

HATE SPEECH AND DISCRIMINATORY LANGUAGE ON SOCIAL MEDIA: AN
ANALYSIS OF TWITTER POSTS TARGETING SYRIAN REFUGEES



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PLAGIARISM

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ABSTRACT

As a result of the civil war in Syria in 2011, millions of Syrians were forced to migrate to other countries. An important part of the migrating population has gradually entered Turkey and the continuation of political instability in Syria has led to a prolonged length of stay in Turkey. Syrians, whose social status is uncertain, started to be named after different concepts such as “immigrant”, “asylum seeker” and “refugee”. In this process, the overview of the local people and the Syrian perception appear to be adversely affected by the effect of changing socio-economic conditions in Turkey. The content and language used in social media point to the increasing hate speech and xenophobia against Syrians in recent years. In this thesis, an analysis on Twitter platform how hate speech against Syrians is produced in social media channels, where it is easier to follow, spread and share compared to traditional media. The period between January 1, 2019 and June 1, 2020 was taken as a basis for the analysis of Twitter posts on Syrians, which have been produced against Syrians from digital platforms and have increased in recent years, taking into account the long period of immigration movement and the volume of the study. 65 posts covering this time period were selected as the sample. In the first part, the concepts of hate language, speech and xenophobia are emphasized. In this section, discussions on hate speech are included; discrimination, prejudice and stereotype concepts are defined and differences between them are presented. By focusing on different types of the concept of hate speech, how hate speech turns into a hate crime is explained. In the

rest of the first part, the concept of xenophobia is defined and the elements of xenophobia, such as provocation, hatred, and illegality, are explained. In the second part, in which xenophobia and hate speech issues in the media are examined, the relationship between media, ideology and discourse is discussed, and how xenophobia and hate speech production in the media occurs. In this section, the hate speech produced by focusing on the concepts of traditional media and social media is discussed with examples. In the third part, the issue of hate crime and xenophobia against Syrians is covered. After discussing the reasons for migration of Syrians and mentioning the way the issue is reflected in the media, it is investigated how hate speech and xenophobia emerged through social media messages. The reflection of xenophobia and hate speech on social media is evaluated through the examples taken on Twitter. The posts in the study were analyzed under three headings: “Hate Speech Developed Against Those Who Help Syrians”, “Hate Speeches Developed by Organizations Against Syrians” and “Hate Speeches Against Syrians Through Individual Accounts”. Critical discourse analysis method was used to analyze Twitter posts which contain hate content and discriminatory statements regarding this scope; how hate speech is produced and spread has been identified and discussed.

Keywords: Xenophobia, Hate Speech, Social Media, Twitter, Syrians.

ÖZET

Suriye’de 2011 yılında yaşanan iç savaş neticesinde, milyonlarca Suriyeli zorunlu olarak başka ülkelere göç etmek zorunda kalmıştır. Göç eden nüfusun önemli bir kısmı kademeli olarak Türkiye’ye giriş yapmış ve Suriye’deki siyasi istikrarsızlığın devam etmesi Türkiye’deki kalış sürelerinin uzamasına sebep olmuştur. Sosyal statüleri belirsizlik taşıyan Suriyeliler “göçmen”, “sığınmacı” ve “mülteci” gibi farklı kavramlar ile anılmaya başlanmışlardır. Bu süreçte, yerel halkın Suriyelilere bakışı ve algısı, Türkiye’de değişen sosyo-ekonomik şartların da etkisiyle olumsuz yönde etkilenmiş gözükmemektedir. Sosyal medyada üretilen içerikler ve kullanılan dil, son yıllarda Suriyelilere karşı artış gösteren nefret söylemi ve yabancı düşmanlığına işaret etmektedir. Bu tezde, Suriyelilere yönelik nefret söyleminin geleneksel medyayla kıyaslandığında daha kolay takip, yayılım ve paylaşım olanağı bulduğu sosyal medya mecralarında nasıl üretildiği, Twitter platformu özelinde incelenmektedir. Dijital platformlardan Suriyelilere karşı üretilen ve son yıllarda artış gösteren Suriyelilere ilişkin Twitter gönderilerinin çözümlemesi için, göç hareketinin uzun bir zaman dilimine yayılmış olması ve çalışmanın hacmi de dikkate alınarak 1 Ocak 2019 – 1 Haziran 2020 tarihleri arasındaki dönem esas alınmıştır. Bu zaman dilimini kapsayan paylaşımlardan 65 gönderi örneklem olarak seçilmiştir. Birinci bölümde nefret dili, söylemi ve yabancı düşmanlığı kavramları üzerinde durulmaktadır. Bu bölümde nefret söylemi üzerine tartışmalara yer verilmiş ve nefret söylemi ile ilgili olarak ayrımcılık, önyargı ve kalıp yargı kavramları tanımlanarak aralarındaki farklara değinilmiştir. Nefret söylemi kavramının farklı türleri üzerinde durularak nefret söyleminin nefret suçuna nasıl dönüştüğü aktarılmaya çalışılmıştır. Birinci bölümün devamında ise yabancı düşmanlığı kavramı tanımlanarak yabancı düşmanlığının unsurları olan

tahrik, kin ve nefret ile hukuka aykırılık başlıkları açıklanmaktadır. Medyada yabancı düşmanlığı ve nefret söylemi konularının irdelendiği ikinci bölümde, medya, ideoloji ve söylem ilişkisi tartışılarak medyada yabancı düşmanlığı ve nefret söylemi üretiminin nasıl oluştuğu incelenmektedir. Bu bölümde geleneksel medya ve sosyal medya kavramları üzerinde durularak üretilen nefret söylemleri örnekler ile tartışmaya açılmıştır. Üçüncü bölümde Suriyelilere yönelik nefret suçu ve yabancı düşmanlığı konusuna yer verilmektedir. Suriyelilerin göç etme nedenleri ele alınarak, konunun medyaya yansıma biçimine değinildikten sonra, sosyal medya mesajları üzerinden nefret söylemi ve yabancı düşmanlığının nasıl ortaya çıktığı araştırılmaktadır. Yabancı düşmanlığı ile nefret söyleminin sosyal medyaya yansıması Twitter üzerinden alınan örnekler üzerinden değerlendirilmektedir. Çalışmada yer alan paylaşımlar “Suriyelilere Yardımcı Olanlara Karşı Geliştirilen Nefret Söylemleri”, “Suriyelilere Karşı Ortaya Çıkan Oluşumların Geliştirdikleri Nefret Söylemleri” ve “Bireysel Hesaplar Üzerinden Suriyelilere Karşı Ortaya Çıkan Nefret Söylemleri” olmak üzere üç başlık altında çözümlenmiştir. Twitter’da bu kapsama dair nefret içerikli ve ayrımcı ifadeler içeren gönderiler eleştirel söylem çözümlemesi yöntemi ile analiz edilmiş; nefret söyleminin nasıl üretildiği ve yayıldığı tespit edilerek, alınabilecek önlemler üzerinde durulmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yabancı Düşmanlığı, Nefret Söylemi, Sosyal Medya, Twitter, Suriyeliler

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1 INTRODUCTION

As a result of the civil war in Syria, Syrians migrated to Turkey and crisis in Syria continued. That led to prolongation of Syrians' stay in Turkey, disturbing the community which ended up with generating hate speech that involves xenophobia. Social media networks have increased and speeded the generation of hate speech. This study will analyze hate speech and xenophobia developed against Syrians in scope of Twitter. Nowadays, social media is the most important communication tool. Social media has made individuals effective in generating and circulating the news. In addition, it has provided them with expression of view. That resulted in spread of uncontrollable misinformation. Syrians as political tools have become one of the latest topics that effect people on social media. Although many news and posts on social media does not reflect the reality about Syrians, it spreads fast, even encouraging people to commit hate crime. In this study, ideological and social causes of hate speech will be analyzed, and solutions will be proposed. The study focuses on xenophobia in general and hate speech against Syrians in specific. It includes three main chapters. First chapter will focus on language of violence, hate speech and xenophobia. Discussions on hate speech take part in that chapter to make distinctions among bias, discrimination and stereotype by giving their definitions. The chapter cites the differences in hate speech concepts and transformation of hate speech into hate crime. Concepts and reasons of xenophobia will be explained under hate, hatred, provocation, and illegality headings. Second chapter will focus on xenophobia and hate speech on media. Relationship between media, ideology and discourse will be discussed; generation and formation of xenophobia and hate speech will be analyzed. That chapter will focus on traditional and social media concepts. Hate speech will be

discussed through examples. Third chapter will focus on xenophobia and hate crime against Syrians. The chapter shows the reasons of Syrian migration on media and how it is reflected on social media. In addition, hate speech on social media and origin of xenophobia will be depicted. The discussion will be held by referring to samples with an evaluation of how hate speech is reflected on social media. This study has a pressing matter in order to see the reasons that lie under hate speech against Syrians whose status and situations are not yet clear. As long as these matters are understood, and precautions are taken, hate crime caused by hate speech can be prevented. In that sense, this study provides for the literature.

2 LANGUAGE OF VIOLENCE, HATE SPEECH AND XENOPHOBIA: BASIC CONCEPTS

2.1 Hate Speech

The term “hate speech” is placed among social science concepts that are major focus of attention around the world (Hordeki, 2014, p. 501). Despite that, there is not any international or official definition and debates on characterization of ‘hateful’ one still stands (United Nations Secretary, 2019). Gradual importance of “hate speech” leads to comprehensive analysis of semantic and pragmatic transformation (Hordeki, 2014, p. 501). Because, “hate speech” is an important tool that has been encouraged and put in use; in the form of slavery in Colonialist America, rise of Reich the Third, from suspending the tension in Bosnia to increasing the tension in Middle East.

“Indeed, everything starts with words. Words create the power, paves the road that leads to tyranny. At first, people are labeled with the words, punished and cut off from life. Firstly, beliefs are words and politics is born, grown and spread in words. Meanings we have given to life, definitions we have made, morality and ethics come and go with the words. The rest only

does what the words say“ (Çınar, 2013, p. 138).

It is a fact that researchers approach hate speech and hate crime based on their area of study. For example, Tarlach McGonagle defines hate speech as follows: a speech provoking each party involved by using incite and vilification based on bias to target a certain group (2001, p. 23). Kevin Boyle, who approaches the subject from a political perspective, defines the term hate speech as follows: includes discourses that aim to recommend democratic gains by re-establishing the thoughts of pre-modern periods starting from primitive ideas in terms of political science (2001, p. 53). In literature, there is no agreement on the concept of hate speech which is frequently used. Regarding these definitions, hate speech can be defined as discourses based on prejudices, nourished by an environment of intolerance, and consequently spreading and legitimizing hate (as cited in Aygöl, 2010, p. 100).

“Hate speech is used against, especially ethnic, national and religious identity, gender and sexual orientation; besides health status, mental and physical disability, social status, political and philosophical view, and educational status” (Şensever, 2012, p. 7).

By this definition, hate speech especially derives from an authority and comes from different social backgrounds. People can encounter hate speech in different forms such as a song or a visual on media. Though hate speech involves factors of psychological violence, physical violence may not occur in some situations. The most sensitive issue is that the individuals exposed to different forms of messages internalize hate speech. Internalized hatred creates tension and pressure in people and social groups. Another important point is about the people who are exposed to hate speech. When faced with hate speech, targeted groups have compromised their

democratic gains because of legitimized pressure in public resulting in social regression (Karaköse, 2013).

“It should be emphasized that; social / new media, whose purpose and practices change from time to time, is expected to democratize the social structure by enriching and developing the practice of communicative action in the public sphere. Instead it is used for the circulation and dissemination of sexist, racist, homophobic, xenophobic content with an increasing rate and prevalence over time” (Binark et al., 2012, p. 17).

The issue includes a wide range as the concept suggests. Research done by European Committee also suggests that nicknames pave into tyranny and hatred. These studies state that the nicknames may include expressions causing agony and disturbance. Therefore, nicknames may transform into hate speech (2001, p. 9).

“Racial hatred is any kind of expression that encourages, spreads or justifies anti-Semitism, xenophobia and intolerance. It includes hatred based on intolerance, aggressive nationalism, ethnocentrism and hostility against minorities, migrants and people of immigrant origin” (Altunpolat, 2014).

Definition of hate speech for Almagor is as follows:

“bias-motivated, hostile, malicious speech aimed at a person or a group of people because of some of their actual or perceived innate characteristics. It includes especially gender, race, religion, ethnicity, sexual orientation, color, nationality, handicap or any inappropriate, hostile, discriminative, intimidating and/or biased attitude against individuals. Hate speech is designed to hurt, provoke, intimidate, harass, dehumanize, insult and victimize by promoting intolerance and violence against target groups” (Almagor, 2006, p. 153).

In addition, McGonagle defines hate speech based on its consequences.

“Hate speech is a negative speech that spreads around covering a wide spectrum. That speech is flexible, because it encourages hate, abuse, harassment, humiliation, and vilification based on words and attributes. On the other hand, it is not free from excessive prejudices and preconceptions.”

Aside from the variety of definitions made on hate speech, limits to the speech vary based on legal and political definitions made by different countries. At this point, the most pressing issue in current debates is the limit between freedom of expression and hate speech. John Stuart Mill, one of the most open-minded thinkers on the issue expresses his thoughts as follows;

“If we restrict thoughts, we cannot know whether they are right or wrong. By doing that we act on behalf of humanity. Yet we do not own the right to do so. If we reject a thought just that the authority has found out to be wrong, so we accept words of authority as absolute truth” (Mill, 2012, p. 59).

European Court of Human Rights has shown their support in the right to criticize with the verdicts of Case of Lingens-Austria and Case of Castells-Spain. However, it is an inevitable fact that claim of this tolerance and right to criticize needs to have a limitation. In the verdict of Case of Sürek-Turkey, ECHR determined the limitation for freedom of expression as “hate”. In a democratic society it is necessary to sanction or prevent any statement that encourages, spreads, advocates or excuses intolerance, as long as it is proportionate to that legitimate aim (Sürek/Türkiye Davası, 1999).

Despite the lack of general consensus, a general definition of hate speech in Europe and a conclusion about responsibilities in combating hate crime have been

reached in Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe:

“hate speech” shall be understood as covering all forms of expression which spread, incite, promote or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, antisemitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including: intolerance expressed by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination and hostility against minorities, migrants and people of immigrant origin” (Committee of Ministers, recommendation no.R(97)20).

“The governments of the member states, public authorities and public institutions at the national, regional and local levels, as well as officials, have a special responsibility to refrain from statements, in particular to the media, which may reasonably be understood as hate speech, or as speech likely to produce the effect of legitimising, spreading or promoting racial hatred, xenophobia, antisemitism or other forms of discrimination or hatred based on intolerance. Such statements should be prohibited and publicly disavowed whenever they occur” (Committee of Ministers, recommendation no.R(97)20).

Regarding the definition, it is emphasized that hate speech includes provocation of religious, racial, ethnocentric and sectarian differences in addition to targeting a certain person or group.

Prevalence of hate speech in societies that have extreme nationalism and low tolerance is more frequently encountered because of its descriptive features (Alğan & Şensever, 2010, p. 15).

“To put in different words, hate speech is a reflection of power relationship based on identity and it is engraved deeply to social mindset. Thus, hate crime and speech do not direct to random targets. Hate speech not only expresses its

limits to the identities defined as the 'Other' by the identity that attributes hierarchical superiority to itself and reminds it of its secondary status in society, it also reinforces the priorities and privileges of the dominant identity and nurtures the sense of superiority. The perception of threat to this sense of superiority underlies the objections to the pursuit of rights of marginalized identities” (Yumul, 2013, p. 133).

Hate speech is the first step that is taken in hate crime road; it is a reflection of intolerance and impatience. Common consensus of journalists for people and groups targeted with hate speech is that it is not one of the ordinary crimes taken for granted. Hate speech marginalizes the targeted group by pointing out they do not have any place in society.

Acts based on hate speech produce disastrous results that people, and social groups are exposed by modern state theories such as ending natural right to life and right to participate in society (İnceoğlu & Sözeri, 2012, p. 24).

The most dramatic results of hate speech certainly occurred during World War II. As a result of the internalization of ordinary people, the language of hatred developed against the Jews on one hand and the Russians on the other, caused very devastating consequences and cost the lives of millions. Based on these experiences, it can be stated that the civilized world has determined its primary political goals after the war as the fight against hate speech. Therefore, after the war, concrete symbols such as racially targeted hate speech and Nazi ranks and signs were prohibited in all western countries, especially "Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany". Germany is the first country to pass the law (Çelik, 2013, p. 213).

2.2 Basic Concepts about Language of Violence and Hate Speech

“Hate speech” is one of the concepts built on sensitive grounds in social sciences. The balance between hate speech and freedom of expression is extremely delicate. For example, European Court of Human Rights expressed the following in a verdict issued on 07.12.1976:

“Freedom of expression constitutes one of the essential foundations of such a society, one of the basic conditions for its progress and for the development of every man. Subject to paragraph 2 of Article 10 (art. 10-2), it is applicable not only to "information" or "ideas" that are favorably received or regarded as inoffensive or as a matter of indifference, but also to those that offend, shock or disturb the State or any sector of the population. Such are the demands of that pluralism, tolerance and broadmindedness without which there is no "democratic society". This means, amongst other things, that every "formality", "condition", "restriction" or "penalty" imposed in this sphere must be proportionate to the legitimate aim pursued” (Case of Handyside / United Kingdom, issued in 7.12.1976, p. 49).

Fine line between hate speech and freedom of expression can also be seen in another case by ECHR which is the verdict of Erbakan case, Turkey.

“(...) foundation of a democratic and pluralist society is; showing respect and tolerance to all equal honor of humanity. Consequently, it can become necessary to impose sanctions and even prevent any kind of expression that spreads, provokes, encourages or justifies hate based on intolerance (...), provided that “formalities”, “conditions”, “restrictions” or “sanctions” are proportionate” (Erbakan / Türkiye Kararı, p. 56).

Closely related concepts to hate speech are discrimination, bias and stereotype. These concepts can be misused interchangeably. In order to further analyze hate speech, the concepts should be scrutinized.

2.2.1 Discrimination

Discrimination is defined as, directing any kind of negative feelings, attitudes and behaviors such as hate and dislike towards a group or its members because of one's biased thoughts. Bias triggers feelings of discrimination. People face hate crime and experience discrimination just because of the group they belong. Researchers defining concept of discrimination derives from feeling of existence for interpersonal equality. Concept of discrimination has developed based on the view that people accepting others to have equal rights such as color of skin, ethnic origin, religious belief and sexual orientation. It is rejecting these differences and not embracing the results. For example, a Sunni may not find an Alevi equal to themselves; may feel superior and exclusive. Similarly, people who does not see homosexuals equals to themselves, divides the society as themselves and others. These people disclaim homosexuals' right to marry. When a robbery takes place in a classroom, poor people and minorities may be charged with the guilt. Since these parting differences are harmful to unity of the society and public order, it has been defined as a crime that is sanctioned in laws with the "prohibition of discrimination" legally. Conceptualization that has become prior conditions of modern and liberal democracy, obliges acceptance of equality (Göregenli, 2012, pp. 18 - 21).

Discrimination restricts certain rights granted to other segments of the society due to qualities and characteristics of individuals within that community.

Discrimination can be listed under different titles such as gender, education, race, religion, sexual orientation (Ataöv, 1996, p. 1). Such a pre-acceptance is based on the understanding that many problems accepted in advance as current are likely to arise in the future. Moreover, that can be subjected to legal practice used in Nazi Germany. Discrimination, which is recognized by constitutions and government institutions, is strongly effective. In fact, it can put people's life at stake (Ataöv, 1996, pp. 1 - 2). Discrimination assumes that the rights of individuals and groups within a community are different in nature. So, their rights are inviolable and legitimizes the cruel treatment they are likely to encounter (Ataman, 2012, pp. 66 - 67).

“In the field of law, the concept of discrimination can be defined as any discrimination against a person or group on prohibited grounds such as ethnic origin and sexual orientation, which has negative consequences and cannot be justified by law. Prohibition of discrimination is an evolving concept and it covers a wide variety of forms of discrimination today. The concept of discrimination can be defined as: Any discrimination, exclusion, limitation or restriction, with the aim or effect of eliminating, weakening or prioritizing the recognition, enjoyment, or exercise of human rights in public or private life on the basis of equality” (Gül & Karan, 2011, p. 33).

Researchers studying on discrimination lists discrimination crime under different titles. One of these studies belong to Zonana and Reyna. These researchers collate discrimination crime under three groups based on the person who commits it. First group is civils. It includes consciousness and unconsciousness. They are inclined to carry out physical or moral crimes from abuse to murder. Second group includes people who have the power to dominate and influence the society through media. These people influence other people by using mass media and lead individuals to

hatred and hostility under the name of freedom of expression. According to researchers, the third group includes government.

“Although it is observed that the state discriminates through some provisions in the laws, it is observed that, as a result of the development of the understanding of democracy. Efforts to adapt to the European Union Acquis, discriminatory provisions in the laws have been tried to be corrected, new regulations have been made, and International Agreements on this issue have been accepted, albeit with reservations. These are critical steps for preventing discrimination” (Zonana & Reyna, 2012, p. 122).

