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

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Part II: Discriminatory Discourse in Print Media

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MONITORING HATE SPEECH IN THE MEDIA

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

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

Due to various reasons, Turkey has recently been witnessing polarization between various sections of society; thus intolerance towards difference, the “other”, is becoming increasingly more widespread. The decades-long conflicts in Southeast Anatolia, the sudden demographic change in Turkey caused by the forced displacement of people due to the conflict, as well as economic, social and cultural conflicts have all played a role in the escalation of tension between communities. On the other hand, presenting democratization efforts such as the initiatives regarding minority rights and inter-religious dialogue, as well as the discussions surrounding the Cyprus question as “foreign powers” plots aimed at Turkey” also nurture polarization and enmity. Furthermore, the developments in the Middle East, discussions around Kurdish and Armenian questions and peace process currently on the agenda causes those people and institutions who have ideas to resolve these issues to be targeted and certain ethnic groups to be portrayed as enemies. Such discourse, generated by particular publications with opposite standpoints, sets the ground for a conflictual atmosphere. Finally, the way the Taksim Gezi Park protests were covered in newspapers was important, as it revealed how media can intensify polarization in society.

As a result of the frequent use of discriminatory language by the media, the manifestation of hostile perceptions and attitudes towards different groups and individuals, who are known or assumed members of such groups, has become an important and ever-growing problem in Turkey. Even opinion leaders such as government officials, opposition leaders and public servants have no qualms when it comes to using such racist and discriminatory language. As is well known, the frequent allegation by the government officials that the Taksim Gezi Park protests were organized by foreign powers and the “interest rate lobby” caused certain groups, in particular Jews, to be targeted.

The media (press-broadcast), often dubbed the fourth estate, is one of the most effective cultural

conductors. Therefore, as much as it has the power to highlight diversity and difference, it can also be extremely leading and instrumental in spreading and banalizing a conflict. If the media behaves irresponsibly and carelessly, it can very easily trigger, foster and strengthen racism and hatred between people, and worst of all, it can legitimize such attitudes by justifying them.

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

MONITORING HATE SPEECH IN NATIONAL AND LOCAL NEWSPAPERS IN TURKEY

Aim and scope of the study

The overarching aim of the study ‘Media Watch on Hate Speech’ is to contribute to combating racism, discrimination and intolerance in Turkey. Taking into account the importance of **civilian oversight on the media** as one of the instruments for producing and reproducing racism, discrimination and othering, the specific goal of this study is to **strengthen newspapers’ respect for human rights and differences, draw attention to discriminatory language and hate speech** targeted towards people and groups about their certain identity characteristics and thereby **raise awareness**.

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

Within the framework of the “Media Watch on Hate Speech”, the study via which the Foundation carries out in order to achieve those goals, the national and local press are scanned, news and opinion columns that feature discriminatory, alienating and target-making discourse are identified, analyzed and brought to public attention through reports and the website www.nefretsoylemi.org. The content provided on the project website is also shared through Facebook¹ and Twitter². The

¹ <https://www.facebook.com/medyadanefretsoylemi>

report is sent to non-governmental organizations, media organizations, journalism-related professional organizations, and also published on our website.

Apart from monitoring newspapers, the project aims to raise awareness about hate speech by organizing research meetings, conferences, seminars and trainings with NGO representatives, jurists, academics, professional organizations, and journalists. In this context, international panel discussions are held and meetings on hate speech are organized at universities to facilitate the discussion of project findings in order to inform people about the concept of “hate speech”, to provide opportunities for discussion of possible ways and methods of countering discriminatory and racist discourse, and to encourage the use of a more conscious and respectful language when discussing human rights issues and minorities in the media.

Furthermore, initiatives include cooperation with others for the development of lectures on hate speech, and theses and dissertations that study hate speech. In the year of 2012, in close cooperation with academics and representatives of non-governmental organizations, we prepared a draft of a one-semester **syllabus** named “**Discrimination, Hate Speech and Media**” and shared it with academics. Currently, in line of the feedback from those academics, we are working towards improving the content of the syllabus and for its application in universities.

In parallel with the curriculum studies, a multi-authored book that serves as a supplementary source for the syllabus and as an introductory source for the general reader, “**Media and Hate Speech: Concepts, Outlets, Discussions**”³, was published in December 2013. The book was edited by Mahmut Çınar from Bahçeşehir University, Faculty of Communication, published with a preface by Professor Fuat Keyman from Istanbul Policy Center and has the potential to be a reference work in this field.

Methodology

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

While the main focus has been on hate speech based on national, ethnic and religious identity, sexist and homophobic discourse are also examined within the scope of the monitoring work. In this study, we mainly used the critical discourse analysis methodology, as well as other associated techniques, commonly used in media studies. In line with the characteristics of news pieces, textual and iconographic (pertaining to photographs, pictures and other illustrations) context analyses were carried out. In order to determine specific indicators for the content and discourse of the news, first, we conducted quantitative analyses of where (in which newspapers), how and through which sources hate speech was manifested and generated most and who were the targets of it.

² <https://twitter.com/NefretSoylemi>

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

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

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

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

2) Blasphemy / Insult / Degradation: Any discourse that contains direct swearing, insult or denigration about a community (e.g. use of words such as ‘treacherous’, ‘dog’, ‘mud-blood’, etc.).

3) Enmity / War Discourse: Any discourse that includes hostile, war-mongering expressions about a community (e.g. The Cruelty of *Gavur*⁴)

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

DISCRIMINATORY DISCOURSE THEMATIC SUBJECTS

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

In 2013, the first media study on discriminatory discourse for the January-April period covered the examination of discourse constructed around the **Black Sea visit of the People’s Democratic**

⁴The word “gavur” is used in order to insult non-Muslim believers. Even though its basic meaning is “non-believer” according to dictionaries, it is always used as an offensive way of addressing non-Muslims in the context of Turkey.

Congress (HDK) members and deputies from the Peace and Democracy Party (BDP). For that study, all news stories and opinion columns, between February 15 and 28, 2013 covering this event in **Bizim Karadeniz, Taka, Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet, Sabah,** and **Zaman newspapers** were analyzed⁵.

For the second report of 2013, all news articles and opinion columns published during the first week of the **Gezi Park events** in June 1-7, 2013 in **Habertürk, Hürriyet, Özgür Gündem, Radikal, Sabah, Sözcü, Taraf, Yeni Şafak,** and **Zaman** dailies monitored and analyzed using content analysis and discourse analysis methods⁶.

For the September-December 2013 period, **Alevism** was chosen to be the subject matter due to the high number of references made to it in the media as part of the current affairs. In relation to the subject **Birgün, Habertürk, Hürriyet, Milliyet, Özgür Gündem, Star, Sözcü, Yeni Şafak, Yurt,** and **Zaman** dailies were monitored⁷.

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

In the Discriminatory Discourse File of this report covering the May-August 2014 period, we have examined how discriminatory discourse towards the Jewish identity is generated by Turkish press in relation to the operation launched by Israel against Gaza in July. Accordingly the newspapers **Zaman, Posta, Hürriyet, Sözcü,** and **Sabah,** published between July 8 and 22, 2014 were monitored and analyzed. The method used in this study as well as the findings can be found in the second part of this report, titled “Discriminatory Discourse in Print Media”.

⁵ <http://nefretsoylemi.org/rapor/Ocak-Nisan-2013-NS-Rapor-Final.pdf>

⁶ <http://nefretsoylemi.org/rapor/mayis-agustos-rapor-final.pdf>

⁷ http://nefretsoylemi.org/rapor/Eylul-Aralik2013_nefretsoylemi_ayrimcisoylem_raporu.pdf

PART 1

HATE SPEECH

IN

PRINT MEDIA

İDİL ENGİNDENİZ ŞAHAN

FINDINGS

During the four months covering **May - June - July - August 2014** of the “Monitoring Hate Speech in Media” study, **246** opinion columns and news articles were identified as targeting national, ethnic and religious groups.

In this period consisting of the second quarter of 2014, there is a considerable increase in the number of instances of hate speech. At national level, hate speech was generated in the context of elections in eventful summer months. However, the main increase in the articles containing hate speech was seen in the context of the international agenda, determined by Israel’s military operation launched against Gaza.⁸ In addition, the message of condolences issued by then-Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan on April 23rd on the occasion of Armenian Genocide Remembrance Day also had an impact on this increase.

When we analyze the articles that contain hate speech, instead of arguments that follow a rational logic, the sense of rage is seen to dominate the flow of writing. Those writings, which aim at fueling the polarization between societies and beliefs, are grounded on examples that are circulated without questioning their truth and reality. Thereby, the example of “Seydibesir Useray-i Harbiye Camp”⁹ appears once more and is used as an instrument to generate hate speech towards Armenians during this period as it was used in previous periods.

As in previous periods, it can be said that “conspiracy theories” are a basic motivational instrument in the examined articles during this period. As a motive for a good number of unfavorable events, various religious and ethnic groups who “dominate the world” and “carry out covert and clandestine activities” are often brought forward. As we have pointed out above, examples that are taken out of historical context and various pieces of information devoid of any reliable reference are conveyed to readers through an approach that ignores the relationship between cause and effect.

During this period, the increase in the number of the articles generating hate speech is reflected in the **number of targeted groups**. While 21 different groups were exposed to hate speech within the previous period, that number had **increased to 32** during the second period of 2014.

Whereas **out of the 32 different groups, 10** are subjected to hate speech **in only one article**, there is a significant increase (in close correlation with current affairs agenda) in the number of articles in

⁸ Discriminatory discourse file, the topic of which is determined based on this finding, can be found on the second part of this report.

⁹ In Seydibesir Useray-i Harbiye Camp, which is stated to be close to the Alexandria in Egypt, it is claimed that there were Ottoman soldiers, who were taken prisoners during the World War I, and that they were subjected to various tortures, which were allegedly caused by Armenians. This example is circulated in the same way with the same sentences in various publications in various years and months. During this period, the same example has reappeared in Şenol Kocatepe’s article titled “Circassian Expulsion” in **Gazete Gerçek** in May 22, 2014 and in İsmail Başaran’s article titled “To Those Making the Rabia Gesture” in **Samsun Halk** newspaper in June 30, 2014.

which some groups are targeted. In order to concretely analyze this increase, we find the following information when we list in detail how many groups are subjected to hate speech in how many articles:

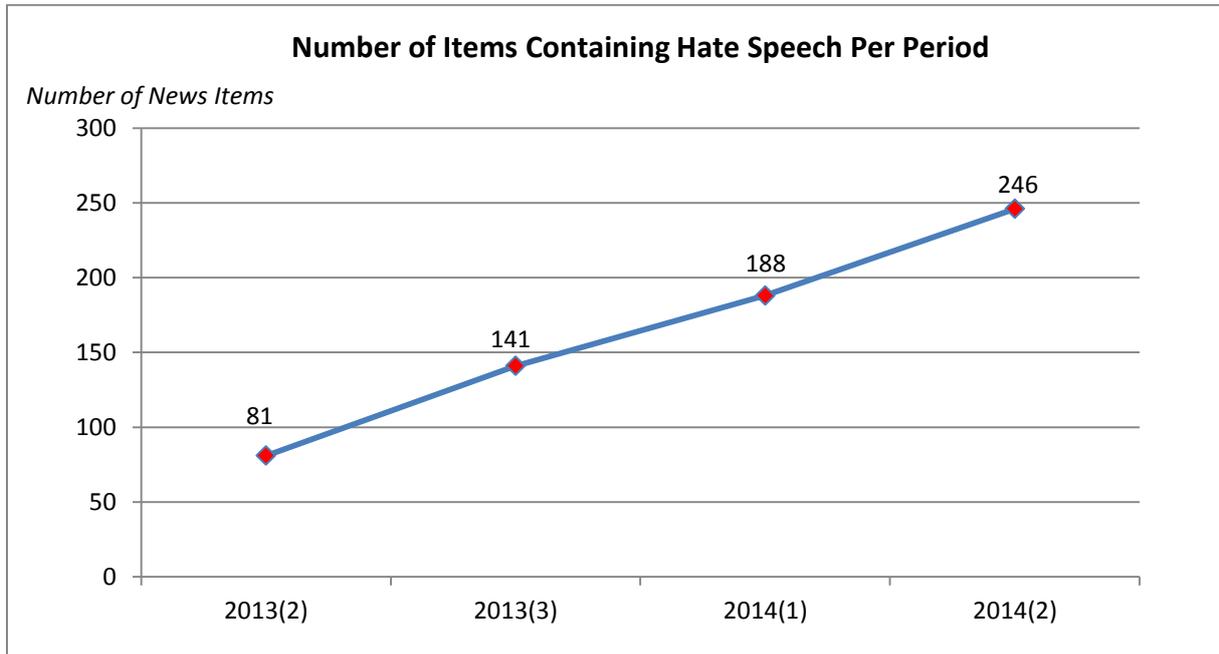
- **7 groups** are targeted in **two** articles for each,
- **2 groups** are targeted in **three** articles for each,
- **1 group** is targeted in **four articles**,
- **3 groups** are targeted in **five** articles for each,
- **1 group** is targeted in **seven** articles,
- **2 groups** are targeted in **nine articles** for each,
- **1 group** (Syrian refugees) is targeted in **10** articles,
- **1 group** (Kurds) is targeted in **18** articles,
- **1 group** (Rûms) is targeted in **21** articles,
- **1 group** (Christians) is targeted in **25** articles,
- **1 group** (Armenians) is targeted in **60** articles,
- **1 group** (Jews) is targeted in **130** articles.

While the number of articles containing hate speech targeting the first three groups (Jews, Armenians and Christians) were close to each other during the previous periods, during this period the number of articles containing hate speech **about Jews and Armenians** were **twice and five times** of the group (Christians) following them. It is also noticeable that the groups most subjected to hate speech have not changed compared with previous periods. Nonetheless, in terms of the impact current affairs have on hate speech, this period constitutes a striking example.

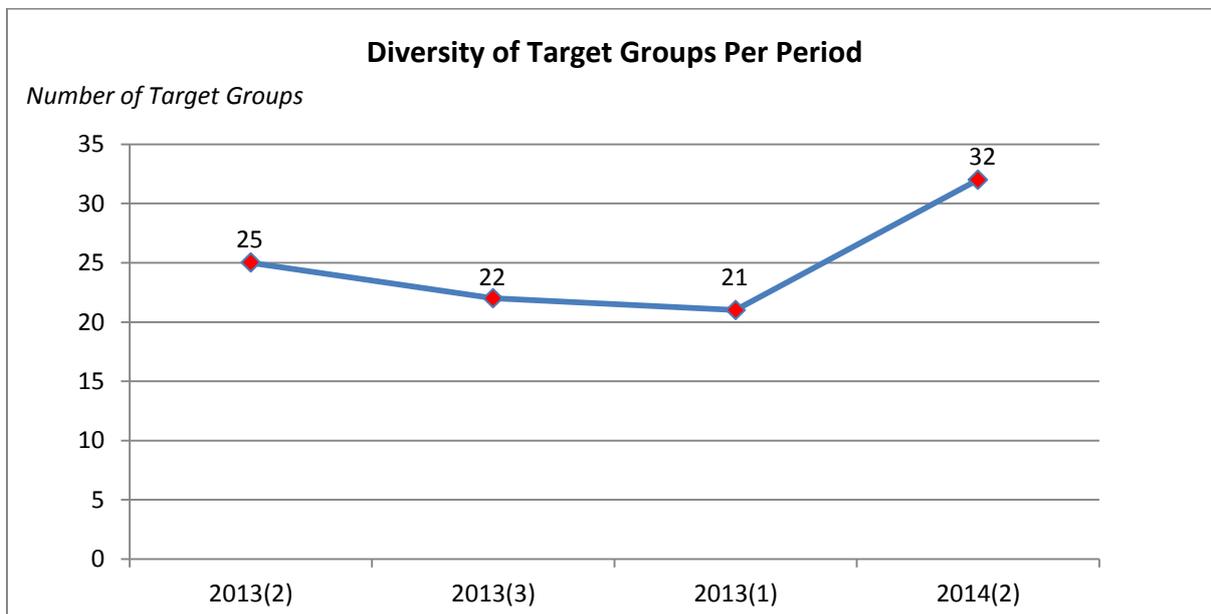
While the groups that are subjected to hate speech in singular examples are handled in relation to periodic events and even more in relation to incidental examples, frequently targeted groups in a number of publications are subjected to systematic hate speech and conscious hostility. The fact that certain groups remain targeted for an extended period of time through great number of news items not only shows the vulnerability of these groups to hate speech but also presents deep-seated and persisting endeavour to antagonize those groups. That these groups consist of people, beliefs and ethnicities living together in this part of the world enhance the potential risks of hate speech and its particular role in preparing the ground for hate crimes. In **Milat** and **Yeni Akit** dailies, articles in which Israel's attacks of Gaza are criticized also allege that Jews living in Turkey support these attacks in material and nonmaterial terms constitute concrete examples to this feature.

As can be seen in the following graphs, the groups that are less often subjected to hate speech were not categorized under the "Others" category, in an effort to portray the variety of the target groups according to the context. Nonetheless, in accordance with the "proximity" criterion, one of the fundamental conditions of a topic being in the news, it has been observed that hate speech is not directed at groups that are not closely associated with Turkey's historical or contemporary situation. For example, while Norwegians, with whom the historical and contemporary connection is quite weak, are not targeted in hate speech, Germans and French are exposed to hate speech more often.

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 as it was in the previous periods. While hate speech is generated for **10 different groups of non-Muslim, non-Sunni or non-believers in a total of 180 items**, in **two items** hate speech is targeted at **Muslims**. **19 different groups** are targeted in **68 items** for their **ethnic and national identity**. The items studied in the last category include **18 items** that contain hate speech **directed at the Kurdish population**, and this shows a small increase compared

to the items found in the previous period (14 items). Also, hate speech targeting **Syrian refugees** showed an increase and is seen in **10 items**.

Another point to highlight is that hate speech found in one news item is directed at more than one group. When looking at the distribution of groups targeted in hate speech, **out of 246 items** examined, **338 counts of hate speech** are encountered. However, if we take into account that **90 of the total items target only Jews** and **34 of those target only Armenians** – 124 items and 50.40% of the total items containing hate speech – target **only these two groups**. The most important determinants of this distribution, as we have pointed out above, are the reactions of conservative media to Israel's operation launched against Gaza and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's statement of condolences on April 23rd.

When we analyze the groups mostly bound to each other in relation to hate speech, Armenians are mentioned in 26 items with 14 other groups. Out of 25 items that is written about Christians, 14 items contain hate speech towards Jews as well.

During the period of **May – August 2014**, a majority of the items identified as containing hate speech were published **in national press**, as in the previous periods; yet the difference between national press and local press kept its downward tendency. **Of the 246 items** studied within the framework of the study, **137 (55.69%) were published in 21 national newspapers**. The remaining **104 articles (42.27%) were published in 63 local newspapers**. **Eight** items published by Cyprus newspapers are evaluated within the scope of hate speech.

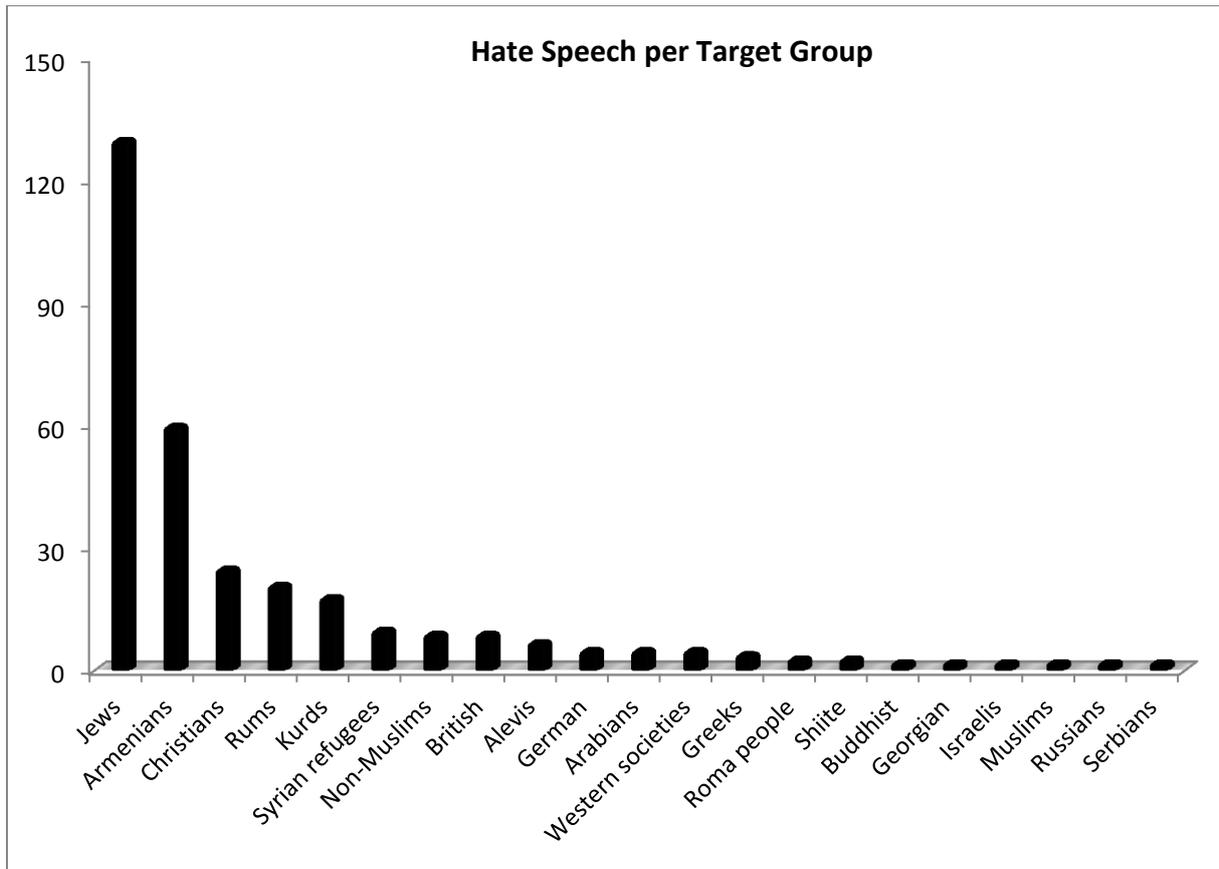
Even though there is only one increase in local publications with respect to previous periods, it maintained its diversity as seen in previous periods. In local newspapers, in conjunction to observing that there are 1-3 items containing hate speech per publication, there is a different point to add; 12 separate instances of hate speech were found in one local newspaper (**Yeni Konya**) and more than one article was about Syrian refugees. It should be underlined that this situation might create a more concrete danger for the groups subjected to hate speech at the local level.

Similar to previous periods, it is observed that hate speech was mainly found within opinion columns. Of the items studied, **opinion columns constituted 187 items**, whereas **news items constituted 53** of the grand total. Items published on pages like Press Archive or history page are evaluated under the heading "**Others**" and hate speech is seen in nine items under this category.

In Turkey's press, although the groups towards whom hate speech, hostility and attempts at 'othering' are directed have different rankings compared to previous periods, those near the top have not changed. During the period consisting of the second four months of the year, hate speech **primarily targets Jews** with 130 items. While, with 60 items, **Armenians are the second group** targeted, **Christians are the third** with 30 items. These are followed by 21 items for **Rûms**, 18 items for **Kurds** and 10 items for the **Syrian refugees** who have been among those exposed to hate speech.

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

Graph 3¹⁰



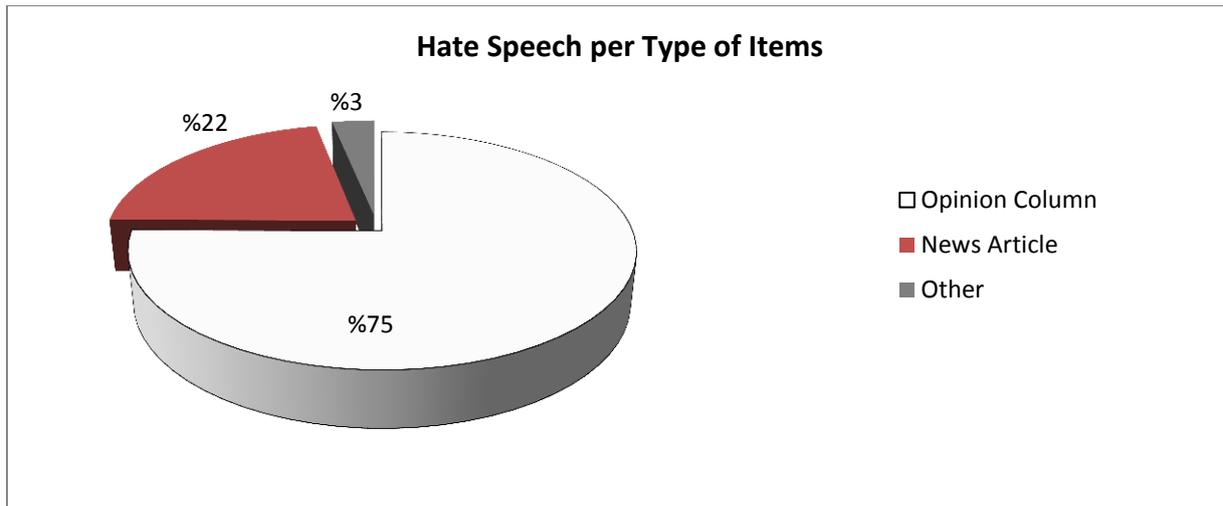
In addition to these, similar to previous reports **31 news articles and opinion columns** that contain hate speech **towards women and LGBTI individuals** were not included in the statistical analyses and were evaluated separately in the second section. Various items with discriminatory content that laid the groundwork for hate speech were also evaluated in the same section.

Distribution of Content According to Type, Newspaper and Categories

During this period, there is an increase in the percentage of **opinion columns** containing hate speech. That percentage, which was 60.1% within the previous period, has increased to **75.20%** within this period. Consequently, a decrease was observed in the amount of hate speech within content of **news type (32.9% in the last period; 21.54% in this period)**. Other contents, on the other hand, consist of Press Archive, history page, religious pages, etc. (**3.25%**).

¹⁰ As an item may target more than one group, the total number of items targeting each group (220) is more than the total number of items.

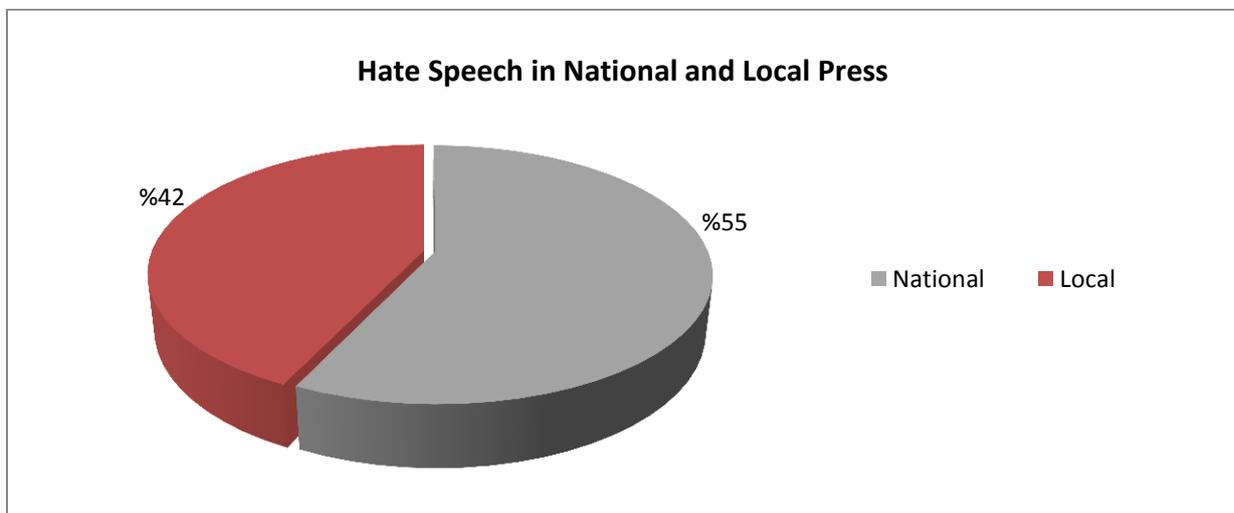
Graph 4



Within this period, all but two news items are published with a reference/reporter’s name. While 20 out of 53 news items (37.73%) are published with a reporter’s name on the article, in 14 of them the news agencies are specified, and the others are published with the newspapers’ sign on them.

