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Komşumuz, bölücülük yapıp toprağına göz diken ve askerine kurşun sıkıran Kürt teröristleri "bireti alem" olsun diye sokak ortasında asıld...

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Kastamonu'da doğan Ermeni asıllı Arzu Gül Karabekir, "Bu ülke her zaman benim için bir yerdir. Ben buraya gelmişim ve burada yaşamak onur verir" dedi...

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Media Watch on Hate Speech & Discriminatory Language September - December 2013 Report

BİR ANUĞ ERMENİ VE DANK

Davos fırçası, Yahudi'nin kimyasını bozdu

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Friedrich Naumann
STIFTUNG **FÜR DIE FREIHEIT**



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MONITORING HATE SPEECH IN THE MEDIA

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

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

Due to various reasons, Turkey has been witnessing polarization between various segments of society; thus intolerance towards the different, the “other” is becoming increasingly widespread. Conflicts in Southeast Anatolia ongoing for years and sudden demographic changes in Turkey caused 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, democratization efforts such as the initiatives on minority rights and liberal economy as well as the way the Cyprus Question debate is perceived and portrayed as “plots on Turkey by foreign powers”, also nurture polarization and enmity. Furthermore, developments in the Middle East, discussions around the Kurdish and Armenian Questions, and the peace process currently on the agenda lead to individuals and institutions that have suggestions for solutions being targeted and certain ethnic groups being portrayed as enemies. Finally, the way the Taksim Gezi Park events were covered in the media carries importance as it shows how the media can foster polarization in society.

As a result of the discriminatory language used by the media, the manifestation of hostile perceptions and attitudes towards different groups and individuals, who are known or assumed to be members of such groups, has become an important and ever-growing problem in Turkey. Even opinion leaders such as government officials, opposition leaders and public servants have no qualms when it comes to using such racist and discriminating language. As is well-known, the claim of government officials that the Taksim Gezi Park events are organized by “foreign agents” and the discourse of “interest lobby” resulted in certain groups, the Jewish identity being the first among them, being targeted.

Media (the press), often dubbed as the fourth estate, is one of the most effective cultural transmitters. Therefore, as much as it has the power to highlight diversity and difference, it can also be extremely instrumental and guiding in terms of spreading or banalizing a conflict. If the media

behaves irresponsibly or carelessly, it can very easily trigger, nurture and strengthen racism and hatred between people, and worst of all, it can legitimize and justify such attitudes.

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

MONITORING HATE SPEECH IN NATIONAL AND LOCAL NEWSPAPERS IN TURKEY

Aim and scope of the study

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

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

Within the framework of the "Media Watch on Hate Speech" -a project carried out by the Foundation as to achieve the abovementioned goals-, the national and local press are monitored, news articles and columns that feature discriminatory, alienating and target-generating 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 various social media, such as Facebook and Twitter. The report is sent to non-governmental organizations, media organizations and professional organizations, and also published on our website.

Apart from monitoring newspapers, the project aims to raise awareness about hate speech by organizing search 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 a more conscious and respectful language towards human rights issues and minorities in the media, we hold panel discussions in participation with internationally acclaimed academics working in the field, we organize meetings on hate speech in universities whereby project findings are discussed based on specific cases.

Furthermore, efforts continue to be directed towards presenting lectures and/or producing theses and dissertations on hate speech. A draft **syllabus** was prepared in 2012 after close collaboration with academics and NGO representatives for a class titled “**Discrimination, Hate Speech and Media**” and it was shared with a larger group of academics. At this point, the syllabus is being further developed in accordance with the feedback obtained from academics, and work is being done on incorporating it into the universities’ curriculum.

In parallel with the work on the syllabus, a book that will serve as a complementary source to the course as well as an introduction for general readers, titled “Media and Hate Speech: Concepts, Mediums and Discussion” was published in December 2013. Edited by Mahmut Çınar, with an introduction by Fuat Keyman, the book has the potential to serve as a source of reference in its field.

Methodology

Within the scope of the **hate-speech-focused media monitoring study**, all national newspapers and approximately 500 local newspapers are monitored by a media monitoring centre according to a set of pre-determined keywords (e.g. co-conspirator, Turcophone, separatist, etc.).

While the main focus has been on hate speech based on ethnicity and religious identity, sexist and homophobic discourse are included in the media monitoring study. The study employs the critical discourse analysis that is often used in media studies, as well as some other associated techniques. In line with the characteristics of the cases studied, textual and iconographic (of photographs, pictures and other illustrations) analyses are carried out. In order to designate specific indicators for the content and discourse of the news items, quantitative scaling is used initially to portray where (in which newspapers) and in what form hate speech appears, what sources create it and whom it targets.

In identifying hate speech in news articles and opinion columns, the Recommendation established by the Council of Europe in 1997 was taken as a basis. According to this Recommendation, hate speech is defined as such: "Hate speech, as defined by the Council of Europe, covers all forms of expression which spread, incite, promote or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, anti-Semitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including: intolerance expressed by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination and hostility against minorities, migrants and people of immigrant origin."

News items identified as containing hate speech elements in accordance with the purpose and scope specified above are categorized in line with the characteristics of the discourse being used. Taking in

reference previously conducted international scientific studies and considering the country-specific lingual and cultural differences, the following hate categories have been identified:

1) Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion: Any discourse that features the elements of negative generalization, distortion, exaggeration or negative attribution targeting a community based on a specific incident. (“Turkey is drowning in the sound of church bells”)

2) Blasphemy / Insult / Degradation: Any discourse that contains direct expletives, insult or denigration (e.g. “treacherous”, “dog”, “base-born”, etc.) for a specific community

3) Enmity / War Discourse: Any discourse that includes hostile, war-mongering expressions about a community (e.g. “Infidel’s Torture”)

4) Use of Inherent Identity as an element of Hate or Humiliation / Symbolization: Discourse that uses various aspects of one’s inherent identity as an element of hate, humiliation or symbolization. (For instance, the negative implications of the phrases such as “Your mother is Armenian anyway” or “Is your surname Davutoğlu or Davutyan?”)

Discriminatory discourse reports

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

The first media study on discriminatory discourse involved the examination of discourse constructed around the Black Sea visit of the **People’s Democratic Congress (HDK) members that included deputies from the Peace and Democracy Party (BDP)**. All news stories and opinion columns in ***Bizim Karadeniz, Taka, Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet, Sabah*** and ***Zaman*** that were covering this event during February 15- 28 were analysed.¹

For the second report of 2013, all the news articles and opinion columns published during the first week of the Gezi Park events from **June 1-7,2013** in ***Habertürk, Hürriyet, Özgür Gündem, Radikal, Sabah, Sözcü, Taraf, Yeni Şafak*** and ***Zaman*** were studied using content analysis and discourse analysis.²

Finally, Alevism was chosen to be the subject matter of the third report of 2013 due to the high number of references made to it in the media as part of the political agenda during September-December 2013. The method used in this study as well as the findings can be found in the section titled “**Discriminatory Discourse in Print Media.**”

¹<http://nefretsoylemi.org/rapor/Ocak-Nisan-2013-NS-Rapor-Final.pdf>

²<http://nefretsoylemi.org/rapor/mayis-agustos-rapor-final.pdf>

PART I

HATE SPEECH

IN

PRINT MEDIA

İdil Engindeniz

FINDINGS

During the four months covering September, October, November and December 2013 of the “Monitoring Hate Speech in Media” study, 141 opinion columns and news articles were identified as targeting national, ethnic and religious groups.

In this period consisting of the last four months of 2013, a considerable increase in the number of incidences of hate speech has taken place compared to the other periods studied during the same year. Although there are a variety of topics through which hate speech is generated, an increase of conservative press news items targeting Christians due to the Christmas season and an increase in writings criticizing the proposed law on hate crimes stand out.

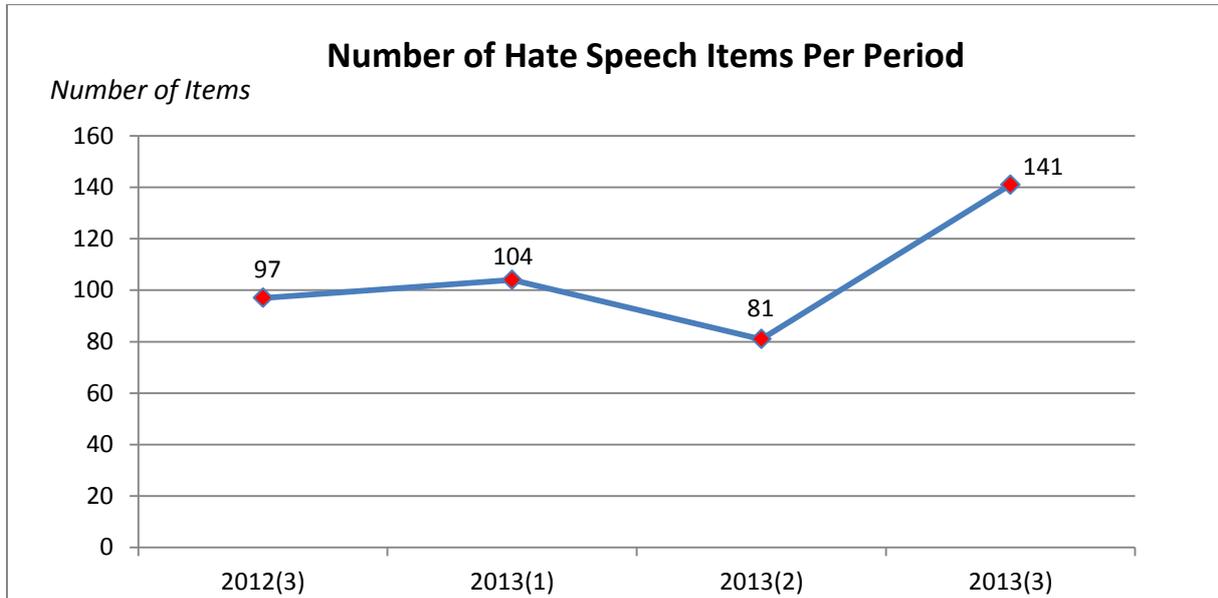
In contrast with the last period, where hate speech targeted general groups that were hard to precisely identify, target groups were very well defined in this period. What is unique about this period is that in addition to groups that are directly targeted by hate speech, other groups such as Buddhists, communists, masons, conscientious objectors, Arabs and Georgians were subjected to discriminatory discourse, if not direct hate speech. Also, due to the political conditions in Turkey, Syrian refugees have become one of the target groups targeted both by the local press in areas where refugee camps are settled as well as other newspapers that are far removed, geographically, from the camps. Although encountered less often, hate speech was still generated through references made to the Gezi Protests. Another method used to facilitate the circulation of hate speech was the direct presentation of various people’s narratives as news without any prior investigative journalism.

The items studied were classified according to the categories mentioned above and a scaling up of the “provocative” tone in the writings was observed. This tone laid the groundwork for hate speech in items where there wasn’t any direct hate speech present.

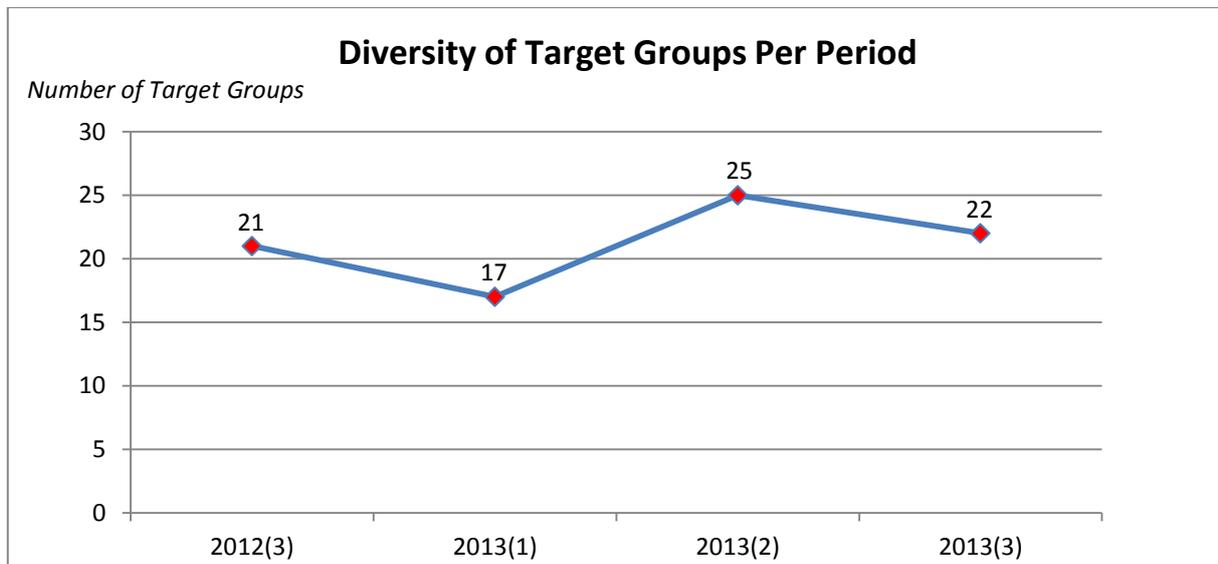
Although there was an increase in the number of items that generated hate speech, the number of groups targeted did not increase significantly. **Out of the 22 groups** that were targeted, **11** of them were subjected to hate speech in only one item, whereas the other 11 groups were targeted in multiple items.

As in recent reports, the groups that are less often subjected to hate speech were not categorized under the “Others” category, in an effort to portray the variability/versatility of the target groups according to context. Nonetheless, the fact that certain groups remain targeted for an extended period of time through a great number of news items shows the vulnerability of these groups to hate speech.

Graph 1



Graph 2



Looking at the common qualities of target groups, religious identity stands out as the primary cause for generating hate speech during this period. Hate speech is generated for **eight non-Muslim groups in 175 items**, whereas **13 groups** are targeted in **38 items** due to their **ethnic and national identity**. The items studied in the latter category involve **14 items**, including hate speech **towards the Kurdish population**, and this shows more than a two-fold increase compared to the items found in the previous period (5 items). Another point to emphasize is that since hate speech is often directed at multiple groups in one item, of the 141 items studied, 48 of them target two to six groups. In such items, one of the groups is used as a tool to generate hate speech towards another. For instance, in

an article targeting the Kurdish population, it can be claimed that they are “actually” Armenians, portraying the Armenians as the primary enemy.

During the period of **September-December 2013**, a majority of the items identified as containing hate speech were published in the **national press**, as in previous periods. **Of the 141 items studied, 85 (60.28%) were published in 13 national newspapers.** The remaining **56 articles (39.71%) were published in 39 local newspapers.** Although the ratio of local press articles to national press did not fluctuate significantly, the number of items published in local newspapers showed a 100% increase compared to the previous period (28-56), whereas this increase was less significant for national press items (53-85). Another observed change regarding local press was the increase in the number of publications publishing items with hate speech. Hate speech was encountered in 24 local newspapers in the previous period, whereas during this period, the number increased to 39. Another interesting finding was that apart from a small number of publications, the newspapers were different from the ones that were studied in the last period. This finding may indicate that hate speech reflects the current events in the particular region. For example, this could explain why two out of four newspapers published in Gaziantep have generated hate speech towards Syrian refugees.

Similar to previous periods, it was observed that hate speech was mainly generated within opinion columns. Of the items studied, **opinion columns constituted 93** items, whereas **news items constituted 42** of the grand total. Four of the items included were readers’ contributions. Of the items categorized under “Other”, two items were part of an “Article Series/Exposé”, and one was published under the title, “The Aftermath Page”. An opinion column published on a page titled, “50 Years Ago” in *Kıbrıs Halkın Sesi*, shows hate speech as being independent from time constraints and how such writing can be circulated through the years to regenerate hate speech.³

As observed in previous periods, the groups towards whom hate speech, animosity and attempts at alienation were directed towards most often did not change. Hate speech targeted the Jewish and Armenian population most often during this period, as in other periods, with 57 items each. This was followed by 34 items for Christians, 14 items for Kurds and 13 items for Greeks.

Another element that stood out during this period was that political criticism crossed its boundaries into hate speech. One of the first examples of this phenomenon was observed in Hasan Pultur’s column published in *Milliyet* on September 2, 2013, titled “This Hot Weather”. In his writing, where it can be inferred that he is trying to criticize the fast-changing politics in the Middle-Eastern countries, Pultur attributes the changes to the quality of “villainy” of the societies, stating that “it’s in their character or nature”, thereby attributing this quality to all societies occupying this geographic area and hence contributing to hate speech. Another similar example appeared on September 30, in *Samsun Manşet*, in an article titled, “This Made-Up Language Does Not Suit This Youth”. In criticizing the use of foreign words instead of Turkish words, the writer states, “Armenian and atheist are two of our enemies”, and thereby generates hate speech.

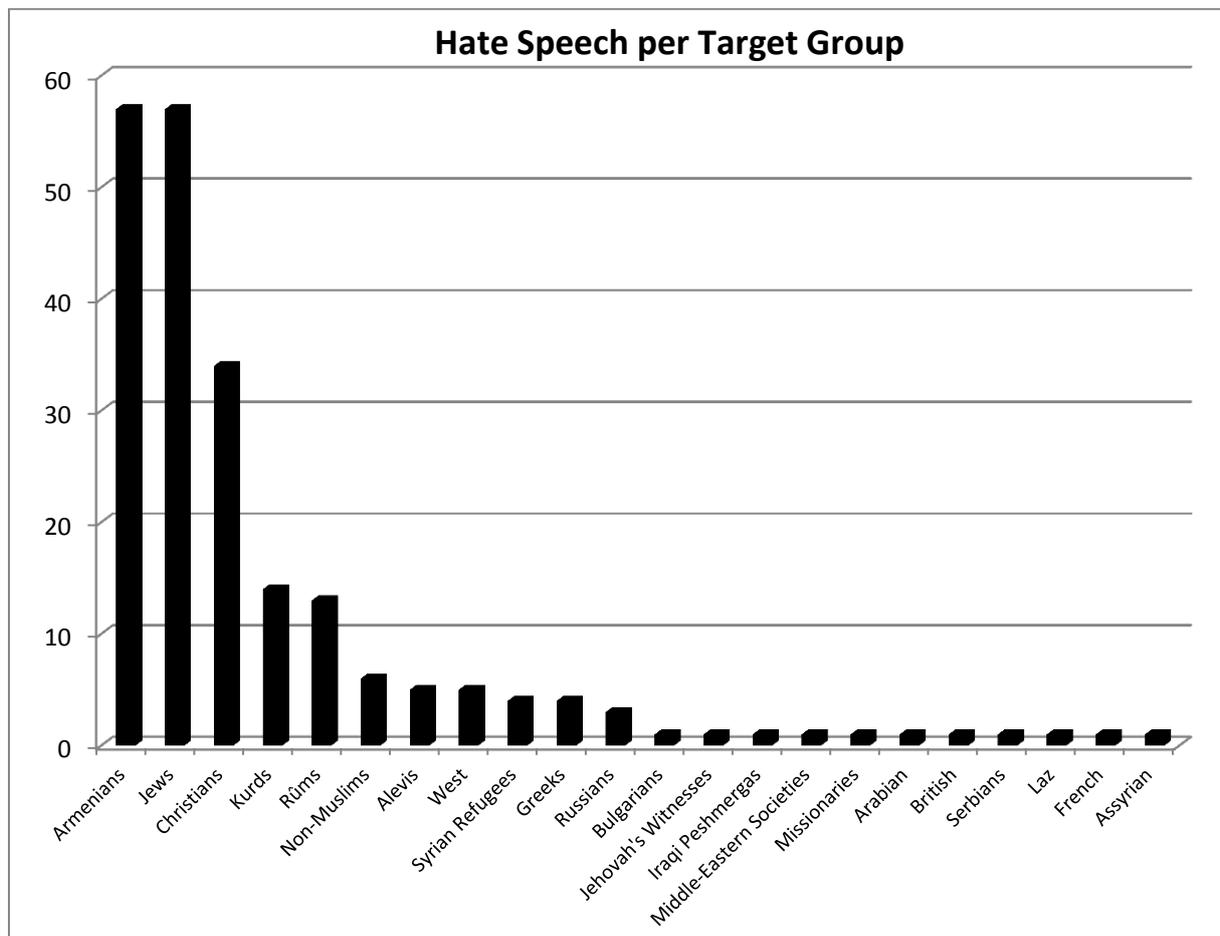
We also came across a narrative titled, “An Interesting Anecdote on Genocide” that was published on October 9th in a local newspaper called *Elmalı Gündem*. This narrative, which we had encountered during the previous periods as well, talks of Armenians torturing Turkish soldiers. A quick search

³<http://nefretsoylemi.org/resimler/201403043920251727.pdf>

reveals that this narrative has been made public through mass emails. The columnist for *Elmalı Gündem* also mentions at the beginning of his writing that he had found out about this story on “social media sites”. The same narrative had also been published on June 19, 2013 in the opinion column of Yalçın Bayer, as a contribution from a reader in *Hürriyet*. This narrative, which does not cite any sources, serves to create animosity between Armenians and Turks and shows, one more time, how much care writers need to show when using uncited sources.

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

Graph 3⁴



In addition, similar to previous periods, 25 news articles and opinion columns that contain hate speech towards **women and LGBTI individuals**⁵ were not included in the statistical analyses and were evaluated separately. Four items with discriminatory content that laid the groundwork for hate speech were also evaluated in the same part.

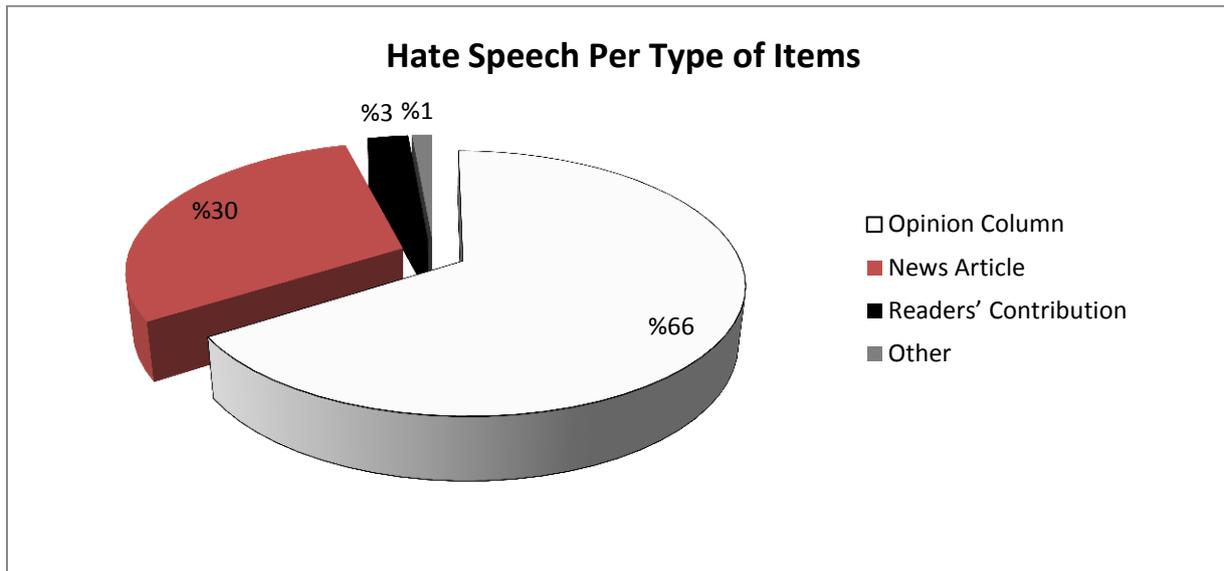
⁴Since one news item can target more than one group, the total number of items that contain hate speech (213) is more than the total number of items (141).

⁵LGBTI: Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex.

Distribution of Content According to Type, Newspapers and Categories

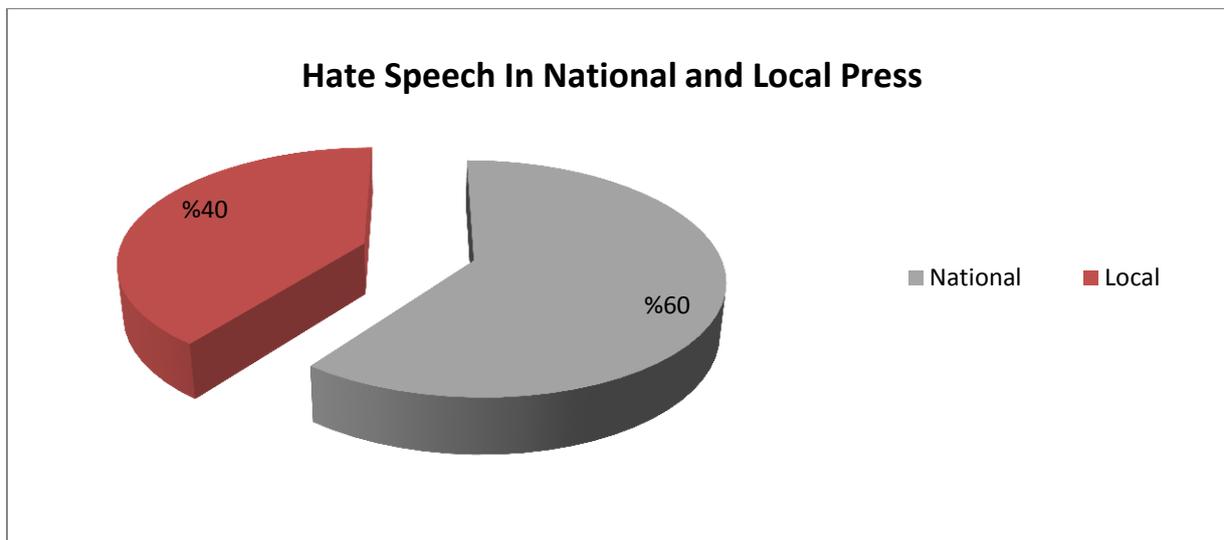
Hate speech was generated most often in **opinion columns** during this period, as in previous periods (**65.97%**), and an increase was observed in the amount of hate speech within the **news** type (**29.78%**). Other content consisted of readers' contribution pages (2.83%) and publications grouped under the "Other" category (1.41%). More than half of the news items were published with the reporters' name (20 items), news agency name (5 items) or the city it was reported from (1 item), and 16 news items were anonymously written.

Graph 4



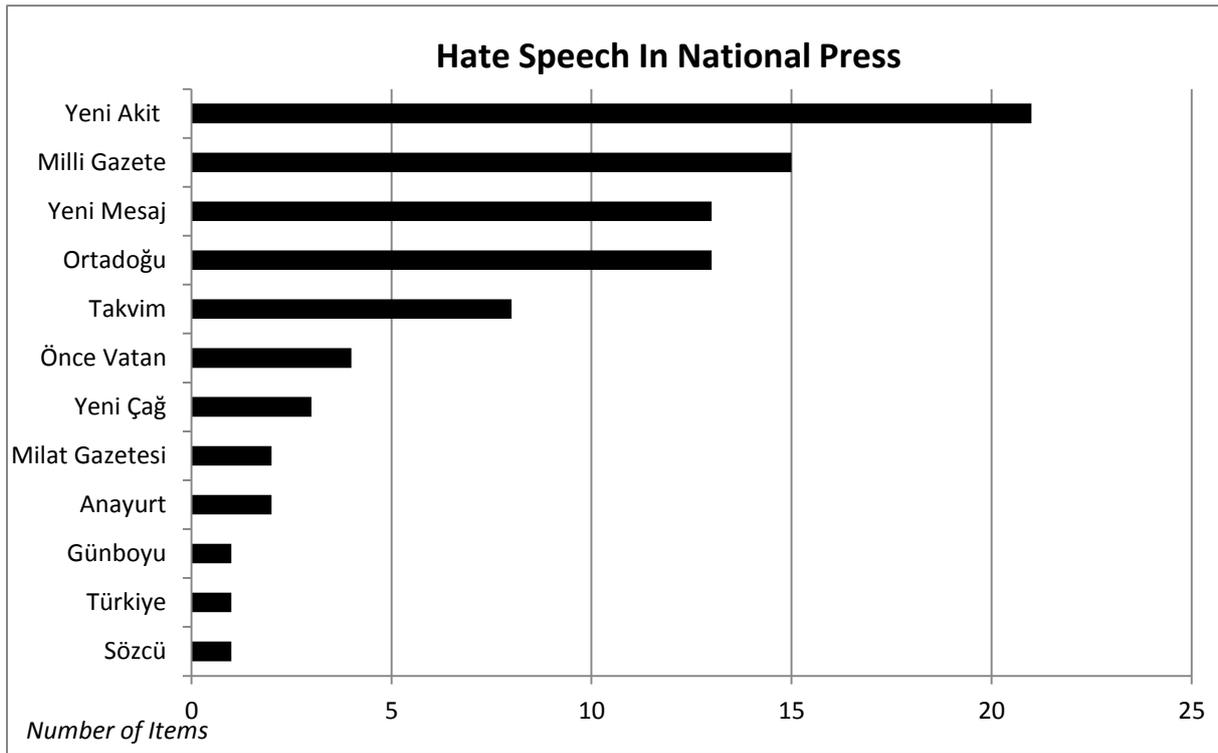
As in previous periods, hate speech was **more prominent in the national press** during this period (81 items, 60.28%), and the local press generated 39.71 percent of the total amount (56 items).