Although concept of discrimination is attributed negatively, there are examples of “positive discrimination” accepted favorably by public order. Positive discrimination can be defined as precautions taken by men and women in order to exercise their rights. Positive discrimination takes place in constitution. The constitutional amendments in Article 10 of the 1982 Constitution in 2004 and 2010 are as follows:

“(Additional paragraph: 7/5 / 2004-5170 / art.1) Women and men have equal rights. The state is obliged to ensure the realization of this equality.

(Additional clause: 12/9 / 2010-5982 / art.1) Measures to be taken for this purpose cannot be interpreted as contrary to the principle of equality.

(Additional paragraph: 12/9 / 2010-5982 / article 1) Measures to be taken for children, the elderly, the disabled, widows and orphans of war and duty martyrs, and handicapped and veterans shall not be deemed to be against the principle of equality. "

Feeling of discrimination occurs because of generalization. Judging a person

by the group they are part of can set an example. For instance, saying Germans instead of Hans or Arabic instead of Abdullah is an example to that situation. Then the feelings seen in this person, often based on prejudices, are expressed. Adjectives such as intelligent, clean, dirty creates bias against all group members. Sentences such as “Germans are intelligent”, “Arabs are dirty” can set an example. The situation brings out another bias such as: “Arabs are dirty so I do not become friends with them, talk or can mistreat them (Paker, 2012, pp. 42 - 43).

One of the theories developed on discrimination is social dominance theory. According to that theory, communities that have dominance and authority on the resources, maintain their power by dominating other groups in society. On the other hand, they develop and spread language of discrimination by suppressing the targeted groups to maintain their legitimacy. That language of discrimination mostly involves humiliating adjectives and verbs. For example, some stereotypical judgements are formed such as; “Gypsies are robbers.” “Alevi people practice candles went out” “Arabs are lazy.”¹ As a result of these wired judgements, groups are coded in people’s mind. For instance, people start to think that Ahmet is a robber before being a gypsy, when one hears the nickname “gypsy Ahmet”, or when people hear “Alevi Mehmet”, they believe that Mehmet has an incest relationship without thinking about who that person really is. Thus, wired judgements create biases. Humiliated groups have to fight against these biases and make people accept themselves as individuals (Çayır, 2010, pp. 47 - 48).

¹ Many court cases have been brought against these stereotypes. It is seen that Arabs do not go to court much on this issue and gypsies seek rights in local courts. It is observed that Alevis go to different local and high courts, and after the completion of domestic legal remedies, they go to international courts. Examples of cases that the Court issues "Mansur Yalçın and others - Turkey Case" (Application No. 21163/11, Date: 16/09/2014) and "İzzettin Doğan and Others - Turkey Case" (Application No. 62649/10, Date: 26.04 .2016)cases can be shown.

Even though the developments in human rights and intellectual field have started to combat this kind of discrimination, it takes time to change the mindset that has been the same throughout the history. Dominant powers have always practiced discrimination to protect their strength by having hate speech especially since the foundation of nation-states. Today, development of language of discrimination has arisen from technology and globalization. While news, broadcasts and ironic criticism on Islam and Islamism triggers discrimination, lifestyle of Syrian migrants are center of attention in our country (Çayır, 2012, pp. 7 - 8).

“Hate crimes, which emerge as perhaps the most severe form of discrimination, and the mental and ideological background of these behavioral acts, although they contain negative emotions, are essentially an ideology of exclusion, devaluation and enmity, which points to the systematic hierarchy between the groups that make up the society” (Göregenli, 2013, p. 57).

Once we analyze recent history, it is clear that discrimination is one of the most important crimes among hate speech. For example, Nazi Germany referred the Jewish as negative adjectives and verbs and processed these deeply to their subconscious before applying “The Final Solution”. Similarly, White-Black discrimination in the U.S.A has been rooted and developed until recent years (Nevruz, 2017, p. 4).

2.2.2 Bias

Bias can be defined as follows:

“A disorientated or hostile attitude towards a person belonging to a group and thus supposed to have objectionable characteristics attributed to that group, resulting solely from belonging to that group (Ataman, 2012, p. 63).

People preset abstract schemata about conditions and situations they encounter or possibly may encounter. They are likely to use these schemata when they encounter concrete incidents. These schemata not only enables concrete incidents to be internalized easily, but also prevents people from being tired mentally (İlhan & vd., 2013, p. 54). In other words

“People use physical and social indicators such as race, gender, religion, ethnicity to distinguish or categorize information related to other people. In the end, biases are inevitable” (Göregenli, 2013, p. 30).

Mental judgments and thoughts that mostly involves negatively attributed practical experiences, which lack of real experience indeed, are called bias. As a term, bias attributes negative meaning. People fail in their social relationship because of bias.²

Although the bias they create in their minds do not usually reflect the real situation, accepting this imaginary situation as reality develops of discrimination and hate speech. It has been claimed by T. Adorno and other social scientists that bias is one of the most effective feelings and opinions in the emergence of discrimination. Studies have shown that bias is not only limited to certain people or groups, but also negatively affect the way people view the world (Göregenli, 2012, p. 22). To say in another word,

“Bias and thus discrimination lead to negative attitudes towards a group or group members as well as negative feelings ranging from dislike, contempt,

² Studies on Nazi Germany are particularly striking. The three-volume "Nazi Empire" by W. S. Shirer and the "How the Nazis Seized Power" by W. S. Allen. The failures of the members of non-military and non-military organizations in social relations are expressed in the books named. As another complementary work to these studies, T. Adorno's "Qualitative Ideology Studies on Authoritarian Personality" can be cited.

avoidance and hatred" (Göregenli, 2013, p. 21).

Bias generally lies at the basis of the discrimination that develops the feeling of hate among people. That bias includes false negative feelings of individuals or groups. That bias, which leads to the emergence of discrimination, later causes feeling of social hostility and conflict between groups. Bias directly poisons people's feelings and thoughts. It negatively affects the reception or perception of communicated messages between parties. This situation evolves into hate speech over time. It causes the opponent group to be marginalized because of increasing conflict, causing the crack between them and the social group to grow and sharpen. As a result, groups distance themselves and may resort to acts of violence over time. These acts of violence are the behavioral dimensions of discrimination and bias (Gürkaynak, 2012, p. 256).

2.2.3 Stereotype

As a concept, Didot is the first person to invent the concept of "stereotype" which meant the French printer. He defined this concept for a copying process. It was Walter Lippman who made the concept popular. Since stereotypes, which are positive or negative meanings and are ossified, cannot be changed frequently, it creates the problem (Ataman, 2012, p. 64).

Stereotypes is one of the concepts often confused with bias. These two types of judgments are different from each other and they actually complement each other. Stereotypes, like bias, allow quick decision making. However, lack of knowledge exists as in bias. The difference from bias is that it is a matter of decision-making against individuals or groups that make up the subject of judgment according to the patterns imagined in the mind. The main factor in applying these judgments stems from the lack of complete knowledge, as is the case with bias. Although stereotypes

do not sit on a certain ground like bias, they differ in that they are not always negative. The main factor how stereotype is not always turning into a negative state, is due to the effort of the individual to use his own ideas even if a little. The desire to classify people's minds and categorize the information they obtain results in the emergence of stereotypes. Instead of considering many external factors in this process, people perceive their surroundings more easily and they are content with only considering certain issues. Research has revealed that stereotypes are used in the classification of religious belief, nationality and sexual preferences. These stereotypes form the basis of bias. In this respect, there is a complementing relationship between stereotypes and bias.

2.3 Forms of Hate Speech

Hate speech can be encountered in different forms such as; religion, sect, race, political view, philosophical belief, language, gender, color.

Various researchers describe hate speech in different themes. Binark and Çomu have recently classified it as follows (Binark & Çomu, p. 2012):

- Political hate speech.
- Hate speech against women.
- Hate speech against foreign people and migrants.
- Hate speech based on religion and sects.
- Hate speech against disabled and diseased.
- Hate speech based on sexual orientation.

2.3.1 Political Hate Speech

That form of hate speech targets political views. Any kind of ideology and its fractions can be exposed to hate speech, including the ones who do not embrace the

view. It usually occurs when authorities representing a party legitimately harden their discourse against the rules of political courtesy and civil relations. Hate speech, which vertically advances from top to the bottom in a hierarchy, polarizes parties in a very short time. It can start with the domination of rival political thinkers and even extend to a murder in extreme racist thoughts. Except for marginal parties, political hate speech takes place during crisis (Habermans, 2012). Strong expressions and accusations of politicians aim opposing parties as targets to their own voters. As a result, hate speech evolves gradually on social media, subsequently in streets; even causing physical violence.

Political hate speech mainly emerges against ethnic groups. "Ethnic identity is a sense of belonging to distinguish members of a particular group from other community members. Thus, members of this group define themselves as "us". They differ from "them" contrary to the harmony and similarity within themselves. The more distinguished from "them", the more "us" become solid. The group, which defines itself with a series of representations, sometimes opposes "them", and while doing so, it can create a narrow frame for itself. Having these limitations and closed perception, "us" brings along the issue of racial hoax. While praising and prioritizing themselves, they exclude and defame the ones who do not involve in "us"." (Uluç, 2009, p. 57).

2.3.2 Hate Speech against Women

Sexist expressions are the primary reason of hate speech against women. These expressions aim to humiliate the opposing party. It is aimed to marginalize and diminish the dignity of the exposed person in society. Patriarchal society has great impact on the evolvement of that form of hate speech. While destroying their dignity, value of woman in society is implicitly determined. That hate speech not only brings

about a significant impact on legitimatizing violence against women, but also commodifies them. While presenting women as sex objects on media, all parts of society also suffers.

2.3.3 Hate Speech against Foreign People and Migrants

Hate speech targeting foreigners, immigrants or different ethnic groups trying to exist in the society is classified in this group. Due to economic reasons, many incidents emerge on a global scale in our country. In the emergence of this type of hate, racist ideas as well as economic reasons have an important effect. Racist feelings are based on the perception of the enemy. That perception is fueled by fears based on differences. Xenophobia has emerged after the September 11 attacks. It is a typical example of this type of fear. In Western countries, the increase in hate speech cause a vicious circle. That circle causes existing discourse to become even more challenging (Özkan, 2015). Another example of this type of hate is the use of national names such as; Armenian, Greek and Greek as an insult in our country.

People use the word “foreigner” to describe the ones who are not from them. While classifying other as foreigner, people generally use that word for the ones whose cultural features are different. In this case, cultural values are highlighted, and other people are denied (Göker, 2015, p. 69).

Hate speech emerges as prejudice, exclusion and discrimination against groups that make up the society and are generally minorities. Hate speech can range from some minor criticisms to racist dimensions. The acts that occur as a result of racism are the most dangerous stage in xenophobia (Gelekçi & Köse, 2011, p. 237).

As a concept, hate speech is defined as “rather ambiguous psychological concept that describes a person's fear or avoidance from other persons or groups they

perceive as foreign” (Yılmaz, 2008, p. 27).

Another definition was made by Master and Le Roy. Accordingly, the concept of xenophobia is defined as “the expression of distrust, fear and / or hatred towards foreigners by establishing a connection with an identity identical to a nation that embodies the culture”. In this definition, xenophobia is associated with the integrity of the nation and portrays foreigners as a potential threat. Therefore, it is determined that xenophobia is attributed to insecurity and fear. As a result, hate speech emerges in a concrete way (Yılmaz, 2008, p. 27).

Xenophobia and nationalism are closely related concepts. Psychology of nationalism varies among countries. While ideology of patriotic nationalism dominates Anglo-Saxon culture, harsh racism is seen in continental Europe (Smith, 2014).

Xenophobia is caused by the fact that selfish and egocentric people are unwilling to share their resources with others. Aforementioned feelings of hate are directed to foreigners for the sake of legitimization. It is seen in these legitimization processes that; different religion, culture or physical differences of foreigners who are not from the majority are highlighted. In other words, the distinction between "us" and "them" is made based on race and country in hate speech involving xenophobia (Mora, 2009, p. 8).

There may have been a migration movement from one country to another due to various reasons. For example, while there was migration from Turkey to Germany because of unemployment, the source of migration to Turkey from Syria, is due to the lack of domestic safety. People who leave their countries as a result of immigration try to preserve their existence in the countries they go to and try to maintain their

cultural existence as an immigrant minority. The most reasonable way to maintain this is to pass on their culture to the lower generations (Gelekçi, 2010, p. 174).

In order to protect their cultural assets, immigrants prefer to coexist in countries where they are a minority. This is a basis for overcoming the difficulties encountered in newly settled region. It also makes the cultural adaptation of people who have little relationship with the local people difficult and causes them to differentiate within the society. In this case, the minority draws the attention of the majority and a xenophobia begins to emerge. Positive and negative activities towards minorities are more often highlighted. A sense of hate is created through the negative bias and stereotypes of the society in general. Those who use the language of hate convey their negative feelings to foreigners as a kind of "scapegoat". They carry out intensive activities to make this situation legitimate and logical. According to current studies, the tendency believing in demagogues who spread hate speech has been increasing in the last fifty years. Especially today's economic crises and terrorist attacks has caused hate speech against foreigners to be adopted by wider public. Thus, immigrants are starting to be accepted as "source of trouble", "dangerous", "bad" people (Göker & Keskin, 2015, p. 232).

2.3.4 Hate Speech based on Religion and Sects

In this type of hate, differences of religion and sect among individuals are considered as elements of separation. One can encounter examples of this situation frequently in our country and in the world. In this type of hate, the feeling of hate can be directed to a member of another religion or to different sects within the same religion. For example, this hate speech, which appears as a Muslim-Christian conflict

in the world, manifests itself in the Alevi-Sunni distinction in our country. According to researches, when hate crimes are listed on the basis of religion and sect, most of hate speech is produced for Alevis, Jews, atheists and Christians, respectively. Among these groups, hate speech developed especially for people from the Alevi sect, constitute the best examples for the results of policies implemented by the state. The saying "what Alevis made is inedible " denotes the size of hatred and the like in Turkey. In the face of these pressures, Alevis feel necessary to hide their identities in some regions (Karaman, 2016).

A survey participated by 1108 people in 2009 draws attention due to the nature of the institution which conducted the survey. The Turkish Jewish Community conducted the survey in question. The questionnaire is Perception Survey named "Perception of Different Identities and Judaism". According to the result obtained from this survey, 57% of the participants do not want an atheist neighbor. According to the answers from the participants, people do not want their neighbors to be different. 42% of the participants do not want to be neighbors with Jews, 35% with Christians, and 13% with different sects of the same religion. In addition, according to another result of the survey, it is thought that Greeks, Armenians and Jews are not affiliated with the state (Radikal, 2009).

2.3.5 Hate Speech against Disabled and Diseased

This group is defined as people who have physiological, psychological handicaps or disabilities or who are carriers of diseases such as HIV and AIDS that may cause dangerous consequences in the future. In our country, this type of hate, which was not seen much in previous years, is increasing day by day. The shortcomings, from the provision of public services to social state requirements, may become elements of hate speech by socio-economically less developed groups, with

limited benefits. Another problem faced by the person who is exposed to hate speech is that he or she may be afraid of having their illnesses treated due to this fear of social pressure (Köylü, 2012, pp. 328 - 331).

2.3.6 Hate Speech based on Sexual Orientation

It is hate speech directed at people with different sexual orientations. Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex and Queer individuals are the target groups of hate speech. In this type of hate speech, different sexual preferences are accepted as deviant and people's preferences are considered as disgusting. Its incidence increases depending on the level of conservatism in the society (Işıklı, 2014).

Many studies address the difficulties faced by people with different sexual orientations. For example, in the 2013 report of Kaos GL Association, he emphasized that individuals with different sexual orientations were tried to be criminalized by marginalizing them (Kaos GL, 2013).

In Turkey, behaviors against LGBTIQ persona is often sexist and homophobic. In the literature, hatred towards individuals with different sexual orientations is defined as homophobia (Aygül, 2010, p. 112).

Homophobic concerns are seen almost all over the world. For example, in France, granting homosexuals the right to marriage was met with intense criticism and strong opposition by broad public . A similar situation was experienced in Austria, Norway and Romania (Habersat7Türk, 2015).

Various different hate speech is encountered on media and broadcasting in Turkey. The term "trans terror", which was frequently used in the media for a period, is one of the most important hate speeches and is used to express situations against public morality (Ördek, 2012, pp. 310 - 315).

2.4 Transformation of Hate Speech into Hate Crime

Even though they are different concepts, hate speech and crime are often confused and used interchangeably in daily language, studies and on media. However, they differ from each other including their consequences. Hate crimes are the categories of crime included in the legislation. Generally, the penalties are defined in criminal laws of the countries. Hate speech, on the other hand, is not as harsh as hate crimes, and is generally organized on the freedom of expression and views. Consequently, it ends up with abuse of this right and freedom (Çelik, 2013, p. 209).

Similarly, hate crime is defined by some researchers in literature as follows:

“It describes the crimes that occur as a result of attacking a person or a group with the intention of harming in different ways because of their identity, belief, political opinion, gender or sexual orientation” (Göregenli, 2009, p. 30).

Rayburn, Mendoza and Davison make a similar definition. They emphasize how elements of hate crime emerge by adding disabled individuals to hate crime victims.

It is described as “the offender's prejudice regarding religion, language, race, ethnicity, disability, gender and sexual orientation, and the crime committed against another person whom he knows or assumes to have one of these characteristics” (Rayburn, Mendoza, & Davison, 2003, pp. 1055 – 1056).

Uslu, on the other hand, evaluates hate crime in terms of social, economic and political weakness and mentions hate crimes against this group or person.

“violence against groups of people who are generally not valued by the majority of society, do not have access to resources to end social, political and economic injustice, and are discriminated against in almost all areas” (Uslu,

2013, pp. 186-187).

Herek, on the other hand, evaluates hate crime beyond an actual attack on a person or group and damage to body integrity. He also includes assault, rape, humiliation and threat to property into elements of hate crime.

“hate crime that can be explained as the subjection of a person to harmful or degrading behavior or words because of his / her belonging to a minority group; acts such as assault, murder, rape and crimes against property, as well as threats of violence and other degrading, are motivated by bias” (Herek, 1989, p. 949).

Considering all the definitions, attitudes and behaviors; perceiving a person or group as different from themselves, not being able to tolerate that group or people, and including all kinds of bullying are considered within the scope of hate crimes.

The concept of hate crime is originated in America in the 1980s. The term hate crime was first defined in US law as crimes committed with bias against perceived group membership of the victim (Grattet & vd. 1998, p. 289). The reason for legal definition of hate crimes and provision of penalties in return are the results of efforts to prevent the differences in the country from becoming a factor that divides the country. These factors may arise due to various reasons such as religion, language and race. The main reason for the emergence of this concept in the USA is the social structure (Açıkgöz & Alp, 2014, pp. 7 - 8). The USA does not have a sedentary society like European countries and predominantly based on certain nationality roots. In other words, although the concept was first recorded in the USA, it is in the category of bias-based crimes, also known as hate crimes or discriminatory crimes, and can be encountered in all countries (Les crimes de haine : Prévention et Réponses,

p. 11).

The USA is a country of immigrants. Therefore, it contains many religions, languages and races. In order to gather them in common points, it is necessary to protect all these differences and to develop the sense of social belonging in individuals. Discrimination and xenophobia constitute the biggest problems in this process. Thus, the motivation of the crime in the USA affects the severity of the punishment given to the crime. In other words, if the motive of a crime is hate, perpetrators are given more severe punishments than the punishments given for the same crime committed with other motivations (Açıkgöz & Alp, 2014, p. 7 - 8).

Although hate crime occurs in almost every country, a common definition has not been made in the doctrine yet. The reason is that the definition of hate varies in different countries. A definition agreed upon under these circumstances has been made by the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). Accordingly, hate crimes are defined as follows:

“The actual or perceived target of the victim, property, or the crime committed; with a group of similar characteristics based on race, ethnicity, national origin, language, color, religion, gender, age, mental or physical disability, sexual orientation or other similar factors is any kind of crime committed against people or property for which they were chosen because of their perceived connection, interest, loyalty, support or membership” (Karan, 2010, p. 56).

To Grattet, the existence of a group having different characteristics is sufficient for existence hate crime (Grattet & vd., 1998, p. 289).

Hate crimes have destructive effects on social security as well as individual

freedom. It has been accepted that hate crime can pose a threat to international security. 56 OSCE member countries have given a commitment to fight this crime. In addition, the OSCE draws particular attention to hate crimes with different studies and it is stated that the fight against hate crimes should be a priority on the agenda (Les crimes de haine : Prévention et Réponses, p. 11).

Turkey also puts similar efforts towards making the definition. For example, in 2012, 62 non-governmental organizations tried to make a definition on hate crime. This definition is as follows:

“Crimes committed with bias against individuals and groups having certain and common characteristics or their property are called “Hate Crime”. Hate Crimes are globally based on ethnic, national and religious identity, gender, sexual orientation and gender identity; health status, mental or physical disability, social status, political and philosophical view, educational status (Şensever, 2012, p. 7).

