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Reconstructing the Sacred on Social Media: Eksi Sozluk Example
Kutsalı Sosyal Medya Üzerinden Yeniden İnşa Etmek: Ekşi Sözlük Örneği

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Abstract

This study elaborated how Eksi Sozluk users form the sacred on the basis of debates which were triggered by the discourses of government officials and reflected to the public. Eksi Sozluk is the digital public sphere of the term. This digital space provided a miscellaneous field of analyzing data on debates with its multitude mass and diversity. The study presented analysis of the sacred which is stated that it has been secularized since Durkheim through identity and individual rights rather than homeland-nation-religion as distinct from sacred-profane studies having done so far. Discourse analysis method was used in the thesis. In consequence of analysis, it was seen that universal values like human rights and freedom of conscience and thought are sacralized by Eksi Sozluk users in daily life. This sacralization can be interpreted in the manner of advocatings which Eksi Sozluk users had strongly and believingly. The analysis that was made as distinct from the new media and religion literature presented examples from the seculars which are sanctified in postmodern era.

Keywords: New Media, Sacred, Ekşi Sözlük, Cyberspace, public sphere

Özet

Bu çalışma Ekşi Sözlük kullanıcılarının iktidar temsilcileri söylemleriyle tetiklenip kamuya yansımış tartışmalar üzerinden kutsalı nasıl ifade ettiklerini ayrıntılı bir şekilde ortaya koymuştur. Ekşi Sözlük günümüzün dijital kamusal alanıdır. Bu dijital kamusal alan, kalabalık kitlesi ve çeşitliliğiyle tartışmalar hakkında çok sesli bir data analizi yapma ortamı sağlamıştır. Çalışma, Durkheim'dan bu yana sekülerleştiği ifade edilen kutsalın, günümüze kadar yapılmış kutsal-dünyevi çalışmalardan farklı olarak, vatan-millet-din üzerinden değil kimlik ve bireysel haklar üzerinden analizini sunmuştur. Tezde söylem analizi yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Analizlerin sonucunda insan hakları, vicdan ve düşünce özgürlüğü gibi evrensel olan değerlerin sözlük kullanıcıları tarafından gündelik hayatta kutsallaştırıldığı görülmüştür. Bu kutsallaşma, sözlükteki yazarların düşüncelerini güçlü bir şekilde inanarak savunmaları ile açıklanabilir. Yeni medya ve din literatüründen farklı olarak yapılan analizler postmodern dönem içindeki kutsanan dünyevilerden örnekler sunmuştur.

Anahtar kelimeler; Yeni medya, Kutsal, Ekşi Sözlük, Siberalan

INTRODUCTION

The point of origin of the thesis is that Eksi Sozluk is the biggest social media platform in Turkey, and its users are coming from every side of status, social class and education degree. So, the debates are expanding through various areas. The thesis worked on this expansion and presented what is expressed as "sacred" among Eksi Sozluk users. Eksi Sozluk is a website which includes registered users' comments about any kind of topics and concepts, it can be categorized as collaborative hypertext dictionary. It has been a pioneer for cyber culture to exist in Turkey, and a tool to query whether stereotypes are true or not, and also taboos and social values in society (Gürel & Yakın, 2007).

First of all, "sacred" has been defined several times by several philosophers and sociologists so far. Durkheim was the greatest sociologist who studied also religion and sacred. He articulated that if the most primitive societies are examined, religious concepts' essence can be grasped through getting rid of the confusing sides of social systems. People started to perceive power which transcendences them through their interactions and ebullition. This power was meant as something not from their world. So, for the first time a sacred realm that is out of routine or and daily life occurred independently (Turner, Beeghley, & Powers, 2010). His primary explanations were the starting point of the thesis. It is being lived such a digital age that everyday life is on the internet. Social media provides all manner of information about people and society. Moreover, Eksi Sozluk provides top topics that are being discussed currently. It is such a wide area that it has various generations, occupations and genders, which makes Eksi Sozluk a pretty suitable realm to excavate how the sacred is expressed via social media.

There were previous studies which followed Durkheim's approaches and used media to analyze this situation. One of them is Robert Hertz who emphasizes that the "right" (as a side) always has the sacred and the "left" always has the profane. David Bataille looked for a sacred in social life and he constituted a research and debate group at Collége de Sociologie in Paris in the end of 1930's.

Victor Turner as an anthropologist took Durkheim's point and developed it by moving beyond the "rituals" and used the term "Limanility" (as cited in (Smith, 2007, p. 115)). Robert Bellah claimed that Contemporary America has a "civil religion" (as cited in (Smith, 2007, p. 117)) which accepts and practices some common things among religions. However, this religion which is actually what Durkheim mentioned as a society being a sacred itself, has their own prophets, sacred and rules. For instance, mourning rituals for the state. Other important figures are Edward Shills and Michael Young who looked at secular states' religious structures. He works Durkheim to emphasize sacred's place in society. Then, they claimed that every society has functioning "sacred center" (as cited in (Smith, 2007, p. 120)) as a focus of their collective identity. Lastly, Daniel Dayan and Elihu Katz moved beyond and developed the anthropology of ritual to direct into the process of mass media. People don't attend the rituals physically, but by TV (Smith, 2001).

Durkheim claimed that the essence of religion is not a pure belief, attitude or series of practices; but a universal phenomenon. He pointed that every society makes a distinction between sacred and profane. To him, sacred is a phenomenon realm that is related to the supernatural powers. The profane is a casual, daily area, natural and mundane life. However, a religion is an expression of a society's collective believes and moral values. These values can figuratively be presented via any kind of objects such as a cross, a star, an idol, a rock, an animal, a tree or other chosen. These symbols become a limelight in the collective rituals which believers get together as a single and in a moral way. However, a few societies clearly has distinguished profane and sacred. In many countries, some symbols which are not religious at first look are gotten some holly meanings such as a flag. When the flag is damaged, it is heard "swearword" toward that attitude. However, only the sacred one can be exposed to be sworn, so this shows that flag is now an item of sacred. In the countries which have national religion such as Israel, Japan, Iran, Greece and Armenia, the concepts of religion and sacred nation are closely related to the concepts of mainland and nationalism. During the Communist Russia, Lenin and

his daily objects got almost sacred meanings. If it is examined in detail, it can be seen that differentiation between natural and supernatural is not clear. Natural word is in the center of many religions, on the other hand, supernatural has a role on the mundane works to define the routine (Bates, 2009).

So, the thesis tried to show different values and items that are perceived sacred besides the religions and collective values. Turkness, Islam, patriotism are already known as the most sacred values in Turkish society. The thesis worked on more specific area to present a new form of sacred area within Eksi Sozluk users. Accordingly, Eksi Sozluk was scanned and most commented debates were found to analyze. Those were mostly on woman, womanhood, woman body, woman's place and woman rights. Also, the thesis took sacred as "something to be protected, saved and untouched".

Turkey has being run by neo-conservative liberal party AKP since 2002, and it has been experiencing giant cultural conflicts and transforms. By the 2017, it has been grown a new generation during AKP government. This generation is a society which is socially networked, and does not include big protests or campaigns, rather they prefer to express themselves on the social media. Since Eksi Sozluk is a platform that is fed by thousands, expressing ideas and real thoughts in an anonymous way which is more comfortable than disclosing the identities.

Therefore, the thesis asked what kind of things happened during this period, what kind of perceptions occurred and how people reacted to various subjects which were constructed by the authority. It became a repository to acquire how the people define their sacred entity, what discourses trigger people to resist, what kind of conflicts and sameness exist, and lastly which of sacred is on the top among users' language within analyzed debates.

At first glance, titles are seen to be explained by religious and political views easily. This is the reason why they were chosen. The thesis looked at if Eksi Sozluk users' top rated entries commented on these titles according to religion and politics simply or they put forward different thoughts and thinking ways in their comments.

In the results, it is obvious that there is a larger roof that has values and thoughts above the religious and political motivations. Although in many points discourses are related to religion, they result in various way and, even though the users' thoughts result in the same ways, their motivations and sacreds are different as well.

In bachelor's degree, women and women issues became my point in many ways. I looked for their position during secularization process of Turkey, their role in Turkish Cinema, how people define women and how sacred women are. There was a produced women patterns and they are perceived in some ways. In this thesis, I aimed to look for the opposite and tried to find in what extend producing process of discourses are accepted and criticized in Eksi Sozluk. During master, I was motivated with Sacred and Profane studies and Social Media studies. I was one of the users of Eksi Sözlük, so I know its pattern and mass to decide to use the platform. This combination worked in my mind. Even though in Eksi Sozluk there are different kinds of mass which want to gain status there or just want to express ideas and contribute to the other thoughts, research method kept the analysis limited.

CHAPTER 1: MEDIA

1.1 MASS MEDIA AND A BRIEF INTRODUCTION

Media is the massage and had started with modern human beings. There were paintings, first, to tell things and transmit, then languages came up. People had been storytellers and share things. Then, writing had occurred and storytellers had turned into writers, and created newspapers. Human beings willed to share what happened and is thought, so they had developed media. In this very primitive time became the beginning of the history of media (Sterin, 2015).

Communication had created civilizations, and mass media has been providing globalization for ages. According to Mc Luhan (transferer Giddens), digital media is constituting a "global village". It is the point that different people from different places will be informed about the same incidents or happenings, maybe even at the same time (Giddens, 2009).

Printing machine had been one of the big steps in media revolution. The invention of radio and broadcasting came later in 1830's. Television followed this development and mobile phones and other machines called tablet or iPad have become media in digital age (Sterin, 2015). However, now, it is being experienced the cyber-media age.

Living together and having communication are the corner stone of defining societies and communities. Due to the fact that, internet has created a new era and area for them to keep up online, it has been created a "virtual communities" (Giddens, 2009, p. 730). According to Manuel Castells (2001), online communications will continue to expand, and this process will have created networks though new type of organizations of the era. Again to him, network has been considered as a media though message itself.

1.2 INTERNET, CYBERSPACE AND SOCIAL MEDIA

1.2.1 Internet

Media and power have always been connected to each other, more over media occasionally has been for power in its spreading and manipulating the communities by the power. To talk about internet and its birth, it is important to know the conditions which caused internet to be born.

In 1980s, Cold War period pushed nations to create new and original ways to communicate and sharing information. So, internet was born as one of these ways in American military, Pentagon. In order that they can connect different scientists or wises to work together from diverse places, then they began to use it to send messages and this is how the world had "e-mail" (Giddens, 2009).

People knew the internet via World Wide Web which was invented by Tim Berners-Lee in 1990. People mostly used to use the internet to browse what they want to learn about. Also, business and e-commercials had places, therefore internet became a platform for every kind of people and business (Giddens, 2009).

1.2.2 Cyberspace

Cyberspace can be defined as an area provided by any internet used device and keeping people connected each other globally. It has never been exact or clear people's identity, and being anonymous is something normal. It is not people important but the ideas, comments and thoughts. Since it is undetermined places and people, tolerance is higher than in physical world (Giddens, 2009). While identities aren't clear, opinions and discussions are clearer than any.

Cyberspace and internet's function though is being perceived as a very important factor for the future and people's relation. Some researchers on cyberspace evaluate the internet as a new Foucauldian panopticon for people (Jones & Kucker, 2001). In this sense, anonymousness can surveil people and at home

through sitting in front of the screen, they may captured by the power which is actually in virtuality.

1.2.2.1 **Virtual Culture**

Internet based daily life functions into a new kind of carrier in the current culture through sharing-saving. Even though it is heard solid, it grows in the virtuality and creates the new culture.

"Who are we when we are online?" (Jones & Kucker, 2001, s. 213). Even though virtual culture or reality might be seen as unreal or beyond it, "Sourtime Dictionary" and other studies proved that they are the reflections of who the public is itself.

According to David Nye (as cited in (Jones & Kucker, 2001)), internet communication is lack of sense and cultural signs, expressions etc.. However, virtual culture has been changing and developing. Expressing thoughts and feelings has been gaining another dimension through voice messages and emotion signs. In social theory and digital space chapter, these comments has been discussed.

1.2.3 **Social Media**

Social media involves some different websites such as -firstly- MySpace, Facebook, Twitter, etc. Social media's difference from the usual "www" form of internet usage is being interactive.

According to media studies, old media is called Web 1.0 and new media 2.0. So, new media is the one having social media and interactive and two-way internet usage. Web 2.0 has widened through mobile devices (Ellison & Hardey, 2014). Since it is mostly on sharing and commenting, it requires mobility and simultaneous action based on opinions.

According to Ellison and Hardey (2014), it is not possible to give one and certain definition for social media, however, it may be called "user-generated

platforms in Web 2.0" (p. 24). To give some examples, image or video sharing, blogging and microblogging, forums, personal websites, etc.

Producing the cyber space is called as "participatory culture" by Jenkins (2006). His explanations on convergence culture can present how web 2.0 works currently. Convergence culture tells how old media which is spreading the information simply come together with the new media which makes participants to producers. Especially, his cultural convergence culture is the first step for participants to produce and they constitute global convergence culture through. These two are his convergence culture's last steps. The others are very basic such as technological, economical and social (Kellet, 2010).

On the other hand, using social media as a research field can have some loss of theoretical methodology to answer the all research questions. In order to study and get results from social media studies, it should be had different angles of concepts (Postill & Pink, 2012). In the thesis, discourse analysis was the point to get meaningful results through participants' answers.

1.3 MEDIA AND CULTURAL THEORY

Media and power are related to each other in many ways strongly. In order to understand -how- this worldly widened relation, social theory asks questions (Couldary, 2012).

According to Boltanski and Thevenot (as cited in (Couldary, 2012)), social space is not something independent from the power itself, but it is a mechanism as interdependence. Power intends to construct the reality through the media.

According to Habermas's "habitus" (as cited in (Smith, 2007, p. 189)), there are three kinds of capitals which determine social power and inequality; economic, social and cultural. In this point, social capital draws points which get together as politics. As Althusser's ISA[1] (as cited in (Slattery, 2011)) directs and shapes

[1] Ideological State Apparatus

societies onto what direction the power wants, and one of these apparatuses is "media". So, constructing the power based reality upon society directly depends on state apparatuses which include media.

1.3.1 Media and Postmodern Situation

While David Harvey (2010) defines post-modernity as time and space compression, space's definition is on the way of changing. Time has always been independent from human kind or anything, however, space was a production of social integration and communication (Roberts, 2001).

In this point, coffeehouses, streets or many different places based on various cultures were the main points of media and public sphere. Society used to build the place and space. However, in postmodern era, space is on the space which is really outer space. It is not a production anymore, but the producer of new and anonymous identities in front of the computers, even, through mobile phones.

This thesis has also aimed to explore how new media is post-modern public sphere at the moment. So, the social media is what post-modern thinking brought for people. Especially, in Eksi Sozluk, it is seen how post-modern changings occurred. For instance, in modernity, labor rights, authority and statism used to be the things should be based on and are created; in addition, discourse, mass production and status used to be those things as well. On the other hand, in postmodernity, these things have been replaced with economical power, individualism, new-conservatism, dis-urbanization, and language games, social movements, pluralist alterity (Harvey, 2010). These details can play role as a screen to see what it used to be, and what it is now. A few decades ago, TVs and newspapers as media would spread things in an authoritarian way through reflecting power and meta-narratives, and people negotiate and have ideas for that. In contrast, now in social media, meta-narratives are being destructed and not believed but criticized, not groups of people come together, but a group of ideas comes together and declare their own discursive thoughts. In the thesis, consciously power-centered discourses have been chosen to see how new media – cyber space- brings ideas in

a pool to destruct or construct through supporting. Here, anonymity is the proof for place to go into the air.

Christopher Tilley (as cited in (Roberts, 2001)) expresses now's space like this;

> Space is socially produced, and different societies, groups and individuals act out their lives in different spaces. Space in itself no longer becomes a meaningful term. There is no space, only spaces (Roberts, 2001, p. 340).

Therefore, media or new media which is interested now is the new space without time. Due to the fact that Eksi Sozluk has this aura in a very large extend literally, it has been seen how meta-narratives have being destructing, especially in what we call "sacred".

CHAPTER 2: SACRED

Since its evolution has always based on creation and cosmos, it is called with religions and theological things. Saime Tuğrul (2010) expresses that sacred is one's forbidden area or thing that one constitutes, so that one can complete his/her deficit individuality. One finds this world as sacrificed and where they come from is the sacred one. So, sacred things generally have meanings relating to the other world. On the other side, sacred can be anything in this world.

2.1 UNDERSTANDING SACRED AND RELIGON

In a general sociological aspect, religion is defined as a form of culture, practicing believed rituals and finding the meaning (Giddens, 2009). On the other side, Durkheim (2005) believed that religion has a role in a society and takes it in terms of social and cultural mechanism keeping people inside a specific area of social identifications, values and believes. His definition derives from differentiation between sacred and profane as well. According to him, any totem is

sacred since it is the society itself. Societies, indeed, bless themselves and their values (Giddens, 2009).

Besides, sacred can be define as not profane. Moreover, Mircae Eliade (as cited in (Lynch, 2007)) defines; “the profane can be defined in one sense as everything that the sacred is not”.

2.1.1 Sacred-Profane and Religion

Definitions of religion are considered in three divided groups; substantive, phenomenological and functionalist. All have advantages and disadvantages. But functionalist definition is thought as the sociological and anthropological one and moved through. First two definition cover mostly strict and religious based, indeed canon based religious and sacreds (Lynch, 2007). However, functionalist approach takes account the phrase “what religion does” rather than “what it is”. Substantive definition was unhelpful for the study because the aim was to gather how the religion is perceived and makes people behave accordingly. While phenomenological explanation was more experimental, it was able to be useful for observing. In functionalist one, it can be seen that daily life /mundane life is a part of sacred and can’t be thought separately. It is useful to clarify human’s understanding on sacred and religion rather than universal canons and structures of religions. Functionalist approach provides more flexible era to get what shapes canons. Sacred is indistinguishable from the culture. People considering themselves not religious behave in the culture; they are born in and their behaviors are inherited rather preferences.

Rather than limiting the definition of profane to explain, making it free is more useful. What it is called as sacred is sacred, and all the others are profane. Profane and sacred are not only concepts depended on religion or culture or non, but the living style considered feelings etc, or not. Living the sacred is to consider the reality of the power and cosmos, besides, profane is to consider personal meanings to them (Lynch, 2007).

According to Lynch (2007), It should be avoided to separate sacred and profane sharply, since any sacred thing can be profane as well as vice versa. So, mundane life can be used to grasp also to constitute the sacred. It is also should be taken from different angles. It means, sacred can derive from any kind of mystical space, object or social relation or cultural practice. In addition, he defines religion as “social and cultural systems which are oriented towards sacred objects” (p. 138).

Particular thoughts, feelings and happenings make things sacred. It might be an agent to bind people and have them gain an identity. So, functionalist approach gives an opportunity for different areas. It provides to take an account the psychological and other theories as well. In addition, it clarifies to see how sacred can reproduce itself through the tools such as media. It can direct seekers to find where the sacred places in contemporary life.

So, whilst thinking the sacred out of the religion, indeed, it is being constituted or “re-branding” (Lynch, 2007, p. 135) the God in/for modern ages. Except for monotheistic religions, others are considered as already sacreds. On the other hand, when a non-believer attributes an importance to any kind of religious based thing, they are seen as actual believers.