Graph 5



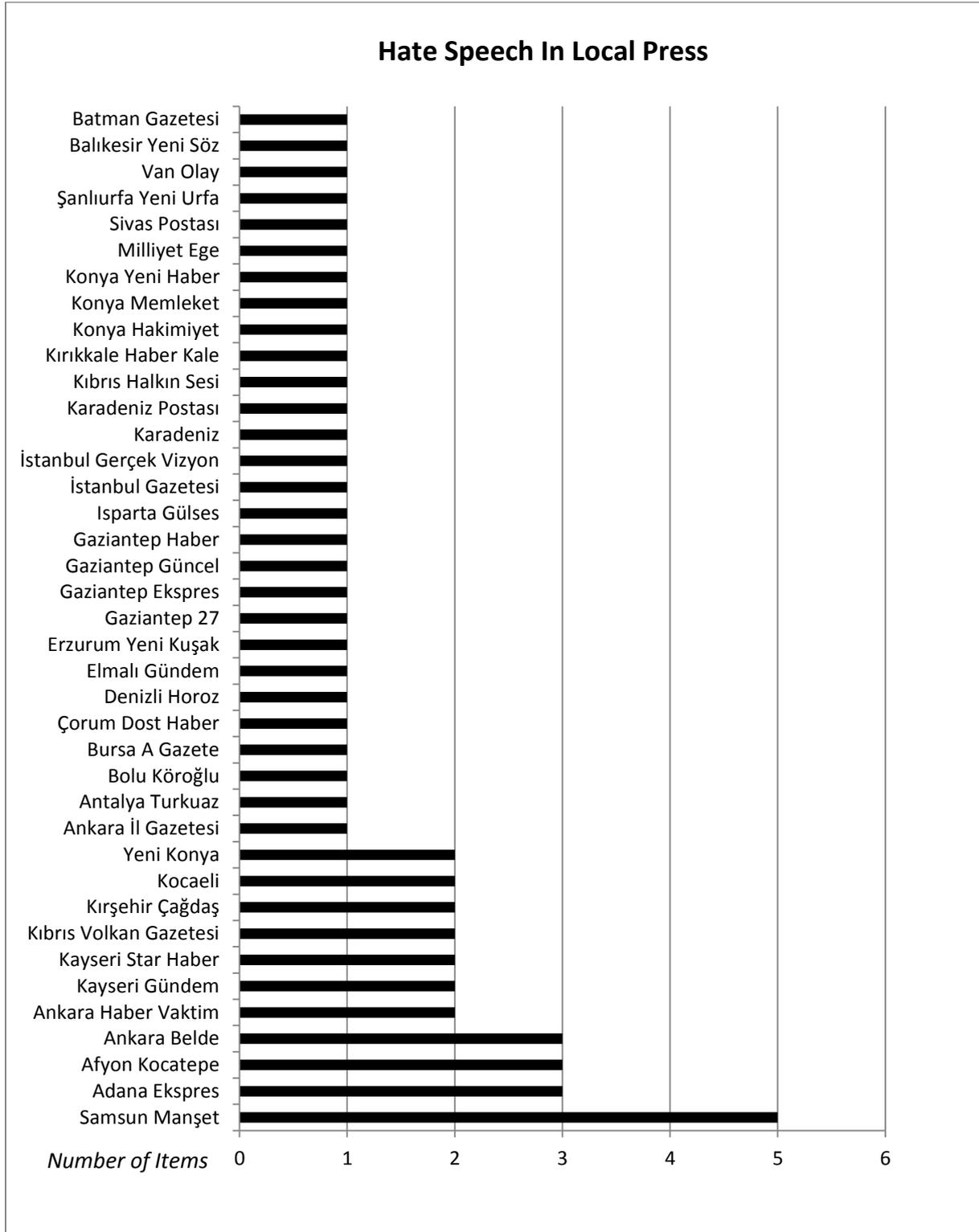
The national newspapers where hate speech was most often encountered were *Yeni Akit* (21 issues, 14.89%), *Milli Gazete* (15 issues, 10.63%), *Yeni Şafak* and *Ortadoğu* with 13 issues each (9.2%). Following these newspapers, *Takvim* carried eight items that contained hate speech (5.67%), *Önce Vatan* had four (2.83%), *Yeni Çağ* three (2.12%), *Milat* and *Anayurt* both two (1.41%), and *Günboyu*, *Türkiye* and *Sözcü* had one item (0.70%) that generated hate speech.

Graph 6



As in previous periods, the items that are published in the **local press** and carry hate speech are numerically less than the items encountered in the national press. However, as portrayed by the example on Syrian refugees, the geographical proximity of the hate speech generators and targets render hate speech more dangerous and able to produce concrete consequences.

Graph 7

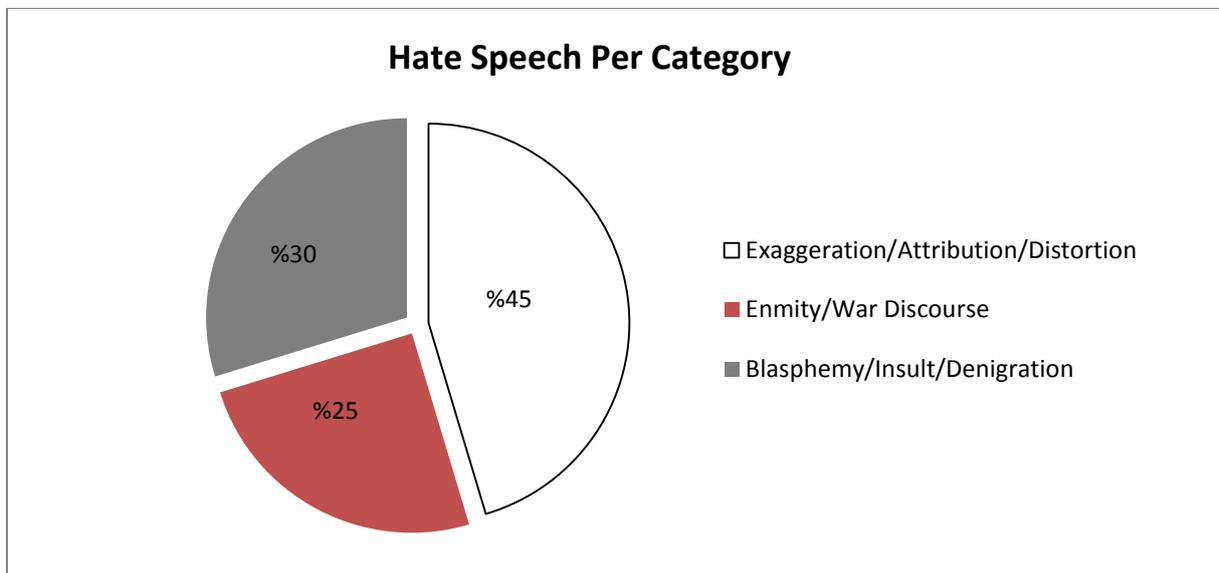


As in previous periods, hate speech items published in newspapers were studied in four predetermined categories: (1) **Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion**, (2) **Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration**, (3) **Enmity / War Discourse**, (4) **Using a Natural Element of One's Identity as a Cause for Hate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

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

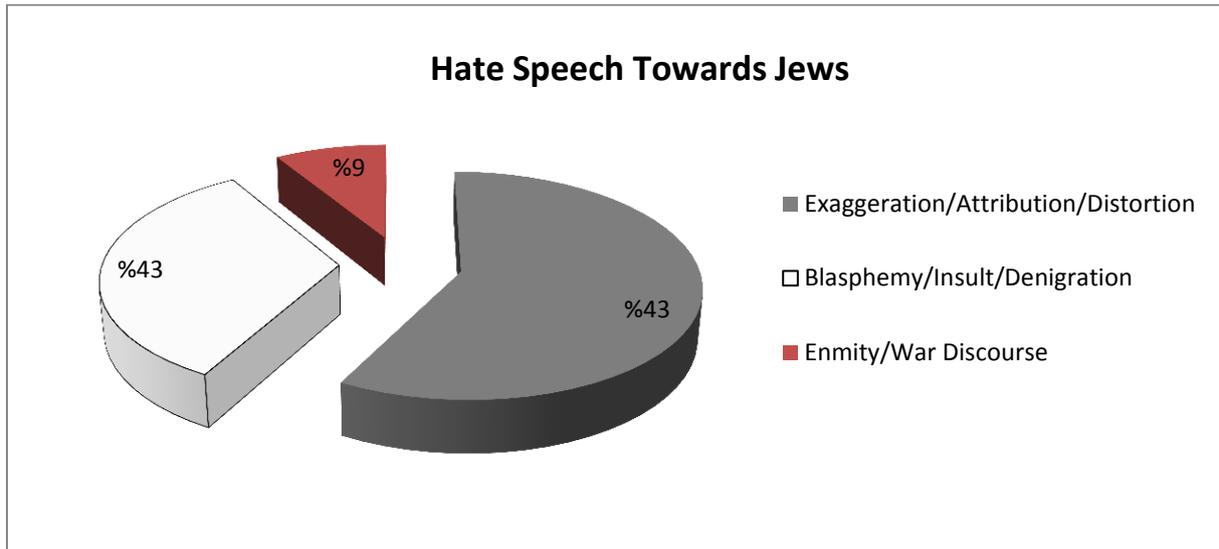
During this four-month-period studied, Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion ranked first in the distribution of the categories (64 items). It was followed by **Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration** (42 items) and **Enmity / War Discourse** (35 items). This period did not include any items that were categorized as **Using a Natural Element of One’s Identity as a Cause for Hate / Symbolization**.

Graph 8



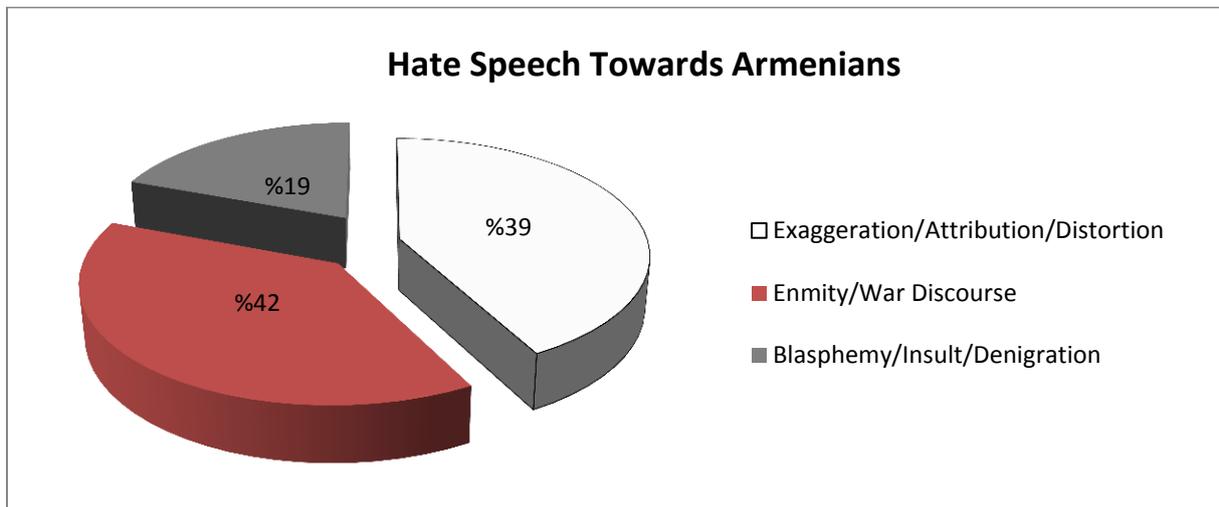
Looking at categories according to targeted groups, it was observed that **Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion** dominated hate speech towards the **Jewish population** (33 items), contrary to previous periods. It was followed by 19 items of **Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration** and five items of **Enmity /War Discourse**. Forty-seven of the items containing hate speech towards the Jewish population were published in the national press and 10 in the local press. It was observed that Yeni Akit used the term “Ferocious Jew” in the title of three articles.

Graph 9



As for hate speech towards **Armenians**, **Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion** was the most often used category, with 24 items. The second most used category was **Enmity / War Discourse** with 22 items, and 11 items contained **Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration**. Twenty-seven of the items containing hate speech towards the Armenian population were published in the national press and 30 in the local press.

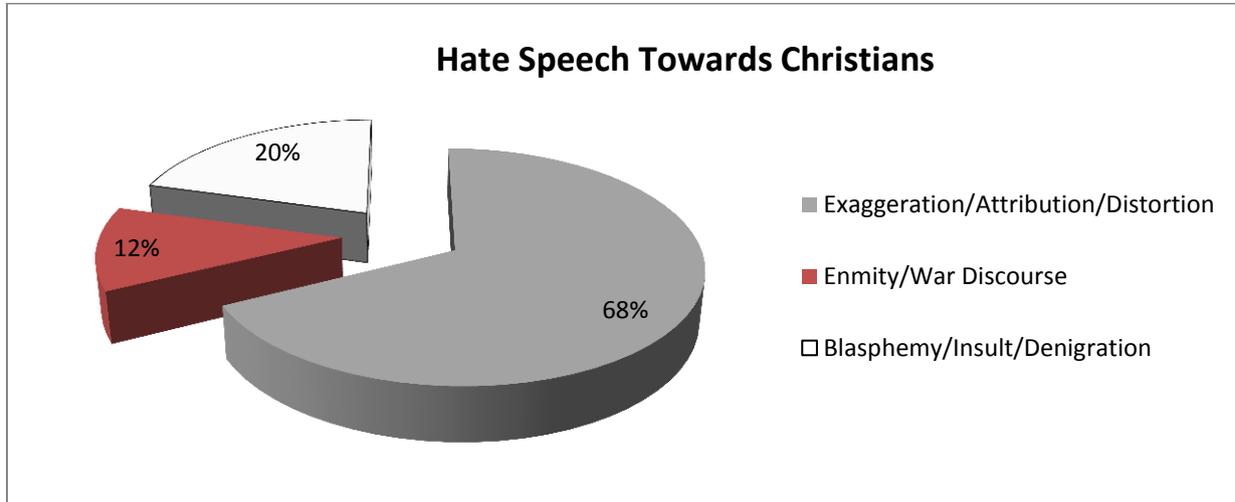
Graph 10



Being one of the top three groups that were subjected to hate speech, Christians were mostly targeted within the category of **Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion** (23 items). This was followed by **Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration** by seven items and four items detected fell under the category of **Enmity / War Discourse**. Of the 10 news articles, only one was classified as Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration, and nine as Enmity / War Discourse. Of the 20 opinion columns containing hate speech, three belonged to the Enmity / War Discourse category and all three were found in the local press. This finding is important in that it demonstrates the consequences of the lack of

ensorship/inspection in the local press. Three items were published as readers' contribution and they all belonged to the Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion category.

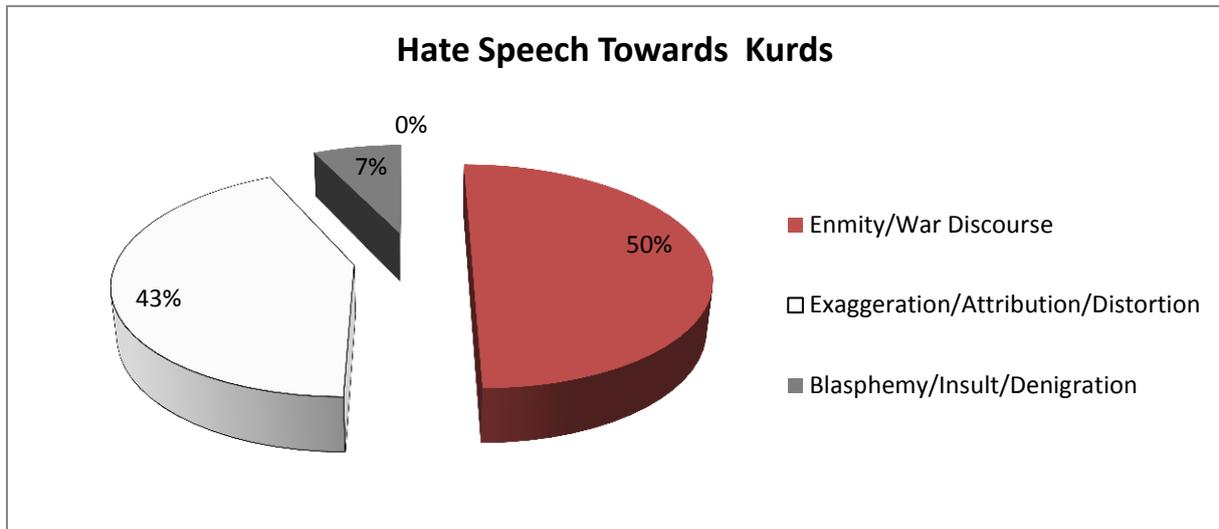
Graph 11



As mentioned above, the Jewish and Armenian population both ranked first as targets for hate speech with 57 items each, and Christians followed them with 34 items containing hate speech. The significant difference in the number of items between different ranking groups is also visible for the rest of the rankings. For the Kurdish and Greek populations, which rank, in respective order below Christians, the number of items is less than fifty percent of the hate speech items targeting Christians, namely 14 and 13.

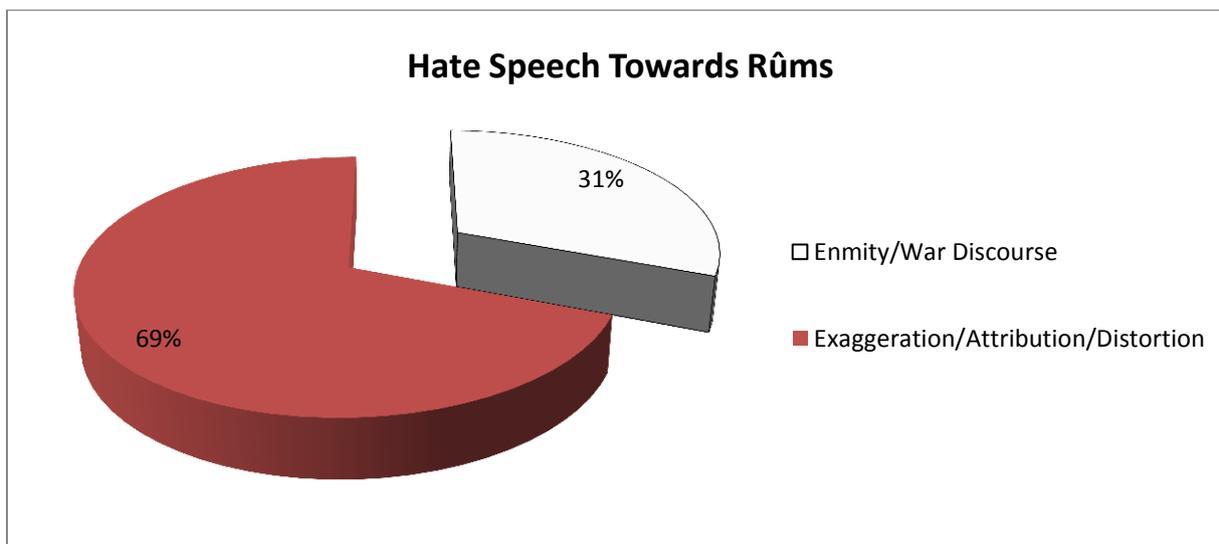
Different from other groups, the category under which the Kurdish population was most often targeted was the **Enmity / War Discourse** category (7 items). The **Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion** category had six, and the **Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration** category had one item. Except for an item consisting of a reader's contribution, the items consisted of opinion columns, and they had an even distribution in national and local newspapers; the newspaper, Ortadoğu, generated the most hate speech towards the Kurdish population, with four items.

Graph 12



Being subjected to hate speech in the same amount of items as the last periods, with 13 items, the **Greek population (Rûm)** was subjected to hate speech mostly in the category of **Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion** with 9 items, which was followed by the **Enmity / War Discourse** category with 4 items. Of these items, two consisted of news articles, one was a reader’s contribution, and 10 were opinion columns. Hate speech was generated through the circulation of a piece of writing from 50 years ago in one of the opinion columns. Seven items were published locally and 6 were found in national newspapers; *Kıbrıs Volkan*, *Milli Gazete* and *Önce Vatan* generated hate speech, each with two items.

Graph 13:



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

NEWS ITEMS SELECTED DURING THE SEPTEMBER-DECEMBER 2013 PERIOD

Date	Newspaper	Type	Author	Title	Target Group	Hate Category
2.Sept.2013	Milliyet	Opinion Column	Hasan Pulur	This Hot Weather	Middle-Eastern societies	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
4.Sept.2013	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Yıldray Çiçek	BREAKING THE SIEGE IS CARING ABOUT THE OPPRESSED	Christians, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
7.Sept.2013	Kayseri Gündem	Opinion Column	Kasım Okut	Immorality Cannot Be A Human Right! (1)	West	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
9.Sept.2013	Yeni Çağ	News Article	Anonymous	4th Mass at Rape Island	Armenians	Emnity / War Discourse
9.Sept.2013	Yeni Akit	News Article	Sinan Yavuzoğlu / Ankara	Even the Infidel Greek Did Not Do This	Greeks	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
9.Sept.2013	Milli Gazete	News Article	Anonymous	THIS SIN IS YOURS	Armenians, Christians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
10.Sept.2013	Takvim	News Article	Anonymous	Armenian Sham! / They Know No Limits In Filthiness	Armenians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
10.Sept.2013	Konya Hakimiyet	Opinion Column	Dursun Seyis	What a Weird World!..	Syrian Refugees, Jews, Christians, Iraqi Peshmergas	Emnity / War Discourse
10.Sept.2013	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Hasan Karakaya	Two Photos of Turkey on Olympics... Celebrating and Mourning!	Armenians	Emnity / War Discourse
10.Sept.2013	Türkiye	Opinion Column	Rahim Er	Villanous Byzantines	West	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
10.Sept.2013	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Mustafa Aslan	Towards a 3 rd Coup D'Etat...	Christians, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
10.Sept.2013	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Ali İhsan Karahasanoğlu	2020 Maccabiah Games	Jews, Armenians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
11.Sept.2013	Adana Ekspres Gazetesi	News Article	Anonymous	Halaçoğlu: What is Being Planned in Kozan?	Armenians, Christians, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion

16.Sept.2013	Antalya Turkuaz	Opinion Column	Hüseyin Kocabaş	Brotherhood Meeting from Taş Medrese Idealist Group	Armenians	Emnity / War Discourse
17.Sept.2013	Samsun Manşet	Opinion Column	Dursen Özalemdar	Trojan Horse – Hate Speech!	West, Armenians	Emnity / War Discourse
18.Sept.2013	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Ali Öncü	THIS IS THE DAY OUR MOTHERS RAISED US FOR	Armenians, Kurds	Emnity / War Discourse
18.Sept.2013	Denizli Horoz	Serbest Kürsü	Özcan Pehlivanoglu (MHP MYK Üyesi)	Not Worth A Stone In this Country!..	Christians, Jews, Kurds, Laz, Rûms, Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
18.Sept.2013	Ankara İl Gazetesi	Opinion Column	D. Doğan Kandemir	In a Style I Had Never Used Before	Christians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
19.Sept.2013	Anayurt	Opinion Column	Tuncay Altun	Armenians Were Waiting For a “Come Back” Call	Armenians	Emnity / War Discourse
19.Sept.2013	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Mehmed Şevket Eygi	Can Today’s Muslims Be Redeemed As They Are?	Jews, Rûms	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
20.Sept.2013	Yeni Konya	News Article	Anonymous, AA signed	Jews Run Completely Rampant	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
20.Sept.2013	Konya Memleket	Opinion Column	Dr. Ufuk Karadavut	Where Are We Going?	Armenians, Kurds	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
23.Sept.2013	Şanlıurfa Yeni Urfa	Opinion Column	Salih Bencik	DO SYRIANS DESERVE THESE SACRIFICES?	Syrian Refugees	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
23.Sept.2013	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Akın Aydın	Ones Anger Harms Himself Most	Jews, Christians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
26.Sept.2013	Kayseri Star News Article	Opinion Column	Ahmet Sivacı	HIGHBROW MEDIA SNOBS	Armenians, Greeks	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
26.Sept.2013	İstanbul Gerçek Vizyon	Opinion Column	Abdülkadir Sağlam	Crypto-Alevis	Alevis, Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
27.Sept.2013	Ankara News Article Vaktim	News Article	Özel Haber	They Will Implement A Plan to Create Disorder In Turkey	Alevis	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
27.Sept.2013	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Şükrü Alniaçık	Democracy Is “Nationalism of National Affairs”	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration

27.Sept.2013	Batman Gazetesi	Opinion Column	Babnirli Mele Abdullah	DRUGS, LUST AND YOUTH	Non-Muslims	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
30.Sept.2013	Samsun Manşet	Opinion Column	Ali Kayıkçı	THIS MADE-UP LANGUAGE DOES NOT SUIT THIS YOUTH!../3	Armenians	Emnity / War Discourse
30.Sept.2013	Milli Gazete	News Article	Fatih Yedier / İstanbul	Gift Package for Sionism	Jews	Emnity / War Discourse
01.Oct.2013	Ankara Belde	Opinion Column	Prof. Dr. Nurullah Çetin	BRAINWASHING THE TURK WITH A HUNTER'S PARTRIDGE(2)	Christians, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
01.Oct.2013	Kıbrıs Halkın Sesi	Opinion Column (50 Yıl Önce başlıklı sayfada)	Dr. Fazıl Küçük	The Sea Does Not Bloodshed For No Reason	Rûms	Emnity / War Discourse
02.Oct.2013	Erzurum Yeni Kuşak	News Article	İHA	Karabağ Veterans in İğdir	Armenians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
02.Oct.2013	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	İsmail Hakkı Akkiraz	Developments in Egypt and Their Historical Background-7	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
02.Oct.2013	Yeni Akit	News Article	Sinan Yavuzoğlu / Ankara	Hate Platform Is A Sionist Tool	Alevis, Armenians, Assyrians, Christians, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
02.Oct.2013	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Akın Aydın	One is the President of the Constitutional Court, the Other, a Factory Worker	Christians, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
03.Oct.2013	Ankara Belde	Opinion Column	Prof. Dr. Nurullah Çetin	Rebellion Against Brainwashing After Programmed Helplessness	"Infidel"	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
03.Oct.2013	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	M. Günay Siddıkoğlu	All Infidels Are Tryrants, Stay Away From Them	Christians, Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
04.Oct.2013	Yeni Akit	News Article	Muhammet Erdoğan / Ankara	Look At The Infidel!	West	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration

04.Oct.2013	Isparta Gülses	Opinion Column	Nevzat Laleli	Democraticising?	Jews, Armenians, Greeks	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
04.Oct.2013	Önce Vatan	Opinion Column	Koray Kamacı	Israel's 12 th Lost Tribe	Jews, Kurds	Emnity / War Discourse
04.Oct.2013	Önce Vatan	Yazı Dizisi	VHA	The Emergence of the Puppet Dictator and WWII	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
04.Oct.2013	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Prof. Dr. Nurullah Çetin	Is Our Oath of Allegiance a Verse of the Koran? - III	British	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
09.Oct.2013	Yeni Akit	News Article	Anonymous	Jewish Bullying	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
09.Oct.2013	Elmalı Gündem	Opinion Column	Serhan Altıparmak	An Interesting Anecdote on the Genocide	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
15.Oct.2013	Yeni Akit	News Article	Jerusalem	Provocation With a Flag at Al-Aqsa Mosque from Ferocious Jewish Settlers	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
21.Oct.2013	Takvim	News Article	Mevlüt Yüksel	SECRET CROSS in Suleymaniye/CRUSADER'S THINKING	Christians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
21.Oct.2013	Milli Gazete	News Article	Rahmi Yolcu	Dictionary for Incitement	Christians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
22.Oct.2013	İstanbul Gazetesi	Opinion Column	Av. Zeki Hacıbrahimioğlu	The Responsibility of the Turkish Nation	Christians	Emnity / War Discourse
23.Oct.2013	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Mehmed Şevket Eygi	Israel's Power in Turkey	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
24.Oct.2013	Kırıkkale News Article Kale	Opinion Column	Ali Saçak	Armenians' Azerbaijani Massacre	Armenians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
25.Oct.2013	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Ender Gökdemir	IF YOU DON'T TAKE THE IDEALISTS' WILL SERIOUSLY, YOU WILL DROWN IN TREACHERY!	Armenians	Emnity / War Discourse
28.Oct.2013	Yeni Akit	News	Sinan Yavuzoğlu	Old Ladies On Stage	Jehova's	Blasphemy / Insult /

