	Opinion Column	Halit Biliz	Kurdish Action and "HOMOSEXUALITY"	LGBTI	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
14-Jan-2014	İstanbul Gerçek Vizyon	Opinion Column	Nevzat Laleli	WE BECAME EUROPEAN WITHOUT JOINING IT	Women, LGBTI	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration

17-Jan-2014	Doğru Haber	News Article	Veysi Demir / Batman	What does Education Union try to do?	LGBTI	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
17-Jan-2014	Doğru Haber	News Article	Anonymo us	IT IS A CRYING SHAME!	LGBTI	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
17-Jan-2014	Doğru Haber	News Article	M. Fatih Akgül / Batman	BDP Municipality and Education Union officially defended perversion	LGBTI	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
17-Jan-2014	Yeni Asya	Opinion Column	Şükrü Bulut	Neoliberals' famous spurt	LGBTI	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
20-Jan-2014	Diyalog Gazetesi	Opinion Column	Ömer Mürseloğl u	Moral Breakdown	LGBTI	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
24-Jan-2014	Yeni Akit	News Article	M. Sait Adıyaman / Diyarbakı r	Does the state protect those who attacked the ISLAMIC NGOs?	LGBTI	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
28-Jan-2014	Kayseri Meydan	News Article	News Center	We are going to call them to account for all Cenghizs	Women	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
30-Jan-2014	Yeni Akit	News Article	Muhamm et Erdoğan / Ankara	TRNC passed the immoral bill	LGBTI	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
04-Feb-2014	Milli Gazete	News Article	Anonymo us	'Perversion' protest towards France	LGBTI	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
17-Feb-2014	Antalya Hilal	News Article	Emre Miyasoğl u / İstanbul	Booby trap	LGBTI	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
20-Feb-2014	Hatay Atayurt	Opinion Column	Mehmet Çardak	Ediboğlu owes Syrian women an apology!	Women	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration

21-Feb-2014	Isparta	Opinion	İsmet	Head Scarf is a Shining	Women	Blasphemy / Insult /
21-Feb-2014	lsparta Ekspres	Column	Akçal	Crown	women	Denigration
24-Feb-2014	Yeni Akit	News Article	Yiğit Doğaner / Ankara	Deviant report from the Union	LGBTI	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
01-Mar-2014	Yeni Akit	News Article	İskender Özel / İstanbul	Perverts laid their hands on high schools	LGBTI	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
10-Mar-2014	Çukurova Press	Opinion Column	Yalçın Öcal	Yalçın Özcan	LGBTI	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
24-Mar-2014	Diyarbakır Özgür Haber	Opinion Column	Eyüphan Kaya	LGBT problem is not a right, but shamelessness	LGBTI	Enmity / War Discourse
24-Mar-2014	Aydınlık	Opinion Column	Barbaros Şansal	Being covered with contemplation	Women	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
31-Mar-2014	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Şükrü Alnıaçık	Divine Percentage	Women, LGBTI	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
09-Apr-2014	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Mehmet Şevket Eygi	Short important subjects	Women	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
10-Apr-2014	Milli Gazete	News Article	Rahmi Yolcu / İstanbul	Step by step to destruction	LGBTI	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
14-Apr-2014	Yeni Akit	News Article	Oğuz Yıldız / Ankara	Disgusting licentiousness by the favor of University	LGBTI	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
14-Apr-2014	Milat Gazetesi	Opinion Column	Seyit Mehmet Deniz	Finally we did see the "Mixer CHP" in the mosque	LGBTI	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
16-Apr-2014	Gaziantep Günebakış	Opinion Column	Müfit Yaray	BDP/HDP'S LOVE OF SEXUAL PERVETS WHAT ON EARTH IS THAT SÜREYYA 2	LGBTI	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration

18-Apr-2014	Gaziantep Günebakış	Opinion Column	Müfit Yaray	Cancellation Is Not Enough, Those Vulgars Should Go Away From Mardin!	LGBTI	Enmity / War Discourse
23-Apr-2014	Milli Gazete	News Article	News Center	Here Are Their Purposes!	LGBTI	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
25-Apr-2014	Gaziantep Günebakış	Opinion Column	Mifit Yaray	Perversions are on the attack, Academicians are on the defence	LGBTI	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration

Among the 34 items analyzed under the title "Other Disadvantaged Groups", 28 items (82%) contain hate speech towards LGBTI individuals. Hate speech directly towards transgender individuals is found in only one item and hate speech towards women is detected in eight items (23.52% of the total items) within the period and publications observed.



#### Graph 14

Among the **34** items with hate speech, **16** were **news articles** and **18** were **opinion columns**. Different from the previous periods, **hate speech towards LGBTI individuals and women** were nearly equal in number in the news articles and opinion columns. The most important factors in this result were that LGBTI-featured activities planned in Batman and Mardin Artuklu University were hot topical issues. The adjectives defining **homosexuality** remained the same as in previous periods, and homosexuality was often defined as a "**perversion**", "**deviancy**" and "**licentiousness**".

Samples that contained **hate speech towards women** were generated on especially "being covered". News about **transgender individuals** were about the fines they had to pay in relation to the "**law of misdemeanor**".

Of the items studied, only two of them were published anonymously, three were signed as "News

Centre". As in the previous periods, even though the percentage of the number of items about LGBTI individuals that cited a source were high, during this period we have seen a small decrease in the percentage, with the 67% (it was 72% during the previous period). Publishing eight items, **Yeni Akit** was the newspaper that **generated the most hate speech towards LGBTI individuals and women**, as in previous periods. **Milli Gazete** published five items and **Aydınlık**, **Milat Gazetesi**, **Ortadoğu** and **Yeni Asya** also contributed to the circulation of hate speech in the national media by publishing one article each.

During this period, hate speech towards LGBTI individuals were generated around two events: a panel discussion titled "Sexual Orientation and Students Living Their Sexual Identity" organized by Education Union and another panel discussion titled "From Disease to Demand for the Rights – The Journey of Naming and Explaining Homosexuality" that was announced to be organized in Mardin Artuklu University and then its cancellation. Even after completion of the first panel discussion and cancellation of the second one, there were articles targeting and insulting the organizers and supporters of these panels (Education Union, BDP municipalities, organizing academicians).

#### **EXAMPLES BY CATEGORY**

#### Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration

Title: No limits at the Service Newspaper: Yeni Akit Date: January 1, 2014 Type: News Article Author: News Center

One reflection of the tension between the Erdoğan Government and Fethullah Gülen Congregation (or The Service Movement as was referred in the title of the news) is seen in Yeni Akit. The news article, which aims to defame the congregation by using hate speech towards LGBTI individuals, states that "Women's Platform of the Journalists and Writers Foundation, which appears as the most important NGO close to Gülen, carried out joint projects with German-originated Heinrich Böll Stiftung Foundation which looks after perverts on every opportunity". While displaying hate speech towards LGBTI individuals by expressions like "deviant ideas", "perverts", one of the sides of the dispute is tried to be defamed in a political argument via this discourse.



düzenledi... Cemaat televizyonu Bugün'de "yılbaşı hindisi kızartma"nın püf noktaları anlatıldı... Cemaat'in dershanesi FEM'de "yılbaşı eğlencesi" tertiplendi... Cemaat'in internet siteleri de; "porno film"lerden kareler yayınlayıp, "filancanın seks kaseti" demişti.



# mette sinrv

Cemaat, Almanya kökenli bir vakif ile "sapkın eğilimli kişiler"in de katıldığı bir "calıştay" düzenledi.). Cemaat televizyonu Bugün'de "Yılbası hindisi kızartma"nın püf noktaları anlatıldı... Cemaat'in dershanesi FEM'de "Yılbası eğlencesi" tertiplendi... Cemaat'in internet siteleri de; "porno film"lerden kareler yayınlayıp, "filancanın seks kaseti" demisti.

HABER MERKEZİ Parti hükümetiyle son günlerde derin bir kriz yaşayan Fethul-Jah Gülen Cemaati'nin, İslami kesimden bağımsız olarak geçirdiği dönüşüm, adeta "Hizmet'te sınır yok" dedirtiyor. Gülen'e yakın en önemli sivil toplum kuruluşu görünümündeki Gazeteciler ve Yazarlar Vakfı, aileye yönelik tahripkår tutumlarıyla bilinen LGBT temsilcileriyle buluşurken, Cemaat'in tahrikçi yayınlarıyla bilinen Bugün TV'sinde ise yılbaşı gecelerinde klasikleşmiş bir Hıristiyan adeti olan Hindi eti tarifi verildi. Düzce'de ise 'Hizmet' olarak tanınan Gülen Cemaati'ne ait FEM Dershanesi'nde yılbaşı kutlaması yapıldı. İşte inanan insanları ve Cemaatin tabanını yaralayan o icraatlar:

1-'HİZMET', SAPKINLARLA CALISTAY'DA BULUSTU

Gazeteciler ve Yazarlar Vakfi Kadın Platformu, her firsatta cinsi sapkınları kollayan Almanya kökenli Heinrich Böll Stiftung Vakfi ile ortak projelere imza atiyor. Platform son olarak, sapkın eğilimli katılımcıların da yer aldığı "Başka Bir Aile Anlayışı Mümkün mü?" başlıklı çalıştayı vakıfla ortaklaşa düzenledi. Gazeteciler ve Yazarlar Vakfi'nın kadınları, geleneksel aile yapısından şikayetçi. Vakfın Kadın Platformu, sık sık cinsi sapkınlarla ortak çalışan Almanya kökenli Heinrich Böll Stiftung Vakfi ile beraber düzenlediği çalıştayda, cinsi sapkınların geleneksel aile yapısına yönelik saldırılarına destek oldu.

**CEMAATIN DERDI** 

ALTERNATIF AILE MODELLERI' Kasım'da iki gün süren çalıştayda, Gazeteciler ve Yazarlar Vakfi Kadın Platformu ile Heinrich Böll Stiftung Vakfi ortak çalıştı. GYV'nin sitesinde sözkonusu etkinlikle ilgili olarak, "Alternatif aile modelleri ele alındı" denildi. Calıştava, homoseksüel, travesti, lezbiven ve transseksüelleri temsilen "LGBT Hakları Aktivisti" tanımlamasıyla Mehmet Tarhan'ın da katıldığı ve aileye ilişkin görüşlerini dinleyicilere aktar-



Cemaate ait televizyon kanalı hindi kızartma tarifleri verirken, cemaate ait dershane yılbaşı eğlencesi düzenledi.

dığı Fethullah Gülen'in kontrolündeki platformun web sitesinde geniş bir şekilde anlatıldı.

GYV Kadın Platformu'nun partneri olan Heinrich Böll Stiftung Vakfi ile gerçekleştirilen çalıştayda, ailenin "üçüncü cins"e imkan tanımayan ataerkil bir yapı olduğu belirtildi. Vakıf temsilcileri tarafından yapılan değerlendirmelerde, "Aile hala her iki cinsiyet için de cinselliğin sınırlarını tanımlıyor ve kadın-erkek evliliğini hala tek meşru birlikte yaşam biçimi olarak dayatiyor. Aileye mecbur muyuz? Tek aile

biçimi dayatılan aile biçimi midir? Birlikte vaşamanın başka yolları da mümkün" görüşlerini. dile getirdiler. Sapık fikirlerin konuşulduğu etkinlikle ilgili haber, geniş bir biçimde Gazeteciler ve Yazarlar Vakfi Kadın Platformu'nun web savfasında da ver aldı.

2-'DİNDAR' HAKAN ŞÜKÜR YAYINA CIKMAYINCA HIRİSTİYAN'IN HINDI ETI TARIFI

Bugün televízyonunda yaşanan skandalda da Cemaat, yeni yıl kutlamalarında kartel med-



Gazeteciler ve Yazarlar Vakfı'nın Alman Vakıf ile birlikte düzenlediği Çalıştay'a sapkınlar da davet edildi.



ne yönetmeliğinde geri adım atmaması üzerine AK Partiden Istifa eden Hakan Şükür, uzun süredir korluduğu sessizliğini önceki akşam Bugün TV'deki Erkani Tufan'la Analiz programında bozacaktı: Fakat Bugün TV'yi açanlar Hristiyanlar'ın yılbaşı gecesi yediği 'hindi tarifiyle' karşılaştı. Kısa bir süre ise programın 'ses kaynaklı teknik sorun nedeniyle' yayınlanamadığı duyuruldu

#### 3-CEMAAT'IN DERSHANESI'NDE **YILBAŞI KUTLAMASI**

Fethullah Gülen cemaatinin bir yılbaşı kutlaması da Düzcede yapılıyor. Gülen cemaatinin dönüştürülmemesi için yaygara kopardığı dershanelerde yılbaşı eğlence programları düzenlendiği ortaya çıktı. Düzce'de Fem Dershanesi blinyesindeki FEM Kulüp tarafından asılan ilanlarda "Düzce FEM Öğrenci ve Öğretmenleri Bir árada" denildi. Ílanda programın içeriğinde ise 'Sıra geçesi', Pes Turnuvası, Futbol turnuvası finali.gibi etkinliklere yer verildi.

#### Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration

Title: Being covered with contemplation Newspaper: Aydınlık Date: March 24, 2014 Type: Opinion Column Author: Barbaros Şansal

Şansal begins his article by making a reference to the alleged attack in Kabataş during June Resistance and mentions an advertisement of an Islamic fashion firm. Then he starts describing a veiled woman he saw on a public transportation vehicle and from her attire he makes various sexual references to all women who do not veil according to how they should do from his point of view. From her description, he starts questioning "real - fake" distinction and honor. He starts his description by her "boots with stones nearly used in striptease shows" that he saw when he bent over to pick up his book, which fell on the ground. He resorts to almost "erotic" portrayals ("obviously padded bra lasciviously spurts from skin-tight white shirt") then he tells how the "real shock" hits him: "forehead headband with stars and stones and over it was an unattractive garish headscarf written inside in big letters Christian Lacroix (Christian cross) steal me away". One of the sentences that directly fits under the category is: "that maroon you are wearing on your lips is not even used by those poor of morals, o oaf!" Although the expressions like "the young women is cutting up rough", "impertinent sister", "a vagabond toughie has sat down by the Muslim dolly, apparently an immoral schmooze has already begun" seem to refer to an individual example, it contains insult and denigration towards women who are veiled (and also women not veiled) out of the characteristics the author approves.



#### Tefekkürlü tesettür

Ye silikon maskeli, fantezili Kabataş'tan raylı sisteme biniyorum, Henüz birkaç durak geçmeden paralelimizde duran bir vagonun reklam kaplaması ile irkiliyorum. Hâlâ, hangi dine inanacağını bilememiş malum manken, mütedeyyin modasının koca gözleri ile adeta Güliver'in devler ülkesinden bize bakıyor. İslamın da ticari modası var zannedenler modasının bir gün ihsariden bile öteye geçeceğini hâlâ anlayamıyor.

İster istemez dikkat kesiliyorum. Arlı mı arsız mı bilinmez markanın, Çakma çantasının modellerinin üzerindeki Ortodoks haçlı monogami deseni görünce cehaletlerine bıyık altından gülümsüyorum. İslami moda dergilerine kapak olmuş laleli güllerini hatırlatan resimler aslında sadece halkla değil, artık dinlerin felsefesi ile alay eder haldeler. Eşarpların motifleri de oldukça tanıdık. Güya İtalya'dan 5000 avrodan alındığı söylenen desenler internette 5 dolara Budist ve Hindu Hindistan'ından satılıyor a alık.

Aslında İslami giyimde takma kol hiç olmaz. Hele de omuzlara oturtulan fırfır ve apoletler hiç kuş gibi konmaz. Göğüs pensi ve bel kemeri uygunsuz, arka ortadaki dikiş bile olsa, bir ajur ile kapatılmazsa ulemayı edecektir huzursuz. 4 delikli düğmeye çapraz atılan dikişin mesajı Katolik, alacalı renkler seçkin zevkleri bile ediyor katastrofik. Başka dinin sembolleri kullanılmaz. Her şeye maydanoz Diyanet neden bu konuda fetvada bulunmaz?