Turkish Supreme Court made an important decision in 1974. In this decision, the Supreme Court, makes the following decision regarding hate crime:

“The fact that the drive is dangerous for the safety of the general public means that the incitements and acts committed are of a nature that may disrupt public order and public safety of the country. Public safety does not have to be compromised or impaired as a result of the drive. Occurrence of this danger is considered sufficient (Supreme Court 8th Criminal Chamber, Decision dated 18.06.1974).

Hate crimes can occur in different ways in practice. Alğan and Sensever have listed the ways in which hate crimes occur as follows (Alğan & Şensever, 2010, p. 6):

- Assault based on physical violence.
- Violence and/or assault threats.
- Verbal and/or physical assault.
- Graffiti with racist, hateful or offensive content that puts pressure on people.
- Arson.
- Brochures and posters involving offensive message.
- Tyranny at school or at work.

When hate crimes are examined qualitatively, they can be considered as bias crimes. Hate crimes have two components. The first of these components is the criminal act of which sanctions are defined in the penal code. The second component is that this act, which is a legal sanction, is committed with bias. This is the main difference between hate crimes and other crimes (Ataman, 2012, p. 61).

Göregenli defines hate crimes emphasizing the basis of bias is as follows: Crimes resulting from attacking a person or group with the intention of harming a person or a group due to their identity, belief, political view, gender or sexual orientation are generally hate crimes. Hate crimes include aggressive behaviors. Victims of the crime are subjected to not only because of any action, that is, as a result of an act, but also because of their real or perceived color, nationality, sexual orientation, appearance, ethnicity, in other words “not their actions but their existence” (Göregenli, 2009).

People “... can only know things through discourse. It is not possible in terms of communicative purposes to convey events without context. Events do not speak of themselves. Someone has to pass it on. This requires a "narrator". And what is to be told necessarily exists in a discourse. In this context, the

elements of discourse determine our perception of events (Çığ, 2010, p. 186).

“Individuals are born within the existing social / linguistic structure, it is possible for them to establish themselves as subjects within the possibilities of this language, but at the same time, their knowledge of objects, events, facts and people / others outside of themselves also takes place within the language” (Cangöz, 2012, p. 207).

As a result, systematic increase of hate speech may go further and cause feeling of hate to rise and turn into a hate crime. Hate speech can have an enormous impact on the emergence of a negative act. Hate speech not only encourages the feeling of hate, but also encourages the perpetrator to commit the illegal act. The perpetrator, who is under the influence of hate speech, suddenly attacks the victim and opposes the law. In this respect, it is seen that it is an extremely convenient area for provocation (Talimciler, 2012, p. 260).

Hate crimes are distinguished from other types of crimes by the motive that directs the crime. In hate crimes, since the motive for the crime is often insignificant to establish the basic elements of a crime, its investigation is rarely carried out with sufficient diligence to identify the true cause of the criminal act. If the concept of "hate crime" is absent in the criminal law system, the corresponding cause is not recognized as a sign of corpus delicti, and as a result the existence of hate crimes is not recognized (Avrupa Güvenlik ve İşbirliği Teşkilatı, p. 12).

It is rather external than internal factors that have an effect on the further transformation of hate into a hate crime. The effect of hate speech on the rise of the feeling of hate and the emergence of an action that will later be accepted as a hate crime is extreme.

It is state's responsibility to combat hate crimes within criminal law framework. Representatives of different segments in society and public officials need to work together in order to improve relations between NGOs, authorities and victims and to provide more accessible and reliable responses to hate crimes (Bulut, 2014, p. 170). Although legislation is only one part of the solution for hate crimes, along with other tools, it is powerful for changing social attitudes in society. However, it should be noted that regardless of whether states adopt specific laws against hate crimes, such crimes are encountered in all countries all the time. It should be remembered that it has a serious impact on hate crime victims and on the members of their community. Harm resulting from hate crimes can be reduced by training law enforcement officers, prosecutors and courts to recognize and respond effectively to such crimes (Avrupa Güvenlik ve İşbirliği Teşkilatı, pp. 12 - 13).

Although perpetrators of hate crimes are not only extremist political groups, those who can commit hate crimes can be from any segment of society.

2.5 Xenophobia as a Form of Hate

In this part of the study, concept of xenophobia, which is the subject of the research, will be discussed, and the process of hate speech to evolve into hate crimes will be examined within this framework on a legal discussion ground.

2.5.1 Xenophobia

Included in many definitions of hate speech and crimes, xenophobia and hostility are forms of hate promoted by discriminatory hate speech. As Smelser and Baltes stated, Xenophobia, which is hostility against foreigners, is mostly used as an expression of "hating foreigners" (as cited in Özmete et al., 2018, p. 193).

Xenophobia basically emerges as the expression of hatred, practice of discrimination and fear towards immigrants and people and groups of different nationalities. The

following definitions of xenophobia are made in the major dictionaries accepted in the world; "Discontent or prejudice towards the people of other countries", "fear and hatred of strangers or anything strange or alien", "feeling of fear and dislike of the traditions, clothes, etc. of people who are culturally different from themselves" (Oxford University Press, nd, Dictionary, nd., & Merriam-webster, nd.). As can be understood from the definitions, the concept of xenophobia brings negative and unpleasant thoughts to mind.

There is no international definition on xenophobia. In addition, during Asia-Pacific NGO Networking Meeting for the World Conference, xenophobia has been defined as;

“attitudes, prejudices, and behaviors that reject, exclude, and often disparage those who are perceived foreign or are foreign to society or national identity” (Asia-Pacific NGO Networking Meeting for the World Conference, 2001).

It is necessary to differentiate the concept of xenophobia from racism. The concept has deeper meanings other than and beyond fear or hating a stranger's skin color, language, or belief. Racism is accepted as the most extreme level of xenophobia (NGO Working Group on Migration and Xenophobia for the World Conference, 2001).

Immigration recruitment practices to the country borders with government policies are common in Europe and America. One such country is Turkey. In our recent history Turkey has opened its border crossing due to the civil war in Syria. Millions of refugees and immigrants have entered the country. After a certain period of time and because of the increasing number of immigrants due to the prolongation of foreigners; citizens of Turkey began to experience concerns about public order,

economic and sociocultural concerns (Taştan, Haklı, & Osmanoğlu, 2017).

"Approaches and resentment against immigration and immigrants" in Europe and America feeds xenophobia. Xenophobia affects "all immigrant, refugee and asylum seeker categories in the world (Rydgren, 2008, p. 737).

Bobo and Hutchins' "Competition Theory" is one of the reasons for the increase of xenophobia. Members of the society, especially those with low socioeconomic and education level, who have difficulty in finding job opportunities, think that opportunities will be more limited with the arrival of foreigners, and they consider foreigners as a threat because they are worried that their welfare level will decrease with the decrease in job resources (1996, p. 953). This situation may lead to a hostile attitude towards foreigners.

To give example of Competition Theory via Turkey, indigenous people working in agricultural areas have been replaced with allegedly cheaper labor immigrants. Due to this situation, there is competition between local workers and migrant workers (Dedeoğlu, 2018). From another point of view, the fact that migrant workers are seen as cheap labor both negatively affect the working conditions of local workers and reveals the exploitation of the labor of the migrant worker.

Another problem that led to the rise of xenophobia in Turkey, is the inclination of xenophobic discourse in the broadcasting media channels such as the internet, television, radio and newspapers. For example, the coverage of the news telling foreigners buy houses and lands from the borders of the country, increases the level of anxiety of the public (Sağır, 2011, p. 53). On the other hand, there are news of health services offered to immigrants. The information that medicine and health services are provided free of charge to immigrants is met with anger by the public and they see

immigrants and foreigners as a burden (Erdoğan, 2015).

Taking measures on legal and social integration to reduce xenophobia in the world will affect the process positively. When we consider the concept of social integration, a scope that implies equal rights and opportunities for all people emerges. Efforts are required to become more integrated and to improve living conditions. Integration efforts may not always lead to a positive or negative outcome, but they are based on finding ways to define more humanitarian and community rules (Hewitt de Alcantara, 1995, pp. 61 - 63). Akbaba says that in order for social integration to take place, “the needs of individuals who form the social structure must be met first” (2005, pp. 19 - 25). These needs are socio-economic and they also include psychological elements.

Against xenophobia and racism suffered by refugees and migrants, ILO, IOM and UNHCR addressed issues that contain important legal measures to combat discrimination;

First of all, the principle of compliance of foreign nationals with international standards should be prioritized and the protection and recognition of their rights by national laws should be ensured. The rule of law should be strengthened. In addition, all kinds of racist discourse, hostile attitude, behavior and discrimination against stateless and foreign nationals should be considered illegal. In order to ensure the full applicability of legal measures; administrative measures should be taken, and accountability of all employees should be ensured. Public and private institutions should personally receive complaints about discriminatory attitudes and behaviors from foreign nationals, and committees should be established to monitor this. Efforts to encourage respect for multiculturalism should be carried out. Political, social or

cultural leaders should be determined and supported to denounce xenophobia, racism and discrimination. In order to eliminate negative examples and stereotypes, the positive aspects of differences and migration should be emphasized, and a communication ground should be prepared. Diversity and multicultural education should be added to education curriculum. Methods of combating discrimination and xenophobia, practices and follow-up studies should be carried out in cooperation with non-governmental organizations (NGO Working Group on Migration and Xenophobia for the World Conference, 2001).

2.5.2 Factors of Xenophobia

Van Dijk gives the following statement about the factors of xenophobia;

“Many ideological implications can be understood not only by saying little about that, but also by saying too much and unrelated things about the actors of the news. The best-known example in news reports about minorities is the unrelated use of ethnic or racial labels in crime stories” (Van Dijk, 2007, p. 5).

The xenophobic elements of provocation, hatred, and illegality will be explained in this section.

2.5.2.1 Incitement

In law, provocation is the commitment of an unlawful act with the direction of the wrath or grief on the victim as a result of an unlawful act of the perpetrator. When evaluated technically, the legislator has foreseen a certain reduction in the penalty, taking the situation of the person who has been driven into account. For example, the punishment a person will receive for murder in the absence of provocation is not the same as he will receive under unjust provocation.

The issue of unfair provocation is one of the controversial issues in the field of law. It is often confused with legitimate defense. In self-defense, the incident is still ongoing, and it is possible for the person to be harmed if he cannot find a solution. In provocation, the event is over, and the person affected by the event commits an action. The discussion starts at this point. How should a person be evaluated if he / she acts planned and deliberate after an event?

"Although it can be thought that the Supreme Court accepts that designing and unjust provocation cannot be found at the same time, as the elements of the drafting formed by the Supreme Court's settled jurisprudence are calm, the Supreme Court has clearly accepted that unjust provocation and drafting can be found at the same time, contrary to the decisions it had previously made" (Erdoğan, 2007).

It is alleged that there is a provocation in hostility and hate crimes against foreigners. To give an example in this regard, Syrian workers seen as the source of the unemployment problem in Turkey is presented. Large masses of people are affected by this news and attack Syrian workers from time to time.

In this regard, the Supreme Court declares that, as stated above, the incitement reduction should be implemented. A sample Supreme Court decision is as follows:

"The fact that the first unjust act came by the victim and the group of victims requires the application of mild provocation provisions about the defendant" (Supreme Court, 1st Criminal Chamber, 2003/4262 E., 2004/754 K.).

It is understood that provocation and self-defense were confused in many incidents that were reflected in newspapers. In the decisions of the Supreme Court, it is understood that the local courts do not agree on this issue. To give an example in

terms of subject; assuming that a quarrel between Syrians and Turks has arisen, how should the Turkish side and Syrians come together and attack the other side with the intention of fighting, after a while between the two people have ended their fighting and the parties have separated, how should the situation be evaluated in terms of law? Here, the law clearly states that since the parties split up after the first fight, it is not possible for the attacking party to talk about self-defense. Driving factor comes to the fore. The attacked group can defend themselves during the attack and in accordance with the attack. For example, if a group of Syrian youth is attacking with sticks in their hands, the group opposite cannot kill by shooting with shotguns, because their weapons are not equivalent.

2.5.2.2 Grudge and Hatred

In order for xenophobia to occur, there must be an element of grudge and hatred against foreigners. The grudge and hatred here should be directed against those who are regarded as "foreigners".

2.5.2.3 Illegality

The provocation, grudge and hatred caused by xenophobia should be against the law. In the absence of this requirement, it will not be considered a hate crime due to the general acceptance that things not defined by law will not be considered a crime. This point poses the biggest difficulty in defining hate crime and xenophobia. A speech that includes expressions of “xenophobia” clearly may not sound against the law in general. What will happen in this situation? Such a subject of discussion extends to the distinction between positive law and natural law, and it can be overcome by common sense and social consensus.

Legal regulations in some countries are as follows:

In Greece, the main legislation is Law 927/1797 on penalties or acts against racial discrimination. According to this law, it is forbidden to incite the public against violence, hatred or discrimination against a person or a group of persons due to race, color, religion, status, ethnic origin, sexual orientation, gender identity or disability, and the sanction for opposing this ban varies from three months to three years imprisonment and a fine of five to twenty thousand euros (Baider & Millar, p. 9).

In Italy, the Law No. 205/1993 covers the incitement of hate crime to spread ideas based on racial superiority or racial or ethnic hatred; to act or commit acts of discrimination for racial, ethnic, national or religious motives (Baider & Millar, p. 9).

In Lithuania, Article 170 of the Criminal Code entitled “Encouragement Against Any National, Racial, Ethnic, Religious or Other Group Group” deals with hate crime. It considers hatred, violence, discrimination or contempt for a person or persons belonging to a group defined according to gender, sexual orientation, race, nationality, language, descent, social status, religion, conviction or views as a hate crime (Baider & Millar, p. 9).

In Romania, Article 369 of the Criminal Code prohibits “any form of public incentive, hatred or discrimination against anyone”. Resolution 137 of 2000 encompasses race, nationality, ethnicity, language, religion, social, belief, gender, sexual orientation, age, disability, chronic non-contagious disease, HIV infection, and membership in a disadvantaged group (Baider & Millar, p. 9).

Legal regulations in the UK date back to 1986. It includes the display, publication or distribution of written material, of acts, words or behavior or written material that is intended or is likely to incite racial hatred. The crime of mixing religious hatred was included in the law in 2006 (Baider & Millar, p. 10).

3 XENAPHOBIA AND HATE SPEECH ON MEDIA

The media is the most important medium that manipulates and shapes the perceptions in society. Thus, it is named as the fourth power after the legislative, executive and judicial. Media, which has the biggest responsibility for the production of hate speech is a mass communication tool that can turn discriminatory ideologies into hate crimes. The media, which acts as an intermediary through which dominant ideologies are produced and legitimized, plays an important role not only in the spread but also in the production of hate speech based on discrimination. The media functions as an “ideological device” to justify and naturalize. Thanks to this powerful function, the media can prevent hate speech and xenophobia by using careful language, as well as contribute to the reproduction of hate speech by legitimizing alienation and xenophobia by using a sloppy and discriminatory language. The dominant view causes careless reflection of the differences of individuals in the society, such as their religious belief, sexual orientation or political view, on the media and hate speech that contains hidden violence turns into a hate crime.

3.1 Relationship between Media, Ideology and Discourse

Discourses that are based on discriminatory ideologies produce hate speech and language. The analysis of discourses that enable us to understand the social and ideological dimension of meaning generation not only reveals the process through language and representation, but also shows the relationship between the knowledge produced by a particular discourse and power. The discourses of the power and dominant groups that have an effect on the production of meaning try to determine how to make sense of social life and space. Dominant discourses are thus fed and produced by ideologies that "justify the rule of power". The media, which acts as an instrument by which the ideologies of the power are produced and legitimized, have

the function of producing hate speech, justifying and naturalizing it as an "ideological device".

Media content has a powerful effect on determining political agenda just as regarded as in the 'Agenda-setting Theory' asserted by Maxwell E. McCombs and Donald L. Shaw (1972, pp. 176 - 187). Therefore, it is important that media undertakes the responsibility of being the fourth power wisely. As regarded by Bernard Cohen in 1963, "The press is often not good at telling people what to think, but it does exceptionally well at telling readers what to think about" (as cited in Yüksel, 2007, p. 577). Mass media has the power to create public opinion in the society and can have the power to direct the thoughts of individuals and communities since they have the opportunity to make their voices heard by large masses. When this power is used incorrectly, it can lead to hate speech or racist attitudes and may result in consequences to pave the way for hate crimes (Gökçe, 1995, p. 179).

Traditional media adopts close relations with the government in order to survive due to economic reasons and high competition. As a result of production of distorting discourses, traditional media creates new "minority groups". It does that by using the language of "we" and "others" and shapes the target audience. Traditional media regards "Turkish", "Muslim", "Sunni", "Heterosexual", "Male", "Conservative" as "we". The mainstream media often uses overlapping "we" definition by regarding to the politically and economically dominant ideology in the society (Dirini, 2010, p. 63). Those, who are outside the concept of "we" created, are scapegoats and they are excluded and exposed to hate speech. To illustrate, the Armenians, the Kurds, hatred of homosexuals or immigrants In Turkey may be regarded. In addition, unnecessary emphasis can be placed on the sexual identity or ethnic origin of the people who are marginalized in the mainstream media. Hate

speech is reproduced over and over again through a sloppy language in news. For instance, news about an accident can focus on whether the driver is Kurdish or a transgender person.

Language of the text, word choice, syntactic organizations, selected images and news topics reveal the construction of discourse. As a result of pleasing and attracting the attention of the pluralist audience, traditional media uses various methods in the news creation process in line with its economic and political goals. And they call the audience “we” (Erdem, 2005, pp. 89 - 93).

As Shoemaker and Reese reports “the media create new ideas, restrict and define social rules and boundaries” (Shoemaker & Reese 2014, pp. 101 - 102). The media exhibits creativity in theory generation. They determine the decisions such as intonation, emphasis, exhibition and placement in a print news themselves. Media bases its news selection on criteria such as sensational, conspicuous, extraordinary and conflictual. The media primarily identify threats to the current situation and endorse the ideological status quo by denigrating “deviant ideas” (Shoemaker & Reese 2014, pp. 101 - 102).

Erdem classifies media's methods in the news creation process as “Promoting by Affirmation, Exposing by Blame, Excluding from the Public Agenda by Ignoring, Humiliating by Degrading, Marginalizing the Other by Approving the Normal” (Erdem, 2005, pp. 89 - 93).

In addition to being a mass media that produces news and information, media organizations are also an instrument of the masses since they are a commercial enterprise. Media organizations as a commercial enterprise, produce content according to the characteristics and norms of the audience they address and frequently

affirm their value judgments. In the process of “Promoting by Affirmation”, the media constantly affirm the dominant views in society against minority groups and increase the representation power of the mass it addresses as “we” by affirming the values, behaviors and structures it claims to be determined by social consensus within the framework of the "dominant ideology". On the other hand, it ensures that minority groups remain more cautious and silent (Erdem, 2005, p. 90).

In the process of “Exposing by Blame”; media brings up the groups it marginalized with incriminating news. It associates minority groups other than dominant-minded groups with crime and presents them to the public. They exclude minority groups, who are in a secondary position under the domination of the ruling class, because of their violent actions. Only the images of action and violence are emphasized without reason and result. Minority groups are criminalized. They come to the agenda of the media when they are subjected to violence. In this way, they also legitimize state violence by associating the members of these groups only with crime (Erdem, 2005, p. 91). In this way, these groups are only associated with bad ideas such as ‘fight’ and ‘action’ before the society and are engraved in the memories.

In the process of “Exclusion from the Public Agenda by Ignoring”, the media prefers to remain silent and not report on some issues. Although members of the society have the right to receive accurate news and to be acknowledged, the news flow cannot be provided due to the ideological point of view of the media and their own commercial concerns. With this attitude, it determines the agenda and reaches different conclusions and takes an action to guide the public opinion (Erdem, 2005, p. 91). To illustrate, the media gives the power to ones who hold ideological domination of the right to have more say in the election campaign processes. However, it does not give or even restricts the right to speak of the representatives from different parties or

the leaders of the minority groups.

In the process of “Humiliating by Degrading”, the media tends to show all groups other than their target audience as low; in quality and influence, less in number. With this strategy, the media transforms groups and individuals into minorities by alienating them and makes their ideas insignificant and small. It decreases the representation power of the masses and prevents even justified defenders from gaining sides (Erdem, 2005, p. 92). For example, in the actions related to gender-based hate crimes, the media approached the participants in these protests with discourses such as “Tribe of Lot” or “The elements that disturb the social order”. In that way, they tried to degrade these groups, trivialize them, show them less and depict their actions small and meaningless.

The most important thing to know in the process of “Confirming the Normal and Marginalizing the Other” is that every society and community, no matter large or small, have their own norms. For example, groups with religious differences have adopted different prayers and perform the rituals of their beliefs at different times. The media, on the other hand, because of their political and economic concerns, generally approve the norms of the dominant element in their target audience and marginalize the norms of minority groups. By doing this, media increases the “we” value of the group whose norms it approves. In contrast, it transforms the group it marginalized into a group of deviants and extremes (Erdem, 2005, p. 93). As a result, minority groups feel themselves marginalized, withdrawn and they begin to enter a spiral of silence.

This is also valid for social media. As a result of being marginalized by traditional media, individuals pursue being in a spiral of silence also on social media.