		Article	/ İstanbul		Witnesses	Denigration
30.Oct.2013	Van Olay	News Article	Diyarbakır / İLKHA	Islamist Scholars Association Held Their 5 th Meeting	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
30.Oct.2013	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Prof. Dr. Nurullah Çetin	Ownership Claim between Independence-supporters' and Deliverers	Christians, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
30.Oct.2013	Yeni Akit	News Article	Anonymous	Protests from Ferocious Jews	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
01.Nov.2013	Yeni Akit	News Article	Anonymous	Ferocious Jews Broke Into Al-Aqsa Mosque Under Police Protection	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
05.Nov.2013	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Fikri Atılbaz	"Enough" to Those Wanting To Wipe the Turkish Nation Out	Kurds	Emnity / War Discourse
05.Nov.2013	Samsun Manşet	Opinion Column	Dursen Özalemdar	MAKING EXCUSES	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
05.Nov.2013	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	İshak Beyazay	Say, Why Were Headscarfs Banned?	Jews, Armenians, Rûms	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
06.Nov.2013	Anayurt	Opinion Column	Hamdi Yılmaz	The Enemy Is Always on the Lookout	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
08.Nov.2013	Karadeniz	News Article	Anonymous	Armenian Dashaksutyun Arm in Arm with BDP	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
08.Nov.2013	Önce Vatan	Opinion Column	Prof. Dr. Nurullah Çetin	BEING A KING IN YOUR OWN UNION OR BEING A DOORMAT IN THE CRUSADERS'	Christians, Jews, Armenians, Rûms	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
11.Nov.2013	Yeni Çağ	Opinion Column	Hasan Demir	This Man Will Divide Up the Country!	Armenians	Düşmanlık / Hedef Gösterme
11.Nov.2013	Önce Vatan	Opinion Column	Koray Kamacı	IRANIAN CRYPTO-JEWS AND THE UNKNOWN	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
11.Nov.2013	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Mehmed Şevket Eygi	Notes	Armenians, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution /

						Distortion
11.Nov.2013	Kocaeli	Opinion Column	M. Tanzer Ünal	90 th Anniversary of Our Republic and the Never-ending Malice-13	Armenians, Kurds	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
12.Nov.2013	Kıbrıs Volkan Gazetesi	Opinion Column	Ethem Durak	Where are we going	Greeks (with Turkish residence)	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
12.Nov.2013	Kayseri Star News Article	Opinion Column	Ahmet Sivacı	He's Armenian; That's what He Says!	Armenians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
12.Nov.2013	Bursa A Gazete	News Article	Anonymous	Big Reaction from BBP for Changing City Names	French, Greeks, Armenians, Russians	Emnity / War Discourse
12.Nov.2013	Karadeniz Postası	News Article	Anonymous	Look at the Armenians BDP meet!	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
13.Nov.2013	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Şükrü Alnaçık	"Asakir-i Mağdure-i Muhammediye!.. "	Armenians	Emnity / War Discourse
13.Nov.2013	Yeni Akit	News Article	Sinan Yavuzoğlu / Ankara	They placed the Turkish flag as a table cloth under appetizers / Flag became an appetizer for alcohol	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
14.Nov.2013	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Hasan Karakaya	The Karbala Disaster... Let the Hate Ongoing for 1374 Years End!	Alevis	Emnity / War Discourse
14.Nov.2013	Yeni Çağ	News Article	Anonymous	This is How You Make "Dignified Politics"/ Wonderful Examples of Dignified Politics / Odd Comment On Armenian Villainy	Armenians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
14.Nov.2013	Gaziantep News Article	Opinion Column	Ruhi Aytaç	Syrian Cyclone	Syrians (refugees)	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
14.Nov.2013	Gaziantep 27	Opinion Column	Tamer Abuşoğlu	An Armenian Classic	Armenians	Emnity / War Discourse
15.Nov.2013	Önce Vatan	Opinion Column	Prof. Dr. Nurullah Çetin	Being a Guest to Your Enemy at Your Own House	Greeks, Bulgarians, Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion

18.Nov.2013	Çorum Dost News Article	News Article	S. Örgel	Armenian Genocide Lie Explained	Armenians, Christians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
18.Nov.2013	Bolu Köroğlu	News Article	Anonymous	"Our non-Muslims Are With Foreign Non-Muslims"	Non-Muslims	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
18.Nov.2013	Adana Ekspres Gazetesi	Opinion Column	Gözde Ramazanoğlu	ADANA VE CEMAL PAŞA-2 KISIM	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
20.Nov.2013	Gaziantep Ekspres	Opinion Column	Şaban Doğru	NOBODY CAN CHANGE THIS MAP	Armenians, Christians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
21.Nov.2013	Sözcü	Opinion Column	Emin Çölaşan	Kurd-Supporters and Armenians Meet in Washington	Kurds, Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
21.Nov.2013	Kocaeli	Opinion Column	M. Tanzer Ünal	90 th Anniversary of Our Republic and Endless Malice- 22	Armenians, Kurds	Emnity / War Discourse
21.Nov.2013	Milli Gazete	News Article	Rahmi Yolcu / İstanbul	ANOTHER DEMIREL COMES AND...	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
21.Nov.2013	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Ender Gökdemir	DO YOU HAVE A RIGHT TO BLESS OR JUSTIF PKK?	Armenians, French, Kurds	Emnity / War Discourse
25.Nov.2013	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Mustafa Hilmi Yıldırım	Leaders That Decieve Muslims With Their Anti-Israelism	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
25.Nov.2013	Yeni Akit	News Article	Sinan Yavuzoğlu / Ankara	SIONIST HOAX From Beşiktaş Municipality	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
27.Nov.2013	Gaziantep Güncel	Opinion Column	Mehdi Anlaroğlu	Refugee or traitor?	Syrian Refugees	Emnity / War Discourse
27.Nov.2013	Konya Yeni Haber	Opinion Column	Sezai Keskin	Cockroaches	Christians, Jews	Emnity / War Discourse
28.Nov.2013	Yeni Akit	News Article	Muhsin Bayraktar / Ankara	Armenians and Greeks Envy PKK	Armenians, Rûms	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
28.Nov.2013	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Ender Gökdemir	IF YOU DON'T WANT TO BE A MERE SPECTATOR OF BETRAYAL	Armenians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
28.Nov.2013	Yeni Konya	News	Signed: AA	Jew Killed 3	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution /

		Article		Palestenians		Distortion
29.Nov.2013	Takvim	Opinion Column	Ergün Diler	Watch Out For Money	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
29.Nov.2013	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Hasan Demir	Cemaat-Israel Relationship	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
02.Dec.2013	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Yusuf Karaca	Supposedly There Is No Turkish Race!	Jews, Kurds	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
02.Dec.2013	Yeni Akit	Okurun Sesi	Remzi Şentürk / Kadıköy	After-school Centers are an Excuse, Jewish Provocation Is the Culprit	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
02.Dec.2013	Afyon Kocatepe	Serencâm Sayfası	Elif Demir / Prof. Dr. Esad Coşan	DON'T BE SCARED OF DANGER, PREPARE FAST FOR DEFENSE!	Christians, Greeks, Armenians, Serbians, Russians	Emnity / War Discourse
02.Dec.2013	Afyon Kocatepe	Opinion Column	Muharrem Günay	ALLAH SUBJECTED JEWS TO HIS WRATH, AND HE CALLED CHRISTIANS PERVERTS	Jews, Christians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
02.Dec.2013	Yeni Akit	News Article	Talha Çolak	Online Missionary Trap /Selling Snails In A Muslim Neighborhood	Missionaries	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
03.Dec.2013	Takvim	Opinion Column	Ergün Diler	Hiding Your Head Into the Sand!	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
03.Dec.2013	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Şükrü Alnıaçık	Enemy and the Red Pepper Fields!..	Kurds	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
03.Dec.2013	Kıbrıs Volkan Gazetesi	Opinion Column	Ethem Durak	Here Is the Solution...	Rûms	Emnity / War Discourse
04.Dec.2013	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Şükrü Alnıaçık	Water Mixed Into Milk!	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
04.Dec.2013	Kırşehir Çağdaş	Opinion Column	Mustafa Bağ	BLASPHEMY AND INSULT!	Kurds, Armenians, Rûms	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion

04.Dec.2013	Sivas Postası	Opinion Column	Ayhan Batur	Don't Worry There's More Trouble	Kurds, Armenians, Arabs	Emnity / War Discourse
04.Dec.2013	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Mehmet Ertuğrul	Let's Get to Know A Man Without A Face	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
05.Dec.2013	Milliyet Ege	Opinion Column	Erdal İzgi	Let the Infidel's Doings Stay Away From Us!	Non-Muslims	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
06.Dec.2013	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Dr. Hüseyin K. Büyüközer (GİMDES Başkanı)	Our Need For Halal Food Grows Every Day!..	Christians, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
09.Dec.2013	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Uğur Kepekçi	What is Inter-Religious Dialogue?--IV	Christians, Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
10.Dec.2013	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Şükrü Alniaçık	From the Engineer's Perspective!..	Armenians	Emnity / War Discourse
11.Dec.2013	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Uğur Kepekçi	What is Inter-Religious Dialogue?-VI	Jews, Christians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
11.Dec.2013	Yeni Akit	News Article	Samet Demir / Ankara	A Development that Drove Zionists Mad!	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
12.Dec.2013	Samsun Manşet	Opinion Column	Dursen Özalemdar	DISCORD...	Armenians	Emnity / War Discourse
12.Dec.2013	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Ender Gökdemir	TURKEY WILL EXPAND AND BECOME TURAN	Armenians	Emnity / War Discourse
12.Dec.2013	Kırşehir Çağdaş	Opinion Column	Mustafa Bağ	CONCEPTS CHANGED NAME, Values Trampled On	Kurds	Emnity / War Discourse
13.Dec.2013	Balıkesir Yeni Söz	Opinion Column	Fatih Erol	EVIL ENGULFING OUR NATION...!	Christians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
16.Dec.2013	Adana Ekspres Gazetesi	Opinion Column	Gözde Ramazanoğlu	PRESS OF BETRAYAL: Press in Old Adana, Part 2	Armenians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
16.Dec.2013	Afyon Kocatepe	Opinion Column	Muzaffer Taşdelen	Analysis	Armenians	Emnity / War Discourse
16.Dec.2013	Milat Gazetesi	News Article	Anonymous	Infidel's Torture To Muslim	Non-Muslims	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
16.Dec.2013	Milli Gazete	News Article	Anonymous	Ummah's Men	Jews, West, Russians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration

16.Dec.2013	Günboyu	Opinion Column	Ramazan Durmuş	Boğaziçi University's "Ecumenical" Disgrace	Rûms	Emnity / War Discourse
17.Dec.2013	Takvim	News Article	Anonymous	JEWS Are No Different Than Nazis	Jews	Emnity / War Discourse
17.Dec.2013	Samsun Manşet	Opinion Column	Dursen Özalemdar	ARMENIAN MASSACERS WE ARE FORCED TO FORGET!	Armenians	Emnity / War Discourse
17.Dec.2013	Ankara News Article Vaktim	News Article	News Articlevaktim.com	Imitating Manners Would Cause Imitating Faith	Christians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
18.Dec.2013	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Akın Aydın	Christian Neighbors Are Not Happy With The Parliament	Armenians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
18.Dec.2013	Milat Gazetesi	News Article	Abdülmuttalip Ilgaz / Ankara	CHRISTMAS ENTERTAINMENT IS CRUSADER'S PLOT	Christians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
18.Dec.2013	Milli Gazete	News Article	Bünyamin Güler / Ankara	MODERN VERSION OF THE CRUSADES	Non-Muslims	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
19.Dec.2013	Takvim	Opinion Column	Ergün Diler	Don't Forget!	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
20.Dec.2013	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Mahmut Toptaş	Jewish Provocation	Jews, Christians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
23.Dec.2013	Yeni Akit	News Article	Osman Yiğit	Christian and Jewish Terrorists Shedding Muslim Blood	Christians, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
24.Dec.2013	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Mehmet Talu	New Year's Is A National Uprising-3	Non-Muslims	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
24.Dec.2013	Milli Gazete	News Article	Anonymous	IT'S NOT NEW YEARS, IT'S A CRUSADER ATTACK /CRUSADER'S ATTACH TO FAITH	Christians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
25.Dec.2013	Yeni Akit	Okurun Sesi	Yrd. Doç. Dr. Bedri Katipoğlu	Muslim Brotherhood and Psychology of Betrayal	Christians, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
26.Dec.2013	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Tahsin Aydın	Davutoğlu Lost His Memory	Armenians	Emnity / War Discourse
30.Dec.2013	Yeni Akit	News	Emre Küskün /	Why Are The Proxies	Jews, Armenians,	Exaggeration / Attribution /

		Article	Ankara	Disturbed?	Alevis	Distortion
30.Dec.2013	Takvim	News Article	Mevlüt Yüksel	A National Matter	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
30.Dec.2013	Milli Gazete	Readers' Column	Abdullah Atala	NEVER JINGLE BELLS	Armenians, Christians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
30.Dec.2013	Takvim	Opinion Column	Ergün Diler	DROP THE MASK	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
31.Dec.2013	Kayseri Gündem	Opinion Column	Erkinbeğ Uygurtürk	I wish the people of Kayseri A Merry Christmas (!)	Christians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion

EXAMPLES BY CATEGORY

Blasphemy/Insult/Denigration

Title: Villainous Byzantine

Newspaper: Türkiye

Date: September 10, 2013

Type: Opinion Column

Writer: Rahim Er

In writing on Turkey losing its candidacy for the Olympics, Er primarily criticizes the “Gezi Protestors”. As he describes throughout his writing, and which becomes clear by the examples he uses towards the end of his piece, he accuses a group of people, whom he in fact believes to be represented by the CHP party, to be conspiring with the West. As can be observed in the title, he describes the West as “villainous”. Using expressions such as “cowardly, base, ignoble, co-conspirator, lacking God’s grace, disgraceful and losing their minds”, he insults the West, which he calls “one of the enemies”, and all that it represents and those that have relations with it. He then states that this group of people “are enemies to all the values we hold sacred”, thereby inciting polarization within the society.

Rahim Er 

Entellektüel Boyut

Kahpe Bizanslı

Türkiye, olimpiyatları kaybetti diye sevenlerin varlığı bir hakikat. Köşelerinden yazıp çizerek elindeki kaleme, önündeki sütuna, karşısındaki okuyucuya ihanet edenler görülmekte. Bir de benzer hezeyanları sosyal medyada kusan döküntüler mevcut. Hatta ihanetin daha evveli de varmış. Geziciler, olimpiyat komitesi mensuplarına iktidarı karalayarak "İstanbul'u seçmeyin" diye mailler göndermişler.

Bunlardaki kin, öylesine katmerli ki bir harp halinde bizim devlet adamlarımızı ve bizim ordumuzu değil, düşman tarafını tutarlar.

Onları, kansız, soysuz, cibilliyetsiz... gibi kelimelerle tarif etmek, kelimeleri harcamak olur. Bunlar nasipsizdir. İyilikten nasipleri yoktur. İnsan kılığında ne olduğu meçhul zavallılardır. İnsan olan doğduğu, büyüdüğü, ekmeğini yediği, havasını teneffüs ettiği, iş, unvan sahibi olduğu bir memlekette o memleketin kaybetmesine sevinemez. İsterse bir ay önce vatandaş olsun. İnsaf, sadakat ve ahlaktan nasibi olan bunu yapamaz.

Bir kimse ülkesini yöneten iktidara oy vermeyebilir, onu sevmeyebilir, hatta belki öfke

meyebilir, onu sevmeyebilir, hatta belki öfke bile duyabilir. Ama şunun idrakinde olması gerekmez mi?

Devlet ve memleket iktidarın tapulu mülkü, millet kölesi değildir. Seçmen, serbest iradesiyle bir görüşü iktidar yapmıştır. Memnun olduğu sürece onu iş başında tutar. Memnun kalmayınca da muhalefete alır. Hadise bu kadar basitten uluslararası bir yarış alınamayınca iktidara kızgınlıkla oh çekerek ele kına yakıp zevkten dört köşe olmak, işbirlikçi bir zihniyetin tezahürüdür. Bu zihniyet, ilk defa I. Dünya Harbi işgal günlerinde görüldü. Kendisine ölmek emredilen Mehmetcik, cephede şehit düşer, insanlar ot yeme zorunda kalıp, çarık bulamazken bunlar Şişli'de, Ulus'ta, Kordonboyu'nda, İngiliz, Fransız sofralarında kadeh tokuşturuyorlardı. Günümüzün yüz karası iyilikten nasipsizler, neseben olmasa bile fikren onların devamıdır. Bu yüz karaları, mukaddesat adına ne değerimiz varsa hepsini düşman sayarlar. Buna aile hayatından nikâhtan dine, milliyetten bayrağa kadar her değer dahildir. Vaktiyle bunları fikren inşa edenler, bu topraklarda yarım asır sonra Allah diyenin kalmayacağını hesap etmişlerdi.

Fakat onların bir hesabı vardı.

Allahü teâlânın da bir hesabı vardı.

Musa aleyhisselamı Firavunun sarayında yetiştiren Allah, Adnan Menderes'i de Tek Parti'de yetiştirdi. Bu işgalci zihniyet, ilk kaybı 14 Mayıs 1950'de verdi. 3 Kasım 2002 ise hezimetlerinin başlangıcıdır. Kudurmaları, tükenişlerini görmekten dolayı. İdarede laik de olsa şahsi hayatlarında Müslüman bir ekibin zaferindense hezimetlerini tercih etmekte. Bu kıçı kırıklar, Bizans'ın kahpe tarafının mirasçılarıdır.



Blasphemy/Insult/Denigration

Title: Do Syrians Deserve These Sacrifices?

Newspaper: Şanlıurfa Yeni Urfa

Date: September 23, 2013

Type: Opinion Column

Writer: Salih Bencik

In his column, Bencik attributes various negative qualities to Syrian refugees and portrays them as the source of a multitude of troubles, dangers and threats, without mentioning the living conditions presented to them. Mentioning that “the sacrifices made are misused”, and that “disgusting events have taken place”, he awakens a sense of abstract and unknown danger/threat within the reader. After strengthening the perception of “us” vs. “them” by using statements such as: “We have nothing in common with these people”, “Supposedly they came here as refugees”, and “Their presence has always caused discomfort and unease”, Bencik almost suggests that they be segregated by stating “If we have an obligation to shelter them, I believe that their connections to the city should be completely shut off”. In his last two sentences, Bencik covertly incites people to violence by saying “We cannot ignore the opinions, the disruption of the lives and the reactions to future dangers of so many people. I’m just letting you know.”



SALİH BENCİK

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**SURİYELİLER BU FEDAKARLIKLARI
HAK EDİYOR MU?**

Öz yurdunda mahrumiyetler yaşanırken, bununla birlikte itilip kakılmak, ikinci sınıf muamelesi görmek, bir başkasına tolerans tanımak damarına dokunmaz mı insanın. Elbette dokunur. Yurdun bir çok yerine zorunlulukmuş gibi, dayatma ve direktme ile kabul edilmeye çalıştırılan, çok farklı yaşam tarzları olan bu insanları her şeye rağmen bağrımıza basmaya çalıştık, ama hazindir ki incindi kalbimiz suiistimal edildi yaptığımız fedakarlıklar.

Medya ya yansıyan kadarıyla tiksinti verecek olayların yaşanması bizleri derinden yaralarken, bir de yansımayan hadiseleri dile bile getirmek istemiyorum. Bu insanlarla hiçbir ortak yanımız olmadığı gibi benzer hiçbir şeyimiz yok. Bunlar sığınmacı olarak gelmişler güya. Benim acizane bildiğim savaş esnasında ancak yaşlı, hasta ve kadınlar sığınmacı olarak yurtlarını terk ederler ama gel gör ki durum hiçte öyle değil. Başın-

dan beri varlıkları hep rahatsızlık ve huzursuzluk vermiştir ne yazık ki. Nasıl anlatsan bilmem ki. Kaldıkları evlerdeki tüm çevrelerini bile çileden çıkaracak kadar.

Sokaklarda dilenenler, evlerinde perde çekmeden kalkanlar, hastanelerde ukalaca davranışlar, ahlaksızlık, buluşucu hastalıklar, nimete nankörlük etmek. Bir arkadaşımın duymuştum. Yıllar önce Suriye ye gitmişim. İnsanların yemek yedikten sonra çok af buyurun. Karınlarını tıka basa doyurduktan sonra ağzılarını ekmekle sildiklerini gözlerimle gördüm. Bu manzara karşısında bu olanların başlarına gelmesi az bile bençe. İşte bu insanları bizler bağrımıza bastık. Bunca fedakarlığımız karşısında nankörlükleri bir yana, kapa giden bir arkadaş aynen şunları söylemişti. Vallahi gözlerimle gördüm bu insanlar hiç de bu kadar hizmet hak etmiyorlar. Neden dediğimizde; Ekmeğin içinin oyularak içine sigara

söndürüldüğü ve hatta dilim varmıyor söylemeye, kül tablası olarak kullanıldığını görünce aklım başımdan gitti, bunlara asla acınmaz diyerek orayı hemen terk ettim.

Geçenlerde bir taziye dolayısıyla ;Adıyaman iline gitmişim. Gece şehrin dışında parlak ışık görünce merak ederek sordum. Arkadaşım bu ışıkların Suriyelilerin kaldığı çadır kentler olduğunu söyledi. Ve şehir merkezine asla girmelerine müsaade edilmediği halkın bu konuda çok tepki verdiğini dile getirdi.

İlimizde ise her köşe başında çocuk, kadın, erkek avuçlarını açmış dileniyor. Asla da keyiflerinden geri kalmıyorlar. Burunları yansa yüksek sesle müzik açarak eğlenmek çevreyi rahatsız etmek nezaketsizliğini göstermezler.

Eli silah tutan herkesin sınır dışı edilerek, geri kalanların barındırılması gerekmez miydi? Çok mu mecburduk bu insanları aramıza alarak düzenimizi bozma pahasına yükleri omuzlamak. Köşe başlarında dilenerek her gün ölmek yerine, kahramanca bir tek defa ölmek daha da onurlu bir davranış değil miydi?

Bunca yaptıklarımıza karşılık halen bir çok insanı memnum edemedik ne yazık ki? Bu konu ile ilgili bir yazı yazmıştım. "Nereye Kadar Suriye " başlığı altında. Bir daha yazmayı düşünmemiştim aslında. Neden yazdın peki dersiniz. Perşembe akşamı haberlerinde Diyanet işleri başkanımız aynen şunları söyledi: Kurbanlarınızı Suriyeli Misafirlerimize verelim. Bende diyorum ki; Sayın başkanım siz zannediyor musunuz ki tüm vatandaşlarımız kurban kesebilecek durumda. İkincisi bu nasıl misafirlik bunlar düpedüz yerleşik hayat yaşıyorlar. Bu hayattan koparmak biraz zor olsa gerek, gitseler bile geride bırakacakları yıkımların izlerinin yıllarca memleketimizi terk edemeyeceği kanaatindeyim.

Gerek ilimiz ve gerekse çevremizdeki illerimiz bunca nüfusu kaldıracak hiçbir donanımına hazır değildir. İlimizde birkaç aile birleşerek kabark bile olsa ev kiralamaktadırlar. Bu durumda her aşırı gürültü olmakta ve her de kiralılar çok yüksek fiyatla verilmektedir. Kiralık ev sınırsız büyük bir sorun olarak halen tayin olarak gelen öğ-

retmen, polis ve memurları ciddi bir sıkıntıyla karşı karşıya bırakmaktadır.

Halen barındırdığımız bu insanlar ne kardeşimiz, ne muhacir ne de misafirdirler. Kendi yurtlarında bile kimlikleri bulunmayan bu insanlar bu kadar iltifat karşısındaki hayretlerini geride bırakarak, kendilerini daha ağır terazilerde, daha ön planda tutulmalarını hak ettiklerini düşünüyorlar. Ve bizlerin de onlara bakmaya mecbur olduğumuzu düşünüyorlar.

Netice olarak bu insanların içimizde bizlerle kalmaları büyük tehlike sinyalleri vermektedir.

Eğer barındırmak zorunlu olduğumuz var ise şehirle tüm bağlantılarının kesilerek hayatlarını sürdürmeleri gerektiğini düşünüyorum. Böyle olması gerektiğini ilgili mercilere çok önceleri dile getirmiştim. Belki de halen bir çok insan bizi merhametsizlikle suçlayacaktır. Asla; bu toplumsal bir tepkidir. Bu kadar insanın düşüncelerini, bozulan düzenleri ve gelecek tehlikelere karşı tepkilerini göz ardı edemeyiz. Benden söylemesi.

Emnity /War Discourse

Title: Two Photos From Turkey On Olympics... Celebrating and Mourning

Newspaper: Yeni Akit

Date: September 10, 2013

Type: Opinion Column

Writer: Hasan Karakaya

Writing about Turkey not gaining enough of the votes to host the Olympics, Hasan Karakaya states that there are two groups who were happy about it and who had called on the public to not support Turkey's candidacy for hosting the Olympics: Gezi protestors and Armenians. Presenting these groups as "enemy of the Turks", the writer uses a common method of hate speech generation for the group he identifies as "Gezi Protestors" and claims that they could not possibly be "Turkish". This approach involves stripping the group that is portrayed as an enemy of their national identity and their citizenship. He insults the same group through words such as "Infidel's semen" or "bastards". Also making references to the events that took place between headscarf and non-headscarf students, he defines the non-headscarf students as "ODTU's dogs". The same piece of writing also targets Mine Kırıkkanat and Ayşenur Arslan, and uses expletives to describe Necati Doğru, a writer for *Sözcü*, thereby producing hate speech in different categories towards various groups and individuals in the same piece of writing.

HASAN KARAKAYA

ayna

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Rusya için kim demiş "Komünist" diye!

Gençliğimizde bir "sağcı"lar vardı, bir de "solcu"lar... Sağcılara "Ülkücü" denilirdi, solculara ise "komünist"! Ülkücüler, sık sık slogan atarlardı: "Komünistler Moskova'ya!" Moskova'da "komünist" kaldı mı bilmem ama, son gittiğimiz Petersburg'ta hiç komünist kalmadığını, özellikle "otel sahipleri"nin "tam bir kapitalist" olduklarını bizzat gördük, yaşadık... "G-20 Zirvesi" dolayısıyla gittiğimiz Petersburg'ta iki gece

kaldık... Bu iki gecenin otel fiyatı, "tam 3 bin 420 dolar"dı, iyi mi?.. Yani, "geceliği 1700 dolar" artı kahvaltılı... Hani, ahım-şahım bir otel olsa, neyse... Türkiye'deki oteller, onların yanında "9 yıldızlı" kalırlı. Demem o ki, hiç kimse; bundan böyle Rusya'nın "Komünist" olduğunu filân söylemesin!.. Adamlar, "katıksız bir kapitalist" olmuş da, haberimiz yok!.. Otelin bir gecesi 1700 Dolar!.. Bunlar, "kapitalist"likte Amerika'yı bile sallamışlar!..



10 EYLÜL 2013 SALI

Olimpiyat'tan iki Türkiye fotoğrafı... Sevinenler ve üzülenler!

Malum, Rusya ve Arjantin'i içine alan seyahatten, önceki akşam döndük... Dile kolay; "THY'nin en uzun uçuş rekoru"nu kıran uçakta; Petersburg'tan Buenos Aires'e "tam 15 saat 35 dakika" uçtuk... Hem de kesintisiz... Dün de gazeteyediyim... Daha kapıdan girişten itibaren arkadaşlar "Hoşgeldin" dedikten sonra; "Hoşgeldin ama, bir de Olimpiyat'ı alıp gelseydiniz çok iyi olacaktı" dediler.

Ne yalan söyleyeyim; Ben de çok üzülüm... Hele de, "sonuçların açıklandığı salon"da "yanlışlıkla" yaptığımız "sevinç gösterisi"nin ardından Olimpiyat'ın Japonya'ya verildiği açıklanınca moralimiz altüst oldu... Donduk kaldık... Ağlamaklı olduk. Sağıma-soluma baktım, "Olimpiyat Komitesi"nde görevli bir hanım'ın gözlerinden yaş akıyordu... Titrek bir sesle; "Hakkımız yenildi" diyordu; "Olimpiyat bizim hakkımızdı... Buralara gelmek için çok uğraştık ama olmadı... Hakkımız yediler!"

Gerpekten de hakkımız yediler... İspanya'yı da eleyip "final" e kalmamıza rağmen, "2020 Olimpiyatları"nın; "nükleer sızıntı" ile başı dertte olan Japonya'ya verilmesi, işin içinde "oyun içinde oyun"lar döndüğünü gösteriyordu... İşin içinde "para" vardı. İşin içinde "siyaset" vardı. Salondan çıkışta, Başbakan Tayyip Erdoğan'la karşılaştık... Hayli üzgünü... Duygularını sorduğumuzda; "Nasip değilmiş" dedi ve ekledi: "Adil bir karar vermedim."

Sonra, bana dönüp; "Ağladın mı sen?" diye sordu... Hayır, ağlamamıştım, işin doğrusu "spora" da pek ilgili biri değildim ama, nihayetinde bir "Türkiye sevdi"yim ve karar beni fena halde sarsmıştı...