Mide bulandırıcı cehaletten başımı çevirirken, yere düşen "Diktatörlüğün Psikolojisi" adlı kitabımı almak için eğildiğimde, yüksek platformlu, incecik topuklu, adeta striptiz gösterilerinde kullanılan, taşlı tuşlu parlak bir çizme dikkatimi çekiyor. Başımı yukarı doğru kaldırdıkça iç gıcıklayan dantel çoraplar, firfirlı uzun eteğin altından göz kırpıyor. Kenevir

eteğin altından göz kırpıyor. Kenevir yapraklı bilezik, üzerinde satan amblemi yıldızlı yüzük, eller üzerindeki garip dövmeler ise sanki muskadan üfürük sunuyor. Kendimi alamayıp kim bu diye sasarken, gözlerim daha da yukariya kayiyor. Daracik beyaz gömleğin içinden dolgulu olduğu belli sütyen sevhetle dışarı fişkırıyor. Triko tunik hırka daracık, yetmezmiş gibi zebra desenli doku sanki içi dolu ihtiraslı âşık. Tam doğrulduğumda asıl soka uğruyorum. Starslı ve taslı alınlığın üzerindeki albenisiz cafcaflı, icinde bir de kocaman markası Christian Lacroix (Hıristiyan haçı) yazılı başörtüsü beni benden alıyor. Nerdeyse bir kafa daha uzamış alt dolgu, dışarıyı bile görmemi olanaksız kılıyor. Ne yapsın zavallı, diyorum içimden. Tesettür diye teşekkürsüz satılan keriz müsteri durumuna düsürülmüs biçarem. Ama yüzüne bakınca aklım darmaduman. Asıl sıkıntı işte buradan kaynaklanan, kalem gibi alınmıs, fazla yolunduğundan dövme ile lavicerde banmış kaşlar tabii ki altında renkli lensli buğulu bakıslar; estetikli burun üstüne düsürülmüs kocaman bir süslü gözlük, burundaki hızma ise tam bir görümlük. O dudağa sürülen visneçürüğünü artık namus fakirleri bile kullanmıyorlar ey hödük. Silikonlu dudaklara ilave olmuş botoxlu kaşlar, yanak dolgularına bakınca şaşıracak adamlar. Upuzun tırnaklarda yine kanlı bordo cila, bir de üzerinde süs püs yapışık valla. Çantaya hiç girmiyorum, başımı öne eğip kitabıma dalıyorum.

Çok geçmeden yaşlı bir hanım teyze oturuyor başörtülü bacımın yanına. Onun asude pardesüsü ve üzerindeki sakin renkli eşarbı zerafet içinde hâlâ. Bak kızım, diyor bu ne hal! Yakışır mı mümine böylesine yanlış arzuhal?

Birden şirretleşiyor genç kadın, ağza alınmaz laflar ile itiraz ediyor adım adım. Bir de sakallı amca var şaşkın. Neyse ki ineceğim istasyon artık çok yakın.

Usulca kalkıp iniyorum vagondan. Yaşlı mümin teyze kaçmış çoktan, terbiyesiz bacının yanından. Sakallı amcanın başı eğik, Süslümanın yanına oturmuş bir serseri bıçkın, belli ki çoktan başlamış ahlaksız geyik.

Kıssadan hisse: Kimse alınmasın bu ifadelere.

Başını örtmek de poposunu açmak da eğer demokratik özgürlükse;

Toplum ahlakı, gelenek, görenek ve terbiye;

Kalmasın söylenecek laf, bu tefekkürü çakma teşekkür olmuş, özde değil sözde siyonist tesettüre.

#### Enmity / War Discourse

Title: LGBT problem is not a right, but shamelessness Newspaper: Diyarbakır Özgür Haber Date: March 24, 2014 Type: Opinion Column Author: Eyüphan Kaya

Whereas there are no hints about a specific agenda, Kaya expresses that he declines extramarital affairs, "free sex", flirting, and "most particularly LGBT individuals" as normal and points out that the society has morals and "there is a limit to the patience of the society". By saying "In case of necessity, they should be spitted on the face, properly there will not be a lighter punishment than that", he positions homosexuality and all LGBTI individuals at a place where they should be punished. Being dissatisfied with this, the writer justifies and approves all kinds of acts of violence towards LGBTI individuals with the sentence "If they come under attack in the future, they should not complain about us, human rights activists."



Eyüphan KAYA

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#### LGBT sorunu bir hak değil, edepsizliktir

Yüce Allah Adem ve havayı yarattı ve aralarında birleşmelerini helal kıldı, derken insan nesli o günden bu güne geldi.

Doğrusu yeryüzünde her zaman ve her toplumda Allah'ı tanımayanlar olmuştur. Ama ahlaksızlık ve edepsizlik başka bir şeydir..

Siz özgürlük diye serbest sevişmeyi kamuya kabul ettiremezsiniz.

Evli insanların kaçamak yapmalarını normal göremezsiniz.

Nikâhsız beraberlikleri adet haline getiremezsiniz.

Flörtü bu topluma kabul ettiremezsiniz.

Hele hele lezbiyen olanları vs. LGBT mensuplarını hayatın bir karesine monte edip normal bir hayat tarzı haline getiremezsiniz!...

Diyelim ki bir manyağın aklına geldi zina yapan, nikâhsız beraber olan kimseler bir araya gelip, zina-der adında bir dernek kurdu, sivil toplum örgütleri bunu da aralarına alacak mı? Buna evet diyen olabilir mi? Yahu siz hangi toplumda yaşıyorsunuz denilmeyecek mi? Hani Müslüman mahallesinde salyangoz satılmazdı? Gelin bir düşünelim pir düşünelim bu topluma daha fasla sıkmayalım, boğmayalım ne dersiniz?

Bir toplumun bir ahlakı var, sabrının sınırı var. Bu tür sıkıntıları bu halka yaşatmaya kimsenin hakkı yoktur. Eğer bu hastalıksa bir an evvel tedavi edilmeli, eğer bu bir fantezilik ise bu tür kimselere selam verilmemeli, icap ederse yüzlerine tükürmeli herhalde bundan daha hafif bir cezalandırma tarzı düşünülemez.

Sözüm ona kimi insan hakları örgütleri her şeyi halettiler sıra bu edepsiz ahlakı savunmaya geldi. Galiba bunların asıl kaynağı insan hakları evrensel beyannamesidir ayrıca gavur ahlakından esinleniyorlar ve kimi laubali devletlerde yasası olduğu için tereddütsüz ve pervasızca bu insanları savunuyor.Yamancılarda var neden bizde olmasın deniliyor.

Ben bir Anadolu insanı olarak medeni bir tarz olan kalemin diliyle haykırıyorum. Sizin bu takip ettiğiniz münasebet insani bir ilişki değildir. Müslüman mahallesinde salyangoz satılmaz. Hem insanoğlu yeryüzünde canı istediği her şeyi yapmak için dünyaya gelmemiştir.

İnsan kendini kontrol etsin diye akıllı yaratılmıştır. Kur'an'ı Kerim İslam'ın özüdür, önemli, yararlı örnekleri barındırdığı gibi, kötü hallerin de önemine binaen ibret olsun diye dile getirektedir. Bu eş cinsellikte, kaba fiillerden biridir. Hazreti Lut(as)'ın kavmi böyle kötü bir alışkanlık sebebiyle helak edil.

Özgürlük, hürriyet edebiyatıyla kimse bu edep dışı fiili insanlığa yutturmaya kalkışmasın. Bunun hakla hukukla alakası yoktur. Tabi bu halleri yaşıyorlar diye işimizi gücümüzü bırakıp bunlarla uğraşacak değiliz ama onlarda ikiden bir biz buradayız deyip tilili etmesinler. Zaten başımızda bir sürü bela var, bir de onlarla uğraşmayalım. Yarın öbür gün bir saldırıya maruz kalırlarsa biz insan hakları aktivistlerinden şikayet etmesinler.

İnsan hakları aktivisti diyorum, bu da birilerine ağır gelebilir bir müminden insan hakları aktivisti olur mu diye? Olur hem de alası olur, ama ahlaksızlığı alışkanlık haline getiren insanların hakkını korumak için değil tabi...

#### Enmity / War Discourse

Title: Cancellation Is Not Enough, Those Vulgars Should Go Away From Mardin! Newspaper: Gaziantep Günebakış Date: April 18, 2014 Type: Opinion Column Author: Mifit Yaray

After cancellation of the panel discussion titled "From Disease to Demand for the Rights – The Journey of Naming and Explaining Homosexuality" in Mardin Artuklu University, Mifit Yaray defined this event as "an ugly incident" in his article. He portrayed the organizing academician by "a person known by his articles published in pervert homosexual journals" and by using expressions like "his efforts to convey his pervert opinions", "uses his title for activities related to justifying homosexuality", "he has to declare to public and to his students whether he is homosexual or not...", and by implying various types of relationships, he targets the mentioned academician. While characterizing the academician's attempt as an action "as if to provoke people", with the immediate sentence he continued, he incites and provokes acts of violence towards aforementioned person, all LGBTIs and supporters of LGBTI rights: "As can be remembered, Aziz Nesin and his company also agitated people's religious feelings in Sivas and the result was horrible."



Mardin Artuklu Üniversitesinde bu gün (17 Nisan 2014)'te bir rezalet yaşanacaktı. Mimarlık Bölümü, "Hastalıktan Hak Talebine -Eşcinselliğin Adlandırılışının Anlamlandırılışının Seyri" konulu bir panel yapacaktı. Ancak çıkan haberler, duyarlı STK'lar ve Mardin'in Müslüman halkının tepkileri şükürler olsun Mardin'in isminin bu çirkin olayla tarihe geçmesine engel oldu.

Her şey Eşcinselliği savunan görüşleriyle bilinen ve sapık eşcinsel dergilerde yayınlanan yazılarıyla tanınan Yrd. Doç. Dr. Levent Şentürk'ün geçtiğimiz sene Mardin Artuklu Üniversitesine gelmesiyle başladı.

Levent Sentürk bir mimar. Mimarlık üzerine eğitim almış ve güya mimarlık fakültesinde mimarlıkla ilgili öğretim görevlisi. İsminin önünde Yrd. Doç. Dr. Gibi uzun bir unvan var. Ancak Levent Şentürk'ün faaliyetlerine baktığımızda bu unvanını ve mimarlık fakültesindeki öğretim görevlisi kimliğini kullanarak bam başka alanlardaki sapık görüşlerini öğrencilere aktarmak konusundaki çabalarıyla tanınıyor. Her şeyden önce söyleyelim ki Levent Şentürk bu uzun unvanı eşcinsellik gibi sapık görüşler üzerine yaptığı akademik calısmalarla almamasına rağmen bu unvanını escinselliği meşrulaştırma ile ilgili faaliyetlerinde kullanıyor. Bu da ikiyüzlülüğün ta kendisidir. Şentürk'ün her şeyden önce bir eşcinsel olup olmadığını ve Kaos GL eşcinseller derneğinin kurucularından Ali Erol ile olan ilişkisini öğrencilerine ve kamuoyuna açıklaması gerekir. Sentürk'ün gittiği her üniversitede escinsel Ali Erol icin ortamı hazırlayıp, öğrencilerini zehirlemeleri icin onu escinsellikle ilgili konferans vermeye davet eden, sonra da bunu büyük bir başarı gibi eşcinsellerin dergilerinde anlatmasının sırrı nedir? Levent Şentürk bir eşcinsel olup olmadığı konusunu açıkça ilan etme cesareti göstermese bile, eşcinsel örgüt ve derneklerle olan yakın ilişkisini saklama ihtiyacı duymayacak kadar da pervasız. Nitekim kendisi Kaos GL gibi Türkiye'de on beş yıldır eşcinsel hareketin yavin organi olan bir dergide vazılar vazıvor ve onların hakları(!) icin mücadele veriyor.

2010'da Eskişehir Osman Gazi Üniversitesi Mimarlık Bölümünde Mimarlık Tarihi ve Kuramı anabilim dalında öğretim üyesi olan Şentürk, burada yaptığı bilimsel çalışmalardan çok "farklı mimari sitilleri" eşcinsellikle izah etmeye çalışan saçma sapan teorileri ve kendisinin öncülüğünde bu Üniversitede yapılan eşcinselleri meşrulaştırma faaliyetleriyle hep gündeme geldi.

Örneğin 6 Nisan 2011'de Osman Gazi Üniversitesinde kendisinin öncülüğünde yapılan eşcinsellik temalı konferansı bakın sonra yine kendisi Eşcinsellerin yayın organı olan Kaos GL' sitesinde 13 ve 26 Nisan 2011 tarihli yazılarında nasıl övüne övüne anlatıyor.

"Mimarlık bölümünün neredeyse otuz yılı bulan tarihi boyunca ilk kez eşcinsellik temalı bir konferans yapılmış olması, sessizce gerçekleşen bir devrim niteliğindeydi."

"Bahar döneminin ilk konferansında Kaos GL'yi ağırladık. Kaos GL'nin gelişi, bölümümüzün tarihi açısından sessiz sedasız gerçekleşen bir ilk sayılabilir. Kaos GL, on beş yıldır eşcinsel hareket için mücadele vermekte. Toplumda eşcinsellerin de bulunduğunu, şiddetle görmezden gelindiklerini, oysa eşcinsel hareketin heteroseksüelleri de özgürleştireceğini savunan Kaos GL, bu alanda Türkiye'nin en uzun soluklu ve kaliteli yayını olmaya devam ediyor.

Yine "Bütün bireysel tercihler, başkalarının hayatına yönelik bir şiddet üretmediği müddetçe anayasal hak olmalı ve anayasa tarafından güvence altına alınmalıdır." diyerek eşcinsellerin sapıklıklarının Anayasal güvence altına alınmasını isteyecek kadar ileri giden Şentürk bakın aynı yazısında Atalay Göçer'in dilinden başta öğrencileri olmak üzere toplumu nasıl Eşcinselliğe teşvik ediyor.

"Toplumumuzda hâlâ yaygın olarak eşcinsel aşk kimi dinsel ve geleneksel tabu alanları tarafından dışlanıp lanetlenmeye devam ediyor. Sözgelimi eşcinselliğin büyük bir günah, tanrıtanımazlık, ediyor. Sözgelimi eşcinselliğin büyük bir günah, tanrıtanımazlık, sapkınlık olduğu kolayca dile getiriliyor. Eşcinselliğin, bunun da ötesinde, tıbbi bir bozukluk, giderilmesi gereken bir rahatsızlık, tedavi edilmesi gereken bir hastalık olduğu da ilk elde dile getirilen asılsız ifadeler arasında. Kuşkusuz eşcinsel olmak ne suç, ne de hastalık; daha çok bireysel hak ve özgürlük alanındaki bir durumdan başka bir şey değil."

İşte bu sapık görüşleri savunan adam, hayret ki bir öğretim görevlisi ve malesef 2013'den beri Mardin Artuklu Üniversitesi Mimarlık Bölümünde görev yapmakta. Levent Şentürk Osman Gazi Üniversitesinde eşcinsellerin haklarını(!) mimari dehasıyla(!) bilimsel teoriler adı altında haykırırken kendince sesiz bir devrim yapıyordu, ama hakikatte Osman Gazinin kemiklerini sızlatıyordu. Tabi ona göre Osman Gazi gibi "gericiler" ve onların duyguları çok önemli değildi.

Eskiler "huylu huyundan vaz geçmez" demişler. Levent Şentürk de huyundan vazgeçmedi ve şimdi Mardin Artuklu'da Öğretim Görevlisi. Kendisince aynı sesiz, çirkin devrimini(!) bu sefer Mardin'de yapacaktı. Tabir caizse "Müslüman mahallesinde salyangoz satacaktı". Sonra da çıkıp övüne övüne Mardin gibi "gerici" bir yerde tabuları yıktım ve Eşcinselliği haykırdım diyecekti. Hem de Mardin gibi dini duyguları kuvvetli ve muhafazakâr bir halka karşı ve bütün Müslümanlar için kutsal olan Kutlu Doğum haftasında, insanları tahrik edercesine. Hatırlanacağı gibi daha önce de Aziz Nesin ve beraberlerindekiler Sivas'ta halkı dini duyguları açısından tahrik etmiş ve bunun sonu çok korkunç olmuştu.

Bu çirkin olayın diğer bir boyut uda kuşkusuz bir devlet üniversitesinde Hükümet ve YÖK'ün nasıl oluyor da bu tür sapıkların faaliyetlerine göz yumduğudur. Hükümet ve YÖK bireysel özgürlükler adına birilerinin kalkıp ta bütün toplumu zehirleyecek faaliyetlere girismesi ve bunu devletin kendilerine sağladığı olanakları ve akademik unvanları kullanarak yapması karşısında sadece sessizce seyretmekle mi yetinecek? Mimarlık fakültesinde eşcinselliğin işi ne diye kimse soramıyor mu bunlara? Mardin Artuklu Üniversitesinin rektörü Prof. Dr. Serdar Bedii OMAY bir taraftan Kadir gecesi mesaiları yayınlarken diğer taraftan Üniversitesinin adının böyle bir saçmalığa alet edilmesine neden ilk başta izin verdi, göz yumdu. Acaba kendisinin de bu eşcinsellerle duygusal bir bağı var mıdır? Mardin ilinin ve halkının dini duygularını ve inançlarını bildiği halde sayın rektörün bu provaktif konferansa son güne kadar izin vermesi onu cıkabilecek bütün olayların tek sorumlusu yapmıyor muydu? Sayın rektör bu nedenle çıkabilecek olayların hesabını verebilecek mivdi?

Neyse ki son anda bile olsa Mardin Artuklu Üniversitesinin rektörü Sayın Prof. Dr. Serdar Bedii OMAY yaptığı hatanın farkına vardı ve bu çirkin konferansı iptal ederek, hem kendi isminin, hem de üniversitenin isminin tarihe kara bir leke olarak geçmesini önledi. Ancak elbette bu yeterli değil. Sayın Rektörün Mardin Artuklu Üniversitesinin adını tüm Türkiye'ye bu çirkin faaliyetle duyuran ve bu işin öncülüğünü yapan mimarlık fakültesi öğretim görevlisi Levent Şentürk'ün sözleşmesini acilen iptal ederek Mardin'den kovması gerekir.

