



### **Hrant Dink Foundation**

Halaskargazi Cad. Sebat Apt. No. 74 D. 1 Osmanbey-Şişli 34371 İstanbul/TÜRKİYE Tel: 0212 240 33 61 Faks: 0212 240 33 94 E-posta: info@hrantdink.org www.hrantdink.org www.nefretsoylemi.org

#### Media Watch on Hate Speech Project Team

İrem Az Nuran Gelişli Rojdit Barak Zeynep Arslan

### Contributors

Ezgi Kan Fatih Karagülle İdil Cambazoğlu Miray Özturan Pelin Oral S. Buğra Kurban Sedef Korkmaz

### Part I: Hate Speech in National and Local Press in Turkey

İdil Engindeniz Şahan

### Part II: Discriminatory Discourse in Print Media

Hakan Ataman

**Translator** Bürkem Cevher

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FIND STIFTUNG FÜR DIE FREIHEIT





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# PART II: DISCRIMINATORY DISCOURE IN PRINT MEDIA – DISCRIMINATORYDISCOURSE AGAINST SYRIAN REFUGEES IN LOCAL AND NATIONAL PRESS66

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### ABOUT 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 is commonly used by the media – in particular in the headlines and news headings – is 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 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 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.

Prejudice, racism, xenophobia, partiality, discrimination, sexism, and homophobia lie at the core of hate speech. 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 the frequency of the use hate speech as well as its impact.

For various reasons, Turkey has recently been witnessing polarization between various sections of society; thus intolerance towards difference, the "other", is becoming increasingly more widespread. The decades-long conflicts in Southeast Anatolia, the sudden demographic changes elicited by 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 regarding minority rights and inter-religious dialogue, as well as the discussions surrounding the Cyprus question as "foreign powers' plots aimed at Turkey" 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 ideas to resolve these issues, 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 the 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 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 about using such racist and discriminatory language. For example, the allegation made by government officials that foreign powers and the "interest rate lobby" organized Taksim Gezi Park protests caused certain groups, in particular Jews, to be targeted promulgates marginalization of targeted groups.

The media (press-broadcast), 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 leading and instrumental in spreading and banalizing a conflict. If the media behaves irresponsibly and carelessly, it can very easily trigger, foster and strengthen racism and hatred between people, and worst of all, it can legitimize such attitudes by justifying them.

For many years, the media in Turkey has been one of the active sources of nationalist and discriminatory discourse. Such journalistic practices substantially contribute to polarization in society. When we study some of the hate crimes that took place in recent years, it becomes easier to understand the impact of the media. Yasin Hayal, who was 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 was 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**, which is one of the instruments for producing and reproducing racism, discrimination and othering, the specific goal of this study is to **strengthen newspapers' respect for human rights and differences, draw attention to 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 study via which the Foundation carries out in order to achieve those goals, 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, journalism-related

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

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

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 discourse, and to encourage the use of a more conscious and respectful language when discussing human rights issues and minorities in the media.

Furthermore, initiatives include cooperation with others for the development of lectures on hate speech, and theses and dissertations that study hate speech. In the year of 2012, in close cooperation with academics 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 academics. Currently, in line of the feedback from those academics, 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 edited by Mahmut Çınar from Bahçeşehir University, Faculty of Communication, published with a preface by Professor Fuat Keyman from Istanbul Policy Center 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, enemy of the Turks, separatist, etc.) via the media monitoring center.

During the previous periods, the newspapers published in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) were included under the category of local press, however deciding that this was not methodologically adequate, these publications are taken out of the list. All publications that have been studied within the report periods are listed in respective reports; hence, this makes it possible to see the general picture in relation to the previous periods – excluding the TRNC publications.

While the main focus has been on hate speech based on national, ethnic and religious identities; sexist and homophobic discourse are also examined within the scope of the monitoring work. In this study, we mainly used the critical discourse analysis methodology, as well as other associated techniques, commonly used in media studies. In line with the characteristics of news pieces, textual and iconographic (pertaining to 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,

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

we conducted quantitative analyses of where (in which newspapers), how and through which sources hate speech was manifested and generated most and who were the targets of it.

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, 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 [church] bells!").

**2)** Blasphemy / Insult / Degradation: Any discourse that contains direct swearing, insult or denigration about a community (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. The Cruelty of *Gavur*<sup>4</sup>)

**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 anyway" or "is your surname Davutoğlu or Davutyan?").

### DISCRIMINATORY DISCOURSE THEMATIC 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 specific theme within the four-month period, an appropriate research method is determined and a discriminatory discourse analysis is performed. The aim of these analyses is to uncover discourse that was formulated in an implicit manner, covertly conveying discriminatory or alienating messages.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The word "gavur" is used in order to insult non-Muslim believers. Even though its basic meaning is "nonbeliever" according to dictionaries, it is always used as an offensive way of addressing non-Muslims in the context of Turkey.

In 2013, the first media study on discriminatory discourse for the January-April period examined the media related to the **Black Sea visit of the People's Democratic Congress (HDK)** that included **members and deputies from the Peace and Democracy Party (BDP)**. For that study, all news stories and opinion columns, between February 15 and 28, 2013 covering this event in **Bizim Karadeniz**, **Taka, Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet, Sabah,** and **Zaman** newspapers were analyzed.<sup>5</sup>

For the second report for 2013, all news articles and opinion columns published during the first week of the **Gezi Park events** between June 1-7, 2013 in **Habertürk, Hürriyet, Özgür Gündem, Radikal, Sabah, Sözcü, Taraf, Yeni Şafak,** and **Zaman** dailies were monitored and analyzed using content analysis and discourse analysis.<sup>6</sup>

For the September-December 2013 period, **Alevism** was chosen to be the focus due to the high number of references found in the media at the time. Resultantly, **Birgün, Habertürk, Hürriyet, Milliyet, Özgür Gündem, Star, Sözcü, Yeni Şafak, Yurt,** and **Zaman** news oulets were monitored.<sup>7</sup>

For the first period of 2014, the subject matter of the discriminatory discourse file was determined to be the April 24, Armenian Genocide Remembrance Day of 1915. Taking this date as the baseline, all the news articles and columns published between April 22 and 26, 2014 in 8 newspapers including **Aydınlık, Birgün, Habertürk, Hürriyet, Radikal, Sabah, Türkiye** and **Zaman** were monitored and analyzed.<sup>8</sup>

For the period covering May-August of 2014, the chosen subject matter was discriminatory discource aimed at Jewish identity —resulting from the July launch against Gaza—generated by the Turkish press. Accordingly, the newspapers **Zaman, Posta, Hürriyet, Sözcü,** and **Sabah,** published between July 8 and 22, 2014 were monitored and analyzed.<sup>9</sup>

Finally, the theme of the Discriminatory Discourse File for the report covering the September-December, 2014 period is the discriminatory discourse towards Syrian immigrants in print media. **Olay, Gaziantep Güneş,** and **Gaziantep 27** dailies from the local press; and **Hürriyet** and **Sabah** dailies from the national press published between August 11 and 24, 2015 are monitored. The method used in this study as well as the findings can be found in the second part of this report, titled "Discriminatory Discourse in Print Media" (Page: 66).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> http://nefretsoylemi.org/rapor/HSR-January-April-2013.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> http://nefretsoylemi.org/rapor/may-august2013\_reportfinal.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> http://nefretsoylemi.org/rapor/september-decembe2013\_hate\_speech\_report\_final.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> http://nefretsoylemi.org/rapor/January-April2014\_HateSpeechandDiscriminatoryDiscourseReport.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> http://nefretsoylemi.org/rapor/May-Agust2014.pdf

# PART 1

# HATE SPEECH

# IN

# **PRINT MEDIA**

**İDİL ENGİNDENİZ ŞAHAN** 

## FINDINGS

During the four months covering **September – October – November – December 2014** of the "Monitoring Hate Speech in Media" study, **313 opinion columns and news** articles were identified as targeting national, ethnic and religious groups; and among these publications **321 counts of hate speech** were found. The difference between the number of publications and the number of hate speech items is due to the fact that eight of the items generating hate speech targeted more than one group under different categories.

Similar to the previous period, increases in the instances of hate speech continued into the third four-month period of 2014. At the national level, the primary events that paved the way for hate speech included the Kobanê protests, Pope Francis's visit to Turkey in response to President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's invitation, the attack on Al Aqsa Mosque, and – as always is the case during the last periods of each year– New Year's.

When analyzing the articles that contained hate speech, instead of arguments that follow a rational logic, a sense of rage dominating the flow of writing was found. Writings aimed at fueling the polarization between societies and beliefs were grounded on circulated examples without questioning their validity. As in the previous periods, "conspiracy theories" were employed as motivational instruments in the examined articles during this period. Morever, as a motive for a good number of unfavorable events, various religious and ethnical groups who "dominate the world" and "carry out covert and clandestine activities" were often brought forward as contentious.

During this period, the increase in the number of the articles generating hate speech was reflected in the **number of targeted groups**, although not in the same rate of increase. While 32 different groups were exposed to hate speech within the previous period, that number **increased to 36** during the third period of 2014. Whereas sixteen different groups were exposed to hate speech because of their national identities during this period, 12 groups were exposed to hate speech because of their religious beliefs or disbeliefs; six groups were targeted due to their ethnic identities and two groups were subjected to it due to their generalized geographical identities<sup>10</sup>. **Out of the 36 different groups targeted**, **17 of them** were subjected to hate speech **in only one item**.

While the number of the items containing hate speech **for Jews and Christians** was close to each other, there was **approximately twice the number** of items for the group immediately after them; Armenians. As we have expressed above, Jews were the first group exposed to hate speech due to the attack on the Al Aqsa Mosque. Whereas the New Year's celebrations exposed Christians to hate speech four times more than the previous period (25 items). Due to the Kobanê agenda, **Kurds** were subjected to hate speech three times more than the previous period (59 contents this period as

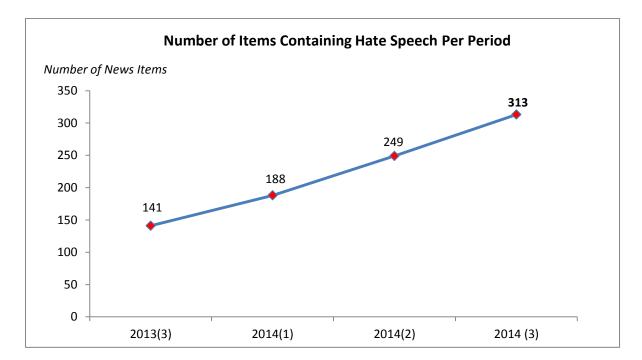
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Although the reasons for the aforementioned groups for being exposed to hate speech are in reality based on their race and religion; since the reasons are not expressed in this way but the groups are named using the lands and countries they belong to, the same naming method is applied during the categorization phase for these groups.

opposed to 18 contests of the previous period) and take the fourth place on the list. In terms of the impact current agenda at the time had on hate speech, this period constituted a conspicuous exemplar – as well as the previous periods.

While the groups that were subjected to hate speech in singular examples were handled in relation to periodical events and even more in relation to incidental examples, frequently targeted groups in a number of publications were subjected to systematic hate speech and conscious hostility. 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 efforts of antagonizing these groups. That these groups are consisted of people, beliefs and ethnicities living together in this part of the world enhance potential risks of hate speech and its particular role in preparing the ground for hate crimes.

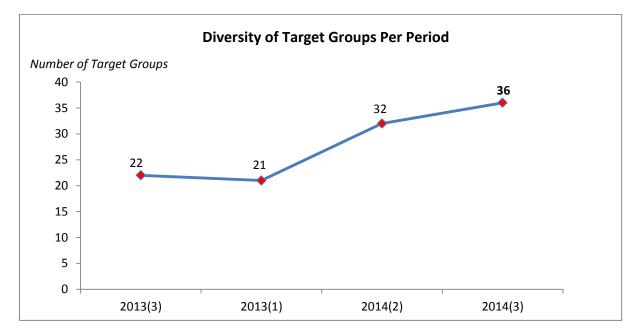
As can be seen in the following graphs, the groups that are less often subjected to hate speech are not categorized under the "Others" category, in an effort to portray the variety of the target groups according to the context.

Nonetheless, in accordance with the "proximity" criterion, one of the fundamental conditions of a topic being in the news, it has been observed that hate speech is not directed at groups that are not closely associated with Turkey's historical or contemporary situation. For example, while Norwegians, with which the historical and contemporary connection is quite weak, in accordance with the "proximity" criterion, tend not to be targeted by hate speech. Rather, British, Germans and French are exposed to hate speech more often.



#### Graph 1





Looking at the common qualities of targeted groups, religious identity stands out as the primary cause for generating hate speech during this period as it was in the previous periods. The study revealed that hate speech was directed towards **12 different groups of non-Muslim, non-Sunni or non-believers in a total of 281 items**. **22 different groups** were targeted **in 270 items** for their **ethnic and national identities**. The last category included **60 items** that contained hate speech **directed at Armenians**, and **59 items** directed **at the Kurdish population**. Also, hate speech towards **Syrian refugees** showed an increase and was found in **16 items**.

Another point to highlight is that hate speech found in one item was often directed at more than one group. When looking at the distribution of groups targeted in hate speech, **out of 313 articles** examined, **513 counts of hate speech** were encountered. However, if we take into account that **61 of the 321 items targeted only Jews**, **47 items targeted only Christians** and **27 items targeted only Kurdish population**, then it turns out that total of 135 items – i.e. 26% of the total items - containing hate speech targeted target **only three groups**.

When we analyze the groups overlapping each other in relation to hate speech, Jews are mentioned 82 times in association with 19 other groups; out of these 82 items that were written about Jews, 61 items containing hate speech were directed towards Christians as well.

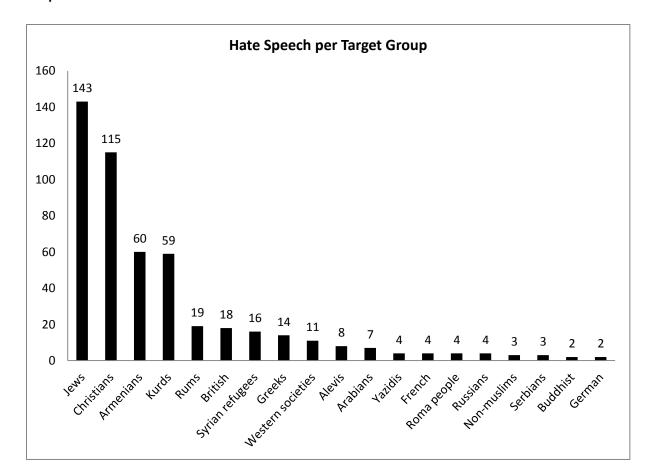
During the period of **September - December 2014**, a majority of the items identified as containing hate speech were published **in national press**, as in the previous periods; yet the difference between national press and local press kept its downward tendency. **Of the 321 items** studied within the framework of the study, **186 (57.94%) were published in 23 national newspapers**. The remaining **135 articles (42.05%) were published in 74 local newspapers**.

In local newspapers throughout this period, typically 1-3 examples of hate speech per publication were observed, however, 13 separate instances of hate speech were found in one local newspaper (this time, **Yeni Marmara**). Five articles containing hate speech directed at Jews alone and a total of

10 articles were directed at Jews along with other groups. The most influential determinant was derived from İlhan Yardımcı's discussion of seven different opinion columns containing the same title: "The calamity of the century: Zionism (Judaism)".

Similarly to previous periods, it was observed that hate speech was mainly found within opinion columns. Of the items studied, **opinion columns constituted 253 items**, whereas **news items constituted 59** of the grand total. Items such as readers' contributions (3), or pages like Press Archive (2) and history pages (1), poems (1), announcements/news (1) and article series (1) were evaluated under the heading "**Others**" where hate speech was observed in nine items under this category.

In Turkey's press, the groups towards whom 'othering' was directed did not change radically compared to previous periods. During the third four-month period of the year, hate speech **primarily targeting Jews** equaled 143 items. **Christians represented the second largest group** targeted, followed by **Armenians as the third** with 60 items. The **Kurds** were the subject of 59 items, **Rûms** 19 items, **British**, 18 items, **Syrians**, 16 items, and **Greeks**, 14 items. In the items studied, we came across the following distribution of hate speech categorized by target groups:



#### Graph 3<sup>11</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> As an item may target more than one group, the total number of items targeting each group (513) is more than the total number of items (321), which is more than the number of the publications studied (313) due to the eight items generated hate speech under different categories.

| Africans     | Uzbeks       |
|--------------|--------------|
| Atheists     | Romanians    |
| Azerbaijanis | Shiites      |
| Bulgarians   | Blacks       |
| Georgians    | Assyrians    |
| Italians     | Saudis       |
| Krymchaks    | Turkmens     |
| Moldovans    | Zoroastrians |
| Nestorians   |              |

The list of the groups about whom hate speech was generated in only one item is as follows:

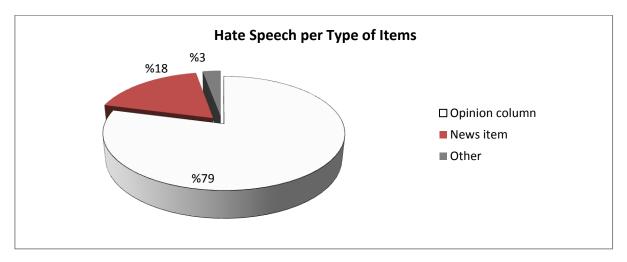
Similar to previous reports, **47 news articles and opinion columns** that contain hate speech **towards women and LGBTI individuals** are not included in the statistical analyses and are evaluated separately in the second section. Various items with discriminatory content that lays the groundwork for hate speech are also evaluated in the same section.

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

During this period, there was an increase in the percentage of **opinion columns** containing hate speech. That percentage, which was 75.1% in the previous period, increased to **78.80%** in this period. Consequently, a decrease was observed in the amount of hate speech within content of **news type** (**21.28%** in the last period; **18.38%** in this period). Other contents, on the other hand, consisted of readers' contributions, Press Archives, history pages, etc. (**2.8%**).

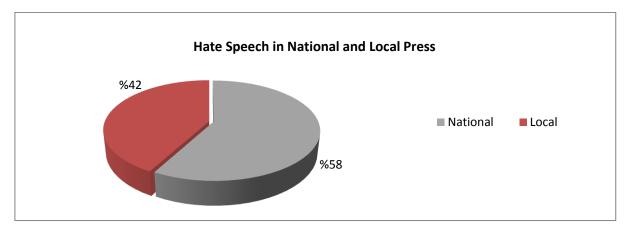
Within the same period, 19 out of 59 news items (32.2%) were published with a reporter's name on the article, eight of them which included the affiliated news agencies, while the others were published with the newspapers' name on them.



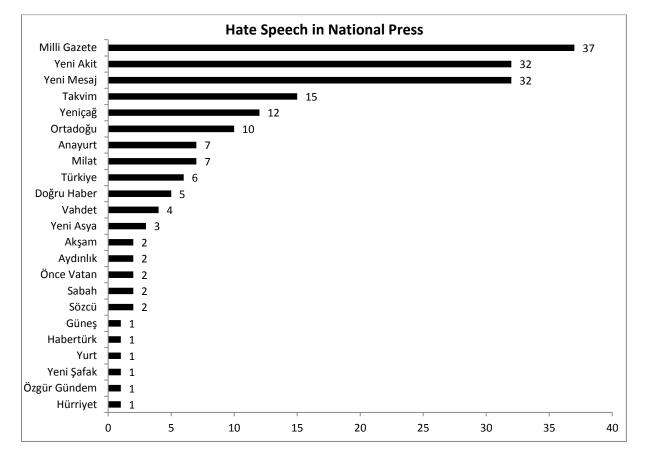


During this period, whereas national press generated 186 items containing hate speech, which is 58% of the total, local press generated 135 items at a percentage of 42%.





Of national newspapers, hate speech was most often generated in the Milli Gazete (37 issues, 19.8%). Milli Gazete was followed by Yeni Akit and Yeni Mesaj with 32 issues each (17.2%); Takvim with 15 items (8%), Yeniçağ with 12 items (6.4%); Ortadoğu with 10 items (5.3%). Following these newspapers was Anayurt and Milat with seven items each (3.7%), Türkiye with six items (3.2%), Doğru Haber with five items (2.6%), and Vahdet with four items (2.1%). Yeni Asya had three hate speech items (1.6%), Akşam, Aydınlık, Önce Vatan, Sabah, and Sözcü had two items each (1%), and Güneş, Habertürk, Hürriyet, Özgür Gündem, Yeni Şafak, Yurt generated hate speech in one item each (0.5%)



#### Graph 6

During this period, when we study the distribution of the items containing hate speech in **local press**, we have seen that 42 newspapers in local press generated hate speech **in only one item**. The list of these newspapers is given in the table below:

| LOCAL NEWSPA           | PERS THAT GENERATED HATE SF | PEECH IN ONLY <u>1</u> ITEM |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 19 Mayıs               | Düzce Damla                 | Kocaeli Demokrat            |
| 25 Mayıs Gazetesi      | Elazığ Günışığı             | Konya Takip                 |
| Afyon Gazete 3         | Elmalı Gündem               | Konya Yeni Haber            |
| Akdenizde Yeni Yüzyıl  | Eskişehir Son Haber         | Korkuteli Gündem            |
| Ankara Anadolu         | Eskişehir Yenigün           | Kuzey Ekspres               |
| Ankara İl Gazetesi     | Fethiye Gerçek              | Mersin Hakimiyet            |
| Antalya Gazetesi       | Gazete 13                   | Pusula Haber Konya          |
| Antalya Hilal          | Gazete Kaktüs               | Samsun Denge                |
| Bolu Gündem            | Gaziantep Ekspres           | Samsun Haber                |
| Çorum Dost Haber       | Haber Alanya                | Sivas İrade                 |
| Çorum Hakimiyet        | İstanbul Ekonomi            | Şanlıurfa                   |
| Denizli Deha 20        | Kayseri Anadolu Haber       | Trakyada Yeşil Yurt         |
| Denizli Olay           | Kayseri Ülker               | Yedigün Ankara              |
| Diyarbakır Özgür Haber | Kayseri Yeni Haber          | Yıldız Haber                |

Among the local newspapers studied, 19 of them generated hate speech in **two items each**. The list of these papers is as follows:

| LOCAL NEWSPAPERS THAT GENERATED HATE SPEECH IN ONLY <u>TWO</u> ITEMS |                     |  |  |  |
|--|---------------------|--|--|--|
| Balıkesir Merhaba  | Kırşehir Memleket   |  |  |  |
| Bizim Sivas  | Konya Hakimiyet     |  |  |  |
| Bursa Hayat  | Konya Yenigün       |  |  |  |
| Çorum Haber  | Küçük Menderes      |  |  |  |
| Denizli Yeni Olay  | Medya Yenigün       |  |  |  |
| Gaziantep Referans   | Yeni Konya          |  |  |  |
| Gümüşkent  | Yeni Meram          |  |  |  |
| Karadeniz Güne Bakış   | Yörem Gazetesi      |  |  |  |
| Karadenizde İstikbal   | Zonguldak Yeni Adım |  |  |  |
| Kayseri Meydan   |                     |  |  |  |

It was determined that Dokuz Sütun, Karadeniz'de Son Nokta, Konya Merhaba, Dünden Bugüne Şafak, Özgür Kocaeli, Gazete Akdeniz, Kayseri Gündem, Kayseri Hakimiyet, and Taka generated hate speech in three items each.

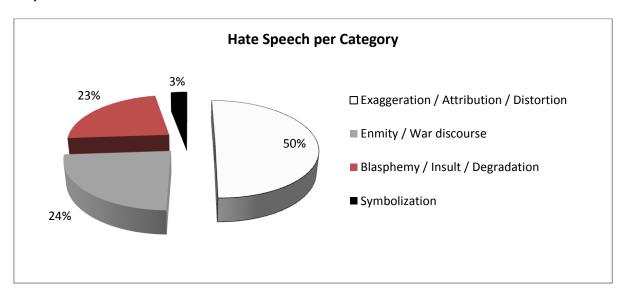
Finally, **Karadeniz** and **Kayseri Star Haber** dailies generated hate speech in **four items each** and **seven items** containing hate speech were determined in **Ankara Haber Vaktim**. With **13 items** containing hate speech, **Yeni Marmara** was found to be the local newspaper generating the greatest number of items containing hate speech.

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 or Humiliation / Symbolization.

These categories were determined 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 was analyzed under the category for which it contained qualities most relevant to the defining characteristics of a particular category.

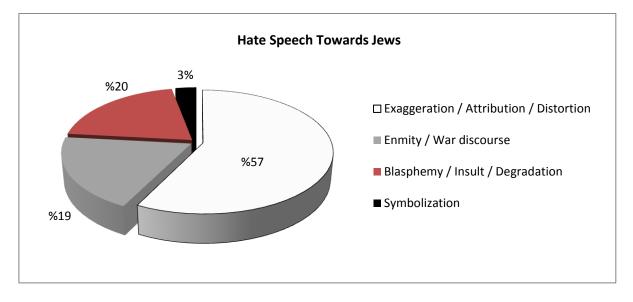
During this four-month study period, Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion ranked first (160 items) in the distribution of the categories. It was followed by Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration (77 items) and Enmity / War Discourse (75 items). There were nine items under the category Using a Natural Element of One's Identity as a Cause for Hate or Humiliation / Symbolization; five items targeted Jews, (together with Christians in one item), the other four targeted Armenians.





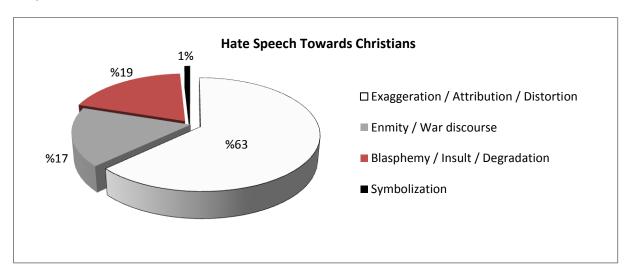
Results from this period also indicated the group most exposed to hate speech was the **Jewish population** and **Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion** was the most frequently used category (82 items); this was followed by **Enmity / War Discourse** with 29 items and **Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration** with 27 items. Under the category **Using a Natural Element of One's Identity as a Cause for Hate / Symbolization** five items were detected, 91 of which contained hate speech directed towards the Jewish population and published in the national press, while 52 items were located in the local press.



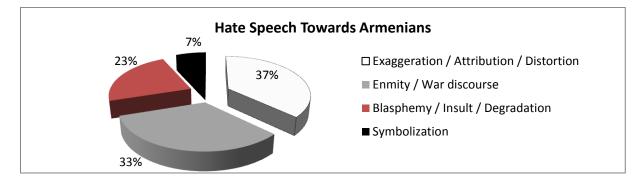


Looking at categories according to target groups, it was observed that Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion dominated hate speech directed at Christians, the second highest group with 72 items. It was followed by 22 items of Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration and 20 items of Enmity / War Discourse. One item was evaluated under the category of Using a Natural Element of One's Identity as a Cause for Hate / Symbolization. 72 of the items containing hate speech were published in the national press and 43 items in the local press.





Throughout the four-month period, **the Armenian population**, the third of the top three groups that were subjected to hate speech, were mostly targeted within the category of **Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion** category with 22 items. This was followed by **Enmity / War Discourse** with 20 items and 14 items detected fell under the category of **Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration**. Four items were evaluated under the category of **Using a Natural Element of One's Identity as a Cause for Hate / Symbolization**.



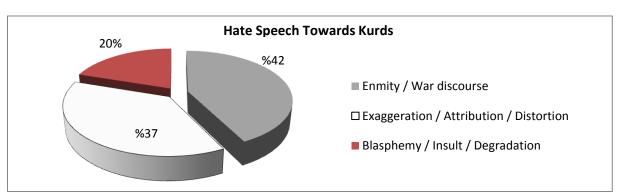
#### Graph 10

In previous periods, the **Armenian** and **Jewish** populations typically shared the two highest places among the groups exposed to hate speech. There was a significant difference in the number of items containing hate speech towards these two groups and other ranking groups. . However, we have seen that this ranking has changed within the third quarter of 2014 and the number of items containing hate speech towards the first four groups converged. A comparative table below shows this change more clearly:

| Period                       | First Place | Second Place        | Third Place     | Fourth Place | Fifth Place |
|------------------------------|-------------|---------------------|-----------------|--------------|-------------|
| May - August<br>2014         | Jews (130)  | Armenians (60)      | Christians (25) | Rûms (21)    | Kurds (18)  |
| September -<br>December 2014 | Jews (143)  | Christians<br>(115) | Armenians (60)  | Kurds (59)   | Rûms (19)   |

Although the groups in the first five places did not change, the ranking of these groups did change – except the Jews. Christians, towards whom hate speech was generated only 25 times within the previous period, moved up to the second place with 111 items; Kurds ranked at the fifth place with 18 items within the previous period has moved up to the fourth place with 59 items.

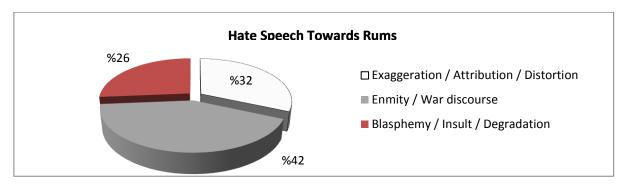
Looking at the distribution among categories with respect to hate speech produced towards the **Kurdish population**, it was seen that **Enmity / War Discourse** was ranked highest with 25 items. There were 22 items under **Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion** and 12 items under **Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration**. Compared to the previous period, the number of items under the category of **Enmity / War Discourse** increased from 10 items to 25.



Graph 12

Looking at the distribution of hate speech produced towards the Greek population (Rûms), hate speech was generated most often in association with Enmity / War Discourse occurring eight times followed by Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion with six items and Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration with five items.





As mentioned earlier, the four categories used to classify contents were determined to better understand the underlying processes generating hate speech. The category with the most dominant characteristics in a specific item was used during the process of classification. Taking into account that the basis of all hate speech is founded in "hostile" ideas, it would be misleading to perceive these categories as mutually exclusive.

# **NEWS ITEMS SELECTED DURING**

# **THE SEPTEMBER – DECEMBER 2014 PERIOD**

| Date        | Newspaper         | Туре              | Author                   | Title  | Target Group                              | Hate Category                                 |
|-------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|--|---|---|
| 01-Sep-2014 | Yeni Mesaj        | Opinion<br>Column | Hasan Demir              | Presidential Seal with Al-<br>Fatiha Surah on it                                       | Christians, Jews                          | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 02-Sep-2014 | Takvim            | Opinion<br>Column | Bekir Hazar              | The octopus and her son  | British, Jews                             | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 03-Sep-2014 | Anayurt           | Opinion<br>Column | Hüseyin Hakkı<br>Kahveci | Wahhabi Saudis' enmity<br>towards Turkish nation and<br>Turkish state still continues. | Arabs                                     | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 03-Sep-2014 | Özgür<br>Gündem   | Opinion<br>Column | Ramzy Baroud             | Political Islamophobia   | Arabs                                     | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 03-Sep-2014 | Sabah             | Opinion<br>Column | Sevilay Yükselir         | The congregation created its own Alevis (2)  | Alevis                                    | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 03-Sep-2014 | Yeni Akit         | Opinion<br>Column | Mustafa Çelik            | The home of Anti-Semitism is the West (1)  | Western<br>Societies,<br>Christians, Jews | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 04-Sep-2014 | Taka              | Opinion<br>Column | Muharrem<br>Ulusoy       | Is the West Civilized?   | Christians, Jews                          | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 04-Sep-2014 | Yeni Akit         | News<br>Article   | Yeni Akit                | Jewish terror in Al-Aqsa<br>Mosque   | Jews                                      | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 08-Sep-2014 | Şanlıurfa         | Opinion<br>Column | İmam Hüseyin<br>Savaş    | Injustice Towards Idealist<br>Nationalist Bureaucrats                                  | Armenians                                 | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 08-Sep-2014 | Yeni Çağ          | News<br>Article   | Yeni Çağ                 | They leagued together after a millennium   | Armenians                                 | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 10-Sep-2014 | Fethiye<br>Gerçek | Opinion<br>Column | Gül Turan                | THE NEW TURKEY   | Syrians                                   | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 10-Sep-2014 | Yeni Akit         | Opinion<br>Column | Mustafa Çelik            | The home of Anti-Semitism is the West (2)  | Jews                                      | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 10-Sep-2014 | Yeni<br>Meram     | Opinion<br>Column | Cihat Yazıcı             | СНР  | Jews                                      | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 11-Sep-2014 | Gazete 13         | Opinion<br>Column | M. Şakir Koçer           | FIRST, LOOK AT YOURSELF<br>IN THE MIRROR   | Western<br>Societies,<br>Christians, Jews | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 11-Sep-2014 | Haber<br>Alanya   | Opinion<br>Column | Gültekin Kabaş           | Allah is our only hope   | Christians, Jews                          | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |

| 11-Sep-2014 | Takvim                | Opinion<br>Column        | Bekir Hazar             | Raki-whiskey-beer-ayran-<br>sherbet-coke                     | British                             | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
|-------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|---|
| 12-Sep-2014 | Doğru<br>Haber        | Reader's<br>Contribution | Ali Yiğit               | How does the Jew think?                                      | Jews                                | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 12-Sep-2014 | Doğru<br>Haber        | Opinion<br>Column        | Müfit Yaray             | Is unity hard?   | Christians, Jews                    | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 12-Sep-2014 | Doğru<br>Haber        | Reader's<br>Contribution | İzzettin Avcı           | Cruelty  | Jews                                | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 12-Sep-2014 | Konya Yeni<br>Haber   | Opinion<br>Column        | Eşref Kuşçu             | A letter from Pennsylvania has arrived!!                     | British                             | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 12-Sep-2014 | Takvim                | Opinion<br>Column        | Ergün Diler             | Simons among us  | Jews                                | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 12-Sep-2014 | Yeni Akit             | Opinion<br>Column        | Şevki Yılmaz            | Saudi! Don't play with fire!                                 | Christians, Jews,<br>Saudis         | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 15-Sep-2014 | Milli<br>Gazete       | News<br>Article          | Milli Gazete            | SOLDIERS OF THE DEVIL  | Jews                                | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 15-Sep-2014 | Takvim                | Opinion<br>Column        | Ergün Diler             | Citizen Gülen / BOTH OF<br>THEM ARE PUPPETS                  | British, Jews                       | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 16-Sep-2014 | Kayseri Star<br>Haber | Opinion<br>Column        | Ahmet Sıvacı            | September 12 <sup>th</sup> is still<br>bleeding              | French, British,<br>Greeks          | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 16-Sep-2014 | Yeni Mesaj            | Opinion<br>Colum         | Mustafa Aslan           | The days, which are the gospel from the God, are close       | Christians, Jews                    | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 17-Sep-2014 | Milli<br>Gazete       | Opinion<br>Column        | İsmail Hakkı<br>Akkiraz | Education has started once more without practice and decency | Western<br>Societies                | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 17-Sep-2014 | Ortadoğu              | Opinion<br>Column        | Şükrü Alnıaçık          | Not Without Morale!  | Armenians                           | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 17-Sep-2014 | Yeni Akit             | Opinion<br>Column        | Mustafa Çelik           | Christian terrorists'<br>massacres on Islamic<br>lands/1     | Christians, Jews                    | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 17-Sep-2014 | Yeni Akit             | Opinion<br>Column        | Mustafa Özcan           | Those throwing dodge-ball at Turkey                          | Christians,<br>Shiites, Jews        | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 17-Sep-2014 | Yeni<br>Marmara       | Opinion<br>Column        | İsmail Özdemir          | Schools start, yet with concerns                             | Western<br>Societies,<br>Christians | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 18-Sep-2014 | Bursa<br>Hayat        | Opinion<br>Column        | Hilmi Tanış             | The tribe that suffered the wrath and curse of God 5         | Jews                                | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |

| 18-Sep-2014 | Dokuz<br>Sütun       | Opinion<br>Column | Ergun Kaftancı     | Hadji, how much is the<br>Damascus dessert?                      | Africans, Arabs,<br>Azerbaijanis,<br>Armenians,<br>Georgians,<br>Moldovans,<br>Uzbeks,<br>Romanians,<br>Turkmens | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
|-------------|----------------------|-------------------|--------------------|--|--|---|
| 18-Sep-2014 | Takvim               | News<br>Article   | Takvim             | BARONAGE THE RATERS  | Christians, Jews   | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 18-Sep-2014 | Takvim               | Opinion<br>Column | Bekir Hazar        | SKIRT!!!   | Jews   | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 18-Sep-2014 | Türkiye              | Opinion<br>Column | Fuat Uğur          | YL: ST, WSJ, NYT, FT, NYP  | Jews   | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 18-Sep-2014 | Yeni Akit            | News<br>Article   | Timur Çağrı        | AIHM the gavur   | Non-Muslims  | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 18-Sep-2014 | Yeni Mesaj           | Opinion<br>Column | Haydar Baş         | Who do we take sides with?                                       | Christians, Jews   | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 22-Sep-2014 | Denizli Yeni<br>Olay | Opinion<br>Column | Ahmet Aykol        | lsn't It Weird?  | Western<br>Societies,<br>Armenians,<br>Rûms, Russians  | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 22-Sep-2014 | Yeni Akit            | Opinion<br>Column | Hüseyin Öztürk     | Masked faces, unmasked faces                                     | British, Jews  | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 22-Sep-2014 | Yeni Akit            | News<br>Article   | Ramazan Alkan      | Even the teachers are<br>appointed by the church in<br>Europe    | Non-Muslims  | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 22-Sep-2014 | Yeni Asya            | Opinion<br>Column | İbrahim<br>Ersoylu | The secret behind Jews' influence on world politics              | Jews   | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 22-Sep-2014 | Yeni Mesaj           | Opinion<br>Column | Tahsin Aydın       | Whose logic is the logic<br>behind that no mother<br>should cry? | Christians   | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 23-Sep-2014 | Denizli Yeni<br>Olay | Opinion<br>Column | Metin Alkan        | EXCUSE! AYN AL-ARAB<br>(KOBANI)                                  | Armenians,<br>Kurds  | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 23-Sep-2014 | Takvim               | Opinion<br>Column | Bekir Hazar        | PARTRIDGE!!!   | Jews   | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 23-Sep-2014 | Yeni Çağ             | Opinion<br>Column | Şüayip Özcan       | What should we do?   | Kurds  | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 23-Sep-2014 | Yeni Konya           | News<br>Article   | AA                 | The Jew took 13<br>Palestinians into custody                     | Jews   | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |

| 24-Sep-2014 | Kayseri<br>Meydan    | Opinion<br>Column | Rifat Açıkgöz         | WHO IS GOING TO DO<br>FAVOR FOR US  | Syrians                     | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
|-------------|----------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|---|-----------------------------|---|
| 24-Sep-2014 | Milli<br>Gazete      | News<br>Article   | Rahmi Yolcu           | May ALLAH END your conversations  | Jews                        | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 25-Sep-2014 | Kayseri<br>Meydan    | Poem<br>Column    | Rifat Açıkgöz         | IT IS NECESSARY TO LEARN<br>HISTORY   | Armenians                   | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 25-Sep-2014 | Yeni Akit            | Opinion<br>Column | Hüseyin Öztürk        | Erdoğan did it again  | Jews                        | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 25-Sep-2014 | Yeni Akit            | Opinion<br>Column | Şevki Yılmaz          | Let NATO be mortified!  | Christians, Jews            | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 26-Sep-2014 | Denizli<br>Deha 20   | Opinion<br>Column | Ergül Aykol           | TURKISHNESS IS UNDER<br>PRESSURE  | Armenians,<br>Kurds, Greeks | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 29-Sep-2014 | Yeni Çağ             | News<br>Article   | Yeni Çağ              | Armenians disguised as refugees will give trouble   | Armenians                   | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 29-Sep-2014 | Yeni Mesaj           | Opinion<br>Column | Tahsin Aydın          | Guess whose side are we in<br>the 17 <sup>th</sup> , 18 <sup>th</sup> and 19 <sup>th</sup><br>Crusades? | Christians, Jews            | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 30-Sep-2014 | Yeni Şafak           | Opinion<br>Column | Tamer<br>Korkmaz      | What did he say then? What is he doing now?   | Christians, Jews            | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 02-Oct-2014 | Yeni<br>Marmara      | Opinion<br>Column | İsmail Özdemir        | Soldiers of the devil   | Christians, Jews            | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 02-Oct-2014 | Yeni Mesaj           | Opinion<br>Column | Akın Aydın            | Why does he say what he<br>couldn't say in the UN and<br>CFR  | Jews                        | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 03-Oct-2014 | Balıkesir<br>Merhaba | Opinion<br>Column | Sait Soydan<br>Yılmaz | STRUGGLE AGAINST IDEA<br>POLLUTION AND THE<br>OCCUPATION OF THE MIND                                    | Jews                        | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 03-Oct-2014 | Takvim               | Opinion<br>Column | Bekir Hazar           | We took off our glasses   | British, Jews               | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 06-Oct-2014 | Dokuz<br>Sütun       | News<br>Article   | AA                    | We shall not let Rûm seizure  | Rûms                        | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 06-Oct-2014 | Ortadoğu             | Opinion<br>Column | Nazif Kurucu          | OUR SOUTHERN BORDERS<br>SHOULD BE CLOSED<br>AGAINST UNLAWFUL<br>ENTRIES                                 | Syrians                     | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 07-Oct-2014 | Dokuz<br>Sütun       | Opinion<br>Column | Ergun Kaftancı        | The subject is obvious  | Kurds                       | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |

| 07-Oct-2014 | Yeni Akit                    | Opinion<br>Column | Mustafa Özcan   | Victory of the vulgar   | Kurds                                 | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
|-------------|------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|---|---------------------------------------|---|
| 08-Oct-2014 | Akşam                        | News<br>Article   | Ahmet Dinç      | CHRISTIAN PARALLELS IN<br>THE SUMMIT/They summit<br>shoulder to shoulder                                    | Christians                            | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 08-Oct-2014 | Diyarbakır<br>Özgür<br>Haber | Opinion<br>Column | Eyüphan Kaya    | ISIS promises caliphate,<br>what about you?   | Jews                                  | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 08-Oct-2014 | Karadeniz                    | Opinion<br>Column | Aras Perekli    | WHY DO ISIS SLAP KURDS?   | Kurds                                 | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 08-Oct-2014 | Milat                        | Opinion<br>Column | Halil Mert      | Kobanê trap and to be a<br>Turk   | Kurds                                 | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 08-Oct-2014 | Ortadoğu                     | Opinion<br>Column | Şükrü Alnıaçık  | "Co-bahni 1915!"  | Kurds                                 | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 08-Oct-2014 | Yeni<br>Marmara              | Opinion<br>Column | Metin Hasırcı   | One language, a man; two<br>languages, two men  | Rûms                                  | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 09-Oct-2014 | Gaziantep<br>Ekspres         | Opinion<br>Column | Şaban Doğru     | FESTIVE HOLIDAY   | Armenians,<br>Rûms, Jews              | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 09-Oct-2014 | Sözcü                        | Opinion<br>Column | Rahmi Turan     | Here is the initiative (!) /<br>What a shame  | Kurds                                 | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 09-Oct-2014 | Yeni Konya                   | News<br>Article   | AA              | The Jew attacked the<br>Muslims in Al-Aqsa Mosque   | Jews                                  | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 09-Oct-2014 | Yeni Mesaj                   | Opinion<br>Column | Haydar Baş      | The war continues, dreams come to nothing   | Alevis,<br>Christians,<br>Kurds, Jews | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 10-Oct-2014 | Güneş                        | Opinion<br>Column | Mehmet<br>Memiş | You should immediately call<br>those who pour these<br>rascals into the streets to<br>account for doing so! | Kurds                                 | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 10-Oct-2014 | Karadenizd<br>e Son<br>Nokta | Opinion<br>Column | Osman Diyadin   | DON'T BE DECEIVED,<br>BROTHER!  | Kurds                                 | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 10-Oct-2014 | Konya<br>Yenigün             | Opinion<br>Column | Kamil Bircan    | THERE IS NO CURE, BUT<br>UNITY  | Alevis, Kurds                         | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 10-Oct-2014 | Sözcü                        | Opinion<br>Column | Yılmaz Özdil    | Jiggery-pokery, Kurdish<br>Memet to guard duty  | Syrians                               | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 10-Oct-2014 | Yeni Akit                    | News<br>Article   | Hasan Önal      | ITS NAME IS INGRATITUDE   | Kurds                                 | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 10-Oct-2014 | Yeni Çağ                     | Opinion<br>Column | Savaş Süzal     | Who are you, what are you?  | Kurds                                 | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |

| 10-Oct-2014 | Yeni Çağ                  | Opinion<br>Column | Arslan Tekin              | Kobanê should be<br>demolished!  | Kurds   | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
|-------------|---------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|--|---|---|
| 10-Oct-2014 | Zonguldak<br>Yeni Adım    | Opinion<br>Column | Süleyman Kurt             | DELICATE BALANCES  | Kurds, Syrians                                  | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 13-Oct-2014 | Anayurt                   | Opinion<br>Column | Mustafa<br>Nevruz Sınacı  | Coalition story; Treachery and dogfight  | West  | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 13-Oct-2014 | Bizim Sivas               | Opinion<br>Column | Ali Aydemir               | HERE ARE THE FAMOUS<br>ARMENIANS KNOWN AS<br>KURDISH   | Armenians                                       | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 13-Oct-2014 | Bizim Sivas               | Opinion<br>Column | Berat Demirci             | LET'S EXCHANGE KURDS   | Kurds, Syrians                                  | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 13-Oct-2014 | Karadeniz                 | Opinion<br>Column | Zafer Çamaltı             | OH GOD, PLEASE GIVE ME<br>PATIENCE   | Kurds, Syrians                                  | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 13-Oct-2014 | Sivas İrade               | Opinion<br>Column | Muzaffer<br>Karadağ       | WHY DIDN'T WE ACCEPT<br>THE TURKMENS, WHO<br>ESCAPED FROM THE<br>MASSACRE AND TOOK<br>REFUGE IN OUR COUNTRY?       | Christians                                      | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 13-Oct-2014 | Zonguldak<br>Yeni Adım    | Opinion<br>Column | Süleyman Kurt             | THE PROCESS  | Kurds, Rûms                                     | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 14-Oct-2014 | 25 Mayıs<br>Gazetesi      | Opinion<br>Column | Fahri Çiftçi              | Should the country be burnt for Kobanê?  | Kurds   | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 14-Oct-2014 | Dünden<br>Bugüne<br>Şafak | Opinion<br>Column | Faruk Kadri               | THE RED CIRCLE   | Christians, Jews                                | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 14-Oct-2014 | Habertürk                 | Opinion<br>Column | Fatih Altaylı             | If you open the borders for<br>everyone, both<br>provocateurs and Syrian<br>intelligence will enter the<br>country | Syrians   | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 14-Oct-2014 | Kayseri<br>Hakimiyet      | Opinion<br>Column | Osman İkinci              | PLANS TO SPLIT MIDDLE<br>EAST AND TURKEY: CAT'S<br>PAW ISIS THE TERRORIST<br>ORGANIZATION, GLOBAL<br>STICK         | Kurds, Jews                                     | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 14-Oct-2014 | Kayseri Star<br>Haber     | Opinion<br>Column | Ahmet Sıvacı              | Either Victory or Death  | Kurds   | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 14-Oct-2014 | Kocaeli<br>Demokrat       | Opinion<br>Column | Osman Saraç               | I'm not sorry any more   | Syrians   | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 14-Oct-2014 | Konya<br>Merhaba          | Opinion<br>Column | Nurten Selma<br>Çevikoğlu | Kurdish families and Kurdish<br>authorities, you should<br>know that Kurdish youth<br>gives the alarm              | Kurds   | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 14-Oct-2014 | Yeni Akit                 | News<br>Article   | Yeni Akit                 | Masked refugee traitors<br>uncovered   | Kurdish refugees<br>(Iraqi and Syrian<br>Kurds) | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |

| 14-Oct-2014 | Yeni Mesaj            | Opinion<br>Column | Akın Aydın               | Fear gripped the<br>government; do you<br>wonder fear of what?  | Christians, Jews                  | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
|-------------|-----------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|---|
| 14-Oct-2014 | Yeni Mesaj            | Opinion<br>Column | Murat Çabas              | Oh Kurdish brother, don't be deceived                           | Alevis, Kurds,<br>Jews            | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 14-Oct-2014 | Yeniçağ               | Opinion<br>Column | Şuayip Özcan             | Are you happy?  | Kurds                             | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 14-Oct-2014 | Yörem<br>Gazetesi     | Opinion<br>Column | Zekeriya Kılıç           | Fight of dogs or war of<br>Muslims                              | Jews                              | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 16-Oct-2014 | Ankara İl<br>Gazetesi | Opinion<br>Column | Aşık Zeki Erdali         | Once more, we suffer the loss                                   | Christians, Kurds                 | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 16-Oct-2014 | Bursa<br>Hayat        | Opinion<br>Column | Hilmi Tanış              | We have built our reveries on sand                              | Germans, French,<br>British, Jews | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 16-Oct-2014 | Eskişehir<br>Yenigün  | Opinion<br>Column | Fikret Fıçıcı            | WHAT WOULD HAVE KAZIM<br>KARABEKIR SAID IF HE HAD<br>BEEN ALIVE | Armenians                         | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 17-Oct-2014 | Karadeniz             | Opinion<br>Column | Nurcan Yazıcı            | WHITE ENSHROUDEDS!  | Christians                        | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 17-Oct-2014 | Ortadoğu              | Opinion<br>Column | Fikri Atılbaz            | Don't build another Syria in<br>Turkey                          | Syrians                           | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 17-Oct-2014 | Yeni Akit             | Opinion<br>Column | Şevki Yılmaz             | We have not united, we have become carrions!                    | Christians, Jews                  | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 20-Oct-2014 | Gazete<br>Kaktüs      | Opinion<br>Column | M. Fevzi<br>Küçükkahveci | To live together regardless<br>of AKP                           | Armenians,<br>Kurds               | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 20-Oct-2014 | Ortadoğu              | Opinion<br>Column | Şükrü Alnıaçık           | Historical Responsibilities of the MHP Organization             | Kurds                             | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 20-Oct-2014 | Yeni Mesaj            | Opinion<br>Column | Nurullah Çetin           | The basis of our future:<br>National Turkish Education          | Western<br>Societies              | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 21-Oct-2014 | Elazığ<br>Günışığı    | Opinion<br>Column | Bedrettin<br>Keleştimur  | THE CONCEPT OF FRIEND!  | Christians, Jews                  | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 21-Oct-2014 | Milli<br>Gazete       | News<br>Article   | Milli Gazete             | Yes, you are sick! INVASION<br>SCHIZOPHRENIA                    | Israelis (Jews)                   | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 21-Oct-2014 | Yeni Asya             | Opinion<br>Column | Davut Şahin              | Crimes of Vatican   | Christians                        | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 22-Oct-2014 | Özgür<br>Kocaeli      | Opinion<br>Column | Alaettin Köksal          | UNDISCIPLINED MIND IS<br>OPEN TO ALL KINDS OF<br>ANARCHY        | Buddhists,<br>Christians, Jews    | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 22-Oct-2014 | Yeni Çağ              | Opinion<br>Column | Hüseyin Macit<br>Yusuf   | ENOSIS initiative on sea and in air.                            | Rûms, Greeks                      | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |

| 22-Oct-2014 | Yeni Mesaj             | Opinion<br>Column        | Ata Selçuk            | Proverbs  | Christians, Jews   | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
|-------------|------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|---|--|---|
| 22-Oct-2014 | Yeni Mesaj             | Opinion<br>Column        | Mehmet Emin<br>Koç    | Let's read the Kobanê<br>Ioneliness from this angle<br>this time            | Kurds, Jews  | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 23-Oct-2014 | Önce Vatan             | Opinion<br>Column        | Ferhat Yıldırım       | MICRO STATES IN THE<br>MIDDLE EAST  | Christians   | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 23-Oct-2014 | Takvim                 | Opinion<br>Column        | Bekir Hazar           | British bray!!!   | British  | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 23-Oct-2014 | Yeni<br>Marmara        | Opinion<br>Column        | İlhan Yardımcı        | "Coca Cola murder" is on<br>the agenda (II)                                 | Armenians,<br>Russians, Jews,<br>Greeks                            | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 23-Oct-2014 | Yeni<br>Meram          | Opinion<br>Column        | Osman Eken            | BROTHERHOOD OF PEOPLE<br>AND CHP  | Kurds  | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 23-Oct-2014 | Yeni Mesaj             | Opinion<br>Column        | Akın Aydın            | I could not explain it via my<br>mind, let's check the<br>revelation        | Christians, Jews   | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 24-Oct-2014 | Doğru<br>Haber         | News<br>Article          | Doğru Haber           | DO NOT LET BRAVOS OF<br>PKK/HDP GO UNPUNISHED                               | Buddhists,<br>Christians   | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 24-Oct-2014 | Yeni Mesaj             | Opinion<br>Column        | Muharrem<br>Bayraktar | ISIS follows in the West's wake   | Christians   | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 24-Oct-2014 | Yeni Mesaj             | Opinion<br>Column        | Haydar Baş            | Turkey's turn will come   | Jews   | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 24-Oct-2014 | Yeni Mesaj             | Opinion<br>Column        | Murat Çabas           | Rojava belongs to Barzani<br>now  | Jews   | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 29-Oct-2014 | Yeni Akit              | Reader's<br>Contribution | Mehmet Ali<br>Tuzlu   | 9 SUGGESTIONS TO END<br>TERRORISM   | Kurds  | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 31-Oct-2014 | Doğru<br>Haber         | Opinion<br>Column        | Abdülkadir<br>Turan   | Why did they burn religious youngsters in Diyarbakır?                       | Christians, Jews   | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 03-Nov-2014 | Eskişehir<br>Son Haber | History<br>Page          | Yaşar Durmaz          | Beware of the 100 <sup>th</sup> year of<br>the Armenian genocide lie<br>(V) | Armenians  | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 03-Nov-2014 | Taka                   | Opinion<br>Column        | Güngör<br>Üçüncüoğlu  | RESOLUTION IS FULL  | Kurds, Armenians,<br>French, British,<br>Rûms, Russians,<br>Greeks | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 03-Nov-2014 | Yeni Akit              | Opinion<br>Column        | Faruk Köse            | Suppose we have closed the<br>Neve Shalom Synagogue                         | Jews   | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |

| 04-Nov-2014 | Yedigün<br>Ankara         | Opinion<br>Column | Nurullah Çetin                 | WE ARE NOT TURKISH, WE<br>WERE RUMS                       | Christians   | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
|-------------|---------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|---|--|---|
| 04-Nov-2014 | Yeni<br>Marmara           | Opinion<br>Column | İlhan Yardımcı                 | Here is an Armenian<br>consultant from the basket         | Armenians  | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 04-Nov-2014 | Yeniçağ                   | Opinion<br>Column | Şuayip Özcan                   | My Flag   | Armenians,<br>French, British,<br>Italians, Kurds,<br>Greeks | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 05-Nov-2014 | Karadeniz                 | Opinion<br>Column | Aras Perekli                   | ISN'T IT UNGRATEFULNESS<br>TO YOUR REPUBLIC OF<br>TURKEY? | Kurds  | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 05-Nov-2014 | Kuzey<br>Ekspres          | Opinion<br>Column | Havva<br>Günaydın<br>Lakutoğlu | THEY CALLED ME<br>'ARMENIAN'!                             | Armenians  | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 05-Nov-2014 | Milli<br>Gazete           | Opinion<br>Column | Mehmet<br>Şevket Eygi          | Heading For the Disaster<br>Step by Step                  | Alevis, Atheists,<br>Armenians,<br>Krymchaks, Rûms,<br>Jews  | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 05-Nov-2014 | Sabah                     | Opinion<br>Column | Ersin Ramoğlu                  | Hitler Mentality  | Germans  | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 05-Nov-2014 | Yeni Akit                 | News<br>Article   | Muhammed<br>Uzun               | Again in harmony with the<br>Jew                          | Jews   | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 05-Nov-2014 | Yeni Mesaj                | Opinion<br>Column | Emine<br>Bayraktar             | My Grandmother and<br>Atatürk                             | Armenians,<br>British, Rûms,<br>Greeks                       | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 05-Nov-2014 | Yurt                      | Opinion<br>Column | Levent Uluçer                  | Whatsapp? Or Weixin<br>(wechat)?                          | Jews   | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 06-Nov-2014 | Afyon<br>Gazete 3         | Opinion<br>Column | İbrahim<br>Demirkan            | I AM CURIOUS  | Kurds  | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 06-Nov-2014 | Bolu<br>Gündem            | Opinion<br>Column | Bolu Gündem                    | THAT'S A FINE KETTLE OF<br>FISH                           | Arabs, Syrians   | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 06-Nov-2014 | Konya<br>Hakimiyet        | News<br>Article   | AA                             | A FLAGRANT ATTACK ON<br>THE FIRST QIBLA                   | Jews   | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 06-Nov-2014 | Milli<br>Gazete           | Opinion<br>Column | Mehmet<br>Şevket Eygi          | Let's Get Prepared For Five,<br>Six, Seven Months After   | Christians, Jews   | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 07-Nov-2014 | Ankara<br>Haber<br>Vaktim | Press<br>Archive  | Ankara Haber<br>Vaktim         | Hypocrisy of the Jewish<br>Community                      | Jews   | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 07-Nov-2014 | Milli<br>Gazete           | Opinion<br>Column | Mehmet<br>Şevket Eygi          | Cryptos Who Are Enemies<br>to Islam and Muslims           | Armenians,<br>Yezidis,<br>Christians,<br>Nestorians, Jews    | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |

| 07-Nov-2014 | Milli<br>Gazete              | News<br>Article   | Milli Gazete             | He ran over three terrorists   | Jews                                  | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
|-------------|------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|---|
| 07-Nov-2014 | Takvim                       | Opinion<br>Column | Bekir Hazar              | MONSTER/CAMEL  | Jews                                  | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 10-Nov-2014 | Anayurt                      | Opinion<br>Column | Mustafa<br>Nevruz Sınacı | Organized Terror and<br>Imperial Paranoia (3)                        | Armenians, Kurds,<br>Serbians, Greeks | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 10-Nov-2014 | Antalya<br>Gazetesi          | Opinion<br>Column | Hüseyin Ercan<br>Acar    | November 10 <sup>th</sup> , 1938                                     | Armenians,<br>Kurds                   | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 10-Nov-2014 | Aydınlık                     | Opinion<br>Column | Yıldırım Koç             | To save Atatürk's reforms<br>by improving them                       | Armenians                             | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 10-Nov-2014 | Çorum<br>Dost Haber          | News<br>Article   | News Center              | Orhan Sakınmaz: White<br>Palace is the symbol of<br>becoming Croesus | Jews                                  | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 10-Nov-2014 | Konya<br>Hakimiyet           | News<br>Article   | AA                       | Jewish terrorists were<br>protested/Palestine is our<br>case         | Jews                                  | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 10-Nov-2014 | Milat                        | Opinion<br>Column | Muhammed<br>Özkılıç      | Zionism, nuisance of the world                                       | Christians, Jews                      | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 10-Nov-2014 | Milli<br>Gazete              | News<br>Article   | Milli Gazete             | Dialogue spirit is in<br>Denmark now!                                | Christians                            | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 10-Nov-2014 | Milli<br>Gazete              | Opinion<br>Column | Mahmut<br>Toptaş         | The Jew who destroyed the heart of his last shelter                  | Jews                                  | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 10-Nov-2014 | Türkiye                      | Opinion<br>Column | Rahim Er                 | İsrael never regrets   | Jews                                  | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 10-Nov-2014 | Türkiye                      | Opinion<br>Column | Fuat Bol                 | Israel the Nuisance (2)  | Jews                                  | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 11-Nov-2014 | Ankara<br>Haber<br>Vaktim    | Opinion<br>Column | Ahmet Fidan              | Al-Aqsa Mosque waits for<br>Saladin                                  | Jews                                  | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 11-Nov-2014 | Aydınlık                     | Opinion<br>Column | İsmail Hakkı<br>Pekin    | ABD and its new allies   | Kurds                                 | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 11-Nov-2014 | Karadenizd<br>e Son<br>Nokta | Opinion<br>Column | Yusuf Teke               | AL-AQSA MOSQUE IS<br>OCCUPIED  | Jews                                  | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 11-Nov-2014 | Ortadoğu                     | Opinion<br>Column | Şükrü Alnıaçık           | Assyria Religious Colonies!  | Syrians                               | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 11-Nov-2014 | Ortadoğu                     | Opinion<br>Column | Orhan Karataş            | They pave the way for clearing PKK                                   | Alevis, Armenians,<br>Kurds, Romanies | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |

| 11-Nov-2014 | Yeni Akit                 | Opinion<br>Column | Hüseyin Öztürk                      | Turkey, The Most Energetic<br>Country of the Muslim<br>World | Jews                           | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
|-------------|---------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|---|
| 11-Nov-2014 | Yeni<br>Marmara           | Opinion<br>Column | İsmail Özdemir                      | Mad Dogs   | Jews                           | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 12-Nov-2014 | Milli<br>Gazete           | Opinion<br>Column | Mehmet<br>Şevket Eygi               | Keep this article of mine                                    | Armenians,<br>Kurds, Jews      | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 13-Nov-2014 | Akdenizde<br>Yeni Yüzyıl  | Opinion<br>Column | Yılmaz Can                          | BITS OF WISDOM FROM<br>THE QUARAN 1                          | Christians                     | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 13-Nov-2014 | İstanbul<br>Ekonomi       | Opinion<br>Column | İstanbul<br>Ekonomi                 | Damn Bene Israel   | Jews                           | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 13-Nov-2014 | Kayseri<br>Gündem         | Article<br>Series | Cahit<br>Hacıhaliloğlu<br>(Gözütok) | CULTURAL IMPERIALISM   | Armenians,<br>Christians, Rûms | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 13-Nov-2014 | Milli<br>Gazete           | Opinion<br>Column | Meryem Nida                         | YOU'LL BE DEFEATED AND<br>EXILED TO HELL!                    | Jews                           | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 13-Nov-2014 | Milli<br>Gazete           | News<br>Article   | Milli Gazete                        | DEFORCIANT JEWS  | Jews                           | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 13-Nov-2014 | Türkiye                   | Opinion<br>Column | Mehmet Ali<br>Kulat                 | Al-Aqsa Mosque Cries!  | Jews                           | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 14-Nov-2014 | Ankara<br>Haber<br>Vaktim | Opinion<br>Column | Ahmet Fidan                         | Silence gives consent  | Jews                           | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 14-Nov-2014 | Karadeniz'de<br>Son Nokta | Opinion<br>Column | Bahaattin<br>Mollamehmetoğlu        | JEWS: THE ENEMY OF<br>HUMANITY AND ISLAM                     | Jews                           | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 14-Nov-2014 | Ortadoğu                  | Opinion<br>Column | Murat İde                           | DIRTY COALITION  | Armenians,<br>Kurds            | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 17-Nov-2014 | Anayurt                   | Opinion<br>Column | Mustafa<br>Nevruz Sınacı            | Organized Terror and<br>Imperial Paranoia (4)                | Greeks                         | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 17-Nov-2014 | Ankara<br>Haber<br>Vaktim | News<br>Article   | Osman<br>Akdoğan                    | They should tie up their<br>barking monsters                 | Jews                           | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 17-Nov-2014 | Milat                     | News<br>Article   | Milat                               | CRUSADE TERROR   | Christians                     | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 18-Nov-2014 | Karadenizd<br>e İstikbal  | Opinion<br>Column | Fikret<br>Karadeniz                 | CERTIFICATE OF<br>CITIZENSHIP FOR SYRIANS?                   | Arabs, Yezidis,<br>Kurds       | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 18-Nov-2014 | Ortadoğu                  | Opinion<br>Column | Şükrü Alnıaçık                      | Time of the Cryptos!   | Armenians,<br>Kurds            | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 18-Nov-2014 | Yeni Mesaj                | Opinion<br>Column | Bayram Coşkun                       | Erdoğan's holy (!) shelter:<br>The Pope                      | Christians, Jews               | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |

| 18-Nov-2014 | Yörem<br>Gazetesi     | Opinion<br>Column | Zekeriya Kılıç            | Look at those traitors!   | Arabs,<br>Bulgarians,<br>British, Greeks | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
|-------------|-----------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|---|--|---|
| 19-Nov-2014 | Kayseri<br>Yeni Haber | Opinion<br>Column | Selahattin<br>Karakoç     | OH MY ISTANBUL  | Blacks, Syrians                          | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 20-Nov-2014 | Yeni Mesaj            | Opinion<br>Column | Tahsin Aydın              | The game is very big  | Kurds, Jews                              | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 20-Nov-2014 | Yeni Mesaj            | Opinion<br>Column | Mustafa Hilmi<br>Yıldırım | Westerners' Islamophobia  | Western<br>Societies                     | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 21-Nov-2014 | Çorum<br>Haber        | Opinion<br>Column | Selahattin<br>Aydemir     | MESKHETIAN TURKS 70 <sup>TH</sup><br>SYMPOSIUM ON IMMIGRATION<br>AND 200 YEARS OF<br>IMMIGRATION PAIN OF THE<br>TURKS | Armenians                                | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 21-Nov-2014 | Kayseri Star<br>Haber | Opinion<br>Column | Davut Güleç               | On the way to Palestine, sale of land to foreigners   | Christians,<br>Syrians, Jews             | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 21-Nov-2014 | Milli<br>Gazete       | Opinion<br>Column | Mehmet<br>Şevket Eygi     | No friendship with heathens   | Christians, Jews                         | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 24-Nov-2014 | Anayurt               | Opinion<br>Column | Mustafa<br>Nevruz Sınacı  | Common Mindlessness and<br>Incompetent Greediness   | Armenians,<br>Kurds, Jews,<br>Greeks     | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 24-Nov-2014 | Denizli Olay          | Opinion<br>Column | Metin Alkan               | ISRAEL and ITS<br>BEGINNINGS-3  | Christians, Jews                         | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 24-Nov-2014 | Milli<br>Gazete       | Opinion<br>Column | Mehmet<br>Şevket Eygi     | Gezi, Chaos, Anarchy,<br>Brownout Altogether in<br>Spring   | Armenians, Jews                          | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 24-Nov-2014 | Milli<br>Gazete       | News<br>Article   | Milli Gazete              | Zionists irritate   | Jews                                     | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 24-Nov-2014 | Takvim                | News<br>Article   | Takvim                    | CAMPAIGN/Serbians want blood  | Serbians                                 | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 26-Nov-2014 | Milat                 | Opinion<br>Column | Seyit Mehmet<br>Deniz     | Did Alevis and Kurds really suffer?   | Alevis, Kurds                            | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 26-Nov-2014 | Milli<br>Gazete       | Opinion<br>Column | İsmail Hakkı<br>Akkiraz   | INVISIBLE ENEMY: DEVIL<br>AND ITS POLITICS  | Non-Muslims                              | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 26-Nov-2014 | Yeni Akit             | Opinion<br>Column | Mustafa Çelik             | Western Imperialists<br>depopulate Muslims  | Christians, Jews                         | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 27-Nov-2014 | Çorum<br>Haber        | Opinion<br>Column | Fikrettin Çıplak          | THE RIGHT IS ALWAYS<br>POWERFUL, BUT THE<br>POWERFUL IS NOT ALWAYS<br>RIGHT AND SHOULD NOT BE<br>ALWAYS RIGHT         | Jews                                     | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |

| 28-Nov-2014 | Kayseri Star<br>Haber     | Opinion<br>Column | Ahmet Sıvacı          | OUR MARTYRS: Infantry<br>Specialized Sergeant Bekir<br>Yeşilyurt (120)                               | Armenians                                 | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
|-------------|---------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|--|---|---|
| 28-Nov-2014 | Taka                      | Opinion<br>Column | Gürsel Gençsoy        | Our National Mourning Days   | Armenians,<br>Kurds                       | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 28-Nov-2014 | Türkiye                   | Opinion<br>Column | Halil Önür            | Why are we different?  | Jews                                      | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 30-Nov-2014 | Yeni Mesaj                | News<br>Article   | Yeni Mesaj            | They divide Muslim but they<br>themselves unite/The<br>revealed truth after the visit<br>of the Pope | Christians                                | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 01-Dec-2014 | Kayseri<br>Ülker          | Opinion<br>Column | Zeki Ok               | FOLLOWERS OF SEYID RIZA<br>ARE AT THE PARLIAMENT   | Kurds                                     | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 01-Dec-2014 | Yeni Akit                 | News<br>Article   | İbrahim Acar          | Serbians are after a new<br>war  | Serbians                                  | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 01-Dec-2014 | Yeni<br>Marmara           | Opinion<br>Column | İlhan Yardımcı        | Calamity of the century:<br>Zionism (Judaism)  | Jews                                      | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 02-Dec-2014 | Ankara<br>Haber<br>Vaktim | Opinion<br>Column | Ahmet Fidan           | Troubles of the System of<br>Education and Educators<br>Union  | Christians                                | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 02-Dec-2014 | Gazete<br>Akdeniz         | Opinion<br>Column | Nurullah Aydın        | THE POPE, PATRIARCH,<br>IMAM AND BUILDING OF<br>BYZANTIUM  | Armenians,<br>Christians, Rûms            | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 02-Dec-2014 | Medya<br>Yenigün          | Opinion<br>Column | Hakkı Çiftçi          | That should be told  | Armenians,<br>Zoroastrians                | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 02-Dec-2014 | Milli<br>Gazete           | Opinion<br>Column | Mehmet<br>Şevket Eygi | The Problem of Crypto-Jews<br>in Turkey  | Alevis,<br>Armenians,<br>Christians, Jews | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 02-Dec-2014 | Yeni Akit                 | News<br>Article   | İbrahim Acar          | An answer like a ton of<br>bricks to the impertinent<br>Armenian                                     | Armenians                                 | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 02-Dec-2014 | Yeni<br>Marmara           | Opinion<br>Column | İlhan Yardımcı        | Calamity of the century:<br>Zionism (Judaism)-2  | Jews                                      | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 02-Dec-2014 | Yeni Mesaj                | Opinion<br>Column | Bayram Coşkun         | The great alliance of crusaders in Istanbul!   | Christians, Jews                          | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 02-Dec-2014 | Yeni Mesaj                | Opinion<br>Column | Nurullah Çetin        | Explanation of betrayal or<br>negligence   | Armenians,<br>Christians,<br>Kurds, Jews  | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 02-Dec-2014 | Yeni Mesaj                | Opinion<br>Column | Furkan Atalay         | Questions for the guards of the White Palace   | Christians, Jews                          | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 03-Dec-2014 | Konya<br>Merhaba          | Opinion<br>Column | Nevzat Laleli         | PATRONS OF HOLINESS (1)  | Christians, Rûms                          | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |

| 03-Dec-2014 | Yeni Akit                 | News<br>Article   | Yeni Akit                | The new alliance of<br>Crusaders                                     | Christians                              | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
|-------------|---------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|--|---|---|
| 03-Dec-2014 | Yeni<br>Marmara           | Opinion<br>Column | İlhan Yardımcı           | Calamity of the century:<br>Zionism (Judaism)-3                      | Christians, Jews                        | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 04-Dec-2014 | Ankara<br>Haber<br>Vaktim | News<br>Article   | HABERVAKTIM.<br>COM      | Jehovah's witnesses<br>gallivant on the homeland                     | Christians                              | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 04-Dec-2014 | Düzce<br>Damla            | Opinion<br>Column | Ahmet Çodur              | FOR WHOM THE BELLS<br>TOLL   | Christians                              | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 04-Dec-2014 | Konya<br>Yenigün          | Opinion<br>Column | Rasim Atalay             | Travel with Syrians!   | Syrians                                 | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 04-Dec-2014 | Milli<br>Gazete           | Opinion<br>Column | Meryem Nida              | WHAT HAS CHANGED?  | Christians, Jews                        | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 04-Dec-2014 | Yeni<br>Marmara           | Opinion<br>Column | İlhan Yardımcı           | Calamity of the century:<br>Zionism (Judaism)-4                      | Jews                                    | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 04-Dec-2014 | Yeni Mesaj                | Opinion<br>Column | Yusuf Karaca             | May a stone as big as<br>Atatürk hit on your head!                   | Christians, Jews                        | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 05-Dec-2014 | Karadenizd<br>e İstikbal  | Opinion<br>Column | Mehmet<br>Baştürk        | THE JEWISH MENTALITY   | Jews                                    | Symbolization                                 |
| 05-Dec-2014 | Yeni Akit                 | Opinion<br>Column | Şevki Yılmaz             | The Pope and the Patriarch are each an Abraha                        | Christians,<br>Rûms, Jews               | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 05-Dec-2014 | Yeni<br>Marmara           | Opinion<br>Column | İlhan Yardımcı           | Calamity of the century:<br>Zionism (Judaism)-5                      | Armenians,<br>Christians,<br>Rûms, Jews | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 05-Dec-2014 | Yıldız Haber              | Opinion<br>Column | Kemal Kadıoğlu           | THE POPE'S MIND GAMES<br>AND THE MUSLIM AND THE<br>ISLAMIC GEOGRAPHY | Christians, Jews                        | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 06-Dec-2014 | Yeni<br>Marmara           | Opinion<br>Column | İlhan Yardımcı           | Calamity of the century:<br>Zionism (Judaism)-6                      | Christians, Jews                        | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 07-Dec-2014 | Yeni<br>Marmara           | Opinion<br>Column | İlhan Yardımcı           | Calamity of the century:<br>Zionism (Judaism)-7                      | Jews                                    | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 08-Dec-2014 | Anayurt                   | Opinion<br>Column | Mustafa<br>Nevruz Sınacı | Open enmity, grudge,<br>hatred and animosity                         | Armenians,<br>Kurds, Jews,<br>Greeks    | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 08-Dec-2014 | Antalya<br>Hilal          | News<br>Article   | Faruk Çelik              | A MUSLIM DO NOT<br>CELEBRATE THE NEW YEAR                            | Christians                              | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 08-Dec-2014 | Hürriyet                  | News<br>Article   | AA                       | We'll hang with justice,<br>we'll sever with justice                 | Christians, Jews                        | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 08-Dec-2014 | Milat                     | Opinion<br>Column | Halil Mert               | PKK, HDP, THE LEFT and immorality!                                   | Armenians                               | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |

| 08-Dec-2014 | Samsun<br>Haber          | Opinion<br>Column | H. Mustafa<br>Genç    | Orphans and us on the<br>Islamic geography                               | Western<br>Societies                             | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
|-------------|--------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|--|--|---|
| 09-Dec-2014 | Milli<br>Gazete          | News<br>Article   | Rahmi Yolcu           | THE POISONOUS BOOK   | Yezidis  | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 09-Dec-2014 | Pusula<br>Haber<br>Konya | Opinion<br>Column | Abdullah<br>Yıldırım  | STATE TRADITION  | Arabs, Kurds,<br>Romanies                        | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 10-Dec-2014 | Akşam                    | Opinion<br>Column | Emin Pazarcı          | You say, "I am immoral",<br>but  | Armenians  | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 10-Dec-2014 | Yeni Mesaj               | Opinion<br>Column | Yusuf Karaca          | A fish not only rots from the<br>head down, but also on the<br>very top! | Christians, Rûms                                 | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 11-Dec-2014 | Kırşehir<br>Memleket     | Opinion<br>Column | Erol Parlak           | A Lonely Nightingale Neşet<br>Ertaş His Life-Art-Works 1                 | Romanies   | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 11-Dec-2014 | Milli<br>Gazete          | Opinion<br>Column | Şakir Tarım           | EU Love Consumes<br>Generations  | Western<br>Societies                             | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 11-Dec-2014 | Milli<br>Gazete          | Opinion<br>Column | Necmettin<br>Çalışkan | What is the Pope to us?  | Christians                                       | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 11-Dec-2014 | Özgür<br>Kocaeli         | Opinion<br>Column | İsmet Çiğit           | The only thing missing in the city is AMATEM                             | Syrians  | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 11-Dec-2014 | Yeni Akit                | News<br>Article   | Ramazan Alkan         | Alliance of evil against<br>Turkey                                       | Armenians,<br>Yezidis, Kurds,<br>Rûms, Assyrians | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 11-Dec-2014 | Yeni Akit                | Press<br>Archive  | Emin Pazarcı          | The reform of fictitious<br>language is done by 'Agop'                   | Armenians  | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 12-Dec-2014 | Kırşehir<br>Memleket     | Opinion<br>Column | Erol Parlak           | A Lonely Nightingale Neşet<br>Ertaş His Life-Art-Works 2                 | Romanies   | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 12-Dec-2014 | Milli<br>Gazete          | News<br>Article   | Milli Gazete          | Rothschild traces in the<br>Rabobank                                     | Jews   | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 12-Dec-2014 | Milli<br>Gazete          | News<br>Article   | Rahmi Yolcu           | Who looks like a tribe is one of them                                    | Christians                                       | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 12-Dec-2014 | Milli<br>Gazete          | Opinion<br>Column | Abdülkadir<br>Özkan   | Israel takes courage from the Crusaders                                  | Christians, Jews                                 | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 16-Dec-2014 | Yeni Akit                | News<br>Article   | İsmail Kaçar          | Crusaders' support for the parallelists                                  | Christians, Jews                                 | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 16-Dec-2014 | Yeni Mesaj               | Opinion<br>Column | Akın Aydın            | Two ministers: one is killed,<br>the other cries                         | Jews   | Symbolization                                 |

| 16-Dec-2014 | Yeni Mesaj           | Opinion<br>Column | Mahmut<br>Erdem        | AKP declaims to hide crimes  | Christians       | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
|-------------|----------------------|-------------------|------------------------|--|------------------|---|
| 17-Dec-2014 | Balıkesir<br>Merhaba | Opinion<br>Column | Sait Soydan<br>Yılmaz  | ARE THESE HUMANITY AND<br>HUMAN RIGHTS   | Christians, Jews | Symbolization                                 |
| 17-Dec-2014 | Çorum<br>Hakimiyet   | News<br>Article   | News Center            | 'We should discipline our<br>children with the path of<br>morals of the Quran' | Christians       | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 17-Dec-2014 | Yeni Mesaj           | Opinion<br>Column | Mehmet Emin<br>Koç     | People mess with each<br>other, foreigners get all the<br>marbles              | Christians       | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 18-Dec-2014 | Kayseri<br>Gündem    | Opinion<br>Column | Vedat Önal             | ABDUL HAMID II AND THE<br>HISTORICAL BRITISH-JEWISH<br>GAME                    | British, Jews    | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 18-Dec-2014 | Takvim               | News<br>Article   | Takvim                 | Perception operation   | Jews             | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 18-Dec-2014 | Yeni Asya            | Opinion<br>Column | Süleyman<br>Kösmene    | Two depravements of the Jews   | Jews             | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 19-Dec-2014 | 19 Mayıs             | News<br>Article   | 19 Mayıs               | Israel is free to kill   | Jews             | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 19-Dec-2014 | Yeni Çağ             | Opinion<br>Column | Ahmet Takan            | We have not forgotten, we<br>will not let it to be<br>forgotten!               | Armenians        | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 21-Dec-2014 | Milli<br>Gazete      | Opinion<br>Column | Mehmet Talu            | New Year Celebration is a Social Insurrection – 1                              | Christians       | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 22-Dec-2014 | Milli<br>Gazete      | Opinion<br>Column | Mehmet Talu            | New Year Celebration is a Social Insurrection – 2                              | Christians       | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 23-Dec-2014 | Milli<br>Gazete      | News<br>Article   | Milli Gazete           | Missionary instigation in KOSOVO   | Christianity     | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 23-Dec-2014 | Milli<br>Gazete      | News<br>Article   | Ankara Bureau          | Don't celebrate New Year,<br>which is a Christian tradition                    | Christians       | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 23-Dec-2014 | Milli<br>Gazete      | News<br>Article   | Milli Gazete           | THEY CARRIED THE<br>SUBVERSION IN THE<br>MOSQUE                                | Christians       | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 23-Dec-2014 | Yeni Akit            | Opinion<br>Column | Hüseyin Öztürk         | To get rid of<br>overobsequiousness to<br>Europe                               | Christians       | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 24-Dec-2014 | Yeni Çağ             | Opinion<br>Column | Hüseyin Macit<br>Yusuf | It is a betrayal to build an<br>associated state with killer<br>Rûms           | Rûms             | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |

| 24-Dec-2014 | Yeni Mesaj                | Opinion<br>Column | Mustafa Aslan            | "Can't you still<br>contemplate?"   | Christians, Jews                     | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
|-------------|---------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|---|
| 25-Dec-2014 | Medya<br>Yenigün          | Opinion<br>Column | Hakkı Çiftçi             | History Will Chronicle This   | Armenians                            | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 25-Dec-2014 | Önce Vatan                | Opinion<br>Column | Ata Atun                 | HOW DID THE BEACH<br>MASSACRE HAPPEN?   | Armenians,<br>Rûms                   | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 25-Dec-2014 | Türkiye<br>(Antalya)      | News<br>Article   | іна                      | MISSIONARY ACTIVITES<br>UNDER THE NAME OF<br>CHRISTMAS  | Christians                           | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 25-Dec-2014 | Vahdet                    | Opinion<br>Column | Cübbeli Ahmet<br>Hoca    | IS IT RELIGIOUSLY WRONG TO<br>EAT TURKEY IN NEW YEAR'S<br>EVE? / IT IS INAPPROPRIATE TO<br>EAT TURKEY IN NEW YEAR'S<br>EVE? | Christians                           | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 25-Dec-2014 | Yeni Mesaj                | Opinion<br>Column | Mustafa Aslan            | Yule, New Year Festival   | Christians, Jews                     | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 26-Dec-2014 | Milat                     | Opinion<br>Column | Muhammed<br>Özkılıç      | Last exit before the bridge   | Christians, Jews                     | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 26-Dec-2014 | Milli<br>Gazete           | News<br>Article   | Rahmi Yolcu              | STOP! DON'T RIOT  | Christians                           | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 26-Dec-2014 | Takvim                    | Opinion<br>Column | Ergün Diler              | WHAT KIND OF ALLIANCE IS<br>THIS!!!   | British, Jews                        | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 26-Dec-2014 | Yeni Akit                 | Opinion<br>Column | Hasan<br>Karakaya        | If you are not free, who are these people yelling?  | Jews                                 | Symbolization                                 |
| 26-Dec-2014 | Yeni Akit                 | Opinion<br>Column | Şevki Yılmaz             | CHRISTMAS POPE and the<br>New Bear  | Christians, Jews                     | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 27-Dec-2014 | Yeni Akit                 | News<br>Article   | Muhammet<br>Kutlu        | Armenian allegations are<br>confuted in 4 thousand<br>pages   | Armenians                            | Symbolization                                 |
| 29-Dec-2014 | Anayurt                   | Opinion<br>Column | Mustafa<br>Nevruz Sınacı | Here is what they call the<br>Initiative and Resolution<br>Process (2)  | Armenians,<br>Kurds, Jews,<br>Greeks | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 29-Dec-2014 | Ankara<br>Anadolu         | Opinion<br>Column | Bahattin<br>Demiray      | New Year and time   | Christians, Jews                     | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 29-Dec-2014 | Ankara<br>Haber<br>Vaktim | Opinion<br>Column | Tuba Arslan              | ARE WE IN LIMBO?  | Christians                           | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 29-Dec-2014 | Gaziantep<br>Referans     | Opinion<br>Column | Zabit Durmuş             | NEW YEAR VILENESS   | Christians                           | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |

| 29-Dec-2014 | Kayseri<br>Anadolu<br>Haber | News<br>Article   | іна                   | CHRISTMAS FINDS<br>APPROVAL IN TURKEY<br>MORE THAN IT FINDS IN<br>CHRISTIAN COUNTIRES                     | Christians                         | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
|-------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|---|------------------------------------|---|
| 29-Dec-2014 | Mersin<br>Hakimiyet         | Opinion<br>Column | Adil Söylemez         | ZIONISM IS THE PROJECT TO<br>WIPE ISLAM OFF   | Christians, Jews                   | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 29-Dec-2014 | Milat                       | Opinion<br>Column | Halil Mert            | Referendum preparation:<br>Attempt at massacre in<br>Cizre  | Armenians,<br>Kurds                | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 29-Dec-2014 | Milli<br>Gazete             | News<br>Article   | News Center           | Don't forget who you are,<br>do not act like a Christian  | Christians                         | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 29-Dec-2014 | Ortadoğu                    | Opinion<br>Column | İhsan Muslu           | If You Are Not Ashamed in<br>Front of God, Go and Live<br>However You Like                                | Christians                         | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 29-Dec-2014 | Vahdet                      | Opinion<br>Column | Mehmet<br>Şevket Eygi | Bagratunis  | Armenians, Jews                    | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 29-Dec-2014 | Yeni Akit                   | News<br>Article   | Sinan Kaya            | THE WEST FEEDS ON<br>'BLOOD'  | Western<br>Societies,<br>Armenians | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 30-Dec-2014 | Gaziantep<br>Referans       | News<br>Article   | Yaşar Yavuz           | WE ARE AWARE OF THE<br>DANGER   | Christians                         | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 30-Dec-2014 | Gümüşkent                   | Opinion<br>Column | Sinan Akıncı          | Three is bigger than six!   | Jews                               | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 30-Dec-2014 | Kayseri<br>Gündem           | Opinion<br>Column | Esra Yel              | CHRISTIAN TRADITION OF<br>THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM   | Christians, Jews                   | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 30-Dec-2014 | Vahdet                      | Opinion<br>Column | Cübbeli Ahmet<br>Hoca | HEY! THE BEARDED ONE!<br>GAVUR PKK WOULD<br>BEHEAD YOU WHILE<br>SHAVING YOUR BEARD                        | Christians, Jews                   | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 30-Dec-2014 | Yeni Mesaj                  | News<br>Article   | Yeni Mesaj            | A Crusader is a crusader<br>everywhere  | Christians                         | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 31-Dec-2014 | Elmalı<br>Gündem            | Opinion<br>Column | Abdullah<br>Türkmen   | What are we celebrating for God's sake?   | Christians                         | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 31-Dec-2014 | Gümüşkent                   | Opinion<br>Column | Sinan Akıncı          | Hey you, Muslims! Do not forget these three Jews  | Jews                               | Symbolization                                 |
| 31-Dec-2014 | Konya<br>Merhaba            | News<br>Article   | Ramazan Kural         | The call for Muslims to 'Go<br>Back to Basics'/New Year<br>Protests of the Anatolian<br>Youth Association | Christians, Jews                   | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |

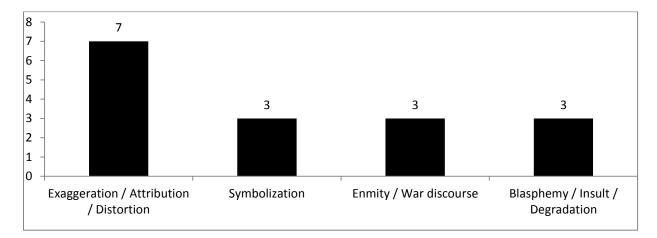
| 31-Dec-2014 | Konya<br>Takip         | News<br>Article                    | Konya Takip         | UNPRECEDENTED CRUELTY<br>ON MUSLIMS: SOUNDS<br>FROM THE CHURCH             | Christians       | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
|-------------|------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------|--|------------------|---|
| 31-Dec-2014 | Korkuteli<br>Gündem    | Announcem<br>ent / News<br>Article | Korkuteli<br>Gündem | Ignorance excuses no one!  | Christians       | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 31-Dec-2014 | Milli<br>Gazete        | News<br>Article                    | Milli Gazete        | Don't be deceived! Don't<br>celebrate!                                     | Christians       | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 31-Dec-2014 | Milli<br>Gazete        | News<br>Article                    | Editor              | Time to state the obvious!   | Christians       | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 31-Dec-2014 | Milli<br>Gazete        | News<br>Article                    | Milli Gazete        | This celebration has<br>dangerous results                                  | Christians       | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 31-Dec-2014 | Özgür<br>Kocaeli       | Opinion<br>Column                  | Alaettin Köksal     | HOW TO CELEBRATE THE<br>END OF THE YEAR, THE<br>BEGINNING OF THE YEAR      | Christians, Jews | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 31-Dec-2014 | Samsun<br>Denge        | Opinion<br>Column                  | Adnan Bahadır       | FIELD OF SHIPYARD AND<br>THE SUBJECT OF NEW YEAR                           | Christians       | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 31-Dec-2014 | Trakyada<br>Yeşil Yurt | News<br>Article                    | News Center         | Er: We Do Not Want the<br>Crusaders' Mentality<br>Disguised as Santa Claus | Christians       | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 31-Dec-2014 | Vahdet                 | Opinion<br>Column                  | Nusret Çiçek        | Mourning in Al-Aqsa<br>Mosque, New Year at our<br>homes                    | Christians, Jews | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |

As we have stated above, during the **September – December 2014 period**, hate speech was generated **in eight items towards more than one group under more than one category**. Since the number of items under this category is higher compared to previous periods, we evaluate these items separately in order to see these examples more clearly. The list of these items is as follows:

| Date            | Newspaper  | Туре  | Author               | Title  | Targeted<br>Group   | Hate Category                                 |
|-----------------|--|---|----------------------|--|---------------------|---|
| 03-Sep-2014     | Küçük<br>Menderes  |   | Mustafa<br>Erdal     | Happy September 3rd  | British,<br>Greeks  | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
|                 | Wenderes   | Column  | Elüdi                | <u>Festival</u>  | Rûms                | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 04-Sep-2014     | Takvim   | Opinion<br>Column   | Bekir Hazar          | Two states are to come                                       | British             | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
|                 |  | Column  |                      |  | Armenians           | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 08-Oct-2014     | Dünden<br>Bugüne Şafak   | Opinion<br>Column   | Faruk Kadri          | A BITTER COMMENT   | Christians,<br>Jews | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
|                 | bugune şalak   | Column  |                      |  | Kurds               | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
|                 |  |   |                      | GREATER MIDDLE EAST  | Armenians           | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 12-Oct-2014     | Kayseri<br>Hakimiyet   | Opinion<br>Column      Osman İkinci      END FOR MIDDLE<br>EASTERN PEOPLE AND<br>A TRAP FOR KURDS | British,<br>Russians | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion                |                     |   |
| 17.0.+ 2014     | Gazete   | Opinion   |                      |  | Kurds               | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 17-Oct-2014     | Akdeniz  | Column  | Vehbi Kaya           | PKK AND THE KURDISTS   | Armenians           | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 13-Nov-         |  | Opinion   | Mehmet               | <u>Terror will not end if we</u> continue with this kind     | Armenians           | Symbolization                                 |
| 2014            | Milli Gazete   | Column  | Şevket Eygi          | of thinking and<br><u>mentality</u>                          | Christians,<br>Jews | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 05-Dec-         |  | Oninion   |                      | The secret of AKD and  | Armenians           | Symbolization                                 |
| 2014            | Yeni Çağ   | Opinion<br>Column   | Arslan Bulut         | <u>The secret of AKP and</u><br><u>the model of Burundi!</u> | Christians          | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 11-Dec-<br>2014 | - Karadeniz Opinion Abdullah <u>Mahcupyan</u><br>Güne Bakış Column Gülay <u>(Embarrassed Side) /</u> | Armenians   | Symbolization        |  |                     |   |
|                 | y  |   |                      | Öcalan (Revenge Taker)                                       | Kurds               | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |

The above list is important since it shows that hate speech was not generated "randomly," rather the related groups were targeted deliberately. This kind of "randomness" was usually discussed when several groups were targeted especially in regards to one item. The groups of people living in similar regions can be listed one after another and it may even be the case that the mentioned group actually is not targeted. The groups listed above were chosen deliberately where hate speech was

generated for each group using different arguments. These eight items were part of opinion columns published with authors' names on them.



The distribution of the hate categories is as follows:

The distribution of these categories according to targeted groups is as follows:

| Category                                 | Group      | Number |
|--|------------|--------|
|  | British    | 3      |
|  | Christians | 5      |
| Europeanties ( Attaileuties / Distorties | Jews       | 2      |
| Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion  | Greeks     |        |
|  | Russians   | 1      |
|  | Kurds      |        |
| Symbolization                            | Armenians  | 3      |
|  | Armenians  | 2      |
| Enmity / War Discourse                   | Kurds      | 1      |
|  | Armenians  |        |
| Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration         | Rûms       | 1      |
|  | Kurds      |        |

| The groups targeted in the same item together are as follows: |  |  |  |  |  |
|---|--|--|--|--|--|
| British, Greeks, Rûms   |  |  |  |  |  |
| Armenians, British  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Christians, Jews, Kurds                                       |  |  |  |  |  |
| Armenians, Kurds  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Armenians, British, Russians                                  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Armenians, Christians, Jews                                   |  |  |  |  |  |
| Armenians, Christians   |  |  |  |  |  |
| Armenians, Kurds  |  |  |  |  |  |

As can be seen in the above table, Armenians were targeted in six items where in two out of these six items they were bound together with Kurds. Besides, the fact that they were associated with different groups, the finding implies the formation of a common "enemy" with respect to opinions that are used as basis in hate speech.

### **EXAMPLES BY CATEGORIES**

### **BLASPHEMY / INSULT / DENIGRATION**

Title: Mad Dogs Newspaper: Yeni Marmara Date: 11-Nov-2014 Type: Opinion Column Author: İsmail Özdemir

Özdemir, who generates hate speech against Jews in his opinion column, uses nefarious expressions like "rampaged", "perverted mentality", and "perverts" throughout the whole article including the title.

### Kudurmuş köpekler

Lanetlenmiş kavim Yahudiler, yine kudurdu. Kendilerine gönderilen bütün peygamberleri öldüren, kendilerine gönderilen bütün kutsal kitaplan değiştiren Yahudilerin sonunda peygamberler tarafından lanetlendiği bizlere Yüce Kitabımız Kur'an- Kerim'de bildirilmektedir.

Kendilerini –Hâşâ- Allah'ın oğlu olarak gören bu sapık zihniyet, diğer bütün insanların ve hayvanların kendilerine hizmet



etmek için yaratıldığına inanırlar. Yahudilerin dışındaki insanları akıllı hayvanlar olarak gören bu sapıklar yüzyıllardır yeryüzünü ifsad etmişlerdir. Son yüzyılda da özellikle bizim coğrafyamızda çıbanbaşı olarak bölgeyi kana bulamışlardır.

Batılı devletler tarafından desteklenerek 1947 'de işgal edilmiş Filistin topraklarında İsrail Devleti'ni kurmuş-

lar ve o günden beri Filistinlilere zulmetmişlerdir. Müslümanların birleşerek üzerine yürümemesi için İlk başkenti Tel Aviv olarak ilan edilmiştir. Daha sonra Müslümanların birbirleri ile savaşması ve duyarsızlaşmasını fırsat bilerek Kudüs'ü başkent ilan etmişlerdir.

Şimdi Kudüs'te Müslümanlar için kutsal olan Mescid-i Aksa'yı yıkıp yerine Süleyman Mabedini inşa etmek istiyorlar. Bu amaçla Müslümanları buna alıştırmak ve tepkilerini ölçmek için zaman zaman Mescid-Aksa'ya tacizler yapıyorlar.

Mescid-i Aksa'nın yönetimini üstlenen İslami Vakıflar Dairesi Müdürü Hatib, "İsrail güçleri 1967'den bu yana ilk kez Mescid-i Aksa'nın mihrabını postallarıyla çiğnedi" dedi.

Şu anda İsrail'e karşı koyacak ülke bırakmadılar. Hatırlarsanız; 2006 yılında İsrail Lübnan'da Hizbullah'a saldırdı.6 gün içinde Hizbullah'ı yok edecekti. Ama evdeki hesap çarşıya uymadı. Allah C.C. yardımı ile Hizbullah karşısında ağır yenilgiye uğradılar. Geri çekildiler. Hizbullah'ın başanlı olmasında hiç şüphesiz Suriye'nin rolü büyüktü. Suriye aynı zamanda Gazze'ye de yardım ediyordu. Bunu Halid Meşal açıkladı. Hatta Halid Meşal Suriye'de kalıyordu. İsrail'e karşı Alevi-Sünni-Şii ittifak etmişlerdi. Yine Suriye kanştırılmadan önce Suriye'deki medreselerde 100.000 genç okuyordu. Halkın % 90'ı Sünni olan Suriye'de Medreseler Sünni eğitim veriyordu. Bugün Esad'a karşı savaşan Nusra cephesi lideri Türkiye'ye birkaç gez geldi. Bir defasında Esad'ın kendilerine yardım ettiğini, Camii'ne gelerek arkasında namaz kıldığını ifade etmiştir.

O günlerde Başbakan Erdoğan, Esad'la birlikte ailece tatile çıkmışlardı. Vizeler kaldınılmıştı. Kendi ülkemiz gibi rahatça Suriye'ye gidilebiliyordu. Ne olduysa İsrail'in Hizbullah'a mağlup olması ile ortalık karştırıldı. İsrail önce Hizbullah'ın silahsızlandırılması için BM'ye başvurdu. Türkiye'nin de katılımı ile Lübnan'a asker gönderilmesini istedi. Başanlı olamayınca, Suriye'nin parçalanması için düğmeye bastı.

Maalesef Türk Hükümeti de Israil'in isteklerini cevapsız bırakmadı. Esad bir günde zalim oldu. Türkiye'den Suriye'ye geçen ABD'nin paralı askerleri Suriye'yi kanştırdı. Yoksa Suriyelilerde ne silah vardı, ne de Esad'a karşı koyacak güç. Hizbullah'ı da terör örgütü olarak gösterdiler.

Bugün Özgür Suriye Ordusu'nu Israil destekliyor. Türkiye'de destekliyor. Türk halkının önünde mangalda kül bırakmayanlar, perde arkasında İsrail'le kol kola geziyor. AB Bakanı İsrail'e sert çıkmış" Postalları-

AB Bakanı İsrail'e sert çıkmış" Postallannızı elinize veririz"demiş. Tahmin ediyorum ki, İsrail askerleri çok korkmuşlardır! Hükümetin Mavi Marmara konusunda ne yaptığını gördükten sonra İsrail'e yaptırım konusunda hiç ümidim olmadığını ifade etmek isterim.

Milletin gazını almak için yapılan yaptırımdan uzak açıklamalar, İsrail'i Zulümden alıkoymak yerine daha çok şımartıyor. Öne Minute'den sonra İsrail'in OECD üyeliğine EVET diyen bu hükümetin en güzel yaptığı iş milletin gazını almayı başarabiliyorlar. İsrail'de bunu istiyor.

Müslümanların tepkileri frenlensin, uçlar törpülensin. Mescid-i Aksa'yı yıktıklarında kimse bir şey yapamasın.

Ey Müslümanlar! Uyanın. Allah C.C. İsra Suresi'nde "Etrafını Mübarek Kıldığımız" buyurduğu Mescid-i Aksa Zalim Yahudiler tarafından yıkılıyor. İslam Ülkelerindeki yönetimler ise halkın gazını almakla meşgul. Yaptırım uygulamıyor. Emenate sahip çıkmazsak, Allah C.C. başımıza belalar gönderir. Bu belalar nereden geldi anlayamayız. Deprem olur, yangın olur, Maden çöker, kazalar artar.

Geçmiş Ümmetlerin Başına Gelenler, bizim başımıza gelmeden uyanalım. Hükümetin açıklamalarına kanmayalım. Hükümeti yaptırıma zorlayacak meşru eylemler yapalım.

### **BLASPHEMY / INSULT / DENIGRATION**

Title: Assyria Religious Colonies!.. Newspaper: Ortadoğu Date: 11-Nov-2014 Type: Opinion Column Author: Şükrü Alnıaçık

Alniaçik's opinion column appears as an example of hate speech directed towards Syrians. While speaking of Syrians in his article, he uses expressions such as "you'll raise the roof in buses; you won't like hospitals and doctors; you'll tease people in their own neighborhood; you'll buy land by getting local support; you'll open a store and do business; you'll receive financial help in cash from the USA and others and you will not give a sniff!..." His brand of hate speech denigrates refugees who escaped from war and faced terrible hardships.

### Asur Diyanet Kolonileri!..

TARİH Yazıyla başlar. Hangi tarih? Hangi bölgeyle ilgiliyseniz o bölgenin tarihi. Yani dünyanın her yerinde aynı anda başlayan bir tarih yoktur. Bir yurdun veya topluluğun tarihi, o yurtla veya kavimle ilgili ilk yazılı kaynağa ulaştığımız andan itbaren başlar.

Bu başlama, üç şekilde olabilir:

Ya siz kendi yazınızı geliştirir ve iyi kötü bir şeyler yazmaya başlarsınız. (Mezopotamya gibi.) Ya çekik gözlü komşularınız veya seyyahlar si-

zi yazar. (Orta Asya gibi.) Ya da ilk kez misafir tüccarlar tarafından kale-

me alınırsınız. (Anadolu gibi,) Anadolu tarihinin ilk etkin misafirleri. MÖ:

2.000'de eşekle Mezopotamya'dan gelen Asurlu



tüccarlardır. Anadolu'daki Asur ticaret kolonileri, yaklaşık iki yüz yıl boyunca Kültepe'deki Kaneş pazarına, orası da Asur başkenti Ninova'ya başlı kalmıştır.

Änadolu'nun ilk yazılı tarih belgeleri, Kültepe/Kayseri bölgesindeki çivi yazılı mühürler ve tabletlerdir. Asurlular, Anadolu'ya sadece Sümerle-

rin geliştirdiği çivi yazısını getirmemişlerdir. Rüşveti, vergi kaçakçılığını ve tefeciliği de getirmişlerdir. Halkın Hitit idaresini çabuk benimsemesinde bu giderek kirlenen sömürgeciliğin etkisi büyüktür.

Suriyelilerin Arap öncesi geçmişini ve Anadolu'nun ilkçağda güneyle olan ilişkilerini bilmeyenler için bu başlık ve yaklaşım biraz garip gelebilir. Ancak mesele şudur:

Suriye kelimesi "Asur" lulardan gelir. Anadolu'nun ortasında Kayseri'nin Kültepe'sinde Karum kolonisini kuran ve Anadolu'ya yazıyı getiren Asurlulardan.

Asurlular, hem savaşçı hem de tüccardır. Sonradan bütün orta ve aşağı Mezopotamya hakları gibi Araplaşmışlardır. Ancak yüzyıllar sonra milli bir isim lazım geldiğinde Iraklılar kendilerini Babil'in varisi gibi görürken, Şam-Halep-Lazkiye ahalisi de Asurluların torunu olmaya karar vermiş ve "Suriye" adını almışlardır. Yani Suriye'nin milli köklerinde bir Asur kültürü yatmaktadır.

Suriyelilerin şimdiki gelişinin bilinçli bir "iskan" siyaseti olduğunu söylemek güç. Ancak, Kafkas muhaceretinde ve Balkan Savaşlarında gördüğümüz gibi sivil halkın yerinden sökülmesi de bir savaş hamlesidir, düşmanı meşgul etme ve yıpratma taktiğidir. Suriyelilerin Türkiye'ye siğinması bir zaruret olarak düşünülse bile bu sosyolojik travmadan milletçe alacağımız dersler vardır. Eğer güney illerine kısa bir yolculuk yaptıysanız, otobüste, uçakta, istasyonda, otogarda ve her sohbetin içinde onlara rastlamanız mümkündür.

Yadırgamıyorum. İçimde onlara karşı tabii ki merhametle karışık bir üzüntü var. Sokaktaki hallerine üzülüyorum ama merhametim, çoğu zaman onları sokaklara bırakanlara duyduğum öfkenin gerisinde kalıyor. Aralarında Türkmenler var. En çok sıkıntıyı onlar çekiyorlar; çünkü dilenmiyorlar.

AKP, hükümeti, hem Türk'ün Arap'tan veya Çingeneden hiçbir farkı olmadığını iddia ediyor. Hem de ülkeye aniden giren 2 Milyon kişiye, Türk milletinin ev sahipliği yapacak kadar yüce bir millet olduğunu görüyor, planlamasını buna göre yapıyor.

Eğer maziden gelen üstün şöhretimize rağmen eğer bunun tersi olsaydı, dünyada bize böyle sahip çıkacak bir tane bile din kardeşi bulamazdık! Allah Türk'ü kimseye muhtaç etmesin.

Hele böyle otobüslerde gürültü patırtı yapacaksın, hastane, doktor beğenmeyeceksin, millete kendi mahallesinde sataşacaksın, yerel destek bulup arazi satın alacaksın, dükkan açıp ticaret yapacaksın, Amerika'dan şuradan buradan nakit yardım alacak ve koklatmayacaksın!.. Yaşatmazlardı adamı.

Hanımefendi, Suriyeli üç çocuk annesi savaştan kaçmış. Türkiye'de zevkten sefadan, yeni evlat planlamasından uzak durmasını beklersiniz değil mi? Biz olsak herhalde öyle yaparız.

Hayır Suriyeli hanım, sanki bombadan kaçmamış da Londra'ya tedaviye gitmiş İstanbul sosyetesi gibi tüp bebek tedavisi görüyor. Türk hastaların sıra beklerken azarlandığı bankolardan Hilton resepsiyonu gibi hizmet alıyor ve şırıngayla döllenerek dördüncü çocuğunu doğuruyor.

Sen de tek çocuklu özgür dullarınla facebook'tan vatan kurtarıyorsun.

Sanki adamlar savaştan kaçmamışlar, bir gömlek ileri bir ülkeye gelmişken Afyon kaplıcası, Ayaş içmeleri, Kapadokya balon sefası, Boğaz turu ne varsa nimetlenelim istiyorlar. Fakiri sokakta yatıp kalkıyor gören yok. Zengini aynen geçmişte olduğu gibi kolonileşiyor fark eden yok.

Nusayri zulmünden kaçan Suriyeliler, zembereği boşalmış bir saat gibi "Sünni muhafaza" nın tadını çıkarıyor. Gecenin biri, ikisi olmuş; şehirlerarası otobüste Arapça bir farfara gırla gidiyor!

Arab'ın isteği, kaprisi, "yaleli" si, bitmiyor! "Dur, sus." diyen de yok. Niye böyle oluyor?

Çünkü Türk'ün asaletini, yüzyıllarca istismar eden "din kardeşliği" böyle emrediyor!

Tam dört bin yıl sonra Anadolu'da, bu kez de "Asur Diyanet Kolonileri" ağır ağır kök salıyor!