GEZİCİLER VE ERMENİLER

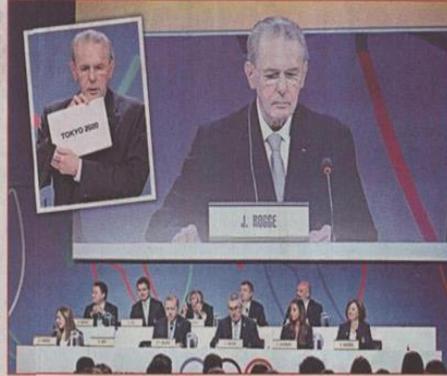
Minibüse binip, otele dönerken meslektaşlarımdan öğrendim ki; "Türkiye aleyhinde iki gösteri" yapılmış... Biri "Geziciler" in, diğeri "Ermeniler" in yaptığı iki gösteri...

Tekrar ediyorum; Biri "Gezi" olerinin, Diğeri "Ermeni"lerin!.. Her iki grup da; "Olimpiyat'ları Türkiye'ye verilmemesini" istemiş iyi mi?..

Düşünebiliyor musunuz; "Gezi"çiler ve "Ermeni"ler "ayrı ayrı" gösteri düzenliyor ama "slogan"ları aynı; "Olimpiyatlar Türkiye'ye verilmesini!"

Hani, Hrnt Dink kallesçe öldürüldüğünde protesto gösterisi yaparlar; "Heplimiz Ermeniyiz... Heplimiz Hrnt'iz" diye pankart açıp, slogan atmışlardı ya; "Ulusalci" ayaklarına yatan "Gezi"çiler de "Ermeni"lerle birlikte aynı sloganı atmışlar!..

"Heplimiz Ermeniyiz" diye slogan at-saldı, hiç de garip kaçmazdı!.. Ne yalan söyleyeyim; "Türkiye'nin ekmeği"ni yiyen, "Türkiye'nin suyu"nu içen, "Türkiye'nin havası"ni soluyan bir insanın, böylesine bir "Türkiye düşmanı" olabileceği aklımın ucundan geçmezdi... Bir insan ne kadar "aptal", ne kadar "salak" ve ne kadar "geri zekâlı" olursa olsun, bu kadar "Türkiye düşmanı"



olamaz!.. Dernek oluyor ki; "Türkiye düşmanı" olabilmek için, aynı zamanda "Gezi Zekâlı" olmak da gerekiyormuş ki; bu yaşında bunu da öğrenirim. Yuh olsun!..

SEVİNÇ VE HÜZÜN!

Yine öğrendim ki; Sadece Arjantin'in başkenti Buenos Aires'e değil, İstanbul'da da "Türkiye aleyhine" gösteriler yapılmış... Özellikle Kadıköy'de; bazıları sokağa döküldü, "Olimpiyat'ın Türkiye'ye değil de Tokyo'ya verilmesini çığınca kutlamış" iyi mi?..

Evet evet; saatlerce, "Türkiye'nin kaybetmesini kutlamışlar!" Bu ne "Türkiye düşmanlığı"dır, bu ne "öfke" ve "nefret"tir, anlayamadım... Düşünebiliyor musunuz;

Türkiye'deki "Japonlar" bile sonuçlar açıklandıktan sonra Türklerle sarılıyor ve "nikincilik" başansından dolayı Türkiye'yi kutuyorlar ama, "Gezi"çiler; "Türkiye'nin kaybetmesi"ne çığınca seviniyorlar!

Hayır, bunlar "Ulusalci" olamaz!.. Bunların "ulusalci" veya "vatansever" olması, bunların "Türk" olduklarından da şüpheliyim!..

"Türk kanı" veya "Türk geni" taşıyan bir insan, "Türkiye'nin kaybetmesi"ne bu kadar sevinebilir mi?.. Kalıbımı basarım ki; Bunlar "Türk" değil, "gâvür dölü" taşıyan "piç"lerdir!..

"Anaları belli"dir ama, "babaları elli" midir, "yüzelli" midir, orası bilinmez!.. Onlar Kadıköy'de ve Türkiye'nin çeşitli yerlerinde "Türkiye'nin kaybetmesi"ni çığınca kutlarken, Sultanahmet'te de bir grup toplanmış ve "sevinç ve hüznü beraber yaşamışlar" iyi mi?..

Finale kaldığımız anlarda, tarihi meydana, "büyük sevinç" yaşanmış, Tokyo'nun kazandığı açıklanınca da, sevincin yerini "hüzün" almış!.. Fotoğraflarını gösterdiler... Baktım, aralarında "başörtülü genç kızlar" da var... Hani şu; "ODTÜ'nün köpekleri" tarafından linç edilmek istenen "başörtülü"ler var ya, işte onların hemcinsleri!..

Şu hâle bakın; Kim ki "ilerici" geçiyor, kim ki "çağdaş" olduğunu söylüyor ve kim ki "devrim-mevrim" diyor, çoğunun "Türkiye düşmanı" olduğu, "gerici-yobaz" diye horanılan "başörtülü"lerin de birer "Türkiye sevdi"ları, olduğu ortaya çıktı!.. Hani, düşünmüyor değilim;

İyi ki bu "Olimpiyat oylaması" yapıldı da, "kimlerin ne olduğu" lyot gibi açığa

çıktı!.. Uzun lâfın kıssatı; kimin ne mal olduğu ne çok iyi anladık!..

O MAHALLEDEN 2 KADINI!

Herhalde hatırlarsınız... Tam da geçen hafta bugün demişim ki; "Eğer 2020 Olimpiyatları'nı alırsak; bilin ki, bunu Gezi Zekâlı'lara rağmen almış olacağız... Eğer kaybedersek de, bir yerlerine kına yakmışlar!" Kaybettik!..

O halde, münasip yerlerine kına yakmışlar ki, "nasıl sevindiklerini" cümle âlem görsün!.. "Sevinmek" dedim de aklıma geldi!.. Sahi, "Türkiye'nin kaybetmesi"nden "orgazm derecesinde haz" duyanlar arasına; "Mahallenin orospusu" sözüyle gazetecilik tarihine geçen Ayşenur Arslan ve "Mine Nine" namıyla ünlü Mine Kinkkanat'ı kalmazsak, fotoğraf ek-sik kalır!..

Elendim, Yurt yazarın Ayşenur Arslan, attığı tweet'te demiş ki; "Kaçıyorum... Ancak olimpiyatları alamazsak, kutlamak için önerim!" Niye "dönüyor" acaba?..

Yüzünden ne hayır gördük ki, dönüşünden hayır göreceğiz?!!.. "Mine Nine" de demiş ki; ● "Tokyo kazandı, Tayyip kaybetti. Artık hiçbir şey bu inişi durduramaz, dayan Türkiye, kurtuluşu az kaldı!" ● "Hayatımda bir yeniliğe bu kadar sevindiğimi hatırlamıyorum!" ● "Olimpiyat hezimetinin özeti: Tak-sim, Tayyip i yendi!"

Gördünüz mü "tivil"leri!.. Bunlar "tivil" değil, "Tam bir çifti!" Uzun lâfın kıssatı; "Olimpiyat oylaması" ile kimler "Türkiye sevdi"larıdır, kimler de "Türkiye düşmanı"dır, bir defa daha ortaya çıktı ki, bunu görmek bile Türkiye için bir kazançtır!..

Allah'tan ki, Türkiye bir "savaş" a girip de kaybetmedi... Eğer bir savaşa girip de kaybetseydik var ya; bunlar, herhalde "zil"leri takar, "kabuklular kazandı" diye göbek atarlardı!..

FATURAYI GÖNDERİYİM Mİ?

Yazıya son vermeden önce, Sözcü yazarı Necati Doğru ve "onun gibi düşün-enlere" de bir çift sözüm var...

Malum; bizler Petersburg ve Buenos Aires seyahatine çıkmadan önce yazdığım bir yazıda, bu seyahatin masraflarının "Türkiye Olimpiyat Komitesi" tarafından karşılanacağını, dolayısıyla bu seyahatin "avanta bir gezi" olduğunu, gezi masraflarının da "vergi" yoluyla "halk"tan alınacağını yazmıştım!..

Ben de, o yazıya cevaben, geçen hafta bugün demişim ki; "Bunu yazmak alçaktır, şerefsizliktir!.. Çünkü biz gazeteciler, bu tür gezilerde, masrafları kendi cebimizden karşılıyoruz!"

Yine öyle oldu... Masrafları "gazetecilerimiz" karşıladı... Necati Doğru ve onun gibi düşünümlere, eğer isterlerse "otel faturaları"ni gönderebiliriz... Artık "münasip bir yerlerine" mi sokular, yoksa gazetesiz olarak gazetecilerden çıkarılıp, işsiz bırakılırlar mı?..

Bildiğim o ki; Faturaları kendimiz ödedik... İsterlerse, hemen gönderiniz!.. Eğer yayınlayacaklarsa!.. Şimdilik bu kadar!..



Emnity /War Discourse

Title: Here's the solution...

Newspaper: Kıbrıs Volkan

Date: December 3, 2013

Type: Opinion Column

Writer: Ethem Durak

Writing on the news article about Rûm farmers of who were reported to be planning on crossing the border from Bostancı to Güzelyurt on December 7, Ethem Durak publicly incites people to violence and portrays them as enemies. Mentioning that Rûms do not have good intentions, Durak portrays them (and Armenians and "many other ethnicities") as threats who have ambitions on seizing the Turkish land, and then he goes on to justify a violent reaction to the event by saying "If a Rûm is trying to penetrate the border, then he gives the people of the region a right to defend themselves." Also insulting the Rûms by likening them to the Devil, Durak quotes the opinion of "a friend from the region" that serves to justify murdering Rûms and ironically he presents this as a solution: "Here is the solution: If a Rûm penetrates the border then a Turk will puncture him. Could there be a better solution?"



Alın size çözüm..

Gazetelere düşen bir haber aynen şöyle;

"Rum çiftçiler traktörleriyle Bostancı'dan sınırı delerek Güzelyurt'a gitmeye çalışacak.

Rum çiftçilerin, 7 Aralık Cumartesi sabahı, Astromerit (Bostancı) sınır kapısında büyük bir "seferberlik" düzenleyecekleri ve traktörleriyle sınır kapısını delip Güzelyurt'a kadar gitmeye çalışacakları haber verildi."

Bu haberi okuyunca, anladım ki bu ülkede çözüm olsa bile sadece kağıt üzerinde yazılan bir metinden öteye gitmeyecektir.

Çözüm, anlaşma iyi niyetli insanlar arasında olur.

Türkler iyi niyetlidir ancak Rumların iyi niyetli olduğunu söylemek büyük cesaret ister.

Türkler, kanaatkar ve kendilerinden emin insanlardır. Kimsenin hakkında, toprağında gözü yoktur. Bu yüzden ideal sahibi değildirler. Büyük iddiaları yoktur.

Rum, sadece Kıbrıs'ı almayı değil, Doğu Roma İmparatorluğunu, eski Bizans'ı canlandırma peşindedir. Bu hayal onun "Megalo İdeası" dır. Bütün çalışmalarını bu ideal peşinde, çerçevesinde dolanmaktadır.

Türk "Yurtta sulh, dünya sulh" des-turu ile hareket ederken, maalesef, Rum'un Megalo İdeası'na Ermeni'nin hedeflerine ve daha birçok etnik kökenlerin saldırısına maruz kalmaktadır. Sulh dusturu, çok güzel bir dustur, olmasına rağmen, Türkün karın altını tamamen müdafaasız bırakmaktadır. Şimdi Kıbrıs'ta çözüm hemen çözüm isteyenlere, oldum-olası bir çözümü kabullenmeye razı olanlara , sormak gerek; Bu haberde bahsi geçen çiftçiler sizce haklı mı? Onlara hoş geldiniz demeye gidecek misiniz? Onları hasretle bağrınıza basacak, "gel grekocuğum Omorfo sizindir" diyecek misiniz ?

Türk askerinin sınırı beklediği şu



günlerde, sınır delmeye kalkan bu düşüncesiz insanlar, yarın Türk askeri çekildikten sonra rahat duracak mı, yoksa Türk olan her şeye saldırıp, ezip geçmeye mi çalışacaklar?

Sınır delme olayı, tek taraflı kalmaz. Rum sınırı delmeye çalışıyorsa o bölgede yaşayan insanlara kendini müdafa hakkı veriyor demektir.

Gerekçe tarla sürmek olarak gösteriliyor. Tarlalar, sürülüp; ekilmiş olabilir. Bunu bilenlere sormak gerek. Hangi tarlayı sürmedir niyet? Niyet, sadece sınırdan olay çıkarmadır. Rum şeytana benzer, rahat duramaz, ya çocuklarını gömer veya kendi altını parmaklar.

Anlaşma olduğunu, çözüme erişildiğini farz edelim. Rumoğlu sizce rahat duracak mı?

Türklerde tek karış, bir karış toprak olduğu sürece, Rum sınır delme eylemine devam edecek bu ahlsızlığı sürdürecektir.

Ve, o bölgede yaşayan bir arkadaşımın dediği gibi " Gelsinler, gelsinler ancak bilsinler ki biz delik açmasını, mıhlamayı çok iyi beceririz"

İşte size çözüm; Sınır delecek Rum ve onu mıhlayacak , onda delik açacak, şişleyecek olan Türk.

Daha güzel bir çözüm olabilir mi? Her ne isterse olsun bu ebediyete kadar sürüp, gidecek bir olguya benziyor. Benzemiyor mu?

Exaggeration / Attribution /Distortion

Title: A National Matter
Newspaper: Takvim
Date: December 30, 2013
Type: News Article
Writer: Mevlüt Yüksel

In the news article conveying Ilham Gencer's statements he had made on a TV program titled, "Yap-Boz" on News Channel A, the information that some famous songs in Turkey were adaptations from foreign songs, is presented with the claim that "foreign powers are trying to divide Turkey." Instead of balancing Gencer's statements with a different opinion or critical approach, the article supports the distorted truth and conspiracy theories, and thereby serves to generate hate speech, especially towards the Jewish population, at times supporting Gencer's statements by printing them in bold letters. The article also includes the statement, "Masons, Jews and Zionists tried to cause cultural erosion through these songs", associating these groups of people with treachery.

MİLLİ MESELE

Ünlü müzisyen Ilham Gencer, müzikle yapılan kirli oyunları deşifre etti: 'Memleketim' şarkısı İsrail'in, 'Dağ başını duman almış' ise İsveç'in milli marşdır

TÜRKİYE'nin ilk piyanist şantörlerinden biri olan **İlham Gencer**, ülkemizde dillerden düşmeyen ve mars haline gelen şarkılarla ilgili çarpıcı iddialarda bulundu. 87 yaşındaki müzisyen, dış güçlerin şarkılarla Türkiye'yi bölmeye çalıştığını iddia etti.

'SİLAHLA YAPILAMAZ'
Müzik tarihine geçen İlham Gencer, A Haber'de yayınlanan "Yaz-Boz" programında ezberbozdu. Ünlü müzisyen, Türk halkın yıllardır dilinden düşürmediği şarkıları deşifre etti. Gencer, "Memleketim", "Hayat bayram olsa" ve "Sev kardeşim" gibi şarkıların, Yahudiler'in milli marşı olduğunu açıkladı. "Dağ başını duman almış" şarkısının ise İsveç'in milli marşı olduğunu belirtti

ve ekledi: Şarkılarla yapılan ihanet, silahla yapılmaz.

'KÜLTÜR EROZYONU'
Yıllarca memleketim şarkısı, kaynağı bilinmeden söylendi. Kıbrıs'ta binlerce kişi şehit olduktan sonra Türkiye'de "Gönlümü eğlerim, gerisi Allah kerim" denildi. Böyle bir şey kabul edilemez. Bu çok büyük bir ihanet şarkısı. Müzikle insanları kandırıldılar. Masonlar, Yahudiler, siyonistler, bu şarkılar yoluyla kültür erozyonu yaratmak istedi."

2012 yılında vefat eden sanatçı Ayten Alpman, "Memleketim" şarkısıyla ünlenmişti.

Dağ başını duman almış
Dağ başını duman almış Gümüş dere durmaz akar Güneş ufuktan şimdi doğar Yürüyelim arkadaşlar...

Memleketim
Havasına suyuna taşına toprağına, Bin can feda bir tek dostuma, Her köşesi cennetim ezilir yanar içim, Bir baskadır benim memleketim..

'Şarkılarla propaganda'
■ SANATÇI İlham Gencer, İsrail'in her ülkede insanları birbirine düşürmek amacıyla şarkılarla propaganda sistemi kurduğunu belirtti. Hollywood sinemasının da belli amaçlara hizmet ettiğini belirten Gencer, "Müzikle insanlar kandırılır. Onun için Türkiye'de yapılan ihtilaller hep şarkılarla olmuştu. Çocuğa bunları dayatarsan o çocuk hain olur" dedi.

İlham Gencer'in Yaz-Boz programında yaptığı açıklamalar gündeme damga vurdu.

a HBR
YAZ-BOZ
cumartesi
23.30

Exaggeration / Attribution /Distortion

Title: Kurd-Supporters and Armenians Meet In Washington

Newspaper: Sözcü

Date: November 21, 2013

Type: Opinion Column

Writer: Emin Çölaşan

Writing on a meeting held between BDP and the Dashnaksutyun Party in Washington, Emin Çölaşan makes a statement without showing any references, with regards to the meaning of 2015 for Armenians that entrenches animosity between the people: "Armenian gangs were betraying our troops, cutting up Muslims". After this explanation, Çölaşan refers to the photographs taken during the meeting and presents them as the evidence of "Kurd-supporters and Armenians" trying to divide the country, and as "documents of negligence and betrayal". Although Çölaşan claims that the details of the meeting and the pictures were kept secret from the media, it is possible to gather information on the meeting from various sources. (<http://www.armenianweekly.com/2013/10/31/high-ranking-arf-bdp-meeting-held-in-washington/>). Therefore Çölaşan's emphasis on secrecy serves to strengthen an exaggerated conspiracy theory. A news article on the same topic was issued on *Karadeniz* on November 8, 2013, with the title "Armenian Dashnaksutyun and BDP arm in arm."



Washington'da Kürtçü-Ermeni toplantısı

Emin

ÇOLAŞAN

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SEVGİLİ okuyucularım, ABD'nin başkenti Washington'da geçen hafta birileri (!) açısından önemli bir toplantı yapıldı ve yeni bir işbirliğinin temelleri atıldı.

Kürtçü-BDP-Ermeni lobisi işbirliği!

Ermeni lobisi, ABD'de Yahudi ve Rum lobilerinden sonra gelen üçüncü baskı grubu. Orada bu lobiler çok önemli.

Kendi ulusal çıkarları açısından bastırıyolar, yönetimin kendi toplumlarının çıkarları doğrultusunda kararlar almasını sağlıyorlar.

Bilmeyenler için anlatayım... 2015 yılı Ermenistan ve bütün dünyadaki Ermeniler için çok önemli bir tarihtir.

Onların değiştiği ile "Ermeni soykırımının (!)" 100. yılı...

Yıl 1915. Birinci Dünya Savaşı olanca hızıyla sürüyor. Rus ordusu Doğu Anadolu'ya girdi. Osmanlı ordusu güçsüz ve hezimete uğradı. Kars, Erzurum, Erzincan, Trabzon, Gümüşhane, bütün Doğu Anadolu Ruslar tarafından işgal edildi.

Osmanlı ordusu bir yanda Rus ordusuyla, öbür yanda ise içimizdeki Ermenilerle boğuşuyordu. Doğu Anadolu'da Ermeniler çoktu ve devlete isyan etmişlerdi. Ermeni çeteleri ordumuzu arkadan vuruyor, Müslümanları kesip biçiyordu. Rusya'nın desteğini alan içimizdeki Ermeniler de -ne yazık ki- onlara katılmıştı. Ordumuz, kendi vatandaşı olan Ermeniler ve Ermeni çeteleri tarafından vuruluyordu. 1915 yılında bir kanun çıkarıldı...

Ve savaş bölgesinde



yaşayıp ordumuzu arkadan vuran Ermenilerin göç ettirilmesine karar verildi. Bunun adına "Tehcir" (Zorunlu göç) kanunu denildi ve Ermeniler kabileler halinde güneye, genelde Suriye taraflarına göç ettirildi.

Bu göçler sırasında elbette üzücü olaylar yaşandı. Ancak hiçbir zaman Ermeni'lerin 100 yıldan beri iddia ettikleri gibi "Soykırım" değildi. Soykırım olsa ülkenin öteki yerlerindeki Ermenilerin de sürgün edilmesi gerekirdi. Öyle bir şey asla olmadı.

Ermeni lobileri ve Ermenistan bu olayı 98 yıldan beri sömürüyor. Piyasaya sürülen düzmece belgelerde bir milyon Ermeni'nin göç sırasında öldürüldüğü iddia ediliyor.

Bazı BDP'liler ve Ermeni diasporasının (lobisinin) önde gelenlerinin ABD'de yaptıkları toplantının fotoğraflarını sizlere iletiyorum. İşin özeti aşağıdadır...

Kürtçülerle Ermenilerin Türkiye'nin doğusunu Ermeni

toprağı olarak gösterdiği haritanın altında yaptıkları bu toplantının hangi amaca hizmet ettiğini veya edeceğini varn siz düşünün lütfen...

Bu fotoğrafları gaflet ve ihanet belgesi olarak görmenizi öneririm...

Ayrıca, "Biz bölünme istemiyoruz" yalanına sarılan Kürtçü kesimin gerçek yüzünü de bu belgeler ortaya çıkarıyor.

Geçen hafta Washington'u ziyaret eden BDP Eşbaşkanı Selahattin Demirtaş ve aynı partinin Dış İlişkilerden sorumlu Genel Başkan Yardımcısı Nazmi Gür, kapalı kapılar ardında Ermeni lobisinin aşırı uçlarından Taşnak Örgütü ile bir araya gelip görüştiler.

Demirtaş ve Gür, görüşmenin içeriğine ilişkin üç maymunu oynamayı tercih ederken Ermeni tarafı "Türkiye'de Kürt ve Ermeni halklarının işbirliği görüşüldü" açıklamasını yaptı.

Bu arada Demirtaş ve Gür, Taşnak (ARF) yetkilileriyle Türkiye'nin doğusunu Ermeni toprağı olarak gösteren haritanın önünde poz verdiler.

İşte o pozlar ve ayrıntılar:



Görüşme ABD'deki Ermeni lobisinin çatı örgütü niteliğindeki ANCA'nın (Ermeni Ulusal Komitesi'nin) Washington'daki ofisinde gerçekleşti.

Görüşmeye BDP'den Demirtaş ve Gür, Taşnak'tan ise Hagop Der Khatchadourian ile Garo Armenian, Mehmet Yüksel (BDP Washington Temsilcisi), Hagop Der Khatchadourian, Selahattin Demirtaş, Nazmi Gür, Ani Haroian, Aram Hamparian, hep birlikte görüldü.

ANCA'dan Ani Haroian ile Aram Hamparian da toplantılarda bulundu.

Bu görüşmeden bir gün önce yine Washington'da toplanan "Yeni Ortadoğu'da Kürtlerin Rolü" konulu bir konferansta Kürtçüler Demirtaş ve Gür tarafından temsil edildi. Toplantıda İran, Irak ve Suriye'den katılımcıların yanı sıra Taşnak yöneticisi Hagop Der Khatchadourian da hazır bulundu. Türkiye'nin bölünmesi açısından Kürt-Ermeni işbirliğinin temelleri atıldı.

Söz konusu görüşmeler, sözde Ermeni soykırımının 2015'teki 100. yılının ABD'de etkin olarak anılmasına ilişkin Ermeni lobisinin faaliyetlerinin en üst noktaya çıktığı bir döneme denk düştü.

Taşnak Örgütü, ABD'de soykırımın tanınmasının zor olduğundan hareketle faaliyetlerini Türkiye'den tazminat ve toprak talepleri üzerine oluşturuyor.

Ermeni terör örgütü ASALA da, bir Taşnak organizasyonu olarak ortaya çıkmış ve birçok diplomatımızı öldürmüştü.

Daha sonra ASALA ile PKK arasında Türkiye'ye yönelik işbirliği olduğu da ortaya çıkmıştı. İşte, BDP ve Demirtaş'ın

başrolde olduğu o utanç fotoğrafları. Duvardaki haritada Türkiye'nin doğusu Ermenistan olarak gösteriliyor.

Fotoğraflarda Garo Armenian, Mehmet Yüksel (BDP Washington Temsilcisi), Hagop Der Khatchadourian, Selahattin Demirtaş, Nazmi Gür, Ani Haroian, Aram Hamparian, hep birlikte görüldü.

Ermeni lobisi ile BDP'nin bu son buluşması "TC", "Türk" ve "Atatürk" kavramlarının Türkiye'de geri plana atılmaya çalışıldığı bir döneme rastlıyor.

Ortalıkta "Kürdistan" lafları dolanırken, Washington'da "Kürtçü-PKK'lı" kesimler Ermeni lobisi ile masaya oturuyor.

Toplantının ayrıntıları ve bu fotoğraflar medyaya servis edilmedi, gizli tutuldu.

Bizim Kürtçüler, Türkiye'nin altını oymak için Kürtçülük yoluyla çaba harcayan kesimler, şimdi Doğu Anadolu'yu Ermenistan olarak gösterenlerle aynı çizgide, aynı doğrultuda.

Paylaşım yapılmış bile!

Doğu Ermenistan,

Güneydoğu Kürdistan!

Bizim Kürtçüler tarih

bilgisinden öylesine yoksun

ki, Ermenilerin Birinci Dünya

Savaşında sadece ordumuzu

arkadan vurmadığını, on

binlerce Kürt'ü de kestğini

unutmuşlar!

Ve "Soykırımın (!) 100.

yılına" çanak tutmaya

şimdiden başlamışlar!

OTHER DISADVANTAGED GROUPS

Twenty-five articles, which consist of 21 articles that were not included in Part One due to differences in groups targeted (**women, lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transgenders, intersex /LGBTI**) and four other articles that were analysed in Part One under another category to which they mainly belonged, were subjected to discourse analysis in this part.

Although the articles analysed often use the word “transvestite”, it is a misuse of the word, and therefore we have preferred to use the acronym LGBTI for all articles. What is meant by “transvestite” in these articles are 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.