The Spiral of Silence theory was developed by the German sociologist Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann. The Spiral of Silence Theory is attributed to a socio-psychological thought, which argues that our personal thought is indexed to what others think (Mutlu, 1998, p. 321, Mc Quail & Windahl, 1997, p. 135). In the literature, researchers describe people who enter the Spiral of Silence as follows: “If people think that they are alone at the time of adopting a certain view, they avoid revealing it loudly. If the opinion they want to adopt is accepted by a large audience, they will not hesitate to express their opinions. They use mass media as a criterion to determine whether an idea is accepted by the society. Provided that this idea is not in the media, they think that it is not acceptable enough. When people with certain views see these ideas are not included in mass media, they will not be able to defend their views out of fear or of being excluded and not loved by the society and their environment. The more he is silent, the less common and invalid his opinion will become. In this process, opinions of the society are conveyed by media organs who have economic and socio-political relations. As a result, it gradually becomes the dominant view and will be perceived as absolute” (Mutlu, 1998, p. 321, Mc Quail & Windahl, 1997, p. 135).

The perception of “we” and “others” conveyed by the traditional media drags individuals into a spiral of silence. Another reflection of this spiral of silence and being marginalized is experienced in social media channels. This subject will be analysed in detail under social media title.

3.1.1 Relationship between Ideology, Language and Power

One of the mostly referred concepts in social sciences is ideology. In the literature, it is seen that researchers refer to the concept of ideology differently based

on their interests and perceptions and define accordingly. For example, Eagleton preferred to define the concept of ideology as follows: "Ideology is the reason why people occasionally classify each other as God or insect" (Eagleton, 1996, p. 14). When examined carefully, it points out the role of the concept of "ideology" as a tool of distortion in the world of images based on the thoughts formed in the minds of individuals.

On the other hand, Marx defines ideology in layers. Mainly, he claims that social conditions in which people are shape their thoughts. It expresses that the people and conditions we are in contact with, direct our ideas and govern our perception as if it were our own opinion in the first place. He explains the ideology with a another meaning. He explains the distortion of truth as the shaping of reality by upside down as if in a 'camera obscura' with illusions (Marx & Engels, 1987, pp. 44 - 45).

Marx refers to ideology in the basis of class:

"The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch, i.e. the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it. The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships, the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas" (Marx & Engels, 1987, p. 79).

In this context, he states that concept of ideology was born to favor the interest of ruling class and reflect their views. He also uses the expression 'camera obscura' to define how upside down and corrupt class system is.

Raymond Williams defines ideology by emphasizing three definitions of ideology in the Marxist tradition as “The system of beliefs specific to a particular class or group, the imaginary belief that is the opposite of real or scientific knowledge, false thoughts or false consciousness systems, the general process of meaning and thought production” (1990, p. 48).

According to Sholle, "Ideology occupies a place between cause and effect and produces ideology, but only as long as it is produced by a series of material relations that precede it (1994, p. 256).

In this context, an ideology-generating knowledge is also a knowledge that is the opposite of reality, oppressing and ruling. The concept of ideology can thus be systematically linked to production, especially by class subjects.

For Althusser, ideology is a mirror of experiences. It derives its entire reason for existence from practice of life. According to him, ideology is in every field of life and expresses an environment. It has existed with matter and is inseparable. In this context, ideology grasps everything and everyone because it is a material practice of society (Althusser, 1991, p. 22).

Althusser sees the state as a tool of oppression. He defines ideology as “an important structure and power that coexists with social formation and affects everything”. According to Althusser, the state has both repressive and ideological devices. The oppressive state device realizes itself through violence. There is a plurality of ideological apparatuses and they function through ideology. Althusser also states that there may be non-state forces in spreading ideology and there are no clear boundaries between them.

Ideology is not a sequence of ideas imposed or imposed by one class on

another, but a collection of practices that span all classes from the past yet extend to the future. Ideology is an effect of structure on the subject. It enables individuals to adopt dominant values and to adapt to the system they live in or to establish harmonious life patterns. It is impossible to get rid of ideology. Ideology is not only a mental operation but also a practice. It occurs in life, is synchronous and in synch with life. In this respect, the form of ideology expressed is very close to culture (Althusser, 1991, p. 23).

According to Althusser, not ideologies, but mass media, which are their carriers; schools, unions, rituals, religious ceremonies, books, newspapers, films, television programs, radios, meetings, law, etc. is continuous. Ideology is almost automatically transferred to certain carriers. Ideology survives with them and is in their practice. As long as mass media, traditions, customs, religion and other social habits exist, ideologies also survive. Therefore, ideology tying one period to another is more related to those who carry the ideology rather than the ideological reality (1991, p. 24).

In this context, these carriers function as to convey the values of the state, to consolidate its power, to protect the order and to maintain capitalist production relations. Ideologies give us the imagination that our choices and beliefs originate from our own thoughts. Ideologies cannot be separated from the experiences people have, so ideology also includes people's reflexes, habits, and tastes.

All theories of ideology, regardless of their differences, agree that ideology tries to maintain its pressure on classes. Fiske says that these differences can occur in “the way domination is sustained, the degree of effectiveness and the scope of the resistances it faces” (2003, p. 226).

It is seen that while researchers working in the field of social sciences talk about the importance of ideology, they refer to the role of "building social reality". One of the main functions of ideology is the creation of social reality. While ideology fulfills this reality-creating function, it does not allow independent processes arising from communication (Çoban, 2003, pp. 254 - 255). It is concluded that this feature of ideology reshapes the ways of knowing (Büyükkantarcıoğlu, 2012, p. 111). Ideology, which plays the role of construction of social reality, can emerge in different ways due to its penetration into social life and can affect the thoughts of individuals (Haslanger, 2012, p. 18). In this context, a significant part of the beliefs and reasoning based on knowledge revealed by ideology are based on information distorted through the intellectual fictions and stereotypes.

In the context of discourse and language, the realization and functioning of ideologies cannot be considered separately from these two concepts. Eagleton says that; "Ideology is a matter of who says what to whom for what purposes, rather than the linguistic features contained in an expression" (2005, p. 28). People's main communication tool is language. Language has a structure formed in words and within this structure, every word has a value. People convey their feelings to the other party using their languages. Cultures are transferred faster thanks to people's use of languages. During this cultural transferring process, languages also function ideologically. Because, among the subjects conveyed by language, there are also how people see and perceive the world. People transfer what they perceive from their experiences to someone else with their own language, namely their discourse. People who convey their world views and political thoughts (ideologies) through language maintain their existence in the society and contribute to the development of social thought.

Language is a sign system that serves to express concepts according to Ferdinand de Saussure. It is one of the most important tools in the formation and transmission of social reality. There are two important reasons that highlight language as a tool. The first one is that the discourse of power is formed through language. The second one is that ideology is a means of presentation. Due to the importance of language, the number of researchers working on language is increasing and in scope of that, the literature is enriched (Saussure, 1998, pp. 44 - 46).

Other important language definitions in the literature belong to Benveniste and Martinet. Benveniste sees language as a tool and says, “it is an element of communicating with other objects and transmitting information” (Benveniste, 1995, p. 164). Martinet defines language as follows: “It is a communication tool that enables the decomposition of human experience into units that include a semantic content and a sound expression, in other words, meaningful units, in varying ways from community to community” (Martinet, 1998, p. 28).

As a tool used for the construction of social reality, ideology fulfills its task through language. For this reason, there is a very important and strong relationship between social reality and language. Although this network of relations has been discussed in detail in the works of sociologists such as Thomas Luckmann, Peter Ludwig Berger and John Searle, it is dominant in terms of the role of social reality construction in literature. It seems that there is not enough room for their relations. Referring to this issue, Berger and Luckmann stated that “whoever has the bigger the stick has a greater chance to impose their own definition of reality” (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 158).

In this context, power relations can also be influenced by ideologically

encapsulated discursive practices. It is necessary to focus on how the power is affected by discourse and the consequences resulting from this influence. As Fairclough quotes, “Ideologically surrounded discursive practices contribute to the maintenance and undermining of power relations as much as possible” (2003, p. 170).

It is seen that different definitions of power have been included in the studies carried out so far and there is no agreement on defining the concept. Expressing his views on power, Weber mentioned two elements of power; force and sovereignty. According to Weber, force is able to fulfill its will in the face of resistance, while sovereignty shows the status of obedience to force (Weber, 2009, pp. 28 - 29). On the other hand, Elias Canetti, who examines the power relations, does not state that the concept of "power" definitely includes force and sovereignty elements, but it would not be correct to reduce the concept of power to only these two elements. According to the researcher dealing with the relationship between power and force, he stated that although force has the opportunity to be in power over time, the government does not always need to use force (Canetti, 2016, pp. 283 - 284).

One of the researchers who have parallel ideas with Canetti is Duverger. Duverger explained the concept of power based on the concepts of “force” and “influence” in his studies on the “power” mechanism. Asserting that power cannot be reduced to force alone, Duverger points out that power has a different anatomy than force. What makes it a power and gives it legitimacy is the fact that it is recognized and accepted as a power by the members of the community or at least the majority of them. The power that loses its legitimacy ceases to be the power and becomes force (Duverger, 2014, p. 132). As seen in Duverger, power and force are conceptualized differently.

Force is defined as power that has lost its legitimacy, and this power-force distinction is considered important in terms of describing what power is. Therefore, talking about power mechanisms does not mean to consider only the force structure. The phenomenon of power includes force but cannot be degraded to it. In power phenomenon, the French philosopher Michel Foucault points out a more complex structure. Foucault criticizes earlier thinkers for degrading power to mere law and prohibition and points out that power is a much more complex structure. According to Foucault, even though social consensus on violence, force, and power are tools of power, they do not constitute its essence (Foucault, 2014, p. 74).

Power is more than all this and it has a comprehensive nature. Power can generally be defined as the authority to act on individual actions in the society (Foucault, 2014, p. 74).

Hence, power is a social phenomenon and generalization. The power relation indicates the generalized network of relations. In the Foucauldian definition of power, power is not referred to a limiting perspective, such as shouldn't do / don't do. According to Foucault, power is much more, and it gives form to society by regulating and controlling. In line with this purpose, the government is doing social engineering at some point by using the dispositive conceptualized by Foucault and which have no exact equivalent in Turkish (Foucault, 2014, pp. 143 - 147).

The concept of dispositive can be defined as the intervention instruments of power in general. Institutionalized legal order, laws, bureaucracy, schools with disciplinary devices can be listed as the dispositive. According to Foucault, power is not a holistic structure, there can be more than one power in a society. A society is not a unitary body in which the only form of power reigns; on the contrary, a society is

the juxtaposition, relationship, coordination and hierarchy of different but still preserving powers (Foucault, 2014, p. 145).

Dispositive is a concept of Michel Foucault, but it does not have its exact equivalent in Turkish. Foucault, with the concept of dispositive, characterizes the means of intervention of power. According to Foucault, these dispositive consist of systems such as discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions and laws (Foucault, 2011, p. 118).

The phenomenon of power is a key concept for the construction of society and social reality. Since social reality builds structures that are authorized by the power, power is in a determining position in the construction of social reality. As stated above, “whoever has the bigger stick has a greater chance to impose their own definitions of reality” (Berger & Luckmann, 1966), the structuring that has power plays a decisive role in the formation of a reality as it is understood from the statement. In this context, the shaping of language by the power has an important place in the construction of reality. First of all, language is a social entity and a product of the society which is in it. Although language was originally produced by society, language begins to produce the individual at some point and shapes society in the context of dominant thought. At this point, the most important element of the existence of language is that it is a set of conventions (Saussure, 1998, p. 38).

The existence of a language that is not based on consensus has not been mentioned. Every word in the language requires an absolute consensus on it, otherwise no communication can be established on the language and language loses its feature of being a language. Therefore, language is qualified as an indicator of sociability at some point. If there is a language in a geography, there is absolutely a

society there. The existence of society necessarily requires power, and the relationship between language and power is established in this context. As language is the only means of communication among individuals, it is also a tool of the relationship between power structures and individuals, and language has a great importance in the establishment of power. The government uses the language effectively with the discourses it has produced and coordinates the social reality through discourses.

In this context, language functions as the founding element of discourse. Discourses are produced through language, and discourse cannot be located separately from powers and their thoughts. The ideological apparatuses of the state manipulate the society at the level of consciousness with their discourses and actively use the language in this process. Mass media also contributes to the production of meaning by combining the mentality and culture of the dominant powers with discourses.

3.1.2 Media and Discourse

Discourse is a concept that is generally associated with the mechanisms of power and is analyzed through the discourse of power. It basically means discourse, utterance, phonetics or pronunciation (Turkish Dictionary, nd), but discourse refers to much more than that. First of all, discourse is a concept that needs to be handled with power indeed. It is possible for individuals to produce discourse using ordinary language. However, both for social sciences as a discipline and for this study, the concept of discourse is handled together with powers and dominant power centers. The main point in terms of discourse is the production of discourse itself. Discourse is a linguistic phenomenon that is produced and edited. Discourse can be produced in every field, from everyday language to political rhetoric. However, the main focus is on the production of discourse by power mechanisms and analyzing its role in the construction of social reality by reproducing the dominant values in society.

According to Foucault, discourse is a power that needs to be captured, whoever produces discourse also seizes thoughts and consolidates their power. Therefore, discourse is a desired phenomenon (Foucault, as cited in 1993, Dursun, 2014, p. 22). Discourse is also an arena of struggle, and powers compete to produce discourse. As a matter of fact, as Foucault has stated, not everyone can talk about everything and produce discourse on every subject. Besides, one cannot mention everything under all circumstances (Foucault, 1987, p. 23). Since discourse is associated with the mechanism of power, it is regarded as an effective element in shaping society and social consciousness. Since the power that determines the social discourse will determine the social consciousness at some point, power mechanisms desire to be the only producer of the discourse (Çoban, 2003, p. 259).

Foucault restricts discourse by pointing out the existence of certain power mechanism that produces discourse. Therefore, discourse and power exist in relation to each other, just as in the relationship between language and power. The government wants to remain as a discourse-producing factor and to enforce its monopoly on discourse production by seeing it as an area of struggle and determining its borders. It does this in various ways, and at this point, the discourse appears as the carrier of ideology. Discourse plays an active role in the generation of consent with the conceptualization of Noam Chomsky and in the establishment of hegemony as conceptualized by Gramsci.

Hegemony is an important concept which leads to discourse of power and requires individual adaptation for standing against the dominant paradigm. The concept of hegemony has an important role in the creation and control of social reality.

The dominant class creates consensus in order to maintain its domination and protect its own interests and ensures the internalization of dominant values through the production of consent in society. This process takes place at the cultural and ideological level through ideological apparatus of the state, which Althusser conceptualized as naturalizing the dominant social order and ideological discourses.

Media is one of the most influential ideological devices on society. It plays an active role in the reproduction of the dominant ideology, dominant values and worldview, through the discourses they produce and mediate. The dominant discourses that shape social reality based on a certain ideology are widely accepted and adopted by the media.

Exclusive and discriminatory ideologies against some groups and individuals in the society are also produced through these discourses. Hate speech based on daily bias and discriminatory ideologies that define and label certain social groups is also part of the dominant discourse. It continues to be produced by dominant groups who desire the permanence of their dominance.

The mass media, which are the mediators of the dominant power, thus contribute to the permanence of social control through contents shaped based on rulership, such as language and discourse excluding opponents or minorities.

3.2 Xenophobia and Hate Speech on Media

Since media affects the development of individuals' thoughts, it is important. As Noelle-Neumann states,

“Definite impressions about the climate of opinion in all matters that are not related to the individual's own life and experience are gained through the media” (Noelle-Neumann, 2002, p. 387).

“If an expression towards a group or its members encourages hatred, and if the supposedly valid reason for this incentive is the features attributed to that group; a group, an identity, members of this group and / or identity are humiliated just as they belong to this group and seen as second class, If they are deemed to be the perpetrator of things, seen second-class, deprived; or if humiliation of these groups or their members are justified, that means; that text, that speech, that photo, that video, that illustration, etc. includes hate speech” (Çınar, 20013, p. 143).

In this section, the issue of hate speech and xenophobia created by traditional media and discriminatory news language will be examined. Examples of news language that produces hate speech and xenophobia in traditional media will be given and discussed.

3.2.1 Traditional Media

Today, the most important mass communication tools are traditional media (radio, television, newspaper, magazine etc.) and internet. Social reality learned from comments and information on the media and websites influence people. From this point of view, the effect of the language used by the media and the internet on the masses remains within the scope of the government. With this sphere of influence, which is also reasonable in terms of political science, governments ensure their legitimacy and strengthen their hegemony (Talimciler, 2012, p. 252).

The mass media in general and within these mass media, the media in particular have an undeniable influence on society. Even when considered in all communication channels, it has a strategic importance due to its potential to reach and influence the whole society and to direct it later. Therefore, the political establishment tries to influence the media. On the other hand, it tries to influence politics by using

this power in the media. Even this network of relations reveals the power and importance of the media (Özkan, 2006, p. 3). The task of traditional media is ideally to provide unbiased information and to counter hate speech alone. Beyond that, the media is also expected to explain surprising events and analyze them in context (United Nations Secretary, 2019, p. 88).

However, due to the possibility of reaching large segments among mass media, the media creates a structure suitable for creating and spreading hate speech and making it accepted in people's minds. When examined within the balance of power, especially the mainstream media can create a language that legitimizes the ideology of the state, makes the operations look successful, in short, maintains the system, and on the other hand alienates the opponents of the ruling classes, defends the interests of the ruling classes and develops discriminatory discourses against those who oppose these interests. As a result of the environment created on media channels, the opposition group is marginalized. Therefore, it cannot defend itself because no other communication channel to reach large audiences is left. The language created by the media and imposed on the society fuels the feelings of hatred and transfers anger to certain segments. This attitude of the media causes an increase in violence against others in the society. The environment of violence creates the risk of causing conflict and civil war in some cases. As can be seen in many events, media incites hatred and animosity, creates a tense environment and causes violence as a result of the language they use. These situations gain legitimacy with the use of ideological and political tools by the power and divide the society into different groups. In this process, the media stops polyphony and deepens the marginalization. Media organizations generally highlight differences such as religious or ethnic origin and sexual orientation, develop hate speech, and more importantly, reform social relations by

legitimization (Çoban, 2009, p. 4).

3.2.2 News Language and Journalism based on Xenophobia and Hate Speech on Traditional Media

Exclusive news language that emphasizes differences is used especially in mainstream media channels. While mainstream media institutions present their news, the subject of the news can express the differences of the individual such as race, nationality, color and belief. An example of this is the headline “Syrian novice thief fell into the elevator shaft” in the news of Hürriyet newspaper dated 30.04.2017. (<https://www.hurriyet.com.tr>) Looking at the content of the news, it is stated that a thief who tried to enter a textile company from the roof in Adana fell into an elevator shaft and was later taken to the hospital. However, emphasizing the nationality of the thief by stating that he is “Syrian” in terms of news language does not contribute to the reader in terms of news content. Indeed, this emphasis creates a perception on a certain segment of the society and imposes the fact that Syrians are thieves. This situation is not only valid for Hürriyet. Many other media news organizations also report in the same way, preferring to use discriminatory language, reinforcing bias and marginalizing individuals (Alğan & Şensever, 2010, p. 18).

“The fact that news writing is an ideological reproduction is the result of the transformation and approach difference experienced by the same news in different media organs” (Özerkan, 2009, p. 256).

Despite the excessive number of news generated by this language in Turkey, Turkish Journalists put some principles forward and is expected to comply with these principles:

“Journalist primarily defends peace, democracy and human rights, the universal values of humanity, polyphony and respect for differences. It

recognizes the rights and dignity of all nations, people and individuals, without discriminating nationality, race, ethnicity, gender, language, religion, class and philosophical view. It avoids broadcasting that incites hatred and enmity between people, communities and nations. It cannot directly attack the cultural values and beliefs (or disbelief) of a nation, community, and individuals. Journalist cannot broadcast news that justifies, encourages and incites any kinds of violence” (TGC, 2014).

Although the professional associations are trying to direct the above-mentioned type, it is obvious that the concrete events are quite different. The research conducted reveal that journalists approach the issue with bias before starting the news. The bias can arise in different ways. Political, commercial or any other reason may cause bias (Alğan & Şensever, 2010, p. 19).

“News is the information that constitutes the most important element in making decisions about the future, establishing meaningful relationships with people and the environment, and perceiving the world as well as the daily actions of individuals” (Girgin, 2005, p. 20).

It is known that many people and segments are harmed due to the negative environment caused by media news. Many people were killed after being targeted. In addition, many people who were discriminated based on ethnicity and other issues were subjected to physical, social or economic violence. The most prominent example of hate speech in the international arena in recent years is the incident of journalist Hrant Dink. Dink is the founder and editor-in-chief of the newspaper Agos, which broadcasts for the Armenian community. He was killed with a gun by someone affected after the news launched against Dink in the media that contained hate speech.

Considering the news about Hrant Dink before the murder, it was claimed that the journalist insulted being Turkish in his articles. The news was broadcasted to public in a very heavy and provocative language. At the beginning of this process, Hürriyet newspaper attracted the attention to Hrant Dink after his article published in Agos newspaper in 2004 in a provocative language claiming that Sabiha Ata was Armenian. Following this headline, Hrant Dink was threatened by many journalists. In these threats, the Armenian identity was brought up rather than the journalist's profession and his writings, and hate speech was built on this identity (İnceoğlu & Sözeri, 2012, p. 26).