Ve en önemlisi basta konu ile ilgili yazılı bir acıklama yaparak bu çirkin olayı Türkiye gündemine taşıyan Mardin DOST Der olmak üzere, olay karşısında sessizce beklemeyip Üniversite yetkililerine tepkilerini ortaya koyan Mardin'in bütün duyarlı Müslüman halkına Teşekkür etmek lazım. Gelecek zamanda Şentürk gibilerin bu cirkin faaliyetlerini Mardin'de ve bütün Türkiye'de sergilemeye devam edip etmemeleri açısından zan edersem Mardin halkının gösterdiği bu tepki son derece önemliydi. Eğer zamanında Şentürk ve sapık ekibi Eskişehir Osman Gazi Üniversitesinde bu çirkin faaliyetlerini sergilerken Eskişehirli Osman Gazi torunları seslerini yükseltebilseydiler bu gün onlar Mardin'de de bu işi yapmaya kalkışamazlardı. Ama şükürler olsun Salahaddin Eyyubi'nin torunları onlara bu sefer izin vermediler. Ancak Mardinliler bununla yetinmemeli ve bu sapık öğretim Görevlisi Mardin'den gidinceye kadar yasal tepkilerini göstererek üniversite, YÖK ve Hükümet nezdinde tepkilerini ortaya koymaya devam etmelidirler. Unutmayalım Namuslular namussuzlar kadar cesur olmadıkları sürece hep onların sesini duyacağız.

#### **Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion**

Title: Moral breakdown Newspaper: Diyalog Gazetesi Date: January 20, 2014 Type: Opinion Column Author: Ömer Mürseloğlu

In his article explaining the danger of degeneration of the "moral values that holds together a community", Ömer Mürseloğlu interprets homosexuality in the same category as sexual crimes and rape. Whereas he mentions "harms" of homosexual relationship and presents it as "degeneration", he states, without showing any reference that most divorces are seen within same-sex marriages and he adds that for a healthy society it is required to take precautions against that kind of relationships and he relates homosexuality to social destruction.



#### Omer MURSELOGLU

Içinde bulunduğumuz zaman açısından dünya toplumlarının sosyal yapılarını tehdit eden çok büyük bir tehlike söz konusudur. Bu tehlike fark edilmeden sinsice bir faaliyet göstererek toplumu yıkıma sürüklemektedir. İşte bu tehlike bir insan topluluğunu ayakta tutan ahlaki değerlerin yozlaşmasıdır. Eşcinselliğin, fuhuş ticaretinin, evlilik dışı cinselliğin, cinsel suçların, pomografinin, tecaviz vakalarının ve cinsel haştalıkların artışı ahlaki çöküştin bazı önemli göstergeleridir.

Bu konular sürekli olarak dünya kamuoyunun gündemindedir. Pek çok insan çevresinde olup bitenlerin, tehlikenin farkında değildir veya bu olayları sosyal hayatın bir parçası olarak değerlendirme gafletine düşmektedir. Ancak gerçek hicte öyle değildir. Dünya devletleri arasında muteber kabul edilen kurum ve kuruluşların hazırladığı raporlar ve istatistikler tehlikenin bovutlarının görülmemiş bir artışla her gecen gün büyüdüğünü göstermektedir. Cinsel hastalık oranları insanlığın önündeki sorunların büyüklüğünü gözler önüne seren önemli bir kriterdir. Dünya Sağlık Örgütü'nün (WHO) kayıtlarına göre, cinsel yoldan bulaşan hastaliklar en çok rastlanan hastalik gruplarından birini oluşturmaktadır; raporlar her yıl tahmini olarak 333 milyon yeni vakanın meydana geldiğini

göstermektedir. (1) Bunlara ek olarak, AIDS büyük bir sorun olma konumunu korumaktadır. WHO istatistikleri bugüne kadar 18.8 milyon insanın bu hastalıktan hayatını kaybettiği gerçeğini ortaya koymaktadır. (2) Dünya Sağlık Örgütü'nün AIDS ile ilgili 2000 yılı raporundaki şu ifadeler konuyu çok iyi özetlemektedir: "AIDS sosyal, ekonomik ve demografik yapılar üzerindeki yıkıcı etkisiyle benzersizdir." (3) Ürkütücü gelişmeler arasında eşcinselleğin yayılışı da oldukça dikkat çekicidir. Eşcinselleğin yayılışı da oldukça dikkat çekicidir. Eşcinselleğin getirmiş olduğu sosyal haklardan istifade edebilmeleri, demek ve partiler kurmalan, dünya çapında yapılanmalan, kutsal inançlara karşı gelmeleri, dini değerlere savaş açmalan, sadece çağımıza mahsus olaylardır.

#### Sosyal Bozulma

Günümüz insanlarının karşı karşıya olduğu önemli bir sorun toplumun temelini oluşturan sosyal yapılardaki bozulmadır. Toplumsal çöküş değişik şekillerde kendini göstermektedir. Dağılmış aileler, boşanmalardaki artış ve gayrimeşru çocuklar aile kurumundaki tahribatın doğal sonucudur. Stres, huzursuzluk, mutsuzluk, endişe ve kaos pek çok insanın hayatını adeta bir kabusa dönüştümmektedir. Manevi boşluk içindeki insanlar bunalımlarına çare ararken alkol ve uyuşturucu bataklığına düşmekte veya karanlık yollara girmektedir. Çözüm yolu kalmadığını düşünen bazılan da intihan bir kurtuluş zannetmektedirler. Toplumsal yozlaşmanın en çarpıcı göstergelerinden birisi de yasalara aykın davranışlardaki büyük artıştır. Suç oranlarındaki artış konunun uzmanlarını dahi hayrete düşüren boyutlara ulaşmıştır.

#### Eşcinsel İlişkilerin İnsanlık ve Toplum Açısından Bazı Zararları

Mesela insan karşı cinslerin bir araya gelerek ürediği bir

varlık olarak ele alındığında akla gelecek ilk soru su oluyor. Insanların çoğu escinsel olarak yaşamaya başalarsa insanlığın soyunu kim devam ettirecek? Kadın kadınla, erkek erkekle belli ölçüde cinsel tatmin elde edebilir, ancak üremenin biyolojik gerekliliği olarak çocuk sahibi olamazlar. Bu durumu aşmak için yine başka bir yozlaşma ve insani değerlerin yok sayıldığı yöntemlerle kiralık anne veya baba yöntemleri ile tarihi, sosyal ve inanç gecmisimizle bağdasmayan bir vönteme başvurulmus olacak, ki devamında da birçok psikolojik, sosyal ve tibbi sorunların yanında kiralık anne veya babadan olacak çocuğun yetişmesi, bakım, ihtiyaç vb giderlerinin kim tarafından karşılanacağı, aynı yöntemle farklı kiralama isleminden doğan kardeşlerin bilmeden birbirleri ile evlenmeleri, bu evliliklerden doğacak cocuklarda meydana gelebilecek tibbi sakatlıkların sorumluluğunu kim üstlenecek? Yine çocuk psiko-sosyal bir ihtiyaç olan anne baba ihtiyacı nasıl karşılanacak? Anne veya babadan herhangi birinin ölümü veya boşanma durumunda cocukların annesiz veya babasız yetişmesinde oluşan travmalar toplumsal acıdan cözülememiş iken böylesi bir durum hastalıklı bireylerden olusan bir toplum yapısına sürüklevecektir.

Ayrıca eşcinsel evliliklerin serbest olduğu yerlerde yapılan araştırma sonuçlanna göre en çok boşanmalar eşcinsel evliliklerde olduğu görülmektedir. Eşcinsel ilişkilere karşı tedbir alınması sağlıklı aile yapılannın kurulması, toplumun sağlıklı bireylerden oluşması tarihi, kültürel ve insani değerlerimizin bir gerekliliğidir. Aksi halde önümüzdeki yıllarda tarihi ve sosyal açıdan birçok farkımızın olduğu batı kültürünün bugün çöküşe geçtiği toplum yapısına doğru ilerleyişi önlemek kolay olmayacaktır. Dünyaya bir kere gelme şansı olan insanı bu durum için kobay görmek hakkını korumak, özgürlüğünü savunmak adına insana yapılabilecek en büyük haksızlık olacaktır.

#### **Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion**

Title: One million from transvestites! Newspaper: Akdeniz Gündem Date: January 10, 2014 Type: News Article Author: Batuhan Ülker

In the news article mentioning that 900 transgender individuals had to pay a fine for disobeying the "law of misdemeanor", the way District Governor of Muratpaşa, Cevdet Can's remarks on the news were conveyed by his expression "They made their choice as their profession" and the chosen subheading, transgender individuals are attributed the characteristics of prostitution. Even though it is mentioned that there has to be a solution by conducting social work, no such solution is proposed. Besides when stating the amount of the money transgender individuals were fined, their living conditions are ignored; thereby a unilateral and deficient journalism is displayed.

# Antalya'da 2013 yılında 900 travestiye 'itaatsizlikten' kabahatler kanununa göre bir milyon lira ceza kesildi

Muratpaşa sınırlarında yaşayan yaklaşık 900 travestiye 2013 yılında 'itaatsizlikten' kabahatler kanununa vestilerin kent merkezinde çalışmaları önlenemedi.

'Şaşkınım'

Muratpasa Kaymakamı Cevdet Can,

Batuhan

ÜLKER

bir yılda işlem gören 900 travesti konusunu 'Şaşkınım' diye yorumlarken, toplumsal so-ÖZEL runla mücadelede ceza kesmekten başka bir yetkilerinin bulunmadığını ifade etti.

'Sorun toplum olarak ele alınmalı' Hadiseye toplum olarak bakmak ve bunu olay olmaktan çıkarmak gerekti- 🗖 pılmalı. Herkes huzur içerisinde anlayış ğine değinen Kaymakam Can, gözlem-

sti indem lerine göre bu sorunun eğitim sıkın-tısından dolayı meyde dile getirdi.

#### 'Sosyal çalışma yapılmalı'

BER Sosyal çalışma yapılarak Zeytinköy lan adıma dikkat çeken Kaymakam Can, "Bu konuda da sosyal calisma yaiçerisinde yaşayabilmeli" dedi. (< 3'te

### PART II

## **DISCRIMINATORY DISCOURSE**

### **IN PRINT MEDIA**

## THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE REMEMBRANCE DAY ONE YEAR LEFT TO THE $100^{\text{TH}}$ COMMEMORATION

Asst. Prof. Dr. DERYA FIRAT ŞANNAN

**BARIŞ ŞANNAN** 

SCANNING TEAM

Aslı Ceren Noyan, Eylem Mercimek, İpek Burma, Saliha Damar, Sarper Sarıkaya

#### Introduction

For the first period of 2014, we have set the topic of the file "Media Scan on the Discriminatory Discourse", which is focused as a part of the "Media Watch on Hate Speech", on the "April 24<sup>th</sup>" Armenian Genocide Remembrance Day. "April 24<sup>th</sup>", was the day in which Armenian notables and intelligentsia of the Ottoman Empire were arrested in Istanbul in 1915. In 1965, during the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Genocide, this date, which was accepted as the day The Armenian Genocide began, was chosen to be the Remembrance Day by Armenians in Lebanon. In the same day, there were demonstrations and protests in Yerevan as well. Nowadays, there are various activities organized in many cities in the USA and Europe, and particularly in Armenia on April 24. Whereas in Turkey, the Armenian Genocide has been commemorated on April 24 by several activities organized by NGOs since 2005.

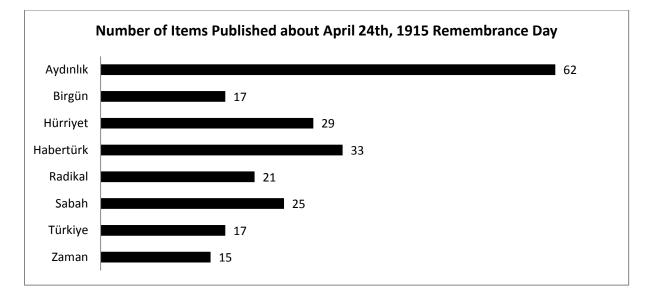
In this part of the report, based upon the date April 24<sup>th</sup>, data and the analysis generated from scanning the context of eight newspapers including **Aydınlık**, **Birgün**, **Habertürk**, **Hürriyet**, **Radikal**, **Sabah**, **Türkiye**, and **Zaman** published between April 22 and 26 are shown. These newspapers are selected considering their characteristics of reaching different political medium and their different representation criteria.

In this report, discrimination generated from the April 24<sup>th</sup> Armenian Genocide Remembrance Day in print media is covered by the method of context analysis, supported by discourse analysis. All the items about April 24<sup>th</sup> in newspapers are categorized by quantitative and qualitative data in computer medium. Quantitatively, all news items are documented with what page of the newspaper, in which proportion and how it was published with their masthead (i.e. who wrote the opinion column/news article, name of the newspaper, type of news, page number, heading, whether any visuals were used or not, etc.). Qualitatively, in these contents, in relation to the Genocide, whether any numbers are given or not, whether any references (memoirs, history books, reports, documents, etc.) are used or not, whether any quotation or reference is used or not, whether any direct testimony is used or not, how the massacre is named, how the victims and assailants are named, whether the reasons for the massacre are mentioned or not, which values referred to when the content is prepared, whether any similar events are mentioned or not and whether any demands are verbalized; in short, how and in what way the April 24<sup>th</sup> news find a place in print media are analyzed. Additionally, opinion columns of some columnists and especially the headlines of the newspapers published on April 24 and 25 are analyzed with respect to discourse. All the visuals accompanying the news and the articles are also analyzed as well.

#### **General Findings**

A total of 219 news articles, opinion columns and other types of content about the April 24<sup>th</sup> Armenian Genocide Remembrance Day were published during the aforementioned dates in the monitored newspapers. When the distribution of these items is analyzed numerically, **Aydınlık** ranked first, publishing 62 news/articles about the April 24<sup>th</sup> Remembrance Day. **Aydınlık** is followed by **Habertürk** with 33 items and they are followed by **Hürriyet** with 29 items. **Türkiye**, **Birgün** and **Zaman** ranked the last in terms of number of items about April 24<sup>th</sup> published during this period. The

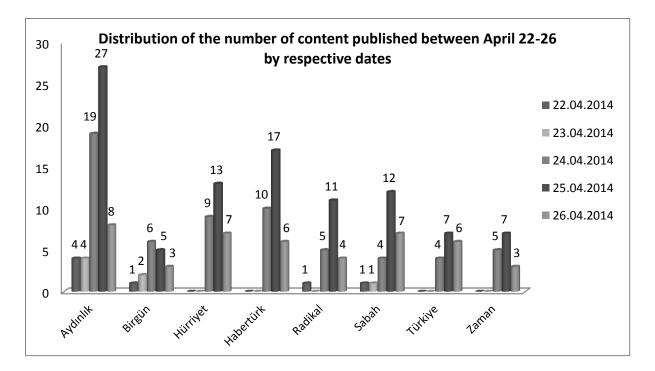
distribution of the items published about April 24<sup>th</sup> commemoration by newspapers are given in the graphic below:



Most of the items were published on April 24 (62 items) and April 25 (99 items). When the dates April 24, 25 and 26 are compared, except **Sabah** and **Türkiye**, it is observed that the number of items published in newspapers increased on April 25 with respect to April 24, but there is a decrease in the number on April 26. On the contrary, there is an increase on April 26 in **Sabah** and **Türkiye**. This situation arises as a result of **Sabah** and **Türkiye**'s handling April 24<sup>th</sup> commemoration predominantly within the context of condolences issued by the Prime Ministry and their effort to keep the message of condolences on the agenda as long as possible. These newspapers praised the message of condolences as an initiative for forward-looking hopes.

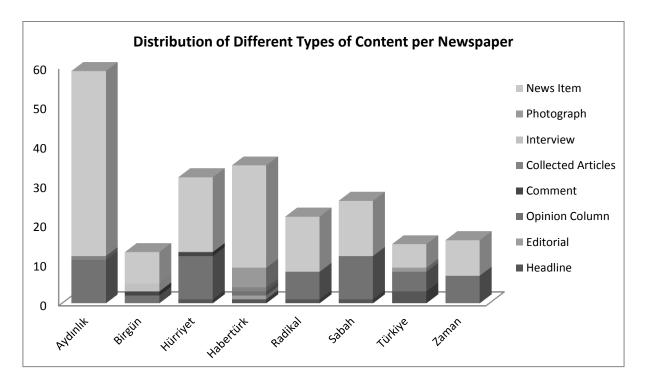
Within the context of this study, in order to make a comparison between this year and the previous years, we analyzed how the April 24<sup>th</sup> commemoration has been seen on the first page of these newspapers since 2007. When the number of items about April 24<sup>th</sup> commemoration published in newspapers is compared with respect to previous years, we can say that this topic becomes more important for the print media due to the "condolences" issued this year. For example, while the total number of news items on the first page of **Aydınlık**, **Birgün**, **Hürriyet**, **Habertürk**, **Radika**, **Sabah**, **Türkiye**, and **Zaman** on April 24<sup>th</sup> of the previous seven years was 35, the number of news and articles published on the first page of these same newspapers on April 24, 2014 is 46; more than the total number of the items published for the last seven years. Even if we take into account that **Habertürk** and **Aydınlık** have been published since 2009 and 2011, respectively, the reason for the aforementioned increase is due to the issuance of the condolences, as will be presented in detail in the section that analyzes the headlines.