During this period, there was a **small numerical difference in instances of hate speech** found in the **national and local press**. Whereas national press generated 136 items containing hate speech, 55.14% of the total, local press generated 102 items with a percentage of 42.86%.¹¹

Graph 5

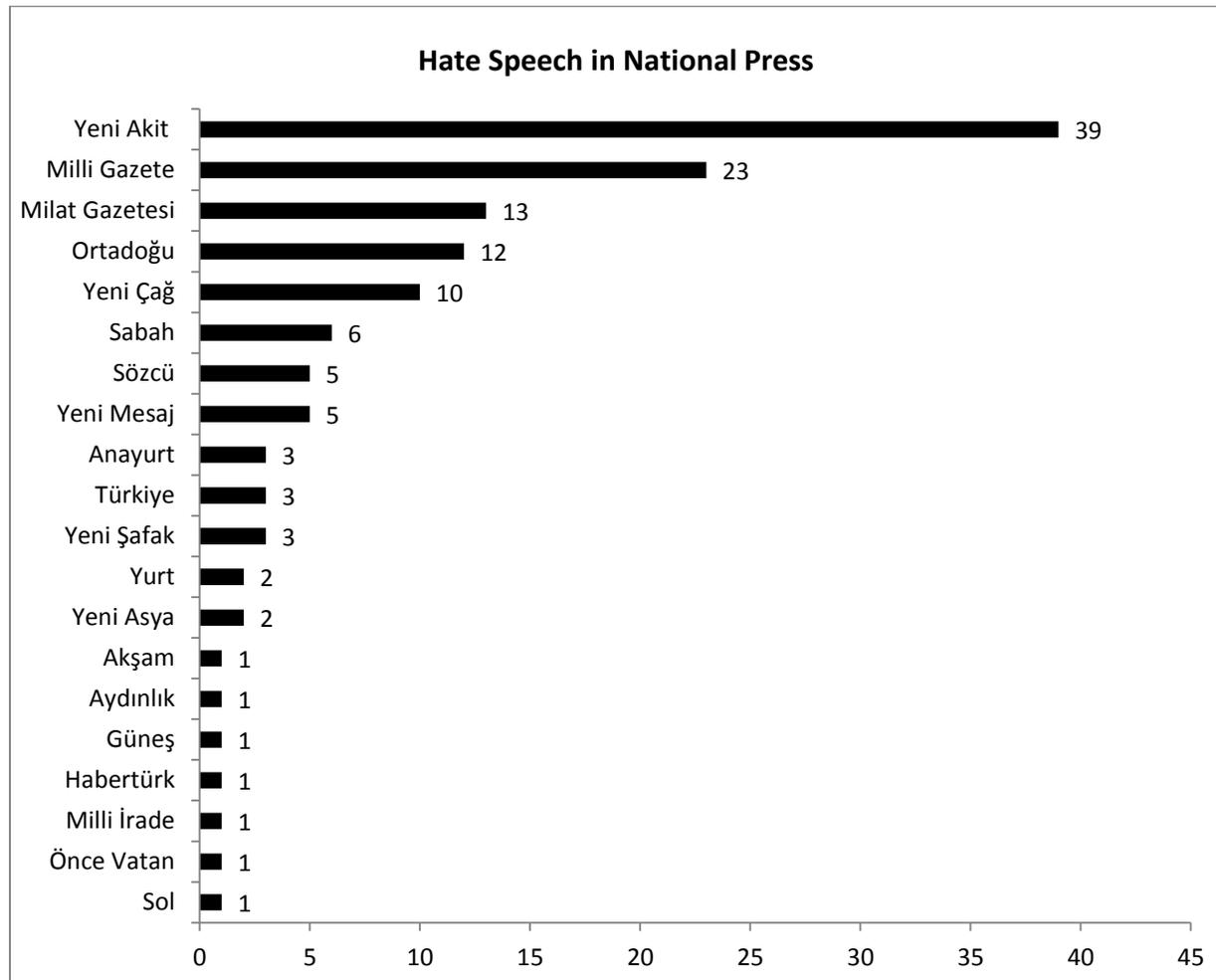


As in the previous periods, the first one among the national newspapers, where hate speech was most often generated, was **Yeni Akit** (39 issues). Yeni Akit was followed by **Milli Gazete** with 23 issues, **Milat** with 13, **Ortadoğu** with 12 items. Following these newspapers, **Yeni Çağ** had 10 items

¹¹ The contents with hate speech published by Cyprus newspapers are not included in this number because they cannot be categorized as either national or local.

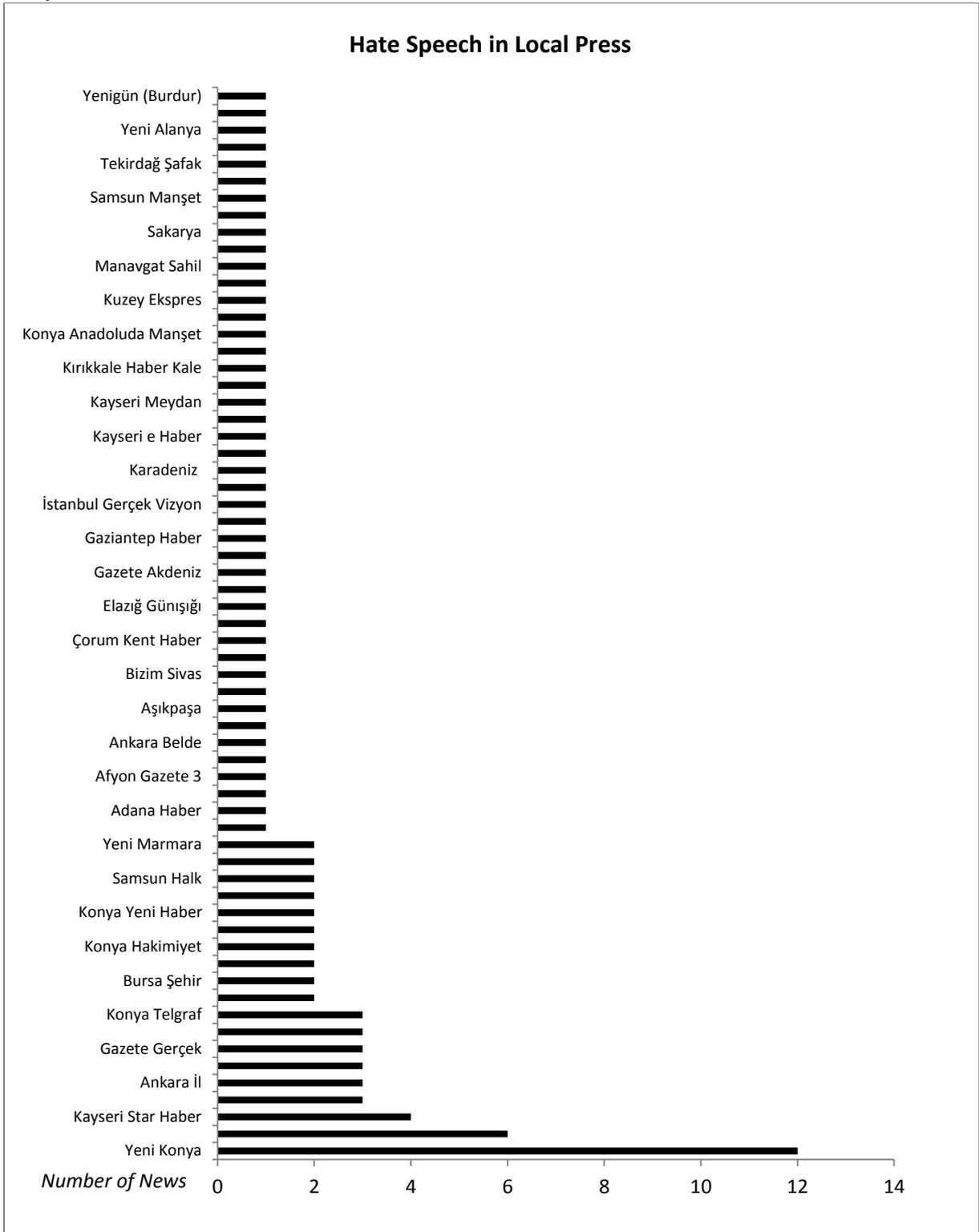
that contained hate speech, **Sabah** had six, **Sözcü** and **Yeni Mesaj** had five items each, **Anayurt**, **Türkiye** and **Yeni Şafak** had three items, and **Yurt** and **Yeni Asya** had two items each. **Akşam**, **Aydınlık**, **Güneş**, **Habertürk**, **Milli İrade**, **Önce Vatan**, **Sol** had generated hate speech in one item. **Sabah** newspaper, which was in the list with one item in the previous period, is observed to contain hate speech in six items in this period. Five of these contents are the opinion columns written by the same author. When we study the other newspapers, as we come upon almost the same names each time, it will not be wrong to conclude that hate speech is used as a type of “style” by some columnists. Consequently this leads to the idea that, through these opinion columns in question, instead of a structure for conveying information-perspective, a kind of “propaganda” in line of a specific point of view is pursued. This idea, in turn, provides evidence for the question of whether opinion columns are parts of journalism and what functions they serve. Another important issue to point out is that national press like **Sabah**, **Sözcü**, **Akşam**, **Habertürk** are on the list with one or more items.

Graph 6



During this period, although the number of items containing hate speech in local press is smaller than the number in previous period, numerically it is not very different from the number of items published in national press.

Graph 7

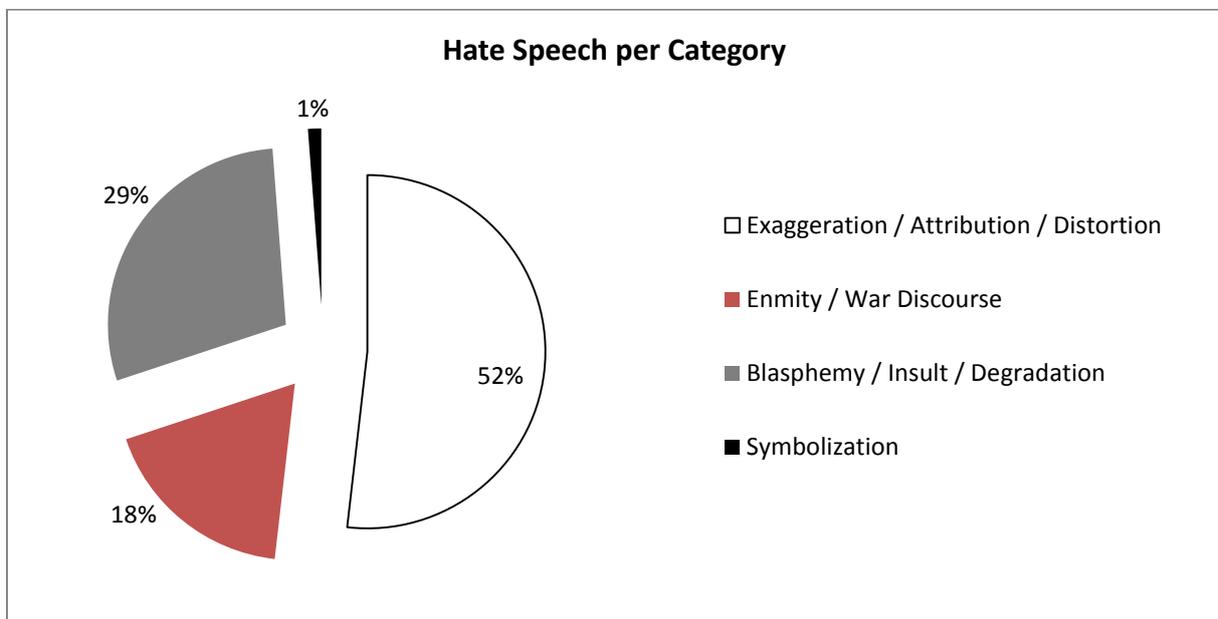


As in previous periods, hate speech items published in newspapers are studied in four predetermined categories: (1) **Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion**, (2) **Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration**, (3) **Enmity / War Discourse**, (4) **Using a Natural Element of One's Identity as a Cause for Hate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

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

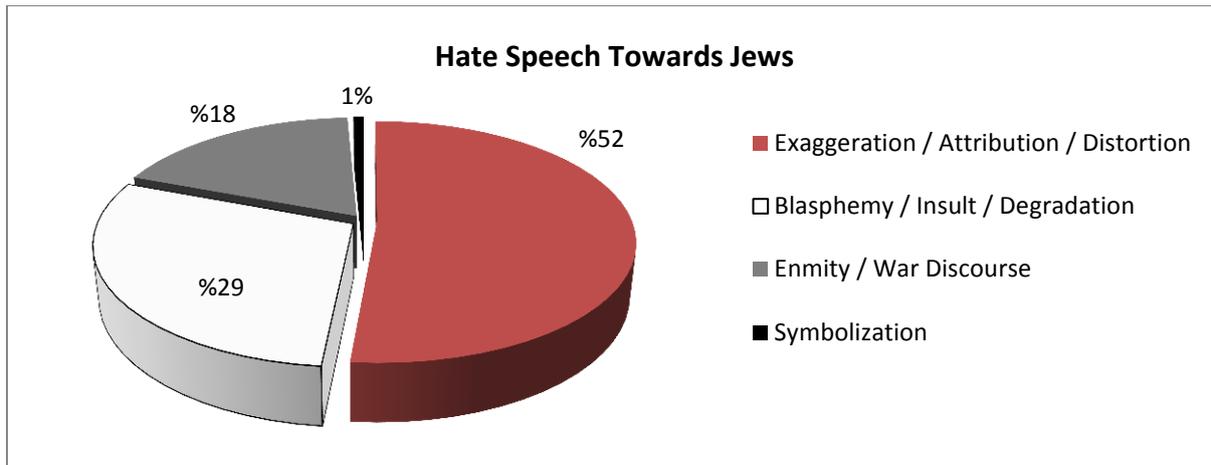
During this four-month period studied, **Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion** ranked first (129 items) in the distribution of the categories. It was followed by **Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration** (72 items) and **Enmity / War Discourse** (45 items). During this study period, there were three items under the category **Using a Natural Element of One’s Identity as a Cause for Hate / Symbolization**; one item targeted Jews, the other two targeted Germans.

Graph 8



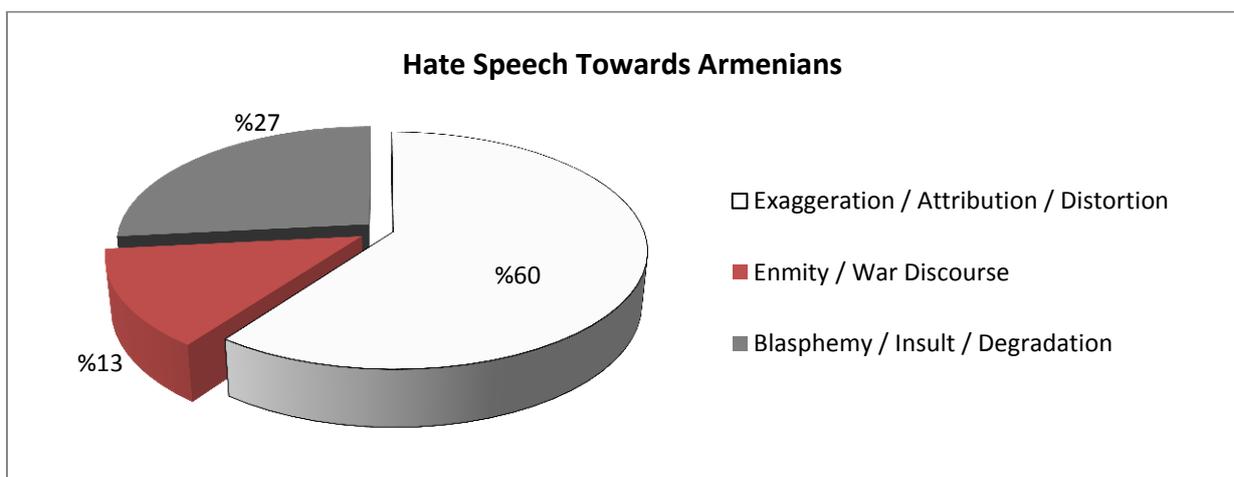
During the study period, the group that was exposed to hate speech most was the **Jewish population** and **Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion** was the most often used category (67 items). This was followed by **Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration** with 38 items and 24 items contained **Enmity / War Discourse**. Under the category **Using a Natural Element of One’s Identity as a Cause for Hate / Symbolization** one item was detected. 77 of the items containing hate speech towards the Jewish population were published in the national press and 53 items in the local press.

Graph 9



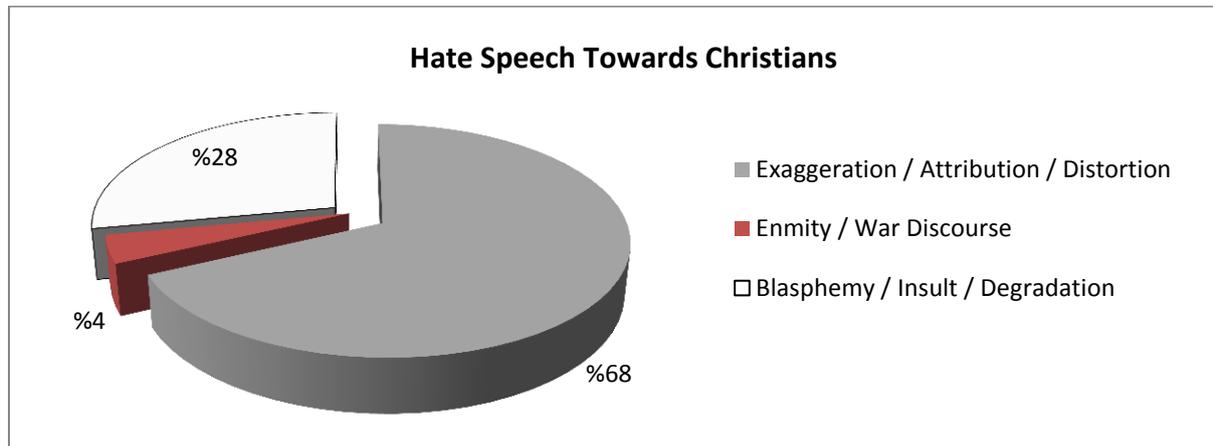
Looking at categories according to target groups it was observed that **Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion** dominated hate speech directed at the **Armenian population**, which was the second group that was exposed to hate speech most, with 36 items. It was followed by 16 items of **Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration** and eight items of **Enmity / War Discourse**. 33 of the items containing hate speech targeting the Armenian population were published in the national press and 27 items in the local press. The topic within the local context is handled from the national perspective, by expressing various opinions on the message of condolences issued by then-prime minister Erdoğan. However, we run into an opposite example in publications related to Syrian refugees. For instance, in publications in Konya, whereas experiences of the city are mentioned regarding the refugees, whenever Armenians are the topic of discussion, we do not see any local examples in publications. Starting from this instance, we can see that an issue, which we actually never face in our daily lives, is regenerated with animosity over past events that we are not even sure whether they really happened or not; also, a comprehension based upon the “other”, the “enemy” is maintained independently from real life.

Graph 10



During the four-month-period of the study, **Christians**, the third of the top three groups that were subjected to hate speech, were mostly targeted within the category of **Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion** (17 items). This was followed by **Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration** with seven items and one item detected fell under the category of **Enmity / War Discourse**.

Graph 11

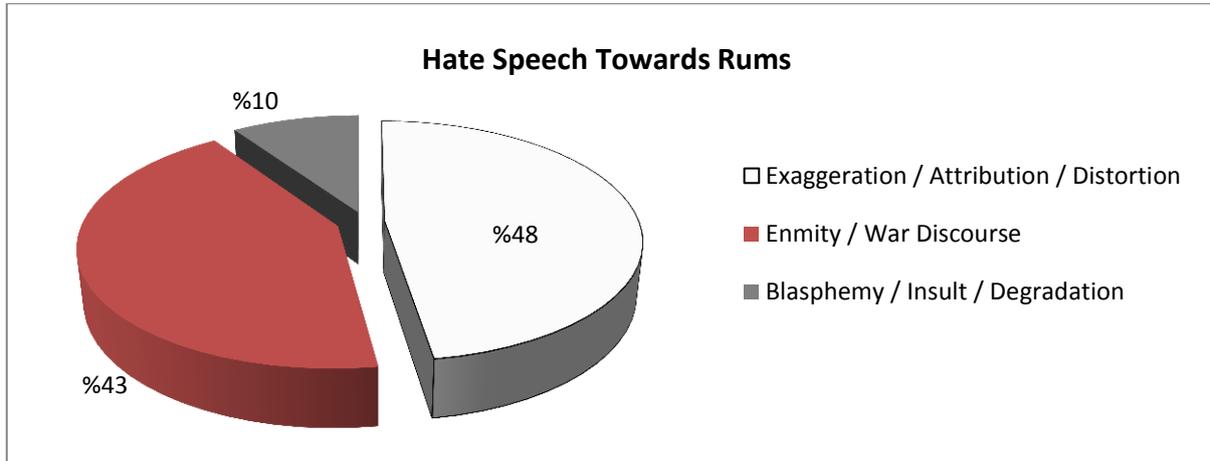


During the studied periods, while the **Armenian** and **Jewish** populations usually share the first two places among the groups exposed to hate speech, within the previous periods there was a significant difference in the number of items that contained hate speech towards these two groups and other ranking groups. This difference has increased even more within the second period of 2014. In the previous period, while these mentioned groups were subjected to hate speech with 75 and 66 items respectively, Christians followed them with 45 items. Yet during this period, these numbers are 60, 130 and 25 items for Armenians, Jews and Christians, respectively.

In light of these data, it will not be wrong to deduce that from the viewpoint of publications that contain hate speech, Armenians and Jews are the main and biggest “enemies”. Although this hostile discourse sometimes hides behind an approach like the “good Armenians/Jews” - “bad Armenians/Jews” differentiation, it is observed that even this differentiation can disappear and all the Armenians and Jews within Turkey borders are evaluated as threats.

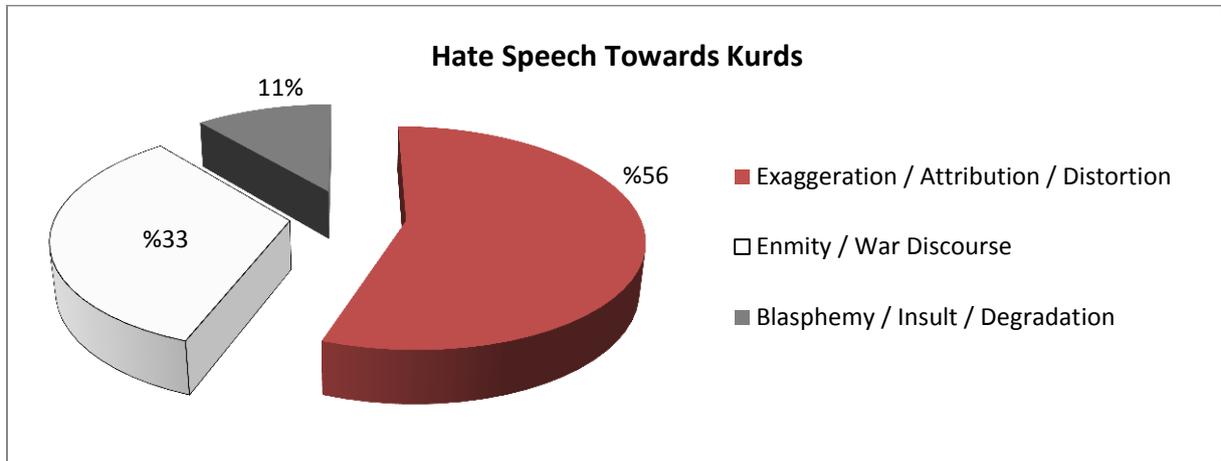
Looking at the distribution among categories with respect to hate speech produced towards the Greek population (**Rûms**), hate speech was mostly generated in the category of **Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion** with 10 items, which was followed by **Enmity / War Discourse** with nine items and **Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration** with two items. Two of these items were news articles and 19 were opinion columns. Four of these items were published in Cyprus newspapers. When the political background and the current state of Cyprus are taken into account once again, we can say that these contents each played a negative role in fuelling inter-community hostility. At this point, an interesting example happened to be the reissuing of an opinion column that had been published on “50 Years Ago” page previously. It is seen that in the article, in response to which this very opinion column was written, hate speech towards Turkish population had been generated. With regards to this example, we can deduce that violence is regenerated by recirculating back dated articles.

Graph 12



Similar to the previous periods, during this period **Enmity / War Discourse** was the first category of hate speech towards **Kurdish population** with 10 items. There were six items under **Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion** and two items under **Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration**. 10 of the items containing hate speech towards Kurds were in the national press and eight of them were in the local newspapers published in Central Anatolia, Mediterranean and Aegean regions. Local newspapers published in Black Sea Region during the previous period containing hate speech towards Kurds are not observed in the list during this period.

Graph 13



As mentioned earlier, these four categories used to classify contents were determined to help better understanding of how hate speech is generated. For the process of classification, the most common category was used. No matter how it is named, taking into account that at the basis of hate speech lies “hostile” ideas in all cases, it would be misleading to view these categories as mutually exclusive.

NEWS ITEMS SELECTED DURING THE MAY – AUGUST 2014 PERIOD¹²

Date	Newspaper	Type	Author	Title	Target Group	Hate Category
01-May-2014	Anayurt	Opinion Column	Fuat Yilmazer	The Armenian Problem cannot be solved by defensive attitude -1-	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
01-May-2014	Manavgat Sahil	Opinion Column	Aynur Sarıkaya	A few things about the Armenian initiative	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
01-May-2014	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Fikri Atılbaz	They use everything for their own self-interest	Christians, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
01-May-2014	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Yıldırım Çiçek	EVEN THE TURCOPHOBES DO NOT HAVE THIS COURAGE!	Armenians, Rûms	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
01-May-2014	Samsun Haber	Opinion Column	Osman Kara	LOOKING AT HISTORY IN THE RIGHT WAY (IV)	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
01-May-2014	Sözcü	Opinion Column	Yekta Güngör Özden	Mealy-mouthed	Armenians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
01-May-2014	Taka	Opinion Column	Muharrem Ulusoy	SLANDER AND INSULT!	Christians, Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
01-May-2014	Yeni Akit	News Article	Muhammet Erdoğan	Alevi reaction to impertinent Hans	Germans	Using a Natural Element of One's Identity as a Cause for Hate / Symbolization
01-May-2014	Yeni Çağ	Opinion Column	Agah Oktay Güner	Negligence	Armenians, Kurds	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
02-May-2014	Ankara Belde	Opinion Column	Nurullah Aydın	VICTORY OF THE ARMENIAN APOSTATES	Armenians, Georgians, Rûms, Jews	Enmity / War Discourse
05-May-2014	Konya Merhaba	News Article (Interview)	Berkhan Parlak	We have never drifted away from Turkey	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion

¹² As they generated hate speech for different identities and under different categories, the articles titled "ECHR Being *Gavur*" dated May 14, 2014, "TO THOSE MAKING THE RABIA GESTURE" dated June 30, 2014 and "Bairam came-and-bygone, so what!" dated July, 31, 2014 are written on this list twice. Yet these articles are included only once in the total number of contents containing hate speech.

05-May-2014	Milat	Opinion Column	Mehmet Seyit Deniz	"1001 Arabian Nights" from Soner Yalçın	British	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
05-May-2014	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Fikri Atılbaz	"Assassination of Turkishness"	Armenians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
05-May-2014	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Neval Kavcar	CALLING THE GOVERNMENT AND PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC FOR DUTY	Armenians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
05-May-2014	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Orhan Karataş	Country's agenda and Turkish Youth Convention	Armenians	Enmity / War Discourse
05-May-2014	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Hasan Karakaya	Would a organization subservient to Jews praise Turkey?	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
05-May-2014	Yeni Konya	Opinion Column	Alaettin Ekizer	Muslims are responsible for every hanged Egyptian	Christians, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
05-May-2014	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Hasan Demir	They ate our flesh and now ask for tooth rent!	Armenians, French, British	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
06-May-2014	Taka	Opinion Column	Talat Ülker	Head of the snake	Armenians	Enmity / War Discourse
07-May-2014	İstanbul Gerçek Vizyon	Opinion Column	Nevzat Laleli	Message of condolences to the Armenian is wrong	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
07-May-2014	Yeni Akit	Press Archive	Yeni Akit	Atheists hit the streets	Atheists	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
09-May-2014	Samsun Manşet	Opinion Column	Dursen Özalemdar	Humanitarian preferences	Armenians, Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
10-May-2014	Sabah	Opinion Column	Hasan Celal Güzel	Old prostitute with running make-up: Europe	Western Societies	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
12-May-2014	Milli Gazete	News Article	Milli Gazete	Their mentalities are sick	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
13-May-2014	Milat	Opinion Column	M. Şevket Gökşan	Are we going to keep silent and fall prey?..	Non-Muslims	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
13-May-2014	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Mustafa Özcan	What is the secret of Nusayris, Westerners' favorite?	Nusayris, Shiites, Jews	Enmity / War Discourse
14-May-2014	Yeni Akit	News Article	Ramazan Alkan	ECHR Being <i>Gavur</i>	Non-Muslims	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration

14-May-2014	Yeni Akit	News Article	Ramazan Alkan	ECHR Being <i>Gavur</i>	Rûms	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
14-May-2014	Yeni Çağ	Opinion Column	Ahmet Takan	A prime minister tonguetied in front of Christian judges!..	Armenians, Rûms	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
16-May-2014	Anayurt	Opinion Column	Fuat Yılmaz	Would we get rid of the hunchback? Would we cover the negligence with these words? -2-	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
16-May-2014	Güneş	Opinion Column	Mehmet Memiş	For God's sake, what do you do?	Armenians, Rûms, Jews	Enmity / War Discourse
19-May-2014	Milat	Opinion Column	Bekir Fuat	May 18, 1944	Russians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
19-May-2014	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Şükrü Alınçık	We will call you to account for this in the afterlife!...	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
19-May-2014	Yeni Çağ	News Article	Necdet Pekmezci	Armenian PKK alliance!/PKK and Armenians came together once again	Armenians, Kurds	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
20-May-2014	Sol	Opinion Column	Erbil Tuşalp	Usual Suspect	Muslims	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
20-May-2014	Yeni Akit	News Article	Kenan Kıran	THAT BOSS' SON-IN-LAW IS JEWISH/Soma boss' SON-IN-LAW IS JEWISH	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
22-May-2014	Gazete Gerçek	Opinion Column	Şenol Kocatepe	Circassian Expulsion	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
22-May-2014	Kayseri Vizyon Kent Haber	Opinion Column	Yakup Aslan	Accident or sabotage?	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
22-May-2014	Kıbrıs Halkın Sesi	50 Years Ago Page	T. Bayraktaroğlu	Please come to the lists	Rûms	Enmity / War Discourse
22-May-2014	Yurt	Opinion Column	Hüsnü Mahalli	Pleasure of the <i>gavur</i> !	Christians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
23-May-2014	Karadeniz	Opinion Column	Asım Kemal Güner	SYRIANS	Syrians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
23-May-2014	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Mevlüt Özcan	Good news of the battle of the trenches	Christians	Enmity / War Discourse
23-May-2014	Sabah	Opinion Column	Ersin Ramoğlu	GERMANY'S FEAR of ERDOĞAN!	Germans, Alevis	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration

24-May-2014	Sabah	Opinion Column	Ersin Ramođlu	Faggotness is only voluntary!	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
26-May-2014	Kıbrıs Afrika	Opinion Column	Özgün Kutalmıř	Nothing comes out of Rûms	Rûms	Enmity / War Discourse
26-May-2014	Yeni Çađ	News Article	AA	Opposing Turkey, they turned to Vatican/A letter from Kurds to Pope: We are like crucified Jesus	Armenians, Kurds, Non-Muslims	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
26-May-2014	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Akın Aydın	You should not have played politics with tears!	Jews	Using a Natural Element of One's Identity as a Cause for Hate / Symbolization
27-May-2014	Kıbrıs Havadis	Opinion Column	Eřref Çetinel	THE TRICK THE RUM PULLED (BUT THIS IS TOO MUCH!)	Rûms	Enmity / War Discourse
27-May-2014	Milat	Opinion Column	Faruk Aksoy	Alevis do not like bridges	Alevis	Enmity / War Discourse
27-May-2014	Milli Gazete	News Article	Milli Gazete	Pope of Zionism/Abuse is one nation	Christians, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
27-May-2014	Takvim	Opinion Column	Bekir Hazar	WAITER!!!	Germans, British, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
27-May-2014	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Mustafa Özcan	Is Allah anti-Semite? (2)	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
28-May-2014	Milat	Opinion Column	Halil Mert	"Cologne" strategical balance	Christians, Greeks	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
28-May-2014	Milat	Opinion Column	Seyit Mehmet Deniz	Are Alevis aware of the danger?	Alevis, Socialists	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
29-May-2014	Yeni Akit	News Article	İskender Özel	Alevi conspiracy is the work of EU	Alevis	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
29-May-2014	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Nusret Çiçek	Would you like to take blood pressure pills?	Greeks	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
29-May-2014	Yeni Konya	News Article	AA	The Jew battered 3 Turkish citizens in al-Masjid al-Aksa	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
30-May-2014	Alanya Güneři	Opinion Column	İbrahim Akdađ	ERDOĐAN IS NOT MY PRIME MINISTER...!!	Armenians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration

30-May-2014	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Mehmet Şevket Eygi	Cryptos are pulling tricks again and again	Alevis, Armenians, Rûms, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
30-May-2014	Yeni Akit	News Article	Timur Çağrı	Let's go to Hagia Sophia	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
31-May-2014	Sabah	Opinion Column	Ersin Ramoğlu	KK the instigator and the mouthpiece of Assad	British	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
02-Jun-2014	Kıbrıs Vatan	News Article	Kıbrıs Vatan	Joint games over Turkey	British, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
02-Jun-2014	Konya Anadolu Bugün	News Article / Interview	Konya Anadolu Bugün	Al-Masjid al-Aksa is under Jewish blockade	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
02-Jun-2014	Önce Vatan	Opinion Column	Mustafa Akkoca	ANSWERS TO COMMENTATORS AND OBSERVATIONS!.. (35)	Armenians, Rûms, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
02-Jun-2014	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Mustafa Özcan	Those who teach Allah his job!	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
03-Jun-2014	Bizim Sivas	Opinion Column	Berat Demirci	CIVILIZED MURDERERS	British	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
03-Jun-2014	Bursa Şehir	Opinion Column	Binnur Günay	"NEW TURKEY" that settles old scores with coups	Alevis	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
03-Jun-2014	Çorum Haber	Opinion Column	Selahattin Aydemir	Should Orhan Pamuk be the candidate?	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
03-Jun-2014	Lüleburgaz Hürfikir	Opinion Column	İlyas Şen	Why don't these <i>gavurs</i> go to Taksim themselves?	Non-Muslims	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
03-Jun-2014	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Mehmet Talu	Reminiscences of Al-Miraj – 2	Jews	Enmity / War Discourse
04-Jun-2014	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Mehmet Şevket Eygi	It Seems That PKK War Is Not Over	Armenians, Non-muslims	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
04-Jun-2014	Yeni Konya	News Article	AA	The Jew shed blood	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
05-Jun-2014	Altınova	News Article	Altınova / Anonymous	The list of what Abdullah Çatlı did to Armenians	Armenians	Enmity / War Discourse
05-Jun-2014	Karadeniz Güne Bakış	Opinion Column	Türkey Gümüş	IS THE FRIDAY PRAYER WE PERFORM ACCEPTED?..	Western Societies, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion

05-Jun-2014	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Mehmet Şevket Eygi	Cripto-Armenians in Press	Alevis, Armenians, Rûms, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
05-Jun-2014	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Mahmut Toptaş	We Will Be Us	Christians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
05-Jun-2014	Milli İrade	Opinion Column	Vehbi Örs	Dangerous Course of Events	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
05-Jun-2014	Sözcü	News Article	DHA	WHERE IS THIS TAYYIP/TRAITORS RAVAGED AGAIN	Kurds	Enmity / War Discourse
05-Jun-2014	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Ali İhsan Karahasanoğlu	Did you think "Israeli sperm" is a biological concept?	Jews	Enmity / War Discourse
06-Jun-2014	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Mahmut Toptaş	Atrocity will not continue	Non-Muslims, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
06-Jun-2014	Takvim	Opinion Column	Bülent Erandaç	"To Sisi, salutations; continue the exploitation"	British, Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
08-Jun-2014	Yeni Akit	News Article	Fahrettin Dede	If Armenians had not been deported, then Kurds would have deported!	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
09-Jun-2014	Ortadoğu	News Article	Ortadoğu	Grandchildren of martyrs condemned Armenian atrocity in Yanıkdere	Armenians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
09-Jun-2014	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Neval Kavcar	"NO FLEECE FROM TURKISH COUNTRY TO PKK, SIRRI SAKIK!"	Kurds	Enmity / War Discourse
09-Jun-2014	Sabah	Opinion Column	Ersin Ramoğlu	The best Kurd is the Kurd on the mountains	Kurds	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
10-Jun-2014	Adana Ekspres	Opinion Column	Erol Saylan	THE FLAG CANNOT BE LOWERED	Kurds	Enmity / War Discourse
10-Jun-2014	Gazete Gerçek	Opinion Column	Hayati Kaynar	The Inglorious!..	Kurds	Enmity / War Discourse
10-Jun-2014	Milli Gazete	News Article	Milli Gazete	PHOTOGRAPH OF DISGRACE	Christians, Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
10-Jun-2014	Sözcü	Opinion Column	Mehmet Türker	Now the flag was lowered, boo!	Kurds, Rûms	Enmity / War Discourse
11-Jun-2014	Gazete Gerçek	Opinion Column	Nusret Sağlam	HONORABLE BULLET	Kurds, Rûms	Enmity / War Discourse

11-Jun-2014	Konya Rasyonel Haber	Opinion Column	Mustafa Balkan	Flag cannot be lowered, the azan cannot be silenced, our land cannot be divided	Kurds, Rûms, Greeks	Enmity / War Discourse
11-Jun-2014	Yeni Çağ	Time Tunnel	Kerrar Esat Atalay	Armenians either burnt or executed those who did favor to them	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
12-Jun-2014	Sakarya	News Article	Birsen Eraslan	HARSH STATEMENT FROM TURKISH HEALTH UNION	Armenians, Rûms, Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
12-Jun-2014	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	İbrahim Bektaş	Censured Verse in Vatikan?	Christians, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
12-Jun-2014	Yenigün (Burdur)	Opinion Column	Tacettin Akbaş	THOSE WHO SELL THEIR FLAGS.. CAN SELL ANYTHING!	Bulgarians, Armenians, Jews, Greeks	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
13-Jun-2014	Adana Yenigün	Opinion Column	Hüseyin Karabulut	Armenians and Jews Are Not Idle	Armenians, Kurds, Jews	Enmity / War Discourse
13-Jun-2014	İzmir Sondakika	Opinion Column	Özcan Pehlivanoglu	IS THIS A NEW WAR OF INDEPENDENCE?	Armenians, Kurds, Rûms, Assyrians	Enmity / War Discourse
13-Jun-2014	Kırıkkale Haber Kale	Opinion Column	Mehmet Gencer	Oh God, Whatever You Say	Kurds	Enmity / War Discourse
13-Jun-2014	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Şükrü Alnıaçık	Fake 'Mon Cher's	Arabs, Bulgarians, Armenians, Serbians, Romanies	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
13-Jun-2014	Yeni Alanya	News Article	Yeni Alanya	See, That's Why Russians Settle in Alanya	Romanies	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
16-Jun-2014	Diyarbakır Olay	News Article	İHA	İçten: The azan will not be silenced in this country	Christians, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
16-Jun-2014	Samsun Olay	Opinion Column	Mehmet Hazinedar	ISIS MASSACRES..	Armenians, Croats, Russians, Serbians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
17-Jun-2014	Samsun Denge	Opinion Column	Ali Kayıkçı	MY TONGUE, SOMEBODY IS SLICING YOU UP!	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
18-Jun-2014	Yeni Konya	News Article	AA	The Jew attacked Palestinian fishermen	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion

19-Jun-2014	Konya Yeni Haber	Opinion Column	Hamdi Bağcı	Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu and the end of those from CHP...	Christians, Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
24-Jun-2014	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Mehmet Şevket Eygi	Secret Jews condemning Israel	Armenians, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
26-Jun-2014	Star Kıbrıs	Opinion Column	Yurdagül Beyoğlu	Which side of Cyprus will ISIS deploy?	Rûms	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
30-Jun-2014	Anayurt	Opinion Column	Mustafa Nevruz Sınacı	Urgent need: A good person, honorable and responsible citizen!..	Christians, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
30-Jun-2014	Aydınlık	Opinion Column	Filiz Cemsu	Ismailağa Community on the beach	Muslims	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
30-Jun-2014	Samsun Halk	Opinion Column	İsmail Başaran	TO THOSE MAKING RABIA GESTURE	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
30-Jun-2014	Samsun Halk	Opinion Column	İsmail Başaran	TO THOSE MAKING RABIA GESTURE	British	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
30-Jun-2014	Yeni Konya	News Article	AA	The Jew attacked the Gaza Strip	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
02-Jul-2014	Elazığ Günışığı	Opinion Column	Bedrettin Keleştimur	WHO IS/ARE THE COMRADE(S)!	Christians, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
02-Jul-2014	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Şükrü Alnıaçık	What Happened to Famous Turkish Morality?	Armenians, Kurds, Rûms, Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
04-Jul-2014	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Mehmet Şevket Eygi	Karabekir and Andranik Pashas	Armenians, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
08-Jul-2014	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Faruk Köse	Now , how can I not be an anti-Semite?	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
09-Jul-2014	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	Şükrü Alnıaçık	The Real Threat	Kurds	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
10-Jul-2014	Bursa Hayat	Opinion Column	Ali Aydoğan	Countdown to doomsday has started...	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
10-Jul-2014	Konya Anadolu'da Manşet	Special Page	"İlyas is Among You"	KONYA IS DISTURBED BY REFUGEES	Syrians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
10-Jul-2014	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Yener Dönmez	Will the monkey wrench work?	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration

11-Jul-2014	Antalya İleri	Opinion Column	Nasuh Boztepe	The lost humanity	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
11-Jul-2014	Milat	Opinion Column	Muhammed Özkılıç	The Jew is always a Jew...	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
11-Jul-2014	Ortadoğu	Opinion Column	O. Cem Kazmaz	AUGUST 10, 2014 IS THE DAY TO SAY STOP TO THE SECOND SEVRES	Armenians, Rûms	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
11-Jul-2014	Yeni Şafak	Opinion Column	Yusuf Kaplan	Men with Frankenstein souls force God for the doomsday	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
13-Jul-2014	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Faruk Köse	Is it permissible by religion to kill a Zionist?	Jews	Enmity / War Discourse
14-Jul-2014	Milat	Opinion Column	Muhammed Özkılıç	Victory is as close as resistance	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
15-Jul-2014	Ankara İl	Opinion Column	Eflatun Neimetzade	Armenian Frauds Had Happened Throughout the History and Still Continue Today (2)	Armenians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
15-Jul-2014	Bursa Şehir	Opinion Column	Hasan Ünal	Why Would Hamas Missiles Always Fall on Uninhabited Areas?	Jews	Enmity / War Discourse
15-Jul-2014	Kayseri Star Haber	Opinion Column	Ahmet Sivacı	Gaza's Demon of the Demons (1)	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
15-Jul-2014	Kocaeli Demokrat	Opinion Column	Çetin Gürol	Syrians will cause trouble for us	Syrians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
15-Jul-2014	Konya Merhaba	Opinion Column	Sadık Küçükhemek	Chinese cruelty and Israel the child-murderer	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
15-Jul-2014	Milat	Opinion Column	Akif Cemil	Is Yıldız Tilbe right?	Jews	Enmity / War Discourse
15-Jul-2014	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Serdar Arseven	While the "Authority" slaughters!..	Christians, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
15-Jul-2014	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Faruk Köse	A call for the Chief Rabbi!..	Jews	Enmity / War Discourse
15-Jul-2014	Yeni Konya	News Article	AA	The Jew's raids could not intimidate the Ramadan drummer	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
15-Jul-2014	Kayseri e Haber	Opinion Column	Fatma Ural	TO DIE OR TO LIVE?	Jews	Enmity / War Discourse
16-Jul-2014	Sözcü	Opinion Column	Rahmi Turan	Their appetite went up	Armenians, Kurds, Rûms	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion

17-Jul-2014	Ankara İl	Opinion Column	Eflatun Neimetzade	References Proving the Armenian Frauds -1- / Armenian Frauds Had Happened Throughout History and Still Continue Today -1-	Armenians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
17-Jul-2014	Aşıkpaşa	Opinion Column	Zafer Çam	Israeli atrocity continues	Jews	Enmity / War Discourse
18-Jul-2014	Ankara İl	Opinion Column	Eflatun Neimetzade	Armenian Scientists, Writers Confirm the Armenian Fraud	Armenians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
18-Jul-2014	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Şevki Yılmaz	By God, Israel will be wiped out of history!	Armenians, Yezidis, Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
21-Jul-2014	Bursa Kent	Opinion Column	İbrahim Çoban	Not only baby but also prophet murderers	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
21-Jul-2014	Milat	Opinion Column	Muhammed Özkılıç	Usurper occupying, terrorist Jew	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
22-Jul-2014	Ankara Haber Vaktim	News Article	Uğur Öğüt	Reactions to Israel grows further/Heartless creatures	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
22-Jul-2014	Ankara Haber Vaktim	Opinion Column	Ahmet Fidan	A RACE FEEDING ON BLOOD OR A DAGGER ON THE HEART OF THE ISLAMIC WORLD: ISRAEL	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
22-Jul-2014	Bizim Antalya	Opinion Column	Zeyyat Şahin	GAZA, YOU ARE IN MY HEART	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
22-Jul-2014	Eskişehir Son Haber	Opinion Column	Ahmed Kaymak	EVEN THE CROCODILES CRY	Syrians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
22-Jul-2014	Kocaeli Demokrat	Opinion Column	Osman Saraç	Letters	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
22-Jul-2014	Kocaeli Demokrat	Opinion Column	Çetin Gürol	WORD OF THE DAY	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
22-Jul-2014	Kuzey Ekspres	Opinion Column	Burhan Çuhadaroğlu	Tunnels of Gaza	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
22-Jul-2014	Milat	Opinion Column	Akif Cemil	The Cursed Clan	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
22-Jul-2014	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Mahmut Toptaş	Pity for the Tyrants Too	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion

22-Jul-2014	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Ata Atun	The Message Given By the European Parliamentary Elections (3/3)	Rûms	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
22-Jul-2014	Takvim	News Article (Headline)	Takvim	ANGEL-DEVİL	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
22-Jul-2014	Yeni Asya	Opinion Column	Davut Şahin	Why does Israel kill children?	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
23-Jul-2014	Görünüm	Opinion Column	Nurullah Aydın	TOUTING OF ISLAMIST ARABISTS	Arabs	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
23-Jul-2014	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	İsmail Hakkı Akkiraz	Presidential elections	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
23-Jul-2014	Milli Gazete	Special Page	Nedim Odabaş	JEW, THE MOST FEROCIOUS ENEMIES	Christians, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
23-Jul-2014	Yeni Şafak	Opinion Column	İbrahim Tenekeci	Human Beings and Jews	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
25-Jul-2014	Çorum Kent Haber	Opinion Column	Attila Alpay	You cannot deal with Israel...	Jews	Enmity / War Discourse
25-Jul-2014	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Mustafa Özcan	Collective state of madness	Israelis	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
25-Jul-2014	Yeni Konya	News Article	AA	The Jew's interference of Palestinian protesters	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
25-Jul-2014	Yurt	Opinion Column	Levent Uluçer	Russia made the Malaysian plane crash(!), ha? That means all is well in Eurasia...	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
28-Jul-2014	Karadeniz Güne Bakış	News Article	Karadeniz Güne Bakış	Israel is damned in Kelkit	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
28-Jul-2014	Türkiye	Opinion Column	Rahim Er	Israeli poisoned even our bairam	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
28-Jul-2014	Yeni Akit	News Article	Emre Küskün, İskender Özel	BITTERSWEET BAIRAM	Budists, Christians, Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
28-Jul-2014	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Mustafa Özcan	'They are afraid of you more than they are afraid of Allah'	Shiites, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
28-Jul-2014	Yeni Çağ	News Article	Yeni Çağ	Jews cannot live without killing!	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion

29-Jul-2014	Bursa Hayat	Opinion Column	Ali Aydođan	The West is cowardly	Western Societies	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
29-Jul-2014	Habertürk	News Article	Mustafa Şekerođlu	AFRICANS SWINDLE GEORGIANS KILL	Africans, Georgians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
29-Jul-2014	Samsun Denge	Opinion Column	Ali Kayıkçı	“YOUNG AND HANDSOME MEHMET” and “KAVAK CIVIL REGISTRIES”. . . /3	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
29-Jul-2014	Yedigün Ankara	Opinion Column	Nurullah Çetin	TURK!...YOU ARE SO GREAT THAT YOUR BLOOD SAVES THE TAWHID... 1	Christians, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
29-Jul-2014	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Serdar Arseven	“Coca Cola Boycott” for Cyprus!	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
29-Jul-2014	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Mustafa Özcan	Jewish character	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
30-Jul-2014	Bursa Hayat	Opinion Column	Ali Aydođan	If the Jew does it, keep silent	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
30-Jul-2014	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Mustafa Özcan	They are stampeding like mice!	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
30-Jul-2014	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Faruk Köse	Till Israel is wiped out of Islam’s geography	Jews	Enmity / War Discourse
30-Jul-2014	Yeni Akit	News Article	Timur Çađrı	Money rains over the blood-thirsty Israel from all over the world	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
30-Jul-2014	Yeni Şafak	Opinion Column	İbrahim Tenekeci	A problem of faith	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
31-Jul-2014	Gazete Akdeniz	Opinion Column	Vehbi Kaya	To whom does Türkmeneli TV serve	Kurds	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
31-Jul-2014	Kayseri Star Haber	Opinion Column	Ahmet Sivacı	Bairam came-and-bygone, so what!	Westerners	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
31-Jul-2014	Kayseri Star Haber	Opinion Column	Ahmet Sivacı	Bairam came-and-bygone, so what!	Jews	Enmity / War Discourse
31-Jul-2014	Kıbrıs Afrika	Special Page	Emine Hür	After-Bairam Poems	Arabs, Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
31-Jul-2014	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Reşat Nuri Erol	Koran, sons of Israel and Fair Order KORAN	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion

31-Jul-2014	Milli Gazete	News Article	Milli Gazete	CORRUPT JOY	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
31-Jul-2014	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Hasan Karakaya	You Israel government, may I call you “sons of b...s”?	Israelis	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
01-Aug-2014	Afyon Gazete 3	News Article	Afyon Gazete 3	“Turkey is spanning its strongest period”	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
01-Aug-2014	Ankara Haber Vaktim	News Article	Erol Metin	‘Strip Jews of their citizenship’	Jews	Enmity / War Discourse
01-Aug-2014	Çorum Haber	Opinion Column	İsmail Haboğlu	Female circumcision is all we need!	Arabs	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
03-Aug-2014	Yeni Asya	Opinion Column	Ali Sarıkaya	Israel that was told in the Koran	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
04-Aug-2014	Mersin Haber	News Article	Mersin News Articleci	Typical Jewish atrocity	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
04-Aug-2014	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Mehmet Şevket Eygi	Cryptos Who Infiltrated into Islamic Movement	Armenians, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
04-Aug-2014	Sözcü	Opinion Column	Murat Muratoğlu	Syrian, Go Home!	Syrians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
04-Aug-2014	Takvim	Opinion Column	Ergün Diler	TIME TO WAKE UP	British, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
04-Aug-2014	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Faruk Köse	Campaign against the “Zionist/Jewish campaign”	Jews	Enmity / War Discourse
05-Aug-2014	Adana Haber	Opinion Column	Mustafa Karaköse	Where did these missionaries come from?	Christians (Using Missionaries)	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
05-Aug-2014	Kıbrıs Vatan	Opinion Column	Osman Güvenir	Israel’s Palestinian massacre is the shame of the world	Jews	Enmity / War Discourse
05-Aug-2014	Konya Hakimiyet	Opinion Column	Veyis Ersöz	Pharaoh=Jewish logic	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
05-Aug-2014	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	İshak Beyazay	Souls that are Hungry for Humanity	Western Societies	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion

05-Aug-2014	Sabah	Opinion Column	Ersin Ramođlu	Why can't you stand Erdoğan's success?	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
05-Aug-2014	Tekirdađ Şafak	Opinion Column	Hasan Turhan	SONS OF ISRAEL ACCORDING TO KORAN	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
05-Aug-2014	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Faruk Köse	Is the Zionist bad and the Jew good?	Jews	Enmity / War Discourse
05-Aug-2014	Yeni Konya	News Article	AA	The Jew broke the cease fire within 15 minutes	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
06-Aug-2014	Kayseri Star Haber	Opinion Column	Ahmet Sivacı	Gendarmerie First Lieutenant Mustafa Şimşek	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
06-Aug-2014	Kıbrıs Postası	Opinion Column	Vatan Mehmet	I am an anti-Semite!	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
06-Aug-2014	Konya Hakimiyet	Opinion Column	Veyis Ersöz	Oppressed and victim nations of the blind and deaf world	Non-muslims	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
06-Aug-2014	Konya Telgraf	Opinion Column	Mustafa Yolcu	WHAT IF ISRAEL BECOMES OUR NEIGHBOR?	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
06-Aug-2014	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Hasan Karakaya	You cannot trust Israel's 'Cease Fire', Pennsylvania's 'Cease Curse'!	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
06-Aug-2014	Yeni Konya	Opinion Column	Yusuf Koç	DOG EAT DOG-1-	Jews	Enmity / War Discourse
06-Aug-2014	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Akın Aydın	Heaven knows why <i>gavur</i> is "in" Muslim is "out"	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
06-Aug-2014	Yeni Sakarya	Opinion Column	Osman Karagüzel	Golden Words (25)	Jews	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
09-Aug-2014	Milli Gazete	News Article	News Article Merkezi	Golden age of the Church	Christians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
10-Aug-2014	Türkiye	Opinion Column	Fuat Bol	Actually, what are we doing?!	Non-Muslims	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
11-Aug-2014	Türkiye	Conversati on Corner	Mehmet Ali Demirbaş	A person's religion is like the religion of his best friend	Non-Muslims	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion

11-Aug-2014	Yeni Çağ	Time Tunnel	Kerrar Esat Atalay	Before the Ottoman Empire is established, they have already started planning to occupy it.	Christians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
11-Aug-2014	Yeni Konya	News Article	AA	The Jew spilled out death	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
12-Aug-2014	Karadenizde Son Nokta	Opinion Column	Yusuf Teke	LOOK AT GERMANY!..	Germans	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
12-Aug-2014	Yeni Marmara	Opinion Column	İlhan Yardımcı	Oh! Palestine, oh! Gaza! . "Half of the reality is a big lie"(I)	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
14-Aug-2014	Kayseri Meydan	Opinion Column	Rifat Açıkgöz	WHO ARE YOU, TELL ME	Armenians	Enmity / War Discourse
14-Aug-2014	Milat	News Article	Milat	GO HOME KILLER/we do not want any Israeli soldiers on these lands	Jews	Enmity / War Discourse
14-Aug-2014	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Mustafa Hilmi Yıldırım	Corrupt concept of those who commit genocide	Christians, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
19-Aug-2014	Akşam	News Article	Akşam	ARMED ASSAULT ON MOSCOW EMBASSY/Is it the 'Armenian bullet' to the embassy?	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
19-Aug-2014	Konya Telgraf	Opinion Column	Selçuk Özkan	You are traitors!	Syrians	Enmity / War Discourse
19-Aug-2014	Yeni Çağ	Opinion Column	Şuayip Özcan	Beware of danger	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
20-Aug-2014	Gaziantep Haber	Opinion Column	Ruhi Aytaç	This is my denunciation!	Syrians	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
20-Aug-2014	Kayseri Hakimiyet	Opinion Column	Mevlüt Uzun	STATE OF ARAB NATIONALISM	Arabs	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
20-Aug-2014	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Mustafa Çelik	Israel, the base for Jewish terrorism	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
20-Aug-2014	Yeni Akit	News Article	Muhammed Uzun	Facebook works for Israel	Jews	Enmity / War Discourse
20-Aug-2014	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Faruk Köse	Map of anti-Semitism and Zionist perception operation	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion

20-Aug-2014	Yeni Konya	News Article	AA	The Jew bans Gaza for Human Rights Organization	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
20-Aug-2014	Yeni Mesaj	Opinion Column	Akın Aydın	Greater Middle East Initiative's stars	Christians, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
22-Aug-2014	Yeni Konya	News Article	AA	The Jew spills out death	Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
24-Aug-2014	Milli Gazete	News Article	Fatih Yedier	DON'T SLEEP/MISCHIEF UNDER THE NAME OF YOGA	Buddhists, Hindus	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
25-Aug-2014	Adana Ekspres	Opinion Column	Yasemin Güç	Our Government the Palestine-lover	Palestinians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
25-Aug-2014	Gaziantep Günebakış	News Article	İLKHA	Missionaries Turn Onto Kindergarten Children	Christians (Missionaries and Protestants)	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
25-Aug-2014	Konya Yeni Haber	Opinion Column	Hamdi Bağcı	"Don't Forget Brother, If You Pity, Then You Will Be Pitied"	Shiites, Jews	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
25-Aug-2014	Milat	News Article	Milat	WATCH YOUR STEP!!	Syrians	Enmity / War Discourse
25-Aug-2014	Yeni Akit	News Article	İbrahim Acar	Hans's mosque-phobia has risen again	Germans	Using a Natural Element of One's Identity as a Cause for Hate / Symbolization
25-Aug-2014	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Faruk Köse	"While we attacked Gaza, our meals came from Turkey"	Jews	Enmity / War Discourse
25-Aug-2014	Yeni Çağ	Opinion Column	Kenan Akın	"Land will be demanded" from Turkey!	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
26-Aug-2014	Çorum Haber	Opinion Column	Selahattin Aydemir	LET'S NOT FORGET THE ARMENIAN LIES (1)	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
26-Aug-2014	Konya Telgraf	News Article	Halit Öztürk	We are not as valuable as Syrians!	Syrians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
26-Aug-2014	Yeni Akit	News Article	Muhammed Uzun, Sinan Yavuzoğlu	TRAINING TRAP of missionaries/Trap of missionaries	Christians (Using Missionaries and Protestants)	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion

26-Aug-2014	Yeni Çağ	News Article	News Center	Syrian crisis spreads across Turkey	Syrians	Enmity / War Discourse
26-Aug-2014	Yeni Marmara	Dream Interpretations	Harun Şekerli	Dream Interpretations	Romanians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
27-Aug-2014	Çorum Haber	Opinion Column	Selahattin Aydemir	LET'S NOT FORGET THE ARMENIAN LIES (2)	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
28-Aug-2014	Çorum Haber	Opinion Column	Selahattin Aydemir	LET'S NOT FORGET THE ARMENIAN LIES (3)	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
28-Aug-2014	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Mustafa Çelik	Favoritism among us towards terrorist Jew	Jews	Enmity / War Discourse
29-Aug-2014	Çorum Haber	Opinion Column	Selahattin Aydemir	LET'S NOT FORGET THE ARMENIAN LIES (4)	Armenians	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion

EXAMPLES BY CATEGORIES

Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration

Title: Would you like to take blood pressure pills?

Newspaper: Yeni Akit

Date: May 29, 2014

Type: Opinion Column

Author: Nusret Çiçek

Based on the accident in Soma where 301 miners died and also other events of the recent past, Çiçek's opinion column makes its central point of interest as the critique of CHP, main opposition party of Turkey. Also, mentioning the protests after the police intervention on the remembrance for Berkin Elvan, who was shot during Gezi protests and lost his life after a period of coma, he points out that this was a test and then lists these words one after another: "Dark powers, veiled faces... Bombing, gun, cocktail..." and then adds: "As if Greek *gawur* attacks Istanbul...". When we refer to the dictionary published by Turkish Language Society, we see four meaning for "gawur":

1. noun, religion: heathen / **2. Religion:** Non-Muslim – "For decades, we had to suffer the grief of foreign lands, grin and bear the gawur." – M. İzgü / **3. Adjective:** Merciless, cruel – "Will gawur go without giving me some horse Money?"- M. Ş. Esendal / **4. Adjective:** Stubborn

Taking into account the context of the article, it is seen that Çiçek used this word as an adjective and in the third meaning. Using a feeling of historical "enmity", Çiçek insults an identity as part of this opinion, even goes beyond that and via the this identity he negates, he refers to people using their democratic rights as the 'enemy'. In Çiçek's article, Berkin Elvan is mentioned as "A part of city louts, taped while throwing rocks to police with a sling in his hand" and as such a perception of his being "guilty" is established and his death is justified. When we generalize the topic from the private example of Berkin Elvan, it will not be wrong to conclude that these expressions of Çiçek lay the groundwork for justification for a possible murder of anyone using her democratic right to protest. As a columnist, Nusret Çiçek prefers war / violence provocation instead of the language of peace journalism.

On the other hand, the second part of Çiçek's article is about the charges Recep Tayyip Erdoğan pressed against LGBTI activist Levent Pişkin for tweeting "I am expecting Erdoğan to declare 'I am a perfect queer, we are not to learn queerness from you'". Related to order of the court to Pişkin to pay a fine of 1500 TL, Çiçek uses hate speech against LGBTI individuals and by making a reference to Pişkin's open LGBTI identity, he calls him "perverted".¹³

¹³ Dictionary of Turkish Language Society, perverted: 1. adjective (of manners and behaviors) not normal or deviating from customs and moral rules; abnormal (person), unnatural, abnormal – "pervert idea." / 2. Having insane behaviors, lunatic

Tansiyon hapi alır mısınız?

Durun hemen almayın... Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanı **Ayşe-nur İslam** kardeşimizin "yetimlerin ikinci annesiyim" açıklaması devlet millet kucaklaşmasına yeni bir boyut kazandırdı...

Oysa ki, **Kılıçdaroğlu** şurakasının Soma faciasından beklentisi o değildi, sel olsun, deprem olsun, barajlar kurusun, piyasalar coşsun, siyasi istikrar bozulsun, ülke ka-rışsın...

Bu kesimin ci-ğerleri temiz havayı sevmiyor.

Başbakan düş-manlığı üzerine in-şa edilen tarihi CHP muhalefetine müf-tünün keçisi çalınsa Cumhuriyet gazetesinin baş manşetinde "müftü keçi çal-dı" olur...