### **ENMITY / WAR DISCOURSE**

Title: We'll hang with justice, we'll sever with justice Newspaper: Hürriyet Date: 08-Dec-2014 Type: News Article Author: AA

The news article gives coverage to the speech of Dursun Güneş, the Leader of Rights and Truth Party, exemplified hate speech originating during the party meeting organized in Ankara's Tandoğan Square. Although they publish the name of the news agency – i.e. Anatolia Agency – Hürriyet, the article source, became the generator of hate speech because they did not use quotation marks, which is a basic journalistic rule, in the news article. Since Güneş's words are not given in quotation marks, the title was perceived as Hürriyet's own words and approach. Furthermore, by releasing Güneş's individual expressions and opinions into circulation, Hürriyet disseminates a call for violence towards Jews and Christians.



HAK ve Hakikat Partisi Genel Başkam Dursun Güneş, partisince Tandoğan Meydanı'nda düzenlenen mitingde, Türkiye'nin AB üyeliğine yönelik politikalarını eleştirdi. Güneş, "Ey, Avrupa kapısında bekleyen zavallılar. Ey, Avrupa Birliği'ne girmek için bekleyen zavallılar. Yüce Allah'ı bırakıp da Yahudi ve Nasaralardan imdat uman zavallılar. Ecdadınıza bakıp <u>da</u> utanın. Haçlıların yanında durmak size yakışıyor mu?" diye konuştu. Öncelikli hedeflerinin anayasayı değiştirmek, millete göre bir anayasa yapmak olduğunu dile getiren Güneş, şunları söyledi: "Hak ve Hakikat Partisi dokunulmazlara dokunacak. Dokunulmazları ortadan kaldıracak. Herkes adaletin önünde eşit olacak. Suç işleyen cezasını çekecek. Adalet kılıcını masanın üstüne koyacağız. Öyle lafla değil, asacağız, keseceğiz. Adaletle asacağız, adaletle keseceğiz. Şeriatın kestiği parmak acımaz. Kısasa kısası getireceğiz. Biz halkımızı irşada gelmişiz. Halkımıza insanlığını kazandıracağız. Onları eğiteceğiz, öğreteceğiz. İnsanlığı, adaleti öğreteceğiz. Hakkı öğreteceğiz." Partililer, Güneş'in sözlerini sık sık tekbirlerle kesti. Mitingde mehter gösterisi yapıldı, şiirler okundu.

### **ENMITY / WAR DISCOURSE**

Title: Did Alevis and Kurds really suffer? Newspaper: Milat Gazetesi Date: 26-Nov-2014 Type: Opinion Column Author: Seyit Mehmet Deniz

Seyit Mehmet Deniz generates hate speech in his opinion column as he associates Kurds directly with PKK. By linking Kurds and Alevis directly with "terror", and positions the groups against each other by the expression "they always target Sunnis and devouts", both groups are defined as "voluntary accomplices of (these) cruelties inflicted on the devouts".



### Aleviler ve Kürtler mi acı çekmiş?

**LKEDE** Kemalistler, darbeciler, CIA'nın maaşlı elamanları **her ne zaman köşeye sıkışsa** bakarsınız bir anda gündem, PKK ve Alevilikle meşgul edilir. **Görünmez bir el her seferinde devreye girer** ve Kürtçüler ile Aleviler; haklarının yenildiğinden, çektikleri zorluklardan, uğradıkları hukuksuzluklardan şikayetlenmeye başlarlar.

Kurgu o kadar güzel ayarlanır ki, aynı anda iki grup sokakta bulunmaz. Normal şartlar altında haklarının ihlal edildiği akıllarının ucundan bile geçmez. Aralarında anlaşmışçasına sokaklar ve aynı doğrultuda medya, bir PKK'nın, bir Alevilerin estirdiği teröre odaklanır. Sonra bir anda bakarsınız sesleri solukları kesilmiş. Ortalık süt liman...

Hükümet açılım üzerine açılım paketi açıklıyor. Ama nafile...

Adamların amacı hak olmadığı için her defasında insana saç baş yoldurtacak isteklerle müzakere masasına geliyorlar. Falan köprünün adı şu imiş de filan yolun adı da şu olmalıymış! **Sanki o yolun, köprünün** adı istedikleri gibi değisse duracaklar...

Ne iştir bilinmez ama kendilerini katleden, sürgün eden, faili meçhule kurban eden isimlere gelince hiç sesleri çıkmıyor.

Hedeflerinde daima Sünniler ve dindarlar var. "Mızmızlandıkları haklarını, Sünniler ve dindarlar mı gasp etti acaba?" diye bakıyor, soruyor, araştırıyorsunuz. Ne kendilerinden ne de belgelerden böyle bir sonuca ulaşamıyorsunuz. Hatta PKK ile Alevilerin mızmızlandıkları konularda aynı mihrakların Sünni ve dindarları da haklarından mahrum ettiğini görüyorsunuz:

### CHP ve temsil ettiği Kemalist zihniyet...

Arka planda Kemalizm'i kurgulayan ve kullanan karanlık uluslararası güçler. Ama ağalar, kendilerine asıl zulmeden mihraklara hiç ses etmiyorlar. Çünkü beyefendileri kurup kurup, kurmalı bebek gibi piyasaya sürenler aynı odaklar...

Kurmalı bebekleri kuranlar işin erbabı... Kim bağıracak, kim öldürülecek, kim yaralanan ve ölenlerin avukatlığını yapacak, kim ekrana çıkacak, kim ekrana çıkartacak?... Her şey önceden hazırlanan bir plan çerçevesinde tıkır tıkır işletiliyor.

Hep aynı yüzler ekranlarda. Adamın suratında meymenet desen yok. Güler yüz yok. Nefretten suratsız yüzündeki damarlar neredeyse patlayacak. Kana susamış vampir gibi...

Anadolu'nun saf, temiz, hoşgörülü, tatlı dil güler yüzlü Kürt ile Alevi insanını ve dini liderini ekranlara çıkartmıyor, söz sahibi yapmıyorlar. Ortadakiler çözümcü, barışcı değil kana susamış sırtlan sürüsü...

Durum bu olunca PKK ile Alevilerin içine düştükleri hale bakıp insanın acıyası geliyor.

Bu ülkede üniversiteye alınmayanlar başörtülülerdi. Ordudan atılanlar namaz kılan ve eşi başörtülü olanlardı. Emniyet ve askeriyenin İmam-Hatiplilere uyguladığı yasağı bilmeyen yoktur. 28 Şubat'ta hukuki hiçbir dayanağı olmaksızın birkaç ahmağın çıkardığı yönetmelikle işinden olan 26 bin kişinin tamamı başörtülü, namaz kılan ve oruç tutanlardı. Kombassan ve İhlas Holding gibi yüzlerce firması bile bile batırılanlar yine dindarlardı.

Deniz Feneri ve İHH örneğinde olduğu gibi yardım kuruluşları didik didik edilen yine dindarlardı. Yıllarca Kurban derilerine ve zekâtlarına posta konulan da dindarlardı. İsyan etmediği, devlet ve millet malını yakıp yıkmadığı halde sırf inancından dolayı İstiklal Mahkemelerinde yargılanıp idam edilenler hapislerde cürütülenler de yine dindarlardı.

Tüm nezaketine, ahlakına, çalışkanlığına, icat ediciliğine, iş yerindeki uyumuna, rüşvet ve iltimasa kapalı olmasına rağmen "örümcek kafalı, yarasa, çağdışı, habis ur, ortaçağ karanlığından kalma geri zekalı" hakaretlerinin muhatabı da yine dindarlardı.

Arabistan'ın yolları gösterilen, kitapları yakılan, ibadet haneleri ahıra çevrilen, filmlerde din adamları cingöz-adi-şerefsiz gösterilen, kutsal isimleri şerefsiz rol sahiplerine verilerek aşağılanan hep dindarlardı.

Acı çeken, dışlanan, aşağılanan dindarlar iken nasıl oluyor da ağlayan feryat eden Aleviler ile Kürtler oluyor? Hem de dindarlara yapılan bu zulümlerin gönüllü suç ortakları iken...

(Bir sonraki yazıda Alevi ve Kürtlerin çektiği sıkıntılar ve nedenlerine değineceğim.)

### **EXAGGERATION / ATTRIBUTION / DISTORTION**

Title: If you open the borders for everyone, both provocateurs and Syrian intelligence will enter the country Newspaper: Habertürk Date: 14-Oct-2014 Type: Opinion Column Author: Fatih Altaylı

Fatih Altaylı questions the government and its policies towards Syrians, who left their country because of the war and took refuge in Turkey. In his article, he reflects on the possibility that some provocateurs might be among those protesters who demand "a corridor over Turkish land to Kobanê in order for military aid to be delivered." After the Islamic State of Iraq (ISIS) attacked Kobanê; he writes "If you open the borders for everyone, both provocateurs and Syrian intelligence will enter the country." Altaylı generates hate speech in the way to make their living conditions harder for Syrians by attributing features like "treacherousness" and "traitorousness" on all Syrians. He criticized pro Syrian government policies by using the expressions: "Which country was it, who inflicted PKK upon Turkey? Answer: 'Syria'. Then comes the second question: 'Whose citizens are those 3 million people, who enter Turkey through our borders everyday and spread all Turkey unquestioningly and unrestrainedly? Answer is again 'Syria'. Can't there be any members of Syrian intelligence, who were sent by Esad to rummage Turkey, among these millions of Syrians that spread all over Turkey? Do you know who came in? Do you have any records? Where did those entrants scatter? Is it established? How can you be sure that those, who came are Esad-opponents? Did you smell them out? The answer to all these questions is a big 'No'. You don't know who you received with open arms, and who you placed in... Is it me who open the gates to all those from Syria without checking who they were! Is it me who let them spread all over Turkey!.. But you should first look at those traitors you let in the country.."

provokatör de girer Muhaberat da Açarsan sınırı herkese

görmeye başladılar. mizde vaşadığımız günlere geri dönen korkarken, gençler dana gelen olaylar MEMLEKETIN hiç görmedikleri bir Türkiye tablohepimizin ödünü Bizler gençliğigegen hafta meysunun käbusunu bir Türkiye'den bir bölümünde patlath.

łóvüşmeye, birbirini linç etmeye Gerçekten de "terör" günle-Millet birbiriyle kavgaya, rinden farklı bir ortamdı. paşlamıştı.

musallat eden hangi ülkeydi?"

ve tabii haliyle size: "Yıllarca

PKK'yı Türkiye'nin başına

Simdi soralım kendilerine

Peki o zaman ikinci soru şu:

Yanıt: "Suniye."

'Bugün sınırlarımızdan içeri

sorgusuz sualsiz, kontrolsüz

8 milyon kişi hangi ülkenin

her yerine yayılan yaklaşık biçimde girip Türkiye'nin

Dağdaki adam değildi, kom-şumuzdu, yan mahallelimizdi... Haliyle de çok tehlikeli bir Bu başka bir şeydi.

da iktidarımız, suçluları hemen Sažolsun hükümetimiz ya Jurumdu.

vaps ve biraz da "Öcalan'ı dinle-Anamuhalefet CHP, paralel meyen sorumsuz Kürtler". bulup çıkardı

Elbette birtakım provokatörler vardır, bövle olavların olmazsa olmazidir "provokasyon" ama bu provokatörlerle ilgili suçlu ararken hiç aynaya bakma ihtiyacı hisseder mi "İktidar Ve tabii "provokatörler".

temel hiç mi Muhaberat elemanı mak için yollanmış olması muh-Biliyor musumuz kim geldi? voktur?

Gelenlerin Esad Ginnler nenele re dağıldı, tespitli bir kayıt kuyut. Sim

muhalifi olduklarından nasıl emin oldunuz, smirda

değil doktorda

BAZI okurlar "Çok karamsarsın"

Sorun hastada

Bilmiyorsunuz Tüm bu sorulara vereceĝiniz kokladımz mi? vand "Hayır".

dibimize, kimi içimize soktunuz sorumlusunuz" derseniz, biz de Simdi o uzun parmaklarınızı milletin üzerine doğrultup "Siz kime kucak açtınız, kimi

Ben mi Suriye ile herkesten cendi küçük parmaklarımızla 'Asıl sizsiniz sonunlu" desek kim haklı olur!

Ben mi bunların Türkiye'nin Ben mi kapıları Suriye'den gelen herkese kim olduğuna daha fazla "papaz oldum"! bakmadan açtım!

her tarafına yayılmasına izin Elbette bu işin içinde verdim!

Suriyeli içinde hiç mi Esad ajam

voktur?..

bu 3 milyona yakan kontrol disi

Peki ey iktidarın sahipleri,

Yanıt yine "Suriye".

vatandaşı?"

vonlarca Suriyeli arasında Esad

Turkiye'ye yayılan bu mil-

tarafından Türkiye'yi kanştır-

Fürkive'deki bazı hainler de gelmelerine izin verdiğiniz Ama siz asıl dışarıdan hainlere bakın... vardir.

bilmiyoruz, kim olduklarını da. Cünkü onların sayılarını da

## Uçak-Saray-Müsteşaı

SON zamanların en sıkı Ankara dedikodusunu İddiaya göre Başbakan Ahmet Davutoğlu, cski Başbakan'la birlikte Çankaya'ya çıkan Başbakanlık dün Erdal Sağlam'ın köşesinde okudum.

Benzer bir "atanm-atatmam-ata-atamam" duru-

Bürokrasinin en üst makamının böylesine uzun

çünkü 1 ayı aşkın süredir makam boş. süre boş kalması görülmüş şey değil.

divorlar.

Türkiye'de çok ciddi sonular var. Bu sorunların bazılarını kendi Gerçekçiyim sadece. Havir değilim. elimizle varattık.

sonnların üstesinden gelerek kuruldu, Benim karamsarlığımın nedeni, Türkiye bundan daha vahim daha vahim sorunları aştı.

bu sorunlarla baş etmesi gerekenlerin sorunu teşhis etmedeki vetersizliği Akciğer kanserini öksürük veva bilgisizliği.

camı açan hemşireye atarsan hastayı "Babası da içerdi" diyerek sigaraya devam etmesini istersen, hastalığın suçunu da oda havalansın diye surubuyla tedavi edersen ve Benim kaygım bu... ivileștiremezsin.

Davutoğlu'nun bu konudaki inadını anlamak mu Hazine Müsteşarlığı için söz konusu diye de conuşuluyormuş Ankara'da. Çünkü Davutoğlu'nun atamak istediği müste Müstesarı'ndan boşalan makama atama yapamı-

Başbakan olurken ne zannediyordu kil mümkün değil

şarı Cumhurbaşkanı "beğenmemiş" ve başka bir

vormus

isim vererek onu atamasını istemis.

Yeni Başbakanlık binasını, yeni Başbakanlık uçağını bırakmayan yeni Müsteşar atamasını bırakır Türkiye'yi yöneteceğini mi!

THE N

iddianın doğruluk payı yüksek gibi duruyor, "Bunu ata" dediği isimden hoşlanmamış. O da Ahmet Davutoğlu da Cumhurbaşkanı'nın

onun atamasını yapmamış.

Var mu elinizde

### Dolapdere mi, Nişantaşı mı? Genelde olav var.

eksik değil, kaçak göçmenler Çünkü biliyoruz ki, oraya kavga dövüş var, bıçaklama Komşumuz, dibimiz ama cok gidersek bir gün tatsız Ya iki farklı siyasi grup Dolapdere'de cirit atmyovar, uyuşturucu satıcıları Bu vüzden de mecbur arasında olay oluyor, ya kalmadıkça oralara pek gitmiyonuz. col geziyor. LIZ. Biz Habertürk calışanları yemek için, alışveriş için. gezmek için ya Taksim taraitiraz geliyor. "Orası bizim iktidar gibi düşünenlerden Binanın bir yanı Taksim binadan çıktığımız zaman yanı Şişli'ye, Nişantaşı'na, "NE işimiz var bizim Bakun bizim gazetenin Meydanı'na, Beyoğlu'na, oir yanı da Dolapdere'ye Ortadoğu bataklığında" devince iktidardan veya Istiklal Caddesi'ne, bir binası da Taksim'de. Talimhane'de. "znunšmoy bakivor.

Elbette Taksim'de, Nisanbaşı'nda da karşılaşabiliriz bir şeyle karşılaşabiliriz. fazla. fina gidiyonuz, ya Nişantaşı arafina.

Türkiye'nin dış politikabir tatsızlıkla ama olasılık Dolapdere'de çok daha da yaptığı da bu. Çünkü Dolapdere tarafı pek "hoş" değil.

# 3D yazıcı çıktı, haberiniz var mı

etmiş. Ulan 3000 dolara almayanı haber televizyonlarından birinde SABAH Türkiye'nin önemli bir haber.

Mahalle arasında bile bulunur Ama bizim muhabirin haberi

olmuş.

Sanrsın bizim üniversite icat

Bir 3D printer ekranda. Dönüp ekrana baktım.

dövüvorlar.

geliştirdiği bir aletle her türlü "Bir üniversitemiz kendi üniversitemizin yapamaya-cağı hiçbir şey yokmuş." Haber ilgimi çekti. imis. 3D modellemeyle bu 3 boyutlu nesneyi yapabiliyormuş. Her şeyi kopya edebilecek bir teknoloji

NE ZAMAN ADAM OLURUZ

Ucmaktan zor olanın inmek olduğunu bildiğimiz zaman.

Hadi muhabir cahil, editörün Neyse uzatmayayım. Hadi editör cahil. de haberi yok yok.

Haber televizyonculuğumuz bu durumdaysa, memleketin durumu normaldir.



### **EXAGGERATION / ATTRIBUTION / DISTORTION**

Title: The congregation created its own Alevis (2) Newspaper: Sabah Date: 03-Sep-2014 Type: Opinion Column Author: Sevilay Yükselir

While criticizing the Fethullah Gülen Congregation, Yükselir targeted Alevi identity stating; "Because Alevis are enemies of this government, and especially of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, to death! If you can win them over, you can easily play them off against the government, against the system... That's why it was not a coincidence that most of those among the anti-government demonstrators during Gezi Protests were Alevis! Yet we should not deal with the problem that superficially. Why do the scenarios built on Alevis, who are not only the Congregation's... but also Christians' and even Jews' apple of eyes, find a response?" By making a reference to Alevis' "being used" in these expressions, she attributes several features to all believers of a specific faith, and uses the facts in line with her own interpretations ultimately stigmatizing a specific group.

### Cemaat kendi Alevisini yarattı (2)

S akalsız ve çetesinin son yıllarda gözüne kestirdiği Alevileri kafa kola almak

için görevlendirilen Süleyman Uysal'la ilgili dünkü yazım epeyce ses getirdi. Sabahın erken saatlerinde çalan telefonuma cevap vermekten yoruldum dersem yalan olmaz. Arayanların bir kısmı Dede Ali Ihsan Sahin'i teyit ediyordu.

Bir kısmı ise işadamı Zeynel Abidin Erdem gibi düştüğü saflığı izah ediyordu. Yani ya; "Süleyman Uysal Alevileri cemaatleştirmek için onların içine sokulmuş bir Truva atıdır" ya da "Yahu ben de bu adamı Sivas kökenli Alevi sanıyordum. Gerçekten de değil miymiş" diyorlardı.

Arayanlara da söyledim; hatta Zeynel Bey'le tekrar görüştüğümüzde ona da aktardım. Buradaki mesele Uysal'ın kökeni, Alevi olup olmaması değil. Bunun önemi yok bence! Önemli olan adamın amacı ve bu amaca ne kadar ulaştığıdır. Bunu sorgubir güçle hareket edebiliyorlar. Yurtdışında yaşayan Alevileri dahi cemaatle yakın-

> laştırmaya çalışan bu derneğin Avrupa'da, özellikle Almanya'daki irtibatları çok güçlü.

Yeri gelmişken ben de bir özeleştiride bulunmak istiyorum. Bu demeğin gizli bir cemaat projesi olduğunu çok son-

radan fark ettiğim için birkaç kez düzenledikleri organizasyonlara katıldım. Ramazan ya da Muharrem ayında düzenlenen iftarlar, birkaç seminer, panel gibi... Gerçi katıldığım o davetlerde bir gariplik olduğunu sezmiştim o ayrı konu. Mesela Mustafa Koc'un sponsor olduğu son Muharrem iftarında Savcı Zekeriya Öz'le aynı masaya düşünce pek bir şaşırmıştım. Alevilik ritüellerinden bihaber olduğu için oturduğu anda skandal üzerine skandal hal, hareket ve konuşmalar yapan Öz'ün istemeye istemeye o davette yer aldığına sadece ben değil masada bulanan herkes lamamız; yani şu soruyu sormamız gerekiyor: "Cemaat Uysal aracılığı ile kendi Alevisini yaratabildi mi?"

Çok net cevap vereceğim: Evet, bunu başardılar. Hem de öyle böyle değil! Çok büyük bir mevzi elde ettiler Aleviler içinde. Ve bunu da tabii Alevi kimliği ile tanınan kanaat önderleri, isadamları ve akademisvenlere borclular. O yüzden "Uysal'ın Alevi olup olmamasının önemi yok!" diyorum. Sonucta o Alevi değil ama ona taşeronluk yapanların hepsi Alevi. Üstelik bunlar camiada itibarlı, saygın bilinen insanlar. Acı olan sev iste Sakalsız ve cetesinin bu insanlar üzerinden yol yürümüş olması.

Alevilerin "Profesördür... Hocadır... Dededir... Abdaldır ... " falan deyip önünde eğildiği bu insanlar Cemaat'in kendi Alevilerinin oluşması için mihmandarlık yaptı. Adamlar çok kısa zamanda öyle bir yol aldı ki; kontrollerinde olan bir dernek sahibi bile oldular. Baskanı Alevi kökenli Cengiz Hortoğlu olan bu demeğin son vıllardaki çalışmalarına bir göz atmanızı salık veririm. Tam adı "Anadolu Alevi Bektasi Federasyonu" olan bu derneğin merkezi en başta G.Antep olarak belirlendi ama artık hemen her ilde örgütlü

şahitlik etmişti o gün. Bir kez de yine aynı demeğin aracılığı ile Almanya Stuttgart'a gitmiştim. Orda da garip bir hava sezmiştim. Alevi'den çok Cemaatçi olarak bilinen isimlerin katıldığı o organizasyona ikinci defa davet edildiğimde meseleye aydığım için davetlerini kibarca geri çevirmiştim.

Gelelim şimdi asıl meseleye... Yani Sakalsız ve örgütünün neden Alevilerle böyle bir yakınlaşma derdine giriştiğine... Yüzeysel olarak cevaplamak isterseniz iki cümleyle özetlersiniz bu soruyu. O da şudur: "Çünkü Aleviler bu hükümete ve özellikle de Recep Tayyip Erdoğan'a ölümüne düşmandır! Azıcık gönüllerine girseniz çok rahat kışkırtabilirsiniz onları iktidara, sisteme karşı..."

Gezi Olayları sırasında meydanlarda en ateşli hükümet karşıtı gösteriler yapanların çoğunluluğunun Alevilerden oluşması da işte bu yüzden bir tesadüf değildi! Ancak mesele bu kadar yüzeysel ele alınmamalı. Cemaat'in değil sadece... Hıristiyan ve hatta Musevilerin de her daim göz bebeği olan Aleviler üzerine kurgulanan senaryolar neden karşılık buluyor? Yarın da bu konuya devam edelim.

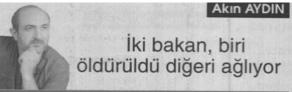
sevilay.yukselir@sabah.com.tr - SMS: SY yaz 4122' ye gönder. (1.60 TL) MH: 0216 531 73 73



### USING A NATURAL ELEMENT OF ONE'S IDENTITY AS A CAUSE FOR HATE OR HUMILIATION / SYMBOLIZATION

Title: Two ministers: one is killed, the other cries Newspaper: Yeni Mesaj Date: 16-Dec-2014 Type: Opinion Column Author: Akın Aydın

In his article on the "matter of Palestine", Akın Aydın makes several allegations aimed at the government and its policies by using religious references he defends with the statement; "Jews and Christians should not be befriended". In writing that the "Jewish atrocity is not over and drags on. It will not end till the time comes. It is not important whether it is a holy month, sacred space, Holy Scripture or not, or whether they are old people, children, pregnant, etc. or not. They burn, demolish, and slaughter. (By the way I am not as ignorant to separate Israel from Jews and Judaism)", he associates a religious identity with cruelty. By failing to distinguish between a country and a religious identity, he conflated the policies of a country to all members of that religion.



### KURŞUN KALEM

"Filistin davası" denince, aklıma iki sınıf geliyor; Bir, cefasını çekenler. İki, sefasını sürenler. Cefasını çekenler başta Filistin halkı ve rahmetli Yaser Arafat'tır. Sefasını sürenler mi?

Az sonra.

Yahudi zulmü bitmedi, bitmek bilmiyor. Vakti gelinceye kadar da bitmeyecek. Kutsal aymış, kutsal mekânmış, kutsal kitapmış, yaşlıymış, çocukmuş, hamileymiş vs. hiç önemli değil. Yakıyorlar, yıkıyorlar, katlediyorlar. (Bu arada şahsen, ben, İsrail ile Yahudileri ve Yahudiliği ayrıştıracak kadar cahilde değilim)

2004 yılıydı. Eski İsrail başbakanı Ehud Barak bir plan hazırlamış ve dünya kamuoyuna yansıtmıştı. Daha önce onlarca kez sözde barış adına, bu bölgedeki Müslümanları tasfiye etme planları yapan ABD ve İsrail devlet adamları bir kez Arafat'la bir araya gelmişlerdi.

Yaser Arafat, bu planı ve planlayıcıları çok iyi tanıyor ve hedeflerini de çok iyi biliyordu. Eee birde İslam'ın gerçeklerini ortaya koyunca tablo apaçık önüne çıkıyordu.

O yıllarda aldığı madalyadan ötürümüdür, bilemem ama dün dediklerinin tam aksini söyleyen bir kişi vardı; R.T Erdoğan. Gerek gömlekliyken ve gerek gömleksizken dillerinden düşürmedikleri Filistin

davasında Erdoğan, Yaser Arafat'ı bunaklıkla suçluyordu.

Yıl 2004 ve Haziran ayıydı. Erdoğan şöyle diyordu; "Ortadoğu sorunu konusunda, Filistin ve İsrail halklarının, her ikisinin de barıştan yana olduğu inancındayım... 80 yaşına merdiven dayamış olan Arafat barışın önünde bir engel olamaz"

Davos'un bir şov olduğunu her daim dile getirdik. Erdoğan'ın özellikle iktidar koltuğuna oturduktan sonra hep Yahudilerden yana siyaset izlediğini rahatlıkla ifade edebiliriz. Bakın 2007'de CFR'de yaptığı konuşmaya. 2010 yılındaki açıklamalarına. Daha birkaç ay önce ABD'deki konuşmalarına...

Ama halkımız bunları duymadı. Seçim meydanlarındaki, özel röportajlardaki süslü cümlelere kandı. Hatta Erdoğan, Mescidi Aksa'ya yapılan saldırıyı, Türkiye'ye yapılmış saydı. Ama kimse, "neden gereğini yapmıyorsun" diye sormadı, soramadı.

Geçen hafta ise İsrail askerleri bir kez daha Mescidi Aksa'yı yerle bir etmekten daha büyük bir cinayet işledi. Filistini bir bakanı yurdular. Filistin başbakanı, dünyayı göreve çağırırken, Devlet başkanı "bu barbarlıktır" diyordu. Öte yandan Esad'a karşı "adamlık şovu" yapan Ortadoğu devlet yöneticileri nerde, diye sorarsaniz, haber alinamiyor...

Bakın! Yukanda "sefa sürmekten" bahsettim. Aslında bu siyasi sefa sadece Filistin'le sınırlı değil. Tüm İslam coğrafyasıyla bütündür. Papa, ülkemize gelmişti. Gördüğümüz kadanyla kimsenin baskısı altında kalmadan Sayın Erdoğan, Papa'ya atfen: "Farklı düşündüğümüz konu hemen hemen hiç yok" demişti.

Aynı Papa, geçtiğimiz Haziran ayında da İsrail Cumhurbaşkanını, şimdi İsrail'e "barbar" diyen Filistin Devlet Başkanı Mahmud Abbas'ı ve Fener Rum Patriğini Vatikan'da bir araya getirmişti. Neden mi? Ortadoğu barşı için. Hatta bu buluşmada 4 dilde dua edilip, Kuran okunmuştu. O tarihten bugüne Ortadoğu'da akan kan doruk noktaya çiktı. Neden acaba!

Bir başka şeye dikkat çekeyim! Suriye devletine karşı isyan eden teröristlerin önemli bir bölümü ülkemizde barınıyor, eğitiliyor, tedavi ediliyor. Hatta Erdoğan başbakanken, ÖSO militanları için "Suriye'nin öz evlatları" demiş ve her türlü desteği vereceklerini açıklamıştı. (Bu sözünü yerine getirdi ve getiriyor)

Sözde Suriye'nin bu öz evlatlarına, başka kim sahip çıkıyor? Yediriyor, içiriyor, barındınyor, tedavi edip, silahlandırıyor? Evet, kim? İsrail... Böyle bir problemi hangi iman formülü ile çözebilirsiniz? Böyle bir formül yok. Tek formül ve sonuç var; "Ey iman edenler! Yahudileri ve Hıristiyanları dost edinmeyin. Onlar birbirlerinin dost udurlar. Sizden kim onları dost edinirse, şüphesiz o, onlardan olur." (Maide 51) Filistin denince bir de akla Hamas, diye bir örgüt gelir. Kúrucuları kimdir? Neden kuruldu? Yine o bölgedeki El-Fetih örgütüyle senelerce neden savaştılar? Birbirlerinin (Müslüman Müslüman'ın) kanını neden döktüler? Gibi soruların cevabını bulamazsınız... İsrail'e karşı Filistin halkının mücadelesini veriyorlarmış. Elinde Müslüman kanı olanlar, Müslümanlar için mücadele eder mi? Sanırım! Filistin'in sefasını kimler sürüvor, anladınız?

\*\*\*

Ağlayan bakan kim?

Evet, Filistin'de bakanlar öldürülüyor. Ülkemizde ise bakanların (eski) ağladığını öğreniyoruz. Koalisyon hükümetlerinde görev yapan MHP milletvekili Koray Aydın bütçe görüşmelerinde mecliste şöyle bir açıklama yaptı...

"... (ilk AKP iktidarında) Dokunulmazlığa bile sahip değilken Meclis Genel Kurulu'nda, "Beni Yüce Divan'a sevk edin, benim verilemeyecek hesabim yok. Oraya gideceğim, hesabını vereceğim' dedim... Meclis çoğunluğu sizde, devlete hâkimsiniz, benim bütün duruşmalarıma Maliye, Bayındırlık Bakanlığı müdahil oldu. Gittik, yargılandık ve 11 hakimin ittifakıyla beraat ettim. Anayasa Mahkemesi tarihine gectim.

... Daha 3 gün önce bakanınız Soruşturma Komisyonu'nda "Beni Yüce Divan'a göndermeyin" diye yalvarıyordu. Niye? Çünkü hırsızlık yaparken yakalanana hırsız, denir. Bunun başka bir şeyi yoktur..."

Koray Aydın'ın bahsettiği yalvaran (eski) bakan, Muammer Güler'miş.

### USING A NATURAL ELEMENT OF ONE'S IDENTITY AS A CAUSE FOR HATE OR HUMILIATION / SYMBOLIZATION

Title: Armenian allegations are confuted in 4 thousand pages Newspaper: Yeni Akit Date: 27-Dec-2014 Type: News Article Author: Muhammet Kutlu / Ankara

In his news article, Muhammet Kutlu focusses on the special issue of Yeni Türkiye Journal prepared by the New Turkey Strategical Research Center (Yeni Türkiye Strateji Merkezi [YTSAM]), which is presided by Hasan Celal Güzel. After the title "Armenian allegations", he writes "YTSAM will reveal the Armenian cruelty" just under a photograph, which is published without any reference that shows murdered people and children. Via the expressions "Under the directorate of Hasan Cemal Güzel, YTSAM, which published booklets in 7 languages, now destroys Armenian allegations in 4000-pages, five volumes... The center, under the directorate of Hasan Celal Güzel, discusses Armenian allegations and made unrealistic claims in every respect, starting from the origins of Armenians, their betrayal of the Ottoman Empire, their deportation and the period after their deportation...", eventually definining Armenians as "traitors" and "cruel".





### **OTHER DISADVANTAGED GROUPS**

In the following chart, **47** articles, which consist of 38 articles that were not included in the first part due to different groups targeted (**women**, **lesbians**, **gays**, **bisexuals**, **transgender** and **intersex/LGBTI**) and nine other articles, which were already analyzed in the first part because of the targeted groups, were subjected to discourse analysis.