The distribution of the number of items published in the newspapers between April 22 and 26 about the April 24<sup>th</sup> commemoration by the dates is given in the graph below:

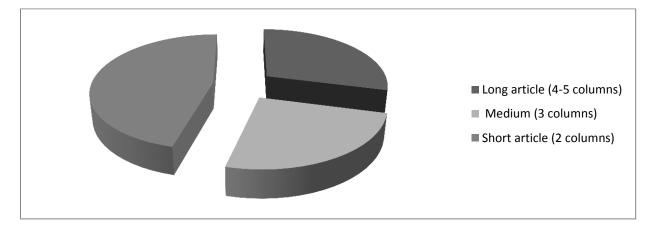


On the other hand, it is observed that Aydınlık, Birgün, Radikal, and Sabah have started to mention the Armenian Genocide since April 22. The way these newspapers started to act relatively early compared to other newspapers can be evaluated as a sign of their wish to set the agenda. Likewise, **Birgün** published the calendar of the April 24<sup>th</sup> commemoration activities that would continue for the week in its news article titled "The victims of the Meds Yeghern are commemorated" dated April 22. Rasim Ozan Kütahyalı saved his column in Sabah for the Armenian Genocide for a whole week starting with an article titled "Armenian issue from another perspective" and ended this article with the sentence "The story will continue tomorrow in this column". On the same date, Ahmet İnsel, in his article in Radikal titled "Civilization and Genocide", both mentioned the Armenian Genocide and published the calendar for the commemoration activities during the April 24<sup>th</sup> week. Whereas **Aydınlık** started the discussion on the April 24<sup>th</sup> commemoration in a provocative way in the news article titled "Ankara keeps its silence on the alleged Armenian Genocide allegation days before April 24<sup>th</sup>: No preparation for the 2015 by AKP". Aydınlık becomes especially prominent as the most engaged media organ in the discussion of April 24<sup>th</sup> Armenian Genocide Remembrance Day and the Armenian Genocide. One of the reasons of this engagement is that the Chairperson of the Workers' Party of Turkey, Doğu Perinçek, who is also one of the authors of the newspaper, "got a conviction against" the Swiss Government, which put the denial of Armenian Genocide under the category of criminal offense, at the European Court of Human Rights.

The types of the published items are categorized as news articles, opinion columns, headlines, photograph captions, advertisements, serial articles, interviews, and comments. Of the content analyzed two-thirds are consisted of news articles, and one-fourth of them are opinion columns. During the study period, news about 1915 made the headlines 7 times. The distribution of different types of content per newspaper is shown in the graph below:



The space newspapers allocated for the April 24<sup>th</sup> Armenian Genocide Remembrance Day has not changed much proportionally. The distribution of the space within all the newspapers is shown in the graph below.



#### April 24th Commemoration in Headlines

**Aydınlık**, which published the largest number of content related to the topic, put the April 24<sup>th</sup> commemoration in the headlines regarding the message of condolence. In the news article that Aydınlık gave in the headlines on April 24, **Aydınlık** asks "WHICH ONE IS THE PRIME MINISTER OF TURKEY" by showing the photographs of both the President of the Kandilli Armenian Church Foundation, Dikran Kevorkyan, and Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan together. Erdoğan is accused of "expressing the theses of Imperialism and the diaspora" while Kevorkian "defends our country and flag". The newspaper's thesis of "International imperialist conspiracy" is emphasized once more. Doğu Perinçek's expression, "Only a spokesman of imperialism can make this statement", repeats the conspiracy motif.

More "commonsensical" comments are made by retired ambassadors. For example, while Onur Öymen says that "Prime Minister of Turkey cannot make an April 24<sup>th</sup> statement", Nüzhet Kandemir expresses the idea that "it would weaken the Turkish theses." Another retired ambassador, Şükrü Elekdağ, criticizes the Prime Minister's statement of condolence by saying that "ECHR's decision of Doğu Perinçek had spoilt the game". The basic theme in the news articles in **Aydınlık** is similar: The imperialist powers, whose game was spoilt by Perinçek, damaged the national interests by using coconspirator Erdoğan. The editorial warns the "national sensitivity" by asking whether "crow cries can prevent the flight of the falcons". Besides, the news article titled "A support for the Armenian lie from PKK" completes the circle of international conspiracy.

In the news article with the headline "Tayyip's Text is from Washington" in **Aydınlık** on April 25, presents the message of condolence as an international conspiracy. According to the news article, Tayyip had to truckle to the imperialist pressure under the USA treats and despite the ECHR's decision Perinçek got, "he embarked on a quest for a formula to satisfy the USA government." The first page of the newspaper is almost completely saved for the effects of the condolences released to the public on April 23, and this reveals, once again, the denialist manner of **Aydınlık** in discussing the Armenian Genocide. Using a large photograph, the editorial, which is published on the first page, quotes the press release of the Committee of Talat Pasha condemning Erdoğan. This editorial and the expression "1915 is a Çanakkale at the same time" quoted from the President of the Turkish Historical Society bring **Aydınlık** forward in the discriminatory discourse used in content, within the newspapers scanned.



On the other hand, **Türkiye**, which broadcasted the least number of items relevant to the topic, made April 24<sup>th</sup> in the headlines the most. It should be expressed that three headlines of **Türkiye** published in April 24, 25 and 26 ("A CENTENARY BEAT FROM ERDOĞAN! / CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS ARE ON THE WAY A CENTENARY BEAT!", "THE PRIME MINISTER MESSAGE FROM THE ARMENIAN COMMUNITY HE COULD BE A CANDIDATE FOR THE NOBEL PRIZE / A MESSAGE FROM THE ARMENIAN COMMUNITY: Erdoğan is a candidate for the Nobel Prize", "OLIVE BRANCH TO ARMENIANS 1915 IS OUR SHARED PAIN/HE BROKE THE HUNDERED YEARS OLD TABOO 1915 is the shared pain of all of us") emphasizes Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's message of condolences. As can be understood from these headlines, instead of the content of the condolences, the "mastership" of the political maneuver is highlighted. For instance, the news item titled "A centenary beat from Erdoğan" dated April 25, which evaluates the effects of the foreign policy, is as follows:



It is observed that other newspapers (**Sabah**, **Hürriyet**, **Habertürk**, **Radikal**), which carried April 24<sup>th</sup> to the headlines, put Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's message of condolences forward, as well. Although it is not one of the monitored newspapers, the most assertive headline, which states "Prime Minister Erdoğan broke the routine again: The 1915 Revolution", is captioned by **Akşam** newspaper. On April 25, **Birgün** saves an analysis article completely on the commentary of the reflections of the statement of condolence on other newspapers' headlines.



By the way, we have to state that almost all the scanned newspapers made a collage to exhibit how the headlines of other newspapers reflected the April 24<sup>th</sup> news. This shows that all the actors within the journalism arena position themselves in relation to each other and they actively participate in molding public opinion especially on critical dates and events like April 24<sup>th</sup>. In the conclusion of the report, the importance of the discourse built around the events that make an impression on the collective memory in building social imaginary and the part the press plays during this process will be addressed.

Getting back to the headlines of the newspapers, apart from the human dimension of the condolences, the theme of driving Armenia and the Armenian diaspora "into a corner" is highlighted in **Habertürk**. For example, while trying to reflect the effects of the condolences, April 25 issue of **Habertürk** shows – in a photograph as large as half of the first page - the father of Sevag Balıkçı, who was killed serving during his compulsory military service; just below that photograph a small news items titled "WHAT ABOUT THEM?" directs the readers to another news article on page 16. In that news article, Davutoğlu asks, addressing the Armenian diaspora: "Will they express condolences for our killed diplomats?" **Habertürk**, in this very news item, by carrying "What about them?" on the title, directly targets the Armenian diaspora and this news article sets a good example of the newspaper's discriminatory discourse.

In **Sabah**'s headline dated April 24, the sentence from the message of condolences "Let's Transform Resentment to Friendship" is used. The word "resentment" functions to extenuate and ease the Genocide discussions. The sentence just above the headline makes it clear that the offer of condolences is not an apology for the Genocide, but the condolences for the 'deportation' (single quotation marks are used by the newspaper). In the spots quoted from the same conciliatory text, Erdoğan's sentence "Any conscientious, fair and humanistic approach to these issues requires an understanding of all the sufferings endured in this period, without discriminating as to religion or ethnicity" is highlighted.

As in all the newspapers close to the government, **Sabah** uses a photograph of Erdoğan posing with a cute child in April 23<sup>rd</sup> celebrations. Here, we see an image of Erdoğan affectionately leaning forward to the child and smiling. As we will see in the section in which we analyze how the theme of the research subject is visualized in the newspapers, the motif of "Father Erdoğan" is emphasized both in writing and in photographs.

In **Sabah's** April 25 issue, the international effects of the message of condolences are put forward. With a superscript of "The world applauded Erdoğan's message of condolences", the title "A unique conciliation" is used. As was in the previous day's headline ("Let's Transform Resentment to Friendship"), by the use of the term "conciliation" in this title, it is insinuated that the issue is a problem that can be solved by "conciliation". The spot "Praises rain down on Erdoğan all over the world" instrumentalizes the condolences by propagandizing it. Choice of only the positive reactions such as the expression "watershed on our pains" in Archbishop Aram Ateşyan's – General Vicar of Armenian Patriarch in Turkey – statement unfolds the instrumentalization towards propaganda.

Within the content **Zaman** publishes on the first page of the newspaper on April 24, an unimpassioned tone of language stands out. In the news item on the side column, under the Prime Minister's photograph, the message of condolences is mentioned as "an interesting move". Among the aforementioned headlines, the most neutral one is **Radikal**'s headline on April 24: "We offer our condolences".

Different from most of the other newspapers, the first page of **Birgün** on April 24 does not highlight the statement of condolences made public by the Prime Ministry; rather it canalizes it using a journalistic language. Neither praises like "a historical stage, this is a revolution" nor the tone of excessive satire as in **Aydınlık** become prominent. The news item is presented at the bottom of the page with a photograph of Erdoğan in a remote tone. On the other hand, above this news item, the words of some Armenian associations and surviving Armenians are put forward. For example, Nor Zartonk's statement "We want justice, not compassion" and in the news box just next to it a book that explains what happened in 1965, the year in which the "Genocide" was commemorated globally for the first time, are pointed out. Just next to these two news boxes, an introduction to the news about Kessab Armenians, who had to leave their hometowns due to the civil war in Syria, appears.

On the headline of **Birgün** on April 25, Prime Minister fades away from the scene and the expressions of opposing parties and associations are put forward. In the newspaper, the term "Armenian Genocide", not "1915 events", is used. In addition to the statements of opposing parties such as ÖDP and HDP and human rights organizations like IHD, the statements of Hubyar Sultan Alevi Cultural Association are also included. In the other monitored newspapers, no news related to the Alevis' attitudes are seen. Besides, the commemoration ceremony in Taksim is also reported in addition of a photograph.

#### **Columnists and the Armenian Genocide**

In 60 of the news items and articles, which are the subjects of the report, authors are not specified. Other contents are – in addition to the articles of opinion columnists and specified journalists – the articles and news items written by newspapers' domestic representatives, particularly of İstanbul and Ankara, and foreign representatives like the ones in Paris and Washington and news agencies. Among the columnists/journalists who have written more than one article on the topic, Rasim Ozan Kütahyalı is the leader (4 opinion columns in **Sabah**'s April 22, 23, 24, and 26 issues). Following Kütahyalı are Hasan Celal Güzel (2 opinion columns in **Sabah**'s April 25 and 26 issues), Emre Demir, **Zaman** newspaper's representative in Paris (2 news articles in **Zaman**'s April 25 and 26 issues), Sabahattin Önkibar (2 opinion columns in **Aydınlık**'s April 24 and 25 issues), Taha Akyol (2 opinion columns in **Hürriyet**'s April 24 and 25 issues), and Zeynep Kuray (1 interview and 1 news article in **Birgün**'s April 23 and 25 issues). In order to exemplify, the paragraphs below are the analyses of opinion columns of Rasim Ozan Kütahyalı published in **Sabah** on April 22, 23, 24, and 26, Hasan Celal Güzel published in **Sabah** on April 25 and Sabahattin Önkibar published in **Aydınlık** on April 25.

Rasim Ozan Kütahyalı starts his article series on April 22, two days before the Remembrance Day. He appreciates the message of condolences issued on April 23 enthusiastically and continues criticizing Kemalism and the Unionists (Supporters of the Committee of Union and Progress – İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti) and Talat Pasha whom he declares as responsible of the Genocide. In his article published on April 22, Rasim Ozan Kütahyalı starts to write how he realized the reality of the Genocide. He mentions the harms of the Kemalist education and puts forward that the source of Armenopobia (anti-Armenianist position) is the national education children are exposed in childhood: "As Turkish children, we already had an anti-Armenianist position due to the Kemalist education we had. Then they made us watch an officially produced documentary about the genocide of the Turkish nation carried out by the Armenians." Kütahyalı, in his column published on April 23, determines Kemalism as the only suspect and emphasizes the relationship between the Kemalists and the Unionists. He explains what Kemalist national education taught as: "Most of the time the articles on the topic starts with "Nothing happened", and then comes the lines "There were mutual massacres" and finally end with the sentence "Yes, it happened but it had to happen".



What dominates his column besides the condolences are praise of Erdoğan and criticism of the "Unionist Kemalist secularist" segment. In the praising section, he explains the importance of the message with respect to Turkish history as: "With this statement, another taboo of the history of the Turkish Republic is broken. The last taboo, which is the Armenian taboo, will be blown to bits." The only suspects of the crime, the Unionists are identified as "fascists" and the historical relation

between Kemalists and the Unionists is emphasized: "We have to offer our condolences as a nation to the grandchildren of Armenian brothers and sisters, who were slaughtered by the Unionists fascists in 1915." The theme of Erdoğan the Great Leader recurs: "As he has proved many times before, Erdoğan, once again, demonstrated globally that he is a great leader who goes beyond the ordinary", "Erdoğan, with his avant-garde attitude, went beyond the ordinary once again; he destroyed one of the largest barriers before Turkey unexpectedly again. There is nothing as the 1915 taboo any more. Turkey will act as a big country and reality will free us all." And finally he declares the guilty: "This immoral and conscientiousless mentality appeared within the 1915 conjuncture as the Unionism. It appeared before us concretized as a man, named Talat, who saw people as a simple part of his population engineering project." When the emphasis of the relationship between the Unionists, who committed the crime of Genocide, and Kemalism, who sets the denial of the Genocide as a corner stone of the national education, is taken into account, the general tone of the article series shows that the discussion of the Genocide and the message of condolences are handled together with the myth of Erdoğan, who is claimed to break the Kemalist domination, and that in this context the topic is seen to be instrumentalized in a different way by Rasim Ozan Kütahyalı.

# Ermeni soykırımı yoktur, Türk Milleti'ne yapılan katliam vardır

Türkler ve Ermeniler bin yıl aynı coğrafyada huzur ve barşi içinde birlikte yaşamışlardır. Ermenilerin Osmanlı tebaası içinde her zaman özel bir önemi ve yeri bulunmuştur. Osmanlılar 'Millet-i Sâdıka' diye adlandırdıkları Ermenileri her zaman el üstünde tutmuşlardır. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda 19. yüzyılın sonunda Ermeni azınlıktan 22 bakan, 33 milletvekili, 7 büyükelçi, 11 konsolos, 29 paşa ve 11 profesör bulunmaktaydı. Ne yazık ki, 'hasta adam' dedikleri Osmanlı'yı yıkmak

n Osmanlı yı yıkmak için başta İngiltere olmak üzere, Fransa, Rusya ve son dönemde ABD, kurdukları Taşnak ve Hınçak terör çeteleriyle Ermeniler bu kadirşinaslığa ihanetle karşılık vermişler ve özellikle 1. Cihan Harbi sırasında Rus ordusunun himayesinde Türk Milleti'ni sırtından hançerlemiş.



The article of Hasan Celal Güzel, which was published on April 25 in Sabah, starts by aggrandizing the period of the Ottoman Empire. According to the article Armenians lived happily as a 'loyal' nation while benefiting from all the opportunities of the Empire: "Turks and Armenians lived at ease and in peace on the same geography for a thousand years together. Among the Ottoman subjects, Armenians always had special importance and a special place. Ottomans always held Armenians, whom they named as Millet-i Sadıka" (i.e. loyal nation), in high esteem. At the end of the  $19^{th}$  century, there were 22 ministers, 33 deputies, 7 ambassadors, 11 consuls, 29 pashas, and 11 professors from the Armenian minorities in the Ottoman Empire." Then come the notorious foreign powers, which is the main motif of the settled national education and schooling. Foreign powers destroy this fraternally common life, sowed discord among them. By being played by the foreign powers, Armenians starts to break the peace and weaken the Ottoman Empire by

blowing a hole in the country: "Unfortunately England being in the first place, Russia, USA at later periods, and Armenians via the Dashnak and Hunchak terrorist gangs they founded, returned this appreciation with treachery."