Şimdi de durduk yerde Ege neden sallandı?

Mutlaka Erdoğan'ın parmağı var!..

Diktatör Başbakan, o kadar işin arasında gece yarları Anadolu'nun ücra bir köşesindeki çaresiz hastayı arar, o ağlar o da ağlar... Bos-na diye koşar, Suriye diye feryat eder...

Madımak yangını unutmamak, **Aziz Nesin** çırpınıyordu, "yahu yanıyoruz kurtarın bizi."

Ankara duydu mu?

Van'da deprem oldu tüm Türkiye ayağa kalktı. İnsan değilseniz, bari insanlığı öğrenin...

Okmeydanı mesela o da bir deneme...

Karanlık güçler yüzü peçeliler...

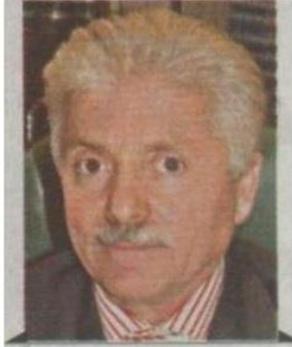
Bombalama, silah, kokteyli... Sanki Yunan gavuru saldırıyor İstanbul'a...

Berkin Elvan'i anacaklarmış.

Kim bu Berkin Elvan?

Elinde şapanı polise taş atarken görüntülen-en, şehir magandasının bir parçası.

Kılıçdaroğlu'nun alnından öptüğü gençlerden... Erenler diyor ya "şiddete karşıyız."



Nusret
Çiçek

nusretcicek.yeniakit.com.tr

Hikaye...

Doğu Kültür Devrim Ocakları ile başlayan **PKK** denilen örgütün altyapısında CHP vardır.

Bugün Ergenekon örgütünün avukatı, o gün de **DEV SOL**'un...

İ. e olduğunu söyleyen bir sapık aynı sözü Erdoğan'a da alenen sarf edince, hani o dik-tatör dedikleri Başbakan kellesini kopartacağı yerde hukukî yollardan, bir vatandaş gibi hak-kını arıyor.

Açıkçası "Başbakan olabilirim ama kanun karşısında ben vatandaşım" demek istiyor.

İstiyor da gelelim paralel çamuruna yatan **guguk işine**.

Cezası da 3 aydan 2 yıla kadar hapis...

Yargılamayı yapan hakim sonuçta, bu kişi-yi **1500 TL** gibi caydırıcılığı ağır olan(!)adli pa-rra cezasına çarptırarak hükmün açıklamasını geri bırakıyor...

Yanı tırvırı...

Sapık da ülkenin başbakanına ağır hakaret etmenin bedeline dudak bükerek güle oynaya çıkıyor mahkemeden. Ceza koymadı ya, belki de bu sefer de cumhurbaşkanına hakaret etme hazırlığı içerisinde... Öncelikle söylemiş olayım, böyle saçma **taktir** yetkisi olmaz.

Ne demekmiş, 3 aydan 2 yıla kadar hapis?

Hakimin elinde bakkal terazisi mi var?

O yoksa, vicdan terazisi olmalı ama görü-yoruz ki bazıları **taktir** yetkisini ülkenin başba-kanına küfredenin lehine kullanıyor ki, kurdu-nu dökmek isteyenlere cesaret gelsin.

Beni düşündüren, birisi de aynı hakime, "i. eliği senden öğrenecek değilim" deseydi aca-ba aynı cezayı mı alırdı? Yoksa terazinin ibre-si 1500 TL yerine bir yıla doğru kayar mıydı?..

Hümanist geçinen bir meslektaşım ile hep bu konuları tartışırdık.

Bu kişi özellikle trafik kazalarında çok cömertti.

Sarhoştur, ehliyetsizdir, çok süratlidir bak-madan cezanın en altını verir trafik canava-rını adeta ödüllendirirdi. Kurban olduğum Al-lah'ım(cc), adaletsizliği yapanın yanında kâr mı kalacak.

Bir gün de evinin önünde oynayan tek ço-çuğuna alkollü ve çok hızlı giden birisi çarparak öldürünce, bizimkinin feryatlarını görecektiniz.

"O benim tek çocuğum, katili asın, kesin..."

İşte şimdi tansiyon hapınızı alabilirsiniz...

Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration**Title:** PHOTOGRAPH OF DISGRACE**Newspaper:** Milli Gazete**Date:** June 10, 2014**Type:** News Article**Author:** Anonymous

In the news article published anonymously, it is written that “in Vatican, a historical prayer summit for peace in Middle East with the participation of the President of Israel, Shimon Peres and Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas at the initiative of Pope Francis, Pope of the Catholic Church and the sovereign of Vatican City State” was held. Besides information about the summit, both the text and the title question “how a Muslim can pray with a Jew and a Christian together”, Pope Francis is represented as “the leader of Christians who bloodsuckers of the whole world”; and the host and all the attendees except Palestinians are portrayed as “heathen and everlasting nemesis of Islam and Muslims.”

DÜNYANIN DÖRT BİR YANINA YAYILAN VE 2 MİLYARLIK NÜFUSA ULAŞAN İSLAM DÜNYASI, KANGRENE DÖNÜŞMÜŞ İSRAİL ZULMÜNE SESSİZ KALIP KENDİ MESELESİ OLAN FİLİSTİN'E BİR ÇARE ÜRETEMEZKEN; 0.44 KM' LİK VATIKAN'DAN VE ONUN PAPASINDAN MEDET UMULUYOR. BUNA REZALET DENMEZ DE NE DENİR Kİ?!

Rezaletin fotoğrafı!

İslam dünyasının içinde bulunduğu durumu yoruma gerek bırakmaksızın anlatan manidar bir fotoğraf karesi bu... Müslümanlar, Filistin'de yıllardır kanayan yaraya pansuman olamayınca ortaya böyle garabet görüntüler çıkmaya başladı. Müslümanlar milyarlarla ifade edilebilirsen, bir karış toprağa sahip İsrail ve bir kasaba kadar küçük Vatikan, 'devasa ama güçsüz' Müslüman ülke yöneticilerinden rol çalıyor. Nerede İslâm dünyasının 'lider'i, nerede bir buçuk milyar Müslümanın iradesi, imanı, cesareti!? Allah'ın ipine gerektiği gibi sarılmayan İslâm âlemi, bunun bedelini dünyanın kanını emen Hıristiyanların lideri Papa ve Orta-doğu'nun vampiri İsrail'den medet umarak ödüyor. Yalnız ve biçare bıraktığımız Filistin davası bu fotoğraflarla bize nasıl bir çıkmaza saplandığını hatırlatıyor.

TARİHE GEÇTİLER!

İmam Jamal Abu Alhrouf, Bakara Suresi'nden ayetler okudu. Bu olay, Vatikan'da ilk kez Kur'an-ı Kerim'in okunması olarak da ayrıca tarihe geçti.

**ÇARESİZLİĞİN FOTOĞRAFI**

Filistin Devlet Başkanı Abbas, ülkesi ve çatışmalardan durulmayan bölgesi için haysiyetli yaşam, doğru bir barışın, egemen ve bağımsız Filistin'in ve bölgenin güvenliği, istikrarı için gerekli olduğunu söyledi.

ZEYTİN AĞACINA TOPRAK

Konuşmaların ve duaların ardından birbirlerine sarılan Papa, Peres ve Abbas, Fener Rum Patriği Bartholomeos ile tören alanına dikilen barışın uluslararası simgesi zeytin ağacının dibine toprak attı.

EY İMAN EDENLER!

"Allah, din hususunda sizinle savaşmış, sizi yurtdunuzdan çıkarmış ve çıkarılmanıza destek vermiş kimselere yakınlık göstermenizi yasaklar. Kim onlarla dost olursa işte zalimler onlardır." (Mümtahine/9)

BİR MÜSLÜMAN, YAHUDİ VE HIRİSTİYANLA NASIL DUA EDER!

VATIKAN Devlet Başkanı ve Katolik âleminin lideri Papa Francis'us'un girişimiyle Vatikan'da İsrail Cumhurbaşkanı Şimon Peres, Filistin Devlet Başkanı Mahmud Abbas ve Fener Rum Patriği Bartholomeos'un katılımıyla Ortadoğu'da barış için tarihi dua zirvesi yapıldı. Vatikan'da akşam saatlerinde bulunan liderler, tören alanına bir minibüsle birlikte geldi. Müzik dinletisiyle başlayan tören ilk bölümünde, Yahudilik, Hıristiyanlık inancı ve İslâm dinine, dünyaya geliş sırasına göre dualar için sırayla zaman ayrıldı. Muharref kitaplarla Kur'an-ı Kerim'den aynı anda "barış kesitleri" adı altında mesajlar aktarılması ise apayrı bir skandal olarak kayıtlara geçti. Bu mesajla Kur'an-ı Kerim, muharref kitaplarla aynı kefeyle konulmaya çalışıldı. /07

**KATİLDEN BARİŞ MASALLARI!**

Filistin topraklarını ele geçirmek ve Mescid-i Aksa'yı yıkarak bölgeyi tamamen Yahudileştirme planı uğruna Filistinli Müslümanları on yıllardır katleden ve sistematik bir soykırıma tabi tutan İsrail, dünya ile dalga geçer gibi bir de barış mesajları verdi.

PAPA 6. PAULUS, VATIKAN'DA KADIKÖY METROPOLİTİ MELİTON'UN AYAKLARINI ÖPMÜŞTÜ**Papa'nın elini öpmesi Patrik'i gururlandırdı**

PAPA'NIN "kutsal topraklar" ziyaretinde kendisinin elini öptüğü anımsatılan ve bunu nasıl değerlendirdiği sorulan Bartholomeos, bunu beklediğini söyledi. Bartholomeos, "Çok duygulandım. Bunu beklemiyordum tabii. Papa'nın mütevazır bir insan olduğunu biliyordum. Sembolik jestler yaptığını biliyordum ama tabii bu kadarını tahmin etmiyordum" dedi. Patrik Bartholomeos, "1975'teydi sanırım, dönemin Papası 6. Paulus, Vatikan'da benim manevi pederim Kadiköy Metropoliti Meliton'un aniden ayaklarını öptü. Diz çöktü ve o an İstanbul Patrikhanesi'nin temsilcisi olan Meliton'un pabuçlarını öptü. Biliyorsunuz Haçlı Seferleri, Sark kilisesine biraz zarar verdi. Bundan ötürü özur dilemek istediler. Sembolik jest. Biz de bunu takdir ediyoruz."



Bu fotoğraf İslâm dünyasının yöneticilerinin ataleti ve basiresizliğinin bir göstergesi ve sonucu...

Rezaletin fotoğrafı!

Osmanlı gibi bir lider devletten ve Osmanlı padişahları gibi bir liderden yoksun Müslüman milletler milyarlarla ifade ediledursun, bir karış toprağa sahip İsrail ve bir kasaba kadar küçük Vatikan 'devasa ama güçsüz' Müslümanları çaresiz bıraktı. Nerede İslâm dünyasının 'lider'i, nerede bir buçuk milyar Müslümanın iradesi, imanı, cesareti!? Allah'ın ipine gerektiği gibi sarılmayan İslâm âlemi, rezaletinin bedelini dünyanın kanını emen Hristiyanların lideri Papa ve Ortadoğu'nun vampiri İsrail'den medet umarak ödüyor. Adam olana, Müslüman olana bu rezalet yeter de, artar!

➔ **VATIKAN** Devlet Başkanı ve Katolik âleminin lideri Papa Francis'un girişimiyle Vatikan'da İsrail Cumhurbaşkanı Şimon Peres, Filistin Devlet Başkanı Mahmud Abbas ve Fener Rum Patriği Bartholomeos'un katılımıyla Ortadoğu'da barış için tarihi dua zirvesi yapıldı. Vatikan'da akşam saatlerinde buluşan liderler, tören alanına bir minübüsel birlikte geldi. Müzik dinletisiyle başlayan törenin ilk bölümünde, Yahudilik, Hıristiyanlık inancı ve İslâm dinine, dünyaya geliş sırasına göre dualar için sırayla zaman ayrıldı. Bu üç semavi inanca mensup din adamları, muharref kitaplardan ve Kur'an-ı Kerim'den barışla ilgili kesitler aktardı. Yahudilik'te Zebur'dan ayetler okunurken, sıra Hıristiyanlığa geldiğinde Fener Rum Patriği Bartholomeos Yeşaya kitabından bir bölümü okudu. Son olarak gelen İslâmiyet bölümünde de İmam Jamal Abu Alhno-ud Kur'an-ı Kerim'in Bakara Suresi'nden ayetler okudu. Bu olay, Vatikan'da ilk kez Kur'an-ı Kerim'in okunması olarak da ayrıca tarihe geçti.

BİR MÜSLÜMAN, YAHUDİ VE HİRİSTİYANLA NASIL DUA EDER?

Müslüman ülkeler ve halkların yalnız bıraktığı boyunu bükük Filistin öyle çaresiz hale geldi ki, kâfirlerin, İslâm'ın ve Müslümanların ezeli ve ebedi düşmanlarından medet umar, hatta onlarla birlikte 'dua etmek' saçmalığına bile girişir hale geldi. Nasıl olur da bir Müslüman, aynı Yaratan'a inananlarla birlikte dua eder? Bu itikat bozukluğu mudur, çaresizliğin düşürdüğü bir saçmalık mıdır?!

Üç semavi dinden aktarılan bölümlerin ardından tarihi dua zirvesine ev sahipliği yapan Papa Francis başta olmak üzere sırasıyla İsrail Cumhurbaşkanı Şimon Peres ve Filistin Devlet Başkanı Mahmud Abbas, "kutsal topraklar" da sözde barış için dua etti. İlk konuşmayı yapan Papa Francis, Peres ve Abbas'a dönerek, bu zirveye katıldıkları için teşekkür ederken, böylesi önemli misafirleri beraber ağrıtmaya teklifini kabul ettiği için Fener Rum Patriği Bartholomeos'a da ayrıca şükranlarını sundu.

"Tanrım, şimdi bize yardım et. Bize rehberlik et ve barışı bize başla. Gözlerimizi aç ve 'bu kadar savaş yeter' de" ifadeleriyle barış temennisinde bulunan Katoliklerin ruhani lideri ve Vatikan Devlet Başkanı Papa, "Umanm bu buluşma, bölün şeylerin üstesinden gelme arayışında yeni bir yürüyüşün başlangıcı olur" ifadesini kullandı. Papa, barışı sağlamanın zorluğuna dikkati çekerek, "Barış yapmak, savaşmaktan çok daha fazla cesaret ister. 'Buluşmaya evet, çatışmaya hayır, diyaloga evet, şiddete hayır, müzakerelere evet, düşmanlıklara hayır, anlaşmalara saygılı olmaya evet, provokasyonlara hayır' demek cesaret ister" diye konuştu.

KATİLDEN BARİŞ MASALLARI!

Filistin topraklarını ele geçirmek ve Mescid-i Aksa'yı yıkarak bölgeyi tamamen Yahudileştirme planı uğruna Filistinli Müslümanları on yıllardır katleden ve sistematik bir soykırma tabii tutan İsrail, dünya ile dalga geçer gibi bir de barış mesajları veriyor, göya barış için çaba sarf ettiklerini iddia ediyor. Askeri ve siyasi kariyeri boyunca kadın, çocuk, yaşlı demeden Müslümanları katleden 91 yaşındaki terörist İsrail



"Ey iman edenler! Yahudileri ve Hristiyanları dost edinmeyin. Zira onlar birbirinin dostudurlar (birbirinin tarafını tutarlar), içinizden onları dost tutanlar, onlardır. Süphesiz Allah, zalimler topluluğuna yol göstermez." (Maide/50)

Cumhurbaşkanı Şimon Peres trajikomik ifadeler kullanarak "Hayatım boyunca barış için hareket ettim," dedi.

İsrail Cumhurbaşkanı Peres de böyle bir buluşmayı sağladığı için Papa'ya teşekkür ederek, "iki halk, İsraililer (!) ve Filistinliler hararetle barışı arzuyorlar. Gözyaşlarına, şiddete, çatışmalara bir son vermeliyiz. Hepimizin barışı ihtiyacı var. Eşitler arasında barış" dedi. Ülkesinde Cumhurbaşkanlığı görevini tamamlamak üzere olan 91 yaşındaki Siyonist lider, "Ben savaş da barışı da tecrübe ettim. Savaşın bedelini ödeyenleri asla unutmayacağım. Annelerin, çocukları için gözyaşları yüklerimize kazanmış durumda. Hayatım boyunca barış için hareket etmekten geri durmadım. (!) Bunu, bizim çocuklarımızın mutlu bir geleceğe sahip olmaları için yaptım" ifadelerini kullandı.

ÇARESİZLİĞİN RESMİ: ABBAS

Filistin Devlet Başkanı Abbas da ülkesi ve çatışmalardan durulmayan bölgesi için



haysiyetli yaşam, doğru bir barışın, egemen ve bağımsız Filistin'in, Filistin halkının ve bölgenin güvenliği, istikrar için gerekli olduğunu söyledi. Abbas, Allah'tan kutsal topraklar, Filistin

ve Kudüs için barış dilediklerini anlatarak, Kudüs'ün, tüm inananlar için güvenli ve Kur'an-ı Kerim'de de belirtilen 3 din için de dua edilebilecek bir yer olarak kalmasını Allah'tan istediklerini kaydetti. Filistin Devlet Başkanı, "Bizim için, komşularımız için barış temenni ediyoruz. Barış ve refah düşüncelerini anyoruz. Çünce Rabbimiz, dualarımıza karşılık veririz, çünkü sen en doğru, en merhametli olarsın. Amin" diyerek dua etti. Konuşmaların ve duaların ardından birbirlerine sanılan Papa, Peres ve Abbas, Fener Rum Patriği Bartholomeos ile tören alanına dikilen barışın uluslararası simgesi zeytin ağacının dibine toprak attı. Liderler, daha sonra tarihi törene yerinde tanıklık eden az sayıda davetliyi selamladı. Davetlilerden bazıların ruhani lider Papa ile fotoğraf çekirmeye çalıştıkları görüldü. Törenin ardından Papa, İsrail ve Filistinli liderlerle kısa bir özel görüşme yaptı.

Enmity / War Discourse

Title: WHERE IS THIS TAYYIP/TRAITORS RAVAGED AGAIN

Newspaper: Sözcü

Date: June 5, 2014

Type: News Article

Author: Dogan News Agency (DHA)

As observed frequently on news articles referring to new agencies, we can see from the title and spot that newspaper is reflecting its own editorial line and preferences. Even though the several actions performed by PKK are mentioned in the article, by emphasizing the Kurdish identity in the spot, **Sözcü** newspaper identifies Kurds as “traitors” and asserts that they “ravaged”. When we checked news articles on the web site of the news agency, we have encountered a use of language that only conveys information. As in **Yeni Akit** example related to news articles that entreated LGBTI individuals in the previous periods, **Sözcü** also uses information from news sources in emphasis that generate hate speech. In the main heading of the news article, the expression, “Initiative spoils traitors”, is used. Afterwards, in order to criticize Prime Minister Erdoğan, with the sentences “Tayyip is gone... Because the prime minister, who was as strong as a tiger against Gezi protesters, needs Kurdish votes to be the president of the Republic... That’s why he shuts his eyes to traitors. So they can ravage” and in the photograph below, all Kurds are reflected as violence prone and traitors.

Açılım, hainleri iyice şımarttı... Devlet ortada yok! NEREDE BU TAYYİP?

Tayyip kayıp... Çünkü; Geziçiler karşısında aslan kesilen Başbakan'ın, Köşk'e çıkmak için Kürt oylarına ihtiyacı var... Bu yüzden hainlere göz yumuyor. Onlar da azıyor. **NİTEKİM...**

YAKTILAR...	YIKTILAR...	KİMLİK SORDULAR
		
Bir noktadan yola bindirilen PKK'lılar, 15 gündür Gaznevadı'da terör estiriyor. Cizrede TOMA'ya bilye atıyor veriliyor.	10 gündür Diyarbakır-Bingöl yolunun Lice bölümünde teröristler, asfaltta hendekler açıyor, yollar kesiyor, devlet sevdireyor...	Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin işgali Cizre'de, bir arada PKK paçavrası, diğerinde motifli olan PKK'nın kimlik kontrolü yapıyor.

...VE PAÇAVRAYI DİKTİLER

İKTİDARIN açılım politikasına, Erdoğan'ın Cumhurbaşkanı seçilip hesapları eklerince, ülkenin Gaznevadısı yangını yene dönüdü. PKK'lılar, 15 gündür çeşitli kentlerde devlete baş kaldırdı. İçin aç tarandı devlet de buna seyrediyor. Diyarbakır-Bingöl yolunu tutan PKK'lılar, 12 gündür terör estiriyor.

HAINLER güvenlik güçlerine rağmen yoksul kimlik kontrolü yapıyor. Hatta 5 askeri yaradılar. Lice'de terör örgütü PKK'nın paçavrasını bile diktiler. Yaşanarlara ses çıkaran kimse yok. Çünkü gün de Cizre'de polis araçlarını ve TOMA'ları mobilitolarına ateşe veriyor yakıyor. Durum vahim. S.10

İşte o PKK paçavrası

1. PKK'lı
2. PKK'lı
3. PKK'lı



HAINLER YİNE YAKIP YIKTI



Devletin yolu 12 gündür kapalı. Jandarma açmaya kalkınca teröristler Diyarbakır, Bingöl ve Şırnak savaşı alanına çevirdi. Birde paçavra dikti



BAŞKAN Erdoğan'ın Gaznevadisinde emriyle polis, güvenlik güçleri, "Hainler devlete karşı, Cizre, mobilita emekçilerimize karşı" olarak Diyarbakır-Bingöl Karayolu'nun 12 gündür kapalı olduğunu duyurmuştu. Polis, bu işleri yaparken al karış terör örgütü ile bir güç birliği yapıyor.



TERÖRİSTLER, LICE'DE 5 askeri yaradılar



İstanbul'un göbeğinde yolcu dolu otobüsü ateşe verdiler

PKK yandaşları Gaziosmanpaşa'da yolcu dolu İETT otobüsüne motifli attı. Şoför yolcuları tahliye ederek büyük bir faciayı önledi



Provokasyonun resmi



Enmity / War Discourse

Title: Syrian crisis spreads across Turkey

Newspaper: Yeni Çağ

Date: August 26, 2014

Type: News Article

Author: News Center

Starting from the title, the news article, which is published by the signature “News Center”, serves to create a negative image of Syrian refugees. The expressions, “The violence caused by Syrians” and “hell raiser Syrians” used in the spot, relates refugees with crime and violence. In this context, while telling that “citizens, who reacted,” “made stores belonged to Syrians unusable”, via the previous expressions this “reaction” is justified and violence against refugees is approved. Also, the subtitle “Syrian came, thus no tranquility” serves the same purpose. Whereas remarking that Syrian refugees “overcrowded Turkey in an uncontrolled manner”, their troubles are ignored and the perception, they themselves are responsible for the situation they are in, is created: “Syrian refugees broke the peace”, “while in cities, where Syrians are living, harassment, robbery, snatching, etc. has been in a scary rise (...)”. Although it is stated in the news article that “citizens are expecting urgent solution from the government”, by conveying the sentences of a witness “We do not want those Syrians. What will happen to this nation”, it gives the message that this solution does not involve the improvement of Syrians’ conditions and also does not involve any approaches to the possible reasons of why they are involved in a crime, if they are involved in any crime at all.

Suriyeli krizi Türkiye'ye yayılıyor

Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa, Kilis ve Hatay gibi şehirlerde yaşanan Suriyelilerin neden olduğu şiddet olayları İstanbul'a da sıçradı. İstanbul'un Küçükçekmece ilçesinde olay çıkaran Suriyelilere tepki gösteren vatandaşlar Suriyelilere ait dükkanları kullanılamaz hale getirdi

SURİYELİ GELDİ HUZUR KALMADI

Kontrolsüz bir şekilde Türkiye'ye doldurulan Suriyeli sığınmacılar huzur bırakmadı. Sayıları 2 milyona dayanan sığınmacıların neden olduğu olaylar dalga dalga yayılıyor. Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa, Kilis, Hatay derken İstanbul'da da tansiyon yükseldi. Küçükçekmece'de Suriyelilerin karıştığı olaylar üzerine mahalleli ayaklandı. Suriyeliler polis koruması ile evlerinden çıkarılırken bölgeye çok sayıda Çevik Kuvvet ekibi sevk edildi.

İSTANBUL'DA YAKLAŞIK 500 BİN SURİYELİ VAR

İstanbul'da yaklaşık 500 bin Suriyeli sığınmacı olduğu tahmin ediliyor. Kentin her mahallesine yayılan Suriyeli sığınmacılar çok sayıda olay çıkmasına neden oluyor. Suriyelilerin bulunduğu kentlerde taciz, hırsızlık, kapkaç vb. olaylarda öfküden bir artış yaşanırken aynı zamanda büyük bir dilenci patlaması da yaşanıyor. Vatandaşlar hükümetten toplumsal sorun haline gelen bu duruma acil bir çözüm bulmasını bekliyor. • 7DE



Suriyeli krizi Türkiye'ye yayılıyor

Suriyeli sığınmacıların neden olduğu şiddet olayları İstanbul'a da sıçradı. Suriyelilerin İstanbul'un Küçükçekmece ilçesinde olay çıkarması üzerine tepki gösteren vatandaşlar Suriyelilere ait dükkanları kullanılmaz hale getirdi



HABER MERKEZİ
Kontrolsüz bir şekilde Türkiye'ye doldurulan Suriyeli sığınmacılar huzur bırakmadı. Sayıları 2 milyona dayanan sığınmacıların neden olduğu olaylar dalga dalga yayılıyor. Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa, Kilis, Hatay derken İstanbul'da da tansiyon yükseldi. Küçükçekmece'de Suriyelilerin karıştığı olaylar üzerine mahalleli ayaklandı. Suriyeliler polis koruması ile evlerinden çıkarılırken bölgeye çok sayıda Çevik Kuvvet ekibi sevk edildi. Edinilen bilgiye göre olay Küçükçekmece Mehmet Akif Ersoy Mahallesi Kemalpaşa Caddesi 1901. Sokak'ta meydana geldi. 12 yaşındaki bir kızı Suriyeli bir kişinin sarkıntılık ettiği iddiası üzerine akşam saatlerinde toplanan mahalle sakinleri çevrede oturan Suriyelilere saldırdı. Öfkeli kalabalık mahallede bulunan Suriyelilere ait bir lokantaya saldırarak tahrip etti. Cam ve çerçeveleri indirilen lokantadaki masa ve sandalyeler de öfkeli

kalabalık tarafında kırıldı. İhbar üzerine mahalleye çok sayıda polis ekibi sevk edildi. Polis ekipleri TOMA ve Akrep tipi zırhlı araçlar ile bölgede güvenlik önlemi aldı. Mahalledeki Suriyeliler yoğun güvenlik önlemi altında polis otosuna bindirerek İlçe Emniyet Müdürlüğüne götürüldü. Bir göngü tanıdığı "Biz bu Suriyelileri istemiyoruz. Bu milletin hali ne olacak" diye duruma tepki gösterdi.

İstanbul'da yaklaşık 500 bin Suriyeli var

İstanbul'da yaklaşık 500 bin Suriyeli sığınmacı olduğu tahmin ediliyor. Kentin her mahallesine yayılan Suriyeli sığınmacılar hem oturdukları apartmanlarda hem de mahallelerde çok sayıda olay çıkmasına neden oluyor. İstanbul başta olmak üzere Suriyelilerin bulunduğu kentlerde taciz, hırsızlık, kapkaç vb. olaylarda ülkeden bir artış yaşanırken aynı zamanda büyük bir dilenci patlaması da

yaşanıyor. Parklar, üstgeçitler, metro ve tramvay istasyonları ve cami avluları Suriyeli dilenciden geçilmiyor. Vatandaşlar hükümetten büyük bir toplumsal sorun haline gelen bu duruma acil bir çözüm bulmasını bekliyor.

Rakamlar ürkütücü

3.5 milyon Suriyeli ülkesini terk etti. Bu topluluğunun yüzde 90'ı Türkiye, Lübnan ve Ürdün'e yerleşti. Rekor ise Türkiye'de. Bu rakamın yarısından fazlası ülkemize yerleşti. Ülkesini terk eden 3.5 milyon Suriyelinin yaklaşık 2 milyonu şu anda Türkiye'de. Bu rakam İstanbul, Ankara ve İzmir'den sonra Türkiye'nin dördüncü büyük nüfusu anlamına geliyor. Başbakan Yardımcısı Beşir Atalay'ın verdiği resmi rakamlara göre ise 22 kampta toplam 220 bin mülteci bulunuyor. Kamp dışındaki Suriyeli sayısı ise 1 milyon 140 bin. Türkiye'nin mülteciler için harcadığı para da sürekli artıyor. Atalay, "Türkiye 3.5 milyar dolar



harcama yapmıştır. STK'lar 635 milyon dolar harcama yapmıştır" dedi. Türkiye'de tedavi edilen Suriyeli sayısı da rekor düzeye ulaştı. Yine Beşir Atalay'ın verdiği bilgiye göre 5 milyon 400 bin Suriyeli Türkiye'de tedavi edildi. Türkiye'nin neresinde olursa olsun Suriyeli sığınmacının bir devlet hastanesine başvurduğunda ücretsiz tedavisinin yapıldığını ifade eden Atalay, ücretin AFAD tarafından hastaneye yatırıldığını söyledi. Ücretsiz tedavi edilenler arasında Suriye ve Irak'ta oluk oluk Müslüman kanı akıtan IŞİD, ÖSO, El Nusra ve El Kaide gibi örgüt mensuplarının da olduğu ifade ediliyor.

Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion

Title: Angel - Devil

Newspaper: Takvim

Date: July 22, 2014

Type: News Article (Headline)

Author: Anonymous

In the news article in **Takvim**, the operation launched by Israel against Gaza is discussed. Under the title “Angel – Devil”, below the word “Angel” the photographs of killed children are shown, below the title “Devil”, the photographs of Israeli citizens and soldiers that are laughing and smiling are used. While it was stated that “some Jewish groups gathered at the border” “watched with pleasure those cowards massacring civilians”, they refer to those dancing as “human piece of garbage”. On the other hand, those expressions, “The world did not sit back and watch the Israeli atrocity. They started a boycott campaign against Jewish goods,” target Jews by holding the policies and attacks, which a state carries out, against the whole members of a religion. While on the internal pages the story continues by distinguishing the Jewish identity and state of Israel and without any emphasis on Jewish identity, and even by including the comments of some firms (that is to say pursuing a balance between the sides), on the front page the Jewish emphasis carries some hints about the relation between journalism and sensation.