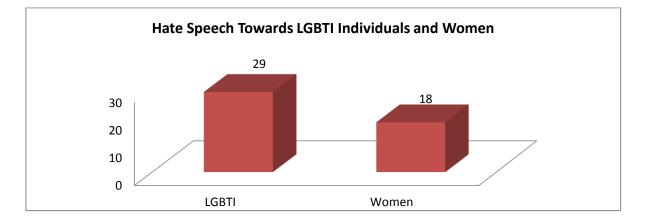
Although the articles analyzed still use the word "transvestite", it is a misuse of the word; therefore we have preferred to use the acronym LGBTI for all articles. What were actually meant by "transvestite" in these articles were transgender individuals. Transvestism involves the enjoyment of cross-dressing 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   | Targeted<br>Group | Hate Category                                 |
|-------------|-----------------------|-------------------|---------------------|---|-------------------|---|
| 02-Sep-2014 | Hatay<br>Yorum        | Opinion<br>Column | Nizamettin<br>Duran | Thanks with carnations to<br>Turkish people             | LGBTI             | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 04-Sep-2014 | Gaziantep<br>Referans | Opinion<br>Column | İbrahim Halli<br>Er | <u>COVERS OF MEN ARE</u><br>THEIR EYES                  | Women             | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 15-Sep-2014 | Milli Gazete          | History Page      | Ahmet<br>Anapalı    | It is difficult to be a woman<br>during Republic period | Women             | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 16-Sep-2014 | Milli Gazete          | News Article      | Milli Gazete        | THEY COMPETE IN BEING<br>EVIL                           | LGBTI             | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 18-Sep-2014 | Takvim                | Opinion<br>Column | Bekir Hazar         | <u>SKIRT!!!</u>   | Women             | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 18-Sep-2014 | Milli Gazete          | Opinion<br>Column | Mevlüt Özcan        | <u>Human can only be</u><br>educated                    | LGBTI             | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 23-Sep-2014 | Milli Gazete          | News Article      | Milli Gazete        | Are you kidding me?                                     | LGBTI             | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 25-Sep-2014 | Yeni<br>Marmara       | Opinion<br>Column | İlhan<br>Yardımcı   | Bastards of demon                                       | Women             | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 26-Sep-2014 | Yörem                 | Opinion<br>Column | Zekeriya Kılıç      | <u>I am telling the youth that</u><br>if one day        | LGBTI             | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 02-Oct-2014 | Yeni Akit             | Opinion<br>Column | Mehmet<br>Doğan     | Louts and Nafs!   | Women             | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 09-Oct-2014 | Hürriyet              | News Article      | Özge Eğrikar        | PROTECT ME FROM MY<br>LESBIAN WIFE                      | LGBTI             | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 10-Oct-2014 | Şok                   | News Article      | Şok                 | SAVE ME FROM MY<br>LESBIAN WIFE                         | LGBTI             | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |

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|-------------|------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|---|-------|---|
| 13-Oct-2014 | Zonguldak<br>Yeni Adım | Opinion<br>Column | Süleyman<br>Kurt      | THE PROCESS   | Women | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 14-Oct-2014 | Kayseri Star<br>Haber  | Opinion<br>Column | Ahmet Sıvacı          | Either Victory or Death   | Women | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 16-Oct-2014 | Ankara İl<br>Gazetesi  | Opinion<br>Column | Aşık Zeki<br>Erdali   | Once more, we suffer the<br>loss  | Women | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 20-Oct-2014 | Milli Gazete           | News Article      | Milli Gazete          | <u>'TURNING' POINT IN</u><br>VATICAN  | LGBTI | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 21-Oct-2014 | Yeni Asya              | Opinion<br>Column | Davut Şahin           | Crimes of Vatican   | LGBTI | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 05-Nov-2014 | Sabah                  | Opinion<br>Column | Ersin<br>Ramoğlu      | Hitler Mentality  | Women | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 11-Nov-2014 | Ankara<br>Anadolu      | Opinion<br>Column | Bahattin<br>Demiray   | Addiction and AIDS  | LGBTI | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 11-Nov-2014 | Ankara<br>Anadolu      | Opinion<br>Column | Bahattin<br>Demiray   | Addiction and AIDS  | Women | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 14-Nov-2014 | Milli Gazete           | News Article      | Ahmet Yavuz           | INDECENT INVITATION /<br>INDECENT PROPOSAL  | LGBTI | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 18-Nov-2014 | Milli Gazete           | Opinion<br>Column | Mehmet<br>Şevket Eygi | A Rape Case in School   | Women | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 20-Nov-2014 | Milli Gazete           | News Article      | Ahmet Yavuz           | Reverse Direction   | LGBTI | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 21-Nov-2014 | Milli Gazete           | Opinion<br>Column | Mevlüt Özcan          | Human beings mature<br>through education  | LGBTI | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 21-Nov-2014 | Milli Gazete           | News Article      | Milli Gazete          | What if we were silent too!   | LGBTI | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 24-Nov-2014 | Milat                  | Opinion<br>Column | Seyit Mehmet<br>Deniz | Waylayer mentality of<br>CHP!   | LGBTI | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 25-Nov-2014 | Milli Gazete           | News Article      | Milli Gazete          | <u>Two LGBTI friendly</u><br><u>deputies from CHP and</u><br><u>AKP in Tirana</u> | LGBTI | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 25-Nov-2014 | Konya<br>Yenigün       | Opinion<br>Column | Sadık Gökçe           | Press These Days Has<br>Tackled to Being the<br>Spokesman of a Certain<br>Party   | LGBTI | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 25-Nov-2014 | Milli Gazete           | News Article      | Milli Gazete          | Invitation to morality!   | LGBTI | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 26-Nov-2014 | Yeni Akit              | News Article      | İsmail Uğur           | Memecan babbled   | LGBTI | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 28-Nov-2014 | Kayseri<br>Haber       | Opinion<br>Column | Ceyhun Üsten          | <u>WHERE ARE YOU, MY</u><br><u>SWANS?</u>   | Women | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |

| 01-Dec-2014 | Milli Gazete          | Reader's<br>Contribution | S. Bayrakdar       | ARE YOU HOME   | Women | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
|-------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|--|-------|---|
| 01-Dec-2014 | Milli Gazete          | News Article             | D. Ali Bulut       | WE'LL BE CURSED! / We'll<br>be cursed all over   | LGBTI | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 02-Dec-2014 | Milli Gazete          | News Article             | D. Ali Bulut       | We are not Europeans, we<br>are Muslims/Perish the<br>thought, did God created<br>them defected! | LGBTI | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 03-Dec-2014 | Yeni Sakarya          | Opinion<br>Column        | Osman<br>Karagüzel | ARE ONLY MEN VIOLENT<br>TO WOMEN?  | Women | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 04-Dec-2014 | Milli Gazete          | Opinion<br>Column        | Şakir Tarım        | Where will this subversion<br>go?  | LGBTI | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 05-Dec-2014 | Yeni Akit             | Opinion<br>Column        | Şevki Yılmaz       | The Pope and the Patriarch<br>are each an Abraha   | LGBTI | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 05-Dec-2014 | Hatay<br>Anayurt      | News Article             | Hatay<br>Anayurt   | We find Memecan's words<br>odd, and urge her to<br>apologize!                                    | LGBTI | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 05-Dec-2014 | Konya<br>Merhaba      | Opinion<br>Column        | Kerem İşkan        | Do you expect stones to<br>rain on you?  | LGBTI | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 08-Dec-2014 | Milat                 | Opinion<br>Column        | Halil Mert         | PKK, HDP, THE LEFT and<br>immorality!  | LGBTI | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 09-Dec-2014 | Denizli Yeni<br>Olay  | Opinion<br>Column        | Metin Alkan        | BIG DIFFERENCES<br>BETWEEN MEN AND<br>WOMEN  | Women | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 11-Dec-2014 | Milli Gazete          | Opinion<br>Column        | Şakir Tarım        | EU Love Consumes<br>Generations  | LGBTI | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 15-Dec-2014 | Bizim Sivas           | Opinion<br>Column        | Refik Kutlu        | EVEN GAYS ARE IMAM   | LGBTI | Enmity / War<br>Discourse                     |
| 16-Dec-2014 | Trakyada<br>Yeşilyurt | Opinion<br>Column        | Ahmet Kalkan       | <u>"Quarter-Cover" of Today</u><br>- <u>1-</u>   | Women | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 17-Dec-2014 | Konya<br>Yenigün      | News Article             | Harun Yılmaz       | RASCALS!/There is no limit<br>in immorality!   | LGBTI | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |
| 17-Dec-2014 | Trakyada<br>Yeşilyurt | Opinion<br>Column        | Ahmet Kalkan       | <u>"Quarter-Cover" of Today</u><br><u>-2-</u>  | Women | Exaggeration /<br>Attribution /<br>Distortion |
| 30-Dec-2014 | Gümüşkent             | Opinion<br>Column        | Sinan Akıncı       | Three is bigger than six!  | Women | Blasphemy / Insult /<br>Denigration           |

Among the 47 items analyzed under the title "Other Disadvantaged Groups", 29 items (61.7%) contained hate speech towards LGBTI individuals. Hate speech directed towards women was isolated in **18 items** over the study period (38.2% of the total number of items).



### Graph 14

Among the **47** hate speech items found, **16** were from **news articles** and **29** were **opinion columns**. Opinion columns were most predominant outscoring all other types of content during this periodagain. Compared to the previous period, the event that had the greatest effect on the rise in hate speech was the voting taken in the General Assembly of TGNA for participating – on the MP-level – the symposium titled "Fundamental Rights, Non-Discrimination and the Protection of Vulnerable Groups Including the LGBTI people," held in Tirana, the capital of Albania. Those political parties, which declared to send MPs to the seminar, were attacked in print media. As a result, some MPs declared that they withdrew from attending; and those MPs, who had attended the seminar, were later targeted in the publications containing hate speech. In the malevolent articles, the adjectives defining homosexuality remained the same as in previous periods where **homosexuality** was often ill defined as a "**perversion**", "**deviancy**" or a "**lack of morals**".

The articles containing **hate speech towards women** were generated through singular events. During this period, transgenders were not targeted, separately.

Of the items studied, eight of them were published anonymously. As in the previous periods, the percentage of the number of items about LGBTI individuals and women citing a source were high (72% during the last period of 2013, 67% during the first period of 2014, 77% during the second period, and 83% during this period). As the percentage of opinion columns increased, the percentage of articles with source naturally increases in publications. Publishing 17 items, **Milli Gazete** was the newspaper **generating the most hate speech towards LGBTI individuals and women**. **Yeni Akit** ranked second with three items. Publishing **two items, Milat** follows them. Moreover, **in local press Ankara Anadolu, Konya Yenigün, Trakyada Yeşilyurt** newspapers published **two news articles** each that contained hate speech towards LGBTI individuals and women. The list of the local newspapers that generated hate speech in one item each is as follows:

| Bizim Sivas        | Hürriyet           | Yeni Asya           |
|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| Denizli Yeni Olay  | Kayseri Haber      | Yeni Marmara        |
| Gaziantep Referans | Kayseri Star Haber | Yeni Sakarya        |
| Gümüşkent          | Sabah              | Yörem               |
| Hatay Anayurt      | Şok                | Zonguldak Yeni Adım |
| Hatay Yorum        | Takvim             |                     |

### **EXAMPLES BY CATEGORIES**

### **ENMITY / WAR DISCOURSE**

Title: EVEN GAYS ARE İMAM Newspaper: Bizim Sivas Date: 15-Dec-2014 Type: Opinion Column Author: Refik Kutlu

This article covered the attendance of Justice and Development Party (AKP) MP Nursula Memecan at the aforementioned symposium titled "Fundamental Rights, Non-Discrimination and the Protection of Vulnerable Groups Including the LGBTI people." The article ends with a poem including the phrase; "Those who have the devil's mentality/will be seen in the afterlife, if God permits/Those who piss on the mosque walls/Will pay off, if God permits/Those who do not mention and do not call the merciful/Those who do not come by the propriety crowds/Those who do not exclaim the truth in the parliament/Will be expelled from this society, if God permits." These lines were considered hate speech as they threaten LGBTI individuals' right to live. Memecan is directly targeted with the phrase; "Certain deputy should look about/ We will settle her hash, if God permits."



Parti Sivas Milletvekili AK Nursuna Memecan, AB Parlamentosu tarafından 20-21 Kasım tarihlerinde Arnavutluk'un başkenti Tiran'da düzenlenen "Temel Haklar, Ayrımcılık Yasağı ve LGBTI (lezbiyen, gay, biseksüel, transseksüel, interseksüel) dâhil olmak üzere Hassas Grupların Korunması" seminerine katılmasını elestirenlere tepki gösterdi.

" Var sayalım AK Parti gurup kararı olmadan kendi isteğimle katıldım" demiştir. Öyle olsun yazımızın başlığında olduğu gibi eşcinsellerde imam olabilir diyen bir Milletin vekili; üstelikte Sivas milletvekili olan bu hanımefendinin sarfettiği bu sözlerden dolayı ben bir Sivaslı olarak utanç duyduğumu ifade ediyorum. Bu sözleri sarf eden bu AKP li vekile Allaha şirk sözlerinden dolayı diyanet isleri Baskanının tepki göstermemesini ve bir açıklama yapmamasını da siddetle kinivorum.

Takdir edersinizki; AKP toplantılarında daha ilköğretim sıralarındaki öğrenciler arasında i kız-erkek ayrımı yapan görüşleri olmuştur. Henüz daha bulüğ çağına dahi girmeyen cocukların saf, temiz duygularını dahi kötüye yorumlayarak, birbirlerini tuuu, kaka seklinde görmelerini sağlayacak görüşlere yer vermişlerdir.

Yine Sayın C.Başkanının bir gezi

sırasında kendisine bir kefede el sallayan gencin elindeki sigarayı farketmesiyle bir bardak suda fırtına koparmasını henüz hafızlarımızdan silemedik bile.

Simdi sorası geliyo insanın " bune perhiz bu ne lahana tursusu".Bir yanda bu kadar katı bir düşünce diğer yanda Sayın Vekilin bu kadar modern!

Düşünce yapısı. Biri 6-11 yaş arası kız erkek çocukları bir araya koymanın sakıncasına atıfta bulunurken, masum bir sigarayı fırtına konusu yaparken, diğer yanda sayın bayan vekilimiz ileri derece de bir modernlik! Örneği sergileyerek LGBT toplantisina katiliyor.

Eminim ki Sivaslı bütün vatandaşlarımız elleriyle seçtikleri bayan vekile gerekli cevabı vereceklerdir.

Bu talihsiz ve gereksiz sirk sözleri sarf eden kisi Sivas milletvekili olduğu için Elbet Bizde gazetemize taşıdık. Duyarlı insanlarımız çok güzel cevaplar vermişlerdi. Sosyal Medyadan da takip ettik. Ama bir Sivaslı olarak utanç duyduğumuzu bu durumu gazetemizin başköşesinde yayınlayarak okuyucularımıza duyarsız olmadığımızı göstermek istedik.

Hesap Soracağız

Seytan felsefesi taşıyanların Ahretini göreceğiz inşallah Cami duvarına iseyenlerin Hesabını soracağız inşallah

Rahmanı zikredip çağıramayanı Edep mahserine uğramayanı Hakikati mecliste bağırmayanı Bu toplumdan süreceğiz inşallah

Kul Refik satıra yazdım okunsun Ucu kime dokunursa dokunsun Malum vekil etrafına bakınsın Defterini dürüceğiz inşallah

### **ENMITY / WAR DISCOURSE**

Title: Invitation to morality! Newspaper: Milli Gazete Date: 25-Nov-2014 Type: News Article Author: Milli Gazete

In this full-page news article hate speech was generated over the MPs' participation at the same symposium titled "Fundamental Rights, Non-Discrimination and the Protection of Vulnerable Groups Including the LGBTI people" organized in Tirana. The newspaper defines the symposium as the "perversion seminar" and LGBTI individuals as "perverts", proliferating negative coverage to several persons and institutions with pro LGBTI views. The newspaper poses a threat for LGBTI individuals' right to live by conveying the answer from the Directorate of Religious Affairs, "to our question about homosexual perversions as 'It's definitely perversion, and banned by our religion." LGBTI expressions were related as "Aberrant relationships are against human nature. Whoever allows this, betrays humanity... This is like destroying the humanity." The article included the statement of an academician denouncing LBGTI on behalf of Muslim populations: "We, as a Muslim congregation group, must react to this action, which is against Allah's orders."



### **EXAGGERATION / ATTRIBUTION / DISTORTION**

Title: Covers of men are their eyes Newspaper: Gaziantep Referans Date: 04-Sep-2014 Type: Opinion Column Author: İbrahim Halil Er

In his article, İbrahim Halil Er writes that men have to strive to control their desires in response to a woman's clothing, and that women "abuse men with their bearing and turnout". He placed responsibility for sexual harassment on women, justifying sexual harassment and rape with the expressions; "A man with Islamic sensitivity has to strive to control his desires from adultery of his eyes. (...) When the man tries to protect his eyes in accordance with Islam, servants of the Devil find another way to abuse men. This time they send messages to men's noses. Women go out wearing the most lustful perfumes, and try to seduce the noses of those, who try to protect their eyes... If that does not work, she talks in her most seductive tones, and bursts into laughter without thinking. It is very hard to be a man these days... It is hard to be a modest, moral man".



ibrahimhaliler@hotmail.com ERKEĞİN TESETTÜRÜ GÖZLERİDİR

Kadınlar, başörtüsü taktıklarından dolayı islam'ı erkeklerden daha iyi yaşadıklarını ve mücadele ettiklerini belirtiyorlar. Hatta bu nedenle erkeğe karşı bir üstün-

lük duvgusu vasıvorlar... Halbuki bu dönemde zor olan hayasını koruyan bir erkek olmaktır.

Çünkü erkeğin tesettürü gözleridir ve onu korumak daha zordur...

Günümüzde kadın bedenini pazarlamakta, teşhir etmekten şehevi bir zevk duymaktadır.

Bir kadın bedenin elde etmek pazardan e almaktan daha ucuz hatta bedava hale gelmiş durumdadır.

Kadının her türlü açık görüntüsü iffetsiz, hayasız, ahlaksız görüntü olmaktan çıkmış, cesur pozlar ve kadına verilmiş özgürlük olarak lanse edilmiştir.

Özgür ve cesur kadın imajı kıyafet üzerinden pazarlanırken

aslında kadın bedeninin bir meta haline geldiği gözden kaçırılmaktadır.

Halbuki kadın bu duruşu ve giyinişiyle erkeği taciz etmektedir..

Hangi erkekleri?

Şüphesiz islami hassasiyeti olan erkekleri,

diğerleri zaten kemik peşinde koşmakta, salya sümük seyre dalmaktadır...

İslami hassasiyeti olan bir erkeğin gözünü zinadan koruması gibi büyük nefs mücadelesi vardır.

Sokakta her tarafi açık, davetkar kadınlara bakmayacak...

Baksa da görmeyecek... Görse de hissetmeyecek...Nefsi uyanmayacak...

Hissetse de eyleme geçirmeyecek... İffetli bir erkeğin bütün bu fuhşiyatlar ve çıplaklıklar içindeki durumu ateşin içinde yanmamaya çalışmaktır.

Yansa bile acısını haykırmamaya çalışmaktır...

Suyun içinde boğulmamaya çalışmaktır. Boğulsa bile sessiz haykırmasıdır... Bugün erkek olmak,

erkeğe özgü olan tesettürü (göz kapağını)

giymektir. Bugün bir erkeğin tesettürlü kalması ve bunun mücadelesini vermesi

Bir kadının başörtü mücadelesinden daha zordur...

Çünkü erkeğe yapılan saldırı erkeğin fitratına, (yani bakma fitratına)

yapılan saldırıdır. Erkek, islama uyup gözlerini korumaya

çalıştığında Şeytanın uşakları bu erkekleri de iğfal etemenin yolunu bulmuşlardır.

Bu sefer burununa mesaj göndermekte Kadın en şehevi kokular sürerek sokağa firlamakta.

gözünü korumaya çalışanı burnuyla uyarmaktadır...

O da olmazsa en şuh sesiyle konuşmakta, olur olmaz kahkalar atmaktadır.

Erkek olmak zor bu dönemde...

İffetli, hayalı erkek olmak zor... görmeyecek, duymayacak ve kokuları al-

mayacak.. Demek ki neymiş?

KADINI BOZDUN MU, ERKEĞİ KOLAYCA BOZARSIN

Dolayısıyla toplumu ifsat edersin.

Toplumu kurtarmak istersen

Kadınlarını kurtar, modacıların elinden giyinmesini engelle.

### **EXAGGERATION / ATTRIBUTION / DISTORTION**

Title: Save me from my lesbian wife Newspaper: Şok Date: 10-Oct-2014 Type: News Article Author: Anonymous

In the news article informing a divorce case, although there is no such expression, which is used in the title, in the husband's petition for divorce; via the words used in the title both the sexual orientation of the woman is reflected in the title where lesbianism was conveyed as a negative trait. In the accompanying photo, the woman, wearing a dress, shows her legs, by the sea, in a display of objectification. The choice of photo, irrelevant to the topic, promotes allegations of "prostitution" and "lesbianism". Indicating the nationality of the woman unnecessarily, stigmatizes the citizens of the country in question.



### **BLASPHEMY / INSULT / DENIGRATION**

Title: The process Newspaper: Zonguldak Yeni Adım Date: 13-Oct-2014 Type: Opinion Column Author: Süleyman Kurt

In his opinion column, which is also listed in the previous category for generating hate speech towards Kurds and Rûms under the category Enmity / War Discourse, Süleyman Kurt makes a reference to Sabahat Tuncel without mentioning her name and defines her as "şıllık" (slut). Even though this expression, which is defined as "woman with extreme and tawdry makeover" in the dictionary of Turkish Language Society<sup>12</sup>, seems to be used for a specific person, since it is used as denigration related to this person's gender, it is evaluated as hate speech towards women.



Uzun zamandır " süreç " le yatıyor, "süreçle kalkıyoruz.

Aman Kürt vatandaşlarımız bu süreçte alınganlık göstermesinler diye türlü şirinlikler yapıyoruz.

Polisimize tokat atıyor bir şıllık, aman sağduyu diyoruz hep bir ağızdan.

Korkmuyoruz ama çekiniyor gibi yapıyoruz. Ya darılırsalar ne yaparız sonra?

Askerimize hakaret etmek neredeyse "ANA-YASAL HAK" sayılıyor. Taş atmak, küfür etmek serbest bu sözde Kürtleri temsil ettiğini iddia eden sefillere, ama biz sağduyuyu kaybetmeyelim... Malum, süreç zarar görmesin...

Kürt nüfusun toplamı 6/7 milyon, geriye kalan 70 milyondan fazla Türk, ama neredeyse azınlık muamelesi bize yapılıyor.

Hiç düşünmüyorlar mı, askere küfür edildiğinde yada polisimize tokat atıldığında bizim ruh halimiz ne oluyor?

Emniyet güçlerine hain pusular kuruldu-

ğunda, gencecik fidanları toprağa verdiğimizde bizim nasıl bir tepkiyle dolduğumuzu biliyorlar mı? Ya öfkemizi tutamayıp bizde kazma,kürekle sokaklara çıkarsak ne olacak?

Şehit haberlerini seyrederken , hiç tanımadığımız vatan evlatlarının evlerine düşen ateşin, bizi de yaraladığını tahmin etmiyorlar mı?

Sınırımızda yaşanan insanlık dramından elbette biz de rahatsızız, fakat daha düne kadar yaktığın bayrağın ordusunu, pusu kurduğun Mehmetçiği ; kıçın sıkıştığında göreve çağıracağına, bize yaptığın gibi IŞİD'e kur o hain pusuları. Al adı ne haltsa o gerillalarını, git kardeşlerin için savaş...

Yeter be, yorulduk sizin kıçınızı pışpışlamaktan,

Bölemeyeceksiniz bu vatanı,

Bu vatanı en az bizim kadar seven diğer Kürt vatandaşları korkuyla yanınıza çekmenize izin vermeyeceğiz,

Yaktığın her milli servet için mutlaka hesap vereceksiniz,

Tehdit etmenizden korktuğumuzu düşünüyorsanız, bu ülke insanının " asker doğduğunu" unuttunuz herhalde,

Eğer daha fazla sabredeceğimizi düşünüyorsanız, yakın örnek Kıbrıs var. Rumlarda azdıkça azmış Türklere zulümde "hayvanlık sınırına" gelmişlerdi. Ne oldu, köpek yavrusu gibi korkup kaçmadılar mı? BEŞ PARMAK dağına dikmedik mi şanlı bayrağımızı...

Unutmadan yazalım, vatandaş için süreç bitmiştir, gerisini siz düşünün...

www.demirmedya.net

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> <u>http://www.tdk.gov.tr/index.php?option=com\_gts&arama=gts&guid=TDK.GTS.5576228a66b739.72032540</u>

### **BLASPHEMY / INSULT / DENIGRATION**

Title: SKIRT!!! Newspaper: Takvim Date: 18-Sep-2014 Type: Opinion Column Author: Bekir Hazar

Bekir Hazar's opinion column indicates religion (Jewish bosses, Jewish dynasty) although not necessary to the article. He then constructes a social theory related to Jewish identity. He also attributes weakness to women with the expressions "female soldier / victory is ours", "SKIRTED Scotch soldiers", "He took over Egypt with the help of Scotch soldiers, who wore SKIRTS", and "Put skirt on all the British people", and using the actions of "wearing skirt", or "putting skirt on somebody" as an element of denigration, he generates hate speech.

**EK!!!** Instute Fort the Studyof War...Yani Amerikan Savaş Araştırmaları Enstitüsü... Washington merkezli enstitünün ardında The Economist'in Yahudi patronları var. Oturmuş bir harita yapmış bu kurum. IŞİD'in 2016'daki hedeflerini anlatmış. Haritada ISID'e katılan teröristlerin İstanbul üzerinden Hatay, Gaziantep ve Şanlıurfa'ya ulaştığı belirtiliyor. Yani Türkiye hedef gösteriliyor. ALGI operasyonuna en büyük desteği ABD senatörü James Inhofe veriyor. Adam ... tam bir İsrail uşağı. Amerikan kongresinde avaz avaz bağımış;

bekir.hazar@takvim.com.tt

"Israil-Filistin savaşı, bir politik savaş değildir. Tann'nın sözünün doğru olup olmadığı üzerine bir mücadeledir. Cünkü Tanrı bu toprakların İsrail'in olacağını sövlüvor" dive. Amerika'da IFCJ diye bir kurum var. Hıristiyan ve Yahudiler'in Uluslararası Kardeşliği anlamına geliyor açılımı. Her yıl bu kurumun üyeleri İsrail için DUA GÜNLERİ düzenliyor. Bu günlere tam 18 bin kilise katılıyor. İste bizi İSİD'e terörist tasımakla suclamaya calisan o ABD senatörü de İsrail için dua günlerine katılanlardan biri. İngiltere, Almanya Fransa, İtalya ve Avrupa'nın her yerinden ISID'e yabancılar koşuyor. Hepsi Londra, Berlin, Paris, Roma havaalanlarını kullanıyor. Kraliçe'nin uçağına, Lufthansa'ya binivor... Ama Amerikan senatörü İsrail Usağı ALGI operasyonu yaptıracak, Türkiye'yi hedef gösterip İsrail'e uşaklık edecek ya.. "Aman ha Türkler terörist taşıyor" demeye getiriyor işi. Bugün şerefsiz bir saldırı altındayız. Yahudi Sulzberg hanedanına ait New York Times önceki gün alçakça ALGI Operasyonu düzenledi. ISID, Hacı Bayram-ı Veli Camii'nden adam topluyormuş. Bu habere fotoğraf olarak Cumhurbaşkanımız ve Başbakanımızın Hacı Bayram Camii'nden çıkışını koydu. ALGI operasyonunun en adice yöntemiydi bu. Yalan haberlerle saldırıyorlar. Çünkü yılda 45 milyon dolar geliri olup 400 milyon dolar zarar eden gazeteve para lazım. Silah, petrol tüccarı ne kadar İsrail uşağı PARADOR varsa onlardan emir alıyorlar.

Sulzberg hanedanı New York Times'ı ilk kurduğunda Sultan Abdülhamid'e de aynı yöntemlerle saldırıyordu. Gazetenin Yahudi patronu işe "Ölü ilanları yazarlığı" ile

basladı. Onun içindir ki "ÖLÜ SEVİCİ KATILLER" bunlar. Türkiyede "Bu ölü ilanı yazan benim dostum" diyen yazarlar var. Medya kan kardeşliği içimize kadar uzanıyor. Türkiye'deki başörtüsü serbestliğinin demokrasiye aykırı olacağını öne sürecek kadar aptalca yazılar yazan ve saldıran bu gazeteye eslik eden bir de Washington Post var. O da ISID ile Türkiye'yi ilişkilendirmek için kendini yırtıyor. Amazon.com'un da sahibi olan Yahudi patronunun İsrail hizmetine altın tepsi sunuyor. IŞID'e karşı Türkiye savaş uçakları kaldırmayacak ya deliriyorlar. Bizi kendi kurdukları belanın ve tezgahın içine sokmaya çalışıyorlar. 49 rehinemiz umurlarında değil. İngiliz basını da zaten haftalardır aynı sahtekar yalanlarla salvo atışı yapıyor. Hatta Kraliçe'nin yayın organı BBC gectiğimiz haftalarda "İste Antalya Havalimanı, işte IŞİD'e katılmak üzere uçağa giden ISID teröristleri" diye bir fotoğraf yayınladı. Sonradan o havaalanının Londra'da, o teröristlerin de İngiliz olduğu ortaya çıktı. Aynı yöntemi Abdülhamid döneminde de uyguladılar. Mısır'a yerleşmek icin isyanları körüklediler. Urabi Paşa isyan ettiğinde İngilizler Fransız ve İtalyanlar'ı doldurarak Abdülhamid Han'ın kapısına dayandı. "Urabi Paşa isyanına müdahale et" dediler. Hem işgal etmişlerdi Mısır'ı, hem de isyana bizim müdahale etmemizi isteyerek Arap dünvasını İstanbul'a düsman etmeve calısıvorlardı. Sultan Abdülhamid "Ben bu iste yokum" dedi. İngilizler Urabi Paşa'nın üzerine 6 bin asker sürdü. Urabi Paşa keşif heyeti gönderdi. Keşifçiler "Paşam İngilizler kadın asker göndermiş üzerimize, yarın zafer kesinlikle bizim" dediler. Ama ertesi gün karşılarına çıkan İngiliz sömürgesinden ETEKLI İskoç askerleriydi. İngilizler hep böyle yapıyordu. 1. Dünya Savaşı'nda da 1.5 milyon Hinduya İngiliz askeri üniforması giydirip yüzbinlercesini öldürtmüştü. Yunanistan'ı üzerimize salıp istanbul'u işgal etmişti. ABD askerlerini Irak'ta öldürtüp petrollerin üzerine konmustu. Mısır'ı da ETEK giymiş İskoçlarla almıştı. Onun içindir bugün İskoçya'da yapılacak İngiltere'den ayrılmabağımsızlık oylamasından büyük keyif alıyorum. Onlar bize saldırıyorlar ve gaz verivorlar medvalarından. Biz de avnını yapmalıyız. Haydi İskoçya... ETEK giydirin bugün İngilizler'e.

### PART II

### **DISCRIMINATORY DISCOURSE**

### **IN PRINT MEDIA**

**SYRIAN REFUGEES** 

HAKAN ATAMAN

### DISCRIMINATORY DISCOURSE AND SYRIAN REFUGEES IN PRINT MEDIA

### Introduction

This report discusses the discriminatory, exclusionary and 'othering' discourse towards Syrian refugees in print media, and contains examples of this discourse in mainstream print media along with focusing on print media in Gaziantep. Taking into account the limits of the report, historical background and conceptual information about the findings are included in the report considering that this information would contribute in better understanding of the key findings and examples pertaining to the discriminatory, exclusionary and 'othering' discourse towards Syrian refugees in print media. While conveying historical background and conceptual framework; internationally acclaimed and canonized international human rights documents, legal texts, and studies of international intergovernmental organizations are focused. Yet, related academic studies are also made use of, when needed.

It is possible to categorize key findings with respect to opinion columns and news articles containing direct or indirect discriminatory discourse towards Syrian refugees under three groups, usually interrelatedly and sometimes almost in an intertwined way:

- 1- Lacking a Rights-Based Point of View: In most of the opinion columns and news articles, fundamental human rights arguments, including those arguments for elimination of discrimination against refugees, are not made use of. A very limited coverage is given to rights-based non-government organizations (NGOs) working on protecting the human rights of refugees. Most of the favorable news articles are about humanitarian aids. Substituting the fundamental arguments on human rights, the magical word used against lynching events and tensions is 'common sense'. Furthermore, through man-on-the-street interviews (i.e. vox populi) the productive sources, which use 'othering' and discriminatory discourse, are the fellow-citizens themselves.
- 2- Security-Oriented Point of View: Security-oriented point of view dominates opinion columns and news articles about Syrian refugees. However, the sense of security in question reflects conventional notion of security. This conventional form of security could eventually reduce the economic and social rights of Syrian refugees rights to labor and housing to a military and policing security problem. However there is no reference to the human dimension of security, which can be summarized as "freedom from fear", "freedom from want" and "right to lead a life in dignity".
- 3- Social Production of News and 'Othering' Role of the Media: In both the mainstream press and local newspapers, the news articles about Syrian refugees re-generate 'othering' discourse against refugees. In a considerable part of the news, 'primary sources', whose opinions together with their calls for 'common sense' are given coverage, are members of the parliament, governors, president of the chamber of commerce, and local businessmen;

and headlines are presented in banners. However, opinions of Syrian refugees are not included in these news articles.

### Historical Background and Conceptual Framework

Value-based principles of internationally acclaimed human rights documents, the legal language used and normative contents of the texts hardly ever give any information on the historical background of the related topic. It is possible to say that *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees of 28 July 1951*<sup>13</sup> (1951 Convention) is the most distinct exception. Right in the Chapter I of the 1951 Convention, with the expression "*as a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951*", we literally face the grim truth: terrible destructions, genocides, and millions of dead, disabled people and nearly as many completely homeless people in between two different World Wars. It is possible to extend the list of these disasters. Furthermore, what is more tragic is that the mentioned disasters were not restricted in the period before January 1, 1951. That is why *Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees of 31 January 1967*<sup>14</sup> (1967 Protocol) took out the expression "*events occurring before 1 January 1951*" from the convention, and widened the scope of the convention without limiting it to any time period. In parallel with 1951 Convention, *United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees*<sup>15</sup> (UNHCR) was established on December 14, 1950 by the United Nations General Assembly.

Another important feature of the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees is that compared to other conventions with respect to the language used, both of these conventions point to a more specific subject: **Refugee**. While stating subjects, most of the international documents on human rights use extremely generalized expressions like 'everyone' or 'no one'. For example, the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (Declaration) indicates: "*Everyone has the right to freedom of thought and expression*" (Articles 18, 19); or says: "*No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment*" (Article 5). Thus, by expressing the right to seek asylum much earlier, the 1951 Convention, Article 14 of the Declaration said "*Everyone* has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution," <sup>16</sup> but did not use the concept of '*refugee*'. Hence, with respect to human rights documents referring to more specific subjects such as 'woman', 'child', 'people with disabilities', 'minority' in much later examples, the 1951 Convention establishes a precedent and put forth the definition of '*refugee*'. Then, who is a refugee? Who is called as a refugee?

According to the 1951 Convention, a refugee is a person who:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> UN High Commissioner for Refugees, "Collection of International Instruments and Legal Texts Concerning Refugees and Others of Concern to UNHCR", UNHCR, June 2007, p.10, available on the web site: < http://www.unhcr.org/455c71de2.pdf >. Last Date of Access: August 19, 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> UN High Commissioner for Refugees, "Collection of International Instruments and Legal Texts Concerning Refugees and Others of Concern to UNHCR", op.cit., p.32, available on the web site: < http://www.unhcr.org/455c71de2.pdf >. Last Date of Access: August 19, 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> UN High Commissioner for Refugees, available on the web site: < http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646c2.html>. Last Date of Access: August 19, 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> United Nations, "Universal Declaration of Human Rights", available on the web site: < http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/>. Last Date of Access: August 19, 2015.

"owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country."<sup>17</sup>

The term refugee is often confused with the concept of '**asylum-seeker**' due to the notion of 'right to seek asylum' of the protected refugees, used in international human rights documents. For this reason the concepts of 'refugee' and 'asylum-seeker' are used interchangeably. As a matter of fact there is not a definite distinction between the concepts of 'refugee' and 'asylum-seeker' in essence, because in both of these terms the subject(s) is/are the same. The term 'asylum-seeker' just refers to the legal application period itself. Accordingly, an asylum-seeker is:

"a person whose request or application for asylum has not been finally decided on by a prospective country of refuge."<sup>18</sup>

"Right to seek asylum", which is stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and is protected in international human rights documents after the Declaration, expresses the protection itself. Accordingly, asylum is:

"the grant, by a State, of protection on its territory to persons from another State who are fleeing persecution or serious danger. A person who is granted asylum is a refugee. Asylum encompasses a variety of elements, including non-refoulement, permission to remain on the territory of the asylum country, and humane standards of treatment."<sup>19</sup>

It is possible to summarize the fundamental human rights of the refugees in the 1951 Convention as follows:

| r |  |
|---|--|
| - | Non-discrimination - Article 3 (reservation is prohibited)           |
| - | Freedom of thought and faith - Article 4 (reservation is prohibited) |
| - | Civil rights (marriage) - Article 12                                 |
| - | Right to ownership - Article 13                                      |
| - | Artistic rights and industrial property - Article 14                 |
| - | Right of association - Article 15                                    |
| - | Access to courts - Article 16 (reservation is prohibited)            |
| - | Right to employment - Article 17                                     |
| - | Self-employment - Article 18   |
| - | Right to practice a liberal profession - Article 19                  |
| - | Rationing - Article 20   |
| - | Right to housing - Article 21  |
| - | Right to public education- Article 22                                |

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees "Collection of International Instruments and Legal Texts Concerning Refugees and Others of Concern to UNHCR", UNHCR, June 2007, p. 11, available on the web site: < http://www.unhcr.org/455c71de2.pdf >. Last Date of Access: August 19, 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees "*Protecting Refugees: A Field Guide for NGOs*", UNHCR, p. 126, available on the web site: < <u>http://www.unhcr.or.jp/html/protect/pdf/ProtectingRefugees-</u> <u>FieldGuideforNGOs.pdf</u> >. Last Date of Access: August 19, 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees "*Protecting Refugees: A Field Guide for NGOs*", a.g.e.

- Right to public relief Article 23
- Right to social security Article 24
- Freedom of movement Article 26
- Obtaining identity documents and travel documents Articles 27, 28
- Right to being expellable Article 32
- Prohibition of expulsion or return to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened Article 33 (Non-Refoulement) (reservation is prohibited!)
  - Right to naturalization Article 34

Among the rights listed above, human rights of refugees can be grouped into three main categories within the scope of international obligations of states:

1. Prohibition of Discrimination (Article 3): Prohibition is clearly and distinctly stated.

Reservations cannot be made to this provision.