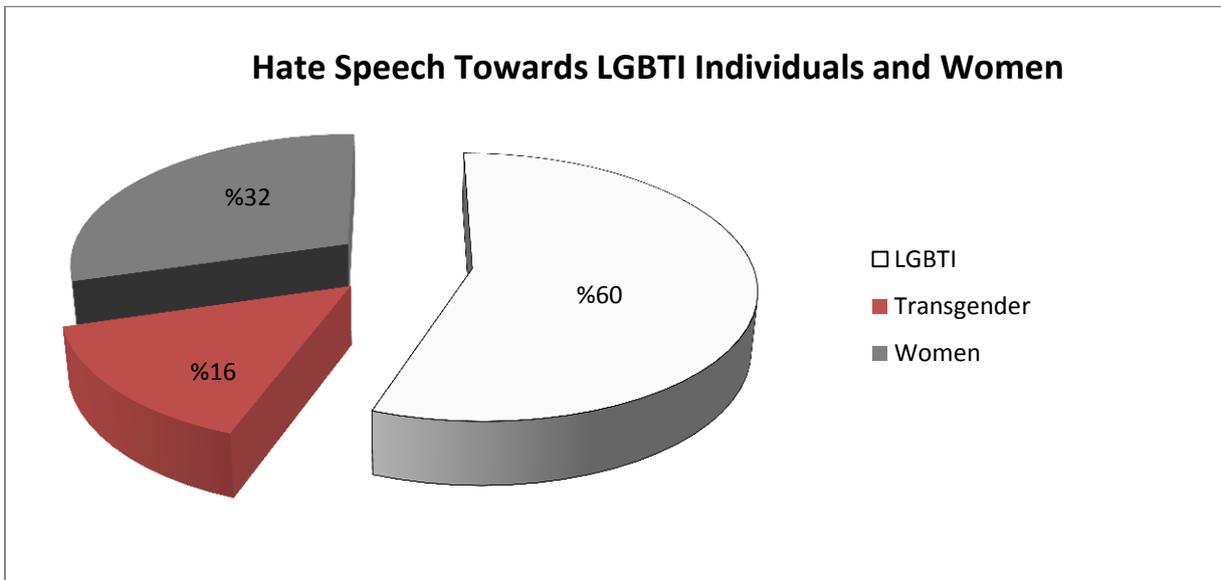
Date	Newspaper	Type	Author	Title	Target Group	Hate Category
02.Sept.2013	Takvim	News Article	Anonymous	Pink Fiasco	Women	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
04.Sept.2013	Özgür Kocaeli	News Article	Anonymous	Transvestite Hunt	LGBTI	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
07.Sept.2013	Kayseri Gündem	Opinion Column	Kasım Okut	Immorality Cannot Be A Human Right! (1)	LGBTI, Women	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
09.Sept.2013	Ortadoğu	Special Page (“Towards Peace”)	Anonymous	When Humans Run Wild, Troubles Come RAINING Down	LGBTI	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
10.Sept.2013	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Ali İhsan Karahasanoğlu	2020 Maccabiah Games	LGBTI	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
18.Sept.2013	Karadeniz Postası	Sexual Health Column	Anonymous	COULD I BE GAY?	LGBTI, Women	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
18.Sept.2013	Antalya Körfez	Opinion Column (Non-Professional Guest Writer)	Mehmet Tosun	ARE LAW AND ORDER IN PLACE IN ANTALYA?	LGBTI	Emnity / War Discourse
23.Sept.2013	Şok	News Article	İHA	Transvestite Caught For Prostitution	LGBTI	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
2.Oct.2013	Yeni Akit	News	Sinan Yavuzoğlu /	Hate Platform Is	LGBTI	Exaggeration /

		Article	Ankara	Zionists' Tool		Attribution / Distortion
7.Oct.2013	News Articleci Gazetesi	Opinion Column	Fatih Gürbüz	Be A Little Gay!	LGBTI	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
8.Oct.2013	Şok	News Article	Anonymous	Horny Nurse Dug Her Own Grave!	Women	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
11.Oct.2013	Yeni Akit	News Article	Sinan Kaya / Ankara	CHP Requests Deviant Representative	LGBTI	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
11.Oct.2013	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Prof. Dr. Nurullah Çetin	Does the Koran Commit Hate Crimes?-II	LGBTI	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
15.Oct.2013	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Mehmed Şevket Eygi	Sexual Provocation of a Shrewish Minority	Women	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
20.Oct.2013	Yeni Akit	News Article	News Article Merkezi	CHP's Preoccupation Is Freedom To Deviants" / "For CHP Only Homosexuals and Drinkers Are Free"	LGBTI	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
25.Oct.2013	Kocaeli Bizim Yaka	Opinion Column	Adnan Gümüşer	A Mother's Love	Women	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
28.Oct.2013	Yeni Akit	News Article	Sinan Yavuzoğlu / İstanbul	Old Ladies On Stage	Women	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
06.Nov.2013	News Article Türk	News Article	Serhat Alaattinoğlu / AHT	Rejected Transvestite Stabbed Customer	LGBTI	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
13.Nov.2013	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Şükrü Alınacı	"Asakir-i Mağdure-i Muhammediye!" (<i>Mohammed's Soldiers Deserving Victories</i>)	LGBTI	Enmity / War Discourse
22.Nov.2013	Yeni Akit	News Article	News Center	CHP Targets Deviants	LGBTI	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
25.Nov.2013	Eskişehir Sakarya	News Article	Anonymous	New Method From Transvestites	LGBTI	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
04.Dec.2013	Milli Gazete	News Article	Anonymous	Lot's Tribe Returns	LGBTI	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
12.Dec.2013	Star Kitap	News Article	Sevinç Altuntaş	Roles Are Mixed-Up but the Natural Balance Is Still Exact	LGBTI	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion

12.Dec.2013	Yeni Akit	News Article	Muhsin Bayraktar / Ankara	'Deviant' Threat In	LGBTI	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
16.Dec.2013	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Mehmed Şevket Eygi	Filling Mosques with Women	Women	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration

Among the 25 items analysed under the title “Other Disadvantaged Groups”, **15 items contain hate speech towards (male and female) homosexual individuals**. Hate speech towards **transgender individuals**, described as “transvestites” in the writings, are found in **four items** (16% of total items in study, 21% of LGBTI-targeting items) and hate speech towards women is detected **eight times** (32% of the total items) within the period and publications observed.

Graph 14



Among the **25** items with hate speech, **14** were **news articles**, **nine** were **opinion columns**, one was a letter sent to the “Sexual Health Section” and one was a piece of writing published in *Ortadoğu*, on a page titled “Towards Peace”. Considering that hate speech towards national, ethnic and religious identities are generated largely in opinion columns, as in previous periods, it can be observed that **hate speech towards LGBTI individuals and women have penetrated more easily into news articles**. The adjectives defining homosexuality remained the same as in previous periods, and **homosexuality** was often defined as a “**perversion**” and “**deviancy**”.

Samples that contained **hate speech towards women** were generated around women's **physical qualities** but also often on their sole **existence**. During this period, writings where the mere existence of a woman is considered negative were encountered more often than in other periods. News about **transgender individuals** were **related to crime** as in previous periods.

Of the items studied, seven of them were published anonymously, one was signed with the news agency name and two were signed as “News Centre”. Seventy-two percent were published with a writer's name and cited a source. Publishing seven items, *Yeni Akit* was the newspaper that

generated the **most hate speech towards LGBTI individuals and women**, as in previous periods. ***Şok***, ***Star***, ***Takvim*** and ***Haber Türk*** also contributed to the circulation of hate speech in the mainstream media by publishing five articles in total. Seven items containing hate speech were published in the local media, and 18 were published in the national media.

Hate speech towards LGBTI individuals was used to defame Republican People's Party (CHP), as in previous periods, especially by *Yeni Akit*. In the articles with the following titles, attempts were made to disgrace the CHP for the visits that the party paid to LGBTI associations or the visits LGBTI Representatives paid to CHP in the parliament: "CHP Requests Deviant Representatives" (October 11), "CHP's Preoccupation Is Freedom To Deviants"/ "For CHP Only Homosexuals and Drinkers Are Free" (October 20), "CHP Targets Deviants" (October 22).

EXAMPLES BY CATEGORY

Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion

Title: A Mother's Love

Newspaper: Kocaeli Bizim Yaka

Date: October 25, 2013

Type: Opinion Column

Writer: Adnan Gümüſer

Writing about a woman who had left her baby back at home alone in Gölcük during the holidays and thus causing his death, Adnan Gümüſer states that women have so-called modern aspirations such as “working and not being dependent on anybody” and that they fail to raise good generations of children. By making statements such as “Working women are not resilient. They trust their economic independence and take too many risks. (...) It's obvious that families should raise good kids and girls should put their energy into raising a good generation of people and not into their careers”, the writer does not only perceive child-upbringing as an exclusively female activity, but he also portrays women's economic independence as the biggest obstacle for performing this activity. The person whom the article is about on the other hand is insulted by both the writer and by the people whose quotations are taken from social media sites.



Adnan GÜMÜŞER

Çözüm Masası

Anne sevgisi

Annelerin yerini hiçbir şey tutamaz. Annelerin sevgi ve şefkatinin değeri hiçbir şeyle ölçülemez. Anneler evin direğidir. Anneler evi çekip çevirir. Cennet onların ayakları altındadır. Yerleri asla doldurulamaz.

Ama ne anneler varmış. Gölcükteki olayı bilmişsinizdir. Duymuşsunuzdur. Acı gerçekler. 9 günlük bayram tatili boyunca aç ve susuz kalan sabi. Hatay'da oturan ailesine giden anne. Dönüşte ölen çocuğu. Babasının aramadığı bahtsız yavru. Cenazesine sahip lenilemeyen sabi. Günahsız bir yavru. İki ay önce dünyaya getirdiği bebeğini evde bırakıp 9 günlük tatile giderek ölümüne yol açtığı görülen sınıf öğretmeni 34 yaşındaki bir bayan. Bebeğini Gölcük Necati Çelik Devlet Hastanesi'nde doğurmuş.

Anne 9 günlük ayrılıktan sonra sözüm ona eve gelirken sabiyi hastaneye götürür. Acı gerçek ortaya çıkar. Sabi açlıktan susuzluktan ölmüş. Öldüğü anlaşılınca anne gözaltına alınır. Şu an alt soyuna karşı ihmal davranışıyla adam öldürmekten yargılanıyor. Peki, Bir çocuk 9 gün aç kalır mı? Bu süre içinde yaşadığı eziyet ne olacak? 9 gün aç ve susuz bırakılan bir çocuk hayatta kalır mı? Bu ne, insanlık öldü mü? Gariban sabinin hakkını kim savunacak? Ama anne aynı şekilde 9 gün aç bırakılsa kıyamet kopar.

Cahiliye döneminde diri diri toprağa gömülürdü kız çocukları. Aç bırakmakta bir nevi çocuğu diri diri öldürmektir, toprağa diri diri gömmektir. Evlenmeden çocuk doğurmanın ne kadar sakıncalı olduğu ortaya çıkıyor. Sosyolog olanlar ve bu alanda çalışanlar için tam bir malzeme. Çocuğun sesini duyan olmamış mı bu nasıl komşuluk. Nasıl dostluk. Ev alma komşu al derler. Evet diri diri çocuk gömülebiliyormuş diri diri yavru lar ölümüne terk edilebiliyormuş onu öğrendik. Onu bildik. Ne uğruna peki;

1-ailem duymasın

2-çevrem duymasın

3-dostlarım duymasın

4-iş arkadaşlarım duymasın; adına çocuğu saklamıştır muhtemelen.

Şunu unutmamak lazım her kötülüğün arkasında mantıklı gözükken bir hesap vardır. Hırsızın bir bahanesi çulsuzun bir gerekçesi cebinin bir köşesinde daima yer alır. Muhtemelen çocuk birine emanet edilmiş ve bu emanet eden ilgilenmemiş olabilir. Olan olmuş neticeye bakmak lazım. Nasıl bir nesil yetiştiriyoruz. Allah'ım bu durum ne. Kızlarımıza doğumundan itibaren sözüm ona modern kadının hedeflerini gösteriyoruz. Onları sözde yeni bir hedefe yönlendiriyoruz. Kadın çalışacak, kariyer yapacak, maaş alacak, kimseye muhtaç olmayacak, ekonomik özgürlüğüne kavuşacak vs. vs. bundan sonra gelsin boşanmalar gitsin çocuk ölümleri ve sıkıntılar. Tinercilerin, ka-

tillerin, bıçakçıların ailesine ve mazisine baktığınızda mutlaka babası ölmüş, annesi ölmüş veya boşanmış, ortada kalmış sevgi görmemiş sıcak ev ortamı bulamamış birilerinden çıkıyor. Tabi ki büyüyen bu çocuk evlenme çağına gelince çocuk yetiştirmeyi bilmiyor. Kızlar büyüyünce de evlenince de çocuğa bakamıyor, ahlak yoksunu oluyor temiz nesil yetişmiyor. Nesil artık zora gelmiyor. Sevilmeyen çocuk, büyüyünce de kendini sevdirmeye ihtiyacı duymuyor.

Olayla ilgili çıkan haberde bazı yorumlar dikkatimi çekti sizinle paylaşmak istedim. Bakın vatandaş ne diyor:

'9 gün tek başına evde bırakması resmen cinayet. Döndüğünde mama yedirmeye çalışmış!9 gün boyunca onun mamasını niye düşünmemiş. Kendisi 1 gün yemeden durabiliyor mu denesin bakayım.'

'Bu çocuğun babası çocuğunu merak etmedi mi? Ana ve Baba torunlarını sormadılar mı? Sormayanlar sorumlu olmayacaklar mı? İnançlı ve imanlı nesiller yetişmediği sürece ne yapsanız civata. Allah tan korkmaktan her şey beklenir.'

'Bütün memurlar Diyanet çalışanları gibi yüz kızartıcı suçlardan sorumlu olmalı. Bir öğretmen düşünün hem de sınıf öğretmeni, çocuklarımız günde 7 saat bunlara emanet ve yaptığı ahlaksızlığa mı bakarsın işlediği cinayete mi? Fuhuş, içki, kumar vs. zararlı tüm faaliyetler yüz kızartıcı suçlar kapsamında memurlara uygulanmalı. Bu aynı zamanda bir ahlak eğitimi olur.'

'Sabi alenen ölümüne terkedilmiş. Sınıf öğretmenliği yaptırılan birinin bunu bilmemesi imkânsız. Zaten anlaşılıyor ki kişi gayri meşru bir ilişki sonucu hastanelere kayıt yaptırmadan doğurmaya çalıştığı çocuğu alenen ölümüne terk etmiş. Kendi canı tatlı olduğundan kürtaja da cesaret edememiş; yavruyu sorunsuzca doğurmayı beklemiş. Sonra da bırakıp gitmiş. Sanırım bu haberi okuduğunda Başbakan 5218 sayılı Kanunu çıkardığı için çok pişman olmuştur. Ne de olsa kanun çıktı; AB ' ye de girdik ! Allahtan cehennem var yaaa....'

'hem anne hem de öğretmen. Ne yani şimdi çocuklarımızı böyle öğretmenlere mi emanet ediyoruz. Pes doğrusu.'

'Kendi çocuğuna bunu yapan bir kadın ne anne olabilir ne de öğretmen. Tüm kelimeler bu canavara yakıştırmada az kalır'

'Bu geri zekâlı nasıl öğretmen olmuş. Çok yazık'

'Bir öğretmen bunu nasıl yapabilir inanamıyorum. 2 aylık bir bebeğe kıyılmaz.'

Yeni kanunlara göre bebeğin cesedi yakınları veya beyan etmesi halinde babası tarafından alınabilecek. Ayrıca defnedilmeden önce mutlaka nüfustan kimlik çıkarılacak. Bu gibi durumlarda baba hanesi boş bırakılabiliyor. Çalışan bayanlar hiç zora gelmiyor. Ekonomik özgürlüğüm var deyip her şeyi göze alabiliyor. Yeni boşanmış birinin şu sözü çok ilginç 'Keşke çalışan bayanla evlenmeseydim.' Anlaşılıyor ki artık aileler iyi çocuk yetiştirmeli, kızlar kariyer için değil iyi nesil yetiştirmek için uğraşmalı. Yoksa inanın nesil elden gidiyor.

Kalın sağlıcakla...

Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion

Title: Rejected Transvestite Stabbed Customer

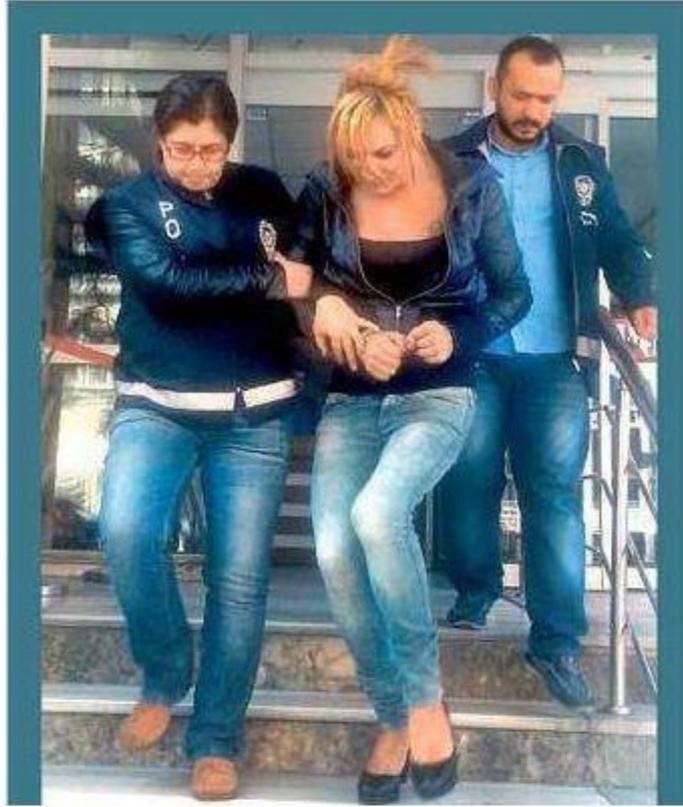
Newspaper: Haber Türk

Date: November 6, 2013

Type: News Article

Writer: Serhat Alaattinoğlu / AHT

The emphasis of the transgender identity of the person, both in the title and the content of the article, as well as statements such as “Went crazy when rejected” or “Stabbed his partner with a chopping knife”, contributes to the general association of transgender individuals with crime, and strengthens the attribution of violence to the transgender identity.



Reddedilen travesti müşteriyi bıçakladı

ŞİŞLİ’de barda tanıştığı ve kendisini Ukraynalı bir kadın olarak tanıtan travesti, cinsel ilişkide gerçek ortaya çıkıp reddedilince çılgına döndü. satırla partnerini yaraladı. Bir bara giden A.T. adlı travesti, burada karşılaştığı A.K.’ye kendisini Ukraynalı bir kadın olarak tanıttı. Alkol alıp sohbet eden ikili, gece yarısı para karşılığı cinsel ilişki için anlaşıp A.T.’nin evine gitti. Burada da alkol alan ikili yakınlaştı. Ancak A.K., A.T.’nin travesti olduğunu anladı. A.K., ilişkiye girmek istemediğini söyleyince kavga çıktı. “Sen ne Ukraynalısın ne de kadınsın, ben seninle birlikte olmam, beni kandırdın” dedi. A.T., “Benimle yatağa girdin, paramı vereceksin” diyerek mutfığa gidip bir satır ve bıçak alıp A.K.’ya saldırdı. Ağır yaralanan A.K. hastaneye kaldırılırken, Şişli Asayiş Büro ekipleri tarafından yakalanan A.T. tutuklandı. ■ Serhat ALAATTİNOĞLU / AHT

Blasphemy /Insult / Denigration

Title: Horny Nurse Dug Her Own Grave

Newspaper: Şok

Date: October 8, 2013

Type: News Article

Writer: Anonymous

Having a long title for only a short two paragraph article, the news article talks about a woman who was stabbed to death in her own house by a man; however, the way the article is construed aims to create a sense that she had deserved to die. Apart from the ageism shown throughout the article by emphasizing the woman's age ("old nurse", "old woman"), the writer also tries to strengthen the sense of "horny nurse" in the article's title by adding phrases such as "spending the night", "sex spree", "sex party", "had sex", "had intercourse", "wanting to make love again". By using a Turkish idiom that can be best translated as "digging one's own grave", the article lays the groundwork for justifying her murder. The uncensored name and picture of the woman are also used in this news article.

AZGIN HEMŞİREYİ TENESİR PAKLADI

İngiltere'de birlikte olmak için kendisine erkek ararken, evsiz genci dairesine alan azgın hemşire. alemden sonra yine sevişmek isteyince canından oldu!..

İNGİLTERE'nin başkenti Londra'da ikamet eden yaşlı hemşire, geceyi geçirmek için, 20 yaşındaki evsiz bir genci, yalnız yaşadığı apartman dairesine aldı. Ancak 62 yaşındaki hemşirenin, seks alemi kanlı bitti. Yaşlı kadın, tam 28 bıçak darbesiyle öldürüldü.

Emekli hemşire, evsiz bir gençle yaptığı seks partisi sırasında korkunç bir şekilde öldürüldü. İki torun sahibi olan kadın, sokakta rastladığı evsiz gençle evinde seks yaptı. **Jack Huxley (küçük resim)** adındaki genci evine götürüp, porno izleten **Janis Dundas**, daha sonra onunla ilişkiye girdi. Seviştikten sonra uyumak isteyen genç ile yeni-



den sevişmek isteyen Dundas, reddedilince öfkeleni. Uyuşturucu ve votka etkisi altında ki çift tartıştı. Tartışma sırasında **Huxley**, mutfaktan aldığı bıçakla yaşlı kadını 28 yerinden bıçakladı.

Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration

Title: ‘Deviant’ Threat In Anatolia!

Newspaper: Yeni Akit

Date: December 12, 2013

Type: News Article

Writer: Muhsin Bayraktar / Ankara

Reporting on the “Local Meetings Against Homophobia” events organized throughout the year by Kaos GL Association, the writer targets the association and LGBTI individuals, defining the association as an “umbrella organization for sexual deviants”, “spokesman for individuals with deviant sexual tendencies and the representatives of the prostitution industry”. Throughout the article, LGBTI individuals and the association are described by adjectives such as “perverse” and “deviant”, and the idea that homosexuality is a disease is stated. As in other articles published on homosexuality, and especially on the activities of Kaos GL Association, the activities of the association are listed in detail, and hate speech is dispersed by the use of adjectives, titles and sub-headings.

Anadolu'da 'sapkın' tehlikesi!



Toplumdaki olumsuz imajlarını düzeltebilmek için pek çok atraksiyon gerçekleştiren cinsi sapkınların çatı kuruluşu olan Kaos GL Derneği üyeleri Anadolu insanına eşcinselliği anlatıyor.

MUHSİN BAYRAKTAR / ANKARA

Sapkın cinsel eğilim sahipleri ile fuhuş sektörünün temsilcilerinin sözcüsü olan Kaos GL Derneği Türkiye'de ahlaksızlığı yaygınlaştırmak için faaliyetlerini artırdı. Çeşitli illerde çok sayıda etkinlik düzenleyen Kaos GL, son bir ay içerisinde binlerce kişiye geyliyi ve lezbiyenliği anlattı. Futbol turnuvası bile düzenleyen sapkınların amacı ise, eşcinselliği topluma normal bir durummuş gibi kabul ettirmek.

Eşcinselleri bir çatı altında toplayan Kaos GL, toplumdaki olumsuz imajlarını düzeltebilmek için pek çok atraksiyon gerçekleştirirken, derneğin son aylarda yaptığı etkinlikler dikkat çekti. Sapkınlar, "Homofobiye karşı yerel buluşmalar" etkinliği adı altında Anadolu illerindeki vatandaşlara eşcinselliği anlatıyorlar.

Dernek kasım ayı içerisinde Ankara, Bursa, Şanlıurfa, Trabzon, Gaziantep, Mersin, Adana, Antakya illerine giderek buralarda sapkın fikirlerini halka anlattı. Homofobi Karşıtı Program kapsamında Kars, Sinop, Sivas, Eskişehir, Diyarbakır, Batman, Tunceli, Sakarya, Kocaeli, Edirne, Nazilli, Muğla, Çanakkale, Samsun, Malatya, Antalya, Mardin, İzmir, Balıkesir, Hakkâri, Elazığ, Van, Giresun, Kayseri, Denizli, Isparta'da homofobi ve transfobi karşıtları bir araya gelecek.

DUYGU YÜKLÜ MESAJLARLA EŞCİNSELLİK!
Yapılan faaliyetlerde katılımcılara duygu yük-



lü mesajlar verilerek eşcinselliğin bir hastalık olmadığı algısı oluşturulmaya çalışıldı. Etkinliği Mersin ayağında bir trans kadın annesi sahneye çıkarılarak, eşcinselliğin normal bir olgu olduğu anlatıldı. Pınar Özer adlı anneye yaşadıkları anlatılarak, katılımcılar ağılatıldı. Gaziantep'teki programda ise çocukları lezbiyen, gey, biseksüel, trans olan ailelerin hikâyelerini anlatan "Benim çocuğum" adlı belgesel izletildi. Kaos GL üyeleri etkinliği Gaziantep Üniversitesi'nde yapmak isterken, üniversite yönetimi programın içeriğini uygun bulmadığını söyleyerek izin vermedi. Bunun üzerine dernek faaliyetini ESP il binasında gerçekleştirdi. Bursa'da yapılan etkinlikte ise eşcinsellik öğretmenlere anlatıldı. Kaos GL üyeleri burada öğretmenlere "LGBT çocuklara çalışmanın terminolojisi" başlıklı bir atölye düzenledi. Kaos GL Derneği danışmanlarından Yasemin Şafak ise "LGBT Çocukları Okul ve Aile Kışkıracı Karşı Nasıl Korumalı?" başlıklı oturumda öğretmenlere mesleki bilgi aktarımında bulundu.

EŞCİNSELLER TOP OYNADI

Kaos GL Derneği üyeleri yaptıkları işi toplu-

ma anlatabilmek için sosyal aktiviteler de yapmaya başladılar. Dernek, toplumun sapkınlarla yönelik tepkisini kırabilmek için Ankara, Denizli ve Kayseri'de futbol turnuvaları düzenledi. Kaos GL ve FARE (Avrupa'da Irkçılığa Karşı Futbol)'nin beraber düzenlediği turnuvada, eşcinseller ve destekçileri maç yaptılar. 5 Kasım'da Kayseri'de, 7 Kasım'da Denizli'de yapılan maçlarda genellikle İran'dan Türkiye'ye gelen ve sığınma talebinde bulunan LGBT sığınmacı ve mülteciler karşı karşıya geldiler. Farsça pankart ve dövizlerin açıldığı maçlarda "Ahmadinejad ma injaim - Ahmadinejad buradayız" sloganları atıldı. Eşcinsel hakem Halil İbrahim Dinçdağ'ın yönettiği maçlarda Farsça "eşcinsellerin kurtuluşu heteroseksüelleri de kurtaracaktır", "eşcinsellik seçim değildir ancak nefret seçimdir", "ne suç ne günah, herkes için futbol herkes için hayat", eşcinsel hakem seni seviyoruz" pankartları da yer aldı.

DPÜ, profesör ve doçent alacak

KÜTAHYA

Dumlupınar Üniversitesi (DPÜ) Rektörlüğü bünyesinde, 2 profesör, 12 doçent ve 5 yardımcı doçent istihdam edilecek.

Rektörlükten yapılan açıklamaya göre, Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Matematik Bölümü Cebir ve Sayılar Teorisi Ana Bilim Dalı ile Tıp Fakültesi Cerrahi Tıp Bilimleri Bölümü Genel Cerrahi Ana Bilim Dalı'na birer profesör alınacak.

Adayların, istenilen belgelerle 20 Aralık Cuma günü mesai bitimine kadar şahsen müracaat etmeleri gerekmektedir.

Başvuruyla ilgili ayrıntılı bilgiye, üniversitenin www.dpu.edu.tr adresinden ulaşılacaktır.

Emnity / War Discourse

Title: "Asakir-i Mağdure-i Muhammediye"*

Newspaper: Ortadoğu

Date: November 13, 2013

Type: Opinion Column

Writer: Şükrü Alnıaçık

Beginning his column by writing about the roots of the present Turkish military, Alnıaçık emphasizes the military's Islamic and Turkish identity and its greatness. While making a list of all those who disapprove of this military's existence, he includes "crypto-Jews, transvestites and crypto-Armenians", and defines a group of people as "political transvestites". In opposition to the groups he described, he also creates a group that he identifies as "us", who are defined as "Mohammed's soldiers", thereby creating a type of animosity based on violence.

* (Arabic for "Mohammedian Army Deserving Victories")

“Asakir-i Mağdure-i Muhammediye!..”

BUGÜNKÜ modern Türk Ordusu, 1826’da II. Mahmut’un kurduğu “**Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye**” dir. (Zafere layık Muhammedî ordu)

Devşirme veya Tımar vererek değil, vatani yükümlülük usulüyle asker toplayan bu ordu, zamanla bütün İslam Tarihinin en güçlü ordusu haline gelmiştir.

Ordu “**Muhammedi**” yani Müslümanlara mahsus olduğu için, vatan borcu ödeyen askerlere verilen “**Mehmetçik**” ismi de bu tarihten sonra kullanılmaya başlamıştır.

Bu ordudan önceki İslam orduları, sultanların maaşlı veya dirlikli ordularıydı. İslam Tarihinde cihangir halife ve hükümdarlar, Hz. Ömer, Muaviye, Gazneli Mahmut, Alparslan, Timur, Fatih, Kanuni... kalabalık ve güçlü ordular kurmuşlardır. Ancak bunların hiç biri “**kişiyeye özel**” bir iktidara hizmet etmenin ötesine geçememiştir.

Hz. Ömer’in Kudüs ve İrakeyn fatihi ordusu, 15 yıl sonra ikiye bölünmüş ve Siffin savaşında bu ordular, 110 gün boyunca Müslüman kanı dökmüşlerdir.

**Şükrü
ALNİAÇIK**



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Muaviye’nin ordusunun kılıçlarına Ehl-i Beyt’in kanı bulaşmıştır.

Gazneli Mahmut’un Hindistan fatihi ordusu, 20 yıl sonra Dandanakan Ovasında epeyce Müslüman kanı dökerek Selçuklu Türkmenlerine mağlup olmuştur. Ordunun

milli bir rabıtası olmadığı için 1012’nin megakenti Gazne, bugün artık bir harabeden ibarettir.

Timur’un Müslüman askerleri, Ankara Savaşı ve sonrasında Müslüman’a verdiği zararı, Çin’e ve Hint’e vermemiştir.

Osmanlı tarihinde ulufesini alamayınca ayaklanan Yeniçeriler veya savaştan kaçarak Celali isyanlarına katılan Tımarlı Sipahilerin İslam’a hizmeti, TSK kadar özverili değildir. Toprak ürün vermeyince veya Sultan bahşiş vermeyince bozulan bir ordu, İslam’ı temsil edemez.

Türk tarihinde, aynen Bedir Savaşındaki gibi, kişilere, hanedana, saltanata göre değişmeyen bir dava ordusu, ancak 20. Yüzyılda

meyen bir dava ordusu, ancak 20. Yüzyılda ortaya çıkabilmiştir. Öncekilerden de fazla olarak Müslüman Türk’ün canının, malının, ırzının ve namusunun teminatı olan bu ordu, hiç kimsenin şüphesi olmasın ki gelmiş geçmiş “**en güçlü**” İslam ordusudur.

ABD’nin psikolojik savaş disiplininin bir parçası olan “**Açık Toplum**” trendinin, Türk’ün ve İslam’ın gözbebeği olan bir kurumu, yok etmesine asla izin vermeyeceğiz. Herkes için sınırsız bir takva içinde uyanık olma zamanıdır. Takva sahibi Müslümanların, zafer sarhoşluğu içindeki sonradan görme demokrat görünümlü arabesk TV kanallarının, maksatlı asker-siyaset haberlerine aldanmayıp, TSK’yı göz bebeği gibi korumaları gerekiyor.