MELEK ŞEYTAN

14 GÜNDE
550 ÖLÜ
3500 YARALI



İsrail ordusu, fosfor bombalarıyla kadın ve çocuk katliamı yaptı. Yahudiler de tankların önünde dans ederek Gazze'deki insanlık suçunu kutladı

■ **TERÖRİST** İsrail, bir balone uydurup 7 Temmuz'da Filistinliler'i bombalamaya başladı. "Koruyucu Hat" adlı operasyonla 14 günde çoğu kadın ve çocuk 550'den fazla Filistinli'nin canına kıydı.

■ **GAZZE**'de İsraillik kara hareketi ise tarife kara bir leke olarak geçti. Bölgenin doğusundaki binlerce evi tank, top ve füzelerle yerlebir etti. Öldürmek için özellikle okul, cami ve hastaneleri hedef seçti.

■ **CANLILAR**, bütün dünyada yasak olan fosfor bombasının yanı sıra tank mermisiyle birlikte atılan ölümcül okları da kullandı. Hatta harsus almamış. Yaralıları öldürmeyi bıraktı. Morgları bile bombaladı.

■ **SINIRDA** toplanan bazı Yahudi gruplar ise sivil katliamı yapan bu korkakları keyifle seyretti. Tankların etrafında dans ederek kendinden geçen insan müessesdeleri, idarelerinin tüğlerini diken diken etti.

En sert tepki Maduro'dan
■ **VENEZUELA** liderinden çağrı: Yerin dibine botsun açıklamalarını. Filistin'in çağrısına ne zaman ses vereceksiniz?

BUGÜNDEN İTİBAREN 3 gün YAS
■ **BAKANLAR** Kurulu toplantısının ardından Başbakan Yardımcısı Bülent Arınç, Filistin'deki sivil kıyıma kınandı. Gazze ile ilgili Türkiye'nin kararlılığını açıkladı. Bugünden itibaren geçerli olmak üzere 3 gün yas ilan edildiğini söyledi. Operasyona son verilmesini istedi.

Kolaya boykot hızla yayılıyor
■ **DÜNYA**, İsrail'in vahşetine seyirci kalmadı. Yahudi mallarını boykot kampanyası başladı. Birçok firma Coca Cola satmayacağına açıkladı.

İNSANLIK DİŞİ KATLIAMLILA KİMLİ TÜM HABERLER 9-12-13'YE

ZULME KARŞI BOYKOT

İsrail'in Filistin'deki insanlık dışı saldırıları Türkiye'de vatandaşları, sivil toplum kuruluşlarını ve belediyeleri ayaklandırdı. İsrail ürünlerine karşı boykot başladı



İSRAİL'in Gazze'de yaptığı katliam lanetlenirken, sivil toplum örgütleri ve belediyelerden boykot kararları gelmeye başladı. Sivil toplum örgütleri, sosyal medyadan İsrailli şirketlerin ürettiği ürünlerin logolarını yayınlamaya 'bu ürünleri almayın' çağrısı yaparken, belediyeler de kendi tesislerinde İsrail ürünlerini kullanmama kararı aldı. Belediye başkanları, alınan boykot kararna vatandaşların büyük destek verdiğini söyledi. İşte boykot kararlarından bazıları:

■ **ERZURUM:** Belediyeye ait 4 sosyal tesis, çay ocakları ve kafelerde **İsrail ürünlerini satmama kararı alındı.**

■ **DENİZLİ:** Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanı Osman Zolan, belediyeye ait sosyal

tesislerde İsrail mallarına karşı boykot başlattı.

■ **AFYONKARAHİSAR:** Belediye Başkanı Burhanettin Çoban, sosyal medyada **İsrail ürünlerini satın almama çağrısına diğer belediyeler gibi kendilerinin de destek verdiklerini belirtti.**

■ **ÜSKÜDAR:** Belediye Başkanı Hilmi Türkmen, **İsrail ürünlerini belediye tesislerinde kullanmama kararı aldı.**

■ **ESENLER:** Belediye Bakanı Tefik Göksu, tesislerde **İsrail ürünlerini yasakladı.**

■ **KAYSERİ:** Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanı Mehmet Özhasaki, belediyeye ait sosyal tesislerde Coca-Cola satılmadığını açıkladı.

■ **KİLİS:** Belediye, lokanta ve konukevine **İsrail ürünlerinin girişini yasakladı.**

■ **KÜTAHYA:** Belediyeye bağlı hiçbir işletmede **İsrail mallarına yer verilmeyecek.**

'Gelir İsrail'e gitmiyor'

COCA Cola Türkiye'den yapılan açıklamada, "Coca Cola'nun gelirinin İsrail'e aktarıldığı iddiası tamamen gerçektir. Coca Cola'nın Filistin'de 3 fabrikası var" denildi.

Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion**Title:** “YOUNG AND HANDSOME MEHMET” and “KAVAK CIVIL REGISTRIES” . . ./3**Newspaper:** Samsun Denge**Date:** July 29, 2014**Type:** Opinion Column**Author:** Ali Kayıkçı

Ali Kayıkçı, while discussing about Turkish and importance that should be attached to Turkish, and about the studies on this field, finishes the article with a poem he wrote. In the poem, via the expressions: “My language, in order to pour its venomous poison in you / there are thousands who know Agop-ish; / With the secret grudge against my history / There those who smiles our face and laughs behind our back” by directly referring to Armenian linguist Agop Dilaçar (born as Hagop Martayan), he attributes a negative meaning to the Armenian identity and he position Armenians as enemies.

“CİVAN-MEHMET” ve “KAVAK NÜFUS DEFTERLERİ”.../3

*“Vatan sevgisi, imândandır.”, “Allahü teâlâya imândan sonra en faziletli ibâdet, vatan savunmasıdır.”
(Hz. Muhammed “sallallahü aleyhi ve sellem”)*

Saygıdeğer Okuyucularımız!.. Bilindiği üzere “Tarih, insanların zaman ve mekân içinde geçirdikleri gelişmeleri ve bu insanların psiko-fizik hareketlerini, bu hareketlerin sebep-netice münâsebetlerine dayanan ortak değerlerini araştırır ve tasvir eder”. Kısası tarih, “anılmaya değer hâdiselerin hikâyesidir.” (Türkiye Gzt. Yeni Rehber Ansiklopedisi, C. 18, s. 349) Bugün sizlere; yaşadıkları “Kavak Kazası”nda, Osmanlılar döneminde, 1834-1844) yıllarında gerçekleştirilen sayımlarla ilgili “Nüfus Defterlerinde Türk Haneler” adı altında yayımlanan bir araştırma-inceleme eserinden ve dolayısıyla da bunu gerçekleştiren iki güzide “Tarih Araştırmacısı-Öğretmen Yazar” kardeşimizden bahisle işbu çalışmamızı burada noktalamak istiyoruz: Alfabe değişikliklerinin ardından gelen bu “dil devrimi” ile de “uydurukça sözcük” virüsüne maruz kalan güzel Türkçemiz; ülkelerimiz arasındaki ekonomik bağları güçlendirecek yerde, âdetâ ambargo koymakta ve düşmanların keyfine keyif katmaktadır... Üstâd Şâir ve Yazar Yavuz Bülent Bâkiler’in tespit ve yazdığına göre, “Hiçbir Türk cumhuriyetinde: “Özgürlük, koşul, gereksinim, önlem, örneğin, gökçe yazın, yır, dize, doğa, okul, öğretmen, saptamak, neden... gibi kelimeler yoktur. Türk cumhuriyetlerinin Türkçelerinde sel-sal ekleri de kat’iyyen kullanılmamaktadır.” Öyleyse tekrar başa dönerek söyleyelim:
,*“Bugünden sonra; divanda-dergâhta,

bargâhta, mecliste-meydanda Türkçeden başka dil konuşulmayalı!..” (Karamanoğlu Mehmet Bey-12 Mayıs 1277) *“Türk demek, dil demektir. Milliyetin çok belirgin niteliklerinden biri dildir. Türk milletindenim, diyen insan, her şeyden önce ve mutlaka, Türkçe konuşmalıdır.” (K. Atatürk-17 Şubat 1931)

Hem “Türkçe konuşalım” ve hem de “Türkçe yazalım”; “Agop’un ve “Ataç”ın istediklerini ve dikte ettirdiklerini değil!.. Aşağıdaki “sözcükler” bizden değildir: Zor-zorunlu: (sy: IX, 5, 8, 9, 10, 12), görev (IX), neden-le (IX, 1, 5, 8, 18, 19, 20, 50, 82, 87, 89, 91, 97), içerik (IX, X), özlüm (IX), değinmek (X), örnek -örneğin (X, 12, 39, 50, 78, 89, 92), saptamak (X, 9, 10, 15, 91), veri (X, 2, 3, 37, 82), evrensel (XI), yerel (XI, 10, 18), bellek (XI), oluşum-oluşturmak (1, 6, 7, 10, 17, 20, 37, 45, 50, 60, 89), evre (1), etkin-lik (1, 5, 8, 9), ötürü (1), öngörü (1, 20), kırsal (1, 2, 87), amaç (1, 2, 10, 15, 82), yönetici (1, 3, 14, 20), koşul (1, 7, 15), sorun (2, 8, 37), öneri (2, 12), etken (2, 15, 38, 41), oran-sal (2, 3, 20, 56, 67, 68, 76, 87, 92, 97), kent (2, 12), yükümlü (3, 6, 20), kamit (3, 18), düzen (6), değinmek (6, 103), olanak (6), yetenek (7), yönetim (7, 8), ek (7), olasılık (7, 11, 81), karşın (7), olasılık (7, 11, 81), karşın (7), alan (8, 39), sosyal (8, 76, 77, 78), yön (8), doğal (8, 17, 39, 86), ayrıcalık (9), ulus (9), örgüt (9), olumlu (9), öncelik (10), kuşku (10), saygın (10), yöntem (11, 12, 37, 50, 51, 103), ötürü (11), ayrıntı (11, 52), kez (12, 90), tüm (14, 48, 82, 105), birey (15,

Derebahçeli**ALİ KAYIKÇI**

20, 103, 105), girişim (15), içermek (20, 98), varsayım (20), düzey (22), öge (37), tarihsel (37), önem (37), yaşam (37, 38, 76, 86), dinsel (37), sözcük (37, 60), gereksinim (37), ilişki-n (15, 37, 38, 60, 76, 78, 80), etmen (55), toplum (60), olgu (60, 67), sonuç (62, 87), azımsanmak (71), anımsatmak (76), ruhsal (76, 78), fiziksel (76, 78), yanıt (89) ve çıkarım (89).

Biz bu konuları başta “İşte İnsan/2” (Samsun-Mart 1999, Samsun Haşet Kitâbevi Yy. s. 51-80), “Yaş 65 Yolun Yarısı Eder/1, 2, 3” Samsun-Ocak 2012, Mayıs 2012, Ağustos 2012, SAY-DER Yy.) adlı eserlerimizde olmak üzere “Denge Gazetesi” ile “Demokrasinin Müdafii Gazetesi” ve “Samsun Manşet Gazetesi” isimli mevkutelerde yer alan “köşe yazıları” mızda defaatle dile getirdik, bundan böyle de ilgililerin gönül buruklukları ile karşılaşsak da “doğruları -Dil Üstâdlarımız gibi, yazılı ve sözlü bir şekilde- haykırmaya” devam edeceğiz...

Bakınız, rahmetli Üstâdımız Necip Fâzıl bu konuda ne diyor ve o engin kültürü ile neynasıl söylüyordu:

“Ruhsal, parasal, soyut, boyut, yaşam, eğilim; Ya bunlar Türkçe değil, ya ben Türk değilim! Oysa halis Türk benim, bunlar işgâlcilerim...”

O’nun mânevî rûhaniyetine ve affına sığınarak birkaç mısra da biz karalayıp bu meseleye noktayı koymak istiyoruz:

Dilim seni, dilim dilim dilen var;

Dilim sana, engereğe zehrini; Dökmek için, Agop’ça bin bilen var; Târihime, karşı gizli kinini; Yüze gülpük, ardımızdan gülen var...

Dilim seni, “arı” sokmuş şişirmiş; “Ataç” çılar, ateş yakmış pişirmiş; “Pamuk” çular, sosyalizme taşırılmış; Sabataycı, gizli tutmuş dinini; Kürtçü gibi, eyâlete bölen var...

Dilim seni, mazimizden koparıp; Timur ile, Babür’lerden aparıp; Lâtinceyle, Grekçeyi bir karıp; Ateistçe, çorba yapıp beynini; TDK’ da, bu yolda kaç ölen var...
== 2 ==

Dilim seni, Yunuslayıp sarmadan; Ömer gibi, Seyfeddin’ce görmeden; Gençosman’ca, destanlara vurmadan; Yesevî’de, imân ile ayınıp; Âkif ile, al bayrakta şölen var...

Dilim seni, Hacıemin hocada; Bâkiler’le, hem serbestte-hecede; Necip Fâzıl, şimşek zından gecede; Görür daim, evvelini-âh’rini... Safahat’ta, Çile gibi çilen var...

Seyyid Ahmet, Tanık Buğra, Kabaklı; Karahan’lar, Banarlı’lar hep haklı; Ârif Nihat, bayrak ardında saklı; Mânâ derin, okuyorum zâh’rini; Risâle’de, bir Bediüzzaman var...

KAYIKÇI’Ali, Kukul hoca yıllardır; “Dilim” dedi, nice makâlâ vardır; Göz nûrunu, ak sayfada karartır; YÖK’ten-mök’ten, istemez O mihrini; Hakk katında, nice ödü’l-dünyâlar...

Using a Natural Element of One's Identity as a Cause for Hate or Humiliation / Symbolization

Title: Alevi reaction to impertinent Hans

Newspaper: Yeni Akit

Date: May 1, 2014

Type: News Article

Author: Muhammet Erdoğan

The news article gives coverage to the statements which Attorney Ali İhsan Şahin, the President of Evrensel Alevi Bektashi Union, gave as a response to the words of the President of Germany, Joachim Gauck about Alevis in Germany. The name "Hans" in the title is not the name of the President, but is a name to symbolize Germans in Turkish. Similarly, Helga, Natasha, Boris, etc., can be given as examples used to symbolize people from the same or different nations. The title in which had "Joachim" or "Gauck" been used directly, it would have been an insult towards the mentioned person, humiliates a whole national identity as it is with the adjective "impertinent". Besides, the information transfer within the article is done via directive expressions and also it is written that Gauck "used words that are redolent of mischief".

Küstah Hans'a Alevi tepkisi

Evrensel Alevi Bektaşî Birliği Başkanı Av. Ali İhsan Şahin, Almanya Cumhurbaşkanı Joachim Gauck'un Türkiye'nin içişlerine karışarak, Aleviler konusunda fitne kokan sözlerine tepki gösterdi. Şahin, "Alevilik, İslam'ın tasavvufi bir yorumudur. Dolayısıyla her Alevi tartışmasız İslam dinine mensuptur" dedi.

MUHAMMET ERDOĞAN / ANKARA

Türkiye'nin iç işlerine karışmasının yanında, "Almanya'da Aleviler daha özgür. Cemevleri ibadethane statüsünde. Hatta Aleviler kendi din derslerini de veriyorlar" şeklinde fitne kokan sözler sarf eden Almanya Cumhurbaşkanı Joachim Gauck'e, Başbakan Erdoğan'ın ardından Aleviler de tepki gösterdi. Evrensel Alevi Bektaşî Birliği Başkanı Av. Ali İhsan Şahin, "Alevilik, İslam'ın tasavvufi bir yorumudur. Dolayısıyla her Alevi tartışmasız İslam dinine mensuptur. Peygamberimiz Hz. Muhammed (SAV), kutsal kitabımız Kur'an-ı Kerim'dir, bu böyle biline. Ehli Beyt'in babası Hz. Ali'yi (ra) red ve inkâr eden zihniyet asla ve kati surette Alevi olamaz, olsa olsa ateist olur" dedi.

"ALEVİLERİ ATEİSTLEŞTİRME ÇABALARI VAR"

Evrensel Alevi-Bektaşî Birliği Başkanı Av. Ali İhsan Şahin, ODTÜ'de konuşma yapan Almanya Cumhurbaşkanı Joachim Gauck'un göz gö-



med (SAV), kutsal kitabımız Kur'an-ı Kerim'dir, bu böyle biline. Ehli Beyt'in babası Hz. Ali'yi (ra) red ve inkâr eden zihniyet asla ve kati surette Alevi olamaz, olsa olsa ateist olur" ifadelerini kullandı.

"SÖZDE DEĞİL ÖZDE ALEVİLERE DANIŞSIN"

Başkan Şahin açıklamalarını şu şekilde sürdürdü: "Sayın Cumhurbaşkanı, Aleviliği öğrenmek istiyorsa ve bu konuda samimi ise, sözde Alevi özünde ise ateist olan bir avuç insana değil, hakiki Alevi milyonlara müracaat etsin, öğrensin. Bu talihsiz ve gerçekleri yansıtmayan konuşmasından dolayı konuk Cumhurbaşkanını şiddetle kınıyoruz."

"ONLAR DA MÜSLÜMAN"

Başbakan Erdoğan ise Alman Cumhurbaşkanı Joachim Gauck'a, "Alevilik ayrı bir din değil ki? Onlar da Müslüman. Niye ibadet yerleri ayrı olsun? Aynı çatıda iki ibadethane olmaz" şeklinde tepki göstermişti.

re göre Aleviliğe dil uzattığını, haddini ve yetkisini aşmış Aleviliği ateistlik gibi göstermeye çalıştığını söyledi. Gauck'un, Almanya ve Avrupa'daki Alevileri ateistleştirme çabalarını Türkiye'ye de taşıma gayreti içine girdiğini belirten Şahin, "Alevilik, İslam'ın tasavvufi bir yorumudur. Dolayısıyla her Alevi tartışmasız İslam dinine mensuptur. Peygamberimiz Hz. Muham-

Using a Natural Element of One's Identity as a Cause for Hate or Humiliation / Symbolization

Title: You should not have played politics with tears!

Newspaper: Yeni Mesaj

Date: May 26, 2014

Type: Opinion Column

Author: Akın Aydın

Aydın, who relays several examples in which Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan gave emotional responses on a number of occasions, criticizes him for not giving similar responses for the miners who died in Soma mine accident. Aydın justifies this criticism by providing various examples and within a reasonable framework. While ending his article, he states that he does not know how the dictionary calls these people he criticizes, but the expression "Jewish sperm" fits well for this situation. Even though the word "sperm" does not carry an invective meaning by itself, it is well known that expressions like "Jewish sperm", "Armenian sperm", are used in Turkish society for insulting. Even if we leave this aside, within the context of the article, Aydın uses this expression about a group of people he criticizes, thereby he attributes a negative meaning to this expression.



Akın AYDIN

Gözyaşlarını siyasete alet etmeyecekmışsin!

KURŞUN KALEM aakin.aydin@hotmail.com

Hami, Anadolu çocuğudur

80 darbesi mahkemelerinde yargılanıp, idamına hükmedilen ülkücü Mustafa Pehlivanoğlu'nun hapisten annesine yazdığı mektubu Recep Tayyip Erdoğan parti grup toplantısında gözyaşları ile okudu... Seçim öncesiydi...

Yine o seçim sürecinde Erdoğan, bir zamanlar adına bile tahammül edemedikleri Ahmet Kaya'nın, 80 ihtilalına kurban edilen solcu gençler için seslendirdiği "Şafak Türküsü"nü hüznün içinde seslendirdi...

Hemen peşinden de Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu'nun "üşüyorum" şiirini yine duygusala bağlayıp okuyan da Tayyip Erdoğan'dı. Kısaca iktidar partisi ve genel başkanı her seçim öncesi veya önemli bir sosyal olay sonrası illa ki bir duygusal moduna giriş yaptıklarına ve de gözyaşlarına hepiimiz şahit olduk...

Gözyaşları deyince yine aklıma geldi! Allah hepsine rahmet etsin... Bir Nur Bacı vardı. Iraklı. Vahşi ABD askerlerinin tecavüzlerine uğramış, bin bir sapıklıklarına maruz kalmış ve katledilmiş on binlerce Müslüman kadından biri. Katledilinceye kadar gözyaşları dinmeyen din kardeşlerimizden sadece biri...

Nur Bacı bu gözyaşları ile

İslam ülkelerini yönetenlere "gelin, bizi bu zulümden, bu tecavüzlerden kurtarın" diye mektuplar yazmıştı. Bu gözyaşlarını ve mektupları, bin bir taltif ve imajlar vasfı edilen Erdoğan olmak üzere hiçbir devlet yöneticisi duymadılar, görmediler.

Yani bu zulmü,kanı, gözyaşını duygusala bağlamadılar. Neden mi? BOP kapsamındaki diğer devletleri bilmem (!) ama Türkiye'yi yönetenlerin, Haçlı ABD ve AB ile ters düşmeleri, onları özmeleri işlerine gelmiyordu. Çünkü böylesi bir tavır dostluk ve stratejik ortaklıklarına darbe vururdu. Hele hele Irak modunda iktidardan olayları duygusala bağlaması, itiraf manasına gelirdi ki! Haliyle duymadım, görmedim, bilmiyorum ayağına yattılar. Koskoca milleti de bu ayağa yatırdılar...

Sonra geçen yıl bir Esmâ Bacı çıktı piyasaya. Mısırlı, Mursi'nin kızı. Babasının güç ve iktidarı için çatışırken öldürüldü. Tecavüz yok. Zulüm yok. Mısır'dan çok ülkemizde tanında. Hatta sembolleştirildi. Erdoğan ve kurmayları Esmâ için gözyaşları döktü. Hala döküyorlar. Haliyle nedir bu bacı ayrımı, diye meraklandık...

Şimdi Soma'da kendi insanımızı, kardeşlerimizi kaybetmişiz. Canlar yaniyor,

TS taraftarı olarak her sezonu üzgün kapatır ve her yeni sezonu da umutla bekleriz. Bu sezon da bitti. TS'nin adı ve ikinci yarıdaki hocasıyla dördüncü olduk. Emin olun bu yönetim tarzı ve oynanan futbolla başka bir şehirde en iyi sonuç ligde kalmak olurdu.

Sezon bitti ve transfer dedikoduları başladı. Şu, şununla görüştü, görüşüyor, alacaktı ki... araya şu girdi vs. Geçen sezon en çok şiddet ve kötü tezhürattan şikâyetçiydik. En çok da kulüpler şikâyet ediyordu.

Valla! Taraftarlarımız kulüp yöneticilerine ve yönetim mantıklarına göre çok ama çok daha ilkeli ve kaliteli davranıyorlarmış. Ne demek mi istiyorum! Ben bir futbolcuyla masaya oturacağım ve sen gelip onu ayartacaksın... Bunun adına ne derler... (biliyorsunuz, biliyorsunuz)

Sevgili Hami, yaptığı açıklamalar ile hem Türk futbolunun, hem de TS'nin derdini tespit edip, çaresini gösterdi; "Futbolculara garanti para Türk futbolunu bitirdi." Futbol artık büyük bir sanayi. Futbol kulüplerinin çoğunu iş adamları yönetiyor. Ne hazindir ki! Bu iş adamları kendiğerlerinde en ufak riskten bile uzak dururlar, yüz binlerin, milyonların desteklediği, para verdiği kulüplerin paralarıyla en büyük riskleri hem de akılsızca alırlar.

Kızmayın! Adam 35 yaşına gelmiş ve 4 milyon garanti paraya imza atıyor. Hadi akılla izah edin... Yanında 200-300 bin liraya oynayan futbolcular da haliyle taşeron oluyor, dimi...

Hami özellikle TS için (anladığım kadarıyla hem yerli, hem yabancı) "Bize genç ve başarıya aç isimler gerek" diyor. Futbol magazininde ismi geçen futbolcular istemediğini belirten Hami, haklı bir kıyas ve gizli bir istek de yapıyor; "F.Bahçe Diego'yu transfer etti. Ancak ben, Olcan Adın'ı tercih ederim. Bana göre Olcan iki tane Diego eder." (Olcan'ı göndermeyin)

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OTHER DISADVANTAGED GROUPS

31 articles, which consist of 28 articles that were not included in the first part due to different groups targeted (**women, lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transgender and intersex/LGBTI**) and three other articles that were analyzed in the first part under another category to which they mainly belonged, were subjected to discourse analysis in this part.

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

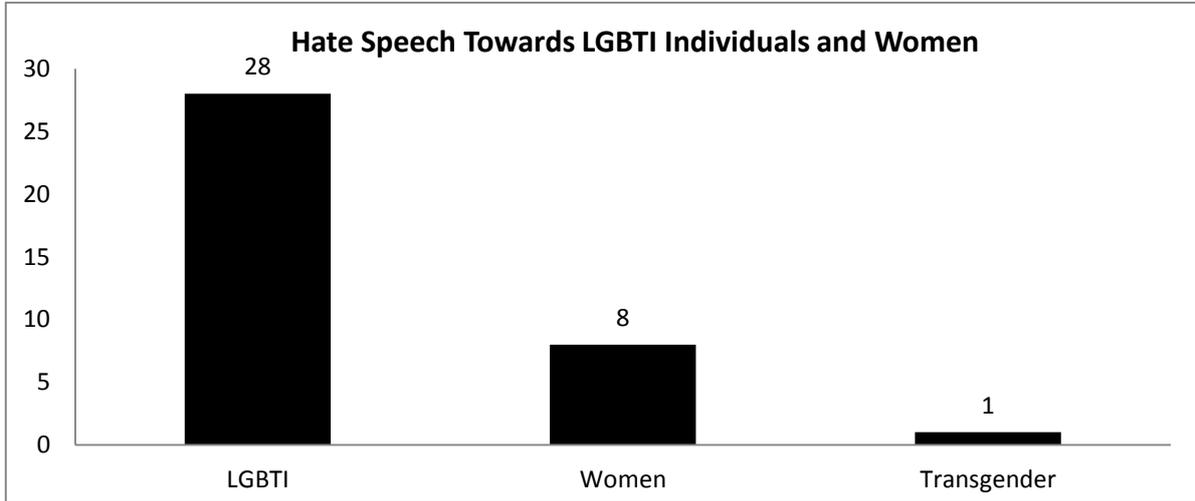
Date	Newspaper	Type	Author	Title	Target Group	Hate Category
02-May-2014	Yeni Asya	Opinion Column	Şükrü Bulut	Amnesty International and global immorality	LGBTI	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
06-May-2014	Alanya Postası	News Article	Alanya Postası	Suffered the rage of the transvestite	LGBTI	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
06-May-2014	Yeni Akit	Press Archive	Yeni Akit	“Men had been secret feminists”	Women	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
07-May-2014	Gaziantep Günebakış	News Article	İLKHA	Reaction from the Association for Solidarity with <i>Mustazafs</i> Against Immoral Projects	Women	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
10-May-2014	Sabah	Opinion Column	Hasan Celal Güzel	Old prostitute with running make-up: Europe	Women	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
12-May-2014	Milli Gazete	History Page	Ahmet Anapalı	Which civilization is the first one to consider woman as a human being?	Women	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
12-May-2014	Takvim	News Article	Takvim	There is something QUEER HERE	LGBTI	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
23-May-2014	Yeni Akit	Press Archive	Yeni Akit	“Neither martyr nor veteran... For the sake of profit, he bites the dust...” says the rascal!	Women	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
24-May-2014	Sabah	Opinion Column	Ersin Ramoğlu	Faggotness is only voluntary!	LGBTI	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
27-May-2014	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Mehmet Şevket Eygi	Terrible Bloody Brutal News Articles and Pictures in the Press	Women	Enmity / War Discourse
27-May-2014	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Mustafa Özcan	Is Allah anti-Semite? (2)	Women	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
29-May-2014	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Nusret Çiçek	Would you like to take blood pressure pills?	LGBTI	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration

01-Jun-2014	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Mustafa Özcan	Choose the Jihad and defeat Israel	Women	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
01-Jun-2014	Yeni Akit	Opinion Column	Mustafa Özcan	Choose the Jihad and defeat Israel ¹⁴	LGBTI	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
03-Jun-2014	Takvim	Opinion Column	Lütfi Albayrak	“Reasons Not To Quit Smoking”	Women	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
03-Jun-2014	Akdeniz Beyaz	Opinion Column	Akdeniz Beyaz	A transvestite called me "What's up dude?" Damn shame!	LGBTI	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
05-Jun-2014	Konya Rasyonel Haber	Religious Page	Müjdat Gökçe	The concept of honor in the Koran	LGBTI	Enmity / War Discourse
06-Jun-2014	Konya Merhaba	Opinion Column	Nevzat Laleli	The Fire of Flirtation	Women	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
09-Jun-2014	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	M. Hamdi Güner	The Way To Protect Women from Harassment	Women	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
16-Jun-2014	Şanlıurfa İpekyol	Opinion Column	Nusret Salih	MODESTY IS LIFE	LGBTI	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
22-Jun-2014	Yeni Akit	News Article	Yeni Akit	The jezebel!	Women	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
29-Jun-2014	Milli Gazete	News Article	Dursun Ali Yıldırım	UGLY MARCH...	LGBTI	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
30-Jun-2014	Çanakkale Kalem	Opinion Column	Sister Vildan	We finally have our own Iranian transvestites	LGBTI	Enmity / War Discourse
30-Jun-2014	Karadeniz Güne Bakış	Opinion Column	Ahmet Musaoğlu	Which one is more dangerous? The Woman 'Problem' or ISIS?	Women	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
20-Jul-2014	Hürriyet	News Article	Selçuk Şenyüz	They got ahead of Hitler in barbarity / What kind of a WOMAN are you	Women	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion
29-Aug-2014	Türkiye	Opinion Column	Vehbi Tülek	SHAYKH AL-ISLAM Ali Efendi from Çatalca	Women	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
01-Aug-2014	Milat	Opinion Column	Muhammed Özkılıç	Laughter corrodes faith	Women	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
06-Aug-2014	Adana İlk Haber	Opinion Column	M. Zeki Uyanık	Human and Religion	Women	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
18-Aug-2014	Anayurt	Opinion Column	Hamdi Yılmaz	Disgusting woman tears	Women (Armenian Women)	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
06-Aug-2014	Kayseri Meydan	Special Page	Kayseri Meydan	PEOPLE OF KAYSERİ APPROVED THE STATEMENT OF ARINÇ	Women	Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration
12-Aug-2014	Milli Gazete	Opinion Column	Mehmet Talu	Warnings of Natural Disasters-3	LGBTI	Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion

¹⁴ Since the article titled “Choose the Jihad and defeat Israel” on June 1, 2014 generated hate speech for different identities and under different categories, it is written on this list twice. Yet this article is included only once in the total number of contents generating hate speech.