Based on the Hrant Dink incident, we can also look at the issue of hate speech in terms of freedom of expression. Above all, hate speech is an attempt against freedom of expression, one of the fundamental human rights. It is seen that people exercising their freedom of expression face violence when they encounter hate speech. The primary duty of the public and other segments is to approach the issue with common sense and to resolve the problems without violating human rights.

Some of the leaders of the society and decision-makers divide hate speech into two categories; hate speech developed against individuals and social groups, and hate speech developed against the state and state institutions. While these groups oppose the hate speech developed against individuals and social groups, they state that the criticism against the state and state institutions is outside the scope of freedom of expression. Thus, this party should be protected by laws (Yardım & Dalkılıç, 2018, p. 95 - 96).

However, it is clear that there is no such distinction in shaping the law in the international arena. But also, there is no consensus that hate speech should not be

punished if it does not turn into a hate crime in the process. In other words, there is an understanding that hate speech should not be penalized unless it turns into a hate crime. This is a bad review of many lawyers and researchers. In this case, the necessity of individuals and groups to fight against hate speech individually arises. Considering the prohibition of vigilantism in Turkey and other countries, the importance of the issue emerges. As a result of both the weakness of the target groups and the prohibition of vigilantism, individuals and groups cannot enter into physical struggle with hate speech and its consequences. For this reason, combating hate speech should be one of the primary duties of the state (Karan, 2012, pp. 82 - 83).

Had the false accusations put forward before the assassination of Hrant Dink and the hate speech built on the Armenian identity were intervened in time, the assassination incident would not have happened. The hitman of the assassination, Ogün Samast, stated that he was under the influence of these news containing hate speech. From this point of view, it becomes clear that determining the boundaries of hate speech and drawing a line between freedom of expression is a difficult but important issue (Çınar, 2012).

Different institutions have defined the fine line between hate speech and freedom of expression. The European Court of Human Rights can be shown as one of these institutions. The court addressed homophobic hate speech in a 2012 decision and ruled that this speech cannot remain within the limits of freedom of expression. In the verdict of case “Vejdeland and Others vs. Sweden”, it was emphasized that the punishments imposed on those who distribute brochures and advertisements that incite hate speech towards homosexuals in Sweden do not prevent freedom of expression and do not violate human rights. While the court was making its decision, the statements and evaluations used in these advertisements as “a deviant sexual

orientation” or “having moral destructive effects on the foundation of society” have pointed out that it may constitute a biased, discriminatory language and hate crime (Akpınar, 2012).

The quality of the news in the media has significantly affected the trust in the media over time. In Turkey as well as in the whole world, media is taking a crucial confidence test:

“Today's media environment is intertwined with national and / or international economic, political and military power centers which are in the horizontal and vertical monopolization process. It clearly symbolizes a news media that bides and maintains its commercial presence by fiercely standing next to the “strong” ones. (...) However, the news media is experiencing an increasing problem of trust all over the world. The main reason for this is the form that journalism and reporting today have gradually taken. Because the journalism / reporting carried out by the news media, which should act responsibly as the most important medium of freedom of expression and the right to receive news, which are indispensable for democracies, is of a nature that violates rights, reproduces discrimination and inequality, and furthermore establishes and spreads hate speech" (Alankuş, 2008, pp. 219 - 220).

This trust problem challenges the majority of the people and directs them to new sources of information flow. In this respect, social media has been a rapidly rising source of news in recent years and constantly increases the number of users.

3.3 Social Media

Change is an inevitable fact as a result of ever-developing world order. Every area has been affected by this change. Communication is at the top of these areas. The

increase in the speed of technological developments over time has also grown in the field of communication. The use of the internet and the spread of websites started in the 1970s and increased its speed after the 1990s. The transmission of information fell into very short time intervals that could be measured in seconds. In the 2000s, the number of users of the Internet increased with the circulation of social media (Misçi, 2006, p. 128, Vural & Bat, 2010, p. 3349).

In the 1930s, researchers conducted a series of studies to understand people's behavior and called it social network theory. Since social media is also a user-centered network structure, it is useful to understand the social network theory. Social network theory is based on research examining group dynamics and the formation of sociometry in the 1930s (Moreno, 1934, p. 35). Sociometry generally examines human relationships. It measures how people in different situations and tasks behave differently from other people while making a choice (Blumberg & Hare, 1999, p. 17). When social network theory is evaluated in this respect, it expresses the relations of social network users with each other. Researchers also call the social network theory as a social network analysis and examine how the structure of this network affects users (Kenan & Shiri, 2009, p. 439).

These studies, which started in the fields of sociology, anthropology and psychology in the 1930s, spread to the field of communication with the technological advancements in 1970. With the introduction of the internet in the field of communication, social networks have started to change the communication habits of people to a great extent.

Communication with large masses became easier and cheaper after the introduction of the internet into our lives. Before the internet, the cost of delivering a

message to the masses had been very high. Whereas, after the internet it became as cheap and easy as the cost of only an internet connection. (Bilge, 2016, p. 2) Banks argues that the internet is an equitable communication tool that crosses borders, reduces distances, eliminates obstacles encountered in the real world, and creates a democratic environment (2014, p. 33).

All communication facilities made through the Internet are defined as new media and new media makes communication continuous and uninterrupted (Çambay, 2015, p. 241). Dilmen defines new media as follows; “It has the ability to gather all known different environments together. This is called “multimedia”.” (Dilmen, 2007, p. 115). The combination of media such as text, immobile image, moving image, sound creates this feature (Komito & Bates, 2009, p. 233). Researchers state that new media are microelectronics, computer and telecommunication applications that offer new possibilities or enhance existing opportunities (Williams et al., 1988, p. 22).

With the development of new media and increasing the user opportunities of the internet, the concept of social media entered the literature. Social media brings large audiences together from all cultures and segments. As the power of social media increases, the concept of socialization gains a new dimension. Research shows that people spend a lot of time in this virtual reality, try to meet their real-life needs through this channel and live by establishing a new world in this virtual reality.

Social media content is created by users. It can be defined as the type of source used for various purposes, to obtain information or to disseminate information (Hüseyinoğlu, 2009, p. 84). Social media is a form of human communication that has no space and time limitations, sharing and discussion. It has a structure where people share their experiences and stories. The sharing and dialogues that people make

constitute social media (Vural & Bat, 2010, p. 3351). Solis defines social media as follows; “There are social networks and collective groups in social media. Users promote their institutions, serve products, establish friendships, and show commitment to the content of ideas and objects” (2010, p. 6).

Social media sites are Web-based services and allow users to create profiles and personal work through a system. The system also lists other social media users. It allows people to connect with each other and see what users do. The system also offers opportunities that limit users' ability to see each other (Boyd & Ellison, 2007, p. 222). Social media sites allow information to be spread and shared rapidly among members of the network (Phillips & Phillips, 1998, p. 330). Social media enables people, institutions and groups in social relations to interact with them in order to share their resources and information and achieve the desired results (O’Murchu et al., 2007, p. 9).

TurkStat reached the following results with the “Research on Information Technologies in Enterprises and Households”³ conducted in 2018-2019: In 2019, computer use in enterprises was 96.7%, internet access was 94.9%, and website ownership was 66.6%. Computer usage in households was 59.6% in 2018, internet usage was 75.3% in 2019 data, and internet access was 88.3% (TÜİK, 2019).

In this context, the society's interest in the new and the demands for the use of communication technologies are clearly seen. Social media is one of them and it is highly demanded as it is a medium where users can create their profiles according to their tastes. The power of social media has begun to transcend dimensions, and social media has now grown out of communicating or marketing a product. Social media is

³ Since TURKSTAT does not share new data in 2020, 2019 data are taken as basis. Since some studies did not have results in 2019, 2018 data were used

also preferred by politicians and used as a propaganda tool. For example, in 2008 and 2012, Barack Obama used social media as well as traditional media in the United States Presidency elections and managed his campaigns. With this innovative method, Barack Obama was elected president in 2008 and his active use of social media positively reflected in the election results. Obama used the same method in 2012 and was entitled to rule the United States for the second time. Barack Obama actively used Twitter and Facebook accounts during his presidential nomination. According to the statistics of the period, Obama's accounts were one of the most popular accounts at that time. Similar scenario took place during 2014 presidential election in Turkey when citizens voted for the first time. Presidential candidates of the period used social media extensively (Güçdemir & Göksu, 2015, p. 45).

The differences between traditional media and social media which has been the most preferred communication network of recent years can be listed as follows:

Costs: Although traditional media have to bear the typical operating costs, social media do not have the majority of such costs.

Access to Media Channels: In traditional media, the conditions for reaching target audiences are restricted. When we evaluate it in terms of our subject of work, it is possible to reach the news 24/7 as there are no obstacles in social media, while the consumer must reach the dealer or wait for the news hour on TV in order to buy a newspaper.

Reaching Large Audiences: The aim of both traditional media and social media is to reach the target audience. Traditional media channels are slow in today's conditions to achieve this goal. The dynamic aspect of social media and the fact that every user is a content producer at the same time causes this difference.

Lack of Personnel: While experts should be employed in traditional media, every social media user can be a news source.

Social media is an important device in terms of affecting the behavior of society. According to Mayfield, social media; is open to feedback and participants. Users are inspired and encouraged to comment, vote and share any information. Unlike traditional media, social media networks allow dialogues. Social media provides access to communities very quickly and effectively. Group members can share photos, political views, favorite TV shows, etc. with each other. It is easier for them to share things they care about. Another innovation of social media is that it enables link sharing. In this way, users can quickly access different sites, research or all sources of interest (Mayfield, 2008, p. 6).

In this context, the positive sides as well as the negative aspects of the rapid spread of social media emerge. Unlike traditional media, it becomes difficult to monitor and control. This step is very important in terms of freedom of expression and democratization. In addition, it has begun to produce content that includes many hate speech consciously or unconsciously, inciting marginalization and xenophobia, especially by being disinformed by anonymous sources. Since there is no control mechanism in social media channels compared to traditional media, the discourses produced are left to the individual understanding of ethics. Due to this situation, social media channels are becoming an area that widely produces a racist hate language. It is very difficult to follow the content produced on social media in a few seconds, although it reaches millions of people. Therefore, punishment is limited. Since the mass media used in traditional media is also a property structure, its relationship with society is regulated by the state. For this reason, it is easy to detect broadcasts made from traditional media tools and penalties can be applied quickly.

There are some reasons why hate speech is intense on social media. In social media, the reaction of the majority of the society against the groups that traditional media has systematically marginalized is dominant. The perception of being a dominant and powerful party created by the mainstream media paves the way for social media users to use hate language against minority groups, and they reveal the potential hatred they contain through social media (Bilge, 2016, p. 9). LGBTTIQ individuals who are frequently exposed to hate speech on social media can be regarded as an example of this systematic lynching. Members of this group who are exposed to hate speech on social media cannot open a profile with their original identities, so they express themselves with virtual identities and profiles. Another reason why social media is one of the most productive platforms for hate speech is that unlike traditional media, there is no editorial control mechanism. This makes social media the focus of hate speech.

In social media, just like in traditional media, priority is given to sharing content that is newsworthy and that can attract attention. At this point, how the news is given is very important. For example, it is seen that media organs prefer the extraordinary or very large ones when they choose between the news. Similarly, negative news has more news value than positive ones (Fowler, 2007, p. 53).

Especially crime news draws the attention of social media readers. Indeed, Hall stated that “crime” is newsworthy by definition (Hall et al. 1982, p. 66). The main reason for this situation is the negativity of crime news. According to Yüksel and Gürcan; it stems from the readers' curiosity about the lives of others rather than their own. Indeed, an average social media consumer lives in the safe environment of his home and can express his opinions on issues that are of interest and special for others (Yüksel & Gürcan, 2005, p. 97).

Van Dijk also states his opinion as follows:

“Many ideological implications can be understood not only by saying little about that, but also by saying too much and unrelated things about the actors of the news. The best-known example in news reports about minorities is the unrelated use of ethnic or racial labels in crime stories” (Van Dijk, 2007, p. 5).

As a result of the user behavior on social media, this situation has caused crime news to take place more frequently on social media. Discriminatory discourses can be reproduced by the content of these news and the way they are conveyed about the events they are associated with.

There is another effective reason why the news is of great interest. In a sub-message of the presented news, it gives the message that “what happens to others can happen to you at any time” (Birsen, 2011, p. 19). These news in social media quickly attract the attention of traditional media institutions. Costs are one of the main factors influencing the preference of such news by traditional media institutions. They do not have to bear the crime news and any additional costs for this process. The development of an event on social media can be followed from judicial or police authorities and obtained from public officials. Such a person does not create high cost to the institution in its operation. Another factor is the cost of the news to the media institution.

Obtaining information about the courthouse / police case that has occurred and actually belongs to the individual from the personnel working in these units raises another problem. The people who are this source of information often come from those under the control of the power. In this case, when reporting the event, objectivity is inevitably avoided and the individual who is the subject of the news and

the segments he / she belongs to are brought forward. In this case, the factors causing the crime to occur are ignored (Yüksel & Gürcan, 2005, p. 97). In some cases, news sources add their knowledge of previous events to new events and try to eliminate gaps. In this case, the biases of the news source will be reflected in the news (İnal, 1996, p. 50).

Another important problem created by police or courthouse news is the perception of we and them. The most extreme forms of comparison can be seen in this news. The public's perception of crime is determined by this discrimination and is generally independent from crime investigations. Giving the news in this way increases the readers' feelings of fear and anxiety and triggers a feeling of hate. Those who are the victims of this hate speech are stigmatized negatively and excluded from social life (Özçetin, 2014, p. 90).

“Hate speech is the most damaging of the discrimination that is reproduced in the media within certain limits, in terms of its consequences. Because hate speech is a production of discrimination that suspends the present and makes the future far from being predictable, and capable of harming all individuals of the society” (Binark, 2010, p. 11).

"In Facebook, Twitter, and digital games, users share the hate speech produced by their friends, see hate speech as natural and get used to it" (Binark & Çomu, 2012).

After going through the processes briefly mentioned above, a post on social media takes place in traditional media, and with the “multiplying” effect it causes negative impressions on large groups. Therefore;

“There should be emphasis on using social / new media, whose purpose and

practices change from time to time, for purposes and ways that democratize the social structure, enrich and develop the practice of communicative action in the public sphere; instead of using it for the circulation and dissemination of sexist, racist, homophobic, xenophobic content with an increasing rate and prevalence over time” (Binark et al., 2009, p. 17).

“Recent studies on hate speech in internet environments have shown that hate speech in different areas is used together, especially in user-derived content. For example, sexual identity-based hate speech is seen simultaneously in content produced for a xenophobic or racist message. The emergence of hate speech even in content produced by users only to express themselves, naturalizes hate speech. On the one hand, it enables hate speech to become widespread. In hate speech produced in new media, user-derived content production, which is possible thanks to the features of new media such as digitality, interactivity, hyper textuality, dissemination, virtuality and multimedia formality, emerges through discursive practices such as stigma, stereotype, bias and discrimination, and mostly targets different groups at the same time” (Binark, 2013, p. 208).

To sum up, it is seen that social media and traditional media affect each other. As a result of this influence, the hate feelings of the users / viewers can be fueled, and they can engage in hate speech or even acts that lead to hate crimes by getting hateful feelings.

3.3.1 Facebook

The idea of expressing opinions and thoughts in the virtual environment by creating a profile is one of the most popular trends in recent years. Social networking sites have important functions in terms of meeting this need under certain rules and

control. Not only the opportunity for individuals to reach people whom they have not been able to meet for a long time and to touch their lives, but also the opportunity to present the idea they have developed to large segments that they do not know has led to the proliferation of social networking sites. The most common of these sites is Facebook. Facebook has found a place in real life with the applications it developed and became addictive in a short time. According to Facebook 2020 data, it has become the most preferred social media platform in the world with 2.25 billion users (Kemp, 2020). Information circulated through Facebook and similar sharing sites can reach unimaginable people in a few minutes unlike traditional media. And it leaves its mark on the agenda.

Facebook, which was originally designed as a social media site, has become the center of e-commerce today and can be regarded as a manifestation of the interest in social media. Users have adopted such platforms, which allow them to meet their communication needs, and also to engage in commercial relations in a short time (Sin et al., 2012, pp. 327 - 328).

Facebook ads, pages, groups and applications are among the main marketing methods used in Facebook. Here, it allows the sale of a product as well as the opportunity of propaganda within certain opinions (Shih, 2009, p. 45).

One of the features that makes Facebook useful is that it can group people with certain characteristics. On Facebook, users can form groups of their own based on their preferences. Whether or not to include others in these groups is up to the initiative of group members. In these groups, special relationships can be carried to higher levels, and they have the opportunity to express all kinds of opinions without the strict control of traditional media. This opportunity provided by Facebook

provides a space for political entities that adopt marginal and fanatical views in political parties with a wide base and offers the opportunity to produce effective propaganda to their sympathizers who are geographically distant from each other (Bulut, 2012, p. 77).

While Facebook attracts so much attention from people, it also becomes the center of hate speech production. Millions of hate speech can occur in a day from many groups and personal accounts. In this context, it is useful to look at the hate speech on Facebook.

Figure 1.

A Facebook Message (1)



This Facebook post contains hate speech against Alevis. With ungrounded allegations, the Alevis are accused and insulted. Especially in Islam, since pigs are “prohibited” animals, Alevis are associated to haram animals, and money is promised

to whom kills any Alevi. The post, which begins with hate speech, encourages murder of Alevis and calls for hate crimes.

Figure 2.

A Facebook Message (2)



In abovementioned Facebook post, there is a post that the Chinese spread the Corona virus, which has affected the whole world and declared as a pandemic by the World Health Organization. In the comments made under this news are full of hate and such that the Chinese race are to be erased from the map. In social media, it is clearly seen that a systematic hate speech has been created against China and the Chinese, who are affected by the Corona virus as much as all countries of the world

and lost thousands of citizens.

Figure 3.

A Facebook Message (3)



- M. A.**
En iyi lgbt li ölü lgbt li dir 😊
3h Beğen Yanıtla 4
- N. Ç.** Mr ayne öyle
- B. K.**
Bu ne la bismillah... Allah belalarını versin hepsinin. Gebersinler inşaAllah... Helal polise eline sağlık... gebertsinler hepsini
3h Beğen Yanıtla 4
- M. K.**
Sonuç güzel olmuş
Kodunmu uzatacan
😂😂😂
3h Beğen Yanıtla 3
- H. D. Y.**
Ahanda Beyaz ışığı gördü
3h Beğen Yanıtla 1
- H. D.**
Polis olacaksa böyle olacak , vurdumu yatıracak
3h Beğen Yanıtla
- Y. K.**
Ülkemizdeki, İpnelerin Başını çeken, C. H. P , Ortalıkı Karıştıran Bunlar, Bunu Göremeyen, Zavallı Müslüman geçinen Angutlar varya Onların Gözünün içine sokacaksın şu olayı.
3h Beğen Yanıtla
- V. D.**
bizde böyle polisler lazım özellik le kanı bozuk cHp zihniyeti ne vuracak ki akılı başında gelsin ozaman mum olurlar çünkü onlar bundan anlar.
2h Beğen Yanıtla

Another hate speech on Facebook is against LGBTTIQ individuals. In the image, an LGBTTIQ individual is subjected to violence by law enforcement officials. This video was shared with the hashtag #LGBTperverse and comments containing hate speech were made under. As can be seen from the comments made, violence is legitimized, and the sexual identity of the victim is humiliated. This post contains violent speech that can turn hate speech into a hate crime. In addition, there are comments that make politically biased hate speech, and hate speech is produced with the emphasis that people and groups belonging to a sexual orientation are from a certain political party.

3.3.2 Twitter

Twitter was established in the USA by the initiative of Jack Dorsey, Evan Williams, Noah Glass and Biz Stone. Network founders raised the question of “what are you doing now” and created the most used social media platform today (Wikipedia, 2019). The main purpose of Twitter is to enable people to share what they think with others and people can share from the “things” they experience, live, and hear. Twitter is a public communication network open to anyone with internet access. The difference from other social media accounts is that it provides users with an opportunity to answer, previously limited to 140 characters and now 280 characters (Domaç, 2014, p. 57). Therefore, it provides convenience in reading and writing. According to Sagolla, Twitter is a social communication tool produced for short, concise and clear expressions that can be easily perceived by users and can be created simply (2009). Twitter can also be used as a promotional, advertising, marketing and educational environment with this structure. This makes Twitter not only a means of communication, but also carries it to an economic, political and cultural field.

Twitter users, like other social media users, can produce content, while

consuming the content. In this context, Toffler's concept of “consuming producer” can explain this situation. According to Toffler, the concept of consumer is a result of the Industrial Age. To him, the number of pure consumers will decrease, and they will be replaced by the “consuming producer” using the products they produce (1996, pp. 325 - 326). As Castells expresses, the concept of consuming producer emerges more frequently in “network society” (Castells, 2013, p. 88).