Here, the themes of foreign powers, conspiracy, instigation, internal enemies of the nationalistic history narrative are called out. Above all, the chief point is the explicit generation of discriminatory discourse towards Armenians by insinuating the 'ingratitude' of the Armenians in the advancing paragraphs. It is quite significant that one of the main motifs to justify the Genocide ("They stabbed us in the back and we did what needed to be done") is used in an article that defends that Genocide did not occur: "During the First World War they stabbed the Turkish nation from the back under the

aegis of Russia, and massacred Turks and Kurds. This massacre by Armenians continued heavily between 1915 and 1920. By embarking upon "ethnic cleansing" of the Turks especially in the east, southeast and south, Armenians tried to build up a geography upon which they would establish a country of their own."

The expressions like 'To stab the Turkish nation from the back' used in the paragraph above, present the Armenians as the subjects of hate, who deserve what happened to them. Then Ottoman Empire is absolved: "Ottoman did not slaughter any Armenian citizens; on the contrary, with all its goodwill, they took all the measures to ensure the safety of the deported groups." In the meantime, even if a crime was committed, it is not by the state apparatus, but by the "tribes in the southeast." However, Hasan Celal Güzel does not use any category of "crime", besides he emphasizes that as well as Armenians, "our soldiers" were among those who died: "In the course of the attacks for brigande of some of the tribes in the southeast, as well as our Armenian citizens, our soldiers, who protected them, were also killed."

The author emphasizes that the number of Armenians killed was 400 thousand, yet the number of Turks killed was much more than that: "Especially the Ottoman archives, but at the same time 'National Archives and Records Administration' (NARA), British, Russian, French and German archives all prove that the number of lost Armenians within this period was below 400 thousand... On the other hand, Armenian komitadjis killed at least 1.5 million Muslim Turks in unprecedented violence. Solely by the ethnic cleansing carried out in the state of Revan in the Ottoman Empire, none of the Turkish population left alive."

On the other hand, he writes that the message of condolences, which is the main issue that triggered the article, has "bad timing", and emphasizes the disadvantages it will cause on the international level and he demands messages of condolences the Prime Minister left unsaid to be offered as well: "It is not possible to understand untimely issued message as the acceptance of the racist slander directed towards the Turkish Nation, and to aspire after compensation and demands of land. Meanwhile, we expect from our Prime Minister condolences not only for the Armenians, who lost their lives in the course of the events, but also for the Turks and the Kurds."

Finally, the author reverses the balance in the genocide discussion completely. Expressing that he "actually feels sorry for the ignoramuses and traitors among us" he repeats the thesis denying the Genocide: "We should emphasize that there is nothing as the Armenian Genocide, but massacred Turkish Nation."

The article titled "CONDOLENCES FOR DEPORTATION IS COLLABORATION IN THE CONSPIRACY" by Sabahattin Önkibar, which was published in **Aydınlık** on April 25, can be read to evaluate the reaction of the circles usually defined as "nationalitarian" to the message of condolences offered by Prime Minister Erdoğan. Two words in the title, "deportation" and "co-conspirator", reveals the basic perception and pattern of mentality of the nationalitarian circles. First of all, the foreign powers are listed in the article: "Diaspora is said to respond positively. Besides USA and EU is said to applaud. We are talking about the Tayyip Erdoğan's offer of condolences for the deportation." The author defines the events as "deportation" and the cause of deportation is simple for him: "Why were the Armenians deported! Because of their collaboration with the enemy and bloodshed in Anatolia."



# Tehcire taziye işbirlikçiliktir

Diaspora olumlu Başbakanı Kaçaznuni bile karşılamış. tehcire savaş şartlarının ABD ile AB ise gereği derken Tayyip alkışlamış. Erdoğan taziyesi ile Tayyip Erdoğan'ın soykırım diyenlerin önünü tehcire taziye aciyor. Bu tavır diasapora ve sunmasından söz edivoruz. ardındaki empervallerle Ermeniler neden işbirliği içine girmektir. tehcire tabi tutuldu! Ermeni çetelerinin Büyük savaşta katlettikleri için bir satır düşmanla işbirliği yapıp açıklamayı ve rahmeti çok Anadoluyu kana gören Erdoğan misyonu boğmasından. gereği tersini yapsaydı Ermenistan eski zaten sasırırdım.

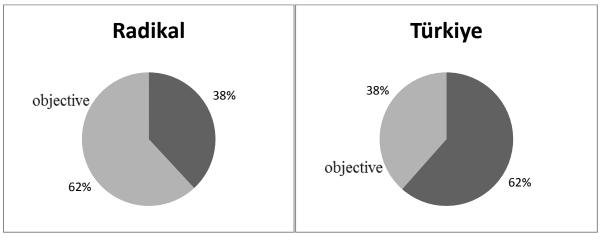
Not only in this opinion column but the language used in the news items in **Aydınlık**, one of the words that is used predominantly is "even" and the discourse is in the form "While even Armenians said …, Erdoğan says …". So in this way the insinuation that Erdoğan collaborates with the enemy is hinted continuously: "While even the Armenia's former Prime Minister Katchaznouni said deportation is a necessity in war conditions, Tayyip Erdoğan, with his condolences, smooths the way for those who says it was a Genocide. This attitude is a way of collaborating with diaspora and the imperialists backing them." Via this article, Sabahattin Önkibar carried on the newspaper's tradition and exemplifies discriminatory discourse.

The expression "the mission of Erdoğan" in the below quotation strengthens the insinuation of "coconspirator Erdoğan" quoted above. That is to say

that Erdoğan is not blamed for treachery explicitly but it is ensured that the reader links up this secret relation: "As a matter of fact, I would be surprised if Erdoğan, who begrudged a statement and mercy for those whom were slaughtered by the Armenian gangs, did the opposite by his mission." Thereby the statement of condolences is reflected as collaboration in conspiracy on the part Erdoğan, who is insinuated as the pawn of the foreign powers (holder of mission).

## The Emphasis of Condolences in April 24 Commemoration

When the aforementioned newspapers issued between April 22 and 26, 2014 are monitored, it is observed that slightly a bit more than the half of the headlines were "objective" and the rest of them were "not objective" using the expressions like "A small compromise, a big step", "Erdoğan issued the message, Yerevan burnt our flag". While we can say that half of the newspapers had a balanced distribution of headlines like that, **Radikal**, **Türkiye**, **Habertürk** and **Hürriyet** are observed to subvert from this pattern. As can be seen in the graph below, the distributions of the headlines of the items published on **Radikal** and **Türkiye** are contrary to each other.



When the titles of the items are compared, the only newspaper that has objective titles far more than those that are not objective is **Hürriyet**. 72% of the titles of the items in **Hürriyet** published between April 22 and 26, 2014 are objective. On the other hand, it is observed that 60% of the titles of the items in **Habertürk** published on the same dates are not objective.

When we statistically analyzed the words used on the titles of the items published on the studied newspapers issued between April 22 and 26, the below graphic is obtained.



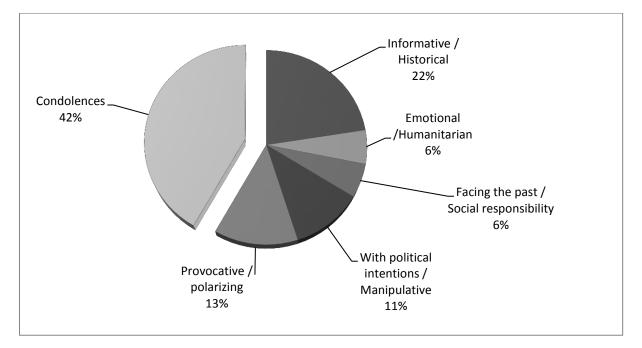
As can be seen from the above graphic, during the April 24<sup>th</sup> commemoration, a year before the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Genocide, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan who issued a message of condolences made his mark on the agenda. The word "Erdoğan" used in the titles of the items published on the monitored newspapers between April 22 and 26, 2014, is mentioned as frequent as the word "Genocide" and more frequent than the word "Armenian".

Whereas, when the first pages of the same newspapers issued between 2007 and 2014 are scanned, the graphic we get is completely different, as can be seen below. During the seven year period before 2014, neither the word "Genocide" nor the word "Erdoğan" is used predominantly in the headlines and on the first pages of the same newspapers.



When the two graphs are compared, it is observed that the word "Genocide" is used more frequently in print media in the April 24<sup>th</sup> commemoration of 2014, a year before the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Armenian Genocide. It can be said that with the statement of condolences from the prime minister, the word 'genocide' has become easier to use in some circles. While the words "Obama", "Yerevan", "road map" and "satisfied" come into prominence in the 2007-2014 graphs, these concepts gave way to "Turkey", "message" and "condolences". In 2014, other two words that come to the fore as the reflection of the message of condolences are "ECHR" and "Perincek". While the word "Armenian" has a relatively similar significance in both of the graphics, as can be seen on the 2014 graph, the word that shakes previous signs of imaginary, which leaves its mark on the social imaginary, that displaces some of them and that worms its way by splitting all other words, is the word "Erdoğan". The similar situation arises on the visuals used in items related to April 24<sup>th</sup>; the image of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan appears by suppressing the visuals for the commemoration (this fact will be dealt in detail in the section that analyzes the visuals). By issuing the message, the Prime Minister made his mark on the April 24<sup>th</sup> commemoration moving ahead of the Armenian Genocide, which is the topic of the condolences, ahead of the both sides of the discussion whether Turkey should accept or deny it, third parties such as the president of USA to whom the role to act as a referee during the process is provided and ahead of even the message of condolences itself.

Getting to the general content of the articles and the news items published in newspapers in 2014, in the beginning of the study, it was thought that these contents are to be analyzed under 5 categories, namely "informative / historical", "emotional /humanitarian", "confronting the past / social responsibility" "with political intentions / manipulative", and "provocative / polarizing". However during the study, it appeared that the category of "condolences" should be added to these categories. The distribution of content, about April 24<sup>th</sup> Armenian Genocide Remembrance Day published on the monitored newspapers between April 22 and 26, under the categories is shown in percentages in the graphic below:



89 of the 219 items in the monitored newspapers are the news about condolences. Under this category, **Birgün** published the least number of items (1 item) and **Hürriyet**, **Habertürk** and **Sabah** published the most. 21 of the total of 32 items, Hürriyet published, are about the condolences. This is followed by informative / historical news with 7 items. There was only 1 item for each of the remaining categories.

Among **Sabah**'s items, news about the condolences – three fourth of the total – are in the foreground. The news item, titled "A conciliatory approach towards Armenians" written by Mesut Hastürk on April 25, emphasizes that Erdoğan's message of condolences about the 1915 events has a widespread worldwide media coverage and highlights that this message is described as "the clearest, most conciliatory and the peaceful approach" by the worldwide media. Another news article, which is published in the same day and titled "Armenians of Turkey: We accept it with love" written by Mehmet Nayır, relays the impact of the message of condolences among Armenians of Turkey by saying "Armenian Patriarchy of Turkey made a statement: "We accept the condolences, which our Prime Minister offered, with love."" Apart from the headlines, **Sabah** columnists – Emre Aköz with the title "A small compromise, a big step" (April 25), Erdal Şafak with the title "On the condolences" (April 25), Tulu Gümüştekin "A courageous historical transformation" (April 26), and Murat Yılmaz with the title "Erdoğan's message of condolences" (April 26) – wrote articles about the condolences. Other examples can be added. Nearly none of the authors of **Sabah** skipped the condolences.

Out of the 219 items published in the scanned newspaper, 48 of them are categorized as informative / historical. Under this category, **Sabah** published the least number of items (1); **Aydınlık**, **Hürriyet** and **Habertürk** published the most. On the other hand, if we look at the proportional distribution of the items for each newspaper, **Zaman** leads under the category of "informative / historical" being ¼ of the total items under this category. 2/3 of **Zaman**'s total items are about the condolences. By publishing at least one news item under the categories of "confronting the past" and "emotional / humanitarian", **Zaman** is quite careful not to publish under the categories "with-political-intentions / manipulative" and "provocative / polarizing".

Undoubtedly, this situation arises out of the ambivalent position the mentioned newspaper has towards the government. **Zaman** newspaper, which has broken up its relations with the government, neither opposes the commemoration of the Armenian Genocide and the condolences of the government nor supports them completely. On the one hand the columnists of **Zaman**, as of **Radikal**, affirm the condolences but on the other hand they are chary of the condolences. As examples to these articles, the article that emphasizes that "the pluralist point of view, democracy, culture and modernity, that is to say the human values" should apply for the "inland" as well (Hüseyin Gülerce's article in **Zaman** dated April 25, 2014: "Next, surprising the inland...") or the article that asks "How long do you think it will take to apologize from the spotless people called 'assassins'?" (Sevgi Akarçeşme's article in **Zaman** dated April 25, 2014: "The message of condolences is important but what about sincerity?") can be given.

Only 12 items out of the 219 items in the scanned newspapers are classified as emotional / humanitarian. The news items under this category out of the total number of items have a share of 6%, as the news items under the category of confronting the past / social responsibility. Under this category, Habertürk published no items and **Sabah**, **Hürriyet** and **Habertürk** published the least

number of items (1 item each). The newspaper, which published the largest number of items under this category, is **Birgün**. When the distribution of the items published in **Birgün** is observed, emotional / humanitarian news are seen to be on the foreground with a 31% share. As examples, the interview dated April 24 and titled "How many more trees we will plant and not be able to eat its fruits" by Lora Baytar and the news article dated April 25 and titled "One hundred years of pain: Some wounds do not heal by time" by Zeynep Kuray can be given.



The items under the category 'condolences' appear in **Birgün** at a minimum proportion. Yet the newspaper that published the largest number of news items under the category 'confronting the past / social responsibility' is **Birgün**. On the other hand, the newspaper that published the smallest number of items under the category 'condolences', both in number and in ratio, is **Birgün**. This attitude is a reflection of the political stance shaped by opposition to Erdoğan.

Under the category 'with-political-intentions/manipulative', by taking into account the total number of items published in the scanned newspapers, the items published in **Türkiye** comes to the forefront – though not numerically but proportionally. The article by Rahim Er dated April 24, 2014 and titled "Turkish-Armenian friendship" and an article by İsmail Kapan with the same date titled "To break the routine for 1915", and the headline of the newspaper's April 26, 2014 issue (THE PRIME MINISTER MESSAGE FROM THE ARMENIAN COMMUNITY HE COULD BE A CANDIDATE FOR THE NOBEL PRIZE / A MESSAGE FROM THE ARMENIAN COMMUNITY: Erdoğan is a candidate for the Nobel Prize) can be given as examples for this stance.

# ERMENI CEMAATINDEN BAŞBAKAN MESAJI

Taziye mesajını 'asırlık krizi bitirecek adım' cemaati "Başbakan, Barış Bu ip hiç kopmasın Nobeli'ne adav olmalı" diyor

asbakan'ın, bir ilke imza atıp 1915 olayları için 'ortak acımız' mesajı vermesi Türk vatandaşı Ermenilerin geleceğe umutla bakmasına yol açtı. Her nisanda şiddetlenen asırlık diye yorumla-gerilimin, tarihî mesajla son bulmasını di-leyen Ermeni vatandaşlar "Başbakanımız, Van Ermeni daha önce mallarımızı bize iade etti. Şimdi de başsağlığı diledi. Bunlar bizim için çok

Ankara'nın uzattığı zevtin dalının suistimal edilmemesi gerektiğini söyleyen Ermeni cemaatinin ileri gelenleri "Her şeyin bir başlangıcı olmalı. Bu da bir başlangıçtır, temenni ederiz ki bu ip kopmaz" yorumunu yaptı. Erdoğan'ı 'güzel adam' diye tanımlayan Ermeni cemaatleri, Barış Nobeli'ne adaylık için de şöyle dedi: Bu adımları ile Nobel'e aday olabilir. Biz de o gün ayakta alkışlarız. AVRINTILAR 17'DE

Even **though** Aydınlık leads the category 'informative / historical content' with 18 items, it is quite difficult to say that the newspaper adopts an impartial journalistic policy; the reason being that we have observed a provocative / polarizing attitude in 14 items (1/4 of the total number items about the April 24<sup>th</sup> commemoration published in the newspaper) and 11 items with the attitude 'with political intentions / manipulative'. There are almost no news items under the categories 'emotional / humanitarian' and 'confronting the past /social responsibility'. Taking into account all these facts, it can be said that besides adopting a position quite engaged in relation to April 24<sup>th</sup> commemoration, Aydınlık exemplifies for the 'provocative / polarizing' category. The quoted news item below shows that attitude explicitly.