How sacred is profane and profane is sacred can be seen is so; public places and sphere of social communication are being designed by the symbolic representation of the profane and sacred. So, in this point, excavating the sacred is not only in the area of religion and religious groups, but it is sociology itself to understand and analysis the society (Lynch & Sheldon, 2013). This claim is quiet clear on Robert Bellah’s Civil Religion (as cited in (Smith, 2007)). He claimed that contemporary America has -Protestantism- a civil religion which has their own prophets and rituals such as presidents and presidential ceremonies. These examples and explanations show that profane and the secular is the new sacred. On the other side, one of another followers of Durkheim, Edward Shils (as cited in (Smith, 2007)) concluded that each society has their own central sacred which is directly related to society itself and their values. Therefore, in this study since it was aimed

to seek the sacred in a more secular way, Shils' concluding supports my motivation as well. Through this way, mundane life is being re-sacralized (Lynch & Sheldon, 2013).

CHAPTER 3: UNDERSTANDING THE RELATION BETWEEN SACRED AND MEDIA

Sacred and media is not directly related to each other. However, since media is the new public space, it becomes a huge screen and a channel for sacred to be seen on and through. Due to the fact that media has many kinds of arms to reach society such as; TV, computer, mobile phone, internet etc., it is a great opportunity for giving any kind of conscious to people. Everybody knows TV and watches as well. So, media -as it is evolved cyberspace in this study- is the place to create and spread anything including sacred.

3.1 CYBERSPACE AND CONSTRUCTING SACRED

Reflecting religious studies to the internet space has been realizing since 1980s. Moreover, in post-modern era, religion hasn't gone, but empowered within the society itself as out of sight. On the internet, people started to form forums to discuss about spiritualist, moral and alike (Campbell, 2005).

Beginning of the discussion was the religion itself, but it was not only about discussing the religion but also non-religion as well. So, non-religious or non-monotheists supported different kind of values which they consider as sacred. In this point human rights were one of the biggest thing to affect the religious one (Gülerarslan, 2010).

Due to the fact that it is being lived the digitalization of everyday life, life itself is delocalized. There is no real sphere for sacred and profane. They aren't here or there, but everywhere (Lynch, 2005).

According to Heidi Campbell (2005), in this era, relations and reality is mechanizing, and cyberspace is a shaped environment as a result of this mechanization. Hence, she forms a way to explain sacred and media relationship. Since spirituality is something absence out time and space, internet's bodylessness seems like "techno-heaven" as well as secular. Therefore, timelessness and boundlessness create a perception of spirituality. Also, Stratton (2002) defined cyberspace as a depiction for transformation of human-machine relations.

Going beyond in cyberspace and religion have us reached to religious market producing and religious consumerism concepts (Redden, 2011). Sacredness and religious are in everyday life itself as it is mentioned, and producing-consuming relationship is designed through religious advertising according to these concepts. So, in this study, this covering method was seen in a social way.

CHAPTER 4: EKSI SOZLUK (SOUR TIMES DICTIONARY)

Eksi Sozluk is a digital platform found by Sedat Kaplanoglu in 1999. It was an extension of sourtimes.org, by the time it became a platform all by itself. It has been a very important formation to switch and move on cyberspace in Turkey (Wikipedia, 2017). He stated that Eksi's mass is so diverse and tolerated people that they even can stand swearing (Aydemir, 2011). All though the interview is 7-year-old his state is still valid today.

Eksi Sozluk may be considered as a "post-modern electronic culture". It provides people to question what the truth is in an interactive way. Also manipulating and sharing thoughts are the best way to get organized. It has an original culture through questioning not only knowledge but also social facts and taboos. So, there occurred a new cyber pot having this original global culture and local values. It is also can be evaluated as a reference source for any kind of social and national term or event. All comments are there to define and make people think on it. It enlightens the cultural transformation of Turkey (Gürel & Yakın, Ekşi Sözlük: Postmodern Elektronik Sözlük, 2007).

4.1 EKSI SOZLUK AND ITS TERMS

Eksi Sozluk is a collaborative hypertext dictionary which is constituted as online with hypertext. People registered there can open a topic or write comments on which they prefer (Gürel & Yakın, Ekşi Sözlük: Postmodern Elektronik Sözlük, 2007).

Eksi Sozluk has 76591 writer (suser), also it is written 24.000 entries in a day.[2]

Eksi Sozluk has some specific terms and hierarchy, in this section they were explained.

1- **Title (Başlık)**: Users create and then comment just under it and the other users see it and comment as well.
2- **Entry (Giri)**: Entry is the name of what users write under the titles.
3- **Moderator (Moderatör)**: They check if there is trespasses according to Turkish Criminal Law within the entries or not.
4- **Praetor**: Praetor is a person who provides people freedom as well as get them to have this without trespassing.
5- **Snitcher (Gammaz)**: They inform moderators about the entries which aren't proper for there.
6- **Suser (Yazar)**: They are the ones who write the entries. They have a nickname.
7- **Noobie (Çaylak)**: They are the people who applied Eksi to be a suser and gain a chance to join with a temporary account. If s/he will provide all conditions properly, s/he will have a permanent account.
8- **See (Bkz**.): It is used to refer different title with the link connection, or to continue the tradition one started before within the title.

[2] 06.04.2017 reached the information.

Eksi Sozluk has a very powerful hierarchy within and also, since this order comes through voluntarily, it exists as a "spontaneous order" (Gürel & Yakın, 2007, p. 212).

On the other side, being a *suser* matters. Susers want people to know that they are susers. This wish is one of the proves of that Eksi Sozluk is a very great public sphere in cyberspace.

4.2 EKSI SOZLUK AND POST-MODERNISM

Temporality of things is the corner stone of postmodernism (Harvey, 2010). In this point, Eksi Sozluk, with its cyber sphere, supports what post-modernism needs to maintain itself. People have a chance to create their own discourses and if they wish they could delete them. Under the big meta-narratives, here people narrate their own meta.

What makes Eksi Sozluk entries important is their subtext and semiosis. So, whilst the action is post-modern, it functions in a post-structuralist way. As it is known that Derrida (as cited in (Smith, 2007)) had in the center, rather than logocentric meanings, supplements and traces which affect the "word" directly and break it are considered to have the deepest and real meaning through disposing culture upon person/subject. However, in analysis part, it is seen that expressing a specific culture had quite different refers.

Eksi Sozluk is just having a new angle to evaluate the truth as post-modernism needs, in contrast to irrefutable discourses of modernity. On the other side, Eksi Sozluk's grammar structure is also different from what it is constructed in a box. In literature, using capital letters means to yell at whom standing there, that's why the dictionary allows using only lower case to provide the equality among susers and ideas (Gürel & Yakın, Ekşi Sözlük: Postmodern Elektronik Sözlük, 2007).

4.3 EKSI SOZLUK AND PUBLIC SPHERE

Eksi Sozluk is a child of New Media that it is a still process and developing. New media's one of the most important feature is to give consumers an opportunity to produce at the same time, which makes Eksi Sozluk an ideal interactive area (Saka, 2012). Its second important feature is that "old media" was relational and tool based, but new media is individual based (Mazali, 2011). So, people are considered with their thoughts rather than their capability of using this media or having status either.

As it is mentioned above, public sphere which is defined -by Habermas- as places that opinions and ideas are discussed on societal based topics to provide a democratic attendance of public (Giddens, 2009). In this point, Eksi Sozluk has been a place all parts of society are able to join and express their opinions about anything they wish. When it is considered the number of susers and the average entry number entered in a day, it is a platform which is even bigger than real public spheres.

Since the very first public sphere had been authorized by the capitalism itself and dominated, new media's characteristic of bringing any kind of people without regarding the status make Eksi Sozluk a new ideal public sphere. On the other side, according to a research, 12 editors consider their networks as public sphere, however their users aren't consciously enough to get how to participate efficiently (Aydemir, 2011). In Eksi Sozluk, this loss hasn't been, in contrast, it is used efficiently as the susers can do.[3]

There is another fact that affects hypothesis of here, which is politics has been the main subject for people to discuss for ages so far, in this sense it may be seen that politics is now in a daily life and daily decisions as well. The titles analyzed includes this widened politics having social life, men and women status, religion, nation and hometown issues. This is the most important reason for

[3] 24.000 entry everyday.

choosing Eksi Sozluk to excavate in order to find the new "sacred" which is being constituting by people in public directly. Asking for people would be biased and people of course wouldn't give the actual answers they would like to give. There is a pure and clear platform to find it through.

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH

5.1 RESEARCH SIGNIFICANCE

Eksi Sozluk is the largest platform where people discuss and reflect public issues simultaneously. So, it is considered as a digital public sphere to reach a great amount of thoughts. The significance here is to present how Eksi Sozluk users reproduce the sacred with the debates that comes from current government's official statements. When Turkey's dominant conservative population is considered, sacred had wider area among political and civic institutions and social life. It is associated with religion, conservatism, human rights or freedom. Since Turkey is dominated by neo-conservative party AKP, religious discourses are being heard much than before. So, this study discovered which way people's thought on religious and non-religious area by attributing the sacred and how sacred is a secularly expressed by people.

5.2 RESEARCH PURPOSE

This research elaborated how this period's discourses are being perceived by Eksi Sozluk users in terms of sacred and profane. At the same time, new media's role was distinguished from the traditional media. It was seen people are not only audiences anymore but the subjects to direct debates to different definitions. Indeed, public is not to be dominated and imposed by the power traditionally, however, they are the criticizers, directors and speakers. Therefore, the main purpose was here to make the sacred which comes from divinity appear that it is being depicted in a non-celestial way by not the power but the people who attend Eksi Sozluk debates.

5.3 RESEARCH METHOD

The research's analyzing method is discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is used to analyze different types of written materials and in media researches, it is used most. Discourse analysis is the most proper method, since discourse refers the sayings of the system (Giddens, 2009).

The entries which was analyzed had been chosen among top rated within the title. Each title has hundreds of entries. So, for the study, ten of each of them was chosen. If the title didn't have even ten entries, all of them was chosen. In the choosing method, it was avoided to include swear words, connecting links and "see". Since susers were very clear about their attitudes towards the discourses and it was clear to gather their thinking ways on the subjects too. Also, choosing top rated entries provided here to seek the most agreed thoughts on the subjects among susers.

Chosen topics were discursive that had been public debate among people in real life as well. That's why, in the dictionary there were different versions of the same topics such as funny, negatively biased or positively biased. To be objective, the titles which include the statements only were chosen. It didn't happen an interview with the susers, but a person from administration was mailed in order to have information about Eksi Sozluk's number of susers and daily amount of entry.

Chosen subjects could be categorized in two; discourses on gender based issues and nation based issues. Discourses are directly authority's statements. Prime-minister of the term, President of the term, Religious affairs of the term, community holders, ministers such, a few of them to survey derives from people's own thought. In the reseach, supporting and protecting the ideas, making them untouchable were considered as how users sacralize the issues. So, their most fanatic attitudes became their own individual sacred to constitute the top sacred.

In Eksi Sozluk, there are several titles on the same topic; in the study only the clearest and the most basic one were chosen to analyze. In total, there are 11 titles

are examined. Since the entries were Turkish, their English version was placed as footnote.

5.3.1 **Titles**

On Gender:

- Kızlı Erkekli Ev (House with girls and boys together)
- Kız mıdır Kadın mıdır bilemem (I can't know if she is girl or woman)
- Hoşuna Gitmeyebilir Mırıldanırsın (You may not like it, you murmur)
- Hamile Kadının Sokakta Gezmesi Uygun Değildir (It is not proper for pregnant woman to walk on the street)
- Babanın Kendi Öz Kızına Şehvet Duyması (A man's feeling of lust for his own daughter)
- Kürtaj Yasağı (Ban of Abortion)
- Anneliği Reddeden Kadın Eksiktir, Yarımdır (The woman who rejects motherhood is deficient and incomplete)
- Erkek zampara olmayacak, kadın kahkaha atmayacak (Man shall not be womanizer, woman shall not laugh)

On Nation, Religon and Race;

- Cemevi İbadethane Değildir (Djemevi is not a house of worship).
- Afedersiniz Daha Kötü Şeyler, Ermeni Diyen Oldu (sorry but they called worse even Armenian)

CHAPTER 6: ANALYSIS PART

6.1 ERDOGAN'S SPEECH ON "HOUSE WITH GIRLS AND BOYS TOGETHER"

He gave this speech at AKP Group Meeting in November 2013.

> We, as democrat-conservative party as the status of responsibility have everybody's child's trust.[. . .]We don't let boys and girls stay in the same place in the state dormitories. There are some houses with boys and girls. We focus on these notifications with our law enforcement agency and governorships together. It is not clear what is going on in these places. They are mess. Anything can happen. Then, parents exclaim and ask 'where is the state?' We do step on in order to show that state is right here. We, as democratic-conservative authority, we have to involve. This is not an intervention to the life style. No one shall tell like this. (Milliyet- Siyaset, 2013, pp. http://www.milliyet.com.tr/erdogan-dan-tartisilan-aciklamaya/siyaset/detay/1787437/default.htm)

6.1.1 **Kızlı erkekli ev (House with girls and boys together)**[4]

Recep Tayyip Erdogan the prime-minister, gave this speech in 2013 and emphasized that houses with girls and boys are nondescript places which should be surveilled. When the subtext is examined, some results are gotten. Mr. Erdogan would like to have support the society which already think like him. Giving the words "girls and boys" and the important one "house" triggers the people's perception of protecting the social norms and conservative lifestyle. Any other place doesn't give a meaning like "house" gives. House is a symbol of home, family life, and the place where culture is learned and spread from. So, the phrase tries to tell something goes wrong in those houses, and the wrong thing is "the girls and boys together". House was chosen consciously to make a highlight that the house which is seen as something innocent, actually is not so. The phrase make people think upon its mystery, like Freud called "uncanny" (Freud S. D., 2003). He didn't say student's house or house-mates, he put two sexual identities together in order the take attention there. As mostly conservative structure of Turkish society is considered, this phrase make them believe that is something out of not only social rules but also religion. In Islam, house is a place even engaged couple can't stay

[4] https://eksisozluk.com/kizli-erkekli-ev--4107482

inside by themselves, so the rule is directly coming from the up. Also, Mr.Erdoğan himself and the society considers him as a kind of religious sided person, his will to forbid this or go beyond is welcomed by people who thinks as the same. Especially, sexual side of the phrase is shadowing the sacredness of "home" and as well as family. In addition, having child that lives out of family needs responsibility and authority upon. However, Mr. Erdoğan's statement decreases especially fathers' authority. In this point, Freudian approach can explain why Mr. Erdoğan talked so. Thus, he would like to have whole power among country, as if the country is a big family and he is the father.

Besides of the analyzed entries, there were some more, but they were scurrilous and website. That's why, they weren't included.

In Ekşi Sözlük, there were six comments to analyze. Four of them have been chosen to place in the thesis.

6.1.1.1 **Analysis-1**

1- "her şey ayrımcılıkla başladı.. tanım : insanların içinde bulunduğu ev."[5]

At first sight, the sense of "discrimination" looks like for expressing the alienation of others who claims and not. However, the definition shows that discrimination is used for the separation of sexes. His discourse support not to separate the sexes. (means not much for the thesis)

2- iktidarın çok bilinçli bir şekilde hem gündemi değiştirmek hem de oy sayısını arttırmak için ortaya attığı çılgınlık ötesi fikirdir. bu nedenle, üzerine çok düşünmeye ve fikir üretmeye gerek dahi yok. herhangi bir yasal düzenleme olmadığı gibi reşit bireylerin kiminle ne şekilde yaşadığı konusunda hiç bir yasal düzenleme de yapılamaz. sadece bizim yasalarımız olarak konuya yaklaşmamak gerek. zira, avrupa insan hakları sözleşmesi dahil çok sayıda uluslararası sözleşmeye taraf olduğumuzdan, bu sözleşme hükümleri yasalarımızla aynı uygulanabilirlik alanı içerisindedir. dikkatimizi, zamanımızı ve enerjimizi bu şekilde yok etmelerine izin vermemek gerekiyor. iç işleri bakanının açıklamalarından anladığımız gibi, olaya tamamen bir yerleşim yeri bildirimi boyutunda yaklaşmaktadırlar. çünkü insanların ne şekilde ve kiminle yaşadığına ilişkin ne bir genelge çıkarılabilir ne de kanun. herşeyden önce, çıkarılacak bir genelgenin kanuna aykırı olması yasal olarak mümkün değildir. yok zinaydı yok imam nikahıydı deseler bile, bu konuda gerek iktidarın kendi içindeki yaşam şekilleri gerekse kendilerine oy veren sözüm ona muhafazakar kesim çok daha etkin olarak bu şekilde yaşamaktadır. elbette, dini kuralların kişisel yaşam şekli ve keyif boyutunda

[5] Everything came up with a discrimination.. definition: a house where includes people

değerlendirmek bireysel ve dinsel olarak yakışık almamaktadır. herkes, kendi inancı, düşüncesi ve isteği doğrultusunda yaşayabilir. gezi direnişinin yarattığı yıkımdan bir şekilde daha güçlü çıkmaya çalışan iktidar, olası girişimleri engellemek ve toplumu sindirmek için akıl almaz şekillerde saldırılara (dikkat edilirse, sözlü ve yama misali uyduruk genelgelerle) girişiyor. bu durumda, sözlere ve olası düzenlemelere değil; bunların arka planına ve uluslararası camiada olanlara daha dikkatli yaklaşmak gerekir diye düşünüyorum. yapılacak iş, sözlü ve fiili durumlara ilişkin gaza gelmemek ve olası girişimlerde her tür yasal yola başvurmaktır. en başta da, ruhlarımıza salınmaya çalışılan bu korku belasına kapılmamaktır.[6]

In the discourse, user (suser) refers "consciously, beyond the madness" to the authority as how they are intelligent to create this kind of crazy discourse to affect followers. Their policy is capturing the unhealthy followers without any questioning. The user wanted to emphasise that since the conservative people are more welcome for having wife without marriage, those houses are important not because of unmarried people or damage on family life, which dishonoured their sacredness, but because of making people busy with this in order not them to question the current situation. Further, the user is using human rights and legal ways to cover up the back, in order to diminish the importance of Mr. Erdoğan's words' seriousness. He tries to indicate his words are only sayings without any basis and also diminish his authority too. At the end of his comment, fear effect which is an obstacle to make right decisions is involved in the comment. By this and before, the user specifies the sayings are out of the reality, and humans' freedom and decision-making ability have more important place.

[6] This is an idea beyond craziness which is existed by the authority itself to change the agenda and increase their vote rate. That's why, there is no need to think on it. There isn't any legal regulation, and there won't be able to be about who majors live with or how. We should consider not only our legislations but also other international contracts involved Europe Human Rights Contract. Since we are side of them, their commands can be applied as well as ours. We shouldn't let them consume our attention, time and energy in this way. As we understood from the speech of minister of internal affairs, they approach as it is completely place check-in. Because, it can't be any legislation for whom people live with. At the first place, legally, the circular which is announced can't be against the legislative rule.Even they talk abour adultery or religious marriage; people who are so-called conservatives voting for the authority and also authority itself live in this way much. Of course it is not welcomed in the sense of individual and religion to evaluate the religious rules in the dimension of personal life or pleasure. Everybody can live according to his/her own belief, thought and will. The authority who tries to tand up powerfully after the demonstration of Gezi Park created, is entering insane attacks in order to prevent possible attempts and suppress the society. So, I think that careful approaching not to the words and possible regulations, but to the backgrounds and international communities is required. The thing is not to be on fire about verbal and factual situations, and to apply to legal ways in any case. More importantly, we shouldn't be possessed with the fear which is released to our souls.