2. Principle of non-refoulement, which prohibits the return of a refugee to a territory where his or her life or freedom is threatened (Article 33): This prohibition is also clearly and distinctly stated. Reservations cannot be made to this provision as well.

3. These rights specify rights of refugees and obligations of contracting countries regarding the treatment of refugees. These rights involve civil and political rights as well as economic, social and cultural rights.

Apart from the 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol, there are a series of human rights treaties prescriptive about protection of fundamental rights and freedoms of refugees.

- UN International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1965)
  UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966); Decisions of the UN Human Rights Committee
   UN International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights (1966)
- UN International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966)
- UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (1979)
- UN Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (1984); Committee Conclusions
- UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989)
- UN Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (1991)
- UN Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons (1954)
- UN Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness (1961)
- International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention concerning Equality of Treatment of Nationals and Non-Nationals in Social Security (1961)
- Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children, supplementing the UN Conventions against Transnational Organized Crime -Palermo Protocol (2000)
- UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2006)
- European Convention on Human Rights (1950) and Convention supplement Protocols No. 4 (1963), No. 7 (1984) and No. 12 (2001) ECHR Conclusions
- European Convention for the Prevention of Torture CPT Recommendations
- The European Social Charter (1996 Revised Charter) and 1988 Additional Protocol and Additional Protocol of 1995 Providing for a System of Collective Complaints; Conclusions of the European Committee of Social Rights.
- Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (2011)

| - | General Comments and Conclusions:   |
|---|---|
| - | UN Mechanisms: UN Security Council, UNHCR Recommendations; UNHCR Executive                |
|   | Committee Conclusions   |
| - | Council of Europe: Parliamentary Assembly Resolutions; Committee of Ministers Resolutions |
| - | Geneva Conventions (Laws of War)  |

By the way, in accordance with the passage of the treaties in Turkey mentioned above, especially the European Convention on Human Rights, these treaties have the force of the national law according to the Article 90 of the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey.

Republic of Turkey ratified the 1951 Convention on August 29, 1961 under the "Law No. 350"<sup>20</sup> and 1967 Protocol on July 1, 1968 under the Decree of the Council of Ministers Numbered 6/10266<sup>21</sup>, both with a statement and reservations.<sup>22</sup> Turkey says in the reservation: "*None of the covenants of this Convention can be interpreted as providing the refugee more rights in Turkey than the rights of Turkish persons*", so in the statement Turkey indicates that the convention would be implemented only within the scope of "*events taken place in Europe*" but would not implement it within the scope of "*events taken place in Europe*" but would not implement it within the scope of "*events taking place elsewhere*." This statement, which is briefly known as "geographical limitation", means that Turkey would allow those coming from Europe as refugees, but not those coming from countries out of Europe. However, events taking place in the Middle East and especially in the neighboring countries since the beginning of 1990s, *de facto* brought about substantial alterations in this situation. As a matter of fact, when Turkey opened its borders to Kurds fled Iraq after the Gulf War I in 1991, the reservation and the statement *de jure* put on the 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol lost their meanings. Nevertheless, Turkey still has not withdrawn the reservation and the statement, which are almost the "*Sword of Damocles*" so to speak.

Migration of Kurds from Iraq after the Gulf War I herewith revealed another truth: Up until the mentioned migration, probably due to the slackness caused by the reservation and the statement, Turkey had not made any adjustments in the legal system. Thereupon the "*Regulation regarding the Principles and Procedures related to Possible Population Movements and Foreigners Arriving in Turkey either as Individuals or in Groups Wishing to Seek Asylum either from Turkey or Requesting Residence Permission in order to Seek Asylum from Another Country*" (Decision No: 94/6169), which is known as the 1994 Regulation in short, became effective upon the decree of the Council of Ministers on September 14, 1994.<sup>23</sup> This regulation is the first comprehensive regulation in the national legal body of laws Turkey has ever made regarding 'refugees'. In parallel to the needs arose after this regulation and reforms based on EU Harmonization Process, Turkey made a number of other regulations. However these regulations formed a series of legislations, which is extremely scattered

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Official Gazette, Number: 10898, September 5, 1961, p. 5927.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Official Gazette, Number: 12968, August 5, 1968, p. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Although it is not on the statement and reservation published on the official gazette; in the notification placed to UN, Turkey drew attention to the fact that the oppression that Turkish minorities in Bulgaria had suffered before 1951, still continued after 1951; and emphasized that the Convention should be applied for the Bulgarian refugees with Turkish origin, who had to flee their country due to oppressions but could not took refuge in Turkey and therefore had to find asylum in other countries, as well.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Official Gazette, Number: 22127, November 30, 1994, p. 6.

and hard to follow. At this stage, by taking an important step regarding the status of refugees in April 2013, Turkey enacted the *Law on Foreigners and International Protection* (Law Number: 6458).<sup>24</sup> The law went in effect in April 2014, and herewith *Directorate General of Migration Management* was established under the Ministry of Interior. This development was welcomed by rights-based organizations and human rights mechanisms that were active both domestically and internationally; because the law was enacted at a time when there was an influx of Syrian refugees to Turkey because of the conflict erupted in Syria in 2011.

The Law on Foreigners and International Protection bestows some of the fundamental rights, which are acknowledged in the aforementioned international human rights treaties relating to refugees. Foremost among them is the principle of non-refoulement (article 4), prohibition of returning a refugee. Besides, the law makes adjustments on education, rights to health, rights to social security and services, and access to job market (article 89). However, although the Article 90 of the Law states that there might be some restrictions on rights and obligations other than the rights to education and health, it is a remarkable improvement when compared to previous periods. Besides, this law does not abolish the contractual obligations of Turkey arising out of the international human rights treaties relating to refugees.

Turkey, by carrying out the 'open-door policy' for the refugees fled Syria due to the conflict, kept Syrian refugees under the 'temporary protection regime'.<sup>25</sup> Accordingly, it would be better to clarify the notion of 'temporary protection', before discussing recent developments. 'Temporary protection' came to the fore after the events in the former Yugoslavia in the midst of 1990s. Thereupon, UNHCR, Council of Europe and European Union developed some guiding texts, recommendations and instructions regarding 'temporary protection'.<sup>26</sup> When we take into account The Guidelines on Temporary Protection issued by the UNHCR<sup>27</sup>, Recommendation 1348 (1997) of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe to member states on temporary protection (Adopted by the Committee of Ministers on May 3, 2000)<sup>29</sup>, and the Temporary Protection Directive of the Council European Union

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Official Gazette, Number: 28615, April 11, 2013.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> UNHCR, "Frequently Asked Questions Syrian Refugees in Turkey", available on the web site: <a href="http://www.unhcr.org.tr/uploads/root/faqenglish.pdf">http://www.unhcr.org.tr/uploads/root/faqenglish.pdf</a>>. Last Date of Access: August 19, 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Cynthia Orchard and Dawn Chatty, "*High time for Europe to offer temporary protection to refugees from Syria*?", Open Democracy, 2 October 2014. Available on the web site: <a href="https://www.opendemocracy.net/can-europe-make-it/cynthia-orchard-dawn-chatty/high-time-for-europe-to-offer-temporary-protection-to">https://www.opendemocracy.net/can-europe-make-it/cynthia-orchard-dawn-chatty/high-time-for-europe-to-offer-temporary-protection-to</a>. Last Date of Access: August 19, 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> UNHCR, "Guidelines on Temporary Protection or Stay Arrangements", February 2014. Available on the web site: <a href="http://www.refworld.org/docid/52fba2404.html">http://www.refworld.org/docid/52fba2404.html</a>. Last Date of Access: August 19, 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Parliamentary Assembly, "RECOMMENDATION 1348 (1997) on the temporary protection of persons forced to country", flee their the Council of Europe. Available web site: on the < http://www.assembly.coe.int/nw/xml/XRef/X2H-Xref-ViewPDF.asp?FileID=16567&lang=en>. Last Date of Access: August 19, 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> The Committee of Ministers, "*Recommendation No. R (2000) 9 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on temporary protection*" (Adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 3 May 2000 at the 708th meeting of the Ministers' Deputies), the Council of Europe. Available on the web site: <https://wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.jsp?id=352747&Site=COE> Last Access: August 19, 2015.

(2001)<sup>30</sup> all together, it is possible to define 'temporary protection' by the following four key conditions:

- **Mass Refugee Influx**: It is intended for the refugees, who have to flee their countries on masse and cannot go back to their countries due to internal conflict, generalized violence, widespread violation of human rights.
- **Immediate Action:** Taken as an immediate action in exceptional circumstances, where there is mass refuge influx.
- **Complementarity:** Implementing temporary protection only as a complementary solution, not as an alternative to the 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol or a substitute practice to the principles of the Convention.
- **Time limit**: As is evident from its name, temporary protection is time-limited; hence a timeframe has to be designated even if it is just an estimated one. It is possible to extend the period. However extending the period of the temporary protection is not a preferred method. After the deadline, a permanent solution has to be found.

At this point, related to the 'temporary protection' mentioned in the Article 91 of the *Law on Foreigners and International Protection*, Turkey implemented the *Temporary Protection Regulation* upon the decision adopted by the Council of Ministers on October 12, 2014 (Decision Number: 2014/6883).<sup>31</sup> The Provisional Article 1 of the Temporary Protection Regulation states that refugees of Syria are covered under temporary protection. Besides the Regulation contains some adjustments related to some fundamental rights. However, taking into account the period, in which the discriminatory discourse against Syrian refugees in press is analyzed in this report, the very existence of the Temporary Protection Regulation is left out of the scope of this report.

According to the data announced by the UNHCR on April 14, 2015, the number of Syrian refugees, who had to flee to other countries in the region due to the conflict in Syria, is almost 4 million.<sup>32</sup> The population of Syrian refugees is densest in Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan.<sup>33</sup> UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN OCHA) describes the emerging situation in Syria as "the biggest humanitarian crisis in the world today".<sup>34</sup> According to UN OCHA, 12.2 million people are in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> The Council of The European Union, "COUNCIL DIRECTIVE 2001/55/EC of 20 July 2001 on minimum standards for giving temporary protection in the event of a mass influx of displaced persons and on measures promoting a balance of efforts between Member States in receiving such persons and bearing the consequences thereof", Official Journal of the European Communities, 7.8.2001, L 212/12. Available on the web site: <a href="http://eurlex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2001:212:0012:0023:EN:PDF">http://eurlex.europa.eu/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2001:212:0012:0023:EN:PDF</a>>. Last Date of Access: August 19, 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Official Gazette, Number: 29153, October 22, 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> UNHCR, Syria Regional Refugee Response, Inter-agency Information Sharing Portal, available on web site: <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php>. Last Date of Access: April 14, 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> UNHCR, Registered Syrian Refugees, op. cit., available on web site: <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php>. Last Date of Access: April 14, 2015.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> UNOCHA, "Syria: 6 facts at the start of the 4th year of Syria's conflict", 14 March 2014, available on web site:
 <a href="http://www.unocha.org/top-stories/all-stories/syria-6-facts-start-4th-year-syria%E2%80%99s-conflict">http://www.unocha.org/top-stories/all-stories/syria-6-facts-start-4th-year-syria%E2%80%99s-conflict</a>>. Last Date of Access: August 19, 2015.

need of humanitarian assistance, and apart from approximately 4 million Syrians who had to flee the country, 7.6 million people are internally displaced by violence.<sup>35</sup> According to the data provided for UNHCR by AFAD (*Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Disaster & Emergency Management Authority*) on April 10, 2015, the number of registered Syrian refugees in Turkey was 1,758,092.<sup>36</sup> However, during a TV program on the very same day, Deputy Prime Minister Prof. Numan Kurtulmuş, who was responsible of the AFAD, made a statement: "*There are approximately 2 million Syrians in Turkey*."<sup>37</sup> That number had been around 8 thousand in December 2011, when the migration had started.<sup>38</sup> According to AFAD data, there are 258,537 Syrians in the accommodation centers in Turkey as of April 17, 2015.<sup>39</sup> That number is approximately 13% of the total number of Syrian refugees mentioned above. The remaining 87% of the total refugee population in Turkey, who do not stay in refugee camps called "Accommodation Centers", live in cities and rural areas. In Turkey, highest Syrian refugee numbers in both camp and non-camp locations are Şanlıurfa, Gaziantep, Hatay, and Kilis provinces.<sup>40</sup>

Anadolu Agency, which is the official news agency of Turkey, reported that in the TGNA Plan and Budget Committee during the discussions for the 2015 budget for the Prime Ministry related and affiliated institutions, Numan Kurtulmuş answered the question "*Are Syrians our guests?*" as: "Unfortunately the subject of Syrian refugees were initially taken as that they would come and then return back to their country in a few months. But after the 3.5 years of civil war, it turned out that they are here to stay."<sup>41</sup> This statement, made by Numan Kurtulmuş, is compatible with the findings of the following studies: "Syrian Refugees in Turkey, 2013: Field Survey Results"<sup>42</sup> conducted by AFAD, "Syrians in Turkey: Social Acceptance and Integration Research"<sup>43</sup> conducted by Hacettepe University Migration and Politics Research Center under the directorate of Assoc. Prof. M. Murat Erdoğan, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> UNOCHA, Syria, Key Figures, available on web site: < http://www.unocha.org/syria>. Last Date of Access: August 19, 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> UNHCR, Registered Syrian Refugees by Date, op.cit, available on the web site: http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/country.php?id=224. Last Date of Access: April 11, 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Gündem Siyaset, Interview made by Veyis Ateş, Haber Türk TV, 10 April 2015. Available on web site: <a href="http://www.haberturk.com/gundem/haber/1064564-numan-kurtulmus-haberturkte">http://www.haberturk.com/gundem/haber/1064564-numan-kurtulmus-haberturkte</a>>. Last Date of Access: August 19, 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> UNHCR, Registered Syrian Refugees by Date, op. cit., available on web site: <a href="http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/country.php?id=224">http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/country.php?id=224</a>>. Last Date of Access: April 11, 2015

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> AFAD, Afet Raporu, Suriye, Barınma Merkezlerinde Son Durum [Disaster Report, Syria, Current Status in Accommodation Centers], Date of Update: April 17, 2015, available on web site: <a href="https://www.afad.gov.tr/TR/IcerikDetay1.aspx?ID=16&IcerikID=848">https://www.afad.gov.tr/TR/IcerikDetay1.aspx?ID=16&IcerikID=848</a>>. Last Date of Access: April 18, 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> UNHCR, Monthly Population Statistical Summary - April 2014, 08 May 2014, available on web site: <a href="http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/download.php?id=5493">http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/download.php?id=5493</a>>. Last Date of Access: April 14, 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Türkiye'ye sığınan Suriyeliler kalıcı [Syrians are here to stay], 05 November 2014, 19.51 (Last Date of Update: 05 November 2014 20.51), Anadolu Agency, Available on the web site: <a href="http://www.aa.com.tr/tr/s/415866-turkiye-taahhudunu-gerceklestirmeye-hazir">http://www.aa.com.tr/tr/s/415866-turkiye-taahhudunu-gerceklestirmeye-hazir</a>. Last Date of Access: August 19, 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Türkiye'deki Suriyeli Sığınmacılar 2013: Saha Araştırması Sonuçları [Syrian Refugees in Turkey, 2013: Field Survey Results], AFAD, Available on the web site: <a href="https://www.afad.gov.tr/Dokuman/TR/60-2013123015491-syrian-refugees-in-turkey-2013\_baski\_30.12.2013\_tr.pdf">https://www.afad.gov.tr/Dokuman/TR/60-2013123015491-syrian-refugees-in-turkey-2013\_baski\_30.12.2013\_tr.pdf</a> . Last Date of Access: August 19, 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Rapor: "Türkiye'deki Suriyeliler: Toplumsal Kabul ve Uyum" [Report: "Syrians in Turkey: Social Acceptance and Integration Research"], Extensive summary of the study (Update: 23 February 2015), Hacettepe University Migration and Politics Research Center (HUGO), Available on the web site: <http://www.hugo.hacettepe.edu.tr/TurkiyedekiSuriyeliler-Syrians%20in%20Turkey-Rapor-TR-EN-19022015.pdf>. Last Date of Access: August 19, 2015.

*"The Economic Effects of Syrian Refugees to Turkey: A Synthetic Modeling"*<sup>44</sup> jointly conducted by Center for Middle Eastern Strategic Studies (ORSAM) and Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV).

In the study conducted by AFAD, the future plans of Syrian asylum seekers in Turkey are examined; the answers to the question "*When do the Syrian asylum seekers plan to return to Syria*?" are as follows: 56% of those in the camps and 63% of those out of the camps plan to return to Syria when the conflict in Syria ends. 25% of those in the camps, which is significantly high number of refugees, and 15% of those out of the camps plan to return when the government in Syria changes. Approximately 9% of those in the camps and 10% of those out of the camps plan to return when the conflict in the cities they used to live in ends. Moreover, 5% of those in the camps and 8% of those out of the camps never plan to return to Syria at all. Those, who plan to return as earliest as possible, are 3.6% of those living in the camps and 2.1% of those out of the camps. According to the findings of this research, approximately 95% of Syrian refugees do not want to return to their countries, at least in the short run.<sup>45</sup>

On the other hand, the study conducted by the HUGO examines the opinions of the Turkish society on the permanence of Syrians. Accordingly, 45.1% of the Turkish society thinks that all of the Syrians will return to Syria *"in the aftermath of war in Syria"*, whereas 54.9% of the society thinks that either all or some of Syrians will stay in Turkey. Consequently more than half of the society thinks that Syrians will stay in Turkey in one way or another.<sup>46</sup> The same study reveals that 70.8% of the Turkish people think that Turkish economy has weakened because of the asylum seekers. Following these, 60.1% of the people object to providing aid for Syrians as there is poverty in Turkey.<sup>47</sup>

The findings of the study 'The Economic Effects of Syrian Refugees to Turkey: A Synthetic Modeling', which was conducted by ORSAM and TESEV, are of similar nature. The study was conducted to evaluate the reasons of Syrian refugees' migration to Gaziantep, Hatay, Kilis, Şanlıurfa, Mersin, Adana, Kahramanmaraş, Osmaniye, and Mardin, and the effects of the migration on economic variables. Although the findings of the study differ at the city level, there is a general perception that Syrian refugees will have an adverse effect on Turkish economy.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> "Suriyeli Mültecilerin Türkiye'ye Ekonomik Etkileri: Sentetik bir Modelleme" ["The Economic Effects of Syrian Refugees to Turkey: A Synthetic Modeling"], ORSAM and TESEV, Report Number: 196, January 2015, Available on the web site: <http://www.orsam.org.tr/tr/trUploads/Yazilar/Dosyalar/201519\_rapor196tur.pdf> . Last Date of Access: August 19, 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Türkiye'deki Suriyeli Sığınmacılar 2013: Saha Araştırması Sonuçları, [Syrian Refugees in Turkey, 2013: Field Survey Results], AFAD, op.cit., p. 55.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Rapor: "Türkiye'deki Suriyeliler: Toplumsal Kabul ve Uyum" [Report: "Syrians in Turkey: Social Acceptance and Integration Research"], Extensive summary of the study, op.cit., p. 76.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Rapor: "Türkiye'deki Suriyeliler: Toplumsal Kabul ve Uyum" [Report: "Syrians in Turkey: Social Acceptance and Integration Research"], Extensive summary of the study, op.cit., p. 68.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> "Suriyeli Mültecilerin Türkiye'ye Ekonomik Etkileri: Sentetik bir Modelleme" ["The Economic Effects of Syrian Refugees to Turkey: A Synthetic Modeling"], ORSAM and TESEV, pp. 33-34.

### **Print Media Monitored**

In this report, in which we analyze the discriminatory discourse towards Syrian refugees, we started out to monitor the local press in Gaziantep and Urfa, in which the number of Syrian refugees are the most, in the view of the aforementioned findings and conceptual framework. Monitoring was initially planned for two different periods. The first is a one-week period when events and lynching attempts took place in the aftermath of the event that a Syrian refugee stabbed his landlord to death during a quarrel they had on August 12, 2014. This period coincided with the distress due to the allegations that Syrians had poisoned the drinking water in Gaziantep. The second period is when public demonstrations broke on October 6 and 7, 2014 in response to the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIS) attacks on Kobanê, and when the impacts of those demonstrations were still felt. However, 6-7 October 2014 protests coincided with the Eid al-Adha and local press does not publish newspapers during religious holidays; taking into account that there could not be a reliable research during this period, this mentioned period and the local press in Urfa are excluded from the study. Instead, we focused on the local press published in Gaziantep between August 11 and August 24, 2014, which covers just before and after the event occurred in Gaziantep on August 12, 2014. Besides, local press in Gaziantep published between October 1 and October 14, 2014 are monitored, as far as it can be accessed, with reference to Kobanê events. But we couldn't obtain enough instances to assess the Kobanê events in local media in Gaziantep. Therefore, Kobanê and its aftermath are excluded from the evaluation.<sup>49</sup> On the other hand, mainstream media is confined to the period between August 11 and August 24, 2014.

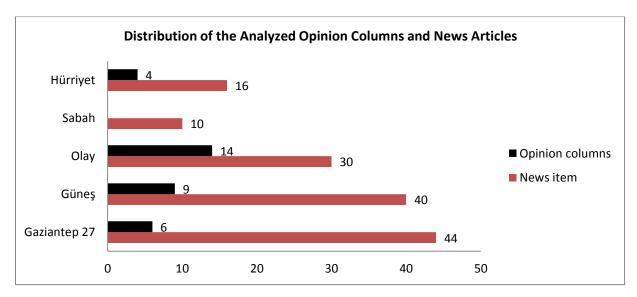
While choosing the mainstream and local newspapers, preferably the circulation rates of the newspapers are taken into account; and newspapers with wide circulations are chosen for the study. Yet newspapers belonging to the same media group are not chosen although they have wide circulations; instead, two newspapers belonging to different media groups are chosen. Besides, while deciding among the newspapers in local press, as we have mentioned above, the selection is made by taking into consideration the accessibility of the old issues of the newspapers as well. *Hürriyet* and *Sabah* newspapers are chosen among the mainstream media. The monitored newspapers of Gaziantep are *Olay*, *Gaziantep Güneş* and *Gaziantep 27*.<sup>50</sup>

During the monitoring process, **33 opinion columns** and **177 news articles** regarding Syrian refugees were analyzed. Four of the opinion columns regarding Syrian refugees were published in *Hürriyet* under the mainstream media; in local Gaziantep press, on the other hand, 14 of them were published in *Olay*, nine of them were published in *Gaziantep Güneş* and six of them were published in *Gaziantep 27*. There were no opinion columns regarding the subject in *Sabah* under the mainstream

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Only one out of the 9 Kobanê news articles that we could obtain were about refugees and that one was about the humanitarian aid to be sent to refugees entered the country from Suruç (Gaziantep 27; 2 September 2014; Page 7). Seven of them were about the protests against the government and one of them was about condemnation of the Kobanê protests.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> List of the Newspapers and Journals, August 2014 period, General Directorate of Turkish Press Advertisement Agency, p.2, 18, available on the web site: <a href="http://www.bik.gov.tr/files/tiraj/agustos-2014.pdf">http://www.bik.gov.tr/files/tiraj/agustos-2014.pdf</a>>. Last Date of Access: August 19, 2015; List of the Newspapers and Journals, August 2014 period, General Directorate of Turkish Press Advertisement Agency, p.2, 19, available on the web site: <a href="http://www.bik.gov.tr/files/tiraj/ekim-2014.pdf">http://www.bik.gov.tr/files/tiraj/agustos-2014.pdf</a>>. Last Date of <a href="http://www.bik.gov.tr/files/tiraj/ekim-2014.pdf">http://www.bik.gov.tr/files/tiraj/agustos-2014.pdf</a>>. Last Date of <a href="http://www.bik.gov.tr/files/tiraj/ekim-2014.pdf">http://www.bik.gov.tr/files/tiraj/agustos-2014.pdf</a>>. Last Date of Access: August 19, 2015.

media. Out of the 177 analyzed news articles about Syrian refugees, 26 of them were published in mainstream media; 10 of them were in *Sabah* and 16 of them were in *Hürriyet*. The remaining 151 news articles were analyzed in local press of Gaziantep. Out of this 151 news articles, 30 of them appeared in *Olay*, 40 of them appeared in *Gaziantep Güneş* and 44 of them appeared in *Gaziantep 27*. Five of the news items in *Gaziantep 27* and one in *Gaziantep Güneş*, were vox populi (man-on-the-street interviews). Besides there was an interview published in *Gaziantep Güneş*. 70 of the news articles about Syrian refugees were published on the front page; one of these news articles was published on *Hürriyet*'s front page and the other 69 of them published in local Gaziantep press. The distribution of the news articles, which were published on the front page of the local press, is as follows: 25 in *Olay*; 22 in *Gaziantep Güneş*; and 22 in *Gaziantep 27*. The number of the opinion columns that were about Syrian refugees and were published on the front page, is two. All of the news items except 12 of them – three items in *Sabah*, three items in *Hürriyet* and six items in *Gaziantep 27* – published with news photography.



### **Key Findings and Examples**

In light of the key findings –summary is given above– the results of this study together with the examples to these results are indicated below. Favorable examples, though extremely low in number, are also given with data about these key findings.

### - Lacking a Rights-Based Point of View

The first finding is that opinion columns and news articles about Syrian refugees are generated with a point of view that does not consider refugees as rightful subjects. The fact that opinion columns and news articles lack a rights-based point of view is a general problem of all the newspapers in general.

While choosing examples during the analysis, both favorable and unfavorable examples are selected for comparison. Accordingly, although, as summarized above, there are national and international human rights treaties relating to refugees' fundamental rights, all of the opinion columns about Syrian refugees but three –one in *Hürriyet* and two in *Gaziantep Güneş* – lack the rights-based point of view.

#### **Favorable Examples: Rights-Based Approach**

The first of the favorable examples is the opinion column that was written by Ahmet Hakan and published on the fourth page of Hürriyet on August 18, 2014. In his article titled "To those who cannot tell the attackers 'Stop!'", Ahmet Hakan defines the attacks as 'xenophobic' and 'discriminatory'.

# Suriyelilere saldıranlara 'Durun' diyemeyenlere

GAZIANTEP'te bir Suriyeli mültecinin işlediği suç nedeniyle şehirdeki tüm Suriyelilere linç girişiminde bulunanların karşısına çıkıp da "Durun, ne yapıyorsunuz" divernevenler!

Kahramanmaras'ta "Suriyeli mülteciler huzursuzluk yaratıyor" diye sokağa dökülüp gösteri yapanlara "Bu yaptığınız yabancı düşmanlığıdır, bu yaptığınız ırkçılıktır" divemevenler.

Sanhurfa'da Suriveli iki mültecinin neden olduğu olav

nedeniyle tüm Suriyeli mültecilere karşı saldırıya geçenlerin karşısına dikilip "Dağılın" divemeyenler!

Kayseri'de "Suriveli mülteciler uyuşturucu satıyor" gerekçesiyle kente sığınmış Surivelileri protesto edenlere karşı "Bu yaptığınız ayıptır, günahtır, yazıktır" diyemeyenler!

Tarih sizi "Bir kötülüğü engellemek ve püskürtmek imkânları varken bu imkânı kullanmaya yanaşmadılar" dive vazacaktır.

Other favorable examples are the two opinion columns published in *Gaziantep Günes*. The first one is the opinion column published on the fifth page of *Gaziantep Günes* on August 20, 2014 with the title: "Security and Housing", which was written by Zahide Yalçın Sert with reference to the lynching events that had taken place in Gaziantep. Zahide Yalçın Sert writes, "I believe that security and housing are among the most fundamental human rights." In this respect, the article is almost an exception in terms of mentioning the human dimension of security both by pointing out human rights and by going beyond the boundaries of the conventional notion of security, which is the second key finding of this report.

Dün "Sabır" diyorlardı, bugün ise "Sağduyu." Başlannı kuma gömen ZAHIDE YALCIN SERT büyükbaş bir kuş misali söylemi **GÜVENLİK VE** vumusatinca sorunu da vok varsayıyorlar. Birileri çıkıp, "Empati" diyor, diğeri BARINMA çıkıp "Bu sorunları kaşıyan Esad"ın ajanları. Empati'yi, Sempati'yi, Telepati'yi biraz anlamaya çalışıyorum. Ancak Gaziantep'te, Esad'ın onlarca bürokrat ve bir o kadar da ajanlarının gezdiği ve bunların Gaziantep'i kanştırmak için özellikzivaret etti. le geldiğini söyleyenleri anlamakta Güler, ziyaretin basına açık kıs zorlanıvorum. Çünkü, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti, ciddi güvenlik birimlerine sahip, hukuk olmadığını sordu. Sorusu olan devletidir. Bir hukuk devletinde yasadışı girişler nasıl olur? Yasa dışı girenler bilinir de, nasıl kayıtsız kalınır? İşte bunu anlamakta zorluk soru olmaz mı? Arkadaşlarımın sorularını yanıtla cekivorum. Sıradan bir yurttaşın bile, yıllar

önce duyduğu kaygılar ülkenin vebalini taşıyanlar tarafından nasıl duvulmaz?

Muammer Güler İçişleri Bakanı idi. Asım Güzelbey de Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanı. Dönemin İçişleri Bakanı Güler, Asım Bey'i üst düzey siyasetçi ile makamında

minda gazetecilere sorulari olup arkadaşlarım elbette vardı. İcisleri Bakanı, Vali, Emniyet Müdürü ve onlarca yetkilinin olduğu yerde

masının ardından ben de Suriyeli sığınmacıların sayısının gidere arttığını, alt yapısı oluşturulmadan gelen bu kadar göçer nüfusunun kentin dokusuna zarar verip vermeyeceği konusunda endişe-lerimi dile getirdim. Ardından da güvenlik ve barınma sorununun kendilerini kaygılandınp kaygı-

landırmadığını sordum. Soruma ilişkin kelimeler henüz cümleye dönüşürken Güler, kaşlarını çatıp öfkeli bir sesle "Sabır sabır sabır" demeye başlamıştı bile. Güler'in öfkesi masum bir soru yönelten benim vanım sıra oturanları da şaşırttı.

Acıklamadan cok, savunma yapmayı seçen Güler'e artan ev kiralannın Gaziantepliler'i mağdur ettiğini, ancak bu durumun ileride Suriyeliler'i bile sıkıntıya sokacağını sövlesem de Güler, öfkeli çıklamalarını sürdürdü. Sanki Suriye'deki savaşın taraflarından biri ben, biri de Güler'mişcesine öfkeyle konuşuyordu.

Güler'in açıklamalannın ardından sözü alan Vali Erdal Ata, ev kirala-

nnın abartıldığı gibi yüzde 50 ve yüzdle yüz artmadığını açıkladı. Önceki gün yüksek tirajlı ulusal bir gazettede Gaziantep'teki ev kirala-rının yüzde 400 arttığı yazıyordu. İnanııyorum ki devlet bu yüksek kiralardan yüksek vergiler alıvordur da hælkımıza bu vergiler hizmet olaraık dönüyordur. Bu işin ayn bir boyutu.

Ancak Gaziantep'in demografik yapıssı her geçen gün değişmekle kalmıyor, kent halkı ve davetli/ davetsiz misafirler ciddi anlamda zarar görüyor.

Gazilantep'te yaşayan mutlu azınllığın dışındaki halk gerildikçe geriliiyor. İçme suyuna zehir katıldığı iiddialarının yarattığı panik ve endiişe bilindiği için buna değinmek: bile istemiyorum

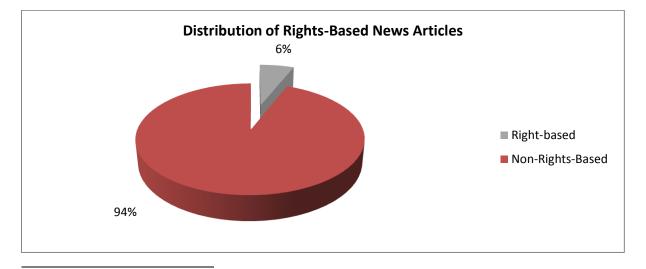
Ancak güvenlik ve bannma ihtiyacınım en temel insan haklarından olduığuna inanıyorum. Keşkte, "Savaşlar birbirlerini çok

ivi tanıyan insanlar tarafından çıkaırtılır, birbirlerini hiç tanıma yan insanlara da yaptırılır" sözü-nünı gerçekliğini deneyimleyerek yaşamak zorunda kalmasaydık.

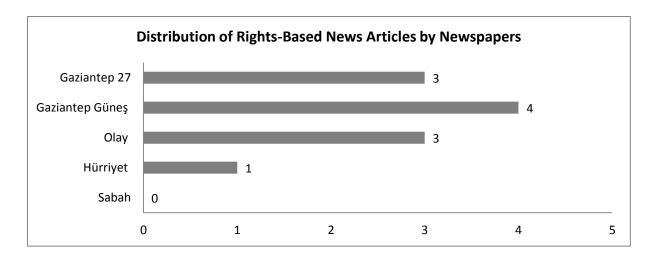
The second example from *Gaziantep Güneş* is the article titled "*I am not a racists, but…*" written by izzettin Encu and published on the fifth page of the newspaper on August 22, 2014. In the article, which criticizes the attacks on Syrian refugees, discriminatory discourse and attitudes are criticized with reference to the report titled "*I am not a racist but… Racist-Discriminatory Discourses in Print Media*"<sup>51</sup> prepared by Prof. Eser Köker and Assoc. Prof. Ülkü Doğanay for the Human Rights Joint Platform (IHOP).



When the **news articles** in the media are examined, it reveals that the number of news articles, which reflect the rights-based point of view, is extremely limited. In the study, only 11 news articles under this category are determined. Among these items, one item was published in *Hürriyet*, three items were in *Olay*, four items were in *Gaziantep Güneş*, and three items were in *Gaziantep 27*.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Eser Köker, Ülkü Doğanay, "*Irkçı değilim ama… Yazılı Basında Irkçı-Ayrımcı Söylemler*" [I am not a racist but… Racist-Discriminatory Discourses in Print Media], the publication of Human Rights Joint Platform, available on the web site: <a href="http://www.ihop.org.tr/dosya/diger/irkci\_degilim\_web.pdf">http://www.ihop.org.tr/dosya/diger/irkci\_degilim\_web.pdf</a>>. Last Date of Access: August 19, 2015.



Half of the news articles (6), which can be said to reflect the rights-based point of view, are already the press statements issued by NGOs working on the human rights of refugees. When considered from this aspect, only one news article gave coverage to an international treaty relating to refugees' human rights. Even this news article, which was published on the ninth page of *Gaziantep Güneş* on August 15, 2014, is based on a joint press statement of NGOs. The right of asylum, which was explained on Article 14/1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, is emphasized in the press statement. At the same time, the statement maintains a stance against hate and discrimination, and draws attention to the necessities related to fundamental rights of refugees. Besides, it is the only news article that can be said to approach the security problem from a humanitarian perspective. However, the news article is published on a single column towards the back page without a photograph. On the other hand, which NGOs issued the joint press statement is not mentioned in the article.

The press statement, which was issued by Mazlum-Der (Association of Human Rights and Solidarity for Oppressed People) and expressed refugees' right to employment, was published on *Olay* and *Gaziantep 27* newspapers on August 18, 2014. Both of the news articles were given with a photograph. *Olay* published it on the front page and *Gaziantep 27* published it on the eighth page. Both of the news articles were based on ihlas News Agency (iHA).

# Mazlumder'den çağrı

Mazlumder Gaziantep Şubesi son zamanlarda Suriyelilere karşı oluşan tepkiler üzerine basın açıklaması yaptı.