# SOYKIRIM YALANINDA BIRLEŞTILER PKK-Diaspora el ele verdi

PKK-KCK, Ermeni Soykırımı yalanı kapsamında 'yıldönümü' olarak gündeme getirilen 24 Nisan için yaptığı açıklamada ortak mücadele çağrısında bulundu. BDP, Diyarbakır'da da soykırım sergisi açıyor

Diyarbakır'da 'soykırım' anması

#### HABER MERKEZİ

**General Soykırımı'' yıl**dönümü olarak sunulan 24 Nisan için yapılan açıklamalar, PKK ile soykırım yalanına sarılanlar arasındaki işbirliğini bir kez daha ortaya koydu.

Yazılı açıklama yapan KCK Halklar ve İnançlar Komitesi, "1915 yılında milyonlarca Ermeni'nin Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun gerici ve milliyetçi rejimi tarafından binlerce yıldır yaşadıkları topraklardan koparıldığım, yüz binlercesinin de çok çeşitli yöntemlerle katledildi" ifadeleriyle soykımı yalam ortaklığını bir kez daha ortaya koydu.

#### Kuzey Suriye göndermesi

KCK'nın açıklamasında dikkat çeken asıl noktaysa "soykırım" gerekçesiyle Suriye'nin kuzeyinde oluşturulan fili duruma yapılan gönderme oldu. KCK'dan yapılan açıklamada şöyle denildi: "Ermeni halkına yönelik bü-

"Ermeni halkına yönelik büyük katliamı anma vesilesiyle başta Suriye ve Rojava'da ya-

şayan Ermeni halkımız olmak üzere, tüm halkları ve inanç grupların, Rojava ve Suriye'deki Demokratik Ulus sistemine daha güçlü katılımaya; bölgenin diğer coğrafyalarında yaşayan halk ve inanç topluluklarını da bu sistem ve birliği daha güçlü bir biçimde sahiplenmeye çağırıyoruz." KCK'nın bu açıklaması Suriye'nin bölünmesi hedefinde Ermenilere de bir çağrı olarak yorumlandı.



Muharrem Cebe, "Ermeni soykırımı" yalanına

işaret ederek aynı şeylerin Kürtlerin başına da geldiğini iddia etti. Cebe sözlerini şöyle

sürdürdü: "Talan, soykırım, Enfal, büyük göç gibi birçok isimle adlandırılan katliamlar yaşandı. Bu hem Ermeni hem de Kürt halkının

başına geldi. Bunların arasında Diyarbakırlı olanlar da vardı, mecburen topraklarını terk

etmek zorunda kaldılar. Fransa'ya gittiler. Bugün sembolik de olsa hemşerilerimizin 99 yıl

sonra dedelerinin yaşadığı, doğduğu topraklara geri dönmelerinden dolayı çok mutluyuz."

#### Diaspora: Bize en yakın parti HDP

ANF'ye konuşan Hrant Dink ve Zirve katliamı davalarının avukatlarından Erdal Doğan, Ermeni diasporasının yıllarca Türkiye toplumuna "seytanlastırıldığımı" iddia ederek "önce bu algının yok edilmesi gerekiyor" ifadelerini kullandı.

Ermeni meselesi konusunda Türkiye'de yükselen muhalefetin Kürt siyasi hareketinin muhalefetiyle bir araya gelerek bir atmosfer oluşturduğunu belirten Doğan, HDP'nin yaptığı çalışmalara dikkat çekti. Doğan, yerel seçimlerde Ermenilerin en yoğun biçimde içerisinde yer aldığı partinin HDP olduğunu kaydederek "Diasporanın bir kısmı buğun Türkiye'de bulunan partilerin içinde kendilerini en çok HDP'ye yakım gördüklerini bana ilettiler" ifadesini kullandı.

BDP'li Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 24 Nisan gerekçesiyle "99 Sürgün Portresi-Ermeni Soykırımından Hayatta Kalan 99 Kişi" adlı bir sergi açıyor. Sergi, Marsilya'da Ermeni Bellek Araştırma ve Arşivleme (ARAM) Derneği ile Ermeni-Türk diyaloğu alanında çalışmalar yürüten Lyon merkezli Fransız-Ermeni kuruluşu olan Yerkir Europe ve Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi ortaklığıyla Amed Sanat Galerisi'nde bugün açılacak.

Sergiyle ilgili açıklama yapan Diyarbakır Belediyesi Kültür ve Turizm Daire Başkanı

More than half of the items published in **Habertürk** are left to the condolences. Following the condolences, ¼ of the total items published in the newspaper are provocative/polarizing news items. With respect to this attitude, **Habertürk** follows **Aydınlık** immediately. Informative / historical content has the ratio of 1/5 to the total number and there are no items under the remaining categories.

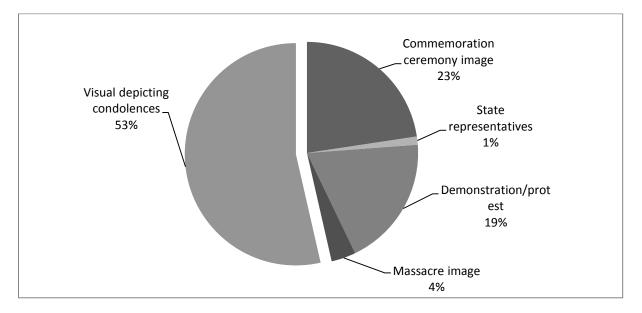
Among the newspapers scanned, it can be said that **Aydınlık** and **Habertürk** generated the most discriminatory discourse in print media with the provocative / polarizing items they published. Especially **Aydınlık**, with the news content given as an example above, regenerates the discriminatory discourse targeting both Armenians and Kurds.

Only 12 items out of the 219 items in the scanned newspapers are categorized under 'confronting the past / social responsibility'. The number of items under this category has the share of only 6% among the total number of items. **Habertürk** published no items under this category; **Zaman** and **Hürriyet** published the least number of items (1 item each). The newspaper, which published the largest number of items under this category, is **Birgün**. Even though the number of items under the categories 'condolences' and 'informative / historical' has the ratio of 2/3 in **Radikal**, the newspaper proportionally comes to the forefront with news items under the category 'confronting the past / social responsibility'. The articles titled "Civilization and Genocide" by Ahmet insel on April 22, 2014, "Was it a Genocide? by Cengiz Çandar on April 24, 2014, "Erdoğan's message should be adopted, but..." by Koray Çalışkan, and "Congratulation and hesitation" by Cüneyt Özdemir on April 25, 2014 are distinguished within this context.

## April 24<sup>th</sup> Commemoration in the Visuals

Another reflection of the fact that Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's message of condolences had left its mark on the agenda of 1915 Genocide in Turkey in 2014 has become evident in the visuals along with other types of contents used. Visual materials were used in 113 out of the 219 news stories and articles that were subject to research. In proportion to the amount of content it used, **Aydınlık** was the newspaper that made use of visuals the most.

A categorization through "commemoration ceremony image", "state representatives", "demonstration/protest", "deportation/massacre image", and "visuals depicting condolences" has been utilized regarding the content in which visual materials were used. As shown in the graph below with the percentage distribution of visuals in content, visuals regarding condolences constituted the most used visual category. Visuals depicting condolences are followed by visuals categorized under "commemoration ceremony visuals" and "demonstration/protest".



In the materials concerning condolences, the coincidence of the message with April 23<sup>rd</sup> Children's Day, generally resulted in a prominent figure of a fatherly Erdoğan, who is smiling and caressing children's cheeks, on the next day's newspapers. For instance, in a large photo on the front page of **Sabah**'s April 24 issue, Erdoğan is seen joyously talking to little Göker to whom he delegated his seat. Similarly, on **Türkiye'**s April 24 issue, Erdoğan is seen caressing little Göker's cheek.



It is actually obvious that such an image, which arose with the occasion of April 23<sup>rd</sup>, was manipulated and reinforced by the print media. For example, an item dated April 23 on **Türkiye** put an interviewee's words in the headline as "We thank 'Father Tayyip'" when covering the views of Armenians, living in Las Vegas, about his message of condolences.

# ABD'DERI ERMENILER: **'Tayyip Baba'ya teşekkür ederiz**

Türkiye'den ABD'ye göç eden Ermeniler, Başbakan'ın açıklamalarına çok sevindiğini söyledi. Başbakan'ın taziye mesajı, Ermeni nüfusunun yoğun bulunduğu ABD'deki Los Angeles kentinde yaşayan Ermenileri çok sevindirdi. Onlardan biri olan Bogos Mayramoglu, "Açıklama çok güzel. 42 yıl Türkiye'de çok rahat yaşadım. Fakat devlet adamlan 1915'i diline sarmış gidiyor" derken, Kadırgalı Garbis Sahnazoğlu ise "Çok hoşumuza gitti" şeklinde konuştu. Migirdic Menzilciyan, "Erdoğan bir jest yaptı. Kendisinden de bu beklenirdi" ifadelerini kullanırken, Garo Hatun ise şöyle dedi: "İstanbul'dan geldim. Başbakan Erdoğan'ı büyük takdirle karşılıyorum ve Tayyip baba'ya saygılarımı sunuyorum."

Another father that came up in the messages of condolences was Garabet Balıkçı – Sevag Balıkçı's father. He appeared in the headline of Habertürk's April 25, 2014 issue: "Thanks from the father/Erdoğan's message gave us joy". This news item can be read as a father's (Sevag's father) thanks to another father (Tayyip Erdoğan), who could sympathize with him the best. Moreover, it can be said that the image of "Father Tayyip" has been reinforced through the word "father".



Newspapers rather rarely gave place to deportation/massacre imagery. Yet the image of massacre was shown in **Radikal** and **Sabah**. On Saturday April 24, 2014 in **Radikal**, a visual regarding the event

that was named as the Musa Mountain Rebellion in history was used in an article<sup>11</sup> titled "I WANT TO SAVE MY NATION FROM DISGRACE", which was about the testimony of Mehmet Celal Bey, who is one of the Ottoman governors of the period, on witnessing the deportation. The visual presented the transfer of Armenian villagers to a refugee camp in Egypt's Port Said by a French war ship, which arrived in İskenderun coasts on September 12, 1915. These villagers were from seven different subsidiary villages of Samandağ, a region in İskenderun. They had to climb the hills of Musa Mountain and resisted the government for 53 days after their goods and chattels were confiscated during the genocide.



**Sabah**, included a visual of a refugee camp in Syria with the caption "Throughout the years of the First World War, Ottoman Armenians were forced to deport. Some of the Armenians, who were deported in 1915, are in Syria..." in the article titled "A conciliatory approach to Armenians".



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> This article is the translation, from old script, of Mehmet Celal Bey's three part piece which was published in the newspaper called Vakit on December 10<sup>th</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup>, 1918.

The visuals in the category "demonstration/protest" were primarily on the news about the demonstrations that were held in Haydarpaşa Railway Station and on İstiklal Street and organized by The Platform for the Commemoration of April 24<sup>th</sup> Armenian Genocide.

On the other hand, two news items that were often used side by side had their visuals under the category of "demonstration/protest": the news about the Turkish flag burnt by a group of protestors gathered in front of the Museum of Genocide during the "torch walk" in Armenia on April 24<sup>th</sup> and the news about the Turks, who invaded a pavement in front of the Washington Embassy of Turkey, in order to prevent the Armenians, who wanted to commemorate April 24<sup>th</sup> in front of the Embassy two days before. This usage itself reproduces the discriminatory discourse either consciously or unconsciously.

## Data Appeared on the News Stories and Articles about Armenian Genocide

Quantitative data were not used in 202 items out of the 219 items published in the newspapers that were scanned regarding the 1915 Armenian Genocide. The death toll was reported as 1.5 million in 8 items. Furthermore, none of the items conveyed any details about the numbers in terms of attributes like woman, man, child, young, old etc. It was determined that usually no references were consulted in preparation of these contents. In those items, which consulted references (8), it was observed that history books were used. Direct testimonial was used only in the interview titled "How many more trees we will plant and not be able to eat its fruits" conducted by Lora Baytar on **Birgün's** April 24 issue.

While a detailed information transfer about Armenian Genocide was encountered in Cengiz Çandar's article that was published on April 24 in **Radikal** with the title "Was it genocide?", it was seen that Ahmet İnsel's article titled "Civilization and Genocide" on April 22 brought forward the historical debates in a conceptual framework on the same newspaper. Except **Radikal**, no traces of information transfer of this kind were encountered in the other newspapers.



In reviews and news articles, widest coverage was mostly given to the statements of state and political party representatives from Turkey and elsewhere in the world. To give an example, statements by Barack Obama primarily, along with Secretary of State John Kerry, spokesperson for the Department of State Jen Psaki, US Ambassador to Armenia John Heffern and US Ambassador to Azerbaijan Matthew Bryza were referred to. Among other state representatives and politicians, who were referred to, were President of France Francois Hollande, President of Armenia Serzh Sargsyan,

President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev, Chairman of Organization for Liberation of Karabakh Akif Nagi and Chairman of Azerbaijan's Party of Hope İkbal Ağazade.

As for Turkey, statements of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, primarily, along with Minister of Foreign Affairs Ahmet Davutoğlu, Parliamentary Spokesperson Cemil Çiçek and AKP Deputy Burhan Kuzu were mostly referred. Turkish Ambassador to France Hakkı Akil, General Director of State Archives Assoc. Prof. Dr. Uğur Ünal and President of Turkish Historical Society Prof. Dr. Metin Hülagü were also among bureaucrats that were referred to.

From the opposition, views of Vice Chairman of CHP Haluk Koç, Vice Foreign Affairs Chair of CHP Faruk Loğoğlu, former member of CHP's Foreign Affairs Commission Aytuğ Atıcı, Chairman of MHP Devlet Bahçeli, Group Deputy Chairman of MHP Yusuf Halacoglu, Co-chairman of BDP Selahattin Demirtaş, Chairman of İP Doğu Perinçek and Vice Chairman of İP Ferit İlsever were conveyed.

Besides active politicians and state representatives, testimonies and opinions of former politicians such as Ottoman governor Mehmet Celal Bey, Armenian President in 1920 Hovhannes Katchaznouni and Turkey's 9<sup>th</sup> President Süleyman Dermirel along with former affiliates of Republic of Turkey's Ministry of Foreign Affairs such as former Undersecretary Onur Öymen, and retired Ambassadors Nüzhet Kandemir, Şükrü Elekdağ, Volkan Vural and Pulat Tacar were also consulted for their witnessing and opinions.

In contents, in which umbrella organizations, or their representatives, of both Turkish and Armenian diaspora in Europe and the USA such as Ara Toronian, the Vice President of Coordination Council of Armenian Organizations of France, Armenian National Committee of America (ANCA) and Assembly of Turkish American Associations (ATAA) were mentioned, well-known people from Armenian diaspora such as Patrick Devedjiyan, Vicken Cheterian and Charles Aznavour were also included.

From Armenians in Turkey, Patriarchal Vicar Aram Ateshyan, President of Kandilli Armenian Church Dikran Kevorkyan, Headman of Vakıflı Village Berç Kartun and Nor Zartonk's statements were referred to.

Opinions of representatives of non-governmental organizations like Turkey Kamu-Sen Chairman İsmail Koncuk, Open Society Foundation Chairman of Executive Board İshak Alaton, Republic Women Foundation Chairwoman of Maltepe Branch Günay Birecik, and Caucasian-Chechen Foundation Chairman Muharrem Çeçen were also included. Intellectuals and columnists like Etyen Mahçupyan, Markar Esanyan and Baskın Oran were referred to as well.

Lebanese artist Rabih Mroue, Armenian historian Ara Sarafian, Historian at Sabancı University Assoc. Prof. Dr. Halil Berktay, international relations expert Prof. Dr. Hasan Köni and Mehmet Perinçek were also among those whose views are asked. Statements of Diyarbakır Bar Chairman Tahir Elçi, lawyers of Hrant Dink and Zirve massacre cases Erdal Doğan and Erdem Akyüz also have their voice in the press.

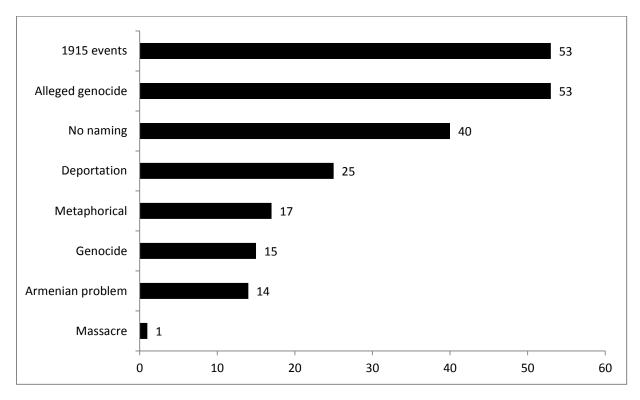
Doubtless to say, to whom the floor is given and who takes the floor to speak constitutes great importance for identifying the sides of the phenomenon. It would not be a mistake to say that the discursive sphere regarding April 24<sup>th</sup> Armenian Genocide Remembrance Day is primarily composed of state representatives and politicians. When 1915 Armenian Genocide is the case, it is evident that

statements of Armenian and Turkish diaspora in Europe and especially in the USA are indispensable. Although the media coverage of commemorations of April 24<sup>th</sup> has slightly changed with the message of condolences, it can be argued that the main actors and dominant debates (especially those about naming the genocide) defend and aim to further maintain their longstanding positions in the discursive sphere. In the meantime, the USA government is taken as a kind of referee. The alignment of Armenia, Armenian diaspora in France and in the USA is positioned against the alignment of Turkey, Azerbaijan, Karabakh and Turkish diaspora in the USA.