3- *“(bkz:6’lı 7’li)” (see: 6-ary 7-ary)*

It seems just a making jokes with the sexual side of the discourse. However, it takes attention to that the discourse is related to the fantasy world, and the user gets the authority of prime minister vanished by depicting him as someone thinks sexually fantasied activities instead of country works.

4- bir ev krizi yüzünden 2 erkek 3 kızın yanına taşındık... (diğer erkek ile kızlardan biri çıkıyor hatta şu an evliler yıl 2002). sonra bir kız daha geldi... biz ev bulacam ayağına yaz tatiline kadar (4-5 ay)... 6 kişi beraber yaşadık... diğer arkadaş kız arkadaşı ile kalıyor onları bilmem ama... ben diğer 3 kız ile her hangi bir duygusal yakınlaşmaya girmedik hatta ve hatta en son gelirken ekmek al, sigarayı balkonda içiyoruz kızlar sonuçta salonda uyuyorum... merve nereye (cevap sana ne lan)... muhabbeti vardı...ama şu oldu sonraki 3-4 yıl bildiğin sahip çıktık birbirimize akraba gibi…[7]

There is actually a message which is not declared willingly by the user. The user indicates themselves as girls and boys living together as relatives. This is the key term here. This word isn’t a sign of opposition to the discourse, but is actually support. The user supports the discourse and has the same idea for whom living boys and girls together, but sees himself as an exception. He actually alienates those, and is proud of not living like them. At the first sight, it looks like refusing the discourse, but actually it accepts and exemplified it. So, family life’s sacredness through the word of “relatives” is used as a shield to defend themselves.

After all, Mr. Erdoğan’s attitude was seen as a violation of personal decision, but his statement which is spread was annoyed people in a way. His statement can easily be spreaded, and it may create an indignation for the society that thinks likewise, toward their children.

[7] We as two boys had moved to three-girled house because of a house crises (other boy and one of the girls were married) Then, another girl also had came. While we had been looking for a house, we all 6 people with boys and girls had lived together for 4-5 months. I didn’t care anybody, but I hadn’t had any kind of relationship with those girls. In fact, we had started to talk each other scurrilously. What happened is we had had each other for 3-4 months like a family/relatives.

6.2 ERDOĞAN'S SPEECH ON "I AM NOT SURE IF SHE IS 'GIRL' OR 'WOMAN'"

On 3rd of June, 2011, when Erdoğan was at Konya Meeting, he talked about Dilşat Aktaş (Central Executive Board Member of Community Houses) who climbed up police panzer during the protests in Ankara in 31st of May for Metin Lokumcu who died in Artvin, Hopa; and she broke her hip. In Hopa, Metin Lokumcu was in the protest before AKP miting, and died for police attack (Bianet-İfade Özgürlüğü, 2011). People in Ankara were protesting this death. Mr. Erdoğan referred Dilşat Aktaş with the discourse of "I was watching TV this morning and there was a girl or a woman-I can't know- climbing at the panzer" (T24- Haber, 2011, pp. http://t24.com.tr/haber/kiz-mi-kadin-mi-diyen-erdogana-buyuk-tepki,149108).

Dilşat Aktaş is a leftist-activist. Her ideology should be considered to read the statement. As known, AKP is a neo-conservative Islamist party.

6.2.1 Kız mıdır kadın mıdır bilemem (I am not sure if she is girl or woman)[8]

In the discourse, there is actually no relation between being female or male and what happened in Hopa, and Erdoğan was giving very casual speech at that moment. Referring somebody as girl or woman is not a coincidence or relation with what age she is, but an indication to emphasize that she is virgin or not. In Turkish dominant culture, virgin females are called as "girl" and non-virgin females are called "woman". So, the incident was literally not about gender, however, Erdoğan reflected her with not only gender but also sexuality in this way. Just after saying this, he also stated that he was not sure about it. So the woman was indicated as someone out of known or clear as how it is supposed to be in the society. He also powered his statement through giving her an image as someone lives in a wrong way. On the other hand, his style and statement was not connective, it was so close to some other parts of society which never hesitates to query one's sexuality as a

[8] https://eksisozluk.com/kiz-midir-kadin-midir-bilemem--2844795

matter of their honor. So that people find his aspect and police right, he found ways to have poeple's support. People might not have agreed with Mr. Erdoğan just because of any woman who kicked the police vehicle. However, if that one is accused of doing something different and even collectively more immoral, they directly position against.

On the other hand, this phrase doesn't place on prompter or paper prepared, so this comes out from Mr. Erdoğan involuntarily. It can be analyzed as a Freudian slip (Freud S. , 2014), which can support what actually Mr. Erdoğan would like to emphasize in his mind.

In Ekşi Sözlük, there are 245 entries in this title. Most of them are already analysis of the statement in their own ways. It has been chosen ten comments for the thesis to scale their reaction better.

6.2.1.1 **Analysis-2**

1- türkçe kadar yetersiz bir dille yaratılabilecek en şahane çeşitliliğin bir kez daha ayırma, aşağılama, sözlü şiddet uygulama ve bunların hepsinin özellikle ve itinayla kadına yapılanının makbul olduğunu bir kez daha gösteren herhangi bir beyandan farklı değildir.

çünkü kanımca 'kız mıdır kadın mıdır?' çok uzun zaman önce o 'bayanın' yaşıyla ilgili olmaktan çıkmış, belki de hiç olmamış, bir ikilem. kızsa o hareketleri yapamazdı çünkü kızlar o hareketleri yapamaz ama bir kere giden gidince artık namussuz orospulara ne yakışıyorsa o hareketler yapılabilir zira zina çok çirkin bir şeydir. ben hiçbir şey anlamıyorum.[9]

The entry has some touches on Turkish people and the language which have the most various swear word vocabulary, even though it is inadequate. Its plentifulness is used to create slangs full of woman and her sexuality. The writer refers that Mr. Erdoğan used these words so as to blame her in an easier way. While doing this, the writer, indeed, considers prostitutes as bad people who can come

[9] It is not more different saying than any other which shows it is the best thing to use the perfect diversity which can be created with an inadequate Turkish language to discriminate, humiliate, and engage in oral violence the woman. Because, I think "woman or girl" has already gone out of being related to female's age, maybe it has never been, it is a paradox. If she was "a girl", she wouldn't do those things, because girls can't do those. However, once the thing goes away (virginity meant) those behaviours which are suitable for corrupted prostitute can be done, however, adultery is ugly. I don't understand anything.

across the government. However, any woman who had sex is not bad. So, actually, in order to clear the non-virgin woman, s/he disparaged the prostitute. It can be read that, personal choices can be welcomed, but being prostitute is nothing related with freedom and privacy.

2- adamlar o haldeyken bile namus bekçiliğini elden bırakmıyor. bir insanın kız mı! kadın mı! olduğundan size ne? yobazlığın kitabını yazsalar iran tövbe eder şeriatı bitirir yeminlen.[10]

Whilst the writer tries to criticize Mr. Erdoğan's attitude and words he chose, he acclaimed that being virgin or non-virgin is an honor issue. At the same time, he associated the bigotry with the religious law, thus Islam. Therefore, all these are related, but must stay at the back. Honor equals virginity and these equal religion.

3- "kendince "kötü kadın" demenin kolay yolu. ayrıca yolunu yapıyor, yakında onu da duyarız."[11]

It claims that Mr. Erdoğan's purpose was to swear at that woman, and being non-virgin is prostituting in this sense. The entry doesn't judge Mr.Erdoğan using the phrase to determine if that woman had sex of not, but tending to swear at a female citizen. It is clear to see being non-virgin or virgin is something "normal".

4- milletin orasını, burasını ağzına almaktan bıkmayan düşünce sisteminin son çıktısı. hele bir otur soluklan yeğenim. sizin kafanızın arkasında ne var lan? nedir bu sürekli cinsiyete, cinse, sekse gönderme yapma merakı? iktidarsız mısınız, tatminsiz misiniz? gizli eşcinsellik var da bununla mı yüzleşemiyorsunuz? neden kendinizle barışık değilsiniz? seks, cinsiyet, cins, bu konular neden sürekli dilinizde? cinselliği yeni keşfetmiş ergen tavırları sergiliyorsunuz. ayıp değil mi topluluk önünde milletin orasıyla burasıyla uğraşmak, ağzından düşürmemek? bu toprakların çok eski sahipleri, dinden, dilden, ırktan, cinsiyetten bağımsız olarak şöyle buyurmuşlar; elinde olmayanın dilinde olur.[12]

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[10] Those men don't stop guarding the honor, even they are in some situation. It is none of your business whether a woman is girl or woman. If they write the rules of bigotry, Iran repents and stops Sharia Law.

[11] In his way, it is an easy way to say "prostitute". He is making us familiar. Soon we will hear that, too.

[12] This is the latest output of thought system which never gives up talking about people's private things. First of all, you, take a breath. What is there behind your head? Why are you too much volunteer to refer sex, sexuality or having sexeverything? Is there a hidden homosexuality which you can't face with? Why don't you have peace of mind? Why do you always talk about sex, sexuality, etc.? You present a newlyteen attitudes. Isn't is unethical to talk about people's private

The entry doesn't consider authority's honor or religion protectionism, but it focuses on analyzing the reason why they do this. Subtext shows the idea that is about not only Mr. Erdoğan but also his conservative supporters debar themselves from sexuality, that's why they declare those things so much. The entry approaches to the discourse in a Freudian way in which people have things in their minds in subconscious which is expressed unwillingly. Asking about having peace of mind, it refers those people (conservative supporters of him and himself) live a life under the religious rules which actually they don't welcome in peace, but struggle with its harshness in sexuality though. Here, only sacred thing is what they obey.

5- kitlesine nasıl hitap etmesi gerektiğini gayet iyi bilen bir siyasetçinin, ağzından dökülen inciler. hatta sözlükte, "laikçi" kelimesini diline dolamış hayranlarının zihniyetini düşünürsek, kibar bile konuşmuş.[13]

The entry claims that prime-minister aimed to influence his supporters by saying this, because their mass which can be named as conservative Islamists are this kind of people who mostly consider women with her virginity related to honor, and anything out of being any human being. Also, s/he considers those people rude, and ironises Mr. Erdoğan in speaking as being rather polite.

6- çok açık bir şekilde gıybettir. her zaman söylüyorum. müslüman olduğunu iddia eden iki yüzlülerden sakınmak gerekir. allah gıybeti "ölü kardeşinin etini yemek" gibi çok ağır bir ifdadeyle tanımlar. "ey iman edenler! zandan çok sakının! çünkü zannın bir kısmı günahtır. sinsi casuslar gibi ayıp aramayın! gıybet ederek biriniz ötekini arkasından çekiştirmesin! sizden biri, ölmüş kardeşinin etini yemek ister mi? bakın bundan iğrendiniz. allah'tan sakının! hiç kuşkusuz, allah tövbeleri çok kabul eden, rahmeti sonsuz olandır. hucurat - 12" (Nebevi Hareket Derneği, n.d.)[14]

This entry clearly presents that Mr. Erdoğan is not a Muslim, but he is two-faced person who declares himself so. It is given a verse of Quran about gossip and

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things? Without regarding religion, language, race or sex, people who lived in old times here pronounced that "what one doesn't have is in the language".

[13] These are very valuable things coming out from the politician who knows well how to address at his mass. Actually, he spoke very polite, when considering his fans who are obsessed with using word "secularistic" and their mentality in the dictionary.

[14] This is, obviously, a gossip. I always tell. It is necessary to avoid of two faced people who claim they are Muslim. Allah describes gossip as "eating dead brother's flesh", which is quite serious expression. "O ye who believe! Avoid suspicion as much (as possible): for suspicion in some cases is a sin: And spy not on each other behind their backs. Would any of you like to eat the flesh of his dead brother? Nay, ye would abhor it...But fear Allah: For Allah is Oft-Returning, Most Merciful."

assuming. The point here is that being virgin or not might be something immoral in the aspect of religion and society, too. However, it should be hidden privately. It is known of course by other people too, but used as aiming different results, mostly political.

7- duyunca utandığım söz öbeği. az evvel sırp arkadaşıma sordum, "sırpça'da bakire kadınla bakire olmayan kadına farklı bir hitabet şekliniz var mı, kız-kadın ayrımı yapıyor musunuz?" diye. şaşkın şaşkın yüzüme baktı, "nerden bilelim bir kadın bakire mi değil mi, bu onu ilgilendirir" dedi… anlam veremedi bunu duyunca önce kulaklarıma kadar kızarıp sonra ağlamaya başlamama.[15]

Subtext shows that the writer would like to normalize the situation by trying to figure out if this can be something universal. However, she declared her feelings to express to be felt as if someone indicates herself. Her freedom is not real, but open to be exposed in a harsh way like this.

8- bunu söyleyen başbakan, kendisine muhalif bir kadının bekaretini sorgulayarak muhalefetin meşruiyetini geçersiz kılmaya çalışıyor. yani siyaseti kadınların bedeni üstünden yapıyor. bir kadının fikirlerinin değerini onun bekaretine bağlıyor, yani açık açık kadını bedene, hatta direkt konuşalım, vajinasına indirgiyor. kadınlara verdiği değeri kabak gibi ortaya koyuyor. kaldı ki, kimsenin bacak arası başkasını ilgilendirmez - hele bir başbakanı hiç ilgilendirmez.[16]

Subtext wants to tell that, prime-minister actually considers her opponent, however, he puts forward her sexuality and privacy to ignore this. Through querying woman's virginity, he could label oppositions as dishonourable. After all, it highlights the importance and secrecy of privacy.

9- "12 yasindan buyuk olup olmamasi degil miydi onemli nokta? niye bu kadar detaya girmis ki?"[17]

In a very obvious way, suser blames authority of being ready to lie down

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[15] It is such a phrase that made me cry when I heard. I've just asked my Serbian friend whether they have different expressions to distinguish virgin or non-virgin like woman and girl in Turkish. She looked at me very blankly, and said that "we can't know if she is virgin or not, it is her own privacy. She couldn't understand why I got blushed and started to cry.

[16] Prime-minister who said this tries to invalidate the legitimacy of oppositions through querying an opponent woman's virginity. So, he does politics over the woman's body. He relates a woman's thought's value to her virginity. Thus, he, to speak clearly, degrades the woman to a body-vagina. He presents how much he cares about woman through. Besides, someone's sexuality is none of other's business, especially of prime-minister's.

[17] Wasn't the important point being above 12? Why did he go into detail that much?

with any girl above 12. In this expression, it can be got that being virgin or not is important for both morality and any man may lie down with a woman. However, according to suser, prime-minister and people such as these don't consider even this, but age of 12. To go into detail, this can be sign of saying which is about relationship between being religious and pedophilia. Overtly, conservative people including Mr. Erdoğan are accused of being pedophiliac.

10- "'"aslında bilirim de söylemem" der gibi bir anlamı var. "[18]

This entry also indicates Mr. Erdoğan's will to swear at the woman. Also, since he can't do this, he tells "woman or girl" to make society swear at her automatically.

To compose all, entries are mostly on the side of importance of privacy, indeed the forbidden. Even though some perceive as swear, immorality or issue of shame, some consider that it is about honor, which is not related to the incident. Thus, it didn't need to be reflected. In addition, many entries have already examined Mr. Erdoğan's subtext, for the thesis, comments are chosen rather than analysis. Finally, it is seen that, even though virginity is about the incident or not, it is important and sacred for Mr. Erdoğan's mass, which they changed their attitudes and slogans during the meeting. He easily influenced his mass with this point.

6.3 BINALI YILDIRIM'S SPEECH ON "YOU MAY NOT LIKE IT, YOU MURMUR"

A man in the bus kicked a woman whose short seems annoying to him in September, 2016. After the incident, Binali Yıldırım the prime-minister commented on it.

> I don't think that he is a normal person. He is not normal. Because, it was nothing a normal person does. You may not like it, you murmur. If they look

[18] It means that "I actually know, but don't tell".

up his past medical records, it will appear that he has something wrong. His behaviors are weird to, he is laughing something. (Diken, 2016, pp. http://www.diken.com.tr/yildirima-gore-sortlu-kadina-saldiri-normal-degil-hosuna-gitmeyebilir-mirildanirsin/)

6.3.1 **Hoşuna gitmeyebilir, mırıldanırsın (You may not like it, you murmur)**[19]

First of all, murmuring is something any person does to reflect his/her discomfort about something at that moment. This reflection is legitimated as something normal toward any other person by Binali Yıldırım the prime-minister. The incident, according to Mr. Yıldırım, is annoying somehow, and the man who kicked that woman is right about getting annoyed. Subtext gives the result that, his behavior was wrong, but the woman's clothes were wrong too. Mr. Yıldırım, also, legitimates to criticize woman's clothes in which religious rules in society. This comment brings discrimination among religion based genders overtly. People who can't dare to judge any woman by her clothes will find a right to do this easily. As a prime-minister, he defines "normal" and "right to murmur" disregarding how bad the situation was. Consequently, the subtext may tell that everyone clearly get annoyed of this kind of clothing - mini short-, however, they shouldn't kick, but murmur. However, denigrating the man should have been the first attempt of Mr. Yıldırım, and protecting the woman's honor and choices. Sacredness was to live together in peace, but here, diversities are being harmed by intolerant people.

6.3.1.1 **Analysis-3**

1- mesela bu arkadaşlar fransa'da denize burkayla girilmesi yasaklanınca islamofobi diye vık vıklıyor. ulan sizin gibilere fobi beslenmeyecek de kime beslenecek tanım: islami hoşgörünün fiiliyata dökülmüş hali.[20]

The entry aims to state that France did well by forbidding burqa, despite of the fact that people were standing against. Because in Turkey, people who were

[19] https://eksisozluk.com/hosuna-gitmeyebilir-mirildanirsin--5193644

[20] For example, these mates squawk when France forbids to swim with burqa. Who isn't felt as Islamophobic, but you. Definition: This is the action of Islamic tolerance.

permitted to wear their religious clothes violate unreligious clothing styled people. Also, the suser shows the reverse situation of Islamic tolerance. The entry clearly states that if you beat anyone you see as out of your own borders by indicating your religious reason, you and your religion, of course, will be something everyone scares of.

2- “sayın başbakanımızın, hoşuma gitmeyen tesettürlü bacılar hakkında artık gönül rahatlığıyla mırıldanmamı sağlayacak olan açıklaması.”[21]

The entry also takes situation by the point of religiousness and irreligiousness. It declares that we as people who don't like this clothing style think out of borders and consider as fundamental right of one. However, you and the like permit themselves to have right to murmur, then we also have it against you and the like. In this point, it is seen separatism. The suser considers the situation by separating two sides. It becomes “human rights vs. Islamic clothing style”.

3- ben yakıştıramıyordum eskiden çünkü kendime de. "özgürlük bu demek değil mi, benim hoşuma gitmese de onlar da böyle giyinmek istiyor n'apıyım" falan diyordum içimden. artık "nck nck nck... yazık yazık kafaya bak sardığı beze bak, ülkenin sonunu bunlar getirecek phü rezil" falan diye mırıldanırım kulak diplerinde n'apıyım”[22]

The suser who is very liberal with some issues around chooses not to judge anyone by anything, complains about that the freedom they give importance is considered selfishly by the religious side. So s/he would like to violate their freedom now. At least, their freedom of having peace.