Bugün orduya ne yaparlarsa yapsınlar, vatan için ölüme koşabilme disiplininin adeta Türkî mistik ritüellerle yüreklere nakşedildiği askeri eğitim sistemi bozulmadıkça yeni gerçek mücahitlerin, “**Gazi**” Mustafa Kemal’lerin yetişmesi her zaman ihtimal dahilindedir. O yüzden de askeri okullar önemlidir.

Allah-u Teâlâ, düşman askerini ve teröristi Müslüman’ın bahçesinden, yatak odasından uzak tutan bu ordudan razıdır.

Bu milli namus kavgasında vatan için, bayrak için Allah için için toprağa düşen Müslümanlar şehittir. Madem ki ölen Mehmetçikler şehittir; öyleyse bu ordunun bir İslam ordusu olduğuna hiç kimse itiraz etmemelidir.

Böyle bir orduyu ABD istemiyor. AB, istemiyor. PKK istemiyor. Böyle bir orduyu AKP istemiyor. Vicdani retçiler, dönmeler, travestiler ve kripto Ermeniler istemiyor. Moda bu ya... SP ve BBP’nin liberal sağ milliyetçileri ve Hüda-par, Hak-par, “Şo-par” “Bu-par” da böyle bir orduyu istemiyor..

Biz ise her türlü harp karşısında ordumuzdan, Türk’ün namus-u harimine “**boğazkesen hisarı**” olmuş çelik iradesinden memnunuz. İçindeki darbeciyi ayıklar, onu başımızın üzerine koyarız.

Bizim evlatlarımızın ve torunlarımızın, ırzı, namusu ve insanlık onuru, sizin Rotshild’inizin, Rockefeller’inizin, Soros’unuzun kapital keyfinin mezesi olan “**ileri demokrasi**” masalından çok daha değerlidir.

Ey siyaset travestileri!.. Türk Silahlı Kuvvetlerinden elinizi çekin.

Salon Milliyetçisi değiliz biz. Muhammed’in askeriyiz, Mehmed’iz!..

Siz ABD ile elele verir onu gadre uğrattırınız... Her birimiz, birer “**Sultan Mahmut**” olur, “**Zafer**” parolasıyla yenisini kurarız!..

“**Asakir-i Mağdure-i Muhammediye**” ye izin vermeyiz..

Emnity / War Discourse

Title: Are Law And Order In Place In Antalya?

Newspaper: Antalya Körfez

Date: September 18, 2013

Type: Opinion Column

Writer: Mehmet Tosun

Disturbed by the presence of transgender individuals in the Kışla neighborhood in Antalya, the writer describes their presence as “ugly scenes” and states that the neighborhood had turned into “a neighborhood rife with drugs, violence, prostitution and rumbling”, thereby strengthening the image of transgender identity with crime. The last paragraph of this writing covertly includes a violent threat similar to the one observed in an article studied in this report, titled “Do the Syrians Deserve These Sacrifices?”: “Do not be surprised if in the near future you hear of an assault that ends in physical injury or even death in the Kışla neighborhood, because I am very sure that either somebody who visits the neighborhood at night or one of the residents will commit this crime.”



“Suçlarla mücadeleyi nasıl başardın?” sorusuna New York Belediye Başkanı Guiliani'nin cevabı:

“Metruk bir bina düşünün. Binanın camlarından biri bile kırık olsa, o camı hemen tamir ettirmezseniz, çok kısa sürede, oradan geçen herkes bir taş atıp, binanın tüm camlarını kırar. Ben ilk cam kırıldığında hemen tamir ettirdim.

Bir elektrik direğinin dibine ya da bir binanın köşesine, biri, bir torba çöp bırakın. O çöpü hemen oradan kaldırmazsanız, her geçen, çöpünü oraya bırakır ve çok kısa bir sürede dağlar gibi çöp birikir. Ben ilk konan çöp torbasını kaldırtım.”

Bir sokağın suç bölgesine dönüşme süreci önce tek bir pencere camının

kırılmasıyla başlıyor. Çevreden tepki gelmez ve cam hemen tamir edilmezse, oradan geçenler o bölgede düzeni sağlayan bir otorite olmadığını düşünüyor, diğer camları da kırıyor. Ardından daha büyük suçlar geliyor.”

ANTALYADA ASAYİŞ BERKEMAL Mİ?

ANTALYADA ASAYİŞ MAALESEF YETERLİ DEĞİL

Bazı gazeteci arkadaşlarla beraber zaman zaman fuhuş, asayiş ve gürültü sorununa değinen yazılar yazıyoruz köşelerimizde.

Bilhassa Kışla mahallesinde iki tane travesti ile başlayan süreç bugün itibarıyla belki de yirmi otuz travestinin yerleştiği ve geceleri sokakları işgal ettiği bir hale dönüştü.

Bu konuda en çok yazı yazan biri olarak süreci çok iyi biliyor ve takip ediyorum.

Emniyet güçlerinin bir planı vardı travestileri ana arterlerden kovalayıp, ara sokaklara göndermek.

Böylece ana arterlerden, büyük caddelerden geçen omzu rütbeli yetkililer, anlı şanlı siyasetçiler bu çirkin görüntüleri görmeyecekler Emniyet de “Antalya’da asayiş berkemal” diye kasım kasım kasılacaktı.

Ki kasılıyor bazen yaptığı açıklamalarla.

Bu konuda Antalya Emniyeti’ne ne kadar teşekkür etssek yeridir bunu başardılar.

Yani tembel gelinin pisliğini halının altına süpürmesi gibi bir olayı büyük bir başarı ile gerçekleştirdiler. Kocaman bir aferin onlara!!

Kışla mahallesi iki tane travestiyle başlayan süreçte, şu anda dikkat edin ve kulaklarınızı iyi açın, kimse üç maymunu oynamasın; uyuşturucu, şiddet, fuhuş ve gürültü sarmalında bir mahalle haline geldi.

Mahallede oturanlar geceleri emniyeti yani 155’i aradılar, şikayet ettiler, sonuç değişmedi.

Bir tane amirin aklına New York Belediye Başkanı gibi davranmak gelmedi. Çünkü o şekilde davranmak sorumluluk gerektiriyordu.

Kolay yolu seçtiler, şikâyetler çoğalınca biraz daha sık dolaştılar, şikâyetler azalınca gevşettiler.

Mahalleli kendi aralarında toplanıp geceleri sokak beklemeye başladı iki gün kadar, emniyet geldi ve bu iş kurnusuz girin evlerinize bu bizim işimiz dedi.

Halk tamam dedi yani güvendi emniyete, keşke güvenmeseydi mahallede suç oranı artarak büyüdü biz seyrettik, emniyet seyretti.

İktidar partisinin il başkanına yazdık

ve dedik ki: **“Bu olayı partinizin temsilcilerine iletin, mahalle halkı olarak sıkıntıdayız”** dedik, ses çıkmadı. Evinde travesti öldürdüler, yine travesti yüzünden gündüz herkesin gözü önünde silahla birbirlerini vurdular, her gece hır gür.

Motorlu kuryeler aracılığı ile uyuşturucu satıldığı herkesin dilinde. Şimdi geceleri bu kentin ne kadar itti, kopuğu varsa artık Kışla mahallesinde, gece yansı yüksek sesli müzik dinliyoruz, motor yarışlarına şahit oluyoruz.

Çocuklar ana avrat küfürleri öğrendi bu itlerin birbirleriyle kavgalarında. Yani New York Belediye Başkanı gibi davranmadı yetkililer, iki travestinin diğerlerini çekeceğini ve onlarla birlikte kentin suç işlemeye müsait insanlarının da o mahalleye üşüyeceğini hesaplamadılar.

Kaçabilen kaçıyor mahalleden satıyor evini bir başka semte gidiyor. Kaçamayanlar ise sinir stres bir vaziyette bir yerlere rahmet okuyor.

Kısa bir zaman içerisinde Kışla civarında yaralama veya ölümle sonuçlanacak bir olay duyarsanız şaşırmayın, çok iyi biliyorum ki ya geceleri gelenler, ya da çıldıran bir mahalle sakini bu suçu işleyecek. Bitmedi devam edeceğiz.

PART II

DISCRIMINATORY DISCOURSE

IN PRINT MEDIA

THE ALEVI FILE:
NOT EXPLICITLY NEGATIVE NEWS, BUT STILL DISCRIMINATORY

NİL MUTLUER

DISCRIMINATORY DISCOURSE IN PRINT MEDIA

The Alevi File: Not Explicitly Negative News, But Still Discriminatory

1. Historical Context

Analysing discriminatory discourse directed towards Alevi in print media is only possible by considering social and political crossroads and shifts in balances of power. As demonstrated by the hate speech reports that have been published every four months by the Hrant Dink Foundation since 2009, hate speech towards Alevi is rare. However, this does not mean that Alevi are not discriminated against.

The centralization politics shaped by Sunni Islam and applied since the 16th century by dominant political actors have ignored the fact that Alevism is a different understanding of Islam. However, for Alevi, Alevism is just as much a system of law and social order as it is a system of faith. Although Alevi gained the right to become full citizens, after undergoing a period of being considered a *tebaa* (a minority), the abolishment of dervish lodges and the *ocak* and *dedelik* (socio-religious leadership) establishments by the Abolishment Code of Dervish Lodges and Islamic Monasteries in 1925 following the establishment of the Republic rendered it very hard to keep Alevism alive. Furthermore, since Alevism was associated with the Sunni understanding of citizenship, Alevi's particular problems and the discrimination they faced were ignored. This disregard made it difficult to expose the systematic discrimination Alevi were subjected to in daily affairs, education, university life, state bureaucratic matters and in their professional life. Moreover, Alevi were used as a scapegoat in many of the political or social periods of unrest that have been stirred up by the State since the Ottoman times. The judicial processes for the state-sponsored events, which largely involved Alevi citizens losing their lives and massacres taking place in neighborhoods primarily inhabited by them, such as those in Maraş (1978), Çorum (1980), Sivas (1993) and Gazi (1995), did not have fair results. The contradiction between the discourse, where Alevi were claimed to be equal citizens, and the assimilation of their culture, sociological structure and the lack of justice shown to them within the context of this equality, caused Alevi actors to take on various relationships with the prevailing governments. Some chose to associate the centuries-long discrimination shown towards the Alevi faith and the sociological presence of Alevi by aligning themselves with the prevailing power, while others chose to criticize the prevailing government publicly.

The position that Alevi NGOs and their thought leaders take today vary between associating themselves with the prevailing government or criticizing it. These differences in response provide us with information on the political network of Turkish politics. In the relationships formed with Alevi, the way in which civil-society or political actors positions themselves in regard to certain Alevi actors or the disregard they choose to show towards them, reveals the Alevi stance in terms of the dominant politics. In this context, it is possible to conduct an analysis on discriminatory discourse towards Alevi in print media by ascertaining which newspaper reflects various Alevi actors in a

certain light and/or ignores some. This analysis also provides clues on the particular newspaper's relationship to the other political actors in Turkey.

2. Purpose

The political developments of Turkey in both domestic and foreign spheres have resulted in the Alevis being increasingly encountered on the government's agenda. Some of the more prominent matters featuring them include the governmental workshops organized as part of the 2009-2011 "Alevi Initiative", the government's frequent references to the sect during the tension between the Syrian regime, the visibility of the sect at the funerals for the young Gezi protestors organized at cemevis (Alevi houses of worship), the declaration made revealing that the third bridge on the Bosphorus would be named after Yavuz Sultan Selim, who was held responsible for murdering 40.000 Alevis during the Çaldıran War in 1514, as well as the collaboration between the Gulen Movement and Cem Foundation for a mosque-cemevi project.

The goal of this study is to understand whether or not the language used in print media published between September 1, 2013 and December 31, 2013 used discriminatory discourse against the Alevis, who have throughout their history and to date have been party to the social cleavages of society, to analyse the type of mechanisms used to reference the discrimination in the audiences' historical memory and to see how the discriminatory language has been recreated through political and societal polarization.

3. Method

The discrimination generated against Alevis is evaluated using the "discourse analysis method supported by content analysis". In the content analysis, a list of words and concepts that may be relevant in the specific time period studied was compiled, including the word "Alevi", and an analysis was conducted to see how they were used in the newspapers. These words included the Turkish version of the translated terms, in alphabetical order: Alevi, Alevism, Ali (Ibn Abi Talip), Antioch, Arabic Alevi, assimilation, Ataturk-follower, Bekthashi, mosque, Cem Foundation, cemevi, coup, dede, Ergenekon, protest, Gulen Movement, Hatay, Hızır, Kemalist, Redhead, Mamak, marginal group, Nusayri, Pir Sultan Abdal, provocator, semah, political, left, Syria, Sunni, Shii, terror, Tuzlucaıyr.

All the newspaper items involving Alevis were categorized *in silico* using their quantitative and qualitative data. Quantitatively, information such as the page number, frequency and the type of news item where the news appeared is documented, as well as the byline (name of the reporter/columnist, name of newspaper, type of news, page number, title, etc.). Qualitatively, it was determined in what light the Alevis or an event related to the Alevis (e.g. mosque-cemevi project) was portrayed. At this point, content analysis was used.

Although Alevis have felt the consequences of the discrimination shown against them in both their daily and professional lives, political discourse centred on identity and discourse that directly discriminated against Alevis was criticized immediately during the period after the 2000s, within the context of the EU harmonization and democratization process. During the last two years of the press monitoring project that has been conducted by the Hrant Dink Foundation since 2009, hate speech

directed towards Alevis has not been frequently seen. However, it should not be assumed that just because overt incidences of hate speech do not stand out in this project that the media does not use such discourse towards the Alevis, who in fact have been discriminated against most consistently. On the contrary, discrimination against Alevis is regularly perpetuated through the use of historical memory, symbols and sociological dynamics by prevailing and opposing powers and the associations formed between political actors. In this process, information that causes discrimination and a sense of assimilation for Alevis makes their way into our daily lives as norms. In short, discrimination against Alevis subtly becomes normal, is internalized and is constantly and systematically regenerated.

Number of Hate Speech Items towards Alevis in the <i>Hate Speech In Print Media Reports</i> Published Every Four Months (2012-2013)	
January – April 2012	0
May – August 2012	1
September – December 2012	1
January – April 2013	2
May – August 2013	0
September – December 2013	2

Understanding the discourse used by various actors while they position themselves in relation to one another and how this discourse appears in the media, gives clues on the type of mental mechanisms that generate discrimination. Therefore, this study analyses the discourse of civil and political actors discussing Alevi-related events, the historical, sociological and political messages and symbols used and also how these appear in the media.

4. Context

For the analysis of discriminatory discourse against Alevis, certain dates were determined based on the Alevi-related events that appeared in the media during **September 1-December 2013**. These events and dates are as follows:

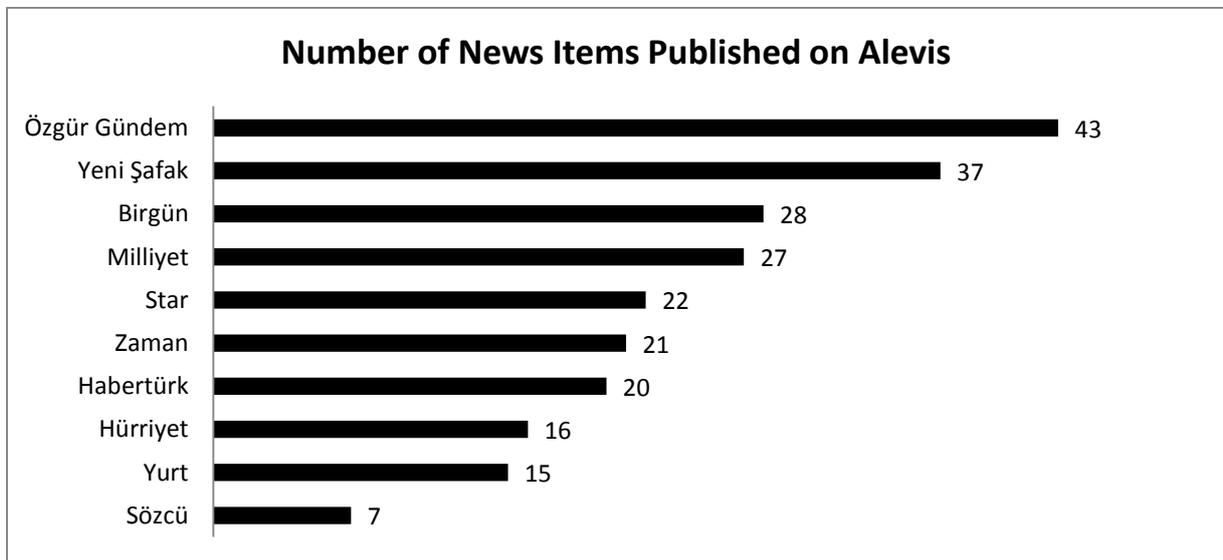
- **September 1-2:** The announcement of the mosque-cemevi project conducted in collaboration with the Cem Foundation and the Gulen Movement.
- **September 9-14:** Groundbreaking ceremony for the project and protests held in Ankara-Tuzluçayır.
- **October 8-9:** Dates following the statement made by AK Party (Justice and Development Party) Deputy for Adıyaman, Mehmet Metiner, “Cemevis are homes to terrorist organizations”, during Ahmet Hakan’s TV Program, *Tarafsız Bölge* (“Independent Zone”).

- **December 14-20:** Abant Platform Meeting organized by Gulen Movement-Affiliated Journalists and the Writers Foundation on the Alevi Initiative.

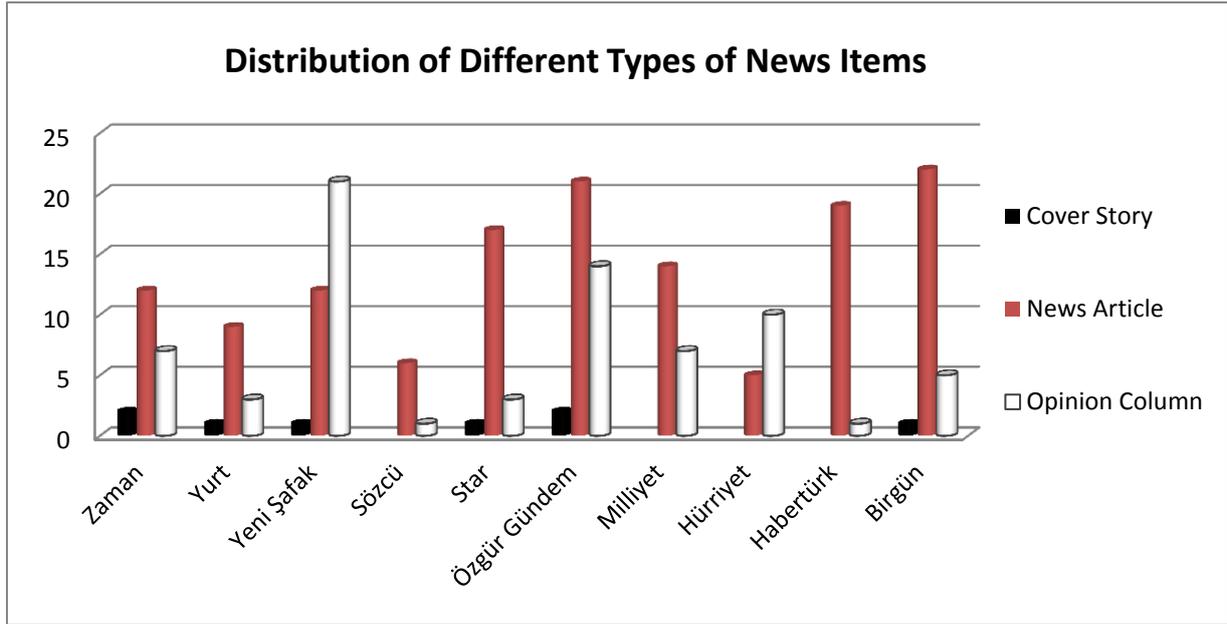
Ten newspapers were selected for analysis. These papers are *Birgün*, *Habertürk*, *Hürriyet*, *Milliyet*, *Özgür Gündem*, *Star*, *Sözcü*, *Yeni Şafak*, *Yurt* and *Zaman*. These newspapers were selected on the basis that they extend into different political channels and represent various sub-cultures.

5. General Findings

236 News articles and opinion columns were published on Alevis, during the dates aforementioned, in the monitored newspapers. When the distribution of these news items is analysed numerically, *Özgür Gündem* ranked first with 43 items on Alevis, and *Yeni Şafak* ranked second with 37 news items. *Sözcü* ranked last in terms of number of items published, with six news articles and one opinion column on Alevis.



The types of news items were categorized as news articles, opinion columns, headlines, photo captions, advertisements, serial articles, interviews and comments. Of the content analysed, 57.8% consisted of news articles and 30.6% of opinion columns. News on Alevis was carried eight times to the headlines. Photo captions, advertisements, serial articles, interviews and comments constituted 8% of the total content. The distribution of different types of news items per newspaper is shown in the graph below:



6. Topic Based Monitoring

Within the scope of the discrimination analysis, news items written on issues that have an immediate effect on Alevi, such as the mosque-cemevi project, Tuzluçayır protests, Abant Platform meeting on the Alevi Initiative, as well as those written on the comments made by Metin Metiner, where he associated cemevis with ‘terror’, were included.

In the analysis, news articles and opinion columns on the mosque-cemevi project and Tuzluçayır protests were observed to be associated with one another. Another important observation was that although there had not been any references made to Alevism, news involving the cause of death and the funeral of Ahmet Atakan, who had been murdered during the Gezi protests, as well as other news items involving largely-Alevi populated neighborhoods, were accompanied by subtle visual references or repetitive messages that alluded to Alevism. In this context, the mosque-cemevi project, Tuzluçayır protests and uprisings in other neighborhoods and news on Ahmet Atakan were analyzed independently of each other. Also, other subjects involving Alevi were analyzed in separate sections. These subjects include news items involving the police investigation held in the neighborhood of Hasan Fırat Gedik following his funeral, the Abant Platform meeting, Syrian Alevi, Sakine Cansız and faith, and historical developments and political relations.

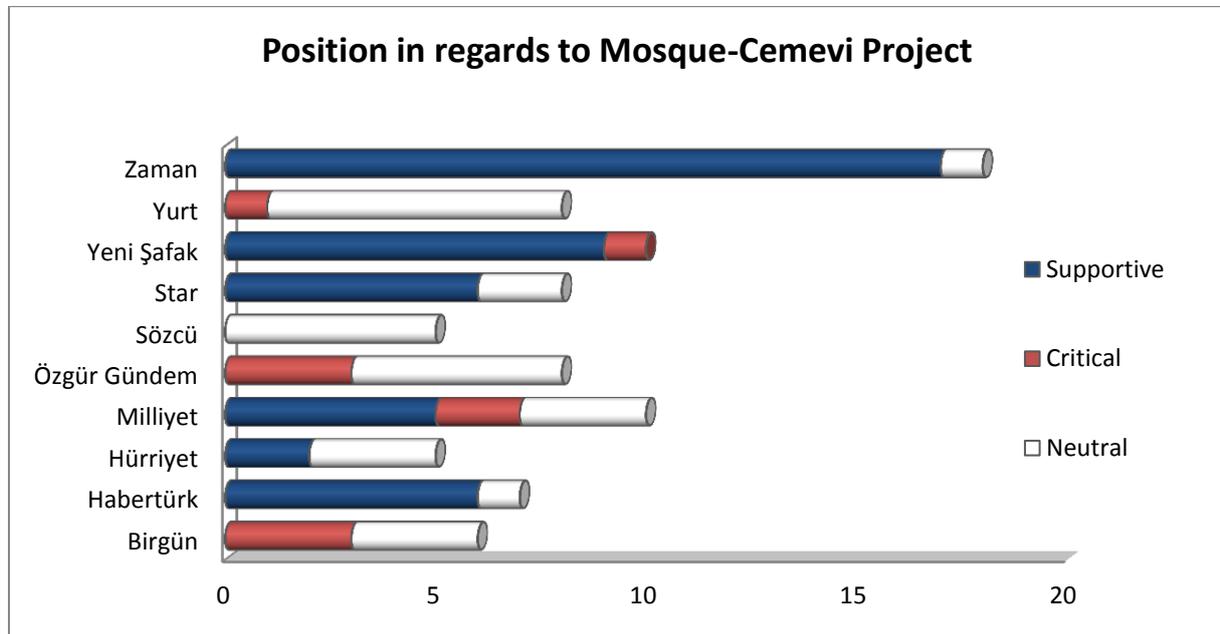
A. Mosque-Cemevi Project

The mosque-cemevi project, a collaborative initiative between the Gulen Movement, Cem Foundation and Hacı Bektaş Veli Culture, Education, Health and Research Foundation, for which construction began at the beginning of September 2013 in the Tuzluçayır neighborhood of Mamak, Ankara, is significant in terms of revealing the position held by political actors on the Alevi issue. The project has been presented as a project of “brotherhood and peace”. The newspapers took three different positions towards it: “supportive”, “critical” and “neutral-informative”. These positions are not inherently discriminatory, but what they based their arguments on revealed the mechanisms that generate discrimination against Alevi in general or on Alevi political actors in particular. Therefore,

the newspapers that published news articles or opinion columns that had a supportive or critical approach towards the project were analyzed in terms of the arguments they presented.

The newspapers that contained the most news articles or opinion columns supporting the mosque-cemevi project were *Yeni Şafak*, *Zaman*, *Star* and *Habertürk*, in decreasing order. Other newspapers that contained the most news articles or opinion columns that criticized the project were *Özgür Gündem*, *Birgün*, and *Yurt*, in decreasing order. Presenting different opinions on the subject, after having reported on it with a neutral tone, *Milliyet* provided a multidimensional view of the issue. *Hürriyet* did not appear to have any agenda for channeling people's opinions, as it presented the issue with a neutral tone and published opinion columns that featured a variety of opinions.

The distribution of news articles and opinion columns that support and criticize the project is as follows:



i. News Items Supporting the Project

The news articles and opinion columns that supported the project varied in the arguments they made. These arguments were supported by messages such as “brotherhood and peace project”, and “not assimilation, but a chance for equality”. Below are more details on the newspaper texts that have built on this theme.

The Message of “Brotherhood and Peace”

The message put forth by the Gulen Movement and the Cem Foundation regarding the mosque-cemevi project is that it is a “project of brotherhood and peace”. *Zaman*, *Yeni Şafak* and *Star* adopted and highlighted this message as stated. As for *Habertürk*, it only contained a part of this message, “brotherhood”, but the way it was conveyed was very similar to the way it was conveyed in *Zaman*, *Yeni Şafak* and *Star*, and therefore, it possibly helped to reinforce the same message.

Taking into consideration that the Gulen Movement is one of the major actors in the project, the way in which *Zaman*, the Gulen Movement's print media organ, featured news items on this subject provides clues on the political actors' positions towards it. *Zaman* announced this project in September 2013, by quoting from Kemal Kaya, President of Hacı Bektaş Veli Culture, Education, Health and Research Center and from Şahin Akıncı, President of Cem Foundation's Ankara branch. In the news, Kaya's opinions on this project, such as this project's potential to "contribute to the union of Sunnis and Alevis" and the opportunity it provides the two groups "to know each other better and strip them of their prejudices", as well as "preventing the sectarian conflicts in the Middle-East from being ignited in Turkey", are highlighted. The same news also criticized those who protested the project by quoting from the President of Cem Foundation's Ankara branch, Akıncı that "Following the Gezi Park protests, certain groups with malicious intentions are trying to ignite a conflict between Alevis and Sunnis". Therefore, this news provided the opinion of two Alevi institutions and ignored other Alevi institutions that are critical of the project, and the protests were presented as the work of "provocateurs". This approach contains elements of alienation and is discriminatory.

The project's groundbreaking ceremony appeared as the headline in *Zaman* on September 9, 2014. This news contained the supportive opinions of Faruk Çelik, the minister responsible for the Alevi Initiative at the time and the present Minister of Labor and Social Security, as well as İzzettin Doğan, President of Cem Foundation. The same news labelled protestors against the ceremony as a "marginal group" and included Hüseyin Aygün as one of its supporters, a deputy of the main opposition party, CHP. In the news that appeared on the front page on September 10, 2013, involving the mosque-cemevi project, the newspaper highlighted quotations from İzzettin Doğan, Cem Foundation's President, describing the protestors as "not Alevi youth, and they are people ignorant about Alevism", and stating that those who do not support the project would "remain marginalized". The same news referenced Hüseyin Aygün, a CHP deputy and political representative of the Alevis, who was the first deputy to make a request in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey for the opening of a cemevi. *Zaman* also included statements from CHP Vice President, Erdoğan Toprak, CHP deputy for Ardahan, Ensar Ögüt, CHP deputy for Sivas, Malik Ecdar Özdemir, supporting the project. Through the comments made by Cengiz Hortoğlu, President of Anatolian Alevi Bektashi Federation, that stated "If these people are Alevis, I can tell you that there is no violence and hate in Alevism. If they are not Alevis, then they have no right to act on behalf of them", protestors were officially denounced as not being Alevis by the relevant authorities. This approach supported the segregation of Alevis into "the real group" and "marginal provocateur protestors" by the Alevi actors that support the project (İbrahim Doğan, *Zaman*, 10 September 2013).