Among the 31 items analyzed under the title “Other Disadvantaged Groups”, 9 items contain hate speech towards LGBTI individuals. Whereas hate speech directly towards transgender individuals is found in three items, hate speech towards women is detected in 19 items within the period and publications observed.

Graph 14



Among the 31 items with hate speech, six were news articles and 20 were opinion columns. Whereas during the previous period the distribution between news article and opinion column was more balanced, during this period opinion columns took the place at the top by a big difference.

In the articles, the adjectives defining homosexuality remained the same as in previous periods, and homosexuality was often defined as a “perversion”, “deviancy” and “lack of morals”.

The articles containing hate speech towards women were generated by singular events. However Deputy Prime Minister Bülent Arınç’s statement that “a virtuous woman does not laugh out loudly” is supported and circulated in several articles. In two articles, transgender individuals are discussed in relation to crime; in one opinion column the author generated hate speech towards transgender individuals after telling about a hypothetical event that an acquaintance of the author has lived through.

Of the items studied, seven of them were published anonymously. As in the previous periods, the percentage of the number of items about LGBTI individuals and women that cited a source, were high (72% during the last period of 2013, 67% during the first period of 2014 and 77% during this period). As the percentage of the opinion columns increases, the percentage of articles with references naturally increases in publications. Publishing eight items, **Yeni Akit** was the newspaper that generated the most hate speech towards LGBTI individuals and women, as in previous periods. **Milli Gazete** ranked the second in generating hate speech with five items. Publishing two items each **Sabah** and **Takvim** follow them. **Yeni Asya**, **Türkiye**, **Hürriyet**, and **Anayurt** contributed to the circulation of hate speech towards LGBTI individuals and women in the national media by publishing

one article each. Moreover, in local press **Şanlıurfa İpekyol, Milat, Konya Rasyonel Haber, Konya Merhaba, Kayseri Meydan, Karadeniz Güne Bakış, Gaziantep Günebakış, Çanakkale Kalem, Alanya Postası, Akdeniz Beyaz,** and **Adana İlk Haber** newspapers published **one news articles** each that contained hate speech towards LGBTI individuals and women.

EXAMPLES BY CATEGORIES

Enmity / War Discourse

Title: Terrible Bloody Brutal News Articles and Pictures in the Press

Newspaper: Milli Gazete

Date: May 27, 2014

Type: Opinion Column

Author: Mehmed Şevket Eygi

Writing about the woman, who left behind her baby alone at home and went to visit her family last year, Eygi refers her as “murderer and monstrous mother” without analyzing the reasons of her behavior at all. Then linking the topic to an experience a friend of his had, without opposing anything at all he quotes his friend and uses the expression “At every step a Syrian child had been panhandling pertinaciously”. Besides, these are the expressions, which, puts Eygi’s article under hate speech category:

“Yours truly would never call a moral woman as prostitute; however I am unable to comprehend how a moral woman can go out in slutty clothes. She turns the men on with her sexy attitude and wearing almost nothing; then a rascal comes and either molests or rapes her; whole blame is put on the man. Is this justice?”

In Turkey, where a woman is killed in every two or three days, Eygi says that women turn men on with their clothes; he defines molestation / rape as “rascality” but interprets the situation where “whole blame is put on the man” as injustice. The evaluation of how clothes are “naked, sexy, provocative” is a subjective matter. Besides any reason for violence against a person, puts the blame on the victim, and hence lays the groundwork for justification for that violence. If we take into account that women are directly exposed to danger in Turkey, that groundwork means femicides are justified and even encouraged.

yardım yaptım... Ahir zühur namazını nasıl kıldığımı bilemedim. Zaten biraz rahatsızdım, başım iyice ağrı-maya başladı... Kutsal bir ibadet yerinde, halk namaz kılarken böylesine yüksek sesle yardım şamarası olur mu? Her şeyin bir edebi erkanı var. Hem yardım top-lanacaksa makbuz vererek toplanmalıdır. Makbuzsuz yardım toplamak kanunlara aykırıdır.

Cami adabı diye bir şey kalmadı. Geçen sene yine bir Cuma namazında yanımdaki din kardeşimiz, hutbe okunurken cep telefonumun çıktığı, önce mesajları okudu, sonra mesaj yazdı. Ayıptır yahud!

Camilerde, köpek oturmuşla oturan Müslümanlar görüyorum. Ne ayıp ne ayıp!

İstanbulun bütün camilerinde bir tuvalet ticaretidir geliyor: WC... WC... WC... Men... Women... One lira... Avluda girkin, iğrenç WC levhaları ve reklamları... Böyle bir WC ticareti putlara tapan Hinduların tapı-naklarında bile yok.

İstanbulda bir tek cami dışında bütün camilerde hoparlör fetişizmi var: Kanun 65 desibel üzerindeki sesi, ses kirliliği kabul ediyor ama dinleyen yok. Sul-tanahmetteki küçük fakat lüks bir otelin işletmecisi anlattı: Türkiye ilk defa gelen bir turist sabah çok yüksek sesle ezan okunurken resepsiyona telefon açmış, ne oluyor dışarıdan canburaş sesler geliyor, yangın mı var demiş...

Beş sene kadar önce de, yine Sultanahmet teki bir otele kalan turist kadın, sabah ezanı başlayınca yatağından hoplamış ve yere düşmüş...

Bendeniz bir Müslüman olarak elbette ezandan şikayet etmem ama avaz avaz çılgınca bağırılan hoparlörlerden çok şikayetçiyim ve böyle yapanlara hakkımı helal etmiyorum.

Çok güzel okunan ezanları, bağırılak ve cırtlak hopar-lörler bozar.

Diyanetin hoparlör konusunda hiçbir teşebbüsü yok. İstanbul'da hoparlör ile ezan okunmayan tek cami Fatih Çarşambadaki İsmail Ağa camiidir. Ne minare-sinde, ne de içinde hoparlör vardır.

Hoparlörlerin gerekenden fazla açılması çok kötü bir bid'attir.

Bu konuda ilgililere laf anlatmak kesinlikle mümkün değildir.

27.05.2014

emek yasağı. Yiyecekler gözetilmeli alınır. Osmanlı devleti Müslüman kadınların sahneye çık-masına izin vermezdi.

Şimdiki İslamcılar acayip, Kur'anda yazıyor mu diyerek için içinde çıktıklarını sanıyorlar.

Bendeniz hiçbir namuslu kadına fahişe demem, lakin bazı namuslu kadınların fahişe kıyafetleriyle gezmesini havsalam almıyor.

Çiplak kıyafeti, seks tavrı ile erkekleri alabildi-gine tahrik ediyor, sonra serisinin biri çıkıyor, sar-kıntılık yapıyor veya tecavüz ediyor; suçun tamamı erkeğe yığılıyor. Böyle adalet olur mu?

Kim ne derse desin, benim görüşüme göre toplumu-muz gittikçe çilgınlıyor; zıvanadan çıkıyor.

Ahlak, huzlet, iftet şişeleri taş çalınmıştır.

İtiraz ve protesto etmesi gereken dindar kesimin aldırığı yok.

Tarih boyunca ahlaksız, azgın, çilgin toplumların helak olduklarını düşünün.

Hizla dejenere oluyoruz, çözümlü dağılıyoruz, farkın-da değiliz.

Müslümanların büyük kısmı, İslam dîminden emri-mâ'ruf ve nehy-i mü'min diye bir farz olduğunu; bunu yapmayan toplumların yıkılıp çökeceğini biliyor.

Ahlaksızlık diz boyu demeyeceğim... Ahlaksızlık grt-lağa kadar da demeyeceğim... Ahlaksızlık boyumuzu aş-tı diyeceğim... Bunun sonu ahlaksızlık tufanında boğulmaktır.

Sokaklarda günah ve azgınlık lağımaları gürtlü gürtlü seller gibi akıyor.

Bırakın sokakları, Müslüman evlerindeki Deccal Gözleri, Kur'anın Sünnetin Şeriatini, İslam ahlakının haram ve yasak kıldığı bütün pislikleri içeriye aktı-yor. Müslümanları seyrine bakıyor.

Sodom ve Gomorre... Ad ve Semud kavimleri... ***

ve tüketim çılgınlığı... Dindar kesimde bile dedikodu ve gıybet bağınımlığı korkunç boyutlara ulaştı...

Hangi şehirde olmuş unuttum, bir çöpük kutu içinde bir buçuk kilo altın bulmuş, götürmüş polise vermiş, polis de sahibini bulmuş, sahibine teslim etmiş...

Bütün medya alkışlıyor. Helal olsun namuslu çöçü-ye... Kaybedilen, unutilan kıymeti bir eşyanın veya malın sahibini bulmasından daha normal ve tabii ne olabilir... Toplumumuz o kadar bozulmuş, dejenere olmuş ki, bunu bir erdem sanıyoruz.

İstanbul'da korkunç bir nüfus patlaması var. Bir dos-tum anlattı, Sultanahmet Dhanyolu caddesinin alt tarafında Firuzğa camii var, onun karşı tarafındaki Mado dondurmacısından bir külah dondurma almış, yürüyüşüne yürüyüşüne yalaya yalaya Beyazıt'a gideceğini, dondurmasını huzur ve rahat içinde yiyememiş.

Adım başında Suriyeli bir çocuk yapışkan bir şekilde dilencilik yapıyor.

Dostuma oh olsun, sokakta herkesin içinde dondur-ma yersen böyle olur diyemedim...

Başka şehirleri bilemem, İstanbul Suriyeli çocuk dilencilerle doldu. Bunların topladıkları paralar kendilerine ve ailelerine kalmıyor, özel bir mafyanın eline geçiyor.

Devlet, Valilik, Belediye, Emniyet, diğer kurumular bu mafyayı bilmiyor mu? Bilmemesine imkan yok...

Peki, niçin izin veriyorlar; göz yumuyorlar?

Bir de ödenen beri faaliyet gösteren İstanbul Meydan-lar Mafyası var. O da serbestçe İcra-yı faaliyet ediyor.

Yaz geldi çiplaklık artacak. Meyhaneler kaldırımlara masalar kuracak, içkiler içilecek... Bazi semtlerde akşam olunca kadın satışları yoğunlaşacak...

Trafik kazaları arttı. İzmit civarında çoğu TIR, otuz araba birbirine girdi.

Bina zina riba...

Mübarek ay Ramazan yaklaşıyor. Sahte dindarlar kadın erkeğe karışık eğlenceler, şenlikler yapacak. Es-kiden Şehzadebaşı Direklorası eğlenceleri varmış ya, şimdi de vur patlasın çal oynasın Ramazan şenlik ve etkinlikleri...

Bir Trakya vilayetinde İnam Hatipe okuyan gelinlik kızlar sahneye çıkıp erkeklere ilahî konseri vermiş. Rezalet!

Osmanlı devleti zamanında Ramazanda açtıkta otuz



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Medyada Korkunç Kanlı Vahşi Haber ve Resimler

MEDYADA her gün korkunç haberler ve resimler yayınlanıyor. Başlıklarını okuyor, resme mecburen bir iki saniye bakmış oluyor ve hemen geçiyoruz. Bunları gören okuyan halkın, bilhassa çocukların psikolojisinin bozulmaması mümkün değildir. Azgın bir köpek bir kediyi parçalıyor... Arslan zebra'ya sal-dırıyor, kanlar fişkuruyor... Ceylan rüzgar gibi kaçıyor ama panter onu yine yakalıyor... Dev yılan küçük timsahı yutuyor... Yaşlı madamın kucagındaki köpek ağzını açıyor ve kedinin başını kopartıyor... Köpek balıkları, deniz altındaki dev canavarlar, küçük balık-ları yutan büyük balıklar, kavanozdan çıkamayınca kendini sokarak intihar eden akrep..... Pek adı, pek rezil, pek kışkırtıcı, azdıncı müstehcen yayınlar yeriniyor gibi başımıza bir de bu kor-kunç, kanlı, dehşetli, feci, vahşi haberler ve resimler belası çıktı.

Bunları yasaklayan kanun çıkartılsa yirtına yirtına bağıracaklar, basın hürriyeti kısıtlanıyor, hürriyetler ayak altına alınıyor diyecekler.

Zaten şu sırada İktidarın müstehcen veya korkunç yayınlarla uğraşacak hali ve vakti yok.

Başta kötü ahlaksız medya olmak üzere şer kuvvet-leri ülkemizi bir tımarhaneye çevirdi. Cınnet getiren baba iki çocuğunu ve kansını öldürdüktan sonra in-tihar etmiş... Bir vatandaşı sekizinci kattan kendisini yere atmış...

Geçen sene bebeğini yapayalnız evde bırakıp tatile çıkan ve zavallığın ölmesine sebep olan katil ve canavar anne...

Kötü medya, uyuşturucu, seks manyaklığı, lüks israf

Enmity / War Discourse

Title: We finally have our Iranian transvestites

Newspaper: Çanakkale Kalem

Date: June 30, 2014

Type: Opinion Column

Author: Sister Vildan

In the column, published with the signature 'Sister Vildan' and a photograph which probably does not belong to the author, the national identities of two people, who are claimed to prostitute in Çanakkale, are announced; their physical appearances are told jeeringly; even going beyond that, information about their workplaces, salaries, etc. are given. On top of that their address is described. The purpose of the article, which could be informing, commenting or any other purpose, is not clear. At the last part of the article, by writing "In truth I do not know whether they let any men in or not. However, it seems to me that those living in the same apartment building would not let them live there", the author identifies those people, who she defines as "transvestite" without any justification besides hypothetical observations throughout the article, with prostitution and uses a tone that could deprive them of their housing rights, which is one of the most basic human rights.

İranlı travestilerimiz de oldu sonunda



Canlarım, geçen gün üniversite kampüsünün karşısında iki travestinin bir arabaya bindiklerini yazmıştım. Biri uzun boylu, diğeri kısa ve tombul olan iki travesti, kıyafetleri ile de bir hayli dikkat çekiyorlardı. Gazeteden arkadaşlar bu travestilerle ilgili daha ilginç şeyler anlattılar. Şaşıp kaldım doğrusu. Bizim arkadaşın söylediğine göre bu travestiler Türk değilmiş. İstanbul'dan gelmişler ama aslen İran'lılarmış. Çat pat ancak Türkçe konuşabiliyorlarmış. Uzun boylu ince olan, aslında esmer biri. Sarı upuzun takma saçları ile esmerliğini gizlemeye çalışıyor. Giydiği mini etek te el kadarmış. Öteki de sarı saçlı. Tabi o ta takma saç kullanıyormuş. Bu arada İranlı travestiler bu işi iyiden iyiye ayağa düşürmüşler. Bana anlatılana göre, kısa ve tombul olanı İskele meydanında müşteri avına çıkmış. Hani bir çocuk dolaşın Parlak parlak giysiler giyer. Ona da yanaşıp "Kadın istermisin" diye sormuş.



Çanakkale'de böyle şeylere pek alışık değiliz. Bu iki İranlı travesti, müşteri bulmak için demek ki her yolu deniyorlar. Unutmadan söyleyeyim ilişki için 50 lira ücret talep ediyorlarmış. Nerede oturduklarını da tam olarak öğrendim. Bizim arkadaşın söylediğine göre, Salı pazarına çıkan yokuştaki bir apartmanda oturuyorlarmış. Hatta bizim arkadaş onların sık sık balkona çıktıklarını söyledi. Tabi takma saçları falan yok. Uzun olan gelip geçene bakıyormuş. O geçenlere bakadursun, konu komşu da onu dikizliyormuş. Söylenene göre apartman sakinleri, balkonlardan sarkarak bunlara bakıyormuş. Vallahi bu eve erkek alıp almadıklarını bilmiyorum. Ama o apartmanda oturanlar, bunları orada pek barındırmazlar gibime geliyor. Söylenene göre 3-4 aydır orada oturuyorlarmış ama demek ki iyiden iyiye tanınmışlar. Bakalım bu iki travestinin Çanakkale aşkı daha ne kadar sürecek.

Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion

Title: They got ahead of Hitler in barbarity / What kind of a WOMAN are you

Newspaper: Hürriyet

Date: July 20, 2014

Type: News Article

Author: Selçuk Şenyüz

Even though there is a journalist signature in the news article, which has a subject matter about the Presidential Candidate, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s public meeting in Ordu, there are only two sentences of the journalist and the rest of the article conveys Erdoğan’s words. Actually, even the expression used in the title is said by Erdoğan; however since they did not use any quotation marks, it makes the impression that the title reflects the newspaper’s own opinions. Besides, the way the word “woman” is published, which is in capital letters, attention-grabbing and larger than the other words, brings to the fore the gender identity of the person Erdoğan refers. It emphasizes that there is a limit to being a “woman” and there are some features in order to be a “woman”; it attributes several elements to “woman” identity and criticizes a person over these qualities.



NEFRET EDİYORUM
Başbakan Erdoğan, Gazze'ye bomba yağdıran İsrail yönetimini Hitler'e benzeterek şöyle konuştu: "Bunların insanlıktan nasibi yok. İnsanlık adına nefret ediyorum, lanet ediyorum. Sabah akşam Hitler'e sözlenir, şimdiki barbarlıkta Hitler'i geçtiler."
» Selçuk ŞENYÜZ 21. sayfa



12'nci cumhurbaşkanı adayını Başbakan Erdoğan, 12'nci mitingi için dün Ordu'daydı. İsrail'in Gazze'ye operasyonlarını sert dille eleştiren Erdoğan, "Terör devleti İsrail, bir kez daha Gazze'ye saldırdı, bir kez daha masum çocukları vurdu. Bir İsrail kadını milletvekili çıktı, lütfen Filistinli anneler ölmeli" dedi. Sen ne biçim kadınsın. Kadın hakları derneklerinden ses çıkıyor mu? Çıkmadı, çünkü aynı zihniyetin mensupları bunlar. Bunlar analığa da karşı olanlar" dedi. Cumhuriyet Meydanı'ndaki mitingde konuşan Erdoğan şunları söyledi:

IRKCI GEZİNİN BEDELİ

■ Biz de HDP adayı var. Aday belirlenme sürecinde CHP ile görüşünüz, uygun aday varsa birlikte hareket edebileceğinizi söylemiş. Bunlar yıllarda halkımıza zulmetti. CHP çıktı, zallinde iktidarı arayıp arıyor. HDP adayı da sıkı Gezi olayına sa habip çıkmasını bedelini sandıkta leyecek. Şimdi bana saldıyor, hakaret ediyorlar. Tek bayrak, tek vatan, tek millet riyetne rahatsız oluyolar. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti altında tek milletiz, tek bayrağımız. Bayrağın alternatif bayrak olmaz. Türk oyağın kongresinde asamayınlanma eçlisten ne işi var? Bu parlamento, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin parlamentosu. Beyler hatırsız oluyolar, sağda solda vesip orğitörülerimiz, kesenide ne varsa söylerler. Bu millet Türkiye'nin en büyük milletidir.

Bizim millet anlayışımız, bizim bayrak anlayışımız, kimin sen sorgulamasına kalıyor. Bayrak dışkilerle trınmaamlar var. İnyolar mı şimdi. İnyolar. Devam ederseniz lüzumla devam edecekliz. Bu bayrak bir immedil imseyecek. Bunun bedelini ağır ödecek.

TERÖR DEVLETİ

■ Teste devleti İsrail, bir kez daha Gazze'ye saldırdı, bir kez daha masum çocukları, piyada oynayan çocukları vurdu. Masum kadınları, insanları katletmeye başladı. Bunların gözü o kadar dönmüştü ki bir İsrail kadını milletvekili çıktı, "Bütün Filistinli anneler ölmeli" dedi. Sen ne biçim kadınsın. Kadın hakları derneklerinden ses çıkıyor mu? Çıkmadı, niye çıkıyor, çünkü aynı zihniyetin mensupları bunlar. Bunlar analığa da karşı olanlar.

ABD SİZE NE, SİZE NE

■ Müslüman kadının karnına atıp et, bir kurban ile idi can diye tiğört yapıyorlar. Bunların insanlıktan nasibi yok, bu adildir, bu alçaklıktır, bu namussuzluk. İnsanlık adına nefret ediyorum, lanet ediyorum. Bunlarda şeref, izzet, haysiyet yok. Sabah, akşam Hitler'e sözlenir, barbarlıkta Hitler'i geçti. Amerikalıların banları. "Sayın Başbakan niye Hitler ile benzetme yapıyor" diyor. Size ne, size ne... Sen Amerikan, Hitler'den sana ne? Koskoca Amerika adaleti arayacakları yerde, hâlâ "İsrail'in savunması hakkı" var. Ne savunması, ne savunması.

Ne demişti

■ İSRAILİİ aşırı sağıc kadın milletvekili Ayelet Shaked, öldürülen Filistinli siviller için şöyle demişti: "Bütün teröristlerin arkasında onları destekleyen onlarca kadın ve erkek var. Onların desteği olmadan bu teröristler amaçlarına ulaşamaz. Onların hepimiz bizim düğmanımız ve onların kanu bizim elimizde olmalı. Bu öldürülen teröristlerin annelerini içinde geçeri. Annelerin oğullarının peşinden gitmeleri adil olur. Ölmeller ve evleri onları için bir tür afaktır. Annelere karşı onları destekleyenler."



Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion

Title: Suffered the rage of the transvestite

Newspaper: Alanya Postası

Date: May 6, 2014

Type: News Article

Author: Anonymous

The news article reports about a young man, who carried out “online prostitution bargaining” in Alanya, saw that the person before him is a transgender individual during the meeting; the article mentions the allegations that he was assaulted after he had not accept the deal. News article puts the sexual identity of an individual on the title. As is the case in many news articles about transgender individuals, by emphasizing the relation between the event and violence (“suffered the rage of”), it serves to reinforce the negative perceptions about transgender individual.

Travestinin gazabına uğradı

Alanya’da, internet üzerinde fuhuş pazarlığı yapan 21 yaşındaki genç, pazarlık sonrası buluşmaya gelen şahsın travesti olduğunu görünce itiraz etti ve travesti tarafından darp edildi.

E dinilen bilgiye olay, Saray Mahallesi Damlataş Caddesi’nde meydana geldi. 21 yaşındaki Selim Ö., internet üzerinden fuhuş pazarlığı yaptığı ve kadın sandığı, adını bilmedi kişi ile buluştu. Buluşmaya

gelen kişinin travesti olduğunu gören ve itiraz eden Selim Ö., travesti tarafından darp edildi. Zanlı olay yerinden kaçarken, Selim Ö., ise polise başvurdu. Polis şüphelinin yakalanması için çalışma başlattı.

Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration

Title: Men had been secret feminists

Newspaper: Yeni Akit

Date: May 6, 2014

Type: Press Archive

Author: Anonymous

The news article, titled “Men had been secret feminists” published in Milliyet, is readdressed on Press Archive page of Yeni Akit by adding the comments of the person who prepares the page. In the comment, libellous expressions such as “feminist bitches”, “would not have run riot” are used. Besides, the men, who support feminism, are defined as “feminized / effeminate men” and the feminine identity is humiliated.



Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration

Title: There is something QUEER HERE

Newspaper: Takvim

Date: May 12, 2014

Type: News Article

Author: Anonymous

In the news article about Conchita Wurst's winning Eurovision Song Contest, Wurst's transgender identity is emphasized six times; besides, the expressions of those countries reacted her negatively are written in bold face and made more striking. Among those expressions are "actually he is a man wearing women's cloths", "Europe's future is a bearded girl", "transgender champion (got reactions)" and the sentence "it was obvious that there was something queer in this contest" is quoted from a tweet. "Bearded lady" is written besides Wurst's photograph in the news article. Despite the fact that LGBTI's movement tries to transform the term with the slogan "Even if we are queer", the word "queer" used as a swear word in Turkish and in this news article, which is based on Wurst's success, it is used to insult LGBTI individuals.

5 Takvim
GÜNCEL

SAKALLI LEYDİ
AVRUPA'YI YEDİ

Bu işte bir
i...LIK VAR

Avusturyalı
transseksüel şarkıcı
Conchita Wurst
Eurovision birincisi
oldu; Avrupa ayağa
kalktı. Avrupa'da
kadın-erkek
kalmadığı iddia edildi

EUROVISION
SONG CONTEST
COPENHAGEN 2014

Havalara uçtu

ZAHERİNİN ardından havalara uçan transseksüel şampiyon. "Cinsiyetiniz ve nereli olduğunuz üzerine konuşmak zorunda olmadığımız bir dünya hayali kuruyorum!" diye konuştu.

Tam puan verenler

HOLLANDA, İngiltere, İsveç, İsrail, Yunanistan, İrlanda, Finlandiya, İspanya, Belçika ve İtalya, transseksüel Avusturya temsilcisine en yüksek puanı veren ülkeler arasında yer aldı.

Türkiye'nin gurur tablosu

TÜRKİYE, 2003 Eurovision'da Sertap Erener ile birinci olmuştu. 2009'da Hadise 4'üncü, 2010'da Manga 2'nci, 2012'de Can Bonomo da 7'nci sırada yer aldı.

İYİ Kİ BİZ katılmadık

■ TÜRKİYE son 2 yıldır Eurovision'a katılmıyor. Nedenine gelince; SMS oylarının ağırlıkta olduğu sistemde Türkiye, SMS oylarıyla yüksek puanlar alıyor ve üst sıralarda yerleşiyordu. Ancak Eurovision komitesi SMS ve jüri oylarının ağırlığını yüzde 50'ye getirerek puanımızı aşağı çekti. İtirazlar sonuçsuz kaldığı için Türkiye Eurovision'dan çekildi. Bunun ne kadar doğru bir karar olduğu anlaşıldı. Türkiye'den de transseksüel şampiyona tepki geldi. Birçok kişi, "İyi ki katılmamışız. Bu yarışmada bir L...lik olduğu belliydi" tweetleriyle düşüncelerini dile getirdi.

EUROVISION tarihinde bir ilk yaşandı. 37 ülkenin katılımıyla 59'uncusu düzenlenen yarışmayı Avusturyalı transseksüel şarkıcı Conchita Wurst'un kazanması 'skandal' olarak nitelendirildi. 'Rise Like A Phoenix' adlı şarkısıyla 290 puan alan Wurst birinci, Hollandalı ikili The Common Linnets 'Calm After The Storm' şarkısıyla 238 puanla ikinci oldu. İsveç temsilcisi Sonne Nielsen ise 'Undo' adlı şarkısıyla 218 puanla üçüncü sırada yer aldı.

KADIN-ERKEK YOK

'Sakallı leydi' olarak bilinen transseksüel şarkıcının zaferi tüm Avrupa'yı ayağa kaldırdı. Çok sayıda ülkeden çağ gibi tepkiler yağdı. En büyük tepkiyi ise Rusya

gösterdi. Rusya'ya göre sakallı kadın olarak tanınan ve aslında kadın giysileri giyen bir erkek olan Conchita Wurst'un zaferi "Avrupa'nın sonu" ... Bu tepkili cümlelerin sahibi ise Rusya'da aşırı sağcı Liberal Demokrat Partisi Başkanı Vladimir Jirinovski... "Bu yılki sonuç Avrupa'nın sonunu gösteriyor" diyen Jirinovski, "Artık Avrupa'da ne kadın ne de erkek var. Sadece 'o' var" ifadesini kullandı. Diğer bir sert tepki ise yine Rusya'dan geldi. Başbakan Yardımcısı Dimitry Rogozin, "Avrupa'nın geleceği sakallı bir kız" yazan tweet ile tepkisini dile getirdi. Eurovision'a aday olduğu açıklanmasının ardından Wurst'e Ermenistan ve Belarustan da tepki sesleri yükselmisti.

PART 2

DISCRIMINATORY DISCOURSE

IN PRINT MEDIA

**THE OPERATION ISRAEL LAUNCHED AGAINST GAZA
AND
DISCRIMINATORY LANGUAGE TOWARDS JEWS
IN MEDIA**

RITA ENDER

INTRODUCTION

In his essay titled “At this tough time”, Stefan Zweig wrote:

“Maybe now you are surprised by our still continuing to think and write in German language in spite of everything. However, even though a writer leaves her country and goes to some other place, she cannot stop thinking in her own language and cannot avoid being fruitful. For all our lives, we waged our war against nationalism in this language. In order to fight against those evils, which lead disturbance in the world and trample on human dignity, the only weapon we are left with is our native language.”¹⁵

At that tough time during which nationalism, Hitler and his policies burnt books, – including Zweig’s – humans and their lives, Zweig had to leave his country, Austria, because he was born as a Jew. While living in different cities and looking from different continents to the state Europe was in, he could not stand what he saw and committed suicide. In his suicide letter he placed in the envelope, which he sealed for the last time, he wrote: “the world of my own language sank and was lost to me and my spiritual homeland, Europe, destroyed itself.”

And he actually reminded us that which ruin lives, kill human beings and antagonize people are our native and official languages and their codification.

The “discourse”, which is defined as “an ideology coded within the language”, is worthy of analysis, for this reason. Moreover, critical discourse analyst Van Dijk states that discourse should be controlled or even generated in order to maintain mental control within society.¹⁶

Hrant Dink Foundation monitors hate speech in press media via reports, which are prepared and published in every four months since 2009. In addition to hate speech reports, discriminatory discourse reports, which focus on a topic and/or a group based on an event or some reasons, have been prepared since 2013. The focal topic of this report, which covers May-August 2014 period, is the reflections of anti-Semitism in media during the operation launched by the State of Israel in Gaza in July 7, 2014.