4- haber okunduğunda hiç de kötü gelmeyen cümle. adam durumu onaylamıyor ki. "birinin şort giymesinden rahatsız oluyorsan yapabileceğin en fazla şey mırıldanmaktır" diyor. ne var ki bunda?[23]

The suser examines the situation out of context by ignoring what happened

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[21] Dear prime minister’s explanation which provides me peacely to murmur for those veiled sisters who I don’t like.

[22] I couldn’t make it go with me. I used to think “this is the freedom. I can’t do anything, they wear whatever they want whether I like or not. But now, I murmur nearby their ears as “(suck my teeth) what a poor, look at that fabric veiled by her, they will bring the end of this country, shame of them.

[23] When it is read, it doesn’t sound bad. He doesn’t approve the situation. He says “murmuring is the furthest thing you can do if you get annoyed someone wearing a short. What’s wrong with this?

or what should the prime minister react. The suser doesn't find strange to get annoyed of someone wearing a short. This signs him/her self also can get annoyed this kind of thing. On the other hand, s/he welcomes this reaction.

5- "bir çift kelam lan beklediğimiz. bak eylem değil, çağdaşlığı yansıtan bir çift kelam."[24]

The entry points that Mr. Yıldırım's words were not the expected things. Using the word contemporary can be associated with what that man did to woman. It was something unhuman can do, and they don't have to be contemporary. Also, because of the man's religion based explanations and Mr. Yıldırım's attitude, contemporaneity usage refers that Islam is a backwardness. However, apologizing requires to be so. According to the entry, Mr. Yıldırım didn't apologize.

6- "altında, islamcı kafanın ne kadar karanlık ve zavallı olduğu yatan mal beyanı. kesinlikle bu çağa ait değiller."[25]

According to the entry, Mr. Yıldırım's statement is because of his Islamic side which is shared with the man who hit the girl. In accusing him, being contemporary is again emphasized and referred that Islam is backwardness and even worse than this. It directs people to do bad things like this.

7- hep şikayet ettiğim cesaret bulma işi böyle gerçekleşiyor. ülkeyi yöneten adamla o kıza tekme atan adam aynı kişi. biri daha az şiddete eğilimli. bu kadar. yoksa ikisi de tanımadığı bir kadının şort giymesinden rahatsızlık duyacak tıynette herifler. başbakana göre şort giymiş bi kızı görüp "allah bunları bildiği gibi yapsın, şu kıyafete bak, orospu" diye mırıldanınca normal oluyorsun, tekme atınca normal değil. iki adamın arasındaki tek fark şiddete eğilimleri. yoksa aynı hoşgörüsüzlük, aynı kadın düşmanlığı, aynı dinci beyinsizliği, aynı cehalet, aynı iğrençlik. o kıza o tekmeyi attıran zihniyetin adamları ikisi de.[26]

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[24] We wait for only a word. Not action, only couple of words to reflect the contemporaneity.

[25] It is a dull statement which has what a dark and poor mentality of Islamic idea places under. They definitely don't belong to this era.

[26] Taking courage I always complain about happens just like this. They are the same people, the man governing the country and the man who hit the girl. That's it. Both are men that get annoyed of clothing style of a woman whom they don't even know. According to Mr. Yıldırım, it is normal that a woman wearing short, and to murmur as "May the God know, look at that clothes, bitch", but kicking is abnormal. The only difference between two men is the tendency to violence. Otherwise,

In the entry, murmuring is associated with a swearword to draw an evil, and Mr. Yıldırım's statement encourages that man because of the ruling and the law position of Mr. Yıldırım. The suser points that Mr. Yıldırım should have spoken dissuasive, instead of encouraging. Since he didn't so, he is guilty as much as the man. The suser sees this so; he didn't blame him enough because they are both Muslims who tend to violence, especially against woman. Also, the suser associates Islam with being disgusting, even brainless.

8- "bu durumda laik kesimin de türbanlılara, sarıklı-şalvarlılara mırıldanma hakkı doğuyor sanırım. herkesin birbirine mırıldandığı bir ülke."[27]

The entry takes situation by separating two sides as religious and irreligious, and again "human rights vs. Islamic clothing style". Moreover, S/he puts this separation all over the country through giving example of "everyone in country".

9- nasıl ben cübbeli, sarıklı, çarşaflı birini gördüğümde mırıldanıyorsam, onlar da mırıldanabilir. mırıldanmasında benim için bir sakınca yok. mırıl mırıl mırıl konuşabilir ama mırıl mırıl mırıl. sonuçta özgürlükse özgürlük. konuşabilir insanlar. konuşulmasında bir sakınca yok. o konuşmalar eğer bir şekilde zorbalığa dönüşecekse orada problem var işte. yoksa milletin ağzı torba değil ki büzesin, konuşacak... gözü top değil ki sıkasın, bakacak.... yeter ki bunlarla kalsın...[28]

The suser worries about if these murmurings take action in time. To murmur aims something, not only talking to yourself. Also, freedom involves both murmuring and wearing independently. However, whilst murmuring is for someone, but dressing is for oneself.

10- her bireyin cinsiyetine, eğitimine, kültürüne, inancına ve hatta yaşına göre giyim kuşam değerlendirmesinde bir sınır vardır. birinin normal karşıladığı bir başkasına abartılı, birine güzel görünen bir diğerine çirkin, birine giyilebilir gelen bir diğerine giyilemez gelebilir. ben türban, peçe, çarşaf giyen kadınları; pembe pantolon, parmak arası terlik giyen, cübbe ve takkeyle dolaşan erkekleri yadırgarım, bir başkası kısa etek giyen, başı açık gezen kadınları, kısa pantolonla gezen

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they are the same in being intolerant, enemy of women, religious brainlessness, ignorance, disgustingness, both are the men of mentality which had that kick done to that girl.

[27] In this point, laic side has a right to murmur for veiled women, turbaned and salwar people. Such a country that everyone murmurs each other.

[28] Those people can also murmur, how I murmur when I see people in religious cloak, turban and sheeted. I don't mind his murmuring. One can talk by murmuring and murmuring. All in all, it is the freedom. People can talk. There is nothing wrong with one's talking. There occur a problem if those talkings turn into a tyranny in any way. You can't keep things in people's mouth forever. They will talk, they will look at. I hope that it stays only so.

erkekleri yadırgayabilir. burada sınır; yadırgadığına karşı nasıl davrandığındır. kalkıp tekme tokat girişirsen bu artık yadırgamayı geçip insanlık suçu kapsamına girer ve adli olarak yargılanmayı gerektirir. içinden söylenip yoluna gidersen bence eleştiri kapsamında değerlendirilir ve çok tuhaf değildir. hangimiz yolda gördüğümüz acayip giyimli bir insana " yuh bu ne" deyip geçmedik ? olay yaratacak bir söylem değildir.[29]

The entry considers variable ideas of people about anyone else's clothes. It might be religious or not, but everybody feels something about it. On the other side, while evaluating this as a reaction, the suser sides on human rights. The suser, here, tries to legitimate him/herself by emphasizing s/he can murmur as normal, but never violate human rights. In a way, suser agrees with the prime-minister.

To conclude, whilst entries react to Mr. Yıldırım's speech in positive or negative way, they also consider freedom in which human rights and personal criticism contexts. Murmuring is perceived personal criticism which everyone does some time, however, hitting or kicking someone is a violation of human rights. To analyze this separately goes away from the incident. It seems like diminishing the reaction toward the man who kicked the girl, thus supporting his discomfort. It is very obvious that the susers who support Mr. Yıldırım ignore his status and what means to the society, however, his status is directly put into center by negatively criticizing susers.

On the other side, Islam as a religion is sacred already by millions of followers all around the world as well as Turkey. Some reacting people ignore this sacredness and talk impolitely about it. Indeed, by looking at the explanations, it can be said that, human rights are more sacred than a religion in this sense. As a last word, if people's comments are on the side of religion, they blame uncovered women and modernity. However, if they are on the side of human rights, they blame

[29] Everybody has some self-limitations in evaluating clothing according to the gender, education, culture, belief and even age. I find something normal, but another one exaggerated, someone finds nice, other one ugly. Someone finds wearable, someone doesn't. I find turbaned, veiled and sheeted women, pink pants and flip flopped, religious cloaked and coifed men odd; another one finds mini skirted, unveiled women and men wearing short odd. The limitation of this is behavior of your finding odd. If you hit and kick someone, it goes beyond finding odd to a humanity crime, and requires to be judged. If you talk with yourself quietly and walk away, it is taken as critic and wouldn't be odd. Didn't anyone of us say "what's that" to any odd person on the street? It is not a scandal discourse.

Islamic clothing style and how bad it is.

6.4 TUĞRUL INANCER'S SPEECH ON "IT IS NOT PROPER FOR A PREGNANT WOMAN TO WALK ON THE STREET."

Tuğrul Inancer is one of the Islamic clergyman in Cerrahi Cult. In 2013, he was giving a speech on Sufism on TRT Channel, and somehow the speech arrived at pregnant women. His sayings;

> Announcing pregnancy by drumming is against our decency. Cannot be walked on the street with that belly. First of all, it is not aesthetic. A mother candidate gets in her husband's car when she had her 7 or 8 months in pregnancy, travels a bit. Or, they go out in the evening. Now, Mashallah, they are flying on the TV as winged or wingless. This is nothing but shame! Its name is not realism but shame. (Milliyet, 2013, pp. http://www.milliyet.com.tr/-hamile-kadinin-sokakta-gezmesi/gundem/detay/1741343/default.htm.).

6.4.1 Hamile kadının sokakta gezmesi uygun değildir (It is not proper for pregnant woman to walk on the street)[30]

Since the person who declared this is a Muslim clergyman, it is seen what was said reflects Muslim thought. In Islam, sexual life belongs to privacy of wife and husband, and no one must know about it. If it is heard, that becomes a shame. Here, pregnancy is associated with having sex. So, he actually says, when a pregnant woman is seen, people get information about their sexual life, maybe they dream about it. In this way, subtext gives lots of sexual references. It can be seen the opposition of having sex to have a child which is one of the most sacred thing that mother has and maintains. On the other side, the way to be pregnant is declared as a shame. Moreover, he claims that, pregnancy gives a woman ugliness with that big belly. He reduces this ugliness to pregnant women who have big belly, not to

[30] https://eksisozluk.com/hamile-kadinin-sokakta-gezmesi-uygun-degil--3937776

fat men with a big belly. In addition, he attaches women to men and maintains house borders with the husband's car. Also, he suggests for them to go out in the evening that is less people to notice. Likewise, car attaches to a man, and a woman is assumed as married in the statement.

On the other side, even though most of the society is Muslim, culture derives from Turkness too, which is fighter. In historical context, it can be said that women had never been away from social life. Indeed, in Anatolia, pregnant women still work outside like farming. Also, having a car and husband's availability are related to how much comfortable life they live. So, Mr. Inancer considers neither modernity nor Turkish culture.

To consider Islam and women's place, actually mothers whose places are sacred as heaven within, shamelessness is given upon women as usually they do in honor issue. While being father strengthens authority, being mother -at least the pregnancy period- shames Islam. The discourse can be read in which, how woman carries religious honor and how the sacred is reduced to be done with this.

To add, since he talks on state channel called TRT, his discourse seems to be approved by state, or it is the reflection how state thinks about it. This point looks like providing a support from the government side to the statement, even though there isn't anything like this.

6.4.1.1 **Analysis- 4**

1- "davul çalmak"tan kasıt gerçekten davul çalarak sokaklarda "ben hamileyim" diye bağırmak değil elbet. erkeklerin "oyh hamile gördüm nasıl sevişti acaba hala sevişiyo mu acaba" diye düşünmelerinden ziyade; hamile ve dolayısıyla karnı çıkmış kadınların daracık tişörtler giyerek karınlarını belirginleştirmeleri, düşük bel giyerek karınlarını göstermeleri, (çoğunlukla) şiş vücutlarına rağmen -belki de "hamileyim ama hala çekiciyim dişiliğimden bir şey kaybetmedim" endişesiyle- aşırı dekolte giymeleri de -bazen sevimli tişörtler vb olsa da- çok güzel olmayan bir görüntü. hamilelik kutsal ve özel bir durumdur; buna uygun davranmak, ağır olmak, edepli olmak çok da kötü olmasa gerek. ha, "benim bedenim benim kararım" diyorsanız da; bu sadece bu özel dönemde nasıl davranılmamasına dair bir tavsiyedir; beğenmezseniz uymaz geçersiniz, hakaret etmenin alemi yok.[31]

[31] "Playing drum" doesn't mean literally telling on the streets as "I'm pregnant". Rather than men's thought "Uh, I saw a pregnant woman, how does she makes love?", it is not a nice view for those

The suser considers pregnancy is sacred by itself and other details violate it. Without even asking why women wear tight, they labelled them as if they aimed being feminine and sexappeal. Sacredness is associated with privacy in order to make it something needed to be hidden. The suser also ignores that Mr. Inancer refers sexuality, and s/he directs his sayings to a private life.

2- ne gelenekmiş arkadaş, hamileliği davul çalarak ilan etmek terbiyeye aykırı (kimse bu davulla ilan eden) ama pipiyi keserken davul hatta zurna hatta düğün ile ilan olunabilir, geleneğimizde vardır, evet.[32]

The entry criticizes discrimination between female and male based things through exemplifying circumcision ceremony. This approach shows how males are out on the top of the culture. In a nut shell, circumcision is a sunnah and about penis, and people celebrate it by literally playing drum. However, pregnancy shows itself in the body and no one announce it with a ceremony. Nevertheless, it can be criticized. Here, the suser indicates how society gives importance to males and how they favor for males.

3- devlet televizyonunda yaşanan en acı beyanatlardan biri. kadını bu kadar aşağılayan, hor gören veya görmezden gelen hatta onları meta olarak gören başka bir din var mı acaba çok merak ediyorum. haa ama pardon (bkz: cennet anaların ayaklarının altındadır)[33]

The suser indicates that this discourse humiliates women and even ignore their existence. Also, Islam was regarded as responsible of this. Another important point is that state TV was emphasized as showing them to carry the same mentality. The suser notifies a hadith which reflects mother as sacred. The entry would like to

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woman to wear tight t-shirts with their puffed bodies to prove that they are still attractive, even though t-shirts are cute sometimes.Pregnancy is a sacred and private situation. It's not bad to behave according to this situation and be decent. Or, if you think "my body, my decision" take it as just advice for how to behave in this special circumstance. No need for insulting, if you don't like, don't obey.

[32] What a tradition ha? It is forbidden to announce pregnancy by playing a drum (who does this?), but it is a tradition to announce the cutting of penis in this way. Yes.

[33] It is one of the most dramatic scene lived on state TV channel. I wonder if there is another religion to humiliate and ignore women and consider them as a meta. But, sorry (see: the heaven is under mothers' feet).

highlight how people do reverse of what it is said in Islam, indeed. However, s/he doesn't blame people but religion itself.

4- anneyi kutsal saymak ama bu cümleyi söyleyebilmek çok ilginç. herhalde acayip bir kafa yapısına sahip olmak gerek. mantıksız, çirkin bir beyanat. (bkz: nereden baksan tutarsızlık)[34]

This entry also exposes the contradiction between seeing mother as sacred and giving that speech. However, here the person and the mentality are the criticized ones, not the religion.

5- kadının en kutsal mahremine bile bok atıp,"aa koca göbeğinle,ağzımızın suyunu akıtıyon" tarzında tercüme edilen beyanat. yürüttükleri politika gereği "benim başörtülümü kardeşime"diye başlayan "mağdurum"edebiyatını kadınlar üzerinden yap,oyları topla sonra kadınlara orospu,fahişe damgasını yapıştır,sokağa salma. lan kadınlar olmasa konuşacak iki kelam lafınız yok be…[35]

The entry expresses that the authority does politics upon women, through either demanding vote from conservative side, or gaining support by castigating and woman. However, the discourse is perceived as if told by the authority.

6- toplum düşünmesin ama biz iğrenç düşüncelerimizi orada burada istediğimiz gibi belirtelim diye düşünen insan beyanatı. anne kutsaldı hani, annelik inanılmazdı, başbakan 3 çocuk istiyordu. doğmamış çocuğun onun için kutsal annesine terbiyesiz diyorsunuz. kürtaja karşı çıkıyorsunuz, doğum şekline karar veriyorsunuz yetinmeyip kadınların evde kalması gerektiğini savunuyorsunuz. bunlar ağzınızdan çıkanlar, asıl aklınızdan geçenleri düşündükçe midem bulanıyor. tecavüzcüler hakkında tek kelime etmeyenler kadın olmanın ne demek olduğunu bilmeden istedikleri gibi trt gibi bir kanalda, vergilerimizle kadınlar hakkında konuşabiliyor ama benim asıl anlamadığım bu cümleleri duyarak, aşağılandığını bilerek destek olan bu zihniyeti savunan kadınlar, eşine arkadaşını tavsiye eden kadınlar. bir bebek değil, hamile bir kadın değil, bir kadın değil siz benim sinirimi bozuyorsunuz.[36]

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[34] It is interesting to see mother sacred and tell these. One should have very weird mentality to tell this. It is an ugly and nonsense declaration. (see: it is contradiction from each angle)

[35] It is a declaration to insult women's most sacred thing, which can perceive as "Oh, you seduce me with that big belly". You do politics upon women. When you wanted to get vote, you had showed them as "victims" of headscarf. Then, you label them as prostitute and whore, not let them to the streets. You don't have a word to speak if women don't exist.

[36] It's a discourse from a human who thinks that "society shall not express their thought, but we shall express our disgusting thoughts everywhere." You know motherhood was sacred and amazing, prime-minister wants 3 kids. You refer indecent to sacred women who is mother of unborn child. You are against the abortion, you decide the way of giving birth, moreover you support for woman to stay home. These go out of mouth, I hate what you exactly think in your mind. People who never speak about rapists can speak about woman on a state channel which our taxes was taken by. However, what I don't understand is those woman who hear those and still support, who offer their husbands to their friends. Not a baby, a woman, a pregnant woman, but you that annoys me.

The suser associates the discourse with the authority. While mothership is considered sacred, women's honor is also supported by the suser. S/he also blames the government and the mentality of deciding things behalf of woman, as doing them injustice.

7- düşünür olarak addedilmiş, ancak hiçbir fikir sahibi olmadan zikir sahibi olan bir kişinin beyanatıdır. çok eskiden, adet gören kadınlar için kutlama törenleri yapılırken, şimdilerde bunun için 'kirlenme, hastalanma' gibi tabirler kullanılıyor. çok eskiden, hamile kadınlar bereketi temsil ettiğinden el üstüne tutulurken, şimdilerde sokağa çıkmasına ayıp deniyor. sorunun kaynağını bu kadar gerilerde aramak istemezdim ama, (bkz: şamanizmi unutup müslüman olmuş toplum)[37]

The suser is criticizing Mr. Inancer, and people who turned into Muslim from Shamanism. S/he emphasizes woman's place by comparing Shamanism and Islam. So, s/he thinks both Islam (religion) and Mr. Inancer (personal mind) are the reasons of corrupted attitudes toward women.