Following Erdoğan's message of condolences regarding the 1915 events, the resignation of Prof. Dr. Metin Hülagü is important. Prof. Hülagü was the President of the Turkish Historical Association, which aims to produce a particular kind of information about 1915 under state control to use as a trump card for the current debate. Metin Hülagü's position as the state's staffed scientist and views, which partly contradict the message of condolences, are depicted on Radikal's news item titled "Armenian history from the academics' perspective" on April 26.

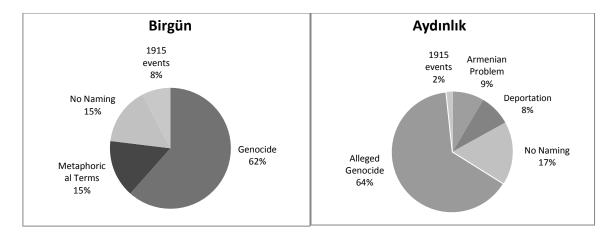
## 24 April 1915: A Naming Issue

If we study how the incident is named in 219 items, it is seen that "1915 events" and "alleged genocide"<sup>12</sup> are in the lead (with 53 items). While any kind of naming was avoided in 40 items, "deportation" was used in 25, metaphors were used instead of any direct naming in 17 items and "genocide" was used only in 15 items. The distribution of various forms of naming is shown in the following graph.

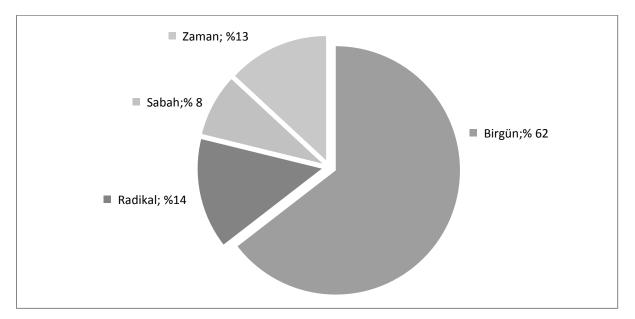


<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>Although "alleged genocide" was not directly used in the content, terms like "genocide allegation" and "genocide lie" were also evaluated under the "alleged genocide" category.

If we take a look at the distribution of the incident's naming across newspapers, the discrepancy between **Birgün** and **Aydınlık** is the first to stand out.



In **Aydınlık**, where "alleged genocide" was heavily used, while "1915 events", which can be regarded as the most neutral term, was used in only one item, "massacre" and metaphorical namings did not exist at all. To the contrary, in **Birgün**, the term "genocide" was heavily used while the namings "alleged genocide," "Armenian problem," and "deportation" were not included. Besides **Birgün**, **Radikal** was another newspaper that never used the term "alleged genocide". **Habertürk** and **Hürriyet** mostly used the term "1915 events" in their contents. Whereas, while the term "genocide" was seen on **Zaman** and **Sabah**, their use was limited to only 2 items each. Distribution of the newspapers in using the term "genocide" in their contents is shown in the graph below.

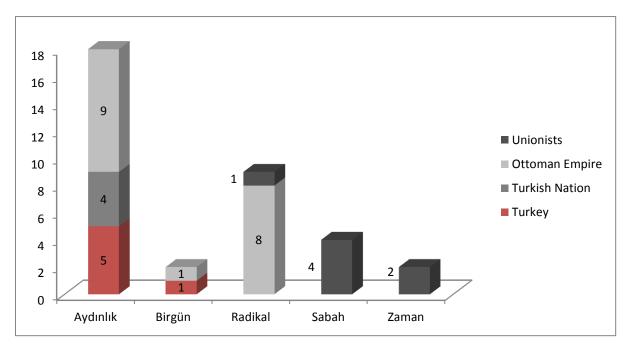


Undoubtedly, the naming issue, which is put forward on remembrance days of memorable social traumas like the Armenian Genocide, does not only concern the naming of the massacre in question. As much as naming the massacre, whether and how victims and perpetrators are named are also considerably important.

In that case, how were the victims named? In 73 out of the 219 items, namely one third of the total number, the victims were not named at all. Not naming the victim is indicative of the denial of

genocide on its own. In the remaining items several terms like "Armenian gangs", "Armenians and Armenian Diaspora", "Christians", "Victims", "Sufferers", "Turks and Muslims", "Those who lost their lives" were used to describe the victims. In 128 of the 148 items that naming took place, the victims were named as "Armenians and Armenian Diaspora". The remaining namings were "Armenian gangs", "Christians", "Victims", and "Sufferers". The naming "Armenian gangs" mostly appeared in **Aydınlık**.

In the case of the perpetrators, 179 out of 219 items – i.e. 80% of the total items – did not name perpetrators. This is undoubtedly a striking result. Most of the scanned newspapers described 1915 as if it was a natural event without any perpetrators or a self-inflicted disaster. It is possible to say that this percentage is more or less the same in all the newspapers studied, except for **Radikal**. Not mentioning the perpetrator in any of the contents they published, **Türkiye**, **Habertürk** and **Hürriyet** avoided naming of this kind through a meticulous and cautious effort. In the remaining items, perpetrators were named as "Unionists", "Ottoman Empire", "Turkish nation", and "Turkey". The distribution of newspapers that named perpetrators is shown in the graph below.



As the above graph depicts, **Sabah** and **Zaman** demonstrates harmony to some extent by referring to the perpetrators as "Unionists" and thus by making a reference to a more specific perpetrator other than the Ottoman Empire and Turkey – i.e. to the Unionists – they put the blame fully on the Unionist establishment.

The reasons for the Armenian Genocide were mentioned only in 19% of the items. **Aydınlık** was the newspaper, which laid most emphasis on the reasons. Among the reasons of the incident, rationales like "Collaboration with the enemy", "War", "Defending of the country" were listed. Of course "Collaboration with the enemy" and "Defending of the country" refers to the conditions of "War"; however, they are part of a more specified narration. These two categories were observed heavily in **Aydınlık**. Speaking of reasons like "defending the country" or "collaboration" after events like massacre and genocide plays a function of legitimizing the crimes at hand. In this sense, **Aydınlık** 

regenerates the discriminatory discourse by legitimizing the crime of Armenian Genocide after 99 years.

The crimes that were committed during the Genocide were not mentioned in 183 out of the 219 items. In the remaining contents, these crimes were mentioned as "death walk" (Radikal), "sad events" (Aydınlık), "crimes against humanity" (Birgün, Habertürk, Radikal, Sabah), "tragic events" (Aydınlık, Habertürk), "Meds Yeghern" (Habertürk), "big massacre" (Hürriyet), "terror" (Aydınlık), "calamity" (Hürriyet), "black page" (Zaman), "massacre" (Aydınlık, Habertürk), "mass destruction" (Radikal), "terrible events" (Zaman), "genocide" (Radikal), "deportation" (Radikal), "tragedy" (Sabah), "cruelty" (Zaman), "atrocity" (Sabah). How crimes are described is as important as them being named. Committed crimes get lightened as they get ambiguous; genocide becomes distant and experiences are covered as committed crimes get lightened.

## Values Referred When Talking About April 24th

In 125 out of the 219 items, in other words more than half of the total, no values were referred to. In the remaining items, values such as "human rights", "humanity", "justice", "independence, unity", "peace", "democracy culture", "friendship", "tolerance", "serenity", "Turkey's reputation", "historical reality", and "international law" were mentioned. The most frequent reference was made to "peace"; **Sabah** (6 items), **Radikal** and **Hürriyet** (4 items each) were the newspapers that referred to "peace" the most. "Justice" was the second most referred concept (16 items in total) after "peace". This is followed by "humanity" with 14 items. In **Birgün**'s items "human rights" in addition to "humanity" was prominent and in **Radikal** "democracy culture" instead of "humanity" was emphasized. While **Birgün** was the only newspaper that mentioned "human rights", "democracy culture" was encountered in **Türkiye** and **Zaman** though rather rarely. Whereas references like "independence, unity" and "Turkey's reputation" were observed only in **Aydınlık. Aydınlık** was also the only newspaper that did not refer to "peace" at all. As the most referenced concept on this newspaper, "international law", was used almost only in **Aydınlık** and as it can be seen in the content visual below, it was related to the decisions of ECHR in which Doğu Perinçek was engaged in the lawsuit with the Swedish government.



# Avrupacılık ve soykırım yalanı

Soykırım yalanı hiçbir uluslararası mahkeme tarafından kabul edilmediği gibi, AİHM'nin 'Perinçek-İsviçre' kararında belirttiği üzere 'soykırım' ifadesinin kullanılması için gereken hukuki temel oluşturulamamıştır

#### AYTEKIN KAAN KURTUL

Auptor vrupacılık, Avrupa'nın sadece sınıf mücadelesini, bilimsel ilerlemesini ve kültürel fetihlerini benimsemeyi öngören bir fikir değildir.

Avrupacihk, bilhassa Avrupa'da, Avrupa'nın siyasi ve toplumsal varlığını ön planda tutan, diğer dünyanın gerçekliğinden uzak bir gaflettir ve bizdeki yansıması, daha alçak mertebede taklitçiliğe ve bilinç mevcudiyetinde işbirtikçiliğe tekabül etmektedir.

Bu retorik, sözde soykırım hususunda da Avrupa sınırlarını aşarak Türkiye'de akademik çevreleri ele geçirmeye çalışmış ve varlığını koloniciliğe borçlu olan bir medeniyetin kanlı dayatımalarını "ademi merkeziyetçilik" adı altında topluma aşlamaşa çalışacak kadar pervasız özneler tarafından kullanılmıştır. Ne var ki Avrupa'nın hukuk ala-

Ne var ki Avrupo'nın hukuk alanındaki kazanımları, sınd mücadelesindeki kazanımları gibi håkim siyasi ziimreyi gafil avlamış ve ifade özgürügü, sermaye diktatörlüğünün kültürel hegemonyasını belli alanlarda yenilgiye uğratabilmiştir.

#### Mutlakiyet ve ötesi

Avrupa Insan Hakları Mahkemesi'nin (AIHM) "Perinçek-Isviçre" davasındaki kararı bu yenliğilerin sonuncusu olmakla birlikte, Türk ulusunun tarihsel bir yalan kayısında yıllardır yürütüğü mücadelenin hukuki meşruiyetini tanımış ve mevzubahis mücadelenin Avrupa'da akademik tartışma platformlarına taşınmasının önünü açımıştır. AIHM'nin "Perinçek-İsviçre" davasında verdiği karar ve soykırım yalanına karşı mücadelenin geleceği, tam olarak bu hukuki ve tarihsed çerçevede incelenmelidir. Ben de söz konusu çerçeveyi sunduğum araçlarla özetlenmeye çalışacağım. Soukrem valanı ike mücadelete

Soykırım yalanı ile mücadelede öncelikle bilinmesi gereken veriler-



den biri, yalanın emperyalist niteliğinden ötürü semaye merkezlerinde "tartışılmaz bir gerçek" olarak değerlendirilmesidir.

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Bu değerlendirme, sadece soykırım yalanına özgü değildir; zira Avrupa'da håkim siyasi zümre, halklarına "Avrupa'nın değerlerinin üstünlüğünün mutlak olduğu' fikrini erken kolonicilik döneminden beri aşılamaktadır. Oyle ki, Saün Simon ve Augustin Thierry gibi ütopik sosyalistler dahi bu fikirden etkilenmiş ve "birleşik, federe bir Avrupa birliği' üzerine ceşitli tezler yazmışlardır (De la réorganisation de la société européeune, 1814). Bir kuşak sonra, biyük yazır Vietor Hugo da "Avrupa Birleşik Deletleri" hayalıni kurmaktan geri kalmamş ve bu devletin "bısanlığaı" yarısınası" olup "mutlak barşı" getireceğini ifade etmiştir (Discous à Poccasion du Congrès intenational de la pati de Paris, 1849). Görüldüğü üzere, Avrupa'nın "damarlarına işlemiş" olan bu fikir, siyaset malzemesi haline getirilmek için her zaman uygun olmuştur. Basit ve güncel bir örnek verecek

AlHM'nin 'Perinçek-İsviçre' davasında verdiği karar, Avrupa'nın hukuk alanında ve işçi hakları konusundaki ilerlemeleri gibi, etkili bir mücadele sonucu hâkim siyasi zümrenin işine gelmeyen sonuçlar doğurmuş ve 'serbest pazar ekonomisi' miti gibi 'soykırım' miti de fiilen 'mutlak' niteliğini kaybetmiştir olursak, Avrupalı siyasetçilerin Kiev'deki faşist darbeyi "demokratik devrim" olarak yanstması, "Avrupa'nın değerlerini savunanlar" sokağa dökülünce daha kolay olmuş ve Slavojek Zizek gibi birçok Avrupalı "sol aydın", Yahudi ve Rus azınlıklara karşı işlenen suçlara rağmen darbe şakşakçılığı yapmaktan çekinmemiştir.

#### Dogmatik yaklaşım ve yalanın yayılması Söz konusu ilkel ve dogmatik

Söz konusu ilkel ve dogmatik yaklasım, soykırm yalanının nasıl yayıldığı hususuna da ışık tutmaktadır. 1. Dünya Savaşı'nda, döktükleri kanı meşrulaştırma arayışında olan tülaf Devletleri'nin Osmanlı Devleti sinnfari çinde "Ermenilere zutmedildiği" yönündeki bildirisinden (1915) "fitlaf Devletleri'nin diplomatik işlerini yürüten" ABD Istanbul Biyükelçisi Henry Morgenthau'nun "aldığı duyumlar üzerine" ABD Senatosu ve Dşişleri'ne yolladığı raporlara kadar nesnellikten uzak kaynaklar Avrupa kamuoyunun "önde gelenleri" tarafından kutsanınca yıllar süren endoktrinasyon sonucu "mutlak doğru" konumuna getirilmiştir.

Ne var ki bu durum, kaynakların zayıflığını ve küresel temelde bir görüş birliği olmadığı gerçeğini örtememis

madigi gerçeğini örtememiş ve soykırım yalanı, küresel çapta bağlayıcı karar verme yetkisine sahip hiçbir uluslararası mahkeme tarafından kabul edilmediği gibi AlHM'nin "Perinçek-Isviçre" karanında beliritiği üzere "hukuki bir kavrama tekabül eden 'soykırım' ifadesi'nin kullanılması için gereken hukuki temel oluşturulanamıştır. Bir başka deyişle; AlHM'nin

Bir başka deyişle; AlHM'nin "Perinçek-bsviçre" davasında verdiği karar, Avrupa'nın hukuk alanında ve işçi hakları konusundaki ilerlemeleri göli, ektili bir mikaedele sonucu hâkim siyasi zimrenin işine gelmeyen sonuçlar doğurmuş ve "serbest pazar ekonomisi" miti gibi "soykırımı" miti de fiilen "muttak" miteliğini kavbetmiştir.

#### Şovenizm ve dogmatizmle mücadelede AIHM zaferinin önemi

Bir kripto-sovenist düşünce olarak Avrupacılığın "mutlak" bilgileri, epistemolojinin doğası gereği somut olan gerçekliğe yenik düşmektedir.

olan gerçekliğe yenik düşmektedir. Bu "bilgiler"den biri olan soykırm yalanı da AlHM zaferi ile birlikte yenilmiş; fakat henüz uluslararası kamuoyu nazarında tamımen yıkılmamştır. Bununla birlikte, söz konusu tabuyu yıkmak amacıyla yürüteceğimiz bilimsel tartışmaların önü AlHM zaferiyle birlikte açılmıştır. Bundan sonraki süreçte, özellikle Avrupa'da, soykınm yalanı hakkındaki gerçekler her platformda tartışmalardır. Sürecin gidişatı ve edinilebilecek siyasi sonuçlar, bu tartışmaların etkinliğine bağlıdır.

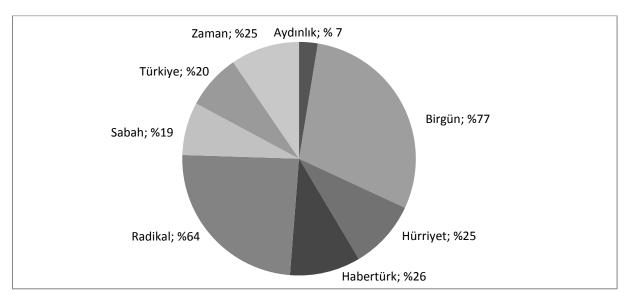
#### Armenian Genocide and Similar Events in Different Imaginaries

In 65 items out of 219, other historical facts and events were referred to while speaking of Armenian Genocide. When talking about the April 24<sup>th</sup>, depending on the framework of their editorial policy, political engagement and worldview, each newspaper acted differently; sometimes they referred to other massacres taken place on these lands and sometimes put forward different facts and events with a tendency for historically balancing or reducing the weight of Armenian Genocide.