SUBJECT OF RESEARCH

We have set the topic of this report as the discriminatory discourse against Jews in Turkish media after the operation launched in Gaza in July 7, 2014 by the State of Israel. The effects of this operation, which caused the deaths of thousands of people, the destruction of homes, schools, hospitals and lives and led to hundreds of people to live in shelters, were experienced from a different stand point by Jews around the world and Jews in Turkey. Jews in Turkey were exposed to some generalizations simply because of being Jewish. It was claimed that they made use of the

¹⁵ Translated from Stefan Zweig, **Geleceğe Güven**, Everest Yayınları, İstanbul, 2011, p.170

¹⁶ Yasemin İnceoğlu, “Nefret Söylemi Üzerine”, **Güncel Hukuk**, March 2012, p.14

power of the State of Israel; they were expected to take a stand against the operation, to make clear which side they were on. Under death threats in their homeland, a long way away from Israel, on the one hand they were trying to protect their children from people in their neighborhood protesting outside their doors, on their way to the synagogue, wearing t-shirts emblazoned with Hitler and swastikas. On the other hand, they were forced to declare their loyalty to their homeland, Turkey. This pressure was heavier for particular people, and targeted individuals holding certain high profile positions. For example, in his article titled, “A call for the Chief Rabbi” in *Yeni Akit* newspaper published on July 15, 2014, Faruk Köse appeals to Chief Rabbi Rav Isak Haleva by using these expressions:

“I am calling for Chief Rabbi Rav Isak Haleva, who is the religious leader of Sephardic and Ashkenazi Jews living within the borders of the Republic of Turkey:

Immediately, without any delay, in loud and clear expressions, you have to make a statement on behalf of Jews living in Turkey. In this statement, make it public that “you do not approve” the genocide, massacre and operation Israel carries out in Gaza, murder of children and bombing of mosques, hospitals, schools, and residential areas. State that “it is not humane”, that “you have no emotional bonds with Israel’s operation, that “you do not approve the operation” and that you condemn it.

To do so is a requirement of living safely in this country for over five centuries. As you would appreciate, for the continuation of ‘living safely’, it is very important that the Muslim people of this country should not have ‘anti-Semitic feelings’ and should not feel ‘collective anger’ towards the Jewish community because of the trauma caused by Israel’s massacres. For, there is no justice in collective anger. Collective anger does not have wit. Collective anger does not have conscience. Also, collective anger does not have a brake; so it does not know where to go or when to stop.”

In regard to the above article, Human Rights Association¹⁷, submitted a petition to the Ministry of Justice and called on the Ministry to ensure public prosecutors performed their duty under the terms of Article 216/2 of Turkish Penal Law that regulates the crime of “openly inciting sections of the population to enmity or hatred towards another group on the basis of social class, race, religion, sectarian or regional difference” to investigate insults and denigration against Jews.¹⁸

¹⁷ Report of Human Rights Association Istanbul Branch Commission Against Racism and Discrimination.

¹⁸“Türk Yahudileri için 5774 yılı kötü geçti”, *Şalom*, 1 Ekim 2014. Last access: 24.12.2014. http://www.salom.com.tr/haber-92496-turk_yahudileri_icin_5774_yili_kotu_gecti.html?rev=2

“İnsan haklarını değil, siyonisti savunma derneği”, *Yeni Akit*, 26 Eylül 2014. Last access: 24 Aralık 2014. <http://www.yeniakit.com.tr/haber/insan-haklarini-degil-siyonisti-savunma-dernegi-30818.html>

Hate speech, which is the subject of these calls and comes to being by the expressions containing insult, denigration, threat, and symbolization and causes discrimination and violence, “as we know well, can kill”¹⁹, as discourse analyst Kevin Boyle states.

Anti-Semitism caused deaths in Turkey before and yet it is never considered important enough, never investigated and punished. Since anti-Semitism has increased considerably since the operation launched by Israel in Gaza on July 7, 2014, and there is some sensitivity formed around this issue in the society, we believe it is important to study how anti-Semitism is reflected in news articles and opinion columns during this period.

METHOD OF INVESTIGATION

We have taken the 15-day period, from July 8, 2014 to July 22, 2014, as the basis of the study, which mirrors the anti-Semitic discourse around a specific incident, and which, can give some hints about anti-Semitism in Turkey. The period consisting of the first 15 days, during which the operation was launched and continued, was the period in which the tension was the highest and the pain was the most intense.

During this period when the news were fresh, how news journalism was done was all the more important. For, in relation of the subject, the period, which the readers and citizens used their rights to information most, was this period.

We studied the top 5 newspapers, which had the highest circulation on July 8, 2014²⁰ on the grounds that they could be the main source for widespread reading and circulation of the news. These newspapers are listed with respect to their circulation as: *Zaman*, *Posta*, *Hürriyet*, *Sözcü*, and *Sabah*.

During the 15-day period, all the articles in these newspapers, which were about the operation launched by Israel in Gaza, are included in the study. We have tried to analyze the examples that include manifestations of anti-Semitism, which are not carried out by using indisputably explicit discourse containing hate expressions, threats and insult but have the danger to create and disseminate anti-Semitism. Contrary to the belief that anti-Semitism manifests itself mainly in publications, which represent far-right views, we started out with the hypothesis that anti-Semitism does/will appear somehow in other parts of the society.

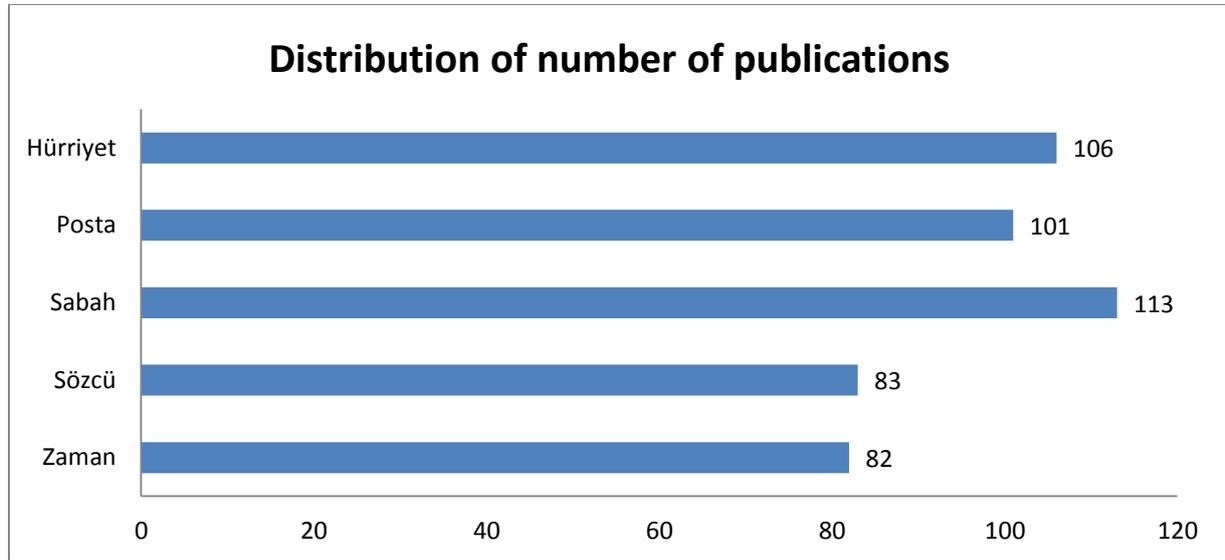
FINDINGS

We have determined that the number of contents about the operation launched by Israel in Gaza in the monitored newspapers during the period in question is proportionate to the total number of

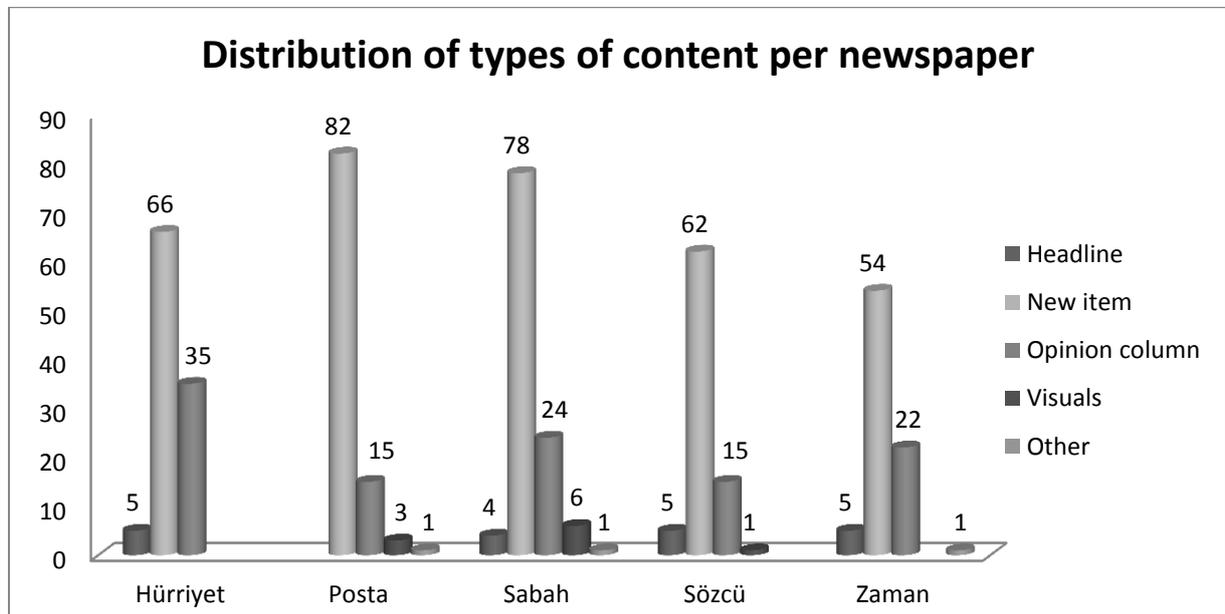
¹⁹ Kevin Boyle, “Controlling Hate Speech: What Do The International Standarts Require of Turkey?”, **Nefret Suçları Ve Nefret Söylemi**, Uluslararası Hrant Dink Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul, 2010, p.67

²⁰ İstanbul, July 2014 Circulation Report, *Basın İlan Kurumu*. Last access: 24 Aralık 2014. <http://www.bik.gov.tr/istanbul/temmuz-2014-tiraj-raporu/>

pages of the newspapers. Accordingly, the distribution of number of contents of the newspapers is like this:



These 485 items were mostly news articles. Throughout all the newspapers scanned, 343 news articles were published. Following news articles which has the sole claim “to convey what happened as it is” and which has to be generated to answer the questions of “what?”, “how?”, “where?”, “why?”, “when?” and “who?”²¹, it is determined that the subject is handled second most in opinion columns.



²¹ Mahmut Çınar, “Habercilik ve Nefret Söylemi”, **Medya ve Nefret Söylemi**, Hrant Dink Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul. 2013, p.140

As can be read from the graphics, a total of 111 opinion columns were written on the subject during this period. The fact that these columns were written by 55 different authors presents the conclusion that some authors wrote on that subject more than once. Accordingly, Ahmet Hakan (9 articles - *Hürriyet*), Taha Akyol (6 articles - *Hürriyet*), Akif Beki (5 articles - *Hürriyet*), Candan Tolga Işık (5 articles - *Posta*), Haşmet Babaoğlu (5 articles - *Sabah*), and Yazgülü Aldoğan (5 articles - *Posta*) are the authors published the highest number of articles on this subject.

Of the general content of the publications we have surveyed during this period, 257 of the publications had informative / factual content, 49 of them had emotional / humanistic, and 49 publications had rather critical content; on the other hand, 90 of them were beyond criticism and carrying political intentions / manipulative and 22 publications were of provocative / polarizing type:

GENERAL CONTENT OF THE ARTICLE	TOTAL
Informative / factual / historical	257
Emotional / humanistic	49
Critical	67
Carrying political intentions / manipulative	90
Provocative / polarizing	22

When interpreting the event that is the subject of the news, those publications, which make objective criticisms, are classified as “critical”; those, which answers the questions of “what – why – where- when – who – how” and/or informs by giving reference to historical facts, are classified as “informative / factual / historical”; those, which are emotional and emphasizes humanitarian values and emotions, are classified as “emotional / humanistic”; those, which reflect certain political stance and/or has directing qualities with respect to a political stance, are classified as “carrying political intentions / manipulative”; and those, which are provocative, and which may cause polarization between people and communities, are classified as “provocative / polarizing”.

COMMENTARIES THAT DETERMINE THE FORTUNE OF THE DISCOURSE

Several columnists, who are accepted as “opinion leaders”, are given as references by the society in various events and discussions and are effective in molding public opinion, present their discourse via commentaries. According to philosopher Michel Foucault, commentaries, while depending on an identity game, also determine the fortune of a discourse.²²

In the newspapers studied within the context of these discourses and within the scope of this research, when the general contents of the articles, specifically opinion columns, are evaluated, it is observed that the articles mostly belong to the categories of “critical” and “politically motivated / manipulative”.

²² Michel Foucault, *L'ordre du discours*, Gallimard, Paris, 1971, s.31

OPINION COLUMNS

Informative / factual / historical	6
Emotional / humanistic	19
Critical	43
Carrying political intentions / manipulative	39
Provocative / polarizing	4

Among the scanned publications, four articles using provocative / polarizing expressions are identified. Among these articles, Bekir Coşkun's article titled "Where are the four fingers?..." was published on the first page of *Sözcü* on July 16, 2014 with the spot "There are reactions from Western cities against Israel's massacre. The headscarf protesters of Beyazıt Square say nothing." Later on in the article, the expressions "Gawur" is angry with the Gawur", "Vatican revolted... Where are you, Kocatepe?..", "Because so much for your Muslimism... Until you take the job, build a store beneath a mosque, drive the jeep, secure the tender, buy up green area, get hold of the capital while wearing a headscarf..." are used. Thus, reacting or not reacting Israel's operation becomes the subject of the news and it is seen that a polarizing language emerging by giving reference to religious identities of different opinions dominates the article.

Among the articles identified as provocative / polarizing, there were some articles causing polarizing between different parts of society in Turkey and between the victims of massacres around the world. For example, Arif Beki's article published with the title "Ekmeleddin Bey's Gaza flutters" on July 2, 2014 in *Hürriyet* daily contained these expressions:

"It is unclear how many Palestinian massacres Israel will execute in exchange for the Jewish genocide. Israel's receivables from the world do not run out. What kind of debt owed to them that no matter how much it is paid, Hitler's atonement does not terminate. However Holocaust is Holocaust; one type of fascism cannot be compared with another type of fascism, full stop!"

Although, in this article, Akif Beki uses expressions criticizing the Holocaust and defining it with the word "fascism", the article is identified as polarizing / provocative because of the massacre comparisons he writes before, and because he gives reference to Jewish identity of Israel and regards the operation in Gaza as a redemption.

On the other hand, some of the articles studied during this period use titles that could be identified as "provocative" and yet the general content of the article does not have that feature. The title "Why should he return that Jewish medal?" of Ahmet Hakan's article published in *Hürriyet* on July 22, 2014 and the title "Is Yıldız Tilbe wrong?" of Akif Beki's article, which was published in *Hürriyet* on July 15, 2014 and written in response to anti-Semitic messages Yıldız Tilbe posted in social media, are the examples to this case.

NEWS: EDITORIAL CHOISES BY TITLE, CONTENT AND POSITION

Method of interpretation in the news type, is not always directly readable in comparison with opinion columns. For since 19th century, what is counted as news, who and what the sources of news are, how the print layout is prepared, what the title should be, how to place the photographs and subtitles are discussed in the newsrooms, which are accepted as political spaces.²³ During these discussions, the value of the news for the newspaper, in what ways the news is seen and how much importance is attached to the news by the newspaper all become manifest.

In this respect, on what page and on what part of the page the news is published has an informative effect with respect to the value attributed to that news in some situations.

During Israel's operation, among the newspapers we have studied (except Posta daily, because there are no names on each page of the newspapers) items about the subject are placed on the following named pages:

	Front page	Back page	Politics	Foreign News	Comment	Economics	Agenda	Entertainment	Sports
Hürriyet	2			27		3	68	3	3
Sabah		1	2	48	1	5	51	1	4
Sözcü	1	2	9		4		66		1
Zaman	1	1	21	26	19	4	6		4
Total	4	4	32	101	24	12	191	4	12

As can be seen, publications on the subject were mostly on "Agenda" and "Foreign News" pages. Nevertheless, 117 news items were given on the front page. Four of these news items were not continued on the other pages and appeared only on the front page. Accordingly, 24% of all the items were given on the first page.

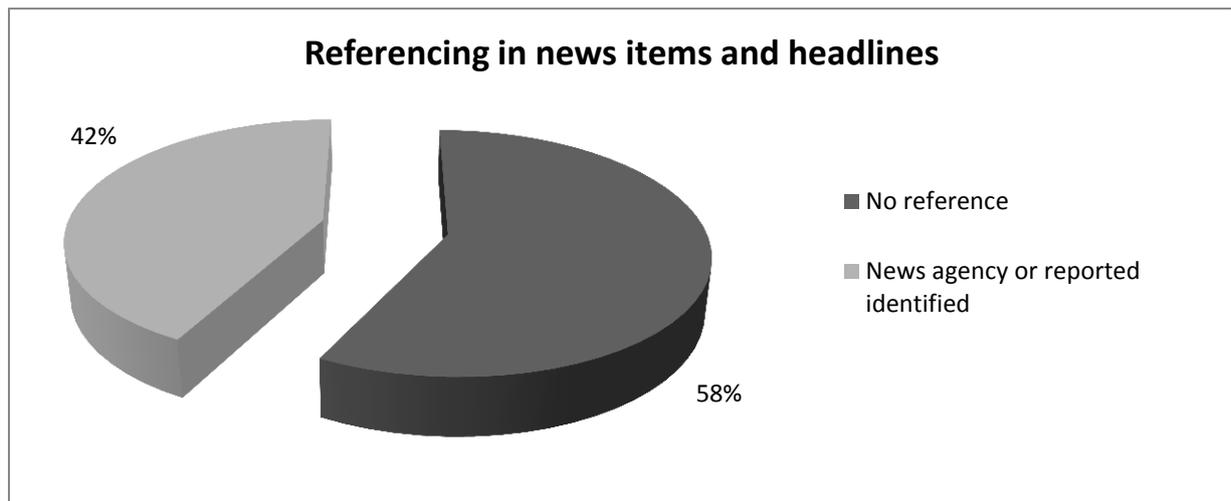
²³ Eser Köker, "Kadınların Medyadaki Hak İhlalleriyle Baş Etme Stratejileri", **Kadın Odaklı Habercilik**, haz: Sevdâ Alankuş, İPS İletişim Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul, p.134

WHO IS THE NEWS SOURCE?

We have observed that more than half of the news articles and headlines on the subject did not give any references. The Media Association's²⁴ "Code of Ethics for Journalists in Turkey" considered giving/not giving references with "plagiarism" and states:

*"Original expressions, styles, and ideas in our reports quoted from any other medium (the web, newspapers, TV, radio, books or journals) must be cited appropriately by indicating their source. This principle of attribution also applies to information taken from the news agency pools. Plagiarism has become widespread due to the Internet. It is more important than ever that we understand and define what it is."*²⁵

During the period of this study, 57.62% of the news items we have read, which are probably taken from news agency pools, are published without giving any references. Hence, this situation brings into doubt about the reliability of the news items about where the news report is exactly taken from and who wrote the report, consequently how much of the truth it reflects.



Not having the name of the journalist on the news report brings into the question of how the journalist had a grasp of the events about which he is informing his readers. The fact that there are news items without signatures, shows that there are no journalists of the newspaper in the scene, which is the subject of the news – in the case of the topic of our research, in Gaza and Israel. Yet among the 374 different types of articles (headlines, news, captions of news photographs, and others), which were published in the newspapers we have studied, only 17 of them had direct testimonials. Among these 17 items, most of them conveyed testimonials of hospital employees, 12 of them qualified as anonymous and one was published with the signature of "Department of foreign news". While the remaining five items were published in *Hürriyet* daily, one of these items was

²⁴ The Media Association is a non-government organization for media employees.

²⁵ "Code of ethics for journalists in Turkey", The Media Association, March 31, 2011. Last access: December 24, 2014. <http://www.medyadernegi.org/en/turkiyeli-gazeteciler-icin-etik-ilkeler/>

written as a result of a telephone interview by Banu Tuna, and four of them were reported by Fehim Taştekin from Gaza on July 19th, 20th, 21st, and 22nd.

Among the newspapers we have studied, items reported from the ground are only those made by the journalist, Fehim Taştekin. In Taştekin's reports, besides the news about stories and sufferings of those living in Gaza, there were news reports pointing to organizations other than Hamas in Gaza and about their expectations as well. This was important in terms of the readers' seeing the news from different angles with a more objective point of view and hearing the voices of different actors of the events. For example, the following short interview with Hani Sevabda, the spokesperson of the Popular Front of the Liberation of Palestine, was published on July 21, 2014:



BÜTÜN dünya Gazze'de sadece Hamas'ın roketlerinden bahsediyor ama burada bir direniş koalisyonu var. Hamas'ın yanı sıra İslami Cihad ve solcu Filistin Halk Kurtuluş Cephesi (FHKC) bu koalisyonda başı çekiyor. FHKC Sözcüsü Hani Sevabda, İsrail'in sadece Hamas'ı parmakla göstererek varoluş savaşını bir örgüt meselesine indirgemek istediğini ama Gazze'nin topyekün direndiğini söyledi. İsrail'in öncelikli hedefleri arasında yer alan Sevabda telefonlarımı kapattırdıktan sonra sorularımı yanıtladı:

■ Ateşkes girişimlerine paralel olarak saldırılar arttı. İsrail ne yapmak istiyor? Amaç direnişi Gazzeliğin taleplerine karşılık vermeden kırmak.

■ Ateşkesi neden reddediyorsunuz?

Öneri İsrail yanlısı ve en asgari taleplerimizi karşılamıyor. Mısır iki tarafa eşitlermiş gibi 'ateşi kesin' diyor.

■ Peki 'direniş' ne istiyor? Gazze'ye abluka ve ambargolar kaldırılmalı. Sınır kapıları insan ve mal geçişine açılmalı. Balıkçıların avlandığı alan 10 mile çıkarılmalı. (İsrail'in dayattığı 6 mil son krizle birlikte 3 mile düşürüldü.) Vefa-ul Ahrar Anlaşması ile İsrail hapishanelerinden bırakılan 60 kişi tekrar içeri alınsın. Bu kişiler bırakılmalı. Gazze'nin doğusu ve kuzeyindeki tarım arazilerinin kullanılmasına izin verilsin. Filistin topraklarındaki bölünmüşlük sona ermeli. Batı Seria ile Gazze arasında kara bağlantısı kurulmalı. Gazzeliğin Doğu Kudüs'e gidip gelmelerinin yolu açılmalı. İsrail'in havadan gözetimi sona ermeli.

■ İsrail'in bu taleplere karşılık veremeyeceği açık. Bu taleplerin ne kadar sizi ateşkesle ikna eder? 1948'den beri şartların yerine getirilmediği bütün anlaşmalar bizi hep zayıf düşürdü. Aynı hataları tekrarlamak istemiyoruz. Direniş bittiği anda dünya bizi unutuyor. Sorunlarımızı göstermek için başka çare yok.

■ Mısır'ın Refah kapısını açması ateşkes için yeterli olabilir mi? Mısır'a bakarsanız kapı açık diyor ama değil. Hastalar ve yabancılar için kapıyı açıyor, o kadar. İsrail de, Kerem Ebu Salim kapısını da zaman zaman gıda ve ilaç geçişi için açıyor. Ağır yük araçlarının kullandığı Sofa geçidi 7 yıldır kapalı. Brez sadece hastalara açık.

Mısır bizim görüşlerimizi almadığı gibi önerisini bizimle paylaşmadı bile. O öneri ABD ve İsrail'in dayatması.

■ Ebu Mazen'in (Mahmud Abbas) çabalarına ne diyorsunuz? Şu anda Filistin Yönetimi'nin Uluslararası Ceza Mahkemesi'ne gitme hakkı var. Ama Ebu Mazen bu yolu asla kullanmıyor.

During the study period, 339 news reports out of 343 items written without going on the ground. This situation – that is to say the fact that there is no talk and no direct contact with the people on the ground – caused persons to be represented just by statistics/numbers. This fact, offensive for the people going through the suffering, was voiced by Semy Davudi from Gaza in Fehim Taştekin's news report published in *Hürriyet* on July 21, 2014:

"We are only numbers for the world. We die, and they only ask us: "What is the death toll?" Besides they pontificate from the studios about what we should do."



Fehim TAŞTEKİN / GAZZE

FİLİSTİNLİ Şair Mahmut Derviş “Benim yaralarım onlar için güzel bir sergi” demiş. Dün Şifa Hastanesi’ne acılı sirenlerle giren

ambülanları görüntülerken Gazzeli Semy Davudi, “Dünya için biz rakamlardan ibaretiz. Biz ölürüz, onlar sadece ‘Kaç ölünüz var’ diye sorar. Bir de stüdyolardan ne yapmamız gerektiğine dair ahkâm keserler” diye çıkıştı. Dünyanın gözleri önünde ölen Gazze dün rakamlarını sayamayacak kadar bombardıman altında kaldı. İsrail saldırının 13’üncü günü özellikle Gazze’nin doğusundaki Şicaiyye’yi karadan ve havadan kesintisiz vurdu. Yoğun bombardıman nedeniyle cesetler sokaklarda kaldı. Filistinli kameraman Halid Hammad ile sağlık görevlisi Fuad Cebir ambulansa yapılan saldırıda öldü. Sağlık Bakanlığı Sözcüsü Eşraf el Kidra, Hürriyet’e “Şicaiyye’ye giremiyoruz, ne kadar insan öldü, ne kadar insan yaralandı bilmiyoruz” dedikten bir süre sonra İsrail, Kızılhaç’ın Şicaiyye’ye girmesi için dün saat 13.30-15.30 arası ateşkes ilan etti. Ancak tekrar ateş açıldı. Gazeteciler olarak geri dönmek zorunda kaldık. Ateşkesi fırsat bilen insanlar da evlerinden birkaç eşya ile çıkıp kaçmaya başladı. Önceki geceden itibaren Şicaiyye’de ölenlerin sayısı çoğu kadın ve çocuk olmak üzere 100’ü, yaralı sayısı 400’ü geçti. İsrail ordusu önceki gece bölgede 13 askerinin öldürüldüğünü açıkladı. Gazze genelinde 13 günde ölü sayısı 438, yaralı sayısı ise 3000’i aştı. İsrail tarafında ise 2’si sivil 18’i asker 20 kişi öldü.

These numbers – number of casualties – for the questions of “what happened?” and “who”, answers of which are imperative for a news report, were available in the studied newspapers. In one fourth of all the items of these newspapers, there were numbers of casualties, and these numbers were increasing consistently. While, in 79 items out of 114 publications, which is 23.5% of the total publications, the numbers were referring only to Palestine, in two of them they were referring only to Israel and in 33 of them the numbers were referring to both sides.

Number of casualties stated:

	Number of casualties not stated	Number of casualties stated	Total number of publications	Numbers for Palestine	Numbers for Israel	Numbers for both
Hürriyet	84	22	106	13		10
Posta	77	24	101	16		5
Sabah	87	26	113	19	2	5
Sözcü	65	18	83	13		7
Zaman	59	24	83	18		6
Total	372	114	485	79	2	33

ANALYSIS OF THE HEADLINES

A similar condition arises also for the headlines. Although the contents of 21 headlines detected during the study have different qualities, such as being provocative, informative, and being politically motivated, only one headline is coded as “factual”.

TITLE OF THE ARTICLE		
	Factual	Emotional
News report	237	103
Opinion column	60	51
Headline	1	20
Caption news	5	5
Other	2	1
Total	304	181

The headlines “SHOOT KILL DANCE” of *Hürriyet* dated 22 July 2014, “We Are Deeply Grieved” of *Posta* dated 21 July 2014, and “O Tayyip! Who is the one embracing sanguinary Israel?” of *Sözcü* dated 21 July 2014 can be given as examples to titles coded as emotional.

VISUALS REINFORCING DISCRIMINATION

In evaluating the news reports, the use of visuals and the selected photographs are indicative with respect to discourse analysis. In this sense the photographs, which the newspapers select, together with the captions, which have the characteristics of interpreting the photographs, are of importance. Human rights activist Susan Sontag, who emphasized that visuals depicting an atrocity can easily spark opposite feelings and can be interpreted as “either a call for peace or a cry for revenge”, said on this issue:

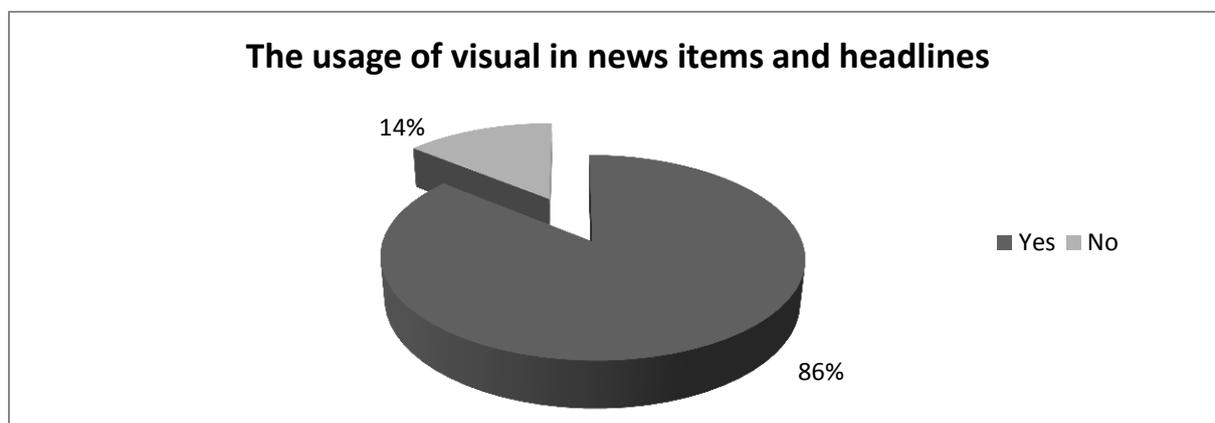
“To those who are sure that right is on one side, oppression and injustice on the other, and that the fighting must go on, what matters is precisely who is killed and by whom. To an Israeli Jew, a photograph of a child torn apart in the attack on the Sbarro pizzeria in downtown Jerusalem is first of all a photograph of a Jewish child killed by a Palestinian suicide-bomber. To a Palestinian, a photograph of a child torn apart by a tank round in Gaza is first of all a photograph of a Palestinian child killed by Israeli ordnance. To the militant, identity is everything. And all photographs wait to be explained or falsified by their captions.”²⁶

According to Sontag, this explanation is very important because: *“The understanding of war among people who have not experienced war is now chiefly a product of the impact of these images. Something becomes real—to those who are elsewhere, following it as “news”—by being*

²⁶ Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, New York, Picador, 2003, p.10

photographed.”²⁷

Visuals, which create reality in the eyes of people, with respect to headlines and news reports in the studied newspapers are as follows:



The visuals, which are chosen to be used in the newspaper, should be chosen on the basis of whether or not it reflects the truth. For, the ethics of journalism requires the presentation of visual aids to be accurate and inclusive, and requires that the visuals are not manipulated by the new digital technologies.