8- hamile kadın, yeni doğum yapmış kadın, meleklerle eş tutulurken sen nasıl bir kalbe sahipsin ki onlara terbiyesiz diyorsun.. yahu kadın kendi kendine mi yapıyor o çocuğu... kendi kendine mi sevişmiş de olmuş... kadının sevişmesi ayıp, erkeğinki değil... yaa resmen o kadar saçma salak konuşuyorsunuz ki buna karşı bizim söylediklerimiz de saçmalaşıyor... ne anlatsam ben nafile... o kadar edepsizce düşünüyorsunuz ki her şeyi, yüce rabbimin ayaklarının altına cenneti serdiği kadınlara terbiyesiz diyebiliyorsun... gidin allah aşkına gerçekten din adına bir şeyler yapın... ben sokaktaki açları, yardıma muhtaçları, evsizleri ne yapsam da şu ekran vasıtasıyla sevindirebilsem diye kendinizi paralayın... bir fahişe ayakkabısını çıkarıp bir köpeğe su verdi diye cennetle müjdelenirken elbet rabbim yaptığın her eylem için, söylediğin her söz için sana da gereken muameleyi yapacaktır…[38]

The suser approaches in a religious way and give some examples. So s/he both try to protect pregnant woman and her sacredness, and purify Islam. Also, since s/he gets Mr. Inancer's comments as sexually criticizing, s/he emphasizes that

[37] It is a declaration from a person who is assumed as thinker that never has an idea, but word. In ancient times, people used to celebrate women's first periods, now they call this period as "being dirty or sick". In ancient times, pregnant women used to symbolize abundance and people used to show great respect, now they say it is indecent for them to go out. I wouldn't prefer to look for the source of the problem so far, but..(see: a society who forgot Shamanism and became Muslim)

[38] What kind of heart do you have that you can say indecent for a pregnant or puerpera woman who is said to be equal to angels. Does that woman do this alone? Had she made love by herself? It is indecent to make love for woman, but not for man. You speak very ridiculously, so our answers get ridiculous too. What I tell you is vain. You think so shamelessly that you called indecent the woman who Allah put the heaven under feet. Go and do something for religion. Try to make homeless people happy on this TV screen. I believe that, Allah will behave you as you deserve, while he sends a prostitute to the heaven since she gave a dog water with her shoes.

males are also involved this action. So, if someone wants to blame because of this, should do for both of them.

9- bu insanlar özellikle düşünüp buluyor bunları. kadınları nasıl daha fazla aşağılayabiliriz? nasıl eve hapsedebiliriz? iğrenç desek az kalır, örümcek beyinli desek o da değil. bu cümleyle artık manyaklıkta nirvanaya ulaşmış bir insanımsının sözü. ama suç senin değil. seni bu zihniyette yetiştiren anne-babanın suçu. karanlık çağ denilen zamanlarda bile, hani bu daha ateşin yeni bulunduğu, insanların daha yeni yeni yerleşmeye başladığı zamanlar, işte o zamanlarda bile, kadın doğurganlığından dolayı kutsal kabul edilmiş. o insanlar mı karanlık, sen mi karanlıksın tasavvuf düşünürü ömer tuğrul! 3 kutsal kitabı da okumuş biri olarak söylemeliyim ki; bu cümlenin dayandırılabilecek hiçbir ayet veya hadis yok. inanmayan biri olarak yine söylemeliyim ki; bu cümlenin dayandırılabileceği bir vicdan da yok![39]

The entry was written by an atheist who has read all 3 holly books, and his/her approach is also covering motherhood's sacredness. Also, s/he claims that they are the people who want to humiliate woman more, and this will and attitude don't come from any religion or book, but the family a person grown up in. This entry is very important, because an atheist wrote by defending religions.

10- karnında yüce allah'ımın verdiği canı taşıyan kadınlara karşı yapılmış en terbiyesizce yorum. hamile kadının sokağa çıkması terbiyesizlikmiş ulan hamile kadının canı burnunda, kendisini zor taşıyor. o haliyle sokağa çıkmış, temiz hava alıyor, yürümeye çalışıyor, belki de alışveriş edecek. sana ne lan? sana mı soracak, senden mi izin alacak? bir hamile kadınlara bulaşmadığınız kalmıştı, onlara da laf ettiniz. hamile kadına terbiyesiz demek, o kadına can bahşeden yüce allah'ıma da küfretmektir. haşa! haddinizi bileceksiniz! yüce allah'ımın can üflediği bir bebeği karnında taşıyan kadın kutsaldır. bu kadının terbiyesiz olabileceğini düşünmek yanlıştır. bunun dinimizde yeri yoktur. ulan kafaları yedirtiyorsunuz. 72 milletten adam ile namaza durdum, sohbetlere katıldım, her renk ve ırktan insanın yanındaydım ve biri de çıkıp sizin gibi, bırakın hamile kadınları, hiçbir kadına laf etmiyordu. allah'ıma bin şükür ki müslümanım ama ben böyle bir saçmalık duymadım arkadaş. töbe edin! dinden çıkıyorsunuz! vahabi saçmalığıdır... başka bir şey değil. islam'a ait sözler değil bunlar.[40]

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[39] These people find those deliberately. How can we humiliate women? How can we stuck them at home? It is not enough to call them disgusting, or spidered brain. It is a word of humanoid which reached to the nirvana of mania. IT's not your fault, but your family raised you. Woman had been accepted as sacred because of her fertility in dark ages which fire had just been found etc. Are those people dark, or you sufi Mr. Inancer? As a person who has read 3 holly books, I should tell that, there is no hadith or verse to refer this situation. As an atheist, I should tell that, there is no conscience to refer this, too.

[40] It is the most indecent comment for a pregnant woman who carries a life my Allah gives. It is indecent to walk on the street, she carries herself barely. She is on the street with that situation, she gets some fresh air, tries to walk, maybe does shopping, none of your business? Does she take permission from you? It was only pregnant woman you haven't told things, you've done it. To call pregnant woman shameless is to swear to Allah. Haşa! You will know your place. A woman who my Allah gives a life to carry is sacred. It is wrong to think that this woman is indecent. There is no place for this in our religion. You make me mad! I have prayed with 72 diverse nation people, attended to conversations, I have been with every people in color and race. No one told such thing about pregnant women. Thank God, I'm Muslim, but I've never heard such a ridiculous thing before.

The suser approachers rigidly. His/her purpose is to purify Islam through protecting and defending the mother in religion. S/he even claims that his discourse is swearing to "Allah". S/he compares different cultures having Islamic belief to highlight this situation as being out of Islam. Also, talking about Allah that chose women as a life carrier is to increase sacredness of mother.

To close, it can be made a category of some specific understandings that the susers had. Some of them rigidly reject the analysis of that Mr. Inancer meant sexuality which pregnant woman had lived; and defended him. Those who have same opinions have also discomfort about pregnant women's showing their forbidden places. In Islam, women are already ordered to be covered, so it is not different will somebody wants pregnant woman to wear close and large clothes. They have same view. On the other hand, in Islam to highlight sexual life is forbidden too. It is even said to cover bodies during the intercourse and not to look at genital organs (Demircan, 1996). So, people also may think these, but hesitate to declare.

There is a separation among perceptions for sacredness. Some of them perceive sacred as being mother, some of them perceive as protecting religious rules. It can be seen that, Islam's toleration is had by people if someone covers Islamic rules. As Mr. Inancer underlined, a mother who is out of Islamic rules can be violated through ignoring sacredness which actually God gave accordingly.

Another point to take attention is that many Muslims criticize Mr. Inancer through advocating Islam. It is also strange for Muslims to criticize a religious clergy.

Repent! You are about to reject the religion. It is nothing but a Wahabi bullshit. It doesn't belong to Islam.

6.5 TURKISH DIRECTORATE OF RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS AND TE FETWA OF "A MAN'S FEELING OF LUST FOR HIS OWN DAUGHTER."

On January, 2015, on the website of Religious Affairs Administrators, a man asked a question about feeling of lust for one's own daughter. Then, the website responded it in a very deep way as having citations from different religious scholars and event lived in the Prophet's time. The question was that "Does it affect one's marriage to feel lust while kissing one's own daughter?" (Diken, 2016, pp. http://www.diken.com.tr/diyanet-fetvayi-verdi-babanin-kizina-vucuduna-bakarak-sehvet-duymasi-haramlik-olusturmaz/). Turkish Directorate of Religious Affairs responded this question and told that there are some different views on this subject, then gave some detail about daughter's age as it should be 9, and how touching must be etc.

It got reaction in both sides; any person could ask this and Religious Affairs could respond this seriously.

6.5.1 Babanın kendi öz kızına şehvet duyması (A man's feeling of lust for his own daughter)[41]

Even though sexuality is a great taboo in Islamic society, people ask and talk about this very much. Indeed, they ask too much because they don't know exactly what they should do according to their religion. However, this question is the greatest taboo in social terms. Religious Affairs' answer included 9-year-old girl, which is a sign of pedophilia. That's why people reacted so much.

[41] https://eksisozluk.com/babanin-oz-kizina-sehvet-duymasi--5010309.

6.5.1.1 **Analysis**

1- soruyu sorana suç duyurusunda bulunacağına, sıtığımın mezhebine göre nikah ne olur ona cevap veriyor. Müslümanlara hiç bir şey haram değil zaten. Çocuk pornosu, çocuğa tecavüz, hırsızlık, yolsuzluk, arsızlık, hepsi helal! Çocukları dinden uzak yerde büyütün. [42]

The suser considers the person who asked the question potential criminal for society. Though, the question is perceived as abnormal as well. Since Religious Affairs had answered this question instead of reporting him, the suser also perceived the Religious Affairs criminal as well as the guy. S/he show reaction for that Islam accepts this situation as something normal. S/he also attaches some other crimes to Islam so that people also have same vantagepoint.

2- çok uzun yıllar önce; boyu kadar iki yetişkin kızı olan, evlatlarına sadece bakarken bile yüreği titreyen bir ağbimizin elinden, cuma hutbesinde "kızlarınıza sarılmayın, kucağınıza zinhar almayın şehvetiniz uyanır" yollu vaaz veren bir imam efendiyi zor almışlardı.. enteresan tabi, ne demiş maslow amcam; "sahip olduğunuz tek şey bir çekiçse, her şeyi çivi olarak görmeye başlarsınız"[43]

The suser gave example to show how wrong these people are. His/her example and quotation show that the suser considers them as people who have nothing but their sexuality in their mind and activity. The example also depicts a father who should mercy on his daughter in a normal sense.

3- nasıl manyak, patolojik varlıklarsınız siz! bu bana bi arkadaşın söylediği ve de katıldığım bir yazıyı hatırlattı; 'ateist arkadaşlarla genelde uzay-zaman, sanat tarihi, futbol harici spor, siyaset felsefesi falan tartışıyoruz. diğerleriyle; genelde seks.'[44]

The suser claims that religious especially Muslims have sexuality in their mind mostly. Also sees them sick of that. On the other side, Muslims' ignorance on

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[42] (Religious Affairs) answers the question as how marriage get affected according to sects, instead of reporting him! Nothing is haram for Muslims. Children porn, rape a child, robbery, corruption, shamelessness, all is halal! Raise your kids far from the religion

[43] Many years ago, a man who has two grownup daughters had been looking at his daughters in a very merciful way. One day, he had attacked to imam who gave speech that is warning about hugging and kissing daughters. It is interesting though. What uncle Maslow said is that "If all you have is a hammer, everything looks like a nail."

[44] What kind of maniac and pathological creature you are! It reminds me a note my friend told me; we discuss time-space, history of art, sport except for football, political philosophy with atheist mates. The others: having sex.

science and social culture is emphasized to present them behind the contemporariness.

4- “9 yaş sınırı, babanın kıza şehveti. her yerinden ayrı bir rezillik fışkıran durum. yaa gerçek islam bu değil diye zırlamanın manası yoktur. tam olarak budur”.[45]

The suser indicates that the real Islam is exactly this. And, s/he emphasizes that same words which must never get together normally come together in Islamic discourse; 9-year-old girl- lust and father.

5- sorulan sorudan çok verilen cevapla ürkütmüş olay. sapık pedofil her yerde var. ama koskoca devletin koskoca kurumunun buna -deleted swearword- diye cevap vermesi gerekirken gayet soğukkanlı bir şekilde ciddi ciddi açıklama yapmış olması tüyler ürpertici. bir de alıntı yaparak anlatmış. bu da demek oluyor ki yüzyıllardır üzerinde düşünülen ve tartışılan bir konu bu. normalde en azılı gerçek islam bu değilcilerdenim ama buna artık ben de cevab veremedim.[46]

The suser pays attention to the answer rather than how the question was asked or who did. Especially, it is a governmental institution. Though, government itself legitimates this situation. Beside, s/he is also one of those who support better Islam and tell this again to legitimate Islam in the same way.

6- bu soruyla ilgili diyanet'e neden kızılıyor, anlamıyorum. adamlar islami kaynakları referans alıyorlar. hadis, fıkıh ve ayet üzerinden hareket ediyorlar. olayı din olan bir kurumun dindeki kaynakları reddetmesini mi bekliyoruz? burada suçlanacak bir kurum varsa diyanet değil, islam inanışıdır. dilimizde tüy bitti "gerçek islam bu!" diye, ama yine anlatamadık. belki diyanet işleri size bir nebze anlatır.[47]

The suser expresses his/her thought about Islam and how wrong it is. This disgrace depends on written sources which have been constituted in the name of

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[45] Age of 9 limitation, father’s lust for daughters. It is disgrace on every side. No meaning in blubbering by saying “it is not real Islam”. It s exactly this.

[46] The incident is frightful because of not the question but the answer. Pervert pedophiliac is everywhere. But, it is frightening that a great institution which belongs to the great government should have answered him as “get out of here! Idiot” rather than answering seriously in a nonchalant way. Moreover it made citation. It means, it is such a subject that people has been thinking on it for ages. Normally, I am one of those who support that this Islam is not the real one, but I even couldn’t answer this.

[47] I don’t get why people are mad at Religious Affairs. They speak based on Islamic references. They move with hadith, sunnah and fiqh. Do we expect for an institution which has religious purpose to ignore the religion? Islam itself is the one which has to be blamed, not the institution.We are out of word to tell “This is the real Islam”, but we couldn’t make them grasp. Maybe, Religious Affairs may tell you a bit.

Islam for ages. The source of this disgrace is seen as Islam itself, neither Religious Affairs nor that man.

7- “yıllardır bu ülke'de bazı kesimlerden en çok duyulan serzeniş "dinimizi istediğimiz gibi yaşayamıyoruz” abi iyi ki yaşamamışsınız bu ne mk. ”[48]

The suser finds right the restrictions which have been applied for many years for Muslims. S/he claims this kind of religion is not suitable to set free, indeed. So, s/he tries to indicate that Muslims are not civilized but people who should be restricted.

8- artık patlayacak hale geldim. yedi sayfa görüş okudum, yetmedi basını okudum ve sadece dini siyaseti eleştiren savunan yorumlar. bir allah'in kulu da çıkıp bu soru hasta bir aklın sorusu verilen cevap ise daha hastalıklı demiyor diyemiyor. karşımızda koskoca bütçesi çalışanlarıyla bu soruyu soranın kim olduğu bulunmalı ilgili adli mercilere haber verilmeli dememiş havanda su dövmüş bir kurum var. eleştirilecek ise o kurumda bunları yapmayanlar eleştirilmeli. kendimize ait biraz saygımız kaldıysa politika ve kişilerden çok bu tür olayların sorumlularının bulunmasını istemeliyiz.[49]

The suser clearly criticizes Religious Affairs for not reporting these kind of people and spend their very large budget by thinking on these kind of morbose things. S/he emphasizes how unnecessary and useless institution Religious Affairs is. Also, s/he is on the side of that this kind of problems should be solved by thinking out of politics, through being human.

9- “ben babamın anneme bile şehvetle baktığını görmedim, bu adamlarda nasıl baba varsa artık.. (bkz: bi şey demiyorum pes diyorum)”[50]

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[48] One of the most heard reproach from some parts of the country is that “We can’t live our religion as we wish.” Oh brother, it’s been good you can’t, what the damn is that?

[49] I am about to explode. I’ve read 7 pages view, then press, and those comment just criticize or support Islamic politics. None of God’s man can say that both question and answer belong to mental people. We have such a great-budgeted institution here which didn’t ask and interrogate and report him, but beat the air. Those people who didn’t do these things should be criticized. If we still have some respect to ourselves, we ignore politics or people, and should will those responsible to be found.

[50] I have never seen my father while looking at my mother in this way. What kind of father they have! (see: I say nothing but give up!)

The suser defines father as who even doesn't look at mother in a sexual way in public. S/he blesses her/his father's fathership by contrasting to the man who asked the question. Thus, s/he reduces authority and dignity of that man's fathership.

10- altını çizmek istiyorum: "ayrıca kızın, 9 yaşından büyük olması gerekir. şehvet duymanın işareti, erkeğin organında bir uyanma, uyanıksa uyanışının artması..." öz kıza şehvet duymayı geçtim, dokuz yaşından büyük olması nasıl bir kıstas öyle? mesela 10 yaşında ve öz kızı olmayan bir ilkokul çocuğuysa zaten serbest mi? 11? 12? 13? 14? 15? 16? 17? aranızda hala çocuk istismarcısı yobazlar için münferit diyen var mı?[51]

The suser especially pay attention to 9-year-old girl in order to emphasize how Muslims are unenlighted and pedophiliac.

The part of analysis shows that almost all comments react to Islam religion itself rather than the man who asked the question. In this sense, religion and the institution are taken as authority to handle these kinds of questions and make this kind of people stay away from the society. However, answering the question decreases Religious Affairs' authority as well as Islam's.

Islam is one of the greatest sacredness all over the world, which means its followers are greater too. On the other side, sexuality is a taboo and sacred in a way in Islam as well. Whilst women have to live this secretly, men's sexuality is pretty visible. So, their visibility goes further as it has been in this subject. However, children and children right are universally sacred. On the top, father and daughter relationship is one of the significant value in every society. It has been figured out that this question wasn't asked or thought for the first time. Moreover, Religious Affairs involved children's age of 9, which is clearly pedophilia.

Since it took too much reaction, website deleted it; but people took screenshot to spread and show. As it is seen in the analysis part, most of the reactions toward Islam itself, not a "mental" man who asked this. People's

[51] I want to highlight:"also a daughter should be above 9-year-old. The sign of lust is starting erection or rising erection. I checked that okay, but what kind of criterion that being above 9-year-old. For example, is it normal and free if the girl is above 10 and in-law? 11? 12? 13? 14? 15? 16? 17? Is there anybody to call these pedophilac bigoted people as individual yet?

comments have the feeling of rightness about how bad societies are Muslim societies. Most of them placed the statement that Muslim people have been whining about their rights. After Religious Affairs gave this explanation, Islam has been labeled as pedophiliac and incestuous.

So, people pay attention and bless father and daughter relationship, and also children's safety. Moreover, people who declared they are Muslim also reacted in a surprising way and didn't accept the situation. Therefore, the religion lost the dignity and authority as a sacred.

6.6 DISCOURSE FROM CHIEF PUBLIC PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE "DJEMEVI[52] IS NOT A HOUSE OF WORSHIP"[53]

Djemevi is a place where Alawia people come together and have their ritual to pray for God. Every thursday, women and men go together and pray without separation. However, Djemevi isn't accepted as a legal or valid "house of worship" by the government. The government supports something different. There was a case between Alawia Community Foundation and the government, in 2012. Chief Public Prosecutor's Office's Head said that;

> Alawism is not a religion. Though, Djemevi is not a house of worship, but name of the meeting. There is seen a purpose and effort in the case to bring the society into a chaos, not a peace. (Ntv Türkiye, 2012, pp. http://www.ntv.com.tr/turkiye/yargitay-cemevi-ibadethane-degildir,K95HY-gpNkOrnRcbIvOdpQ)

First of all, while talking about a formation of any religious subject doesn't belong to Office of Chief Public Prosecutor, they even conclude the subject by negating that neither Alawism as a religion nor their worship exist. The authority which belongs to the government, here, has the right to define of confirm what a

[52] Cem Evi
[53] https://eksisozluk.com/cemevinin-bir-ibadethane-olmadigi-gercegi--3535995.

house of worship is.