To begin with Aydınlık, "ECHR decisions", "Kurdish Initiative", "Attacks on the Turkish diplomats", "ASALA", "Khojaly massacre", "Karabakh problem", "the Holocaust", "French Constitutional Court decisions", and "Orly proceedings" were other historical events that were highlighted when mentioning the April 24<sup>th</sup>. Birgün mentioned "Hrant Dink murder", Bosnia, Iraq, Syria, Africa, Chechnya, Afghanistan, Maritsa Küçük murder, Sevag Balıkçı murder, Kurdish, Dersim and Alewi initiatives and wars in Karabakh, Roboski and Syria. When covering April 24<sup>th</sup>, Hürriyet made references to 6-7 September events, Hrant Dink murder, Balkan War, Dersim massacre and the Holocaust. Habertürk recited highly disparate historical events like "1885-1919 Armenian rebellions", "violence committed by Armenians from 1974 to date", Dersim massacre, Khojaly massacre, Hrant Dink murder, Sevag Balıkçı murder and the assassination of Talat Pasha. Radikal addressed occupation of Azerbaijan, Gezi events, May Day, Kurdish issue, Hrant Dink murder, Sevag Balıkçı murder, massacres in Cambodia, Bosnia, Kosovo and Iraq, and genocides carried out against Kurds. Sabah prated similar sins of the Unionist mindset such as the Dersim massacre, dissolution of minorities, "suppression of Kurdish issue with blood", Independence tribunals and "banning of learning Qur'an". Zaman, on the other hand, brought up the Dersim massacre, Uludere, Hrant Dink, the Holocaust and assaults against Turkish diplomats. No reference of this kind could be found in Türkiye.

## Various Demands for Memory Regarding 1915

In 139 out of 219 items, no demands whatsoever related to the 1915 events were mentioned. In the remaining 80 items, the demands in question were classified as "apology", "securing justice", "peace", "reckoning with the past", "denial", and "recognition of genocide". Accordingly, "reckoning with the past" constituted 14% of all items being the most claimed demand, whereas "securing justice" constituted only 7%. Contents that conveyed the demand for "recognition of genocide" in a more straightforward way compared to the demand for "reckoning with the past" made 7% of the total number of items. "Apology" was encountered only in two items (in **Hürriyet** and **Habertürk**) while demand for "peace" was seen in three items (in **Radikal**, **Sabah**, **Türkiye**). The only newspaper that brought up the demand for "denial" in a loud and clear way was **Aydınlık**. Putting this demand aside, the proportion of published demands, which can be referred to as demands for memory and are classified as " apology", "securing justice", "peace", "reckoning with the past" and "recognizing the genocide", to the total number of contents published about 1915 in each newspaper can be seen in the graph below.



#### Distribution of demand for memory across newspapers (%)

**Birgün** was the newspaper with the most demands for memory in proportion to the number of contents published (three fourths). Although **Radikal** published more items with demands for memory in terms of numbers, the proportion was two thirds relative to the overall of its published items. Moreover, while **Hürriyet**, **Habertürk** and **Zaman** published demands for memory in one fourth of their published contents, this proportion was one fifth for **Sabah** and **Türkiye**. **Aydınlık** was the newspaper, which called for the smallest proportion of demands for memory.



**Birgün's** main examples regarding demands for memory were Nor Zartonk's press release with the title "We want justice, not compassion" and Hüseyin Aygün's article titled "Knowing" on April 24.

In his article that was published on **Birgün** on April 24, Hüseyin Aygün points to the importance of reckoning with the past in the context of Armenian Genocide: "You will be ashamed if you know what the Ottoman did to the Armenian ninety nine years ago. The scaffolds in Beyazıt - İstanbul for the twenties, those who are gathered together and brought from Van, those cut into pieces by two thousand knives before the walls of Diyarbakır, those who were drowned in the river, those who had to let go of her mother's hand within the hungry, naked, thirsty, and weary groups, twelve thousand "adopted" children, those who were vanished under the desert sun. You

would blush because of rage, you would be ashamed. You would go red because of Hrant whose blood is still hot and because of graceful Sevag who were shot to dead while on duty in the army. When you are ashamed, you humanize. You apologize from the ninety-nine years of pain and destruction. From the wind in the desert, from the baby in the river, from those who were executed in Beyazit. From millions of death who turned ninety-nine. You apologize."

## Conclusion: 1915 and the fragmented social imaginary

Print media not only offers information and reflects knowledge shared by society but also contributes to the molding of public opinion and building and structuring social representations.

According to Daniel Cornu, journalists are primarily a direct and indirect observer but at the same time she is also the person who interprets and assesses events based on a view, affect and judgment. When generating content she picks and organizes information regarding the event and shapes them according to the political attitude of their newspaper.<sup>13</sup> In this sense, information appearing on print media is by no means reality; instead, it is the image of reality that passes through the mediation of a series of curved mirrors.<sup>14</sup> As a matter of fact, it is a "simulacra" of reality according to Jean Beaudrillard.<sup>15</sup>

Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw claim that some historical events are allowed for via a selection process of media while others are not; and thus, information is hierarchized. Due to this attribute, media have a considerable amount of influence on the formation of public opinion. Events that make an appearance on media are conveyed and remembered, while those, which cannot make it, fall into oblivion. 16

In short, visual and print media form the majority of public opinion by selecting and sorting out information, then narrating and making it a part of a discursive whole, setting the agenda and presenting reality with crystallized and structured images. They not only settle with generating current social and collective representations, but also beyond these they provide formation of social imaginary and collective memories.

Social representations have great importance in guiding individuals' behaviors, social practices, performances and relationships. According to Dennis Jodelet, social representations constitute a type of information that is socially generated and shared and serves the establishment of common reality.<sup>17</sup> Social representations are the well-organized aggregation of opinion, attitude and beliefs towards an object<sup>18</sup>; on the verge of what is individualistic and collective, they ensure persons and groups to make sense of their behaviors, understand/construe reality based on their reference systems, and thus, find their place in the social world surrounding them and conduct daily lives.<sup>19</sup>

Cornelius Castoriadis emphasizes the concept of magma when he talks about social imaginary in his book The Imaginary Institution of Society. "The existing signs of imaginary in a given society offer us a type of organization unknown in other spheres up until now. An organizational type of non-unifiable cluster. I call this type magma. Magma "contains" clusters but it cannot be reduced to clusters or

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Daniel Cornu, Journalisme et vérité. L'éthique de l'information, 2009.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Louis Quéré, *Des Miroirs Equivoques - Aux origines de la communication*, Ed. Aubier, coll. Babel, 1982.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Jean Baudrillard, Simülakrlar ve Simülasyon, Doğu Batı Yayınları, 2003.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Maxwell Mccombs ve Donald Shaw, « The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media », *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 36, n° 2, 1972. <sup>17</sup> Denise Jodelet, *Les représentations sociales*, Paris, PUF, 1991, s. 36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Jean-Claude Abric (dir.), *Pratiques sociales et représentations*, Paris, PUF, coll. « Psychologie sociale », 2001 (1994), s. 13

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> İbid.

systems of clusters no matter how rich and complicated they are."<sup>20</sup> During the formation of imaginaries – either the common imaginary of the entire society or dissociated imaginaries of different groups within a society – various signs of imaginary are selected and revealed from the magma which in a way can also be described as social subconscious.

Furthermore, collective memory theoretician Maurice Halbwachs emphasizes that the past is not kept hidden subconsciously in underground galleries of the human mind as completed images waiting to be called; but reestablished in the present time.<sup>21</sup> For Halbwachs, remembrance of the past means rather reinterpreting, reshaping and reestablishing the past based on the current social frameworks of the group one belongs to.<sup>22</sup> There are as many different collective memories as there are different groups in a society.<sup>23</sup> Memory is always carried out and kept alive by a particular group. Memory differs from history in these senses: History is singular. Yet there is more than one collective memory. Memory addresses the concrete, life experience; it claims universality.<sup>24</sup> Memory is never frozen; it is rather in a constant transformation.<sup>25</sup> According to history, time is split into periods; it is built on the separation of present from the past. Collective memory, however, is dispersed over time. Memory does not accept that moments have gone by; it still corresponds to an existing past.<sup>26</sup>

Different social representations, which are created around massacres and their remembrance days by print media, offer us information about various social imaginaries and collective memory groups existing within a society and establish, ruin, restructure, transform and strengthen these aforementioned groups per se.

Within the framework of subject matter of our file, April 24<sup>th</sup> Armenian Genocide Remembrance Day, the analysis on print media's weaving of discourse and making of social representations, chiefly shows us that social imaginary has a fragmented structure in Turkey. Various groups of social imaginary and collective memory differentiated themselves from the others once more through representations created in print media within the framework of April 24<sup>th</sup> Remembrance Day and thus strengthened their existence. In almost all of the scanned newspapers, by including a collage, which exhibits the headlines on April 24<sup>th</sup> of other newspapers, they position themselves in relation to each other. Thus that serves as a datum supporting the aforementioned differentiation. In this context, it can be said that media organs have largely instrumentalized April 24th Remembrance. Undoubtedly, the marginalizing language and discriminatory discourse used in some newspapers were influential on the emergence of such separation in the social imaginary within the context of April 24<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Cornellius Castoriadis, *Toplum İmgeleminde Kendini Nasıl Kurar? Toplumsal İmgelem ve Kurum*, Cilt 2, çev: Işık Ergüden, iletişim yayınları, 2011) s.21 (This quotation is taken from the Turkish translation of the *The Imaginary Institution of Society* and then translated to English for this report.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Maurice Halbwachs, La mémoire collective, Paris, Albin Michel, 1997 [1950].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Maurice Halbwachs, Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire, Paris, Albin Michel1994 [1925]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> İbid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Pierre Nora, "Hafiza ile Tarih Arasında: Mekânlar Sorunsalı" *Hafiza Mekânları* Çev: Mehmet Emin Özcan, Dost Kitapevi, 2006

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Enzo Traverso, Geçmişi Kullanma Klavuzu (Tarih, Bellek, Politika), Versus yayınları, 2009

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Richard Terdiman, Present Past: Modernity and the Memory Crisis. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1993, s.8

Looking at the overall data, it is seen that the word "genocide" has entered in the social imaginary via print media a year before the centenary; however, this important development is overshadowed by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan who left his mark on the social imaginary by the message of condolences.

On the other hand, two news items were used by almost all newspapers side by side: the news about the Turkish flag burnt by a group of protestors gathered in front of the Museum of Genocide during the "torch walk" in Armenia on April 24 and the news about the Turks who invaded a pavement in front of the Washington Embassy of Turkey in order to prevent the Armenians who wanted to commemorate April 24<sup>th</sup> in front of the Embassy two days before. Almost all of the newspapers' use of these two specific news items together is a sign that the polarization in social imaginary is not over and the discriminatory discourse is carried out in all the newspapers, whether deliberately or not. Apart from the message of condolences, making peace in the social imaginary undoubtedly requires more serious steps towards reckoning with the past.

The below depiction is clarified about the presentation of social representation by the press, which are scanned focusing on the discriminatory discourse around the April 24<sup>th</sup> The Armenian Genocide Remembrance Day, and clarified about the groups of imaginary and memory structured by these newspapers.

**Sabah** has put forward primarily the news about the condolences in a pro-government attitude underrating the reality of genocide. According to the social representation generated by this newspaper, "father" Erdoğan is a neutral and supra-political figure who reconciles Armenians and Turks. Newspaper aims to exclude social imaginary from the context of "genocide" and reconstitute the social imaginary in the context of "condolences". According to this imaginary, with the message of condolences, we have made a centenary beat to the malevolent Armenian "factors" and hence have shot ahead. This collective memory group who wants to ease the weight of 1915 in memories and remember the Armenian Genocide with the condolences, names the perpetrator as the "Unionists". A hundred years of crime is disposed by a centenary beat. The condolences are offered, and the case is closed. **Sabah** newspaper adopts this attitude of putting the crime of genocide into cold storage.

**Türkiye** newspaper makes a similar impression to **Sabah**. By using the items of political intentions / manipulative content, **Türkiye** supports the imaginary equivalent to the social imaginary **Sabah** tries to constitute with the pro-government attitude. It amplifies the image of powerful Erdoğan with the "candidate to Nobel prize" discourse.

**Aydınlık**, on the other hand, starts the discussion around the April 24<sup>th</sup> commemoration in a provocative way. It becomes prominent by being the most engaged media organ in the genocide discussion. This social imaginary, built upon the denial of genocide, brings "internal powers", which want to destroy Turkey, and "imperialist" foreign powers from the magma to the surface. Hereby, a representation of Turkey, which is being forced into the corner, and a country, whose "honor", "independence and unity" is in danger, is depicted. This imaginary fed by the representations of internal and foreign powers regenerates the discriminatory discourse about Armenians and Kurdish people. From the perspective of collective memory, the newspaper prefers to remember/remind of the Battle of Gallipoli, Armenian gangs, attacks on the Turkish diplomats, ASALA, Khojaly massacre, and the Karabakh problem when told 1915. Being the only newspaper, which did not refer to

"peace", **Aydınlık** is not after reckoning with the past, but after justifying the crimes committed by using "Collaboration with the enemy", "War", "Defense of the motherland" as justification.

With the cautious stance loyal to state traditions, **Hürriyet** differs from the other newspapers. The newspaper shows attention to use objective language in contents, headlines and texts. The social imaginary **Hürriyet** serves for, on the one hand, affirms the statement of condolences and on the other hand highlights the need for care in the genocide issue and emphasizes not to vitiate "ultimate interests" of the state. Even though **Hürriyet** is attentive to the change the message of condolences caused in the collective social imaginary of Turkey, it is observed that the newspaper mentions events like the Hrant Dink murder, Balkan War, Dersim Massacre, the events of September 6/7, and the Holocaust.

Saving more than half of the published items for the condolences, along with the human dimension of the condolences, the theme of "cornering" Armenian diaspora is significant in **Habertürk**. The figure of "murdered Turkish diplomats" emerges from the social subconscious (magma). With the title "What about them", Armenian diaspora is targeted. With provocative /polarizing items, the social imaginary **Habertürk** tries to build is nourished from the discriminatory discourse. The relation between the future and this imagery, which does not allow for reckoning with the past, is quite obscure: It refers to completely different events such as Armenian riots between 1885 and 1919, Armenian-induced violence since 1974, Dersim massacre, Khojaly massacre, Hrant Dink murder, Sevag Balıkçı murder, and the assassination of Talat Pasha.

After the alliance with the government is broken, an emotionless language and "objectivity" comes to the fore in **Zaman** newspaper. However, after dissociating from the government, the social imaginary the newspaper is trying to build has not rallied and is not ready for the arguments on "genocide". While affirming the condolences, the newspaper tries to keep the operations, which were carried out after December 17, on the agenda at the same time.

The newspapers Radikal and Birgün differ from the other newspaper in the social imaginary they try to build. Even though both Radikal and Birgün share and try to build the same social imaginary, they realize this via slightly different social representations. First of all it should be emphasized that both Radikal and Birgün are on the same group, which gives floor to the victims, brings the demands for memory to the fore and gives coverage to informative items. The message of condolences is not brought forward in **Birgün**; on the contrary it is banalized by using journalistic language. The statement of condolences, the content of which is either criticized or affirmed by different positions, and yet which has great importance in the arguments of Armenian Genocide, receives small coverage in Birgün; this shows a different sort of political preference. On the other hand, Radikal used a headline, which is neutral to the subject ("We offer our condolences"). Yet the visual used for this headline has not differed from the other newspapers, Prime Minister Erdoğan is reflected as a fatherly figure. In the items published in Birgün, in addition to "humanity" the concept of "human rights" is prominent; whereas in Radikal, it is observed that instead of "human rights", "democracy culture" is highlighted. Both newspapers are the ones, which gave the widest coverage to the demands of memory and to the issue of reckoning with the past. Both newspapers consider it necessary to remember/remind Hrant Dink being in the first place, Maritsa Küçük and Sevag Balıkçı murders, Dersim and Roboski massacres along with the April 24<sup>th</sup>. Furthermore, it is determined that **Radikal** strengthens the aforementioned world of imaginary by reviving current injustices (such as the disproportionate use of force by the government during the Gezi events, ban on celebrations of May Day in Taksim, getting no result on the investigations of Hrant Dink and Sevag Balıkçı murders) and approach critically the sincerity of the message of condolences and its reflection on action. When considered from this aspect, within the context of April 24<sup>th</sup> commemoration, it can be said that **Birgün** tries to assert its own agenda, while **Radikal** prefers to fight against the government within the agenda and that in this sense these two newspapers instrumentalize the April 24<sup>th</sup> commemoration in different ways.