One of the main features that distinguishes social media from traditional media lies in the concept of streaming. Williams defines the television stream as an endless, ongoing and uninterrupted collection of images and sounds (1990). Mutlu compares the concept of streaming in television to the flow of daily life. He emphasizes that television broadcasts have a certain temporal sequence as well as the temporal distribution of the activities and actions of people in daily life (Mutlu 1998, p. 11). Williams defines this situation not as a flow of different types of broadcasting sequencing one after the other, but also as a cultural form (1990).

In this context, it is observed that social media also has a unique flow. As can be seen in the example of Facebook and Twitter, this flow exhibits a structure in real time and, most importantly, in a way that corresponds exactly to Toffler's consuming producer concept, as it is a reflection of daily life on the web.

While the flow in traditional media was created according to the time schedule of the society after the Industrial Revolution such as working time, free time, shifts; this flow in social media has been made available to customize content according to the personal timelines of users' daily lives (Altunay, 2010, p. 38).

In this context, Twitter users create their own flows. Other factors for users to prefer Twitter are being able to post, follow or comment, and many have made these

acts a source of entertainment.

The 2020 reports also reinforce these theories. According to the researches, the number of Twitter users was announced as 386 million in 2020 (Kemp,2020). Many people from the sports, art, politics and high society are active users on the platform. Now, many important politicians make their statements through their accounts in this network. Publishers direct their news and messages to Twitter and provide links, communicate with their readers through user accounts and messages. They publish the news they deem important on Twitter (Arik, 2013, p. 281). To give a statistical example on the frequency of Twitter usage, the average number of tweet messages sent daily has exceeded 500 million. In other words, the number of messages sent annually exceeds billion (Başyazıcıoğlu, 2013).

In a platform with such intensive transmission, the control mechanism functions weaker than traditional media. For this reason, the speech produced by users often turn into hate speech and can lead to social indignation. On Twitter, it is possible to encounter hateful, xenophobic, racist, sectarian and sexist discourse under many topics and posts.

Figure 4.*Twitter Message (1)*

The times when violence against women is at its peak, femicide also increases. The latest of these incidents is the murder of Pınar Gültekin. Thousands of comments were made on Twitter under this topic and condemnation messages were posted. However, it is possible to encounter hundreds or even thousands of comments like the one seen above. In the Tweet here, a message is given to all women over the murder of Pınar Gültekin, whose lifeless body was reached in a barrel after being brutally murdered, and it is emphasized that women who do not comply with “all male dominant norms” under the phrase “you will know your limits” are emphasized. A woman who has passed away is insulted as well as boasted about the way she was killed.

Figure 5.*Twitter Message (2)*

Another content containing hate speech on Twitter is the comments that under the image above. A user who shared her own photos on her social media account and answered questions with her followers. Later it was shared by another account with high number of followers with the comment “This girl has really gone crazy”. Thereupon, many mocking and hateful comments were made against the woman in the photograph. To give an example to this;

Figure 6.

Twitter Message (3)



Survivor disabled team” was typed on this image by a user. With this comment, both disabled people are humiliated, and a woman is mocked.

Figure 7.

Twitter Message (4)



Recently, the Wayfair incident has been trending on the Twitter. Many comments and images have been shared. Among these images, there are also photos that make fun of disabled individuals. As can be seen in the image above, with a sentence reminiscent of the Wayfair incident, allegation is being underestimated by teasing, and a disabled person is also humiliated using a photograph.

Figure 8.

Twitter Message (5)



Another example of hate speech is against LGBTTIQ individuals. Twitter users got many comments after sharing about Hande, who was burned to death with a hate crime, and Didem, who committed suicide because she was marginalized by the society. One of these comments is made due to the homogeneous society view created by traditional media through the concept of “us and others”. This comment, written with the perception that everyone who is different from us is “immoral, shameless, horny and clown”. It emphasizes that the person whose sexual orientation is “different” does not have the right to live in society, and if they will live, they should

live out of sight and without interfering with the society. Unless these “recommendations” are followed, it is stated that their murder is inevitable.

As can be understood from the examples of Facebook and Twitter, social media plays a major role in the production of hate speech along with traditional media on the way to hate crime.

4 HATE SPEECH IN SOCIAL MEDIA AND DISCRIMINATORY LANGUAGE: ANALYSIS OF TWITTER MESSAGES TARGETING SYRIAN REFUGEES

This part introduces the reasons of Syrian migration and xenophobia against them. The problems faced by Syrians will be analyzed and causes of Syrian migration will be discussed from a legal perspective. Generation of hate speech in a discriminatory language and the analysis of Twitter messages targeting Syrian refugees will be examined under three headings; “Hate Speech Against Those Who Help Syrians, Hate Speech Against Syrians by Organizations, Hate Speech Against Syrians Through Individual Accounts”. The chapters will be covered under these headings.

4.1 The Events Causing Syrian Migration and Xenophobia Against Syrians

Turkey is closely and critically located in a geography where world wars and reconciliation take place. Due to this proximity, it is the target, source and transit country of forced migrations since 1920s (Özgür, 2012, p. 202).

In this migration geography, these movements can lead to some socially negative situations. In addition, these events are carried to platforms called social media today, where everyone can easily express their views. As a result of the recent civil war in Syria, large number of Syrian citizens have migrated to Turkey. It is one

of the migration movements that is intensely debated in national and international political platforms.

In this part of the study, firstly, the events causing Syrian migration and xenophobia faced by immigrants will be discussed. Then, the role of the media in these discussions will be examined.

4.1.1 Civil War and Syrian Migration

The civil war in Syria coincides with the Arab Spring

The popular revolts that took place in Arab countries is called the Arab Spring and it spread to Syria on 15 March 2011” (Adıgüzel, 2018, p. 91).

Events that took place in March 2011 in the town of Deraa, a small settlement near the Jordanian border, sparked widespread protests in some Syrian cities. In Syria, as elsewhere in the Middle East, protests have become increasingly widespread, with severe discontent, the impoverishment of certain strata of the population, the corruption of a person close to the presidential family, and with this unjust enrichment (Duclos, 2017, p. 26).

The first action carried out by the opponents of the regime that brought the conflicts in Syria to today was held on 15 March 2011. Anti-regime actions, which started peacefully, eventually lead to conflict in a short time and triggered the civil war (Erdoğan, 2015, p. 1).

As a result of this war, millions of people have had to leave their residences and migrate to various countries as refugees or asylum seekers. UNHCR used the expression “the biggest immigration wave in recent history” to evaluate the events (Erdoğan, 2015, p. 1).

“The first explanation for this atypical situation is the absence of political

parties that had little influence in Syria before 2011 and were rejected by the demonstrators. Also, armed groups do not represent a congregation — although they often have the same geographic origin — and this explains the mobility of combatants from one unit to another. By the spring of 2013, rebel groups advancing on the front had thought of themselves as the forerunner of a rebel army (Baczko, Dorronsoro, & Quesnay, 2018, p. 31).

“Throughout 2013, the formation of regions dominated by the regime or opposition, which became increasingly homogeneous, led to the emergence of fronts. The uprising essentially controlled the northern and southern parts of the country (excluding the fronts around Damascus, the mountains of Kalamun and the north of Homs)” (Baczko, Dorronsoro, & Quesnay, 2018, p. 110).

Due to Turkey's longest land border with Syria it was not possible to remain irrelevant to the movement of these migrations. The first immigration movement was observed in a short time after the demonstrations in Syria turned into conflict. On November 11th, 2011, 252 people from the Cilvegözü border crossing has made the first convoy entered Turkey (NTV, 2011).

“Turkish officials closed border crossing in 2011-2012. But after rebels had seized control of some border patrol, north of the country opened the borders of Turkey and around 1 million refugees flocked. Due to existing agreements between Turkey and Syria, the ones who own passports had free movement, while Turkey closed the borders to refugees without passport and they settled in refugee camps in the Syrian side as their number multiplied. However, some Syrians were still moving between the two countries because the border could not be fully controlled. Meanwhile, Turkey has also been a crossing point

leading to Europe for about a million refugees” (Baczko, Dorronsoro, & Quesnay, 2018, p. 187).

In international studies, it is estimated that the number of people leaving Syria is over 6 million. According to 2017 official end of the year statistics, the number of Syrian Arab Republic citizens in Turkey has outnumbered 3.4 million. Syrian Arab Republic citizens coming to Turkey is accepted as refugees (UNHCR, 2017).

Fleeing from the civil war in their country to the Republic of Turkey, higher number of Syrian Arab Republic citizens compared to other countries is due to the politics exerted since the first event of conflict. T.R. officials adopted an “open door” policy for Syrian citizens from the very beginning of the events and clearly expressed the policy on almost every platform. Accordingly, border gates were never closed. Temporary camps have been prepared to meet the needs of incoming asylum seekers. However, the migration movement took place from Syria to Turkey has been higher than expected and only 7% could be placed in camps. As of the end of 2017, approximately 228.000 people have been staying in 21 foreign refugee camps in 10 cities (AFAD, 2017).

It is unrealistic to think that the current government will leave the country and surrender power to the opposition (Duclos, 2017, p. 27). The chances of the Syrian civil war to be resolved diplomatically are extremely low. Even if not all scenarios imply a long-term war of attrition, further violence can be expected. It can be said that the Syrian civil war is turning into a proxy war and will have enormous effects on the balance of power in the Middle East (Politique de sécurité: analyses du CSS, 2012).

In terms of Turkey, while the removal of the current regime in power management priority at the start of the event; After the July 15 coup attempt, priorities

have changed and the policy of restricting activities of the Democratic Union Party (PYD) and ensuring regional security has come to the fore instead of removing the current regime from power (Duclos, 2017, p. 28).

4.1.2 Legal Status of Syrian Immigrants

None of the countries that received Syrian immigration had prepared for the wave of immigration. Turkey is the first of all these countries. Turkey has placed among mostly immigrated countries especially in the last 30 years. Consequently, the speed of this immigration wave has accelerated with the arrival of Syrian refugees in the country.

“Having gradually turned into an immigration receiving country with the arrival of different migrant and refugee groups since the 1990s, the situation of being ignored by the authorities has changed with the arrival of the Syrians and the agreement signed in Brussels in November” (Danış, 2016, p. 10).

The difference between the concepts of refugee, asylum seeker and immigrant should be noted in order to continue the discussion. The difference between refugee and asylum seeker was mentioned in the regulation dated 30 November 1994. Accordingly, it has been stated that those coming from Europe are accepted as refugees and those coming from outside Europe are accepted as asylum seekers (Canyurt, 2015, p. 130). As for refugees;

“Economic migrants who leave their country for unrelated economic reasons or to improve their lives financially, are not within the scope of refugee status and therefore do not have the right to receive international protection like refugees” (Multeci.net, 2010).

“Turkey 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (UNHCR) put the reservation because the person passing the borders are not recognized as refugees or asylum seekers, but as “guests”. Pursuant to this policy, “guests” will be prevented from switching over Turkey to another countr. the people who have passed the border and arrives Turkey are to be placed in camps. Since April 2011, refugees who have begun to enter Turkey for the first time, have been placed in the camps in the border provinces Hatay, Gaziantep, Kilis and Sanliurfa with “temporary protection” status in June 2011. After the increase in the number of people placed in camps, they have been placed in tent or container cities created in the provinces of Kahramanmaraş Adıyaman, Osmaniye, Adana, Mardin and Malatya” (Madde14, nd).

“Syrian refugees who were seen as “guests” for a long time, finally won a partial legal status in October 2014 thanks to Temporary Protection Directive. With the agreement signed with the EU, permanent settlement in Turkey was started. After that, necessary steps should be taken, such as access to work permits, education and health services, in order to change the perception of Syrians as “temporary guests” and to establish a permanent future here” (Danış, 2016, p. 10).

According to the Law on Foreigners and International Protection, a conditional refugee is defined as follows:

“Due to events occurring outside of European countries; foreigner who is outside the country of his / her nationality because he / she fears rightly that he / she will be persecuted due to his / her race, religion, nationality, membership of a certain social group or political thoughts, and who cannot benefit from the

protection of this country or who do not want to benefit from the protection of this country or the country of residence he / she previously lived as a result of such events. The stateless person who is outside, unable to return there or does not want to return due to fear is granted conditional refugee status after the status determination procedures. Until inserted in a third country, it is permitted conditional refugee to remain in Turkey" (YUKK, 2013: Art.62).

Turkey, in this process, although applied open-door policy not to aggrieve the people in borders, it has started legal action in order to reduce and discipline immigration. In this context, Law No. 6458 on Foreigners and International Protection was enacted in 2013.

“Temporary protection is the name given to the protection regime established by the Temporary Protection Regulation, which was published in the Official Newspaper on October 22, 2014, pursuant to Article 91 of the Law No. 6458 on Foreigners and International Protection. According to Temporary Protection Directive, this regime is applied to foreigners who were forced to leave their country, cannot be returned to countries where separated and were not individually evaluated for protection applications. The regime includes individuals or mass passing through and incoming borders of Turkey” (Mülteci Hakları Merkezi, 2017).

In 2014, the Temporary Protection Directive was prepared based on this law. The purpose of this regulation is expressed as follows:

“The objective of this Regulation is to determine the procedures and principles pertaining to temporary protection proceedings that may be provided to foreigners, who were forced to leave their countries and are unable to return to

the countries they left and arrived at or crossed our borders in masses to seek urgent and temporary protection and whose international protection requests cannot be taken under individual assessment ; to determine proceedings to be carried out related to their reception to Turkey, their stay in Turkey, their rights and obligations and their exits from Turkey, to regulate the measures to be taken against mass movements, and the provisions related to the cooperation between national and international organizations under Article 91 of the Law No. 6458 on Foreigners and International Protection of 4/4/2013” (Mülteci Hakları Merkezi, 2017).

This regulation has made the following provision regarding the return of foreigners who enter our country:

“No one within the scope of this Regulation shall be returned to a place where he or she may be subjected to torture, inhuman or degrading punishment or treatment or, where his/her life or freedom would be threatened on account of his/her race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion” (Mülteci Hakları Merkezi, 2017).

The regulation being examined, three important results are reached in general:

- Unconditional admission to the territory of the country in accordance with the open border policy.
- Implementation of the non-refoulement principle without exception.
- To meet the basic needs of people, such as accommodation, work and education under temporary protection.

When the structure of these characteristics is examined, the first two articles express the essential elements for living, while the last article aims at meeting the

needs of asylum seekers who cannot reach the rights to sustain their life due to lack of citizenship rights (Agamben, 2013, p. 124, Tahincioğlu, 2014, p. 54).

The language of the regulation actually points to the existence of an extremely special situation. If examined carefully, this regulation defines Syrian asylum seekers as “under temporary protection”, not as refugees, conditional refugees or asylum seekers. This situation points to a conscious choice. Because, according to international literature Syrian asylum seekers are refugees who came to Turkey. Refugees have some rights because of being refugees. However, in order to use these rights, the asylum seeker must have the title of “refugee”. Another proof of this is in article 25 of the regulation entitled Right to stay in the country. This item is as follows:

“Temporary protection identification document shall grant the right to stay in Turkey. However, this document shall not be deemed to be equivalent to a residence permit or documents, which substitute residence permits, as regulated by the Law, shall not grant the right for transition to long term residence permit, its duration shall not be taken into consideration when calculating the total term of residence permit durations and shall not entitle its holder to apply for Turkish citizenship.”

This is a sign that Syrian migrants are not considered to be given permanent status. Placing the special provisions of this regulation in the Citizenship Act as “backwards from the application date to five years continuous residence in Turkey” is to prevent the exploitation of provision.

The results of the migration from Syria to Turkey can be summarized as follows:

“Due to the civil war in Syria in 2011, millions of Syrians have been displaced and more than 3.5 million of them were also forced to take refuge in Turkey. Upon entering the 7th year of the war in Syria in 2017, stay of Syrians in Turkey also extended. This extension will increase the rate of becoming permanent... The number of refugees in Turkey is open to debate, but there is no doubt that a great amount would become permanent. Syrians living in Turkey since 2011 has been working and setting up business. Their children have started their education and marriage has been engaged with Turkish. This relationship strengthens persistence, hence Turkey's alignment (integration or adaptation) makes the obligatory on policy development. As of the end of 2017, 94 percent of Syrians live in cities with Turkish people, and the rate of those living in the camp is decreasing day by day. In this way, it can be said that Syrians living in the city have formed an economic, social and cultural lifestyle in a way that they can maintain their own lives” (Adıgüzel, 2018, p. 171).

4.1.3 The Problems Faced by Syrian Asylum Seekers

Although the violence of migration has followed a fluctuating course since 2011, the lack of a permanent solution led the asylum seekers being accepted as “guests” as stated in the mainstream media, then giving these guests the “temporary” status and preparing various projects to ensure their integration with the society, and allocating financial resources to these projects had negative effects on social acceptance (Baysal, 2014).

Following that, Syrian asylum-seekers or accepted as bureaucrats of the era and politicians by “short-term ones that have not come as a guest”, Turkey began to have problems between Syrians and public. Relations between communities have

deteriorated. In a statement made by Muammer Güler, the Minister of Internal Affairs of the period, reflected the political thought of the period with the following words in Mardin in 2013:

“The Syrian brothers and sisters are our guests. There are those who are hosted in the tent cities and in container cities as well as in Mardin. We are proud to help in these difficult times” (Anadolu Ajansı, 2013). It would not be wrong to say that the situation that politicians describe as “visiting” and the resources allocated to “endless guests” are among the important factors in increasing the problems.

Another important issue that should be added to the factors that negatively affect the attitude towards asylum seekers is the place of residence of the refugees. Of around 7% asylum seekers coming to Turkey stay in camps. The remaining asylum seekers live with other citizens across the country.

“Although Syrian refugees first come to mind in cities close to the Syrian border, it is known that as of December 2016, the city with the highest number of Syrians is Istanbul. In addition to the 540.000 Syrians registered in Istanbul, it is necessary to take into account more than 200.000 other refugees. Another feature of Istanbul is that it hosts many refugees who are officially registered in other provinces. When the districts of Istanbul are examined, it is seen that the number of registered Syrian refugees living in each of the 10 districts is more than 20.000. Considering that there are no more refugees in 23 out of 28 countries in the EU than in a district of Istanbul, i.e. 20 thousand, it is easier to understand how high the numbers are” (Erdoğan, 2017, p. 46).

The intensity of refugees, especially in some regions, made the refugees more

visible. Asylum-seekers, who create a kind of “ghetto” within themselves, come face to face with local people from time to time, causing violence to occur (Erdoğan, 2015, p. 16, & Denizli Actual, 2017). It also causes them to encounter difficulties and to adapt to cities. Support to Life Association conducted a study on the problems Syrians experience. As a result of this study, the sources of the problems experienced by refugees and their effects on the society are as follows:

“Language problems of the Syrian makes it seriously difficult for them to find their place in society in Turkey. Syrians begging in the streets has not only met with anger in Istanbul, but also by the local population in all major cities. There is also information that violence has taken place between refugees and the local population. This reinforces the general perception that Syrian refugees are associated with crime, violence and immorality. This perception contradicts the observations of local authorities and security services that in reality the crime rate is surprisingly low, and that Syrian community leaders are extremely active in preventing crime and reducing tensions between refugees and the local population” (Kaya & Kırac, 2016, pp. 24 - 25).

For this reason, negative feelings towards refugees increase and especially xenophobia, particularly Syrian refugees are declared scapegoats in every incident they encounter.

Providing assistance to refugees from public resources causes the belief that the financial resources of the public sector are wasted “in vain”. On the other hand, it causes the opinion that asylum seekers are a burden on the society (Sönmez, 2014, p. 12).

The prolongation of the duration of the visit and the limited aids have caused a

new problem. Syrian refugees had to work in order to survive. However, Syrian refugees have entered the labor market intensely due to the lack of professional documents, language deficiencies and urgent needs. In order to be preferable in the job markets, they demand lower wages and no social security. This means that they provide a serious cost advantage for employers. Many studies have revealed that many employers have started to prefer Syrians for these reasons. This situation started to worry the employees. For example, Hacettepe University Migration and Politics Research Center (HUGO) conducted research on labor markets and asylum seekers in Kilis, Gaziantep, Hatay, Mersin, Istanbul and Izmir between February 15 and March 15, 2014. According to the results of the research, the concern of job loss due to cheap labor is widely expressed as a problem caused by Syrian refugees. It has been determined that there is a serious anxiety and anger especially among unqualified workers. Another research was carried out by the ILO. ILO (International Labor Organization), according to the research that is done in Sanliurfa Turkey Office, 90% of the respondents expressed the following views (Erdoğan, 2015, pp. 81 – 82 - 117, & Kaygısız, 2017, p. 9):

- Unregistered employment has increased.
- The risk of becoming unemployed has increased for people of Turkey.
- Income level of the people in Turkey has decreased.