6.6.1 **Cemevi ibadethane değildir (Djemevi is not a house of worship)**

6.6.1.1 **Analysis- 6**

1- “bir alevi olarak ibadethane diyorsam, ibadethanedir. sayfalarca yazı yazmaya gerek yoktur, enerjinizi 'hak ve özgürlükler' için harcayın.”[54]

The suser means that its being a house of worship depends on what Alawia people consider, and some others saying doesn’t affect its existence. On the other hand, the suser takes attention to some other things going in the country, which needs to be interrogated and dealt with. In this point, subtext says that the relationship with Alawi people has more important purpose in some ways.

2- “yobazlardaki alevi nefreti yüzünden, yasal olarak tanınmayandır. Ibadethanemdir.”[55]

The suser refers that the authority who doesn’t recognize Djemevis as a house of worship are the bigot people who hate Alawism. The things which should be independent from personal opinions are determined with people’s personal attitude.

3- eğer sizi zorla askere alırlar, sonra da öldürürlerse, cenaze namazını burada kıldırtmaz şanlı türk ordusu. ailenizin elinden gasbeder ve camiye koştururlar. "dâvamız mahşere kaldı yarın bu senden sorulur”[56]

The suser indicates that for the sake of country, the state considers you as a patriot Turkish-Muslim soldier and gives you a status such this. Thus, it is not only ignoring the religion, but the identity as well.

4- devlet tarafından camilere her türlü yardım ve vergi indirimi sağlanır, faturaları tüm vatandaşların vergilerinden ödenirken, hiç bir destek sağlanmayan ve halen devletin gözünde "dernek lokali" gibi

[54] As an Alewia if I call it a house of worship, it is so. No need to write pages, spend your energy for human rights and freedom.
[55] It is my house of worship which is not identified because of the hate bigot has for Alewias.
[56] Glorious Turkish Army doesn’t let you perform a funeral prayer for an Alawi who is taken to army obligingly and kills there. They take him from your hand and run for mosque. “Our matter is not to be solved till the judgement and you are going to be the one to be held responsible”

muamele gören ibadethanedir. içindeki ibadete karışılmamış denirken, içerideki ibadetin varlığı dahi inkar edilmektedir.[57]

The suser tells clearly how the government ignore to help and even their existence in this sense. Even though, Alawi people declare that Djem is a praying, the government doesn't accept this by using its "relative autonomy" (Poulantzas, 2011, p. 406). On the other hand, it is emphasized that Alawi citizens pay their taxes which are used for mosques by the government, but they and the other people do nothing for Djemevi's recognition.

5- "devlet tarafından tanınmamış ve cümbüş yeri olarak itham edilmiş yer."[58]

The suser highlights that it is not only the government doesn't recognize, but also consider whose places like clubs. In this sense, it is emphasized that the government discriminates people according to their belief. Even though a house of worship doesn't need to be recognized by the government in a secular country, the government involves in the subject by directing it onto very different side.

6- hayatımda gitmediğim, görmediğim bir ibadethane. lakin hakkında bir ara "cümbüş evi" olduğunu duydum, şimdi de "terör yuvası" olduğunu duyuyorum. ama bir de oraya gitmiş, ibadet yapmışlara bakıyorum, tek gözüme çarpan yanları "insan" oldukları.[59]

The suser gives example about Djemevies to highlight that they are actually alienated by and from the society. However, their only feature is being "human". By saying this, the suser indicates that their humanity is more than other people's claims.

7- "bu ülkede içinden nice cenazelerin çıktığı ibadet evidir."[60]

The suser also indicates that they have suffered in a way and the country/ government might be responsible for it. It shows that not only their praying house,

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[57] It is such a house of worship that is seen as a foundation by government and never helped while taxes and all possibilities are being provided for mosques. Whilst it is said it isn't intervene for the worship inside, its existance is even denied.
[58] It is a place that isn't identified and is called as lark hause by the government.
[59] It is a house that I've never been and seen. Yet, I heard that it is "lark house" and now "terror house". Also, I look at those people who have gone there and prayed, their only feature is being a "human".
[60] It is such a house of worship that many funerals have come out of in this country.

but also fundamental rights aren't recognized.

8- "içinden çıkıldıktan sonra adam toplu halde adam öldürmeye gidilmeyen ibadethane."[61]

The suser takes attention to mosques and associates them with Daesh which is a terrorist group to kill people in behalf of Islam. The suser blesses it since it is at least not killing people.

9- sadece ve sadece diyanet islerinin bir fetvasiyla hukuk sistemimize girmistir. yani diyanet hristiyanlik diye bir din yoktur diye fetva verse kliseleri kapatacak kolluk kuvveti+yargi. zira türkiyede alevi sayisi hristiyanlardan fazladir. sene olmus 2012 tc güya laik; ve yargi, bir fetvaya göre veriliyor. ekleyelim: klasik moda olan atatürk, kemalist muhabbetinden sonra bilinmesi gereken sey, ataturk zamaninda kurulan örgütün 80 sene sonraki haliyle ilk kuruldugu andakinin karsilastirilmasidir. yani devlet kurumlari evrimlesir, acilir kapanir, bir dönem gerekli olur sonra gerekli olmaz ya da sonraki gelen sagci iktidarlar tarafindan kötüye kullanilmis olabilir. atatürk mü emretti diyanete alevi köylerine cami yapilmasini? ya da bu amacla mi kuruldu diyanet? belki cevabi bilinmez verelim: "hayir".[62]

The suser reflects how strange to call Religious Affairs and secular-law at the same place. So, the Religious Affairs have an authority as much as law system which is determined by the power. Religion is not just a religion but one of the most important tool of reaching the power.

10- "devlet tarafından ahır bile yapılmamış, genellikle hep yıkılmış ibadet evi."[63]

Subtext declares that Djemevi is not such a place that the state supports but destructs. Their identity and culture has never been recognized and found valuable.

Alawism is a synthesis coming from primary stages of human kind. After Islam had occurred, Alawi people had Ali who was son-in-law of prophet Muhammad as a last figure for their synthesis. They had suffered too much by the

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[61] It is sucha a house of worship that people don't go to kill anybody after the praying.

[62] It exists in our legislation only by the word of Religious Affairs, it means if they deny the existance of Christianity, army and judge will close the churches. However, the number of Alewi is higher than Christians. It is 2012, TR is laic though, and judge is according to fetwa. In addition, besides classical trend Ataturk/Kemalist issue, it should be known that it is a comparison of the institute's conditions which was established 80 years ago and now. So, state institutions evolve, open and close, be necessary or not or use in a bad or good way. Was it Ataturk to command for Religious Affairs to burn Alewi villages? Or was it the purpose to establish it? It may not be known, let's say: "No"

[63] It is a house of worship which has always been destructed by the government an deven haven't been made cowhouse.

time, so Ali became their symbol to show “suffering unjustly”. Therefore, they connected to Islam in a way. Their geography which is Turkey itself, and regimes on this country had effects on those people in living their cultures as they know. They assimilated or chose to be assimilated so that they can survive (İrat, 2013).

Since they have connection with Islam, Turkish State which has a state religion as Hanafi-Sunni stands against Alawis so that they can’t unite and have power. Also, there is another factor to avoid them from the power, it is their races which mostly come from Kurdishness. This double identity has showed up in politics many times. Mr. Kılıcdaroglu who is the head of main opposition party of Turkey is Alawi and sometimes representation chaoses occurs. In this point, it should be said that Alawi people want neither representation nor budget, but to be recognized, at least not to be ignored as an identity. Not recognizing them as an identity could be seen the subject of politics, however, their house of worship must be the subject of themselves. So, their point here to save the sacred one and keep alive their thousands-year synthesis culture and worshipping.

In order to understand the entries, this background must have been given. Their reaction is mostly on the side of how the state had them suffered and how the freedom is just for upper identities in the country. It is seen that the government doesn’t accept those places as a house of worship and also doesn’t want for society to accept as well. That’s why, even though the Chief of Public Prosecutor’s Office’s Head didn’t use directly but those kinds of people declare any time, susers tried to use some important and key words to show how society’s perception has been directed such as; clubs and dancing places, lobbies and cultural places. These are important keywords to have people believe that those places are where conservative people normally stay away and not legal. Though, this comes from the power which is supported half of the population. It is not too hard to have their supports.

On the other side, while Alawi case is here just related to “worshipping”, society and the government shows and dictates the case as dividing society in an unpeaceful way. So, when it is considered the subject in the aspect of sacred, Alawi

people are so sure about their belief and attitude that they don't even take this refusal into account and they keep thinking in the way they are on. In this sense, it can be said that, their sacred has the full support and power, even non-Alawi people could go along.

6.7 REMOVING THE TURKISH OATH "ANDIMIZ"

In 2013, the National Turkish Oath called "Andımız" which was read every morning at schools was removed by virtue of racism. Recep Tayyip Erdogan who was the prime-minister of the term said so;

> Implementation of National Oath began in 1933. Author was Resit Galip who was contradictory name at that time. He was also implementing the torture of Turkish Azan. No one can become Turk by saying 'I'm Turk' every morning (Milliyet, 2013, pp. http://www.milliyet.com.tr/erdogan-dan-partililere-gonderme/siyaset/detay/1774517/default.htm)

In this sense, title tries to tell how Mr. Erdogan was right. If someone can't be Turk by saying "I'm Turk", no one can go and pray by hearing "come to pray" five times in a day.

6.7.1 A Reaction from whom don't want to hear Azan "Azan shall be removed as well as the Oath"[64]

Upon Mr. Erdogan's removing the implementation, Eksi susers created a title "Azan shall be removed as well as the Oath".

6.7.1.1 Analysis- 7

1- mübarek ezanla sifon sesini bir tutan bazı bilinçsiz kardeşlerimizi tanımamıza vesile olmuştur. ezan islam'ın şartlarından değildir. kuran'da geçmez. ms 7. yüzyıldan saat icat edilene dek allah'a tapanları ibadete çağırmaya yarayan bir araçtır. ezanın 21. yüzyıl dünyasında yeri yoktur. kimsenin sabahın 5'inde insanları rahatsız etmeye de hakkı yoktur. namaz gösteriş işi değildir, bir ibadettir.

[64] https://eksisozluk.com/andimiz-ile-birlikte-ezan-da-kaldirilsin--4050430.

ezanın kaldırılması gerçek islam'a bir adım daha yaklaşılmasını, öze varılmasını sağlayacaktır. makul bir taleptir.[65]

The suser insults the Oath and blesses Azan. However, by explaining that Azan is not the need of today, the suser shows that Azan is not about our life as profane, but sacred. That's why people keep it. In this sense, Oath is seen that no one cares about in a sacred way. In another word, nation's sacredness is decreased and religion's is increased.

2- "zorla alinan din dersini kaldirmayip, andimizi kaldiran zihniyetin cevap veremedigi dusunce. artik demokrasi o kadar ileri ki gorunmuyor!"[66]

The suser also follows Mr. Erdogan's explanation of having pressure doesn't work on someone's choices, and talks about mandatory religion education in schools. It, indeed, questions what the real purpose is to do that.

3- kesinlikle haklı bulduğum istek. sabahın köründe inanılmaz bi şekilde birinin bağırmaya ve beni uykumdan uyandırmya ne hakkı var?evet zorla dedirtmiyosun müslümanım diye ama benden aldığın vergilerle benin inanmadığım dine mensup kişi beni zorla uyandırıyor sabahın köründe.[67]

The suser has emphasis on taxes taken from citizens to show that actual power belongs to the citizens ignored. However, azan is considered something annoying and pressure.

4- basit bir demokratik taleptir. dincilere göre dinin elden gitmesidir. ha şurası var, sen ezan zorla okunsun, isteyen istemeyen herkes zorla dinleyecek dersen bu ülkede daha çok gezi benzeri eylemler olur. etki tepki meselesi tabi. saltanat yıkılalı çok oldu.[68]

The suser indicates that the title is just a democratic demand, but is aware of how important for religious people around. The suser shows how much religious

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[65] It helps us to recognize irogant brothers which equate mubarak azan and the voice of siphon. Azan is not a must of Islam, it doesn't place in Quran. I has been a tool to invite Muslims top ray until AD 7 when the clock established. Azan is not necessary in 21st century. Nobody has right to disturb people at 5 in the morning. Pray is not a tool of vanity but worship. Removing azan will provide to get closer to real Islam, to arrive at the essense. So, it is a reasonable demand.

[66] It is a thought which the mentality that removes oath but not religion lesson can't answer. Democracy is too far that it is invisible.

[67] I defineiely agree. How can one have right to yell and wake me up in the cockcrow? Yes you don't force me to declare that I am Muslim, but you use my taxes for the religoin that I don't involve to wake me up in the cockcrow.

[68] It is a simple democratic demand. According to religious people, it means religion will be vanished. Also, if you say that it will be wheter you want ot not, there will be several Gezi Protests in this country. It is a reaction matter. I has been so long that sultanate had gone.

people give importance to azan in a powerful way that as if it is the religion itself. Also, this imposition is the reasons and sources Gezi kind of protests, which is not to care about every one's demand equally.

5- halkı arapça bilmeyen türkiye cumhuriyeti vatandaşlarına dayatılan yüksek desibelli arapça namaz çağrısına yönelik kampanya. bildiğim kadarıyla kuran-ı kerim'de ezanı bugünkü şekliyle tarif eden bir tek cümle dahi yok. aslında islam dinine aykırı bir uygulama de diyebiliriz. hazır her yandan demokratikleşirken, dinimizi zedeleyen bu tip uygulamalara da neşter atmak lazım.[69]

The suser associates azan with Islam itself to prove how unrelated they are. So, this also proves that Muslim people in the country keeps azan which is not grasped by most, because they are used to it as much as religion and culture. Thus, actually azan is not an item from the religion but the tradition.

6- benim için sakıncası yok. sonuçta ezan islam'ın şartı ya da olmazsa olmazı değil. o günün şartlarında duyulan ihtiyaç nedeniyle uygulanmış. şimdi namaz vaktini bilmenin bir çok yöntemi var.[70]

The suser evaluates ezan in a profane way. In other word, azan is not a pray or sura but a "clock".

7- bir istek. benim beklediğim de nüfus cüzdanından din hanesinin kaldırılması idi. madem din ve vicdan özgürlüğü diyorsun, bu dayatmaya gerek yok o halde. biri "zorlama yok" mu demişti?[71]

The suser takes title as a normative way and define it to decrease its holiness and reaction. Also, the suser highlights the importance of fundamental and conscience freedom.

8- laik demokratik bi ulkede olmasi gerekendir. en fazla cuma salasi icin cagrida bulunabilirler. gunde 5 kere hele hele sabahin korunde herkes arapca duymak zorunda degil. ileri demokrasilerde olmamasi lazim.[72]

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[69] It is a campaign for high volumed Arabic pray invitation for Turkish people that don't know Arabic. As I know, there isn't single sentence in Quran to define azan's today version. Indeed, we can say that it is a contrarian practice for Islam. While we are democratizing everywhere, we should cut these kind of practices too.

[70] It is not a problem for me, in the end it is not a must in Islam. It was a need at that moment. Now, there are many ways to know pray's time.

[71] A demand. My will was to be removed the religion section on ID. You support religion and consience freedom, there is no need fort his imposition. Did somebody say "there isn't force"?

[72] It is something a laic country must have. At most, they can invite with salah for Friday. 5 times in a day, moreover in the cockcrow nobody has to hear this Arabic. It musn't be in advanced democracy.

The suser welcomes the idea, since it is something normal in “laic” countries as Turkey is. To say this, the suser falsifies this kind of religious implementations.

9- ezan sesi belirli bir desibeli geçmeyecek şekilde düzenlenebilir. müslüman olmayan birisi günde 5 defa bangır bangır anlamadığı dilden bir şeyleri zorla dinlemek zorunda bırakılamaz. ileri demokrasi bunu gerektirir. yalnız bu durum andımız'ın kaldırılması ile bir tutulamaz ayrı konulardır. eğer andımız ile bir tutulması gereken bir konu var ise; (bkz: zorunlu din dersi)[73]

Even though, the title seems logical to the suser, it is suggested to compare and contrast things accordingly in a situation. Also, the suser considers non-Muslim’s rights.

10- demokrat geçinen şeriatçıların ezberini bozan demokratik bir talep. ezanı kaldırmıyorsan birisi de kamyonetle gezip "şeytan efendimize itaat edin" diyebilmelidir. diyemiyorsa devlet tamamen subjektif kriterlere sahip bir dünya görüşünü dayatıyor demektir. ki öyle yapıyor. çünkü din, varlığını sürdürebilmek için baskıya muhtaç.[74]

The suser criticizes that the state is in one way understanding of religion which is Islam. Also, the suser tries to reduce ISlamist-democrats’ authority to normalize the title in which democracy.

Almost all entries were on the side of freedom of conscience. Also, they consider attitudes towards non-Muslim people. Thus, if being religious is a right, being non-religious must be one as well. If someone would like to hear ringing bell, should hear. However, only azan is allowed for Muslims, not else. So, these conditions come together with what Mr. Erdogan said and creates a paradox.

This country’s name is Turkish Republic and its politic feature is being laic. However, the state forbids something about “Turkishness” but allows “azan” with its own hand and power. Also, this country is democratic. So, any individual’s right is ignored by falsifying this title.

[73] The voice of azan can be regulated in a way not to exceed a determined decibel. Non-muslim shouldn’t be exposed to listen 5 times that one can’t understand. Advanced democracy requires this. Yet, it is not equated this situation with removing the oath. Oath should be equated with obligatory religion subject.

[74] It is such a democratic demand that surprises followers of sharia which are so called democratic. If you don’t remove azan, another one can travel by saying “obey master devil”. If not, then the state is imposing a subjective world view for citizens. It does though. Because, religion needs a pressure to continue.

On the other side, Mr. Erdogan's explanation is directly related with what is wanted in the title. Since non-Turks don't prefer to be assimilated, the state gives them this right.

In the analysis, it is seen that most rated ones are all supporting the title. Besides Mr. Erdogan's explanations and the title, susers' language is the clue to understand today. Azan has been one of the most internalized and moved tradition since prophet's time. However, to look at susers' comments, they can easily mention about azan in a bad way such as how annoying it is and noisy. It can be put such a comment that while the sacred is spreading the profane's district, it is getting profane.

6.8 ERDOGAN'S SPEECH "SORRY, THEY SAID WORSE THINGS EVEN ARMENIAN"[75]

Mr. Erdogan talked on NTV before the election of presidentship in 2014. While he was mentioning about some people guessed him Georgian and more: "They called me Georgian, sorry but they called worse even Armenian, I am Turk." (Bianet, 2014, pp. http://bianet.org/bianet/toplum/157616-erdogan-afedersin-ermeni-diyen-oldu.)

His point is so clear that is considered as a hate speech towards Armenian Society. He, clearly, indicates Armenian people as a symbol of insult.