In addition to news articles on the groundbreaking ceremony of the project, other supporting comments made by Peter Stano, the spokesperson for Stefan Füle, European Commissioner for Enlargement and European Neighborhood Policy, AK Party Vice President, Numan Kurtulmuş and CHP's former President, Deniz Baykal, were published on the front page for a week. Also, the opinions of Turgay Develi, CHP deputy for Adana, who labelled those who were against the project as "provocateurs", also appeared on the front page.

When the content of the news items about the groundbreaking ceremony published in *Zaman* on two consecutive days are analyzed, it is observed that Alevis are divided into two groups; "people that are pro-peace and supporting the project" and "others that are pro-conflict and not supporting

the project”; with the latter being denounced as “people whose Alevi identity is questionable”. Under this categorization, it could be claimed that there is discrimination between Alevi groups. Moreover, the deputies of the CHP, the party that Alevis are perceived to be supporting and voting for, are also divided between comrades and others. In summary, while actors that take different positions on the project are categorized in a polarized way, *Zaman* did not have any news items that criticized the project.

CHP MİLLETVEKİLİ TURGAY DEVELİ:
**Cami-cemevi
 kardeşlik projesi,
 karşı çıkanlar
 provokatör**

BİLAL ÖĞÜTCÜ ADANA

Ankara’da temeli atılan ‘Cami-Cemevi Kültür Merkezi Projesi’ne CHP içinden gelen destek artıyor. CHP Adana Milletvekili Turgay Develi, projeye karşı çıkanların provokatörlükten başka bir şey yapmadığını söyledi. ‘Kardeşlik projesi’ olarak nitelendirdiği çalışmayı toplumda barışın temini adına çok önemli bulduğunu belirten Develi, “İnananların ibadetlerini aynı kompleks içerisinde kendilerine ayrılan yerlerde yapmasının kime ne zararı olabilir?” diye konuştu. **POLİTİKA 13**

Yeni Şafak and *Star* are the other newspapers that adopted the “brotherhood and peace” theme of the project. These newspapers included photographs of Faruk Çelik, the Minister of Labor and Social Security, and İzzettin Doğan, Cem Foundation’s President, together flying white doves as symbols of peace and giving speeches next to one other. *Yeni Şafak* in particular was observed to have shown its support for the project by placing it in the headlines and making it front page news. Both these newspapers also covered the criminal acts associated with Alevis as sub-headings for part of the mosque-cemevi project news. The protestors were presented as “provocateurs” or “marginal groups” in *Yeni Şafak* and *Star*, and these statements were made in a harsher and more alienating tone in these newspapers compared to *Zaman*. Reasonable explanations made by the civil or political Alevi actors who criticized the project were not included in any of the news articles or opinion columns. Some opinion columns published in *Yeni Şafak* took a critical stance against the project. These criticisms and the discriminatory discourse

regarding the Tuzlucaır project are discussed in later sections.

The message of “Not Assimilation, but A Chance for Equality”

Some of the news articles and opinion columns in the media have emphasized the concepts of “equality” and the “chance to know each other”. With this emphasis, certain writers stated that those who viewed this project as a project of “assimilation” did not understand it, and that if there was an attempt being made to destroy Alevism as a sect, it would not have been granted public visibility, thereby placing Alevis on an equal position with Sunnis through such a project, and that this project was an answer to all the obstacles preventing cemevis from being considered as houses of worship. Moreover a writer for *Zaman* made a reference to an Alevi dede (socio-religious leader), and labeled those supporting the project as acceptable Alevis and those that protested it as violence-prone ones (see Şahin Alpay, *Zaman*, 12 September 2013). Some stated that the criticisms prevented Alevis from being included in the public sphere and asked how Alevis who had remained immune to

assimilation all these years would now be assimilated (see Abdullah Muradođlu, *Yeni Şafak*, 10 September 2013; Özlem Albayrak, *Yeni Şafak*, 14 September 2013).

With the intention of not alienating Alevis, this Sunni and Alevi association, which involves equality and the chance to know each other, is based on the understanding that the practices of both faiths are the same. However, such discourse stands in opposition to its intention, criticizes a group within Alevis and recreates the sense of discrimination and assimilation. In order to summarize how this mechanism works, it should be noted that Alevis do not define themselves as a separate sect but rather as a group with a different understanding of Islam. Also, although today cemevis are the worship houses requested by Alevis, they are in fact a result of urbanization, but historically what has maintained their faith are the systems of Ocak and dedelik. These systems sustained injuries during the centralization politics of the Ottoman Empire following the 16th century, and they took a major blow in 1925 when dergahs (dervish lodges) were closed and the dedelik institution was abolished by the constitutional law. Although Alevis have practiced their faith despite the alienation and prohibitions, the system of faith has been deeply wounded. Alevi students are not exempt from participating in the Religious and Moral Education classes at schools, and they are enjoined to take elective courses that are shaped by a Sunni Islam understanding. Although government officials emphasize that Alevism has been added to religious education courses, most Alevi institutions are not satisfied with the content added and most importantly, they are concerned about the possibility of teachers' regenerating discrimination while discussing the topic. In short, they emphasize that just as the Sunnis have easy access to learn about the Koran and their faith system from an Islamic divinity school graduate at a mosque, they also need mechanisms to keep their faith alive through oral culture as opposed to information conveyed in only a limited number of pages. What is understood by assimilation for the Alevis who take a critical approach to this project is that the attempt to explain the Alevi system of faith has always been done through centralized Sunni references and was therefore damaged through political policies and urbanization. What is meant by assimilation by the Alevis who have taken a critical approach to this project is that their system of faith was always being explained through centralized Sunni references and was damaged through political policies and urbanization. In this context, although those calling this project "a project of brotherhood" aimed to help Alevis be understood, some Alevis perceive this aim to contribute to assimilation.

There are also groups that support the mosque-cemevi project in a more neutral tone, emphasizing that it may allow both parties to know each other better. For example, Atilla Yayla, a columnist at *Yeni Şafak* stated that it could be a means for the groups to get to know each other and stressed that real progress could be achieved by taking political steps on fulfilling certain requests of Alevis, such as opening worship houses. Fehmi Kuru highlighted, in the September 10 edition of *Star*, that in the modern world, worship houses could stand side by side with one another. In his column written on September 12, he pointed out the importance of understanding the meaning behind the social uprisings, from the Gezi protests to the Tuzluca events. Lastly, on September 9, Ahmet Hakan a writer for *Hürriyet*, initially questioned why the project was criticized, but the next day he published the comments sent to him by someone from his audience, explaining that the reason why he/she did not support the project was because "it created a perception that a cemevi can only be legitimate as long as it stood together with a mosque."

ii. News Items Criticizing the Project

The opinions stated in newspapers that took a critical approach towards the mosque-cemevi project were based on various points of view. Some arguments were derived from the claim that the project had an assimilation agenda or that the project was against their faith, while others were based on sociological and political perspectives. Two distinct approaches were clearly observed in newspapers containing news items that criticized the project: those that created polarization while criticizing the project and those that included opinions of various actors in a balanced way while criticizing the project.

The newspapers that contained the most news items criticizing the mosque-cemevi project were *Özgür Gündem*, *Birgün* and *Yurt*, in decreasing order. *Özgür Gündem* and *Birgün* highlighted the assimilation aspect of the project in their criticisms, whereas *Yurt* took a critical approach without identifying any aspect in particular. *Milliyet* included a variety of opinions in a balanced way. Civil and political actors who criticized the project voiced their ideas in news articles and opinion columns in *Özgür Gündem*, *Birgün*, *Yurt* and *Milliyet*. In *Yeni Şafak*, although the editorial preference appeared to support the project in its news items, it was observed that some of its opinion columns also took a critical approach.

The Message of the “Assimilation Project”

Özgür Gündem and *Birgün* featured opinions that interpreted this project as a project of assimilation, and they also included opinions of different opposing views from Alevi actors. For instance, *Özgür Gündem* judged this project to be an assimilation project, criticizing the attack on the protestors with a headline on September 9 that read “Tolerance Gas for Alevis”, and it also covered the mass resignation of the youth branches of Cem Foundation’s Ankara branch. As often as neutral coverage of the project appeared in the newspaper, violence-prone or even war-encouraging discourse was equally present. On September 10 and 14, the newspaper included a statement that likened İzzettin Doğan, one of the actors in the mosque-cemevi project, to the historical Alevi figure Hızır Pasha, who had caused the death of Pir Sultan Abdal, and also stated that Doğan had been punished with the harshest punishment in the Alevi community, the punishment of “shunning”. Such associations about the actors referenced were used along with the word “community” to represent the entirety of the Alevi society and thereby strengthen the legitimacy of the message. For example, this can be seen in a news article that appeared on the front page of *Özgür Gündem* on September 10: “The community that stated ‘We do not accept the Hızır’s project’ labelled Doğan as a shunned community member.”

When the news items printed in *Zaman*, *Yeni Şafak* and *Star* involving protestors are evaluated in comparison with the approach taken by *Özgür Gündem* towards the Alevi actors that embrace the project, it can be observed that polarizing and discriminatory discourse is generated in a similar manner in these newspapers. In opposition to the discourse that claims to represent the majority of society, stating that the protestors of the mosque-cemevi project could be neither Alevi nor Sunni but only marginal, anti-peace people, stands another discourse which publicly announces the “shunning” of the project owners, likening them to Hızır Pasha and not accepting them as Alevis, and these discourses manifest themselves in the media as the reflection of the two polarized mindsets in the public sphere.

The mosque-cemevi project was covered with a neutral tone in *Birgün*, including its perspectives from both project owners and opposing actors, with a highlight on assimilation. Making it to the headlines on September 9, the project was evaluated as an “attempt for assimilation”, nonetheless, the police’s response to the protestors was criticized without an alienating or violence-prone tone. In Turan Eser’s column on September 10, the mosque-cemevi project was labeled as a “center of assimilation”. Turan listed a number of historical examples that those Alevi who opposed the project associated with assimilation. He also claimed that İzzettin Doğan and the Cem Foundation had an agenda to disempower Alevi by “cutting their ties to the left and bringing them into the Sunni circle”, and that they were collaborating with the Gulen Movement for this purpose. This criticism seems to include more of an aggressive tone compared to other news that appeared in *Özgür Gündem*.

Other Criticisms

Running contrary to its editorial approach, some opinion columns that appeared in *Yeni Şafak* took a critical approach towards the project. These criticisms were based on sociological or faith-related analyses. For example, in his column on September 11, Ali Bayramoğlu covered Alevi’s protests in an analytical way and emphasized that turning a deaf ear to the protestors’ voice would be a political mistake. On the same day, Murat Aksoy stated in his column that the mosque-cemevi project would alone not be sufficient enough to solve Alevi’s problems and that associating their reactions to violence prevented the attainment of real solutions.

Although not covered extensively in the media, some writers publicly known to hold a Sunni identity also criticized the mosque-cemevi project. According to Hayrettin Karaman’s column published in *Yeni Şafak* on September 13, “A religion cannot have two temples”. Karaman explained that the Alevi’s request to have cemevis accepted as houses of worship was a result of urbanization, and he questioned the unification attempt of mosque and cemevi before their initial request for recognition of cemevis was granted. According to Karaman, Sunnis and Alevi had a common house of worship, the mosque, and Alevi could use other locations such as “tekke, dergah, cemevi and association homes” for other specific acts of worship. As discussed above, although *Yeni Şafak* has supported the project from an editorial perspective, and even published discriminatory discourse towards Alevi, the newspaper also included criticisms against the project made by columnists who used a variety of arguments.

In its issue published on September 12, on page 13, *Yurt* published an interview conducted with Veliyettin Hürrem Ulusoy, the posthishin (sheikh) of Hacı Bektaş Veli Dergah, with the title “Equality is the Prerequisite to Brotherhood” in order to criticize the mosque-cemevi project, which is presented under the pretext of “brotherhood”. The interview with Ulusoy contained the heading “We do not Require a Mosque for Worship”, with the sub-heading, “Instead of Combining Mosque and Cemevi, These Two Temples Should Exist Side by Side, with Mutual Respect”. In addition, another sub-heading was used in the interview, “Brother does not Shoot at Brother”, to criticize the police intervention.

Lastly, in his column in *Milliyet*, Melih Aşık published the names and some of the opinions of Alevi civil society organizations that criticized the project. However, his description of the statements

made by Alevi institutions as “vitriolic” creates the possibility that these institutions will be associated with violence.

B. Tuzluçayır Protests

The mosque-cemevi project and the Tuzluçayır protests that were opposing the project were covered under the same titles in the newspapers. The power of these protests, which affected political discourse towards Alevis, caused them to be analyzed under a separate title in the discriminatory discourse. The way Tuzluçayır protests were covered in print media, the portrayal of the protestors, and how the texts and visuals were organized in the page layout, may explain the way direct or subtle discrimination against Alevis is generated.

i. The message that “Protests have a provocative agenda”

In the section where news items supporting the mosque-cemevi project were analyzed, it was stated that words such as “provocateur”, “mal-intentioned groups”, “anti-peace groups” or “marginal section” were used for the Tuzluçayır protestors in newspapers that supported the project, namely *Zaman*, *Yeni Şafak* and *Star*. It can be claimed that the newspapers identify the protestors as violence-prone individuals. This identification reflected itself in certain news articles and opinion columns and thereby caused discriminatory or even hate-provoking discourse.

An example of an opinion column wherein alienation was demonstrated very clearly and radically was Mümtazer Türköne’s article published on September 11, 2013 on the commentary page in *Zaman*, titled “Marginalizing Parasites”. Stating that the mosque-cemevi project did not provoke any criticism from Sunnis, Türköne drew parallels between the protests and the military conflict in the East and Southeastern parts of Turkey. While doing this, he portrayed PKK as the “blood-shedder” and BDP, as the peacemaker. In this parallelism, he presented the mosque-cemevi project as the project for the Sunni and some of the Alevi people who wanted peace and equality and depicted the protestors as “parasites that live off of violence and blood”. At this point, those that criticized the project were associated with the PKK. It can be claimed that Türköne’s allusion to terror through his reference to the PKK recreates the hierarchy between Sunnis and Alevis and generates discriminatory discourse or even hate speech towards the suggested Alevi identity of the protestors and the PKK related Kurds.

Mümtaz'er Türköne



Marjinalleşen parazitler

Cami-cemevi projesi, Alevîlerin “eşit haklar” talebini karşılayan dev gibi bir adım. Alevilik, dışlanmak veya yok sayılmak yerine, Sünnî inanç ile eşit statüde saygın bir mevkiye yerleştiriliyor. Birlikte, yan yana ve aynı avlu içinde. Yanında da aşevi. Selamlaşmak, konuşmak, birbirini tanımak ve duvarları yıkmak için ne kadar ideal bir vasat. İnançlar sembollerle yaşar. Aynı mekânda caminin ve cemevinin birlikte yer alması, sembollerin ötesine geçerek Alevî sorununun somut bir mekâna yansıyan çözümü demek. Bu projeye, Sünnî kesimden herhangi bir itirazın gelmemesi bile tek başına Türkiye’de kat ettiğimiz uzun mesafenin önemli işaretlerinden biri. Ama yine de karşı gelenler çıkıyor. Varlıklarını, Alevîliğe değil, Alevî sorununun çözümsüzlüğüne bağlayanlar bu güçlü çözüm adımını durdurmak için şiddet yüklü protesto eylemlerine girişiyor. “Bu projenin nesine karşısınız?” sorusuna verdikleri hiçbir cevap yok.

Sekiz aydır, PKK’nın döküğü kan durdu. Çözüm denilen şey, kendi mecrasında emin adımlarla ilerliyor. Kürtler rahat bir nefes alıyor; Güneydoğu yaşanacak bir yer haline geliyor. BDP’nin oyları artıyor. BDP’li politikacılar da, özellikle bölge halkı da durumdan memnun. Ama şiddetin durmasından rahatsız olanlar var. Neden? Çünkü varlık sebepleri ortadan kalkıyor. Mide sancıları içinde kıvranıyorlar. Zaten durmuş olan geri çekilmeyi durduruyorlar. Büyük kentlerde kitlesel şiddet çağrıları yapıyorlar. Küçük gruplar sokaklara dökülüyor. Kitlesel şiddet başlıyor.

Düşmanlıkla, şiddetle ve kanla var olabilen parazitler bunlar. Varlıkları düşmanlığın, şiddetin devam etmesine bağlı. Başka bir dünyaları, bağımsız bir hayatları yok. Başka bedenlerle, başka hayatlarla nefes alıp verebiliyorlar. Sorunlar çözüldükçe iyot gibi açığa çıkıyorlar. Açığa çıktıkça marjinalleşiyorlar.

Siyasal alanda, bir tür toplumsal patolojinin yansımalarının olması doğal. Bireyler başkalarına zarar verecek derecede ruhsal hastalığa düşer olduğu za-

man, kliniklerde demir parmaklıkları koğuşlara konuluyor. Kendilerine zarar verecek durumda olanlara, onu hareketsiz bırakan deli gömleği giydiriliyor. Bir de tek başına gayet sakin olan insanların, bir araya geldiklerinde birbirlerinden cesaret alarak başkalarına toplu halde zarar verme eğilimleri var. Toplumsal patoloji dediğim bu. Sosyal psikoloji veya kitle psikoloji bu tür sapkınlıkları konu edinip, sebeplerini anlamaya ve doğal olarak bu psikolojinin ürettiği kitle şiddetini engelleyecek yollar bulmaya çalışıyor. Tek başına gayet normal bir kişiliğe sahip bir birey, bir grubun içinde bambaşka bir kişilik düzeyine geçiyor. Yakıyor, yıkıyor ve öldürüyor.

Linç hadiseleri bu durumun tipik örneği. Kitle galeyana geliyor ve ne olduğunu doğru dürüst anlamadan birinin “vurun, öldürün” cıglığı ile bir insanı paramparça ediyorlar. Sakinleştikleri zaman yaptıklarını sanki seyrettikleri bir film gibi hatırlıyorlar. Bu toplumsal hastalığın önüne

geçecek, tedavi edecek bir yöntem henüz geliştirilmedi. Kimseyi, on dakika sonra bir kitlesel şiddet eylemi içinde yer alıp başkalarına zarar vereceği için psikiyatri servisine yatıramazsınız. Elinizde iki araç var. Birincisi, sebeplere eğilip eğitim veya medya politikaları ile kitlesel şiddeti besleyen dinamikleri kontrol altına almak. Toplumda biriken öfkeyi veya nefreti boşaltacak politikalar geliştirmek. İkincisi ise, son dakikada başlayacak olan şiddet fırtınasının önüne dikilen polis şefinin becerisine ve birikimine güvenmek. Aldığınız tedbirler, bulduğunuz çareler toplumsal patolojiyi, sizinle çıkarları çatışan yabancıların istismarına engel olamıyor.

Bir canlının bedeninde açılan yara parazitlere bir hayat alanı açar. Parazit yarıya yerleşip, kan emmeye başlar ve orada bir koloni oluşturur. Bizim hâlâ kanayan yaralarımız var; ve onları tedavi etmek için uzun süreli tedaviler lazım. Tedavi ilerledikçe parazitler açığa çıkıyor ve marjinalleşiyor. Demek biraz daha zaman ve sabır gerekiyor. m.turkone@zaman.com.tr

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Another article that contained discriminatory discourse towards those criticizing the project was Abdülhamit Bilici’s article titled “Blame it all on Hizmet”, published on September 14 in *Zaman*. Bilici talked about the democratic steps taken by (Gülen’s) Hizmet movement, including the mosque-cemevi project, and he used the following expressions for those who criticized this project: “...Those

secretive institutions that pretended to belong to the marginal group, such as Aydınlık/Oda TV, tried their best to darken this bright picture.” Since among the Aydınlık/Oda Tv affiliated individuals there were also some individuals who were tried under the Ergenekon case due to military tutelage, an attempt was made to portray the protestors as being associated with “Ergenekon”, or “coup-organizers”, as they were publicly perceived.

It can be inferred that *Yeni Şafak* discriminated against Tuzluca'yır protestors by making references to their faith. For example, İzzettin Doğan, President of the Cem Foundation, emphasized that “the protestors could not possibly be Alevi”, and he was not sure if they were Sunni either, and he did not understand how they could be against the mosque-cemevi project, which he called a project of peace. His comments appeared in *Yeni Şafak*, on the front page, under the title “Not Alevi, Nor Sunni”, along with a photo of the protestors. On the same page, the headline was “Horse Bargain”, with a sub-heading, “War Profits”, where correspondences between the US, Russia and Syria on chemical weapons and the issue of the Syrian refugees were covered. Although these news articles are independent of each other, the fact that Syrian refugees are Sunni and their President an Alevi is an important piece of information in the public’s conscious. This news that was presented with both clear and subtle references between systems of faith might create a sense that those who do not support this peace project in Turkey may not have any faith at all. It can be concluded that *Yeni Şafak*, a newspaper whose audience mainly consists of pious conservative readers, embraces a discourse that causes discrimination due to the understanding that these people do not have faith.



Star published a news article on September 14, stating that the protestors attacked the police, with a headline that read, “Tuzluca'yır calmed after announcement”, where it was highlighted that an announcement said “You are attacking the police that protect a cemevi and a mosque.” Through this emphasis, in addition to associating the protestors with violence, the protesters were also presented

as people who do not hold respect for sacred spaces, albeit, in a more subtle way than it was done in *Yeni Şafak*.

ii. Messages of Reaction to the Police Intervention

It was observed that *Özgür Gündem*, *Birgün*, *Yurt*, *Milliyet* and *Hürriyet* took a critical approach towards the police intervention, with different approaches and at varying levels of criticisms.

The news items addressing the mosque-cemevi project in *Özgür Gündem* covered the Tuzluca protests and were written through the perspective of actors opposing the project and at times used a language that nurtured polarization. For example, on September 10, the headline was “Alevi Uprising”, with a sub-headline claiming that the Alevi community had “shunned” İzzettin Doğan. On September 12, it would not be too ambitious to say this language of polarization had turned into a public invitation to war, where news items contained polarization and violence, and Tuzluca and other protests were combined or parallels were drawn between them. The presentation of the first page, including the relation between layout and content, in addition to the headline, “Days of Rebellion”, had the qualities of an invitation. In one of the sub-headings, the word “assimilation” was used in association with the mosque-cemevi project, and with the use of another title, “Out to Rallies Against Assimilation”, it was announced that the Alevis were going to organize big rallies. This content was accompanied by a photo of a masked protestor surrounded by fumes of smoke.

Abdülkadir Ayar Zeytin ve zeytinyağı 14 Ocak

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İSYAN GÜNLERİ!

✓ AKP'nin baskıcı zihniyeti Kürt sorununda çözüm-süzülüşü, batıda ise polis terörünü tetiklerken, toplumsal direniş de büyüyor. Türkiye'deki tüm halklar demokrasi talebiyle ayakta

✓ Demokrasi güçleri, polisin Ahmet Atakan'ı katletmesine 'Gezi Ruhu'yla yanıt verirken, KCK, Kürt halkını demokrasi güçleriyle omuz omuza mücadeleyi yükseltmeye çağırdı



BOYKOT GÜNLERİ!
KCK, kültürel soykırım amacı olan rüçh eğitim sistemini bir hafta boykot çağırmasına destek verdi, halkı AKP'nin anadile yaklaşımını protestoya çağırdı. KCK, "Alimler çocuklarını okula göndermemeli, Milli Eğitim Müdürlüklerine 'Anadilde Eğitim istiyoruz' yalıtışlarını yapmalı" dedi. 5'te

Asimilasyona karşı ALANLARA
Alevi örgütleri, "Cami-Cemevi-Ağevî" projelerinin Aleviliği asimilasyon politikasıyla eritime zihniyetinin temel olduğuna dikkat çekti. Aleviler, Gülen'ın ve hükümetin bu politikalarına karşı büyük mitingler düzenlemeye hazırlanıyor. 6'da

GEZİ RUHU HER YERDE
Türkiye, yeniden 'Gezi' günlerine döndü. Hıtaç'ın polisin Ankaralı katliamını, başta İstanbul, İzmir, Ankara ve Hıtaç olmak üzere onlarca kentte gösterimli direnişlerle protesto edildi. Polis yine yazarı sandıklar; halk baskıcılara kendisini savandı.

OMUZ OMUZA MÜCADELEYE
AKP'nin çirakını tozdan yakadıkları, Kürdistan'da da protestoya teşvik ediyor. "AKP'nin en büyük korkusu Kürtlerin ve demokrasi güçlerinin birleşmesi" diyen KCK, "Kürt halkı demokrasi güçleriyle omuz omuza mücadeleyi yükseltmeli" dedi. Sayfa 6'da

Biz de hedefiz!

1 Eylül Dünya Baş Günlü'nde eski eşi tarafından katledilen Nazliye Sincar'ın katil kızları için de tehdit



Nazliye Sincar'ın kızı Sultan Hamam, annesini kadeden bilsenler hedefinde kendilerinin de olduğuna inanıyor. Hamam, katilin başına kadar yakalanmasını nasılyle tedbirin çıkıldığını söylüyor. "Devlet katilin peşine düşüyor" dedi. 2'de

12 Eylül'ün ruhu AKP'de CAN BULDU
Bugün 12 Eylül darbesinin yıldönümü. 33 yıldır darbe anayasası başta olmak üzere ödemem tüm kurumların varlığını sürdürüyor. 78'inci Geçirimi Başbakan Özkan, 12 Eylül darbe yasalarını AKP'ye can verdiğini vurguladı. 8'de

On September 9, *Birgün* and *Yurt* brought the police intervention in the Tuzluca protests to their headlines. *Birgün* covered the news under the title "Autumn Arrives in Mamak", and in *Yurt*, "Police Violence in Full-force". Both newspapers highlighted the harshness shown to the protestors by the police. Continuing the story on page 9, *Birgün* announced the burning of a civilian's home under a sub-heading. In *Birgün* and *Yurt*, news involving other protests was either directly linked with those in Tuzluca, or they were placed adjacently in the page layout. In contrast to the approach taken in *Zaman*, *Yeni Şafak* and *Star*, *Birgün* and *Yurt* portrayed the police as the aggressor, not the protestors. In order to emphasize the police brutality, *Yurt* used the headline, "Martial Law" to

awaken the reminiscence of past coups. With this approach, it can be said that they used the police as a reference to the coups which had been historically performed by the military in Turkey.

Although *Sözcü* took a critical approach towards the police intervention, bringing it to its front page with a sub-heading: "Police did not Show Mercy towards Alevi Citizens", it is not possible to say that the news carried direct messages from Alevi. It could be claimed that the real reason why the newspaper put the mosque-cemevi project on its agenda was not to give voice to Alevi's opinions, but rather to criticize the government. As a matter of fact, the headline read "Tayyip Caused the Loss of Olympics for Turkey!" The rest of the article covered the news on the protest, where the brother of Ethem Sarısülük, a protestor who had lost his life during the Gezi Park events, was hurt, and the opinions of Ercan Geçmez, President of Hacı Bektaş Anatolian Culture Foundation, who had criticized the project as a project of the "deep state".

YIL: 7 SAYI: 2267 9 EYLÜL 2013 PAZARTESİ 50 Kuruş

T.C. SÖZCÜ

ABD para musluğunu kapatırsa Türkiye çöker
 ABD Merkez Bankası (FED), Alevi alımını durduruyor. ABD dışındaki sıcak para geri dönecek. Türkiye ve cari açığı yüksek olan ülkeler yaracak... 60 milyar dolar cari açığı bulunan Türkiye; dış ve iç borçlarına döndürmekle zorlanacak. Yüksek enflasyon ve işsizlik hortlayacak. Yani kriz kapıda... **S.6**

Bunu biz değil, dünya basını söylüyor...
Türkiye'ye olimpiyatı Tayyip kaybetti!
 Erdoğan'ın baskıcı tutumu, Gezi olaylarına sert müdahalesi ve Suriye için savaş çığırkanlığı yapması İstanbul'u yaktı!

İŞTE ESERİ... BU TABLOLA OLİMPİYAT ALINIR MI?