As reflected in many press reports, the inability of asylum seekers to perform standard job search processes in the job markets due to their legal status has led to informal employment. Work permits for Syrian refugees are provided by the Regulation on Work Permits for Foreigners under Temporary Protection. This regulation was made in 2016. Accordingly, from 2011 to 2016, Syrians were not legally likely to work in the time period. However, these people had to work for the

sake of the flow of life. As a matter of fact, the large number of Syrian refugees suddenly entering the labor market under illegal conditions, disrupted the supply and demand balance of the labor market. The deteriorating market balance caused demand to decrease prices. As a result of this situation, some employees were unemployed, and the income of the other segment decreased. Despite the fact that the Syrians did not have bad intentions and the developments were due to market conditions, tensions could not be prevented, and problems and even conflicts were experienced in many cities. Syrians refugees launching a workplace in Turkey has also given rise to increased tension (Erdoğan, 2015, p. 83; Orhan & Gündoğar, 2015, p. 8; Sönmez, 2014, p. 13; Ud, 2014; Evrensel, 2017; Doğan Haber Ajansı, 2014).

Legal regulations have received many criticisms from the country and abroad: These criticisms can be exemplified by waiting too long for legal regulations, the sectors and geographical boundaries in which asylum seekers can work, and the existence of a special procedure for work permit. Legal arrangements were not accepted as equitable due to the shortcomings stated in the previous lines and resulted in the benefit of a minority of the refugees. The reason why the desired level of legal regulations cannot be sustained is Turkish employers. It cannot be said that Syrians are taken seriously since they start to work under legal status and bring financial burden to employers. In the eyes of employers, Syrian migrants are perceived as guests and as a cheap labor force open to exploitation (Kaygısız, 2017, p. 7; Erdoğan, 2015, p. 116; The Guardian, 2016).

Another problem seen in Turkey is the inflation of lease created by Syrian refugees. When the accommodation needs of Syrians were added to the usual rise in the general level of prices, rental prices showed an abnormal increase. However, urban transformation, which is an important issue in the formation of this situation,

requires attention. Especially as a result of urban transformation activities in some regions, the supply of housing stock decreased for a short time and this period coincided with the increase in the number of Syrian refugees. This issue has gone unnoticed and Syrian refugees have been seen as the scapegoat for the increase in housing prices. This process played an important role in making Syrians “the other” (NTV, 2012; Milliyet, 2014; Al Jazeera Türk, 2013; Uçak Erdoğan & Tarlan, 2016, p. 11; Nevruz, 2018, p. 4).

Another issue in the formation of negative opinions about Syrians is in the field of health. The health services provided to Syrians, especially in big cities, are misunderstood by citizens living in the eastern and southeastern Anatolia regions. This situation is not only limited to the eastern and southeastern Anatolia regions, but also causes a perception of “burden” in the society in general. Another problem in the field of health is that some diseases come back to the agenda due to refugees. In order to overcome this problem, necessary vaccination studies are carried out in cooperation with organizations such as WHO and UNICEF and necessary measures are taken (Erdoğan, 2015, p. 118; NTV, 2015; Anadolu Ajansı, 2017; Akasoy, 2016; Yaşar, 2014, pp. 82 – 83; UNICEF, 2013).

Allowing Syrian refugees to be admitted to the university as “special students” by the Council of Higher Education (YÖK) is perceived as an unfair discrimination by citizens. Another argument in a decision taken in the 2012-2013 year is that the right to continue their education is recognized to the Syrian students who took refuge in Turkey and Turkish citizens forced to interrupt their studies in undergraduate and graduate education in Syria. The number of Syrian university students, which was around 5.000 in the 2014-2015 academic year, increased to approximately 15.000 in the 2016-2017 academic year. The repetition of this practice, which was brought to

Syrian refugees only once, while the Foreign National Exam was being carried out as a standard procedure until this date, has caused reactions. According to official statistics, these figures do not have a large share in the main mass. There are more than 1 million Syrians of school age between the ages of 5-18. 60% of the children in the camps can go to school. 27% of those living outside the camps can go to schools. In particular, the most important factor in the decrease of this rate is that children at the age of secondary education work in informal jobs to contribute to the family economy. When this perspective, information presented to the public is missing, biased and manipulative (Erdoğan, 2015, p. 87; Hayatsever, 2017; Kahvecioğlu, 2012; Mülteciler Derneği, 2017; NTV, 2017; Seta, 2016; The Guardian, 2014).

One of the important factors in the development of hate speech against Syrian milli,small section of Syrian refugees has participated in public order incidents, it is seen that they are constantly being criminalized both in social media and in news programs on TV channels. This situation worries the local people and leads to the development of prejudices against Syrian refugees (İçişleri Bakanlığı, 2017; Al Jazeera Türk, 2014; Anadolu Ajansı, 2014, Erdoğan, 2015, p.118).

With the effect of these negativities, local people living in cities such as Istanbul, Gaziantep, Adana and Kahramanmaraş, where Syrian refugees reside heavily, feel negative feelings, and hate speech turns into hate crimes. The act of this crime is generally in the form of destroying the workplaces, dwellings and vehicles belonging to Syrians and even damaging the body integrity of the refugees (Nevruz, 2018, p. 2).

4.2 Syrian Refugees on Media

As a result of events in Syria, Syrians escaped from their countries and took

refugee in Turkey. Refugees should not just be seen as simple political guests. The migration movement, which has many political and demographic consequences, especially socio-economic, is affected by the migration countries as well as the countries of origin. This effect can be on a macro basis as well as on a micro basis. In fact, in many concrete events, macro dimensions stand out rather than micro dimensions (Aydın & Oğuz, 2015, p. 312).

In terms of length of stay and spread over the country, Syrians in Turkey has become one of the most important social issue for Turkey. They became targets as a result of the events from time to time and were declared as the responsible of other social issues that emerged; they have become targets of hate speech and xenophobia.

Although the channels through which hate speech is spread differ from time to time, the most important channel through which hate speech spreads is the media today. As İnceoğlu stated, the media alienates and targets minority groups by using negative, humiliating, insulting and cursing expressions. It portrays members of this group as potential risks and criminals and scapegoats them. This situation strengthens the prejudices of the society against “others” and makes these minority groups feel vulnerable by isolating them (2013). Media organs create meanings and create perceptions with their news presentation. The media makes this perception using some tags. The main purpose in this is to put individuals and groups into certain categories and classes. As Devran stated; with labels, such as “liberty advocate, dictator prime minister, heroic Turkish police, villainous terrorists, patriotic driver, honest citizen, collaborator journalist, agent provocateur ...” (2010), a view on society is created.

In other words, media is a source of power in creating common sense in

people's minds and creating public opinion. It is precisely from this point that the struggle for power is a war to create meaning in people's minds. As media and power relations come into play; the reality level of media representation directly regulates the modes of production of meaning, and therefore power relations. To put it more clearly, the media and power relations are related to the ways in which power selects the content presented in the media and selects the ones that are suitable for presentation, how marginal ideas are sidelined, and how it allows dominant interests to easily convey their messages to the public (Çaycı, 2016, pp. 84 - 97). “It should be emphasized for purposes of using social / new media whose purpose and practices change from time to time and ways that democratize the social structure, enrich and develop the practice of communicative action in the public sphere, instead of its use for the circulation and dissemination of sexist, racist, homophobic, xenophobic content with an increasing rate and prevalence over time” (Binark et al., 2009, p. 17).

4.2.1 Syrian Refugees on Social Media

Syrians in Turkey do not have an official status. This situation creates a problem in terms of representation of Syrians, as they do not have the status of “refugee”, “immigrant” or “asylum seeker” and there has not been any study on the representation of Syrians by the official authorities (İşçi & Uludağ, 2019, p. 3). In this context, the representation of Syrians also appears to be as problematic in social media channels.

The discourses developed against Syrians in social media are positioned according to the ideological and dominant perspective. It is seen that Syrians are categorized and criminalized with different discourses on social media. First of all, it is clear from user posts that Syrians are seen as “the other” on social media.

Syrian migration to Turkey can be grouped around two axes. The first of these

is the migration movement carried out regularly under the supervision of public institutions. The other axis is Syrians who cross the border illegally. Especially it is not even in considered to talk about the representation of Syrians entering Turkey with illegal ways. Representation of Syrians coming under the supervision of the public authority is also controversial. The official admission of Syrians to the country with a status does not mean that there will be social acceptance (Göker & Keskin, 2015, p. 231). Racism and xenophobia, which are frequently seen in receiving countries, can also be seen from the perspective of Syrians. Syrians are mostly seen as “scapegoats” in the eyes of the society in case of victimization or problems encountered. The “scapegoat” theory put forward by Durkheim; is associated to deprivation, aggression and projection assumption. “Deprivation creates feelings of aggression, and aggression turns to vulnerable scapegoats. The violence used at this time is then rationalized and confirmed with negative judgments and stereotypes” (Schnapper, 2005, p. 137). In this context, the Syrians, who are seen as “scapegoats”, produce hate speech about all the negativities encountered on social media. The economic difficulties experienced by the society, poor working conditions, security concerns and political concerns are seen as Syrians, and racist hate speech that reaches nationalism is directed against Syrians (Tunç, 2015, p. 59). In the context of these thoughts, Syrians are seen as the source of the problem and encounter different forms of representation on social media.

As the residence time of Syrians extends, unease and disquiet has arisen in Turkey in the eyes of society. This is reflected in social media as hate speech and xenophobia. Simmel used the following term for “foreigner”; “It is not like the traveler who comes today and leaves the next day, it is like the man who comes today and stays tomorrow” (2009, p. 149). Even if Syrians have changed countries for a

short time or for temporary asylum, the continuity of the problems in their country prolongs their permanence and this creates tension in the society. For this reason, the perception of the problem is fed as the duration of the permanence increases.

The ideological discourse structures of the language lie in the background of the forms of representation developed by social media towards Syrians. As İnceoğlu and Çomak stated;

“Ideologies express and shape themselves through language. Discourse is formed with the use of language, as the words, phrases, the way of speaking, the expression and even the ability to make sentences are very important factors in the formation of the discourse (2009, p. 35).

In Van Dijk, he states that ideologies constitute the basic social representations of beliefs shared by a group (2003, p. 24). As group dynamics, group perceptions and beliefs reveal ideologies, the perception styles of different groups conform to this and their representation styles emerge. The boundaries between groups become clear with these ideological representations. The consciousness of “we” and “the other” is also infused with these ideologies. The spreading of discourse and descriptive representations gaining a dominant view are also formed by these processes.

Social media often plays an essential role in the exclusion of individuals or minorities gathered under the foreign label (Kearney, 2012, p. 56). In this context, Van Dijk emphasizes that “the general ideological strategy is positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation” (2003, pp. 79 - 107).

Syrians are often mentioned with negativities on social media, and the dominant opinion is that they are an economic burden to the country they take refuge in. It is possible to encounter the opposite of these views on social media. It can be

said that these differences are rooted in ideological differences.

The representation of Syrians on social media can be classified as follows:

- Legal entities located in Turkey: the units organized under the association or foundation status in Turkey, by social media accounts of Syrians or other nationals
- Accounts living in Turkey and introducing themselves as “opinion leaders”
- Individual accounts of Syrians in Turkey

Although some Syrians and Syrian groups have declared that they represent the Syrians in general, there is no legitimacy instrument showing that they have a right and authority in this regard. When evaluated in general, it is seen that although some of these accounts are extremely active, they will not be sufficient for the fight against xenophobia.

4.2.2 Social Media Posts: An example of Twitter

Hate speech had been encountered before the emergence of social media, but the increase in user-oriented sites such as Twitter caused hate speech to spread and become more visible. Online platforms constitute strong points of contact in shaping and expressing opinions about refugees and asylum seekers (Sulaiman et al., 2011, p. 346). As in social media networks, Twitter also enables hate speech to spread rapidly (Brennan, 2009, p. 123).

It is seen that users can share messages, photos and videos and express their opinions freely on the social media networks like Twitter. The platform where often the news and events from the world and Turkey are exchanged daily, can notify users views and opinions that may include feelings of hatred and discrimination. These

views can quickly spread to a wide audience due to the features of Twitter, and their hate content reaches hundreds of thousands of people in a very short time. When this situation is evaluated based on the concept of “Scapegoat”, content that does not reflect the truth can be produced and many people can be “scapegoats” and victims. One of the platforms where the concept of “cyber lynching” is most visible is Twitter. This happens frequently, as there are not enough editorial staff to filter the comments shared by millions of users. As a result of this situation, hateful and racist posts are rapidly produced, and a cyber lynching arises. As Williams and Burnap stated; with social media, it has become easier to produce discourses targeting minority groups, including prejudice, hate speech and xenophobia (2016, p. 212).

Jack Dorsey, one of the founders of Twitter, made a statement that “Twitter is divisive and prone to abuse” (Taşdelen, 2020, p. 565). In their studies, many researchers from the literature indicate that hate speech on social media is linked to events such as political events, terrorist attacks and racism (Hanes & Machin, 2014, pp. 247 - 267, Williams & Burnap, 2016, pp. 211- 238). In this context, Twitter facilitates polarization, targeting and racist discourses.

Most of the posts with hate content developed against Syrians are produced on Twitter. The descriptive discourses of Syrians become apparent at this point. Syrians who are placed in the position of “foreign” and “other” are perceived by social media users as “null” and “economic burden”. Some of the discourses produced on social media; it is seen as “disturbing, criminal, invader, asylum seeker, refugee, immigrant, fugitive”. Such targeting posts can harm minority groups, as well as cause minority groups to feel fear or exclusion.

Another feature that draws attention on Twitter is the “#” ie “hashtag” sign.

The “hashtag” sign can also provide unity in a subject. Users using this sign can quickly organize and create a reaction network with their comments on the subject. Yang also offers the following thoughts for the “hashtag sign; “As a communicative marker, the power of hashtags in providing social participation draws attention” (2016, p. 14). Using this sign, an opinion can be expressed on any subject and visibility can be increased.

Twitter, one of the social media networks, makes it easier to express and spread hate feelings in this context. These statements reach millions of people and can target Syrians or any person belonging to a minority group.

4.3 Examples & Analysis of Posts of Xenophobia against Syrian Refugees on Twitter

In this part of the thesis, the research topic, the purpose of the research, the research method and the limitations of the research will be explained. The ways Syrians are referred in the Twitter environment will be examined in terms of hate speech and xenophobia. Selected examples will be analyzed using discourse analysis method.

4.3.1 Topic and Aim of the Research

Syrian’s arrival in Turkey as a result of civil war in Syria and the elongation of Syrians’ stay due to the ongoing crisis in Syria has been met with discomfort and caused xenophobic hate speech to be generated in society. Social media networks have increased and accelerated the production of these hate speech. This study will examine the hate speech and xenophobia developed against Syrians specific to Twitter. The ideological and social reasons giving rise to these discourses will be investigated and solution will be proposed. In the first part of the thesis, the types of xenophobia and hate speech will be explained, how it is produced, to whom it is

directed, and the underlying reasons will be examined and discussed. In the second part, the ways in which xenophobia and hate speech are covered in the media and their contribution to the reproduction of these discourses will be explained and how the ideological hate speech is born will be discussed. In the application part, how the hate speech created against Syrians is reflected on Twitter will be evaluated through examples.

This study emphasizes the importance of understanding the underlying reasons of the hate speech developed against Syrians whose status and situation in Turkey are not yet clear and whether Twitter, one of the social media channels, reinforces these discourses or not. If these reasons are understood and measures are taken, it is thought that hate crimes arising from hate speech can be prevented. In this context, the study will contribute to the literature.

4.3.2 Research Method

Critical discourse analysis method was used in this study. An analysis method has been developed by looking at different dimensions and various characteristics of the discourse. By examining the content features of the discourse, the intentions and purposes of the comment owners in hate speech against Syrians on Twitter were examined, and the social situation the discourse covered was examined. Two aspects have been considered; how the owner of the discourse uses the language and what the features of the language are. By examining what kind of meaning coexists between sentences, it has been tried to determine the adjectives used. The theme of the discourse, its purpose, what its ideas are and how these are expressed in words and sentences were examined. It has been tried to understand what kind of discourse is produced against Syrians. By also examining what kind of structure the discourse is; conclusions have been made by criticism, discussion, explanation, comparison. The

consistency, emphasis and integrity of the sentences were examined. Capital and lowercase letters were identified and interpreted, and the underlying reasons were cited. In the discourse, who is addressing whom, the words he chooses when addressing, and author's tone such as sarcasm or anger in these words are interpreted.

Discourse is the use of language with certain meanings. Many discourses such as scientific discourse, legal discourse, political discourse can be mentioned. It appears as a linguistic structure that dominates many areas apart from each other and reflects the unique features of that area with its different shapes, vocabulary, and even grammatical structures (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 259). According to Sözen, the definition of discourse analysis is in the form of an analysis that sees and examines language as a practice, revealing the characteristics of knowledge, social relations and identities and their exchange (Sözen, 1999, p. 82).

Examining the subject of discourse, which has the feature of reproducing, changing, transforming or revealing the characteristics of existing discourses (Sözen, 1999, p. 83), Van Dijk states that discourse is a communication-oriented action in his studies. According to Van Dijk, discourse and ideologies are reproduced over and over again (2010, p. 13). In this context, the discourses and ideologies produced influence the expressions by mixing in the daily speeches. Van Dijk also defines discourse as a communication activity that includes written text, speech-based expressions, images, symbols, typography and other semiotic or multimedia dimensions of interpretation (Meyer, 2001, p. 20).

In the discourse analysis carried out within the scope of the study, based on Twitter from social media platforms, how Syrians are exposed to the “us” and “them” distinction as a result of the events they encounter and the factors that reveal this

distinction were evaluated.

4.3.3 Limitations of the Study

Having taken into account the spread of the migration movement over a long period of time and the volume of the study, the analysis of Twitter posts regarding Syrians includes the period between January 1, 2019 and June 1, 2020. Therefore, this date range covers before and after the 31 March 2019 local elections held in Turkey. In this process, by analyzing the discourses against Syrians, it was investigated whether the nationalist and xenophobic hate speech against Syrians changed in terms of style as the election approached. 65 posts covering this time period were selected as the sample. The average number of daily posts on Twitter, which is one of the social media platforms, exceeds 500 million. As a result of the increase observed in the messages produced against Syrians during this selected period, intensity of the study was considered, and the posts were evaluated under three headings. “Hate Speeches Developed Against Those Who Help Syrians”, “Hate Speeches Developed by Organizations Against Syrians” and “Hate Speeches Developed Against Syrians Through Individual Accounts” are the topics of the study. Posts subject to hate speech under these headings were eliminated in line with the news about Syrians in the media, and the topics subject to xenophobia were taken as a sample. Considering the economic, cultural differences and social security-based discourses that come to the fore in hate messages, the selected sample consists of messages in this direction.

In the first part, the statements made to the Twitter page of the Conscience Movement (Vicdan Hareketi) that supports Syrians and those who support this page are analyzed with the collected data. In the second part, Twitter account posts of Syrians to Syria Platform (Suriyeliler Suriye’ye Platformu) which does not support Syrians and has opposing views are evaluated based on the data collected through

comments on this page. In the third part, the hate speech made by completely individual accounts against Syrians is analyzed with the collected data.

The limits of the “discourse analysis” method, which is among the qualitative analysis methods, are quite wide. However, in an application like Twitter, the number of contents increases almost logarithmically every minute. Therefore, it is very important to determine the scope of the study while performing discourse analysis (Çomu & Halaiqa, 2015, p. 53). In addition, in qualitative research, the question that is the subject of the research is usually to determine why the behavior in question occurs (Uzuner, 1999, p. 178). In this context, during the data collection phase, under which headings the hate speech produced against Syrians was collected was determined, these headings were collected as data. Thus, the underlying reasons for hate speech against Syrians were revealed.

4.4 Analysis and Research Results

In this section, discourse analysis of tweets containing xenophobia and hate speech made against Syrians on Twitter will be made under three headings. Subtitles of the sections that will be analyzed discourse; Hate Speeches Developed Against Those Who Help Syrians, Hate Speeches Developed by Organizations Against Syrians, and Hate Speech Against Syrians Through Individual Accounts.

4.4.1 Hate Speeches Developed Against Those Who Help Syrians

There have been reactions from many different groups during events in Syria and various organizations have emerged. What these organizations have in common is that they act with humanitarian feelings and try to help Syrians. When the social media accounts of these movements are examined, it is seen that they systematically receive negative reactions.

The “Conscience Movement” can be shown as an example of these organizations. Account holders, who have 6.303 followers as of January 2020, introduce themselves on 12.02.2019 as follows: “WE believe that a just world where human rights are protected can only depend on the freedom of Syrian women and children.”

As can be understood from the above information, the organization was established to serve women and children, who are disadvantaged Syrian groups. In general, the group struggles systematically against the rights violations of children and women within the framework of human rights.

The cover image of the Conscience Movement Twitter account is as shown in Figure 9. In this image, crying Syrian women are seen and the way the pain and victimization they experience is reflected on their faces as highlighted. With this visual, the idea that women and children are the most affected by the war is in line with the manifesto of the Conscience Movement. In the profile photo of the account, there is a globe and a white pigeon flying around the world, carrying an olive branch in its mouth. In this context, the white dove and the olive branch symbolize peace and ceasefire.