6.8.1 **Afedersiniz daha kötü şeyler, Ermeni diyen oldu. (Sorry, they said worse things even Armenian)**

6.8.1.1 **Analysis- 8**

1- "hadi gurcu neyse de" kismi da vardi basinda. yemin ediyorum 30 saniye izleme gafletinde bulundum, buna denk geldim. adam 1 dakika icinde seri sekilde mezhep, din, dil ve irk ayrimi yapmak suretiyle insanlari kin, nefret ve dusmanliga sevk ederek kendince bir rekor kirdi sanirim.

[75] https://eksisozluk.com/afedersin-cok-daha-cirkin-seyler-ermeni-diyen-oldu--4496611

buzul adam sov yapiyor.[76]

The suser highlights that Georgian people are also denigrated. The suser takes attention that, term's candidate of president is such a dividing person in contrast to whom he should be like. Actually, in this point, it is grasped that his supporters would use the same expression.

2- prompter olmayınca 3 tane mantıklı cümleyi arka arkaya kuramayacak düzeyde zeka ve liyakat sahibi birinin son incisi. önce siyasi partiler kanunu'na açıkça aykırı şekilde unsurlar barındıran reklamlarını "yahu siz nasıl müslümansınız, nasıl bayrak sevginiz var?" edebiyatıyla savundu, sonra da bu lafı etti. ileride bir nesil; "afedersin, babam recep tayyip erdoğan'a oy vermiş" diyecek, hiç merak etmesin...[77]

The suser also criticize Mr. Erdogan's personality and disability of speaking without prompter. Indeed, the suser shows Mr. Erdogan is not able to think by himself and not enough to be a president. On the other side, the suser claims that Mr. Erdogan himself will be the symbol of insulting one day. This is more than a claim, but an expectation.

3- "ya cok komik. turkiye cumhuriyeti cumhurbaskani adayi bu adam lan. neyse cogunluk da ermeni degil ya zaten, oyu veren onlar neticede."[78]

The suser highlights that it doesn't matter to talk about minorities, since they don't have enough power to make change or affect the current condition.

4- "recep tayyip erdoğan'ın dünya görüşünü ve hümanistliğini yansıtan bir söz."[79]

It is short and clear to criticize Mr. Erdogan's personality in a sarcastic way. In this sense, the suser intended to say that he doesn't like all kind people even though they are his own citizens though.

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[76] There is also "Georgian anyway!" part. I swear I watched 30 second and coincided this. He set a record in a minute about religion, language, race by directing people to hostility. Ice man is presenting a Show.

[77] The latest movement of the man whose intelligance degree cannot even form 3 sentences without prompter. First, he defended the advertesement which is contrarian to elections law by saying "What kind of Muslim you are, what kind of flag love is that?, then told this. In the future, a generation will say "sorry, my father voted Mr. Erdoğan". Don't worry.

[78] It is so funny. This man is a candidate of Republican President of Turkey. Whatever, most of population is not Armenian, they will vote though.

[79] It reflects Mr. Erdoğan's worldview and humanism.

5- (bkz: tck 216) "halkın bir kesimini, sosyal sınıf, ırk, din, mezhep, cinsiyet veya bölge farklılığına dayanarak alenen aşağılayan kişi, altı aydan bir yıla kadar hapis cezası ile cezalandırılır." [80]

It is a strict entry which explains that Mr. Erdogan, indeed, commits a crime as a head of the country. So, his supporters can have the same attitude anymore without hesitating.

6- "yurdum insanında bu cümlenin ne kadar yanlış olduğunu anlayabilecek kafa yoktur. utanç verici bir beyandır."[81]

Entry takes different part from the situation and indicates that the country is already full of people who are in the same mind with him.

7- senin o çirkin dediğin ermeniler zamanında oturdukları köylerdeki zanaatkarlardı; taş ustaları, nalbantlar, kuyumcular... hep bahsettiğin o yüce padişahlarının oturduğu sarayları da ermeniler yaptı. böyle bir başbakanım olduğu için utanıyorum. yetmedi mi bu halka bu kadar zulmettiğiniz?[82]

The suser supports Armenians as how good they are in social and business life, also a lot in Turkish society since Ottoman times. The suser emphasizes that, he indeed, should hug all rather than torturing.

8- neyi kastedip etmediği çok da önemli değil. kendisini protesto eden birine israil dölü diyen bir adamdan bahsediyoruz. diğer icraatları da ortada. buraya gelip de "aslında öyle demedi ama kemalist kafası" diyince peygamberinizi aklamış olmuyorsunuz beyinsiz ak-it'ler.[83]

This entry gives different example about Mr. Erdogan's attitude which sometimes racist as well. Also, it reflects that this discussion can be separater AKP supporters and others.

9- dünyanın en rahat başbakanına sahip olduğumuzu gösteren beyanat. o kadar rahattır ki bugün bunu derken, yarın ermeniler ile kucaklaşma görüntüleri sergileyebilir, aferdersiniz alevi diye rakibini yuhlatırken bir süre sonra cem evinde poz verebilir. o kadar rahat yani bizim başbakan.

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[80] One of legislation rule about race-religion-language and hostility is served.
[81] There is no mentality to understand how wrong this statement is among our people. Shamefull statement.
[82] Those Armenina you called as ugly was craftsman, stone masters, jewelers. Those palaces where sultans lived which you always mantion was made by them. I ashame because I have this kind of prime-minister. Isn't it enough to oppress?
[83] It is not important what he meant or not. He is a man who told "Israel offspring" for somebody protested him. His other practices are also visible. When you say "he didn't mean it you kemalists", you don't justify you prophet, you Ak-dogs.

böyle milleti seçmenine denk.. mis.[84]

The suser mentions that Mr. Erdogan is very relax about this situation. Indeed, it shows that society neglects this kind of things to question or support minorities. Also, it shows that politics and politicians have strict and unreal ideas and behaviors towards others.

10- babaannem dışında insanlara ermeni diye hakaret eden bir başkasının daha olduğunu görmeme sebebiyet vermiştir. babaannem 90 küsür yaşında ve azeri. diğeri türkiye başbakanı ve cumhurbaşkanı adayı.[85]

The suser indicates that there is no reason to insult or denigrate Armenians for Mr. Erdogan. So, if there is no physical reason, there is some hidden reasons though. It might be ideological as it has been since Ottoman's last periods.

Most of the entries are about Mr. Erdogan's personality rather than explaining or highlighting the hate speech on Armenians of Georgians. Most of their subtext reflects Turkish society which is careless about minorities and hate crimes. It is also clear that people showed that they dislike even hate Mr. Erdogan's personality and don't fit presidentship to him.

However, top rated entries missed some important points such as why Armenian is worse than Georgians, and why people call him Armenian.

As everybody knows, Armenian Genocide has been a contradictory issue in Turkish history and hasn't reached any common point yet. Whilst Armenians assume it was genocide, the government denies. (Akademik Perspektif, 2011) Though, it occurs two opposite group even though they live in the same country with the same citizenship. There is no such thing with Georgians. That's why Mr. Erdogan considered it worse as an "enemy and non-Muslim". On the other side, people who don't like Mr. Erdogan called him as Armenian to insult him, which is

[84] It is a proof that we have the calmest prime-minister of the world. He is so calmest that he states this and then he can hug Armenians, while he is booing his competitor due to being Alewi, he can pose in front of Djemevi. Our prime-minister that much relax.

[85] It causes me to see that except form my grandma, another one also uses Armenian as an insult. My grandma is 90 or over and she is Azeri. The other one is Turkey's prime minister and candidate of republican presidentship.

not something Mr. Erdogan created but others had already.

On the other hand, considering the subject in sacred and profane aspect is obviously complicated. Is a nationality, religion or community the sacred one here? To answer this, Mr. Erdogan should be analyzed carefully. So, it is known he is a religious man and follows the Muslim community in his sense. Here, Mr. Erdogan denigrated Armenians' non-Muslimness and not belonging in the community. However, his declaration of "I am Turk" actually announced that he comes from Ottoman-White and has an Islamic background. That's why he also rejected Georgiannes in a harsh way.

6.9 ERDOGAN'S PROPOSAL "BAN OF ABORTION"[86]

In 2012, Mr. Erdogan prime-minister of the time began to prepare legislation about abortion and caesarean. He stated that;

> I told my minister. We are preparing a legislation about abortion and we are going to implement it. It has a value in our heritage. It is not allowed… It is a murder. (Hürriyet, 2012, pp. http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/kurtaj-yasasi-cikartacagiz-20654033)

First of all, Mr. Erdogan considers abortion in terms of religious status, rather than the health condition. However, it is a very personal decision and circumstances. It is an intervention directly to women's body. On the other hand, scientifically embryo is not a human but tissue. Therefore, it is not a murder in a way.

Secondly, abortion must be implemented on people who are raped by someone or husband. No one has to give a birth a child who is from undesired one. Also, sometimes not only women but also men don't want to have a kid. So, decision belongs to the family or women.

[86] https://eksisozluk.com/kurtaj-yasagi--3399352

6.9.1 **Kürtaj Yasağı (Ban of Abortion)**

6.9.1.1 **Analysis- 9**

1- tecavüz edilen, şiddete uğrayan çocukları umursamayan toplumun, pek ikiyüzlüce bulduğum tepkisine konu olan yasak. aile içi tecavüzlerden nur topu bebeklerimiz olsun değil mi, yeter ki üreyelim, nasılı önemli değil.[87]

The suser's subtext is that the main purpose of this legislation is not to prevent murder of children but to intervene women's body and have authority upon again. Since, there are millions of kids suffering outside, even killed, this legislation doesn't cover the expectations about real issues.

2- cinsel eğitim vermeyen bir ülke olduğumuz düşünülürse, tüy dikmektir. Müstehak. gerçi ben ne bekliyorsam? insan düşmanı bir devlet, kadın düşmanlığından imtina edecek değil ya![88]

The entry's subtext is that the country is away from educating people about sexuality, however, when sexuality is related to women somehow they involve.

3- embriyoyu suni yollardan rahime yerleştirmeye (bkz: tüp bebek) izin verip -hatta destekleyip- sıra suni yollardan almaya gelince yasaklamak isteyen kimselerin olmasını istediği yasaktır. ne de olsa allah'ın verdiği canı bir tek allah alabilir, ama allahın verdiği canı size bir iğneyle başkası verebilir. hatta bir anda, birden fazla çocuk sahibi olabilir, cinsiyetine bile karar verebilirsiniz. buna devlet de allah da bir şey demez merak etmeyin. edit: harften kelli imla.[89]

The suser's subtext can be read so; the real purpose is not even religion, since test-tube baby is just the reverse operation of this. If it was about God's power, they also forbid test-tube baby, but they don't.

4- 4 haftayla sınırlandırılacakmış efendim. kadınların 21 ila 36-37 gün arasında âdet gördüğünü bilmeyen bir hökümetimiz var. bunlardan biri de profesööör dohtur sağlık bakanı. öff, şiştim resmen.

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[87] It is such a ban that I don't find sincere due to the fact that they don't care about raped women, beaten children. We have babies by domestic raping ha? As long as we reproduce, it doesn't matter how.

[88] When it is considered that we are such a country that don't educate people sexually, it is crown it all. It worthes! What do I expect though.. The state which is enemy of human, of course won't refuse being enemy of women.

[89] It is allowed to place baby into the uterus by a needle, but not allowed to take it out. At some point, a life is given and taken by Allah, but you can give this life to somebody by needle. Also you may have more than one kids at the same time and decide thair sex. Niether God nor state intervenes this, don't worry.

edit: özel istek üzerine: çoh bencilim, çoh tembelim, bebeğin sorumluluğunu alamayacak kadar yüzeyselim, hiç olgun değilim hemi de. sana ne be![90]

The suser indicates that the government presents ways that are actually impossible to go. So, they don't bring solutions or common results, but this. On the other side, the suser indicates that no woman must prove her health condition, it is very normal to have social or personal problems and preferences.

5- kürtaj sayısını azaltmak yerine, ölen kadın sayısını artıracak yasaktır. ama bu ülke; tecavüz edildiği, boşandığı, terkettiği, terkedildiği, sevdiği, aşık olduğu, aşık olamadığı, çalıştığı, konuştuğu, sokağa çıktığı, yani yaşadığı için ölen kadınları umursayan bir yer olmadı hiç. kadın olmak, kadın ölmek in karşılığı bu topraklarda.[91]

The suser emphasizes on the results of this implementations and complains about things women suffer in this country. Moreover, the suser associates being woman with dying as woman to strongly criticize policies on women in Turkey.

6- "çocuk ölümlerini durdurmak yerine, anne ölümlerine sebep olacak uygulamadır."[92]

The entry's subtext is that if any woman who doesn't want to give birth, will try everything even dying for that. So, this legislation is not constructive but destructive.

7- "mutsuz anne babalar tarafından yetiştirilecek mutsuz çocuklardan oluşan yeni nesiller demektir."[93]

The suser emphasizes on undesired kids and families to symbolize the result of this. Therefore, living within love and peace is more important than breathing.

[90] It is going to be limited in 4 weeks. We have such a governement that doesn't know that women have their period during 21-36-37 days. One of them is Prof. Dr. Health minister.
[91] It won't decrease the number of abortion, but increase the number of women death. Yet, this country is not a place to care about women who die due to rape, violence, divorce etc. This is the equivalent of being woman in this country.
[92] Rather than stopping children death, it will cause mother deaths.
[93] It means a new unhappy generation which will be grown up by unhappy fathers and mothers.

8- oldu olacak adet günlerini düzenleyen bir yönetmelik yayınlasalar da bu iş düzene girseydi. artık kadın bedeninden elinizi çekin demek istiyorum. peşin edit: yazar bir erkektir.[94]

The suser declares his identity. He declares it so that he can prove even makes could understand this is a movement to interfere in women's body, not saving lives.

9- amacına uymayan bir yasaktır efendim. amaç evlenmeden ilişkiye girilmesini engellemekse, yani zinayı engellemekse amaç, direk zinayı yasakla olsun bitsin. ne yani korkuyor musun seni gerici diye adlandırmamızdan, e zaten öylesin, benim söylememe ne gerek var.[95]

The suser claims that the real purpose to forbid adultery. However, its subtext is about religious reactionists. By forbidding this, they will have both who committed adultery and that one will have been punished through having that baby.

10- bütün meseleler gibi bir yönüyle sınıfsal olan bir yasaktır. istediği zaman avrupa'ya gidebilen varlıklı kadınlar için yasağın tek anlamı, kürtajın eskisinden biraz daha zahmetli ve maliyetli hale gelmiş olmasıdır. yoksul kadınlara ise mezbaha misali yasadışı kürtajcıların, düşük yaptıran mahalle ebelerinin yolu görünür. pek çok yoksul kadıncağız bu yasak yüzünden sağlığını ve hatta bazıları hayatını kaybeder.[96]

The suser emphasizes that the legislation covers not riches but poors who are not always able to do what they want but buckle under. So, white-conservative-Turks are saved to be victim of it.

Having a baby, being a mother and forming a family are all sacred points in both Islam and Turkish culture. This legislation breaks not only this sacredness but also privacy. On the other hand, comments are mostly on the side of individualistic privacy upon women. This situation had places on media as well, and some protest such "my body my decision" (Bianet, 2012, s. http://bianet.org/bianet/insan-haklari/138763-kurtaj-hakki-kampanyasi-basladi) happened.

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[94] On the cards, I wish they publish a legislation which regulates women's period days, and things go right. I want to say get your hands off the women's body. I am a man.

[95] It is a ban which doesn't fit its purpose. If its purpose to prevent adultery, just forbid it. Are you scared of to be called as reactionist. Though, you are. No need me to tell.

[96] As all, it is also one of class ban. For rich women who want and g oto Europe, this ban means that abortion is more troublesome now, nothing much. For poor women, it is time to go illegal ways. Many poor women will lose their health and even life.

Whether if the government aimed to forbid the abortion due to death of children or not, in the aspect of sacred it seems they bless motherhood and whoever would block this should be helpless legally.

6.10 ERDOGAN'S SPEECH ON "THE WOMAN WHO REJECTS MOTHERHOOD IS DEFICIENT AND INCOMPLETE."

In 2016, Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan gave a speech at the opening of the new service building of Turkey's Women's and Democracy Association. He stated that

> The woman who rejects being mother and gives up doing domestic work is deficient and incomplete, even if she is successful in her working life. (BBC, 2017).

6.10.1 **Anneliği reddeden kadın eksiktir, yarımdır. (The woman who rejects motherhood is deficient and incomplete.)**[97]

Mr. Erdogan defined and described women through their ability of being a mother. However, his 3-children policy is quiet known by the society. So, he aimed to encourage women to have children and his way is to bless their motherhood upon their womanhood. In this point, it can be said that this encouragement may go onto wrong direction and be shaped as insulting. On the other side, being deficient and incomplete are unclear words which can be define in any way. So, who should fill in these definitions? Whereas, being a mother is a choice, whilst being a woman is natural disposition. In the last instance, womanhood was evaluated and criticizing by Mr. Erdogan, and motherhood was blessed without womanhood, which is a threshold between sacred and profane as "sacred motherhood" and "profane womanhood".

[97] https://eksisozluk.com/anneligi-reddeden-kadin-eksiktir-yarimdir--5124154?a=nice

6.10.1.1 **Analysis- 10**

1- diplomasız doktorun tespitidir; ciddiye alınacak bir tarafı yoktur. ayrıca sümeyye'nin 31 yaşında olmasına rağmen hala anne olmadığını uzuna hatırlatmakta fayda var.[98]

Since it was said by Mr. Erdogan and he is not a doctor, the suser emphasizes that this discourse is not that much important. It is not a scientific knowledge told by a specialist, so no woman who chose being non-mother is deficient in a way. On the other side, the suser gave example of Mr. Erdogan's daughter so as to prove it is nothing but a politics upon society.

2- *"*yakında baba olmayan erkek ibnedir, beyanı gelecek galiba, gerginim."[99]

The suser means that it is not clear what kind of claim Mr. Erdogan come up with. Moreover, the suser here indicates that always women are included in his speeches not men.

3- bir kadın derneği üyelerinin önünde yapılmış ve alkış almıştır. 3 çocuk yapılmasını istiyorum dedikten hemen sonra ben değil allah istiyor, emrediyor diyor. insan yazacak şey bulamıyor. şiddete başvurmak istiyor. (bkz: sana ne ulan)[100]

The suser takes attention that even if this is a patriarchal discourse, it happened in a women's association and women clapped him. So, it is proved that patriarchy is not a gender based thought but a great ideology spread over people. On the other side, the suser indicates that Mr. Erdogan use religious feeling to make people believe in himself without questioning.

4- yeter artık dedirten söz. hepsini cinsiyetçiliğini geçtim isteyip de anne olamayan kadınlar şu açıklamalarla bugün ne kadar incinmiştir yav. patavatsızlık bu.*[101]*

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[98] 1- Its an evaluation of a uncertificated doctor; nothing to take serious. Also it is worth reminding that Sümeyye hasn't become a mother yet even though she's 31 years old.

[99] I am nervous that a new declaration to claim non-father men is queer soon.

[100] It was realized before the eyes of the members of a Women's Association and was applauded. Just after saying that I want you to have 3 children, he also says "not me, Allah wants you to, orders you to have 3 children." Nothing to say really, he wants to resort to violence (see also: whats it to you)

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Even though Mr. Erdogan talked about women who freely chose not to be mother, the suser considers other women who desire to be mother but cannot due to some health problems. In that sense, no matter women chose or not, the woman is defined through motherhood and this is not fair.