Her eyleme TOMA
 ODTÜ'de kirli oyunlar oynanıyor
 Çeyreciler Gezi ruhu yarattı. Polis göz açtırmadı. 3 gündür adeta savaş yaşanıyor. Ayrıca "türban karıştı" diye 2 öğrenci linç ediyor. **S.10**

Her sözün SAVAŞ
 Savaş çığırkanlığı, alarm getirdi
 Başbakan'ın Suriye'ye ısrarla savaş istemesi, Türkiye'yi savaşına eğilime ötetirdi. Suriye sınırında hareketlilik var. Askari yiğmâk yapılıyor. **S.11**

Her itiraza GAZ
 Polis, Alevi vatandaşlara acımadı
 Sesini her çıkarmanın, "İK" diyenin karşısına dikilen polis, dün Ankara'da terör estirdi. Gülen Cemastı ve Cem Vakfı'nın ortak ibadethanesinin temel atma töreni, savaş alanına döndü. Mamak'taki ibadethaneye tepki gösteren vatandaşlara polis TOMA'larla su sıkı. Gazladı, copladı. **S.13**

İtibarımız yerlerde
 ZATEN bunu dünya biliyor, dış basın açıkça dile getiriyor. New York Times, "Erdoğan'ın otokratik yönetimi olimpiyatı kaybetti" dedi. Independent "Gezi'ye sert yanıt İstanbul'a zarar verdi" diye yazdı. Guardian ise, "Doping ve Taksim itibar kaybetti" tespiti yaptı. **S.10**

Bakandan seviyesiz sözler
 SPOR Bakanı Suat Kılıç, twitter'da, "Türkiye olimpiyatı kaybetti diye kına yakıyorlar, kına stoklarını tüketmiş" mesajı attı. Bihyâk tepki aldı... **S.10**

C. News on Protests, Certain Cities, and Neighborhoods and on Ahmet Atakan

During the press monitoring conducted on discriminatory discourse, it was observed that *Star* and *Yeni Şafak*, in particular, had subtly drawn associations between certain events, among which were the Tuzluçayır protests, the protests held at various neighborhoods since the Gezi events, the protests against the road construction at METU and the funeral of Ahmet Atakan, who had died during the protests in Antakya. Although these news articles and opinion columns did not make any direct references to the Alevi identity, the fact that the people who had lost their lives during the Gezi and subsequent protests were Alevi, including Ahmet Atakan, and that the Tuzluçayır protests were opposing the mosque-cemevi project, these news items were also analyzed in this study. Given that those protesting the mosque-cemevi project are alternately labelled as “marginal provocators” and as “people seeking justice”, shows that a certain judgement on the protestors is being imposed. Analyzing how these events are covered can reveal if political or civil society Alevi actors are also subjected to discriminatory discourse and thereby can shed light on the mechanisms that generate discrimination.

Through the use of their photographs and titles, *Yeni Şafak* and *Star* associated protestors with violence and portrayed the police as the injured party. On September 14, below the news story titled “No Trace of Capsule”, on the cause of the death of Ahmet Atakan, *Yeni Şafak* placed another news article titled “Garbagemen in the Streets”, where it linked protestors in Antakya with the Gezi events. The newspaper made an accusation that stated: “Wherever there is a garbage bin, they group together and ignite it.” In the coverage of this news the objective of the protestors who participated in the Gezi movement, including Ahmet Atakan, was described as sheer brutality. Moreover with the use of the word “garbagemen”, an insult was directed against not only the protestors, but also the refuse collectors employed by the city.

The analysis has shown that *Star* has been the newspaper responsible for most clearly associating the protests with the Gezi events. In the news items, the idea that the protestors provoked the police is often repeated, strengthening the association between the protestors and violence. On September 12, the news article titled “Death Trade”, discussing the cause of death of Ahmet Atakan, referenced the Gezi protestors as a “lobby” group. While covering the news on the protests in various other cities on September 14, it was always emphasized that the protestors provoked the police. In each news item, protestors were associated directly with violence.

In the news article, titled “METU Causes Havoc in Hatay”, published in *Star* on September 11, the protests in Hatay were covered in relation with the protests taking place in METU, the search of Abdullah Cömert’s offenders and the death of Ahmet Atakan, while the caption under the photo showing demonstrators in front of a fire barricade highlighted the violence of the protestors. The cities and neighborhoods where protests took place were listed as Istanbul Kadıköy, İstiklal Street, the Gazi neighbourhood, Eskişehir and Hatay.

Although the news items published in *Habertürk* involving the METU protests, the Tuzluçayır protests, the events in Dikmen, Ankara, the mosque-cemevi project and the cause of death of Ahmet Atakan were presented side by side, the language used did not attempt to draw direct associations between violence and the protestors. Moreover, the news on a protestor rendering first aid to a police officer was published with the title “Protesting Doctor Came to the Rescue of Injured Police

Officer". With this approach, *Habertürk* maintained a neutral tone in its coverage of the news, and the protestors were not presented as aggressors.

Kapsül izi yok!

Hatay'daki protestolarda **bina çatısından düşerek hayatını kaybeden Ahmet Atakan**'ın kafasında **'gaz kapsülü'** izine rastlanmadı. Adli tıp yetkilileri, Atakan'ın kafasındaki **6 santimetrelik 'düzensiz' kırığın**, düştüğü zeminle uyumlu olduğunu tespit etti. Talihsiz gencin kafatasında, kapsül isabeti sonucu oluşan **'çökme'** bulgusunun belirlenmediği öğrenildi



Hatay'daki 'ODTÜ eylemleri' sırasında bir binanın çatısından düşerek hayatını kaybeden 22 yaşındaki Ahmet Atakan'ın kafatasında 'gaz kapsülü' izi bulunmadı. Edinilen bilgiye göre, Adana Adli Tıp Kurumu'nda otopsi yapılan Atakan'ın kafatasında 6 santimetre genişliğinde bir kırık olduğu, kırığın düzensiz ve düştüğü zeminle uyumlu olduğu tespit edildi. Hatay'daki bir televizyon kanalının düşünce görüntülerini yayınlamasının ardından, Atakan'ın polislin attığı gaz kapsülüyle dengelerini kaybettiği ve binadan düştüğü iddiaları gündeme gelmişti. Fakat Atakan'ın otopsinde 'gaz kapsülü' izine rastlanmadığı



öğrenildi. Adli Tıp yetkilileri, gaz kapsülünün bir insanın kafasına isabet etmesi halinde 4 santimetre çapında 'düzensiz' bir iz bıraktığı ve kafatasında içe doğru bir çökmeye neden olduğunu dile getirdiler.

DÜŞTÜĞÜ YERLE UYUMLU

Oysa ki Ahmet Atakan'ın kafatasında 6 cm çapında düzensiz bir kırık tespit edildi. Kırığın, Atakan'ın düştüğü zeminden alınan izlerle uyumlu olduğu görüldü. Atakan'ın kafatası dışında, kaburgasında da yüksekte düşmeye bağlı kırıklar görüldü. Atakan'ın ölüm nedenini 'yüksekte düşmeye bağlı ölüm' olarak rapor eden Adana Adli Tıp Kurumu, bulguları İstanbul Adli Tıp Kurumu'na gönderdi. 1. Adli Tıp İhtisas Kurulu kesin sonuçları 2 ay içerisinde açıklayacak. • İSTANBUL

CHP'li Matkap'ın yeğeni otopsiye bile girmemiş

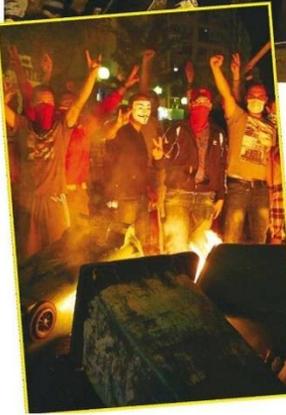
İlk otopside 'yüksekte düşmeye bağlı bulguya rastlanmadıklarını' söyleyen ve ölümden polisi sorumlu tutan açıklamalarıyla dikkat çeken Hatay Tabip Odası Başkanı Dr. Selim Matkap'ın, Ahmet Atakan'ın otopsinde belirlendi. CHP Genel Başkan Yardımcısı



Nihat Matkap'ın yeğeni olan Selim Matkap'ın sadece ölü muayenesine girdiği ve bazı basın kuruluşlarına 'tahminlerini aktardığı' öğrenildi. Yetkililer, "Saçlı deri muayenesinden net bir veriyeye ulaşılamaz. Bu nedenle bir doktorun böyle açıklamalar yapması etik değil" ifadelerini kullandı. Otopsi sonrası Hatay Cumhuriyet Başsavcılığı da "Atakan'ın vücudunda ateşli silah veya delici-kesici alet yaralanmasına ilişkin herhangi bir bulguya rastlanılmadığı" açıklaması yapmıştı.



Gezi Parkı'ndaki birkaç ağacı bahane ederek haziranda sokakları savaş alanına çeviren örgütler eylül ayında da boş durmuyor. Son olarak Hatay'daki olayları protesto eden göstericiler, nerede bir çöp kutusu varsa oraya kümelenernek buldukları yeri ateşe veriyor



Vali çileden çıktı

İstanbul'un Kadıköy ilçesi protestolardan ötürü hareketli geceler yaşıyor. Altiyol'daki boğa heykelinin önünde toplanıp AK Parti ilçe binasına yürümek isteyen gruba polis müdahale etti. Bahariye Caddesi'nde kurdıkları bankatları ateşe veren göstericiler, polise taş ve sapanla bilye attı. Göstericilerin Süreyya Tiyatro ve Opera Binasını işgal ederek Gezi Parkı'ndakine benzer şekilde 'revir'e çevirmeye çalışması ise İstanbul Valisi Hüseyin Avni Mutlu'yu çileden çıkarttı. Protestolara Twitter hesabı üzerinden tepki gösteren Mutlu, "Halkın tiyatrosunu polise çatışmaları için revir yapacağım diye işgal et. Polis çalkanca da revire saldırı diye yaz dur, ohoh" şeklinde mesaj paylaştı.



İstanbul Gezi Parkı'nda geçtiğimiz Mayıs ayının sonlarında birkaç ağacın yerlerinin değiştirilmesini bahane ederek ortadaki savaş alanına çeviren gruplar, bir kısım mihraçların "Sonbahar sıcak olacak" talimatı doğrultusunda eylül ayını da sokaklarda geçiriyor. Hatay'da 22 yaşındaki Ahmet Atakan'ın binadan düşerek ölümüyle sonuçlanan olayları ve o olayların gerekçesi olarak gösterilen Ankara-OD-TÜ'deki yol çalışmalarını bahane eden gruplar Ankara, İstanbul, İzmir ve Eskişehir'de eylemler yaptı. Gece boyunca nerede bir çöp konteyneri varsa başında kümelenen protestocular, hem çöp kutularını hem de park ve caddelerde insanların oturup dinlenmesine yarayan bankan ellerine geçirdikleri yakıcı maddelerle ateşe verdi.

ONLAR YAKIYOR TOMA SÖNDÜRÜYÖR
Ankara-Dikmen'de çöp kutularını yakıp caddeyi trafığe kapatmak isteyen yaklaşık 100 kişilik gruba, polis biber gazı ve tazyikli suyla müdahale etti. Olayda, 6 kişi gözaltına alındı. TOMA'larla yapılan barikatların söndürülmesi ve temizlik çalışmalarının ardından trafığe kapatılan yol tekrar açıldı. İzmir'deki Basmane Meydanı'nda ise yürüyüş yapmak isteyen ve uyanıklara rağmen dağılmayan gruba, polis müdahale etti. Güvenlik güçlerine havai fişekle karşılık veren grup, müdahale sonunda dağılmak zorunda kaldı. Eskişehir'de ise Yeni Bağlar Mahallesi'nde toplanan yaklaşık 70 kişilik grup, burada bir süre slogan attıktan sonra Üniversite Caddesi'ni trafığe kapatmak istedi. Eylemcilere, araç sürücülerini tepki gösterirken, yola uzanan bir gösterici, arkadaşları tarafından yerden kaldırıldı. Yürüyüşe geçen grup, slogan atarak Atatürk Bulvarı'na kadar geldi. Burada bir süre bekleyen grup, olaysız şekilde dağıldı.
• İSTANBUL-ANKARA - İZMİR

Milliyet and *Hürriyet* covered the news on the protests in a mostly neutral tone. However, on September 13, *Hürriyet* presented the association made by Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan, likening the protests to the "events of May 27th", on its front page. Carrying such an association on the front page potentially promotes the formation of two judgments in the public sphere. First, it could convey the message that the AK Party is drawing parallels between the protests and the coup that happened

on May 27, 1960. Secondly, this message might present the idea that the protests have the aim of triggering a coup.



D. News on Hasan Ferit Gedik

It has been observed that in almost all the newspapers, the neighborhoods that are featured prominently in relation to the protests and police investigation are the Gülsuyu and Gazi neighborhoods in Istanbul. In the Gülsuyu neighbourhood, which is populated mostly by Alevis, a young adult named Hasan Ferit Gedik had been murdered on September 30, in a shooting carried out by a group of people. The transfer of Gedik's funeral procession from Armutlu cemevi to the Gülsuyu neighborhood was initially prevented by the police, but then eventually permitted. This conflict was given coverage in the media with a highlight on the neighborhoods, and images of armed persons attending the funeral were published.

The police investigation involving the search for the armed persons that attended Hasan Ferit Gedik's funeral was published on the front pages of newspapers on October 8. Although this event was not one of the selected topics in discrimination analysis, since its implications were frequently covered in the press on October 8, it was nonetheless included in the study. *Habertürk*, *Hürriyet*, *Sözcü*, *Star* and *Yeni Şafak* covered the events on their front pages. In reference to the type of weapon found at Gedik's funeral, *Habertürk*, *Hürriyet* and *Sözcü* used titles such as "Operation Kalashnikov" or "Operation Kelesh" [nickname for Kalashnikov in Turkish]. All of the newspapers printed pictures of

young masked men holding Kalashnikoff rifles next to the title of the article, and the articles often mentioned the Gazi and Gülsuyu neighborhoods where the investigation was held and highlighted the DHKP-C organization. *Star* presented the news with a statement that claimed the events had an “objective to create sect-related conflict”. *Habertürk* emphasized “terror” and “drug gangs”.

The appearance of the police investigation on the front pages and in the headlines, along with images of masked young men carrying guns, portrayed Alevi neighborhoods as crime zones and young Alevi men as potential criminals. Also, there was a subtle association made between the Alevi issue and the Kurdish issue, as the news used terms such as “kalashnikov” and “terror”, which have been used as references to the ongoing conflict that has been going on in Southeastern Turkey for over 30 years. As a result of all these associations, these news items carried discriminatory discourse towards Alevis, and even subtly towards Kurds.

The reference to the word “terror” is especially interesting at this period, because it is the same period within which Mehmet Metiner, AK Party Deputy of Adıyaman, had stated “cemevis are home to terror”, on Ahmet Hakan’s TV show, *Tarafsız Bölge* [Independent Zone]. The reactions to this statement were neutral in *Milliyet* and *Sözcü*, whereas *Özgür Gündem* took a very critical approach towards it, as evident from its front page. On October 9, the reaction to this statement appeared on *Özgür Gündem*’s front page under the headline, “The Sin is your Sin”, and with a sub-heading, “Metiner’s Mindset is Terrorist”. This news appears next to BDP Co-President Selahattin Demirtaş’s statement on the solution process, which was qualified as “the harshest speech” he had ever made on the issue. *Özgür Gündem* presented the reaction to Metiner’s statement next to a high-level political actor’s words and on the same page where mainly the Kurdish issue is discussed. This approach can be said to create direct opposition to the sovereign state by associating the Kurdish and Alevi issues together.

E. News on Abant Platform

Known for its close associations with the Hizmet Movement, the Reporters and Writers Foundation organized an Abant Platform meeting titled, “Alevis and Sunnis: Searching for Peace and the Future Together”. Following the mosque-cemevi project, the manner in which such a project would be covered in the media is important in terms of discriminatory discourse analysis. At the time when the Alevi issue was on the agenda, the Abant Platform meeting was covered in some of the newspapers monitored. *Zaman* was the newspaper that gave the widest coverage to this event. The platform’s meeting was found on the front pages and inside sections of the newspaper every day. It was observed that the “Alevi-Sunni brotherhood” message promoted by the mosque-cemevi project was highlighted and repeated while the Abant Platform was held. Also, equal-right-citizenship was another theme that stood out.

News on the Abant Platform was published in *Hürriyet*, *Milliyet*, *Sözcü* and *Yurt*. Following *Zaman*, the event was covered the most in *Yurt*. On September 15, *Yurt* published critical comments made by Reha Çamuroğlu, a former AK Party deputy, on the workshop on Alevism that had been organized by the government as part of the Alevi Initiative. On September 16, the platform was not directly criticized, but the question of “Are Alevis used as a tool in the AK Party-Gülen conflict?” was raised. Additionally, the final declaration of the meeting was published and a discussion held during the platform on the Directorate of Religious Affairs was mentioned. In his column in *Yurt*, Necdet Saraç

criticized the Sunni-dominated discourse in the platform and stated that Alevism was brought onto the agenda only under its association to Islam and Sunnism. The newspaper also included criticisms by Reha Çamuroğlu, and former Minister of Culture and Tourism, Ertuğrul Günay regarding AK Party's political steps involving Alevis and the existence of a Directorate of Religious Affairs. In his column in the same newspaper, Fatih Yaşlı objected to the disingenuousness of the Abant Platform meeting for criticizing the Alevis, who had always embraced the existence of the Republic like a "man in love with his executioner", and for not discussing the troubles they had undergone during the Ottoman times. While highlighting its criticisms against AK Party within the context of the Platform, *Yurt* kept its distance from the Platform itself, both in its news articles and its opinion columns.

F. News on Syrian Alevis

It has been observed that the politicians' faith-related messages on the recent events in Syria over the past years have affected domestic politics as well. The government's highlighting of the "death of Sunni citizens" following an explosion in Antakya's Reyhanlı district, and allusions made to Esed's Nusayri identity (although Alevism and Nusayrism have differences), facilitate the potential that the Syrian issue could be interpreted as an Alevi-related issue by the public.⁶ Many discussions on this subject have taken place in various newspapers. However, since the Syrian issue would need to be analyzed separately, only news on direct references to Alevism are included in the current analysis.

At the time when the question of Syrian refugees was on the agenda, the news covering the placement of Syrian Alevi refugees, who could not be placed into refugee camps, in Pir Sultan Abdal Cemevi in Istanbul's Gaziosmanpaşa district, was covered in *Birgün*, *Milliyet*, *Özgür Gündem* and *Yurt*. Although some of these news items contain a neutral tone that did not discriminate against Alevis, they could still hold a political message. For example, in *Yurt*, a statement in one of their related articles read, "AK Party's sect-related politics". Also, some neutral news items carried positive messages towards the Alevis in their titles and their content. For example, an article in *Birgün* introduced the news under the title "Alevis opened their doors to Syrians". Newspapers also covered news on the municipality officers of the Fatih district expelling Alevi refugees from parks wherein they had sought shelter.

During the period that the press was monitored, newspapers such as *Yeni Şafak* and *Zaman* covered the news on Syrian refugees with references to Sunni union of faith and victimhood. Moreover, as discussed in earlier sections, in *Yeni Şafak* and *Star*'s coverage of the protests, where it was suggested that Alevis played a part, protestors were associated with violent conflict. It should also be noted that those newspapers whose audience is the religious, conservative and politically central right and that gave wide coverage to Alevis' protests, did not mention Syrian Alevi refugees or the support shown to them by some Alevi NGOs. Within the period of analysis, *Star* only gave coverage of the attack on the cemevi where Syrian Alevi refugees were residing. It should be remembered that if news on the problems faced by Syrian Alevi refugees or the hospitality shown to them by cemevis during the times outside of this study period are not published, other efforts and projects conducted

⁶<http://www.baskahaber.org/2013/06/basbakan-erdogan-gezi-park-isgalci.html>; Yasin Aktay "When Deaths Are Used For An Agenda", *Yeni Şafak* September 2 2013; Murat Aksoy, "Mosque-Cemevi Project would not Solve Alevis' Problems", *Yeni Şafak*, September 11 2013; Ali Bayramoğlu, "Alevi, Nusayri, politics...", *Yeni Şafak*, September 14 2013.

by various actors involving Alevi would also not be conveyed to their audiences. It would not be too ambitious to claim that these newspapers would prefer to portray Alevi as “people who only protest and have a suspicious faith”, unless an Alevi related issue is handled by someone who holds opinions close to theirs.

G. News on Sakine Cansız

The news on the semah ceremony organized in Dersim for a female member of the PKK (Kurdistan Workers’ Party) murdered on January 9, 2013 in Paris, was covered in *Habertürk*, *Özgür Gündem* and *Star* on September 9. *Star* provided neutral coverage of the event, whereas *Özgür Gündem* quoted from Aysel Tuğluk, Co-President of DTK (Democratic Society Congress), who had stated that “With the light lit by comrade Sakine, we’ll make their efforts [of stripping Dersim of their Alevi and Kurdish roots] futile”. With this message based on camaraderie, the association made between Sakine Cansız and PKK, which she represents, is portrayed in a positive light in *Özgür Gündem*. Another newspaper that highlighted Sakine Cansız’s association with PKK was *Habertürk*. Although this particular news item appeared with an informative tone in the newspaper under the title “They danced a semah for PKK-affiliated Sakine Cansız”, other news on the issue contained discriminatory discourse. The subheading contained a statement from a former female PKK-member, “I left one type of slavery for another without knowing”. Moreover, the news included statements from female terrorists and elements of violence and oppression in the PKK were constantly repeated. On the same page, a news article entitled “Terror Halted Facebook Investigation” and “Letter that Made a Martyr’s Mother Cry” also appeared. In this manner, although there is not direct discrimination shown towards Alevi, by associating them with PKK, which is presented as a terrorist organization, a subtle form of discriminatory discourse is shown towards Kurds, Kurdish Alevi and the people of Dersim.

H. News on Faith, Historical Past and Political Relations

Faith, history and politics are areas where arguments on Alevi and Alevism are made. Since the manner in which these arguments are presented and by which civil and political actors these arguments are made point to the type of discrimination shown against Alevi, analyzing the variety of these arguments is also important. Opinion columns and comments made by certain writers (Sedat Ergin, *Hürriyet*, 8 October 2013; İlhan Kaya, *Yeni Şafak*, 9 October 2013) state that the issue of Alevi as citizens has not been resolved yet. In addition to comments made by political and civil society actors, *Yurt* also covered news on personal stories of discrimination faced by Alevi. The news on September 1, involving the police investigation held in Alevi homes as a result of the Gezi events, and another news story on December 15 about a citizen who had stated that he had protested against the discrimination he faced at Türk Telekom because of his Alevi identity, are examples of such news items.

There are also an equal number of news articles and opinion columns that question the Alevi faith and make generalizations on Alevi political opinions and about the Alevi faith itself. Akif Emre’s “Which Alevism?”, published in *Yeni Şafak* on September 12, constitutes an example of such news items. Akif Emre described the pluralism in Alevism by using statements such as “those who describe it as a sect within Islam, and those that want to force a new religion upon us outside of Islam”. In the same writing, Emre also associated Alevi directly with Kemalism and explained the “distancing” of Alevi from Islam through this ideology and even used the expression “secular pagan” in his last

paragraph. In the next lines, he wrote about the differences in the Alevism of Tunceli (Dersim) and the Alevism of Hatay (Antakya). He talked about the problems of Alevism in Tunceli (Dersim) within the context of “non-Islamizing Kurds” and associated the Alevism of Hatay (Antakya) with Nusayris and mentioned the importance of the Koran.

This approach contains analytical problems and elements of discrimination. First, due to geographical and historical differences, the Alevi relation to Kemalism is varied. Moreover, although the Alevi faith had taken a blow by the Abolishment Code of Dervish Lodges and Islamic Monasteries, according to Alevi faith leaders and thinkers, rather than distancing Alevi from Islam, the manner in which the law has been administered actually associated them more with the dominant Sunni understanding of Islam and thereby harmed their own faith.⁷ As mentioned above, Alevi that associate themselves with Islam, define their faith as a sect of Islam. Similarly, those Alevi who identify with Islam, admit that they include a variety of cultural elements in their practice. Some of these practices include pagan elements. However, even for those who position Alevism outside of Islam, the faith is too complex to be defined by only pagan elements. In Antakya, the Arabic Alevi relationship to the Koran differs from other Alevi relationship to the Koran in other geographical locations due to the fact that one of their mother tongues is Arabic. However, the frequent use of the Koran by the Arabic Alevi does not mean that they interpret their holy book in the same way followers of Sunni Islam do. In short, Akif Emre puts the varied practices of Alevism due to geography in a hierarchical order based on how much the Koran is used in these practices. Moreover, he makes political references with his analysis. This approach contains discrimination at various levels as it shows how the Alevi faith can be harmed by Sunni Islam references, a disturbance frequently expressed by many Alevi, and as it criticizes a system of faith, basing it on a another one, all of which is done through a medium that has the power to affect public perception, namely a newspaper.

In the September 12 edition of the Milliyet, a series of articles was begun on the Alevi faith and related issues, with Alevi from different geographical locations presenting their own perspectives. Due to political pressure, however, the series was discontinued.⁸ Given such an attitude in a media system so closely aligned with mainstream politics, it is not surprising that Alevi are prevented from articulating their own views or enjoying visibility outside of a Sunni Islam understanding.

I. Discriminatory Discourse Through the Use of Visuals

The layout of news articles and opinion columns, the selection of photographs as well as other news and advertisements found next to them, carry importance in terms of how discriminatory discourse against Alevi is generated in an open or subtle fashion. The news accompanied by discriminatory visuals is mostly included in the analysis of topic titles. However, it is also important that visuals are analyzed on their own, since they carry the potential to manipulate our perceptions.

⁷Nil Mutluer, “Koran’s Core is Ashik’s Word”, Milliyet, September 13 2013, <http://gundem.milliyet.com.tr/yol-1-surek-1001-asigin-sozu-/gundem/detay/1762742/default.htm>.

Nil Mutluer, “The Core of Faith is Being Killed”, Milliyet, September 14 2013, <http://gundem.milliyet.com.tr/yol-1-surek-1001-inancin-ici-/gundem/detay/1763284/default.htm>

⁸Detailed discussion on this subject can be found in Derya Sazak’s book, *Damn Such Journalism* (Boyut Publishing House, 2014).

When newspapers are compared, it can be claimed that *Star* and *Yeni Şafak* use visuals that border on discrimination. Although *Zaman* and *Yeni Şafak* both carry similar messages, *Zaman* prefers to incorporate discourse that could lead to discrimination in its articles, whereas *Yeni Şafak*, in addition to the discourse, also uses visuals for discrimination.

In the previous sections, *Yeni Şafak*'s presentation containing elements of visual discrimination was discussed. However, a certain advertisement and its layout contained possible discriminatory discourse towards Alevis at a time when news focused on the groundbreaking ceremony of the mosque-cemevi project. The advertisement for a history magazine, *Derin Tarih*, with its issue's title reading "Yavuz Did Not Massacre 40.000 Alevis" appeared systematically in *Yeni Şafak* during September 9-14. For example, this advertisement appeared on September 9 and 10 in the sub-heading, on the same page with news titled "The Foundation is Laid for the Mosque-Cemevi Project" on September 9, and "They Will Not Spoil the Brotherhood" on September 10. On both dates, photos of Minister Çelik and of Doğan, President of Cem Foundation, were published, in smaller size on September 9 and in larger size on September 10. The news on September 10 also contained Bekir Bozdağ's statement, "Mosque-cemevi is a symbol of our union" and another news item titled "Provocation in Tuzluca". The same advertisement appeared on September 14, below Faruk Beşer's writing in the middle pages titled "All those who Pray towards the Kiblah are Brothers, so Let us Prove It", referring to the Shia-Sunni brotherhood.

When the government had announced that the third bridge in Istanbul, for which construction had begun, would be named Yavuz Sultan Selim, a discussion began in the public sphere. The manner in which *Yeni Şafak* published the advertisement for the *Derin Tarih* magazine may contribute to the negative portrayal of Alevis, considering that they have a negative perception of Yavuz Sultan Selim, who caused the death of 40.000 Alevis during the Çaldıran War, and also at a time when there is direct and subtle discrimination against Alevis due to the Syrian conflict. By placing the advertisement next to the mosque-cemevi project, the newspaper attempted to strengthen the perception that discriminatory policies do not exist against the Alevis, not during the Ottoman times nor today, when a project of "brotherhood" is underway. Those who criticized the project and protested the groundbreaking ceremony were alienated in the news as "provocateurs" and "marginal groups". Therefore, any arguments that would be made by these alienated groups were not included in the newspapers, and even if they were, the argument made by the *Derin Tarih* magazine, would resonate in the minds of the readers as a source of historical truths.

Another newspaper that generated visual discrimination is *Star*. Especially the images involving protestors or the police investigation conducted on the armed persons present during Hasan Ferit Gedik's funeral, suggested these people's direct association with violence. The presentation of these news items, including photographs and titles, did not include anything on the police intervention. Protestors were defined as aggressors that victimized the police.

Certain photos and titles used in the news published in *Özgür Gündem* involving the project and other protests contained a call to violence. Although the newspaper did not have any discriminatory discourse towards Alevis, the presentation of its visual elements conveyed a call to violence and strengthened the association between the mentioned neighborhoods and the Alevis with violence.

Rather than providing in-depth coverage of issues involving Alevis, *Sözcü* used the issues to criticize the government. This was performed through visuals and although there were no discriminatory elements towards Alevis, the use of visuals put the newspaper's objectivity in question.

Although *Birgün*, *Habertürk*, *Hürriyet*, *Milliyet* and *Yurt* presented news involving protests in Tuzluca'yır in a neutral tone, it could be claimed that the message conveyed through photos and the layout of the pages made the intervention of the police in the protests more obvious. A news article that appeared in *Milliyet* on September 10 titled "A Protest Much Like War" which was accompanied with the photo of a masked protestor throwing a rock, gave the perception that the protests were acts of violence, although the content of the news article was neutral in its coverage of the events. With the exclusion of this news article, it can be said that visuals showing the police acting with aggression towards the protestors are more commonly found in *Milliyet*.