On 22 July 2014, in the news reports published in *Hürriyet* with the title “SHOOT, KILL, DANCE” and in *Posta* with the title “Massacre Dance”, a photograph, which was published by a French news agency, showing extreme rightist Israelis and soldiers dancing on a military area, was used as a visual material. Via this photograph, which is used without citing a reference, the perception of Israelis enjoying the killing actions is enforced. A similar photograph, which was published in *Sözcü* daily on 22 July 2014 with the title “Massacre celebration at the border”, was used without giving any reference.²⁸

²⁷ Ibid., s.21

²⁸ The news report, which was published in *Takvim* daily on 22 July 2014 with the title “Angel-Devil”, used the same photograph. It is not used in this study for the discriminatory discourse report, however it is identified as hate speech and analyzed in the first part of this report (p.46)



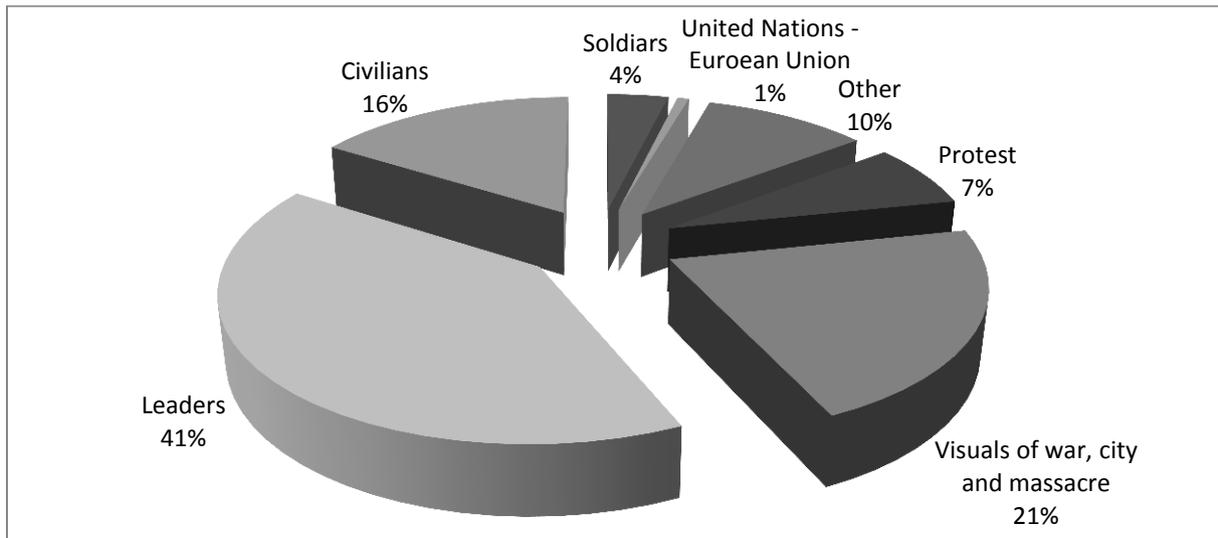
Another striking example is used in the news report titled "Shame on you!" at the back page of *Sözcü* published on 17 July 2014:²⁹



²⁹ The pixelization on the photograph is added by the Hrant Dink Foundation in order for the photograph to be used in this report.

For the purpose of condemning Israel’s attacks on Gaza, while using an emotional headline and a large visual covering half of the page, the newspaper has published a wounded child’s photograph without any respect for the privacy of the child. They exposed the child’s body by instrumentalizing it.

In order to prevent any manipulation the publications may cause, what and who is/are at the center of the chosen visuals are an important subject of study. During the study period, it is ascertained that a considerable number of visuals used in the newspapers are the photographs of the leaders:



From the point of view of the newspapers we have studied, the fact that the images of leaders are used more than the total number of images of war and the civilians emphasizes the fact that leaders are the decision making mechanisms, and highlights their effects on the march of the event.

Although the fact that the aforementioned decision making mechanisms are more visible is compatible with the natural flow of life, not seeing or not showing that these mechanisms could be independent of the people or society, and assessing people with their leaders could cause hatred and enmity against societies and nations. Anti-Semitism, which is done via holding Jews responsible for Israel’s foreign policy and practices, comes up to the fore by making generalization using “Jews” or “Israelis” instead of using “State of Israel” or “Israel” or “Israel Defense Forces” or instead of expressing persons or institutions explicitly.

Nevertheless, using the words “Jewish” or “Jew” as a generalization appears as using an inherent identity as an element of humiliation. Among the publications we have studied, with the use of the word “Jewish” in the news report titled “Return the Jewish Medal of Courage”, which was published in *Hürriyet* on 18 July 2014, is an example of this usage. This expression, which is originally used by Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu, is brought forward via using it on the title and it is not preferred to use quotation marks in order to indicate that this expression was uttered by someone else.

Yahudi Cesaret Madalyası'nı iade et

CHP Genel Başkanı Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu, Başbakan Tayyip Erdoğan'ın Sakarya'daki konuşmasına yanıt verdi. "Erdoğan, ABD Dışişleri Bakanı Kerry'ye 'Otur oturduğun yerde, Gazze'ye gidemezsin' deyince tükürdüğünü yaladı ve Gazze'ye gidemedi" diyen Kılıçdaroğlu'nun yazılı açıklaması şöyle: "Sen İsrail'i kına, Esad'ı kına" demiş. Ben Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu olarak, ailece tatil yaptığın, kankan, dostun Esad ile madalyasını taşıdığın İsrail'in Filistin'e zulmü, saldırısı dahil olmak üzere, Filistin'e, halka, zulüm nereden gelirse gelsin, halkı ezen, baskı altına alan zalım kim olursa olsun hepsini kınadım, senin gibi çifte standart uygulamadım. Peki sen, 10 Hazi-



Erdoğan'a Gazze yanıtı

ran 2005'te Musevi Komitesi Başkanı tarafından boynuna takılan 'Yahudi Cesaret Madalyası'nı hâlâ boynunda taşıyacak mısın? Hadi bir kez sözünün eri ol, boynuna takılan 'Yahudi Cesaret Madalyası'nı çıkar, iade et. Filistinlilere bomba yağdırarak İsrail jetlerinin yakıtını kes, Türkiye üzerinden İsrail'e savaş uçağı yakıtı gönderme. 23 Mart 2013'te 'Gazze'ye gideceğim', 14 Nisan 2013'te 'Tarih kesinleşti mayıs sonu gibi Gazze'ye gideceğim' dedin. ABD Dışişleri Bakanı Kerry, 21 Nisan 2013'te 'Gazze'ye gitme' dedi. Bir kez daha 'Haziranda Gazze'ye gideceğim' dedin. Bugün 17 Temmuz 2014 Recep Bey. 3'üncü kez Gazze'ye gideceğim demenin üzerinden 2 haziran geçti." **ANKARA**

Similarly, the headline "It is obvious whose friend Tayyip, so-called friend of Palestine, actually is! HIS DIFFERENCE IS HIS MEDAL" of *Sözcü* published on 11 July 2014, evaluates the competition between the candidates during the presidential elections from the point of view of the side, they profess to advocate, on the Israel-Palestine war, and adds fuel to the flames of enmity created between different religious believers with the negative meanings attributed to the Jewish identity.

Sözde Filistin dostu olan Tayyip'in aslında ne dostu olduğu belli!

FARKI, MADALYASI

Erdoğan, Ekmel Bey'e Filistin üzerinden vurup oy almaya çalışıyor
Oysa, kendisi Yahudiler'in, rakibi ise Filistinliler'in ödülünü taşıyor

Bu, Yahudi Cesaret Nişanı

Tarih: 10 Haziran 2005
Erdoğan, New York'ta Yahudi Ödülü'nü böyle aldı.

Amerikan Musevi Komitesi Başkanı Jack Rosen

Başbakan Erdoğan

Bu, Filistin Devlet Nişanı

Tarih: 27 Ağustos 2013
Ekmel Bey'e Ramallah'ta Kudüs Yıldızı verildi.

Ekmeladdin İhsanoğlu

Filistin Devlet Başkanı Mahmud Abbas

İsrail'e atıp tutuyor ama ödülü iade etmiyor

Başbakan Erdoğan, ağzını her açtığında Filistinle sahip çıkıyor. İsrail'in zulmünü kınadığını söylüyor. Bu konuda Ekmeladdin İhsanoğlu'nu eleştiriyor. Yandaşları da onun "One minute" şovunu dilinden düşürmüyor. Peki, gerçekte durum ne? Amerikan Musevi Komitesi, 2005'te Erdoğan'ı 'Üstün Cesaret Nişanı'yla ödüllendirdi. Erdoğan, hâlâ onu taşıyor. İsrail'in katliamlarına rağmen geri vermiyor.

Barışa katkı sağladığı için Kudüs Yıldızı aldı

Erdoğan'ın "sözde" Filistin dostluğuna karşılık, Köşk yansındaki rakibi Ekmeladdin İhsanoğlu "özde" Filistin dostu çıktı. İhsanoğlu, İslam İşbirliği Teşkilatı Genel Sekreteri olduğu dönemde, kuvvâle olan Filistinli örgütleri bastırarak, İsrail devlet terörünün kınanması için kampanyalar başlattı. Bu çalışmalarından dolayı da Filistin Devleti tarafından "Kudüs Yıldızı" adı devlet nişanıyla ödüllendirildi.

Without telling apart Judaism from Zionism, Israel from Jewish people, State of Israel from Israelis and Jews around the world, and by preferring to designate all of them with the word “Jewish” creates a polarizing effect. This situation causes expressions to be constituted by putting another nation, race, religion before Jews and via this way an “other” is created.

In this sense, with regards to the study period it was important not to name people as the “Jew” or the “Muslim” in the publications about the operation State of Israel started, in order not to otherize. In following article titled “This is not a Jewish-Muslim problem” in *Hürriyet* on 21 July 2014, Mehmet Yılmaz criticized then-Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan:



21 Temmuz 2014 Pazartesi 19

Mehmet Y. YILMAZ

myy@hurriyet.com.tr Fax: 0212 677 03 27

Bu bir Yahudi Müslüman sorunu değil

BAŞBAKAN Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, İsrail'in Gazze'de giriştiği katliamı eleştirirken sıkça İslam ülkelerini de suçluyor.

“Neredesin sen ey İslam dünyası? Senin canın yanmıyor mu? Senin yüreğin parçalanmıyor mu? Ondan sonra diyoruz ki Batı niye susuyor? Sen Batı'yı bırak, sen önce kendi içinde, evin içinde, ailenin mensupları bu işi sahiplenmezse diğeri bunu sahiplenir mi?” diyor.

Bunu bir kere söylemiş değil. Aynı sözleri, bazı yerlerini değiştirerek tekrarlıyor.

İsrail'in azgınlığına karşı, bir İslam ittifakı arıyor.

Bu ittifak ne yapacak,

İsrail'i nasıl durduracak, o konuya pek girmiyor.

Ama konuşmalarının genel tonundan, İslam ülkelerinin İsrail'i topluca kınamaları gibi bir beklentisi olduğunu anlıyorum.

Yoksa birleşik bir İslam ordusunun, İsrail'e haddini bildirmesinden mi söz ediyor?

Bu konuda açık konuşmadığı için “niyet” okumayacağım.

Başbakan, Filistin sorununu daha çok dini bir sorun gibi algılıyor. Müslümanlar ile Yahudiler arasında bir sorun gibi kavriyor.

“Filistin meselesinde İslam dünyası dik dursaydı, belki bir Afganistan olmayacaktı” diyor.

Birleşmiş Milletler örgütünün, eli kolu bağlı olarak

Filistin'deki katliamı izliyor olmasını da dini nedenlere dayandırıyor.

“Kuruluşu itibarıyla bir defa BM Güvenlik Konseyi, bu dünyada başsa hizmet edecek bir yapıda değildir. Çünkü orada dünya Müslümanlarının bir tek tane temsilcisi yok. Bu çok anlamlıdır” derken kastettiği sadece bu.

İsrail devletini ve işbaşındaki hükümetini eleştiriyor ama bunu yaparken referansı öncelikle İslam.

İslam dünyasını ve İsrail'in katliamlarını eleştirirken şunu söylemeyi de ihmal etmiyor ama:

“Bizim hedefimiz İsrail'in zalim yönetimidir, terör estiren yönetimidir, biz onu hedef alarak konuşmalıyız. Vatandaşımız olan, Türkiye'deki Musevilere yönelik herhangi bir tavır doğru bulmuyorum. Onlar bizim güvencemiz altındadırlar.”

Ama nutuk atarken o kadar fazla İslam vurgusu yapıyor ve cahil kitlelerin duygularıyla oynuyor ki ortamı da provokasyonlara açık hale getiriyor.

Unutmamalı ki bu sorun öncelikle bir insanlık meselesidir.

İsrail yönetimine hâkim olan ırkçı faşist anlayışla mücadelede dayanılması gereken temel kavram budur.

Meseleyi din farklılığı üzerinden görmeye ve ortaya koymaya devam ettiği sürece de işin bu en temel noktasını gözden kaçırıyor.

However, the criticisms on this subject do not prevent the habits of the media completely. The religious identities of the people, who are involved in the events the news is about, are still indicated. During the study period, in 64 news reports, the identities are made explicit by the expressions “Jewish” and “Muslim”.

Is there an emphasis on the “Muslim” or “Jewish” identities of people?	
Yes	64
No	421

During the research period in the studied newspapers, besides the articles containing the word “Jewish” in the content, there were articles, which stated that Jewish people should not be identified with the State of Israel. In *Posta* daily, Hakan Çelik’s article titled “Let’s combat hate speech” dated 17 July 2014, Mehmet Coşkundeniz’s article titled “We should be silent when children are sleeping, not when they are dying!” dated 19 July 2014, and in *Hürriyet* daily, Ahmet Hakan’s article with the subheading “My Jewish Friend’s Manifesto” dated 18 July 2014, are examples to these cases.

While both the Turkish words “Yahudi” and “Musevi” means “Jewish”, in 13 publications it is detected that instead of the Turkish word “Yahudi”, the word “Musevi” is preferred. In Turkish society there is a constant discussion as to whether or not these two Turkish words have different meanings. A similar debate goes on with the uses of the words “kadın” (i.e. woman) and “bayan” (i.e. Mrs/Miss) in Turkey. As people in Turkey believe that using the word “bayan” is more polite than using the word “kadın”, there is a belief that using the word “Musevi” is more polite. However, “Musevi” is not a way of addressing people as in the case of the word “bayan”. “Musevi” denotes the descendants of Prophet Moses and a monotheistic religion, as the word “Jewish” does. Since the word “Yahudi” is used in swears (e.g. “Jewish bastard”) and imputations (e.g. “the coward Jew”) throughout the history, in order not to declare a negative opinion, the word “Musevi” is preferred consciously or unconsciously.

This dilemma in using the aforementioned words is found in Tulu Gümüştakin’s article titled “There Is No Time Left” published in *Sabah* daily on 16 July 2014. In Gümüştakin’s article, first the word “Musevi” is used like this: “*Three Musevi (Jewish) kids are kidnapped and killed*”. Afterwards, the word “Yahudi” is used in the expression “*However, Palestinian authority does not command the Western Bank, and this is best known by Israel. For the sake of providing the security in Yahudi (Jewish) settlements, Western Bank has been transformed into a series of small cantons disconnected from each other.*”

Jews of Turkey faces the similar dilemma. One of the situations that causes this dilemma is that the institution of the Chief Rabbinate, which represents the community although it is not a legal entity, and the leaders of the community use the word “Musevi” when expressing themselves and also use it in the names of their institutions (e.g. Türkiye Musevi Cemaati [Turkish Jewish Community], Türkiye Musevi Cemaati Başkanı [President of the Turkish Jewish Community], 500. Yıl Vakfı Türk Musevileri Müzesi [The Quincentennial Foundation Museum of Turkish Jews])

Naming and not-naming like these depend on different reasons, and implicitly or explicitly serve hate speech and anti-Semitism. For example, while the State of Israel and Israelis are undoubtedly named as “Yahudi” (Jewish), there is reference to Palestine’s and Palestinians’ being “Muslim” yet there are

no expressions emphasizing their “Arab” identity. Not making an emphasis that would evoke hostility and negative meanings attributed to Arabs in society, and instead of this, preferring the emphasis of Islam which is a uniting concept, create a polarization between the Islamic world and the Jewish world and indicates who should take which side in the debate.

At certain points, perpetrators and victims are also named. Even though “State of Israel” is shown as the perpetrator in 69% of the studied publications, in the contents that the perpetrators are not expressed clearly, the use of words like *“vile, relentless, ferocious, barbarian, monster, villain, tyrant, cruel, gawur, crusader, worse than Hitler, bloodthirsty, occupant, murderer, assailant, Zionist, blind to reality, state of terror, wild, tyrant, bully”* is observed.

Naming of the victims can be said to be more multifarious. For the victims are named as “Gaza” in 19% of the studied publications, “people of Palestine” in 16%, “Palestinians” in 12% and “children” in 12% of the publications. In 22% of the publications, no explicit expression is used for the victims. By looking at these data, it can be said that victims are most frequently named with the word “Gaza”, the name of a city, and an inexplicit expression is preferred.

While associating the relation between the perpetrator and the victim, religious concepts are often mentioned. Since the incident in our study happened to be during Ramadan, references to the month of Ramadan and the related concepts like “fasting”, “iftar” (i.e. the evening meal in Ramadan), “sahur” (i.e. meal eaten before starting fasting in Ramadan) are often used. During the study period, we have detected 54 publications (11.13%) coded with religious references in our study publications. There were some circumstances in which this coding is accepted within the natural flow of life, and must be used in writing the news report because these were about the content of an event. For example, in the news article titled “A prayer bridge from Gaziosmanpaşa to Gaza” of *Sabah* daily dated 19 July 2014, these expressions had to be used, because the news report was about the iftar meal:

“Municipality of Gaziosmanpaşa hosted thousands of people on a street iftar. During the iftar meal, 5 thousand people of Gaziosmanpaşa prayed for the Muslims slayed in Gaza.”

On the same date, a similar situation arose in the news report in *Hürriyet*, which was published with the signature Ankara-DHA and with the title “Friday protest”:



A young Palestinian man performed the Friday prayer. During the Friday prayer, which men took stand in the front and women took stand at the back, Mustafa Kır, the Ankara provincial chairman of Memur-Sen (i.e. the Union of Civil Officers), read a text for a sermon on the back of a pickup truck. Kır said: 'Israel enjoys killing. The friends of a Muslim are the Muslims, Allah and the messenger of Allah. It is time to protect our brothers and sisters. Everyone in the Embassy of Israel must leave Turkey as soon as possible. Everybody has an account to settle but Allah keeps an account too.' After the prayer, the group shouted slogans like 'Go away from Ankara, you murderous Israel', 'Murderous embassy, murderers' home', 'Close the Zionist embassy', and 'Salutations to Hamas, let's continue the resistance'".

On the other hand, in some cases it is observed that the use of these words are not contextual, the words are coded as religious references and as to produce provocative effects.³⁰ For example in Okan Müderrisoğlu's article titled "Israel!!!" published in *Sabah* on 19 July 2014, these expressions were used:

"They exploit the civil war in Syria, the chaos in Iraq, the coup in Egypt, and shed blood and tears with the support of the diaspora. They do not care about Ramadan, religious holiday, holy day, and holy space. They make use of the hypocrisy of the Islamic countries, and the balkanization based on Shi'ism and Wahabism."

³⁰ There have been cases of this before. As well as emphasizing that state of Israel attacked in the month of Ramadan during this operation, for example that in 1973, the armies of Egypt and Syria attacked Israel in Yom Kippur, one of the most important Jewish holiday, is always stated with the emphasis on Yom Kippur.

Within this period, there have been religious references by making assessments about holy books and its interpretations. For example, Nuriye Akman in her column article titled “The Promised Land” published in *Zaman* on 22 July 2014, used these expressions by giving reference to the Old Testament:

“As a Muslim, I believe in the promise of Allah to become the hand that holds, foot that walks and eye that sees for those who believe and do good deeds. Since those who mortify the flesh would not languish, then I must turn my own self completely into a promised holy space. So a Jew, who wants to discuss this topic sincerely, probably would support me by indicating that in the book of Micah of the Old Testament, those who use force in the wrong way, and especially those who dispossess others’ land and houses, are condemned. And she would rhapsodize that it is suggested there to walk unpretentiously with Allah, do the right things and be nice to other people. Then I would ask her ‘Doesn’t the word prayer, according to the psalms, mean to search for Allah and get off one’s chest in front of Allah?’ Then she would say ‘Yes’ with her eyes glowing. So I would say ‘Then let’s pray with our hearts and souls to serve Allah as it is asked in the Old Testament.’”

Nevertheless, the references to the Holocaust and the Genocide are important in terms of the readings related to anti-Semitism. For after the World War II, the Holocaust and the establishment of the State of Israel, the contemporary anti-Semitism is associated with these themes. As Rifat Bali, who evaluates anti-Semitism in contemporary Turkey, says that the theme that “*State of Israel, which was established by oppressed people that had suffered genocide, transformed into tyrants and has carried out genocide and state terror*” and together with another theme which is an analogy of the previous one: “*Even Hitler did not treat Jews as cruelly as the State of Israel treats the Palestinian people*” are frequently revived.³¹

These types of articles were published within the study period. For example, Taha Akyol in his article titled “Hitler and the Jews” in *Hürriyet* dated 14 July 2014, stated, under the subheading “And the Israel tyranny”, that the State of Israel, which was established as a reaction to Hitler’s cruelty, is not peaceful. Similarly, in the same newspaper, Ertuğrul Özkök uses these expressions in his article titled “*I was so naïve, and they were so realistic*” dated 20 July 2014:

“I hoped that in the funeral of those 3 kids they would not vow to take revenge but would take an oath for peace... It would have been proper of the people of Moses... Of the children and grandchildren of people, who had themselves suffered the worst of the genocides...”

Besides some columnists’ referring to Hitler and Holocaust, and using them for comparison, some cases, in which Hitler and Holocaust were directly the subject of the news report, were also detected. Within the study period, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan used these expressions regarding Hitler and Holocaust in his speeches:

³¹ Rifat N. Bali, **Toplu Makaleler-II Türkiye’de Antisemitizm ve Komplö Kültürü**, İstanbul, Libra Yayınları, 2013, s.134

“They react negatively when I compare what has been happening there with Hitler’s atrocities. For God’s sake, what is the difference between what Israel does and what Hitler did? Actually, Israelis should be pleased with this comparison I make. You, the government of Israel, you are treating Palestinians worse than Hitler treated your ancestors. As it was a genocide, so it was a bigger genocide than what you are doing.”³²

Although these statements, which were expressed by then-Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, do not belong directly within the area of investigation of this report, how these words and comparisons are used by the media when they are reported, is important. For example, while reporting Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s expressions in *Hürriyet* dated 20 July 2014, the expression “They are ahead of Hitler in barbarity” is preferred in the title and quotation marks are not used to emphasize that these words belong to someone else. Consequently, the title repeated the comparison made and contributed to the proliferation of the discourse.

Citations made and references chosen are political in the way the words and language are. When journalists make this choice, they actually know for whom they are writing and take their readers into consideration. Robert E. Park, in his book “The Journalist and the Sociologist” states: “*All the journalists must know the public, and must know how to present the events without polishing or interpreting them for the need to make the events more understandable and readable for the readers they present the news.*”³³ Otherwise, the objectivity, informative nature and factuality of the articles and publications would be damaged.

All these examples, lines we have read, news and information we have got from the media, have undisputable importance. For these have the power to influence and manipulate. The person would combine these with her past knowledge and information, and then reach a conclusion. As the discourse analyst Van Dick states, the issue is not only about the text. The mode of being influenced depends on who reads the text; what people understand from the text is related with what kind of information they got in their past. In this sense, the ideology is also an important factor.³⁴

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Has anti-Semitism been adapted as an ideology in Turkey? Does media have a role in proliferation of anti-Semitism?

³²“Erdoğan'dan önemli açıklamalar”, *Hürriyet*, 31 Temmuz 2014. Last access: 24 Aralık 2014. <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/26919871.asp>

“Erdoğan’dan ABD’ye: Kırıcı olan sizsiniz, özeleştiriy yapın”, *Zaman*, 21 Temmuz 2014. Last access: 24 Aralık 2014. http://www.zaman.com.tr/politika_erdogandan-abdye-kirici-olan-sizsiniz-ozelestiri-yapin_2232757.html

“Başbakan Erdoğan Hatay’da konuştu”, *Posta*, 20 Temmuz 2014. Last access: 24 Aralık 2014. <http://www.posta.com.tr/siyaset/HaberDetay/Basbakan-Erdogan-Hatay-da-konustu.htm?ArticleID=236996>

³³ Robert E.Park, *Le journaliste et le sociologue*, Seuil, Paris, 2008, s.96

³⁴ Van Teun A. Dijk, “Discourse And Power”, *Nefret Suçları Ve Nefret Söylemi*, İstanbul: Uluslararası Hrant Dink Vakfı Yayınları, 2010, p.25

Even though it is not possible to answer these questions based on the limited period our research was examining and specific publications we have read, it has been an undeniable fact that there is anti-Semitism in Turkey. This situation becomes concrete sometimes in the halva made for the spirit of Hitler, and sometimes in a threatening message sent for a member of the Jewish community. With concretization and realizing in an action, anti-Semitism appears as a crime of racism.

There is no single, all-encompassing definition of anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism is accepted as a type of crime, but is not criminalized and hence there is no punishment for it in some countries and in Turkey. In Turkey, where there has been no single definition of anti-Semitism, it is not considered as a human rights violation but rather a problem of the Jews. However anti-Semitism not only concerns the Jews but also the entire society and the state, because anti-Semitism has caused following events, unsolved murders and deaths in Turkey:

In 1934, Jewish neighborhoods were looted, women were raped and Thrace Jews' houses and business places, who were suspected to be the "fifth column", were attacked in Edirne, Çanakkale, Uzunköprü, and Kırklareli of the Thrace region. After these attacks, Jews left their homes and businesses, and ran away from the region. However, even after the flight of large sections of the community, anti-Semitic attacks continued to occur for instance in Edirne. In 1988, an attack to the Great Synagogue of Edirne that is being restored today, was organized and some religious icons were stolen. In September 6, 1986, there was an attack to the Neve Shalom Synagogue in İstanbul and 21 people were killed. Neve Shalom Synagogue became the target once again together with the Beth Israel Synagogue in 15 November 2003, and 27 people were killed by two different bomb attacks. During the same year in August, dentist Yasef Yahya was killed in his clinic, the perpetrator was found but the facts behind scenes were not uncovered. As in the murder of Yasef Yahya, some cases of suicide and murder were not solved and suspicion remained as to whether anti-Semitism was the cause of these events.³⁵

There were cases in which the Jews of Turkey has shared the same victimhood with other non-Muslim minorities, and anti-Semitism was a part of hatred of minorities: In the May of 1941, non-Muslims from 20 different military recruitment periods were conscripted for "caution" and employed for an undefined period for public works as soldiers. With the discriminatory tax practices of the Law of Wealth Tax passed on 11 November 1942, they suffered financial losses and faced intensive moral coercion. During the 6-7 September events, their businesses and houses were attacked.

As the 6-7 September events were provoked by a news report, serious provocations, which might cause / fuel anti-Semitism, might be created by the media. However the nature of these provocations might be different during different periods. For this reason it is plausible to say that there is not only one type of anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism has persisted throughout the history by changing its indicators. For example, in the past the power and target of this enmity was Judaism, today it is known to be the State of Israel rather due to social and ethnological causes.

³⁵ Cases and names were listed in the report filed to the Ministry of Justice and Ministry of Internal Affairs of Turkey in 4 September 2014 by the Human Rights Association.

As long as Jewishness is defined by a series of qualities, which generally have negative meanings, it is observed that anti-Semitism would diversify and would be expressed by different forms.

This reality was also exposed in previous reports of the Hrant Dink Foundation. The reports show that Jewish identity is one of the three identities facing hate speech the most (together with Armenians and Christians). According to these reports, hate speech directed at the Jewish identity is detected in 57 articles and news reports in September - August 2013 Report, in 75 items in January - April 2014 Report, and in 130 items in the first part of this May - August 2014 Report. This data show that hate speech directed at the Jewish identity in the media is continuous and independent of the political agenda.

Manifestations of anti-Semitism are constant from past to present. Whereas this type of manifestations occur with incidents that target the State of Israel perceived as a Jewish society, there are other types that the criticisms of the State of Israel, which transform into anti-Semitism, and target all the Jews. In this sense from the point of view of the aspect and the study period, it is important that the State of Israel's neither deeds nor misdeeds should be correlated with Judaism. That the key element of the news relating to the attacks on Gaza in the media should not be Judaism and the Jews, becomes a current issue at this point.

Nevertheless, in frequent polarizing expressions in some newspapers, which are not included in this research, there is usually a mention of the theme of "Zionism" and by misinterpreting this concept it is wrongly correlated with anti-Semitism. Nora Şeni, in her article published in Radikal newspaper, expresses that this situation is a historical and a chronological mistake: *"As well as it is not possible to perceive anti-Semitism with Zionism synchronously, it is also impossible to come up with an equation 'Zionism creates anti-Semitism'. As is known, in order to exist anti-Semitism did not wait Zionism to arise, that is to say the end of the 19th century. Anti-Semitism took over anti-Judaism, which has its origins in the first centuries of Christianity and in the hate, which blames Jews for killing Jesus. During this take over, the discourse, which legitimizes and "justifies" the hate, is no longer a religious discourse, and started to search for 'its truth' in 'science' and tried to prove that it is reasonable. It started to search for Jewish physical traits (hair, nose, etc.) and defined the concept of race with anatomical traits, and developed fictitious concepts of master race and sub-race. It came up as a product of the urge for 'rationalizing' the hate for Jews based on religion (Christian)."*³⁶

The urge to "rationalize" anti-Semitism affects the Jews and results in different reactions. For example, in one of his articles, politician and activist Daniel Cohn-Bendit, who himself is a German Jew and whose identity is also questioned because of his statements on peace, reminds Jean-Paul Sartre's analysis, which states *"anti-Semitism is what makes me a Jew"* and adds: *"Those, who make me a Jew, are the others."*³⁷

³⁶ Nora Şeni, **Antisemitizm**, Radikal Gazetesi, 21.11.2004

³⁷ Daniel Cohn-Bendit, "Pour que ces deux rêves deviennent mutuels", **Les raisons d'un appel**, Paris: Editions Liana Levi, 2011, s.39.