5- “eksik ve yarım bir kadın olarak angela merkel”[102]

The suser gave example of Merkel who is the president of Germany and one of the strongest woman on the world. So, the suser questions what kind of deficiency this woman has and other would have.

6- “komünist kadınlardan yanıt: "diploması olmayan yarım cumhurbaşkanı, kadınlar hakkında konuşmayı bırakmalı, ygs'ye hazırlanmalıdır."”[103]

The suser has a citation which states any woman can be defined as woman by her nature, but the presidentship requires diploma, in fact. If somebody tells something for women and their lacks, that one should be complete first.

7- kadin yarimdir. gogsu alinir yarimdir. bakire degildir yarimdir. şahitlikte yarimdir. evin diregi olamaz cunku yarimdir. ortunur cunku tamamlanmasi lazimdir. kadin yarimdir. hicbir sey olmasa bile akli yarimdir. kadin en cahili icin de yarimdir, en okumusu icin de yarimdir. basimizda bulunan da bu zihniyetin sectigi kisidir. biz buyuz. demem o ki, kizmanin anlamsiz oldugu soylemdir.[104]

The suser show the great paradox among Mr. Erdogan’s supporters are those women he claims as deficient, so it results that Mr. Erdogan’s presidentship.

8- “çocuk yapmayi düşünmediğim için ordan bir yarım düş. evlenmeyi düşünmediğim için ordan da bir yarım düş. aaa ben aslında yoğmuşum.”[105]

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[102] As a deficient and incomplete woman; Angela Merkel

[103] Answer from the communist women: “The uncertificated, half president should stop talking about women and prepare for YGS (Exam for transition to higher education in Turkey).”

[104] Woman is a half. Has her breast removed and she is a half. If she is not virgin, she is a half. She is a half in testimony, she cannot become the head of the household because she is a half. She has to cover herself because she has to be complemented. Woman is a half. Even if all of this is not true, she has a half mind. The woman is a half for the most illiterate, as well as the most enlightened one. The one who leads us is elected by this mentality. This is us. What I am trying to say is to getting upset about this makes no sense.

[105] Take a half because I am not planning to make babies. Take another half because I am not planning to get married. Oh, I have never existed in fact.

The suser approaches in a sarcastic and an existentialist way. If her existence depends on being mother and doing domestic work, she disappears. So, in a physical way, his approach doesn't work, however this shows how he manipulates women in a psychological way.

9- her kadın dünyaya doğurmak ve anne olmak için gelmedi ya. deliriyosunuz çalışan, sosyal, kahkaha atan, kırmızı giyen, kırmızı ruj süren, topuklu giyen, kariyer yapan, yalnız yaşayan, sosyal statüsü ve zekası sizden çok daha fazla olan kadınları görünce. kadın evinde otursun yemek yapsın, saçını kapasın, sesini kimse duymasın menopoza girene kadar doğursun. sonra ölsün. asıl yarım akıllı sizsiniz. tiksiniyorum. evlenmiyorum hatta ilginç ama uzun bi süre köpeğimden başka bir çocuğa annelik yapmak istemiyorum.[106]

The suser who is *she,* is against to define woman through patriarchal ideologists and domestic works, but takes women into account as free individuals who exists in the society. Moreover, she indicates that being existed in public is adhered to men or woman who carries men's feature as a rowdy girl, but here she exists by nature of womanhood with lipstick, high-heeled shoes and intelligence.

10- ""rahmi olan herkesin çocuk doğurma zorunluluğu ses teli olan herkesin opera sanatçısı olması zorunluğundan daha fazla değildir." gloria steinem."[107]

The suser cited a phrase to get people to understand womanhood's features such as uterus is just a body part as well as the others. However, using these parts belong to one self.

The president's claim obviously states that motherhood is a vital stage for woman to become a complete woman. However, woman is woman with her XX cromosoms and they have the right to choose having baby or not. That's one reason of susers to be against. On the other side, who telling this is a male which never

[106] Not every woman is born to have babies and become a mother. You go mad whenever you see a working, social, laughing women that wears red, puts red lipstick on, wears high-heels, makes a career for herself, lives alone and has a higher social status and intelligence than you. Women should sit at home, cook, cover her hair and give birth to babies until she goes through menopause. After that she could die. You are the real half-minded. I am disguisted. I will not get married and I don't want to be a mother of a child except my dog for a long time.

[107] 8- "Everybody with a womb doesn't have to have a child any more than anybody with vocal chords has to be an opera singer" Gloria Steinem.

knows how to be a woman or feel. This is the other reason for susers to be against. It is the situation that somebody who whether knows something or not has a word anything he wants.

6.11 BULENT ARINC'S SPEECH ON "MAN SHALL NOT BE WOMANIZER, WOMAN SHALL NOT LAUGH IN PUBLIC"

In 2014, prime-minister's deputy Bulent Arinc gave a speech at a celebration ceremony in Bursa. He emphasized the importance of "honor" and said;

> Chastity is not just a name, but an ornament for a woman and a man. Man shall not be womanizer but chaste and shall love his children. Woman also shall be chaste, know what is forbidden or not. She shall not laugh in public. She shall not be attractive with her attitudes. (CNN, 2014)

Mr. Arinc talked about how being chaste important and sacred as a value of oldies is and he associates being chaste with not being womanizer for man, and not laughing in public for woman. Its subtext tells actually, men become womanizer due to the fact that women behave to attract them. Indeed, laughing is considered and claimed as something attracts. However, laughing happens because "We laugh to show that we like people and that we agree with them, understand them, are part of the same group as them" (Scott, 2015, pp. https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/jul/01/why-do-people-laugh-google). So, to consider laughing attractive for men being womanizer, one must ignore all other functions of laughing and take it sexually.

6.11.1 Erkek zampara olmayacak, kadın kahkaha atmayacak (Man shall not be womanizer, woman shall not laugh)[108]

Even though it was talked about how sacred values of oldies and old traditions are, it reached the result that woman as a creature living out of norms and getting people to deceive. On the other hand, -it is also linguistically the same in

[108] https://eksisozluk.com/erkek-zampara-olmayacak-kadin-kahkaha-atmayacak--4487967?a=nice

English language that's why it is used- being womanizer is attributed to only men. Socially, womanizer woman is excluded from sight, instead of that, a woman who attracts men and causes womanizing of men is created. That is both sexist and discriminative discourse as well as it is a cause for women to become the target for being lynched though her laughing and cheerfulness.

6.11.1.1 **Analysis-11**

1- şaşırtmayan açıklama. olm bu dincilerin çoğu ağır sapık değil mi? (dindarla dinci arasındaki en büyük fark) cennette kendilerine memeleri yeni çıkmış bakire kızlar vaadedildiğine inanan bir zihniyetin kahkaha atan kadına şehvet duyması da normaldir[109]

The suser makes a separation between religious ones and religionist ones. So, being religious requires to use the religion to direct people onto which way they desire for their policies. However, the suser points that the present of being good and faithful for religious people is to have beautiful and more than one woman in the heaven. So, in this point, women become an obstacle for men being a good soldier of God, though, all socially destructive features are loaded on women. Also, what sacred is here the heaven and religion itself, however the discourse got them profaned.

2- "“"yahu geçim kaygısından kadınlarda gülecek hal, erkeklerde zamparalık yapacak para mı kaldı?" diye cevap vermek istediğim beyanat.”[110]

Here, the subtext criticizes the government for how much they break the economy of Turkey and people are unhappy though.

3- sorun çok basit aslında. sessiz, durağan, insanların mutsuz olduğu bir dünya mı istiyoruz yoksa insanların güldüğü, mutlu olduğu, seviştiği, öpüştüğü bir dünya mı?[111]

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[109] Unsurprising statement. Man, most of these religious fanatics are perverted creeps? (biggest difference between a religious person and a fanatic). It is normal for a mentality to become lustful for a woman that laughs as they believe that they are pledged young virgins in the heaven.

[110] I would like to respond to this with "Women can't laugh and men can't become womanizers because of the worry of livelihood".

[111] The problem is really simple. Do we want a world where people are quite, immobile and unhappy, instead of a world with people laughing, being happy, kissing and loving each other?

The suser claims that the government wants unhappy people. On the other side, the suser missed some point that many people support the same idea that's why the government declare these things. So, when it is taken in this way, people who don't care about these discourses will be unhappy and detached from the society and the state, the other will be happy as well as the state itself.

4- niye kahkaha atmıyoruz şimdi? gören de müslümanların dışında herkes seks partilerinde, avrupalılar amerikalılar hiç evlenmiyor sürekli namussuzluk yapıyor, çoluğa çocuğa karışmıyor sanacak. müslümanlığı bir çıkmaza soktular. el birliğiyle çağın uzağına atmaya çalışıyorlar. dinsiz olduğunuzu ve bir din seçmeniz gerektiğini düşünün. bu saçma salak cümleleri duyup müslümanlığı seçebilir miydiniz? islamın hiçbir öğretisi güzelliği yokmuş gibi sürekli yasakları, baskıyı ön plana çıkartan bu insanlar dine mi hizmet ediyor şimdi? ülkenin başındaki adamların kadının kahkahasından, kadının araba renginden, kadının dekoltesinden, kadının eş seçiminden başka konuşacak bir meselesi kalmadıysa bu ülkede ve hala şakşakçı taraftarları varsa vah vah vah... kadınlar ölsün bence. siz de birbirinizin götünü başını konuşmaya başlayın artık.[112]

The suser indicates that the Islam is taught as something from the past and "value of oldies" etc. However, whilst chastity depends on someone's own capacity of ethic, it is related to Islam itself. Moreover, the suser states that, they put women in the center to resurrect the true Islam, rather than telling Islam itself, destructing others.

5- zincirleme yasaklama tamlaması ya da bir öneri. yalnız lügatında "kıçıyla gülmek" şeklinde bir deyim barındıran bu milletin kadınlarına gülmeyi de yasaklarken dikkat etmek gerekir; zira o noktada deyim fiile dönüşebilir.[113]

Whilst Mr. Arinc talks about values of oldies, the suser reminds the idiom "laughing with the ass". So, idioms take time to be created and they are products of the society. The suser puts the relationship between linguistic and society in order

[112] Why aren't we laughing now? Like everyone except the muslims are having sex parties, Americans and Europeans are never getting married and acting dishonestly. They made Islam hit a dead-end. They are trying to revert from the modern age in cooperation. Imagine if you do not believe in a religion and you are asked to pick one; would you choose Islam after hearing all this non-sense? Are these people that highlight the bans, oppression instead of all the beauties and teachings of Islam are the ones that are serving the religion? If the leaders of this country has nothing else to talk about the laugh, car color, low-cut dress, mate selection of the women, we are done... Women should die, so you should talk about each others' parts for a while.

[113] A series of prohibition, or a recommendation. However, a society that has an idiom such as "laughing with one's ass off" should be careful about prohibiting laughing for the women, as the idiom could become an act.

to show what kind of values actually they have. Also, the suser intends to use the idiom to emphasize that speech is nothing but funny.

6- “iffet ölçerde erkeğin "zamparalığı" kadının kahkahasına denk..”[114]

The suser questions how Mr. Arinc can scale the chastity and result in this way. So, the subtext is emphasizing that womanizing is something decent when it is in a family, however, laughing is just laughing.

7- “zampara olma sucunu bile sadece erkege yakistiran hiper seksist kural.”[115]

The suser supports that women can be womanizer as well as men. Men can get women attracted though, their laughing or clothing style can do this. So, even though women become the destructive item here, she is placed inside the home very well, and no one thinks she can do something decent by detaching from her family or home.

8- “kadının kahkahası geldiğinde hemen ortamdan kaçacak ve bir köşeye gizlenip orada salacak, ona göre.”[116]

The suser considers laughing equal with farting which is not welcomed in public and spreads too bad smell. So, the subtext tells that some items related to happiness and togetherness in the society are shaped in different ways so that they can forbid or judge them.

9- “10 yıldır kimsenin yaşam tarzına müdahale etmedik ama artık yeter.”[117]

The suser tries to show how the government behaves in an opposite way of what they say. The phrase belongs to AKP government itself, however even touching somebody’s laughing conflicts with this.

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[114] The laugh of the woman is equal to the “debauchery” of men on the Chastity-o-meter..
[115] It is such a sexist rulet hat attributes this guilt only to man.
[116] When she wants to laugh, she must run away from where she is and she will hide somewhere, then release it.
[117] We haven’t interfered anybody’s life style for years, that’s enough!

10- oysa ki kadın kahkahası duymak ne güzel, ne keyifli bir yerin işaretidir. o seste kuşlar cıvıldar, insan dünyaya geldiğine sukreder, annemin bir kahkahasına hayatımı veririm ben. siz primatlar... anlayamazsınız.[118]

The suser points two important points. First of all, s/he likens those who express this thought to primates which are considered as first primitive human kind. They don't have anything but their smell and mimics. So, if a laughter seduces somebody, that one should be as primitive as ignoring everything of his sight and taking laughing as a signal of intercourse. Secondly, the suser get the mother involved in the subject so as to show that woman is not only somebody set as a trick for men but the source of a life.

For evaluation, dividing women into two as being chaste and not by just according to their laughing in public is something hurting for mothers, women and people who love laughing. In Turkey, women are suffered from depression more than men. (En Son Haber, 2015). As a policy maker, he should have directed people onto different ways for them being happy and healthy. However, here laughing and being cheerful in public are considered just in a sexual way instead of health and hormonal conditions.

On the other hand, religion and values of oldies are included in the subject to support what he said and to bless it to present for the society as something sacred. That would be a thing which women could really get sacredly important since he talked with the religious language.

[118] In fact hearing a woman's laugh indicates that you are in a cozy, comfortable atmosphere. Birds sing in that song, mankind becomes grateful for being born. I can give my life for my mothers laugh. You primates, can't understand this.

RESULTS

This study manifested that sacred which has been defined in a secular way since Durkheim has got a new form by different debates that the power triggers among Eksi Sozluk users. Sacred has been studied in different fields such as religion and politics. This thesis studied on a different area, which is social media- Eksi Sozluk. By this way, it has been reached that sacred is in daily life of Eksi Sozluk users who comment on public debates.

The study focused on discourses about woman and identity, and it presented some minor results by analyzing Eksi Sozluk user's comments. These results consist of the users' individual sacreds which is defined as protected and supported ideas in the beginning of the thesis. So, each title has a common value that come out with the analysis. In some points there are exceptions as it is emphasized. On the other side, users' way to reach the top value are diverse as it is seen.

In the analysis of "It is not proper for pregnant woman to walk on the street (Hamile kadının sokakta gezmesi uygun değildir)" and "A man's feeling of lust for his own daughter (Babanın kendi öz kızına şehvet duyması)", there is a religious authority which involved in daily life. Both were criticized by susers who declared that they are Muslims as well as non-Muslims. It is important to see that Muslims also don't welcome for religious authorities to interfere to them and to decide on behalf of them.

In the analysis of "House with girls and boys (Kızlı erkekli ev)", "I'm not sure if she is woman or girl (Kız mıdır kadın mıdır bilemem)" and "You may not like it, you murmur (Hoşuna gitmeyebilir, mırıldanırsın), all comments were supporting importance of privacy. These three are related with woman and woman's body. Since the first-hand power- the prime-minsiters- stated them, almost all the comments were ciriticizing this intervention to the body which belongs to an individual, not to society. One of the important points here is that these interventions were given through Islam. That's why, some reactions are directly towards Islam itself rather than the person who said them.

On the other side, in the analysis of “Ban of abortion (Kürtaj yasağı)”, “The woman who rejects motherhood is deficient and incomplete (Anneliği reddeden kadın eksiktir, yarımdır.” and “Man shall not be womanizer, woman shall not laugh in public (Erkek zampara olmayacak, kadın kahkaha atmayacak)”, there was a visible ignored identitiy of woman. Woman’s decision and attitudes are rejected and they were tried to be shaped by the authority through using religious authority and sacred concept which is motherhood. In three of them, Eksi Sozluk users are against the separation of motherhood which is sacred one and womanhood which is secular one. They supported freedom of choice and all suffered from the intervention of the government. In the analysis, it is seen that woman is important and valuable when she only fits in the rules of religion.

Their common point is that they are all about woman’s identity, body and freedom. It is important to emphasize that woman is accepted in two ways; first one is that if she fits the religious rules or not, second one is that if she accepts to be defined by the authority or not. It is seen that woman is the object in the discourses even though she is the main subject of the discourses.

On the other hand, in the analysis of “Djemevi is not a house of worship (Cemevi ibadethane değildir)”, “Removing the Turkish oath ‘Andımız’ (Andımızı kaldırmak), and “Sorry, they said worse things, even Armenian (Afedersiniz daha kötü şeyler, Ermeni diyen oldu)”, there is an obvious defense for “the other”. These all have “the other” in terms of racial and religious identity. In all, comments tried to protect the other’s right and they put the respect and freedom in the center. Whilst discourses legitimate that the Turkish-Muslim identity as a fundamental in the country, analysis shows that users have strict reactions towards this discrimination and they consider the discourses as hate speeches.

The thesis had datas from Eksi Sozluk and reflected its analysis. So, it is not possible to make a generalization about the sacred in Turkey. However, there are some minor formations. For instance, human rights, freedom of conscience, right to choose independently.

Even though there are some various comments among analysis, main view is that freedom and human rights are the basic values for the users. While talking about Durkheim, sacred was mentioned as the society itself and they are the cented of the sacred. However, analysis of Eksi Sozluk debates presented that sacred things are those that they want to keep away from their everyday life. In contrast, mundane things such as living style, privacy, freedom of thought, individuality and identities, are the values as sacred as someone's religion and totem to be tought and commented on.

Expectations for the analysis were slightly different than the results. Since the debates were very challengable and spesifically on woman and identity, it was expected that users have more radical opinions on discourses. It was expected to be seen more contrary attitude directly toward religion itself and authorities who stated those. Only in Armenian issue, users reacted against Mr. Erdogan himself, but the others were criticized in a reasonable way. Also, entries were chosen among top rated, so they are reliable datas to talk about the new formation of sacred.

To talk about the new place of sacred, it can be said that it is being constituted with the mundane objects and values. In order to reflect the differences between the previous studies and the thesis, it can be mentioned that sacralization of the secular one rather than secularization of the sacred. In the previous studies, religion and nation were the most emphasized subject in terms of sacred. However, the thesis gave identity a place to expose that being woman, non-religious or from different racial backgrounds are all the objects of sacred. In other word, the discriminations and interferences towards those became the motivations for the users to defend their points strongly. So, in this point, it was gained another dimension for sacred's definition. Sacred is not only anything daily or divine, but it is what people support and defend in a strong way through believing in.

As a result of the research, a few important points were obtained. Firstly, sacred which as been defined as secular since Durkheim is in the center of everyday life with religion and authority's discourses in society. This situation is the proof that secular componants are new fanatism in terms of sacred in Eksi Sozluk.

Secondly, some universal values; human rights, freedom of thought and conscience, are new sacreds of both religious and non-religious users in Eksi Sozluk. Thirdly, the research clearly highlighted that the things out of flag, military, religion, politics and communities are also considered in terms of sacred. Lastly, as it is mentioned in postmodernism and sacred, the speeration between sacred and profane is lost as it is lost in time and space. They are also compressed as time and space. No longer sacred and profane can define each other.

In conclusion, social media had a greater role to gather this new formation of sacred via Eksi Sozluk.

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