Basın açıklamasını yapan Mazlumder GYK Üyesi Mehmet Alkış, bir kısım mülk sahibinin evlerini kiraya verirken fırsatçılık yaparak sığınmacılardan fahiş bedeller tahsis ettiğini ve Suriyelilerin çalışma hakkına sahip olmadıkları için kaçak olarak çalıştıklarını ve işverenlerin ise yarı fiyata çalıştırdığını söyledi.

#### **ZORUNLU GÖÇ**

Suriyelilere karşı sağduyulu davranılması gerektiğini belirten Mazlumder GYK Üyesi Mehmet Alkış şunları söyledi: "Suriyeliler hayati tehlike içine girdiklerinden dolayı canlarını kurtarabilmek amacıyla sınırı aşarak komşu ülke Türkiye'ye sığınmışlardır. Bu keyfi bir durum olmayıp zorunlu bir göçtür. Suriyeliler sığındıkları Gaziantep gibi verlesim merkezlerinde harınarak bir



yer bulmakta büyük sıkıntı çekmişler, uygun olup olmamasına bakmaksızın bulabildikleri yerlere yerleşmek zorun-

da kalmışlardır. Yeterli konut bulunmadığından garaj, dükkan, bodrum, ambar, çatı arası gibi yerlere sığınmışlardır. Bunları bulamayıp sokakta, parkta kalanlar da olmuştur. Zorunluluktan yerleştikleri bu tür yerlerin bir kısım mülk sahipleri kira almak şöyle dursun eşya, yiyecek, giyecek gibi yardımlarda bulunmuşlardır

#### **CARESIZ KALDILAR**

"Ne yazık ki; bir kısım mülk sahipleri ise firsatçılık yaparak mecbur kalan sığınmacılardan fahiş bedeller tahsil etmişlerdir" diyen Alkış, "Oysa bu onların suçu değil, aç kalmamak için çaresizce katlandıkları bir durumdur. Ruhşatsız işyeri açan kimi siğinmacılar, vergi mükellefi esnafın aleyhine haksız rekabete yol açtıklarından kimi küçük esnafın düşmanlığına muhatap olmuşlardır" şeklinde konuştu. İHA Another statement, which was issued by rights-based NGOs that work for refugees' human rights, expressed concerns about attacks on Syrian refugees, and stated that rights and legal status of Syrian refugees had to be clarified. This statement was published on *Olay, Gaziantep Güneş* and *Gaziantep 27* newspapers on August 22, 2014 with reference to IHA. The news were given together with a photograph on all three newspapers; yet only *Gaziantep 27* specified the names of all NGO's that signed the statement. On the other hand, *Gaziantep Güneş* and *Olay* newspapers gave only the name of Metin Çorabatır, Vice President of the Research Center on Asylum and Migration, who read the joint statement. *Gaziantep Güneş* gave the news on the sixth page and *Olay* gave it on the fifth page. The way the news appeared on *Gaziantep 27* and *Gaziantep Güneş* are the only two examples among all the news articles, which were monitored for the Law on Foreigners and International Protection. *Olay* did not mention the Law in the news article. By the way, it should be indicated that none of the articles mentioned about the Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management, which is responsible for the implementation of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection.



Another good example about the topic is the statement Author Ahmet Ümit made about the lynching attempts in Gaziantep for the newspaper *Gaziantep Güneş* on August 21, 2014. The news is given on the front page of the newspaper and continued on the fifth page. There is an emphasis on multiculturalism in the article. Accordingly, a wide coverage is given to criticism of bearing the sense of hate and lynching attempts towards Syrian refugees. Another feature of the news article, which reflects the rights-based perspective, is that it draws attention to the fact that the problems related to Syrian refugees cannot be solved only by diligence of NGOs and that the state has responsibilities on this issue. On the other hand, the fact that employment and housing are common problems for both the citizens of Turkey and Syrian refugees is important in establishing a connection between local community and Syrian refugees.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Instead, the Disaster and Emergency Management Authority (AFAD), which is responsible of the camps the Syrian refugees stay and humanitarian aid, is mentioned in nine news articles. AFAD serves as the main coordinating institution in case of emergencies and disasters.



When examining the mainstream media, there is only one news item in *Hürriyet* that can be considered as having a rights-based point of view. Besides, within the monitored mainstream media there are only two news items that give reference to international organizations working on human rights. Both of these news articles about Syrian refugees' access to labor and employment were published in *Hürriyet*. First one was published on the ninth page of *Hürriyet* on August 19, 2014 with the reporter's name, Hacer Boyacioğlu. This article says that in regards to the work permit for Syrian refugees, *"international organizations, notably International Labor Organization (ILO), got involved."* The other one is the news article published, bearing the name of Şebnem Turhan, on the 11<sup>th</sup> page of *Hürriyet* with the title "Jobs and Professions!" When conveying the number of Syrian refugees, the article gave reference to UNHCR. This news item is the only one that gives reference to the biggest UN institution that works for the protection of refugees. Even so, this information is given at the bottom of the page in tiniest font sizes.



Two news articles, which can be considered as rights-based in relation to refugee children's right to education, were published in *Olay* (on the fourth page) and in *Gaziantep 27* (eighth page) on October 14, 2014. Both of these news items are about the meeting on the Ministry of National Education's Circular on Foreigner's Access to Education (Numbered: 2014/21) and they touch on the problems arose during refugee children's access to education opportunities. In the news report, it is said that *"Representatives of Turkey (UNICEF)"* attended the meeting. However, as neither of the news articles indicates the fact that the acronym "UNICEF" stands for *"United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund"*, they also did not mention that it is a UN organization working for the fundamental human rights of children or what kind of activities they conduct. Nevertheless, the news item, as it is, is the second one, which mentions a national legislation related to refugees and an international organization that works for the protection of human rights. The source of both of these news items is IHA. Apart from these news items, international mechanisms that work for monitoring and protection of human rights are not mentioned in any of the news articles.

# Mülteci çocuklar da **eğitim alacak**

Ülkemizdeki mültecilerin çocukların eğitim alanındaki sorunlarına yönelik yapılan istişare toplantının ilk bilgilendirme toplantısı yapıldı. Bilgi paylaşımı ve farklı fikirlerinde dinlendiği toplantıda çözüm ve öneriler dile getirildi.



Markin Karakan

Kilis, Osmaniye, Malatya, Adiyaman, Gaziantep, Hatay, Mardin, Batman, Kahramanmaras illerinin milli eğitim müddrlen katıldı. Açılış ve tanışmanın ardından toplantıda, önümüzdeki dönemde uygulamaların sorunsuz hayata geçirilebilmesi ve uygulamalarda birlik sağlanabilmesi için Milli Eğitim Bakanlığında görevli selman İşık yeni genelgeyi tanıtarak yol haritası hakkında salondakilere bilgi verdi.

Yardımcısı Yusuf Büyük, ülkemizde eğitim alamayan mülteci durumundaki çocukların, hızlı bir şekilde yarım kalmış eğitimlerinin ülkemiz içerisinde devamını sağlayarak mevcut durumdaki çadır sınıtların artan göçle yeterli olmadığını sürekli sığınmacı grupların çoğalmakta olduğunu, gerek yükün azalması için gerekse mevcut standartlara göre eğitimin olması açısından bazı uygun görünen illerdeki okullarda öğrencilerin belirli mevzuat çerçevesinde eğitim görebileceklerini belirtti. Artan göç dalgası ile birçok sorununda beraberinde geldiğini çok iyi bildiklerini ifade eden Büyük, yeni çalışmalar yaptıklarının da altını çizdi. **İHA** 

Throughout the study, it is determined that a total of four news articles gave coverage to an international organization regarding the protection of human rights and only three institutions are mentioned.

As the UNHCR expresses, in numerous societies' women and girls face particular challenges and risks; and because of the gender roles and their status within the society, they do not have the rights, which men and boys have. In cases of displacement, these risks have more adverse effects on

women and girls, especially in relation to discrimination and gender-based violence.<sup>53</sup> This analysis also applies to Syrian women, who have to leave their country due to the conflicts.<sup>54</sup> Nonetheless there is almost no news about Syrian refugee women in the print media, which are monitored for the study.

Among the monitored news articles, the only news article that can be said to consider gender equality from the rights-based point of view is the one that gives coverage to an interview with Nuriye Nehir, the manager of Gaziantep Bar Association Legal Assistance Office, published in *Gaziantep Güneş* on August 21, 2014. Marriages at a young age and the problem of co-wives are mentioned in the news article, which is given on the front page and continued on the seventh page; and it is expressed that the problems gone through in Gaziantep mostly strike women. However, it is written: *"the women in Gaziantep react to Syrian women, not to their own husbands."* 



### Non-Rights-Based Approaches: "Common Sense" as a Miracle Notion!

Instead of the rights-based point of view, whose limited number of examples we have given above, the miracle notion, which is mostly quoted from the statements of senior officials and used in news articles in headlines and sub-headings in large font's sizes, is "common sense". Common sense is almost a panacea! Call for common sense prima facie seems like a positive approach. However in these news items, those, who have to use common sense, and those, who have to show tolerance, are actually the citizens of the Republic of Turkey. As it is, on the one hand Syrian refugees are thrown at the Turkish citizens' sole discretion and on the other hand it is presented as that in the event that Turkish citizens use their common sense, the problems related to the rights to housing, employment, education, and health care of both Syrian refugees and local citizens would all be solved in a thrice. These news items, while 'othering' Syrian refugees by ignoring that they are rightful subjects, also ignores that the local people are deprived of fundamental human rights. Thereby, lynching attempts are also covered up. During the monitoring, it is determined that there are two news items in mainstream media - one in Hürriyet and one in Sabah - that used the words "common sense"; whereas in local press, Olay used the words in eights news items, Gaziantep Güneş used them in 13 and Gaziantep 27 used them in eight news items. As a result, a total of 31 news items used the words "common sense" in the foreground. However, together with calling for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> UNHCR, Women, Particular Challenges and Risks, available on the web site: <a href="http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646c1d9.html">http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646c1d9.html</a>. Last Date of Access: May 14, 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> UNHCR, Syrian refugee women fight for survival as they head families alone, News Stories, 8 July 2014, available on the web site: <a href="http://www.unhcr.org/53bb77049">http://www.unhcr.org/53bb77049</a>. Last Date of Access: May 14, 2015.

"common sense", only two news articles point out to crime's being an individual act and highlights the fact that a criminal act, committed by a person, should not be generalized to the whole society, which that person belongs in.

Our first example on this topic is the news article headlined "A call for common sense against provocation", which was published in Sabah newspaper on August 14, 2014. The news article, which is written on the lynching attempts after the landlord Hıdır Çalar was killed by his Syrian tenant, is published in large font sizes on the 17<sup>th</sup> page of the newspaper. Those, who summoned, are NGOs, business world and Gaziantep Governor Erdal Ata. After this news article, the word "guest" that has no place in international laws and human rights has begun to be used to indicate Syrian refugees.



Hıdır Çalar'ın Suriyeli kiracısı tarafından öldürülmesinin ardından Gaziantep'te gerginlik dün de devam etti. Cinayetle ilgili 4 Suriyeli tutuklandı. STK'lar ve is dünyası vatandaşları provokasyonlara karşı uyardı

dazi Suriyen siginmacılar da biçaklan dı. Cinayetle ilgili ilgili gözaltına ah-nan 4 Suriyeli ise tutuklandı. **'PROVOKASYONA GELMEYIN'** 

Keniteki iş dünyaşı ve sivil top-lum kuruluşu temsilcileri, Suriyelilere yönelik protestolar nedeniyle sağdu-yu çağırsında bulunarak şu mesajla-rı verdi:

Derneği Yönetim Kurulu Başkanı Yener Doğruer: Bu insanlarla yıllar-dır iç içə yaşıyoruz. İçlerinde akrabala-rımız da var. Zor dönemlerinde misafirlerimize yardım elimizi uzatmak

zorundayız Öte vandan, Gaziantep Valisi Erdal Ata da yazılı bir açıklama yaparak her kesi soğukkanlı olmaya davet etti.

The news article headlined "300 thousand Syrians have arrived, emergency measures should be taken" was published on the 12<sup>th</sup> page of *Hürriyet* on August 16, 2014; the article quotes the call for "common sense" from the statement of Eyüp Bartık, the Chairman of Gaziantep Chamber of Commerce. Besides, the real reason of the tension is shown to be the soaring rents. Moreover, it is said that the claims that Syrian refugees have impact on reduction of wages and increase in unemployment are made, on purpose, to create a tension and that there actually are jobs enough for everyone in Gaziantep. Furthermore, it is expressed that the problems would be solved if everyone acts with discretion. In the news article it is also stated that 500 Syrians has started business in Gaziantep. However, it is a puzzling choice for only talking to the Chairman of Gaziantep Chamber of Commerce who calls for common sense, but not to any other person such as a member of a local labor union.

# '300 bin Suriyeli geldi acil önlemler alınmalı'



The local newspapers, on the other hand, headline the call for "common sense" quoting the officials' speeches. The news article, which was published in *Olay* newspaper on the front and second pages, on August 14, 2014, actually reflects Governor Fatma Şahin's call for common sense. Instead of the word "refugees", the word "guest" appears in this article for the second time and with more emphasis.



*Gaziantep Güneş* reports the call for "common sense" from a wider range. In addition to governor, mayor, members of the parliament, and the chairman of the chamber of commerce; opinions of two specialists are also reported. The emphasis of "joint message" is brought to the fore.



In its August 14, 2014 issue, *Gaziantep 27* calls for "common sense" on the first and second pages by quoting from Gaziantep Governor Erdal Ata and Mayor Fatma Şahin. The information brought to the fore together with the calls for common sense is that the 'security measures' are tightened.



There are few numbers of news articles that draw attention to a crime's being an individual act and emphasizes that an event should not be generalized to all Syrians. However, these articles are also based on statements of senior officials. The news article published on the front page and continued on the fourth page of *Olay* on August 15, 2014 with the headline *"State punishes it!"* cites the statement of AKP Gaziantep Provincial Chairman, Ahmet Uzer.

The same statement of AKP Gaziantep Provincial Chairman Ahmet Uzer also appears on the seventh page of *Gaziantep Güneş* on its August 15, 2014 issue with the headline "State inflicts punishment on the offenders!" In the news article about Hıdır Çalan's murder, it is written: "Attributing the reflections of what happened to a society or to all Syrians is neither a conscientious nor a humane reaction." Besides, using some terms in Arabic, the statement "As being ansar, they would continue

to approach our Syrian brothers and sister, who are <u>muhajir</u> here, hospitably" is also cited in the article. The word "ansar" originates from Arabic and it means 'helpers', 'guardians'. The concept also denotes "people from Madina who helped Prophet Muhammed during his migration", from the historical and religious perspective. "Muhajir", on the other hand, means 'immigrant'. Although this term is typically used for Balkan immigrants, it is also used in the meaning of "those immigrated from Makkah to Madina out of deference to Prophet Muhammed". In this article too, instead of using internationally accepted fundamental arguments on human rights, religious concepts or words like "hospitality" are continued to be used.

### Stereotypes, biased and discriminatory discourse in opinion columns and news articles

In print media, in addition to lacking rights-based point of view, the opinion columns and news articles about Syrian refugees commonly use stereotypes, biased and discriminatory discourse. The first example that contains stereotypes at the forefront is Yılmaz Özdil's opinion column headlined *"2010 Date Plums 2014 Scratch"* on *Hürriyet* newspaper dated August 14, 2014. The article is based on the criticism of public meeting speech made by then-Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Edoğan in Gaziantep. The government's Syria policy and, relatedly, Syrian refugee policy are criticized in the article. However, the title is a typical example of a stereotype: with the word "Arab" comes along the word "date plums". Besides, the act of 'scratching' used in the title associates "Arabs" with "aggression".



Different forms of dehumanization and biased and discriminatory discourse are seen in opinion columns of local press as well. The opinion column written by Tayfun Katırcı in *Olay* newspaper's

August 13, 2014 issue contains biased and discriminatory discourse. In his column, Tayfun Katırcı claims that the Syrian, who was "pitied", stabbed his "pitiful" landlord to death. The act of "pitying" in this article is a natural result of not seeing Syrians as rightful subjects; refugees are only to be pitied. The article is not limited with these allegations; the author also complains that "everywhere in Gaziantep is packed with signs in Arabic" and that there are more Syrians than Gaziantep residents in the bazaar; on top of that both the government and UN help Syrians. These expressions are typical examples of xenophobia. He writes that rich Syrians go into partnerships in factories, and they do not even pay tax because they have Syrian license plates on their cars. What is "Gaziantep, the land of martyrs and veteran" coming to? By connecting Syrian refugees' seeking asylum in Gaziantep to martyrs and veterans is an extremely threatening wording. As it is, Gaziantep is made to look like a place, which is almost invaded by Syrian refugees and has to be liberated. Besides, towards the end of the article, it is indicated that "there can be a Syrian civil war in Gaziantep" and "those murderous spirited Syrians in downtown of Gaziantep should be taken out of the city".

## SURİYE'Lİ SORUNU, KAN GÖVDEYİ GÖTÜRÜNCE Mİ ÇÖZÜLECEK?...

Gaziantep'te Suriye'lilerin karıştığı olaylara bir venisi daha eklendi.

Suriye'li aileye zamanında merhamet gösterip evine kiraya alan bir ev sahibi, merhamet gösterdiği Suriye'li kiracısı tarafından bıcaklanarak öldürüldü.

Gaziantep'te bu Suriye'li sorunu ne zaman çözülecek?

Gaziantep'tep'te ne kadar Suriyeli oldu ki artik kendimizi Halep' te Sam'da veya Suriye'nin herhangi bi kentinde gibi hissedirken, artık Gaziantep'lilerden çok çarşı'da Suriye'lileri görüyoruz. Her yer de Arapça yazılar ve dukkanların uze-

rinde tanıtıcı reklam yazıları da cığ gibi artıyor.

Suriye'den gelip de Gaziantep'in lüks semtlerinden ev kiralavan ve mülk alan Suriye vatandaşları. Türk halkından daha rahat yaşam tarzı sürüyor

Avrica, bu Surive'lilere devlet ve BM tarafından da yardım yapılıyor.

Zengin Suriye'liler, fabrikalara ortak olup veva kendi isletmelerini kurarken. son model otomobillere de binmeyi ihmal etmiyorlar. Ayrıca bindikleri araclar ise Suriye plakalı. Hiç kimse evrak sormuyor, vergi ödemiyorlar, sigirta vok, muavene vok. Şehit ve Gaziler Dşyarı gaziantep Suriye'lilerin

gelmesiyle ne hale geldii.

Kiralik evler 750 ile 1500 TL arası fiyatlara vükseldi. fından öldürülen 62 yaşındaki Hıdır Ça- zamanda, Gaziantep'te Suriye'li iç savaşı çıkabilir. lar'a?

işveren Suriye'liler tarafından öldürüle- ma Şahin ve öteki ilçe belediye başkanlarıml cek veya yaralanacak?.

sorun çözülecek?

Defalarca bu Suriye'li sorununu köşe yazımda ele almıstım.

Ancak, bu olayların kıkacağını da önceden tahmin ederek yetkililere seslenmeye çalıştım.

Ama kimsenin umurunda olmadı Buradan tekrar seslenivorum, bu Surive'li so-Yazıkdeğilmiydi Suriye'li kiracısı tara- rununa acilen bir cözüm bulunmalı. Yoksa yakın

Savin Koordinatör Vali Veysel Dalmaz, Savin Va-Daha kaç ev sahibi ve iş yeri sahibi ile lim Erdal Ata, Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanım Fat-

Bu konuyla ilgili kim üst makam ise onlarla temasa gecilip, acilen Gaziantep sehir merkezindeki Ancak kan gövdeyi götürünce mş bu bu katil ruhlu Suriye'liler il dışına çıkarılsın.

> Gaziantep'li vatandaşlarımız çığdından çıkmadan, hem Suriye'lilere hem de kendi öz evlatları-mıza yazık demeden, vah demeden bu konuya el birliği ile el atalım.

Another striking issue in news items and opinion columns is the use of stigmatizing expressions. Regardless of the context, it is possible to say that the reasons and results of stigmatization and discrimination are similar all over the world. Stigmatization takes place in cases where a group of people or some persons, who are identified with certain diseases, behaviors or practices, are devalued by others. Those, who are involved in a few unpleasant events, are often stigmatized in a way similar to discriminatory experiences. Both of these could be even worse for those groups, which are marginalized due to their genders, sexual orientations, ethnic origins and substance-use.<sup>55</sup> When the topic is examined on the discourse level, Prof. Haydar Baş's opinion column, which was also published in Olay, can be given as an example. In his article headlined "Out of Good Comes Evil", he indicates that Syrians neither pay rent nor await for their turn in hospitals, and that they eat free of charge in restaurants, then Prof. Haydar Baş writes: "The local community is unemployed and hungry but Syrians are reaching a state of comfort day by day." The main question in the article is this: "Is what these are doing humane?" As the article is a typical example of stigmatization, it continues with dehumanization discourse. With the expression "these", the gap between 'we' and 'they' deepens.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> The Issue: Stigma & Discrimination, International Center for Research on Women (ICRW), 2015, available on the web site: <a href="http://www.icrw.org/what-we-do/hiv-aids/stigma-discrimination">http://www.icrw.org/what-we-do/hiv-aids/stigma-discrimination</a>>. Last Date of Access: May 14, 2015.

## İYİLİKTEN MARAZ DOĞAR

Gaziantep ili Ali Baba Mahallesi'nde Salı gecesi meydana gelen olaylarda bir vatandaşımız hayatını kaybetti. Türk ev sahibinin evinden çıkması için baskı yaptığı Suriyeli kiracılar 62 yaşındaki Hıdır Çalar'ı bıçakılayarak kayıplara kanştılar.

Şanlıurfa'da, Kayseri'de, Gaziantep'te basına yansıyan benzer olaylar aslında ülke genelinin tablosu... Bölgeye yaptığımız gezilerde yurttaşlarımızın Suriyeliler konusundaki sıkıntılarına birebir şahit oluyoruz.

Suriyeliler şu anda sınır illerimizde nüfus olarak vatandaşlarımızla yarışır durumda. Kira vermiyorlar, haştanelerde sıra beklemiyorlar, lokantalarda bedava yemek yiyorlar.

Çalışma ücreti konusunda da çok düşük ücrete razı oldukları için artık Arapça konuşan tezgâhtarlar bölgede ön plana çıkıyor.

Bölge halkı işsiz, aç ama Suriyeliler günden güne rahata kavuşuyorlar.

Gece çıkan olaylarda polisle çatışan halk, "Başbakan halimizi görsün, biz onlara evimizi açtık, ekmeğimizi verdik, namusumuzu, canımızı emanet ettik. Bunların yaptığı insanlığa sığar mı?" Prof. Dr. HAYDAR BAŞ

ş açarken, IŞİD'den kaçan Türkmenlere pasaportları olmadığı gerekçesiyle sınırdan geçiş hakkı vermediğini hatırlatalım... Haikumızı da anlamak mümkün değil. Onları bu noktaya taşıyan

değil. Onları bu noktaya taşıyan Başbakanı Antep hakı yüzde 60.48 oyla Cumhurbaşkanı olarak görmek istedi.

şeklinde tepkilerini dile getirdi.

Aynı Türk hükümetinin Suriyeli-

lere sınırlarımızı kontrolsüz şekilde

Şimdi kimi, kime şikâyet ediyorsunuz?

"Bu manzara, Güneydoğuyu gözden mi çıkardık" sorusunu akıllara getiriyor.

Türkiye, açılım sürecinde Güneydoğudaki ağırlığını zaten yitirmiştir. Bölgede Türk bayraklarını indirme cesareti gösterenlere rastlanmaktadır. Pasaport kontrolü yapılarak geçilen yerlerden bahsediliyor.

Gidişat federatif yapının konuşulduğu bugünlerde ortamın hazırlanışından başka bir mana ifade etmemektedir.

After the sample opinion columns, the first example of biased and discriminatory discourse in news articles is the one published on the 38<sup>th</sup> page of *Sabah* on August 13, 2014. The news item is about the rescue operation performed by Coast Guard Teams just when the Syrian refugees were about to drown. However, the title of the article is *"Refugee hunting on the Aegean and Mediterranean"*. Here, refugees are shown as beings to be hunted and they are 'othered' by dehumanization.



The other issue, which generates biased and discriminatory discourse in press, is to identify Syrian refugees with crime and local social problems. As a result of the study, 18 news items – three items in *Sabah*, five in *Hürriyet*, five in *Olay*, one in *Gaziantep Güneş*, and four in *Gaziantep 27* – are determined to be about Syrians allegedly got involved in crimes. For example, a news article published on the third page of *Sabah* on August 14, 2014 ironically relays the "*Syrian bag-snatcher*" news. In the article, the Syrian bag-snatcher, who pulled a woman to the floor as she did not let her bag go during the snatching, said "*I was exercising and her bag caught onto my arm*" in the court. This sentence is brought to the fore. Rather than reporting, the headline approached the matter in a sardonic tone. Besides Syrians were paired with bag-snatching.

# Kapkaççı değil s

Cantasini Murat KARAMAN / SABAH bırakmayan kadını yerlerde sürükleyen Suriyeli kapkaççı

dana'nın Yüreğir ilçesi Özgür Mahallesi'nde komşusu ile pazara giden 29 yaşındaki Hanife Yenice'ye arkadan yaklaşan kapkaççı, genç mahkemede "Spor kadının omzundaki çantayı almaya çalıştı. yapıyordum, çantası Kadını yerde sürükleyen kapkaççı, çevredekilerin olavı fark etmesi üzerine cantavı bırakıp koluma takıldı" diye savunma yaptı daşlar zanlıyı yakalayıp polise teslim etti.

Tercüman vardımı ile ifadesi alınan Surive uyruklu Ahmet Mustafa (26) suçlamayı kabul etmedi. Zanlının sorgusunda "Ben spor yapmak için çıkmıştım. Koşuvordum, yanından geçtiğim kadının çantasının askısı elime takıldı. Koştuğum için de askı da benimle birlik-te geldi. Kadın da yere düştü. Suçum yok, tek suçum spor yapmaktı" dediği öğrenildi. Ancak bu sıradısı savunma zanlıvı kurtarmaya vetmedi. "Yağma" suçundan adliyeye sevk edilen Ahmet Mustafa tutuklandı.



On the other hand, the news item published on the 20<sup>th</sup> page of *Hürriyet* on August 18, 2014 reports the fight broke out in the camp near Mardin, where Syrian refugees are brought on the grounds that they were involved in crimes in Konya and Gaziantep. According to the newspaper, 300 Syrians are already perpetrators and they committed crime here as well.



On their August 22, 2015 issues, both Hürriyet and Sabah report that three Syrians were shot to death in the apartment they rented in Hatay. Just a day later, on its August 23, 2014 issue, Hürriyet brought the allegations of prostitution to the fore in relation to the mentioned news about the murder of three Syrians. In this news item, Syrians are again paired with murder and prostitution. The next day, right after the murder, newspapers relate murders to prostitution allegations.



Hatay'da 3 Suriyeli evlerinde öldürüldü

Suriveli, kiraladıkları evlerinde silahla vurularak öldürüldü. Alınan bilgiye göre, bir yıl önce ülkelerindeki iç karışıklıktan kaça rak Antakya'ya geldikleri belirle-nen M.A.A. (21) isimli Suriyeli genç, H.H. ve M.H. isimlerindeki iki Suriveli bayanla birlikte üc katlı bir evin 3. katını kiralayarak burada yaşamaya başladı. Gelen su faturalarını vermek icin kapılarını çaldığı 2 aylık kiracılarından yanıt alamayan ve içeriden gelen pis kokular üzerine vedek anahtarla eve giren ev sahibi 3 Suriyelinin cesetleriyle karşılaştı. Ev sahibinin haber vermesi üzerine olav verine gelen Hatay İl Emniyet Müdürlüğü Cinayet Masası ekipleri, zanlıları tespit edebilmek için çevredeki işyerlerinin güvenlik kamerası görüntülerini topladı ve olayla ilgili geniş çaplı soruşturma başlattı. İHA

Hürriyet's news article dated August 21, 2014, on the other hand, is published with the title "Syrian attempted rape". The article contains the allegations that a 14-year old Syrian raped an eight-year old boy in İskenderun district of Hatay. The names were not given since both of them are children. However while indicating that the sex of eight year old, who was allegedly raped, is male; the sex of the aggressor is not written but only that he is a Syrian is asserted. In this news article too, Syrians are at the center of a lynching, but this time they are the subjects of a news article together with the crime of rape.



Gaziantep 27 relayed the murder of Hidir Çalan, who was a landlord in Gaziantep and was killed by his tenant, on the front page on August 13, 2014 in large font sizes with the headline "THEY MURDERED THE LANDLORD"; the story continued on the second page. The use of third person plural "THEY" in the title gives the impression that there are more than one Syrians involved in the crime and thereby actually targets all 'Syrians'. Additionally, the news is reported exaggeratedly and the expression "the landlord was stabbed in 40 times" is written.



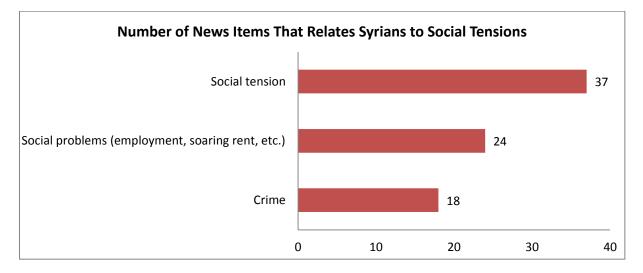
The killing of Hıdır Çalan is relayed in *Gaziantep Güneş* on the front page on August 13, 2014 with the headline "Our Fears Came True", by saying "Despite all the warnings of the authorities, **Syrian violence** showed itself **again**." In this way, the article forges a continuous link between Syrians and violence.



In the news article published on the front and sixth pages of *Olay* in August 2014, the headline *"Syrian Tension in Gaziantep Does Not End"* is written in large font sizes and the expression *"Trouble Again"* is also written.



Another form of 'othering' towards Syrians is to make Syrian refugees responsible for the social problems in Gaziantep. This is done by giving coverage to the discourse of local people in Gaziantep via **vox populi (man-on-the-street interviews)** and by trying to justify the discourse that the crux of social problems is Syrian refugees. A total of eight items taking Syrian refugees as the crux of social problems are at the mainstream media: in *Sabah* newspaper there are two news items related Syrian refugees to social tensions; in *Hürriyet*, on the other hand, there are three news items related them to social tensions, one to soaring rents, and four to problems in labor and employment. The situation is worse in local press. In *Olay*, Syrian refugees are shown to be the source of the social tensions in nine news items. Whereas in *Gaziantep Güneş*, Syrian refugees are shown to be the crux of social tensions in 12 news items, of soaring rents in four, and of problems related to labor and employment in two news items. So a total of 18 news items point Syrian refugees as the crux of the problems. In *Gaziantep 27*, 11 news items about social tensions, two items about soaring rents, and five items about labor and employment present Syrian refugees as the crux of the problems. Therefore a total of 55 news items relate Syrian refugees to social problems.



While relating social tensions to Syrians in the news item on August 16, 2014, *Hürriyet* indicates that the Syrian offenders would be deported.



In the news article published on the seventh page of *Gaziantep 27* on August 19, 2014, just under the headline "*Rents cost an arm and a leg*", the statement "*The citizens and real estate agents say that the rents have soared since Syrian refugees arrived in the city, hence the tension stems from this fact*" is written and it is expressed that the cost of living is getting harder.



In another news article published on the second page of *Gaziantep 27* on August 20, 2014, under the title *"The refugee beggars tucker us out,"* it is complained about too many Syrian refugees allegedly begging in the city; and thereby another social problem is related to refugees once again.



In the news article headlined "*The main reason of the tension is HOUSES FOR RENT*", which was given a full-page coverage on August 19, 2014, *Gazinatep Güneş* identifies the reason of soaring rents with the arrival of Syrians.



In the special news published on the front page and continued on the seventh page of *Gaziantep 27* on August 20, 2014, "*Is this Antep or Syria*?" is headlined. In the article, all kinds of social problems from soaring rents, to unemployment, Syrians' not paying any taxes, increase in prices and security are linked to Syrian refugees' arrival in the city.



### - Security-Oriented Point of View

Another conspicuous subject, which is discussed both in mainstream and local media, is security. With regards to news in the media, Syrians are explicitly seen as a security problem. Nevertheless, a point of view based on the human dimension of security related to the problems of housing, employment, education, and health care that are of particular concern to both Syrian refugees and local people is out of question.

In international human rights law and treaties, human rights are framed from an 'episodic' approach. Within the scope of this approach, human rights law embodies the relationship between the violator of human rights and the ones whose rights are violated. However, the process, which is related to fundamental human rights and especially related to refugees that are one of the most vulnerable groups, is a dynamic process often unforeseen and extends over time. Moreover, it takes place within a specific social framework. Hence, the process related to human rights in general and specifically to rights of refugees, requires understanding of current context. Therefore, it is almost a requirement today to approach the problems of human rights and freedoms from a wider perspective. When looked from this angle, the concept of 'human security' and approaches presented from the framework of this concept might help us in understanding and solving the problems related to human rights and freedoms, from a wider framework. The concept of human security, although it has its origins in the past and even in the introductory part of UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, is first discussed comprehensively in UN Development Programme's (UNDP) Human Development Report in 1994

UNDP Human Development Report 1994 defines human security as "freedom from fear" and, in relation to the processes of human development, as "freedom from want". In parallel with these, human security is considered under seven titles: Economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security, and political security.<sup>56</sup> In short, economic security means guaranteeing basic means of living, with which individuals can maintain their lives; food security means that all people have both physical and economical access to basic food; health security means prophylaxis, i.e. prevention of diseases and unhealthy living conditions; environmental security means preventing ecocide; personal security means protection of an individual from physical violence of the state, non-state actors or other people; community security means the prevention of ethnic violence and loss of cultural identity; and political security means benefiting from human rights completely.<sup>57</sup> Human security approach is also adopted for understanding and solving ever-increasing problems of refugees.<sup>58</sup> It is possible to define this

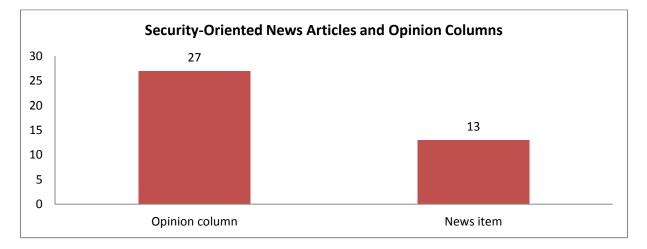
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> The United Nations Development Program, "*Human Development Report 1994*", for the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), New York Oxford University Press, 1994, pp. 23-24

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> The United Nations Development Program, "Human Development Report 1994", ibid. pp. 23-33

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Alice Edwards and Carla Ferstman, "Humanising non-citizens: the convergence of human rights and human security", in Human Security And Non-Citizens, Ed. Alice Edwards, Carla Ferstman, Cambridge University Press 2009, pp.3-46; Astri Suhrke, "Human security and the protection of refugees", in Refugees and forced displacement: International security, human vulnerability, and the state, Ed:Edward Newman and Joanne van Selm, The United Nations University Press, 2003, pp.93-108; Mehreen Afzal, "Rethinking Asylum: The Feasibility of Human Security As New Ratione Personae Protection", JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW & POLICY Vol. III,

approach as humanization of security, in short. Besides, the concept of human security is not limited to the aforementioned titles that we have shortly defined. It has taken on multi-dimensions like protection, gender equality, and accountability of the state.<sup>59</sup>

On the other hand, conventional security reduces security to militarized or policing sense of security and limits security as "national or homeland security" and "public security". It is obvious that in print press, the news articles on precautions taken against Syrian refugees are presented from the conventional security rather than human security point of view. 27 news articles, which are analyzed in regard of the precautions taken during the events that broke after the landlord in Gaziantep was killed by the Syrian tenant, report about the conventional security measures. 13 opinion columns out of 33 are written from the conventional security problems and once more they are 'othered'.



It is possible to see the conventional security approach not only in news contents but also on visuals as well. The news article, which is published on the 20<sup>th</sup> page of *Hürriyet* on August 23, 2014, reports the meeting in Ankara that is especially declared to be about Syrian refugees. The choice of photography for this article is really noteworthy. It overshadows the title and content of the news article, and presents a threatening image. Names and titles of those in the photography are: On the upper photograph from left to right are Hakan Fidan, Undersecretary of the National Intelligence Organization, Abdullah Atay, Commander of the Turkish Gendarmerie Forces, and İsmet Yıldız, Minister of National Defense. Just below them is the photograph of Beşir Atalay, Deputy Prime Minister and the Minister responsible of AFAD. Below that are Hulusi Akar, Commander of the Turkish Land Forces, and Yaşar Güler, Deputy Chief of the Turkish Armed Forces. All the names of the senior civil and military officials are written on the photographs. Aside from that, there are three senior generals and the undersecretary, who is responsible for intelligence, are on the photographs;

A student-run publication at the University of Pennsylvania; Ian McGrath, "Enhanced refugee registration and human security in northern Ecuador", Research Paper No. 198, Policy Development and Evaluation Service United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, January 2011

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> See: Journal of Human Security Studies, Japan Association for Human Security Studies, Vol. 2(1). Winter 2013; Human Security 'More than an Abstract Concept' — for Hungry Family, It's Food on the Table, for Refugee, It's Shelter from Conflict, General Assembly Told, UNHCR, 4 June 2012, GA/11246, available on the web site: <a href="http://www.un.org/press/en/2012/ga11246.doc.htm">http://www.un.org/press/en/2012/ga11246.doc.htm</a>. Last Date of Access: May 14, 2015.

the fact that one of the ministers is the Minister of National Defense gives the impression that instead of the problems of Syrian refugees, there is a discussion about a military action!



A visual, similar to the one we have presented above, is used, this time, on the 21<sup>st</sup> page of *Sabah* on August 24, 2014 with the title "*Syrians' crime rate is low*". The news article is a typical reflection of conventional security approach both visually and contextually. The visual, on the one hand, brings those responsible for security to the fore; and, on the other hand, pairs Syrians with crime.



It is possible to see news items, similar to those given above, in local press too. The first example is the news item published on the front and third pages of *Olay* on August 15, 2014. In the middle of the visual is Gaziantep Governor Erdal Ata, in his left are Gaziantep Mayor Fatma Şahin and AFAD Provincial Director Sinan Atakan, and in his right are Provincial Gendarmerie Regiment Commander Colonel Adnan Arslan and Gaziantep Provincial Police Chief Ali Gezer. In the visual, senior officials, who are responsible for security, appear with civil authorities again. The content of the news is

parallel to the visual as well. From what is written in the article, it is understood that almost all the precautions taken related to Syrian refugees are policing precautions.



*Gaziantep Güneş* published a photograph, similar to the one above, in the article on August 15, 2014 on the full ninth page with the headline "*Ata: It is not like as exaggeratedly presented*". The news item mentions about the policing security measures taken.



The same visual is given with the headline "A LINE IS DRAWN IN THE SAND" above the fold in large font sizes in *Gaziantep 27* newspaper's August 15, 2014 issue. In the photograph, those, who are responsible for the security, appear again with civil authorities. The subjects that are brought to the fore in the article are directly about policing security measures. The news article quotes Governor Ata: "*Syrians involved in crime and disturb the public peace are not allowed to make any scene. I wish that none of our citizens support and help those persons and groups, who want to lead them off, on the pretext of different incidents and isolated events, by causing public indignation in a way to break the peace.*" At the end of the article, although lynching attempts towards Syrians are not approved, the reason indicated for that disapproval is "public order"!



This conventional form of security comes with conspiracy theories. The news article published on the front page of *Olay* on August 18, 2014 asks: "*Does Assad stir up trouble in Gaziantep*?"; and then it is written: "*It is brought forward that the driving force behind the events in Gaziantep is the Assad supporters.*"



The conventional form of security manifests itself not only in state-led reports but also in news articles about NGOs. The news article titled "The Call For Common Sense" published in the August 21, 2014 issue of *Gaziantep Güneş* is a solid example to that kind of news. The news article gives a wide coverage to the statement of NGOs. The statement is read by İsmail Bono, Chairperson of the Gaziantep Division of Religious Vocational High Schools Alumni Association. According to the statement, "It is a fact that there are some spies that come to our country and break the peace by the

order of Assad." According to the news article, there are provocateurs that want to benefit from the unrest and among these provocateurs are also spies that serve under Assad. "Among our people are some bottom feeders that exploit the incidents. These bottom feeders broke our inner peace by sweating our Syrian brothers and sisters and paying them very low wages. Besides these local bottom feeders, there are foreign bottom feeders, who go into the effort of weakening our country on the excuse of our Syrian siblings, as we have experienced during the Gezi Events." Hereby Gezi Events also got drawn into these discussions and it is implied that we are in both national and international plot.



Similar to news article, there are instances of conspiracy theories and conventional security approach in opinion columns as well. The opinion column published on the front page of *Gaziantep 27* on August 18, 2014 is a typical example. The column is written by the writer Ökkeş Özekşi, who is also the owner of the newspaper. In his article titled "*When will we wake up*?" under the subtitle "*Alarm Bells Are Ringing*", Ökkeş Özekşi writes about Gaziantep "*Secret agents and spies abound in this city; and from the reactions in some neighborhoods can we read that some of those, who are open to provocation, are prodded into action*" in bold. He cites an anonymous person – at the end of the article, it is understood that that person came to Gaziantep from Aleppo and sometime later he left Gaziantep, and Turkey even – "*Assad agents abound in the city*."

| ÖKKES   | dəvranışı bu şehre ciddi manada sıkıntı yarattı.<br>Öyle bir başıboşluk yaratıldı ki, kimse Gaziantep'in<br>yarınını düşünemedi göremedi   | ayrılan arsaları ele gieçirip konut yapmak, varsa<br>yoksa rant hesapları yani inanılmaz bir vurdum-<br>duymazlık, inanılmaiz bir başıboşluk   | aranacağı kent haline gelme tehlikesi kimsenin<br>umurunda değil Şehrin önde gelenleri ve beyaz<br>Antepliler B planı yapma hesabı güderken, doğup  |  |
|---|--|--|---|--|
|   | OZEKŞI<br>GAZİANTEP İÇİN TEHLİKE ÇANLARI ÇALIYOR   | BU KADAR AYMAJZLIK OLMAZ   | büyüdükleri kentin göz göre göre, ciddi tehlikenin<br>içine atılmasını hiç umursamıyorlar   |  |
| HAFTAYA BAKIS   | Ve maalesef işte o yarınlar dediğimiz, bugünler pat<br>diye karşımıza dikiliyerdi Çünkü artık eski yan-  | İnanın kimse farkındla değil. Gaziantep elden<br>gidiyor, herkes seyrediyor. We bu seyir halindeki<br>Gaziantepi n, Kırtuluş savaşından ber elde ettiği<br>kahramanlık ürvanır, yavaş yavaş etkisini kaybedi-<br>yor, umusayan yok. Son yıllarda tarihi ve kultitel<br>yöndeki çıkşlarıyla Dünyaya duşurduğu sesi kısılma-<br>ya başlamış hala herkes aras ve rant derinde. Yük-<br>selen ihracatıyla kent ve ülke ekonomisine sağladığı<br>katıdanından dolayı parlayan Güneş'in onona<br>olumsuz bulutlar kapılamış herkes nasıl olsa açlır<br>diye beklyor. Bankılar gouxya yatımış en küçük bir<br>olumsuzlukla düğmeşe basarak, ama kimse oral<br>değil. Şehirde tetrir sesleri geliyor, burun israetleri<br>şimdilik bazı mahalleelerde veriliyor ama herkeste<br>il aymazlık devam edyor. Son 10 yılda kultu ve<br>sanat etkinlikderiyle. Zeugma Muzeliyle, yerenkleri,<br>kebaplan ve baklava faraya yetti yabarat turistlerin<br>üşdarı nokası haline geriniler kiri sayet konulabilecek<br>horkaya geturlimşi inamı kırseler farkında değil. | ESAD'IN AJANLARI ŞEHİRDE CİRİT ATIYOR   |  |
| NE ZAMAN UYANACAĞIZ<br>Suriyeller konusunda artik eskiye yönelik birsey<br>yazmanın anlamı yok diye düşdutiyonum. Artik<br>yazmanın anlamı yok diye düşdutiyonum. Artik<br>yanları yazık, bunları soyledik, uyardık filan de-<br>meyeceğim. Zamanında diyeceğimüzi dedik zaten.<br>Bu konuda gazetemizin arşıvime bakınak yeter-<br>li. Net bir gekilde ifade etmek gerekirse, Suriye<br>politikamızı başındarı beri yanlış olduğunu ve bu<br>yanlışta ısara edildiği çin, şimdi çinden çıkılmaz bir<br>onktaya gelindiğini soylemem yeterli alacaktır.<br>Şimdi geçmişi bir kenara bırakıyor ve başka bir<br>uyanda bulunmak tistyorum. Çınku Suriyeller<br>konusunda maalesef çin şeki'değişiyor. Haliyle<br>olan Gaziantepe oluyuc. Bu zamana kadar Ankara | lışlar ve hatalar yüzünden, Gaziantey'in Dünyanın<br>en başlobş sehirlerinden birsi haline getirildiğini<br>görüyoruz üzülerek. Ajanların, casusların cirit<br>attığı bu kentte, provokasyona ack kişilerin<br>harekete geçirildiğini bazı mahallekerdeki tep-<br>kilerden okuyabiliyoruz., Şehirde öyle başlooşluk<br>var ki, daha ne olduğun ve ne yaşbıklanın bir<br>türlü anlayamadığımız süriyeli muhalitlerin, Fevzi<br>çakmak Bülvanna duvarları çevinimiş hölkümet<br>binasına sadece bakarak geçebiliyoruz. Akyol<br>mahalleşinde bir tv binasını sınır öteşi yaralıları<br>çin hastane haline getirildiğini duyuyoruz hayret<br>edercesine. Şehirize birdek bölgesinde İşlD<br>yanıllarının faaliyet gösterdiğine ayan beyan osoyal<br>medyada şahit olabiliyoruz endişeyle. |  | Kimse, inanin hiç kimse umursamıyor bunları. Tışıka<br>yakın geçmişte umursanmadığı gibi. Bakın size bir<br>gerçegi söyleyevim, Gazianeli ülkesinde olaylanı<br>çıkarağını önceden sezdiği için çoluğunu rocuğunu<br>çıkarağını önceden sezdiği için çoluğunu rocuğunu<br>çıkarağını önceden sezdiği için çoluğunu rocuğunu<br>çılar 3 vi ilene Gazianteği çe gelmişti. Buyduşehir<br>belediyesinde danışmanlık yaptı sonra Universiteye<br>getti. Simdi bu kişi (temnir yazımak istemiyorum)<br>bir süre önce sessize Gazianteği ten ayrıldı başka<br>çiderken söylediği sözler, işte yukanda anlatmaya<br>çiderken söylediği sözler, işte yukanda anlatmaya<br>çalıştığın tehlikenin habersis inteliğinde, Çıkıka<br>çalıştığın tehlerinin kabersis inteliğinde, Çıkıka<br>belediye başkanının söylediğine göre. Gazian<br>çalıştığın tehlerinin baberisine düşürmek çünka<br>başaştırmak, insanları birbirine düşürmek çünka<br>çası senaryalar yapılıyor. Kimsede bunun farkında<br>değil |  |
| merkezli talimatlarla yürütülmeye çalışılan Suri-<br>yeliler yüzünden, şehrimiz çok ciddi bir tehlikenin  | HERKES OLANLARI SEYREDİYOR<br>Hersey gözler önünde oluyor ama halk olarak care-<br>siz gözlerle sadece seyrediyoruz. Bakan'lar, Millet-<br>vekilleri, Valiller, Belediye Başkanları, Kaymakamlar,<br>Ermiyet yetkilleri, Sanayi ve Ticaret Odaları, Siyasi<br>partiler, Demekler, Sirklar, medya, yerel TV'ler ve<br>tüm şehin. Herkes sadece seyrediyor olup bitenleri,<br>Kimse elini taşın altına koymuyor. Kimse telihkeyi<br>görmek istemiyor, veya ciddiye almıyoz. Varsa<br>yoksa arsaoilk, varsa yoksa veşil alanları, götime  |  |   |  |
| ucağına atılıverdi Siyasilerin bilinen ve görülen<br>receklerden uzak, sığınmacı uvgularmasına kon-   |  | BEYAZ ANTEPLİLEIR B PLANI YAPIYOR  |   |  |
| feynir ve çadır kent dişında izin verilmemesi gere-<br>kirken, tam tersine tüm Suriyelileri misafir statüsüne<br>koyma hataş, şehide kontrolün elden koçınlımaş,<br>bu yöndeki uyanlara kulak tıkanması, Gaziantep'e<br>gelecek adına indirilen en büyük darbeydi. İşin<br>trajikomik yanı ise, bu konuda iş dünyasının ücuz<br>Suriyeli işçi sevadaş, ev ve işyeri sahiplerinin açopzü   |  | Ne yazik ki, Gaziantegi te herkes bir yol tutturmuş<br>gidiyor, Şehrin sahibiyim diye gezenler, odalar,<br>dernekler, STK'lar kürçük hesaplarla uğraşırken,<br>şehrin sakinleri için uürtukaki tehlikleyi kimse görmek<br>istemiyor. Gaziantep kimyası ve dengesi bozuları<br>bir sehir oluken, tok deği 15 da yona bu ucillerin   | Evet., Bu sözleri söyleyen kişi, tıpki bir zamanlar<br>tehilkenin geldiğini gördüğü Haleçi terkederek<br>Gazianteçi' eçlen kişi., Veşmid tehilkenin geldiğini<br>görerek Gazianteçi 'hatta Türkiyeyi terkeden bir kişi.<br>YORUM SIZLERIN.<br>Heoinize ivi haftalar.  |  |

In İbrahim Özbakır's opinion column titled "*The Problem of Asylum Seekers*" published in Gaziantep Güneş on August 19, 2014, Syrians are held responsible for the growing unemployment and soaring rents. According to the article, that situation lashed people into a fury; and people hit the streets as a result of some 'provocations'. Just at his exact moment, he suddenly starts to talk about Gezi Events and writes: "*At this point, we should not let a group of power elites to cause civil disorder by exploiting some sensitivity of the citizens, just like it happened during Gezi events.*" To sum up, the events in Gaziantep – and Gezi Park protests as well – are the works of "*a group of power elites*".



In the August 22, 2014 issue of *Olay* newspaper, the opinion column titled "*Games Played in Gaziantep and in the Region*" written by Ali İhsan Türkyiğit is another typical example of conventional security approach, on the one hand, and example of biased discourses, on the other. To start with, the fact that those, who speak Arabic in and around Mardin and Hatay, is related to their being Nusayris – i.e. Arabic Alevis – and at the same time to their being close to Assad regime and to Al-Mukhabarat, the intelligence organization of Assad. A complicated discussion on security is presented and conspiracy theories are generated in the article.

Arapça bilen yıllardır pek yoktu. Her dili öğrenmek mubah, Arapçaya heves etmek ise yobazlık zannedilirdi.

Mardin ve Hatay civarında Arapça konuşanlar vardı. Mardin tarafındakiler tahsilsizdi ve kamu kurumları Arapça bilen personel ihtiyacını Nusayri vatandaslar arasından karsıladı.

Kurumlarda çalışan Arapça bilen personelin mezhepçilik yaptıkları, yaşadığı ülkesine değil Beşar Esad rejimine ve El Muhaberat'a yakınlık duydukları ortaya çıktı.

Hala güvenlik kurumları aynı açmazın içindedir. Bir taraftan hükümeti yıpratmak için firsat kollayan cemaatçiler, diğer yandan mezhepçiler,

# **GAZİANTEP VE BÖLGEDE OYUNLAR**

ellerinden gelen fenalığı yaparken bunlara bir de yetersizlerin hataları eklendi. Kaos bölgeye bağıra bağıra geldi. Şehirlerdeki düzensizliği ve kayıtsızlığı giktermek için amaçlanan yeni kamp inşası bugünden yarına kolayca yapıla-

madığı için sorun büyüdü. Suriyelilere karşı eylem yapılacağı bilinmesine rağmen önlenmedi. Olay çıkacağını her vatandaş bilirken nedense bir tek görevil ama sorumsuz olanlar bilemedi.

Çevik kuvvet yığmak yerine, istihbaratın o gurupların içine girmesi gereğini bile bile ihmal ettiler. Şimdilik ortalık durulmuş gibi görünü-

ALİ İHSAN TÜRKYİĞİT Yor. Ancak tekrar çıkacak olaylarda kan dökülürse mülki amirler ve sıralı sorumluların canı yanacaktır.

> Vatandaşa kusur bulmak beyhudedir. Kolayca kandırılan gençler yerine görevini yapmayan veya yapamayan-

lardan hesap sorulmalıdır. Basındaki tüm şişirmelere rağmen istihbaratımızın yetersizliği açıktır.

Mükemmel olduğu için Bakan yapılması düşünülen müsteşar hala örgütünü revize edememistir.

Emniyetin cemaatten temizlenmesi ise ham hayaldir. On iki yıldır cemaatin insafına terk edilen kurumun, bir çırpıda temizlenme beklentisi mantık dısıdır.

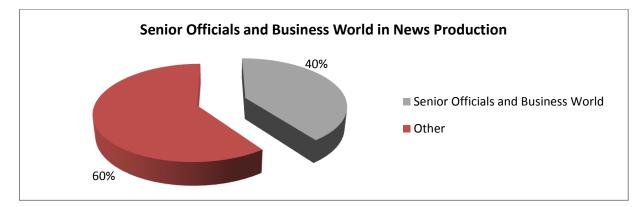
Zaten HSVK seçimlerinde cemaat başarılı olursa eski hesaplar açılacak ve yargıç iktidan ne demekmiş tüm ülke yaşayacaktır.

Tabii ki sorumlu iktidardır. İşini yapmayanlardan hesap sormak onların görevidir. Yıllar önce dikilen fidanın dallarının kurumunda bile uzamaması iktidarın sorumluluğudur.

Yabancı ajanların cirit attığı, istedikleri kumpası kurdukları dikkate alınırsa her an yeni hareketlenmeler beklenmelidir. Daha iki gün önce suya zehir attıdı yalanının yarattığı panık unutulmamalıdır.

#### - Social Production of News and 'Othering' Role of the Media

70 out of 177 news items monitored in print media give references to political agents – such as the President of the Republic, Prime Minister, Deputy Prime Minister, Gaziantep Governor, Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality Mayor, Gaziantep Provincial Police Chief, District Governor, Gaziantep provincial representatives of political parties including the governing party, and members of the Parliament – and prominent people in Gaziantep business world and also important people closely associated with the business world, such as the Chairperson of the Chamber of Commerce. However, what Syrians feel under these adverse events appeared in only three news articles. Yet, one out of these three news articles is based on the statement of an ordinary Syrian refugee, and that person is a Turkmen. The sources of the other two news articles are senior officials of Syrian opposition and both of these news articles present pro-government statements.



On the other hand, there are three news items based on famous people, who are not political entities, high state officials or representatives of any trade association. Two of these news articles are based on interviews with Author Ahmet Ümit and the other is based on the interview with journalist Fatih Altaylı. All three news items are published in *Gaziantep Güneş*. Non-government organizations appear in only 15 news items. Three of these news articles are humanitarian aid news. 11 news articles are based on press statements of NGOs; three of these are published in *Gaziantep 27*, three are published in *Gaziantep Güneş*, and five items are published in *Olay*. As we have given examples above, only six of these news items are press statements of rights-based NGOs. In none of the news articles, NGOs and especially rights-based NGOs working for the human rights of refugees are consulted. In only one news article, the expert opinions have appeared; and that article was published in *Gaziantep Güneş*. While all are negative, only eight items are based on ordinary citizens.

This state of print press is compatible with the concepts of 'primary definer' and 'secondary definer' developed by Stuart Hall, Chas Critcher, Tony Jefferson, John Clarke, and Brian Roberts within the scope of critical media theories. According to these theories, primary definers are higher status people, who are consulted, and, whose opinions are asked in controversial cases. Secondary definers, on the other hand, are the media that re-generate the news, which are framed by primary definers; that is to say the media, which base the news on mentioned higher status people, are the secondary definers. Media, thereby, re-generates the dominant ideology.<sup>60</sup> A similar interpretation is made by Majid KhosraviNik through the concept of 'symbolic elites' with reference to Teun A. van Dijk. Politicians, journalists, pundits, writers, directors, and policymakers of media on the international level, who access and maintain the control over mass media as symbolic elites, re-generate and recreate hegemonic stories.<sup>61</sup> Below are some examples to these concepts.

The first example of these concepts is the news item published on the 14<sup>th</sup> page of *Sabah* on August 23, 2014, in which the Deputy Prime Minister and the minister responsible of AFAD, Beşir Atalay's statement "*We are the third country who contributes the most for Syria*," has appeared. The news is given with reference to one of the most authoritative and top senior politicians.



# "Suriye'ye en çok yardım yapan üçüncü ülkeyiz"

BAŞBAKAN Yardımcısı Beşir Atalay'ın başkanlığında Suriyeli siğınmacılarla ilgili yapılan toplantıya Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanı Faruk Çelik, Milli Eğitim Bakanı Nabi Avcı, Milli

Savunma Bakanı İsmet Yılmaz, Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanı Ayşenur İslam, Kara Kuvvetleri Komutanı Org. Hulusi Akar, Jandarma Genel Komutanı Org. Abdullah Atay, Genelkurmay İkinci Başkanı Org. Yaşar Güler, MİT Müsteşarı Hakan Fidan katıldı. Atalay, Suriyelilerin 22 kampta kaldığını söyledi. İllerdeki Suriyeli sayısının 1 milyon 140 bin olduğunu belirten Atalay, Güneydoğu'da sosyopolitik değişim yaşandığını ve çıkan olayların büyütüldüğünü kaydetti. Atalay, "2014 Küresel

Insani Yardım Raporu'na göre en çok insani yardım yapan ülkeler sıralamasında Türkiye, ABD ve İngiltere'nin ardından 3'üncü. 2013'te 1.6 milyar dolar, toplamda 3.5 milyar dolarlık harcama yaptık. BM'den 233 milyon dolar destek geldi. 69 bin Suriyeli öğrenci eğitim görüyor. 5 milyon 400 bin Suriyeli tedavi edildi" dedi. ANKARA

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Stuart Hall, Chas Critcher, Tony Jefferson, John Clarke, Brian Roberts, "*Policing The Crisis: Mugging, The State, And Law And Order*", The Macmillan Press Ltd, Reprinted edition 1982, pp.53-74; Also see: Bob Franklin, Martin Hamer, Mark Hanna, Marie Kinsey and John E. Richardson, "*Primary definition*" in Key Concepts in Journalism Studies, SAGE Publications Ltd, First published 2005, pp.196-197.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Majid KhosraviNik, "The representation of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants in British newspapers during the Balkan conflict (1999) and the British general election (2005)", Discourse Society, SAGE Publications, 2009 20: 479.

In the news item, which is given a wide coverage on the front page and continued on the second page of *Gaziantep 27* published on August 15, 2014, prominent names of the business and political world appears.



The sources of the news article, which is published on the eighth page of *Gaziantep Güneş* published on August 14, 2014, are prominent political people and the source of the article on the ninth page is the Chairperson of Gaziantep Chamber of Commerce.



An article, which was published on the front-page of the August 20, 2014 issue of *Gaziantep 27*, is really an interesting example both for giving coverage to the statement of a senior executive and for the discrepancy between the title of the news and the content of the news. The article is based on the statement, which is made by the President of Religious Affairs, Prof. Mehmet Görmez, about

Syrian refugees. Actually, the statement given by the President of Religious Affairs is about refugee children's right to education. However, the headline is written: "Religious Affairs' Criticism of Syrians". However, within the body of the article it is said that Mehmet Görmez, rather than criticizing Syrians, criticizes the deficiencies of the organizations for Syrian refugees; and he says "6 million children were deprived of their rights to education."



The news article published on the seventh page of *Olay* on August 15, 2014 is based on the statements of Cahit Nakıpoğlu, who is one of the most prominent businessmen of Gaziantep and also the Board Chairperson of the Gaziantep Organized Industrial Zone:

# Nakıboğlu'ndan sağduyu çağrısı

Gaziantep Organize Sanayi Bölgesi Yönetim Kurulu Başkanı Cahit Nakıboğlu, Suriyeli sığınmacılar konusunda vatandaşlara sağduyulu olmaları yönünde çağrıda bulundu.



The news articles, which were published on August 21, 2014 issues of both *Olay* and *Gaziantep Güneş* newspapers, were about the Gaziantep Şahinbey District Governor's visit of Gaziantep Journalists Association in connection with Syrian refugees and the events in Gaziantep. News was given on the front pages of both newspapers. While *Gaziantep Güneş* published the article with the

headline "What Has to Be Done Is Done", Olay's headline was "THEY ARE GRATEFUL TO US". "They" in this title is Syrian refugees. Both primary and secondary definers are together in the news item!





Sayın valimizin önderliğinde ciddi çalışmalar yapılıyor. Bizlerde Gaziantep Gazeteciler Cemiyeti olarak bu sağ duyu çalışmalarına destek olmaya devam edeceğiz. Gaziantep her dönem böyle kritik süreçler yaşamıştır. Diğer illerde ve ülkelerde misafirper ver olarak tanımlanan kentimizin bu özelliğini sürürerek bu sürecide en iyi şekilde atlatacağını düşünüyorum." diye konuştu. BÜLTEN

Similarly news, in which both primary and secondary definers appear side by side, is reflected on the August 22, 2014 issues of *Olay* and *Gaziantep Güneş*. The news is about the statements of Gassan Hitto, who is the President of Syrian Business Forum and also the Interim Prime Minister. The news is published on the front and second pages of *Olay*; and on the front and third pages of *Gaziantep Güneş*. The title brought to the fore is "*WE ARE GRATEFUL*".



Another example in which media re-generates the dominant ideology is the opinion column titled "Syrian Tension and Call for Common Sense", which is written by Tayfun Katırcı and published in Olay on August 14, 2014. The writer starts his article with the sentence: "Gaziantep residents should really act with discretion over these events" and gives coverage to Gaziantep Governor Erdal Ata and Gaziantep Municipality Mayor Fatma Şahin's calls for common sense. However, as we have mentioned above the same writer wrote, "those murderous spirited Syrians in downtown of Gaziantep should be taken out of the city," on the same newspaper under the same column just a day before.

# SURİYE'Lİ GERGİNLİĞİ VE SAĞ DUYU ÇAĞRISI

TAYFUN

Gaziantep'lilerin gerçekten de bu olaylar karşısında sağ duyulu olması gerek:

Çünkü, bu olayları provoke eden insanlar da olabilir.

Bu nedenle, bir ata sözüne göre, "Kurunun Yanında, Yaş da Yanmasın".

Her Suriye'li vatandaş kötü insan değildir. Bu nedenle, tüm Suriye'li vatandaşlara kötü

gözle bahılmaması gerek. Ayrıca, Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanı Fatma Şahin, Gaziantep te bulunan Suriyelilerin bir bölümünün İslahiye'de yapımına başlanan 25 bin kişilik

kampa gönderileceğini, ihtiyaç halinde aynı bölgeye 2'nci bir kamp daha kurulabileceğini açıkladı. Yaklaşık 3 yıldan bu yana Gazianteplilerin Suri-

yeli sığınmacılara karşı güçlü bir misafirperverliği

Vaklaşık 3 yıldan beri herkes evini açtı; ekmeğini paylaştı. Hakikaten çok güçlü bir misafirper verlik gösterildi.

Ancak, bu misafir perlikten dolayı da Gaziantep halkına bu yapılmamalıydı ve böyle üzücü ve acı verici olaylar yaşanmamalıydı. Yaşanan bu olaylar, hem Suriye liler

açıcından hem de Gaziantep'liler açısından hem üzücü hem de ayıp veren bir olay oldu.

Gaziantep'te son günlerde yaşanan Suriyeli sığımmacılara yönelik gerginliğin tırmanmasının ardından, kentte alarm verildi ve bazı kritik semtlerde güvenlik önlemleri üst seviyeye çıkarıldı. 200 bini aşkın Suriyelinin yaşadığı Gaziantep'te, protesto olaylarının yoğunlaştığı semtlerde güvenlik önlemleri ise had safhaya çekildi.

Yeni gerginlikler yaşanmaması için Gaziantep Valisi Erdal Ata ile Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanı Fatma Şahin, sağduyu çağrısı yaparak, provokasyonlara gelinmemesini istediler.

Bu arada, yapılan araştırmalara göre, Gaziantep'te, protesto gösterilerinin temel nedeninin ise Suriyelilerin gelişi ile birlikte artan

kiralar ve işsizlik olduğu belirtiliyor. Resmi kayıtlara göre yaklaşık 200 bin, gayrı res-

mi olarak ise 300 bin civarında Suriyelinin yaşadığı tahmin edilen Gaziantep te, sığınmacıların gelişi ile birlikte kinalar 2-3 kat arttı. Daha önce 150 lira civarında olan ve çoğunluğu asgari ücretle çalışanların oturduğu kenar semtlerickki evlerin kirası 400 liraya yükselirken, Suriyelilerin düşük ücretle çalışması veya açtıkları işyerlerinde vergi ve SGK giderleri olmadığı için haksızı rekabete yol açtığını ileri sürenlerin de tepki gösterdiği ortaya çıktı.

Kentle 2 gündlir devam eden Suriyeli sığımmacılar ve Türk vatandaşlar arasındaki gerginliğin geçici bir durum olmasını dilerken, buradan Gaziantep halkını ise sağduyulu olmaya davet ediyorum.

Ancak, bu durum kalıcı değildir, hükümetimiz, Gaziantep Valimiz, Büyükşehir ve ilçe belediye başkanlarımız bu duruma acil çare bulacaktır.

Bu arada, hem sağduyu olalım, hem de provokasyonlara da gelmeyelim...

#### **Conclusion and Evaluation**

The findings of this study, in which limited number of mainstream newspapers and mostly the print press in Gaziantep are monitored about Syrian refugees, are in parallel to the extremely limited number of research on the subject. Actually there are a great number of researches conducted on the representation of minorities, immigrants, LGBTI individuals on the media, especially in the European region. A considerable part of these researches are based on Socio-Cognitive Approach of Teun A. van Dijk and Discourse-Historical Approach of Ruth Wodak. These researches study the racist and xenophobic discourse in different contexts and focus on ethnic minorities, asylum seekers and refugees. <sup>62</sup> However there are an extremely limited number of researches, which study the periods of mass migration such as Syrian refugees. An important part of these researches are conducted by Majid KhosraviNik. One of the best examples on this subject is the research, which Majid KhosraviNik conducted in 1999, on the British media related to Kosovar refugees' mass migration to United Kingdom from Kosovo, during the conflicts in the Balkans, in former Yugoslavia.<sup>63</sup> This period is also the period that European countries invented 'temporary protection', which the Republic of Turkey provides for Syrian refugees now!

In the study conducted by Majid KhosraviNik, liberal quality newspapers *The Guardian* and *The Observer*; conservative quality newspapers *The Times* and *The Sunday Times*; tabloid newspapers *The Daily Mail* and *The Mail on Sunday* are studied. Majid KhosraviNik's findings are extremely interesting. In the early stages of his study, scan was done by the key word 'refugee'. When the word 'refugee' was scanned in line with the general macro-structure at work, the result was positive. Refugees' ordeal was mentioned, the point of view of those, who fled due to war, was given and a humane approach was presented. There was a general sympathy towards refugees, who fled the war. With some exceptions, when the word 'refugee' was scanned at the micro-language level the general outlook was also positive. However, Majid KhosraviNik indicates that the attribution of 'positive' is actually a problematic concept. For example, at the first stage, those discourses of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Majid KhosraviNik, "Actor descriptions, action attributions, and argumentation: towards a systematization of CDA analytical categories in the representation of social groups", Critical Discourse Studies, Routledge, Vol. 7, No. 1, February 2010, pp. 55–72.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Majid KhosraviNik, "The representation of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants in British newspapers during the Balkan conflict (1999) and the British general election (2005)", Discourse Society, SAGE Publications, 2009 20: 477.

'humanitarianism', 'responsibility', 'ethic value', which look like positive or not negative, could also be classificatory or exclusionary. Although these types of concepts are not negative discourses, they could perpetuate an 'us' versus 'them' difference.<sup>64</sup>

However, within the scope of the same study, when he conducted his research with the key words 'asylum seeker' and 'immigrant' during the general elections in May 2005, the situation changed. Exodus and increase in numbers were imparted using a negative discourse. Immigrants and asylum seekers were mentioned together with many negative actions. 'They' were reduced to numbers and mass migrations; thereby the discrimination between 'we' and 'they' became more evident. When viewed from this aspect, de-humanization of asylum seekers and immigrants was accompanied with expressions like 'huge numbers', 'in very high rates', 'many', 'uncontrollable numbers', 'unlimited numbers'; and realized through concepts such as 'numbers', 'newcomers', and 'entrants'.<sup>65</sup>

As we have presented some examples above, a similar situation is seen in both mainstream media and in local press in Gaziantep. By and large, Syrians are reflected as our 'guests', 'brothers' or 'sisters', and the attitude towards Syrians looks positive. In case of some unwanted events, it is advised to approach Syrians with "common sense", "discretion", "patience", and "tolerance". As a result, those types of discourses that look positive at the first stage perpetuate the difference between 'we' and 'they'. Finally those discourses lacking rights-based approach start to mention Syrian refugees with their increasing numbers. The numbers are mentioned in relation to Syrian refugees all time. Syrian refugees are mentioned with negative events like murder, prostitution, and beggary; and they are held responsible for the soaring rents and growing unemployment. Specific to Gaziantep, on the other hand, one of the most important problems of the city is that there is no 'security' left in the city where "spies abound in". The main reason for these forms of dehumanization, as we insistently emphasize above, is not seeing Syrian refugees as rightful subjects.

Syrian refugees are, once for all, guests with no legal status. Actually the word "guest" is the magic word the government invented during the initial stages of Syrian refugee outflow to Turkey, like the other words such as "common sense", "tolerance", and "patience". In this way discourse tries to place itself within a context. After all "Turkish people are hospitable!" and "Muslims are tolerant!". Actually the message behind the status of 'being guest', is that Syrian refugees are temporary in the country. Using this word, it is said: "Don't worry, they will go!" However, at the very moment, when their stay is understood to be permanent, then the situation changes. They, then, started to be seen as the main source of all the problems and all evil. In this respect, media, as the secondary source, regenerates the dominant ideology by using the discourse of the power, which is the primary source. In addition to these, by the news generated based on the statements of the citizens, complaints and the difficulties of the citizens are brought forward; and the discrimination between 'we' and 'they' appears as 'Citizens of the Republic of Turkey' and 'Syrians', who are naturally non-citizens, respectively.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Majid KhosraviNik, "The representation of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants in British newspapers during the Balkan conflict (1999) and the British general election (2005)", op.cit, pp. 483-489.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Majid KhosraviNik, "The representation of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants in British newspapers during the Balkan conflict (1999) and the British general election (2005)", op.cit., pp. 483-489.