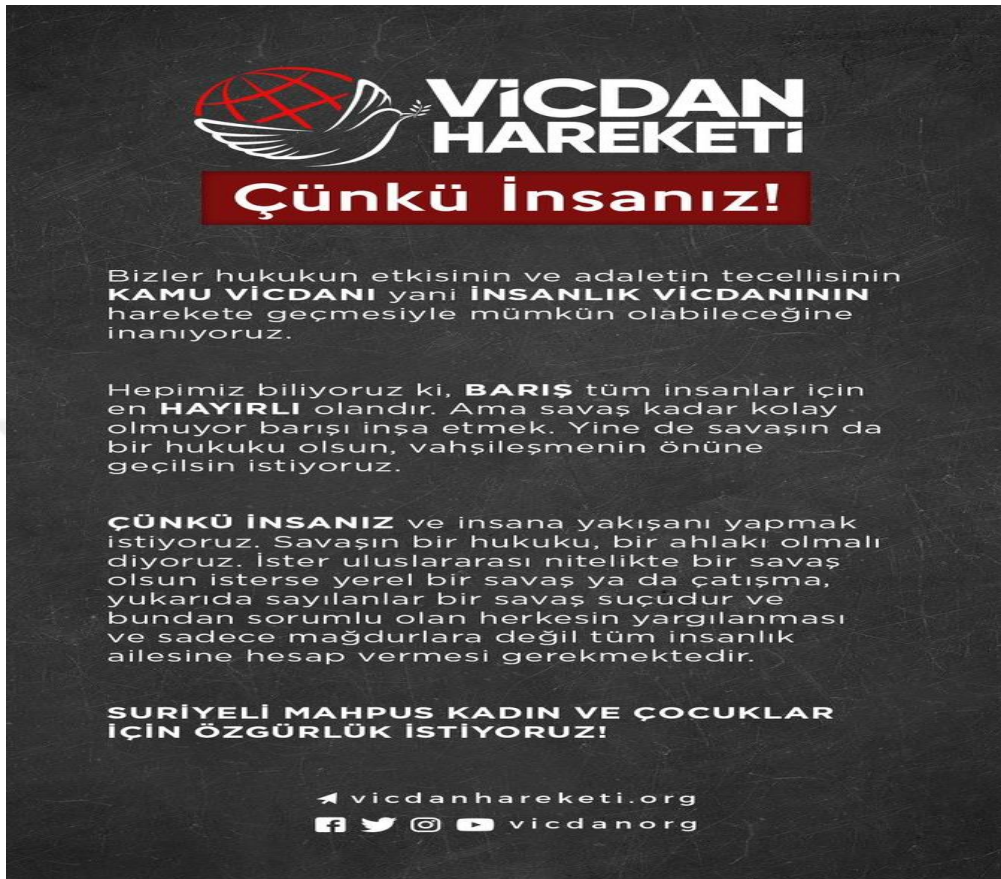
Figure 9.

Conscience Movement Twitter Account Cover Image



The Conscience Movement page shared a post where they announced their manifesto on their Twitter account. This post is presented in Figure 10:

Figure 10.

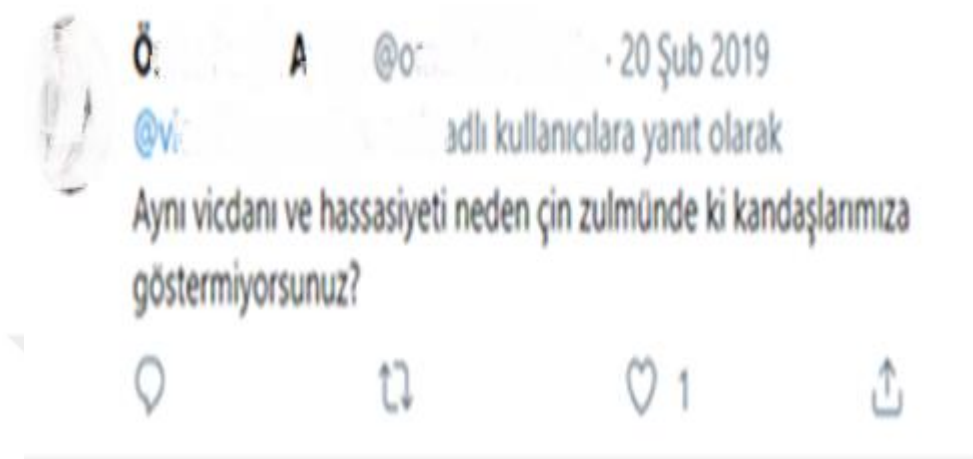
Conscience Movement Manifesto

The reactions to this post (Figure 11) are generally made with a nationalist rhetoric and not showing the same sensitivity to Uyghur Turks is criticized. The commenter states that he is sorry for the Uyghur Turks who have been persecuted by China and expects the same sensitivity from everyone. While making this interpretation and expressing his expectation, he alienates people who are persecuted and tortured in other lands. With the word “our brothers” used in the sentence, he sees Syrians as the other and criticizes helping those who are not “brothers”. When the tweet is examined, the sentence is not transposed, but spelling errors are striking. The words in the sentence were not used apart from their meaning and no metaphorical expression was made. There is hate speech against foreigners and immigrants in this

tweet.

Figure 11.

Twitter Message (6)



People who support the campaign of the Conscience Movement page also receive reactions and many comments made under their posts. It is seen that the reactions to the posts of Conscience Movement are concentrated under two main headings. Users who review these tweets and alike predominantly appear to criticize events in the scope of Uighur Turks or women and children in jail in Turkey.

The Conscience Movement receives support from various segments of the society as well as campaigns launches. For example, on 28.02.2019, Confederation of Public Servants Trade Union (MEMUR-SEN) President Ali Yalçın said, “More than 7000 women are tortured in Syrian prisons, they are subjected to inhuman treatment and made bargaining material the dirty war. Human dignity is destroyed. We, as Conscience Movement, invite you to #signaturecampaign for Captive Women.” He shared a video clip with the message. This tweet was liked by 855 people and shared 411 times.

Figure 12.

Twitter Message (7)

This message, which was prepared in an extremely simple and plain language, was exposed to negative messages as much as positive comments. In the post, it is emphasized that more than 7000 women were tortured, subjected to inhumane behaviors, women being captive and bargaining material. Citizens are invited to sign the petition organized to end this persecution. Many of the comments made under this post contain statements that are disconnected from the subject. Especially since the owner of the message is a union president, most of the messages sent are related to the working conditions in the country, and there were opinions that the union president should especially focus on these issues. The situation of contract workers is highlighted in the comments made, and it is stated that the issues that a union president should deal with should be “his own people” and his “workers”.

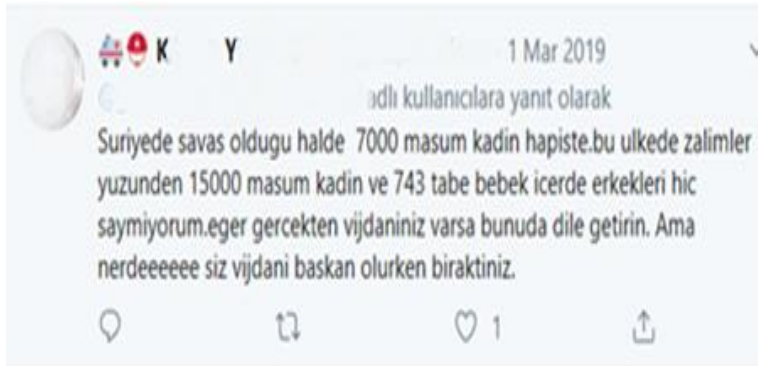
Figure 13.

Twitter Message (8)



When considered together with other messages, it is seen that some people attribute problems in working life to Syrians. Most of the users who make comments attach importance to bringing up their own economic situation and expect the same from those who express the problems of Syrians.

Another tweet that is commented under Ali Yalçın's post is as in Figure 14.

Figure 14.*Twitter Message (9)*

With this post, it is understood that the subject is intended to be manipulated in different ways. The post contains the following statements; “Even though there is war in Syria, 7000 innocent women are in prison. because of the oppressors in this country, 15.000 innocent women and 743 babies inside, i do not even mention the men. you lost your cosncience whennnn becoming the vice president.” This user compared imprisoned number of people in Turkey with the ones in Syria and mentioned that the number of imprisoned innocent women in Syria are less in spite of the war in Syria. He makes a reference by saying “the oppressors” and emphasizes that 15.000 innocent women and 743 babies are in prison because of the “oppressors”. The identity of the “oppressors” mentioned in this sentence was not specified, and no information was shared about why the women who were imprisoned, and their children were imprisoned. It is seen that there is an information decrement in this tweet. The post uses a judgment of conscience and the union president is accused of “being unconscientious”. With this message, the commentator implicitly accuses the head of the union of indifference to his own people and his problems. The message has errors in terms of spelling rules. Generally speaking, the tweet has no plain meaning and contains references. As stated above, these and similar comments are

made by many real users under humanitarian messages, especially towards Syrians.

Many people seem to support the movement. For example, Abdurrahman Dilipak supported the Movement's meeting planned to take place in Sultanahmet in 2019 by saying: "Those who lost their lives in Syria exceeded 1 million, and refugees exceeded 12 million. Our 7.000 sisters are also in prison. We are in Sultanahmet on March 8 to support "Conscience Movement", so that our friendship may be evident and wars have rules for our brothers and sisters, just because the consent of Allah is in that direction". This message of Dilipak received more than 1,400 likes and was shared 400 times.

Figure 15.

Tweet Message (10)



When responses to the messages of Abdurrahman Dilipak examined in the context of hate speech, it is seen that the Uighurs Turks are compared and Turkey's justice system is contrasted.

Figure 16.*Tweet Message (11)*

The answers given to the post are as shown in Figure 16. In the first tweet, we again encounter a criticism similar to the above post. It is under a tweet about the war in Syria and people's problems. "Before anything, you should care about our women who are in jail with their children." Written expression is still nationalist and has produced speech that includes "us". In this tweet, the insignificance of dealing with the problems of those who are not from us is expressed.

Similar posts such as "First, learn to march for lawlessness in your own country, then we will come to your side! There is no hypocritical morality and conscience!", "Did you march against the injustice in the country?" are posted under

the tweet. In these messages, it is stated that there are injustices in the country, and the request for the right and law for the citizen of the country is expressed. It is recommended not to make “hypocrisy” by emphasizing that the events in another country are not more important than the people of their own country, and that those here are enough. The texts are not expressed with their true meanings, it is not stated what the “injustice” existing in the country is. In the tweet above, it is stated that as a result of these “injustice”, women and babies were imprisoned innocently. A result is made without establishing a cause and effect relationship.

The statements of another post are as follows; “You do not mention about imprisoned women in Turkey but know how many women are in prison in Syria. What’s more, you mention about brotherhood and being turk. Arab nationalists. You shall celebrate when Syrians outnumber us in population.” In this post, the attempts made for the Syrians are criticized and nationalism is made with a speech that includes xenophobia. Emphasizing the danger of the Turkish population falling into a minority, it regards the increase in Syrians every day as a danger. At this point, referring to “Arab nationalists”, he mentions that there are people who would be happy to increase the population. The owner of the post marginalizes the citizens of the country that is experiencing war with the citizens of their country.

The last post was “Talk about the cruelty in China, Syria doesn’t interest neither you nor me”. One event is glorified, and another is degraded and considered less important. At the humanitarian level, there is violence and persecution in both regions, but another is humiliated and marginalized by nationalist feelings.

As there are citizens of the Republic of Turkey who feeds negative feelings, there are also people who nourish positive emotions towards Syrian refugees and who

assist in problem solving and humanitarian dimensions of the right to life. On Twitter, not only Syrian refugees are negatively influenced from xenophobia and hate speech, but also the citizens of the Republic of Turkey. Messages containing insults and hate speech towards these people were encountered in large numbers. It has been determined that people who support Syrians and Syrians are exposed to hate speech through nationalism. It seems that economic reasons lie behind hate speech against Syrians, and comparisons with female prisoners in prisons are frequent. On the basis of the hatred felt against Syria appears to be xenophobia and adversities encountered in Turkey are linked to the Syrians.

4.4.2 Hate Speeches Developed by Organizations Against Syrians

While hate speech against Syrians can be generated by real users, it is also included in the accounts of some organizations. Some organizations are established directly on this issue, that is, to express hatred towards Syrians. In this context, the “Syrians to Syria Platform” will be examined from these accounts.

Syrians to Syria Platform directly criticizes Syrians for being “Syrians” and produces hate speech by approaching every event with suspicion. In this section, the tweets, retweets and hateful comments on the page shared by Syrians to Syria Platform, will be analyzed.

On the Syrians to Syria Platform page, many messages containing hate speech were posted following the Elazığ Earthquake that occurred on 24.01.2020. Some examples of these and the comments made to these posts are shown below.

Some Syrians have worked actively in the rescue operation and in this case especially appreciations were given by all ministers, including President of the Republic of Turkey during the earthquake. However, this benevolence of Syrians has

been the subject of hate speech.

For example, the news showing that Interior Minister Süleyman Soyulu thanked a Syrian helpful young man, “The Strategic Migration Engineering scheme continues through Syrian Mahmut! We are informing the Minister about this bad scheme that he can say tomorrow “we were deceived and shot from our back once more!” If you are looking for brothers, hug people in Elazig, not a Syrian!” shared with the message. This post was shared 133 times and received 367 likes. The Syrians to Syria Platform page posted a tweet by quoting the news of the earthquake in Elazig. The content of the news briefly is about the assistance of a Syrian young man named Mahmud to those who were buried under the dent in the Elazig earthquake. When the tweet of the page is examined, it is thought that by showing Syrian refugees as “good and benevolent”, their entry into the country is legitimized and an “arrangement” is made to ensure that the public opinion is positive towards Syrians. The sentences are understood to have references to the state level and are included in the tweet as follows; “we were deceived and shot from our back once more!” When these sentences are combined with the frequent use of exclamation marks, it is understood that a warning message is given to the state level. Especially with these sentences, reference is made to FETÖ operations and warnings are made not to fall into the same mistake on Syrians. In this tweet, the distinction between “us” and “other” is clear; “If you are looking for brothers, hug people in Elazig, not a Syrian!” It appears with the sentence.

Figure 17.*Tweet Message (12)*

A comment to this post (Figure 17) expresses hate speech very clearly; " THE ONES WHO PUTS SYRIANS LIKE DAGGERS ON THEIR CHEST SHALL TAKE THEM TO THEIR HOME AND LOOK AFTER WITH THEIR OWN MONEY. THEIR WIVES COOK AND SYRIANS EAT... YOU CANNOT FORCE SYRIANS INTO US AS BROTHERS"

Figure 18.*Tweet Message (13)*

As in this post, typing words in capital letters on social networks corresponds to spoken shouting (Wikipedia, 2020). The user tries to show the severity of his reaction by preferring to write this tweet in capital letters. The Tweet contains a racist and nationalist approach. He sees the Syrians as a “dagger” put in the bosom of the Turkish nation using the metaphor of “dagger” and implies that the unity and solidarity of the Turks was broken with this sentence. The owner of the tweet made a criticism on economy and it is understood that he thinks that the taxes collected spent on the Syrians by saying “let them look after with their own money” and he is uncomfortable with this situation. He criticizes those who want Syrians and brings the criticism that Syrians are not involved in production, only what they consume, with the phrase “their wives cook and Syrians eat”, and advises that you should take care of this within yourself without attributing it to the Turkish nation. Finally, he concludes the tweet by saying “you cannot force”, saying that he does not see Syrians as “brothers”. When we look at the word “you cannot force” here, it is used in a slang term and it is emphasized that they will not see Syrians as “forced” brothers.

It is observed that the interest shown in Syrian Mahmud disturbs some users. A user interprets this situation differently and says that Uighur Turks are not given the same value. A user shared the news that Uyghur Turks from East Turkistan distribute food to earthquake victims in Elazig with the following note; “If these beautiful people were arabic, all TVs would be there, but they are Uygur TURKS.”

Figure 19.*Tweet Message (14)*

In this post, their use of words stands out clearly. In particular, the initial letter of the word "arabic" is written in lowercase, and the word "TÜRK" is written in full capital. As can be seen from these spelling preferences, humiliation and racism stand out. Uyghur Turks are praised by saying “beautiful people” in the sentence, and Arabs are criticized. Criticizing that Uyghur Turks are not made visible by the mainstream media, it is expressed that Syrians are too visible in the news and their discomfort is expressed.

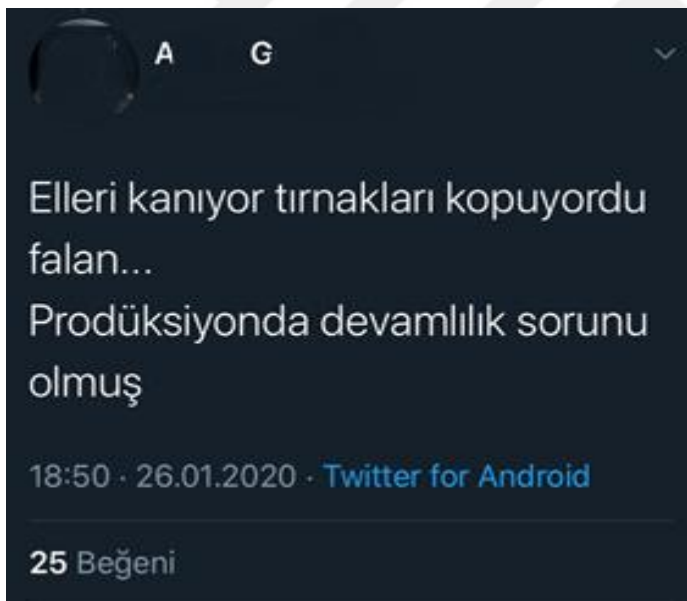
Different account users also reacted to the contributions of Syrian Mahmud during the debris removal. The users who think that the incident was a scenario made the following comment under the picture (Figure 20) of a citizen who was rescued by Syrian Mahmud from the debris. “His hands were bleeding; his nails were breaking off they say ... There was a continuity problem in the production.”

Figure 20.



Figure 21.

Tweet Message (15)

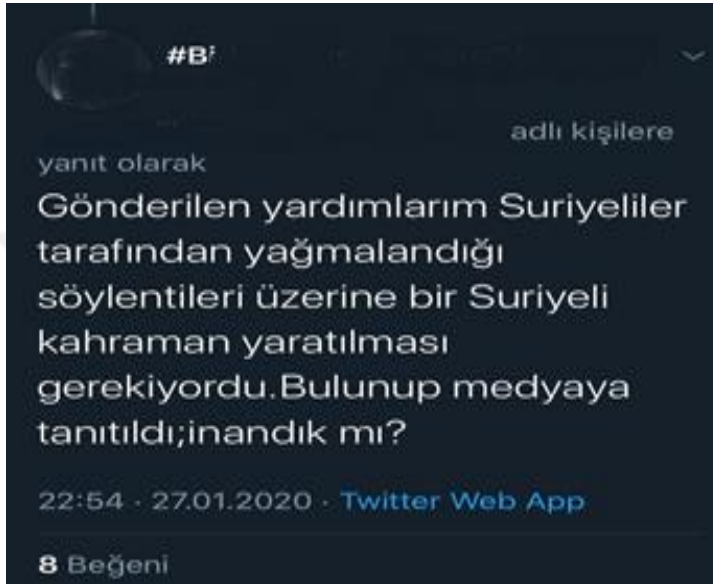


This post has been liked 25 times. Those involved in hate speech also try to find physical evidence. Referring to the Syrian Mahmud's digging the wreck using his hands and nails, the user implies that there are no marks on his hands by saying this is a “production”. When the comments made are examined, it is seen that there is a strong opinion that this news is a public relations activity. For example, a user said,

“A Syrian hero had to be created after rumors that aids sent were looted by Syrians. It was found and introduced to the media; do we believe it?”

Figure 22.

Tweet Message (16)



This post was also liked by 8 people and no comments. Emphasizing the rumor that the aid provided to the earthquake area was looted by Syrians, the user argues that a public relations initiative was made through Mahmud to justify all Syrians. "Did we believe it?" The tweet ends with a question sentence. In this way, there is an expectation of getting support in trying to understand whether there are people who think like that.

The same situation is expressed in another post shared by the Syrians to Syria Platform. In the post, “A citizen speaking on the subject: Syrian city was formed. Where did they come from, were they imported? They were in Elazig and didn't we see it? It is a Syrian who completely takes aid items. They grew from all sides like mushrooms. Look here, two or three rows are completely Syrian!” statements are

included.

Figure 23.

Tweet Message (17)



As a general perception, Syrians are considered to receive aid and it is observed that xenophobia has developed against Syrians. It is considered that all negative thoughts are directed to Syrians who are the “other” and the difficulties experienced are caused by them. This post was shared 245 times and received 394 likes. It is observed that as the spread of these negative news increases, the feeling of hatred towards Syrians also increases.

Many posts containing hate speech were made regarding the donations. These posts received many likes, shares and support comments in a short time. These messages were tried to be supported by video broadcasts from the region. The video tweet in Figure 15 was shared 316 times, received 568 likes and 14 comments. While

sharing, mainstream media channels and their announcers are also tagged to the post. The official account of the Ministry of Interior is also included in this tagging. The main point of the post is the claim that Syrians stay in charity tents. In this context, it is ignored in the statements that Syrians living in Elazig and whose houses are damaged can stay in those tents.

Figure 24.

Tweet Message (18)

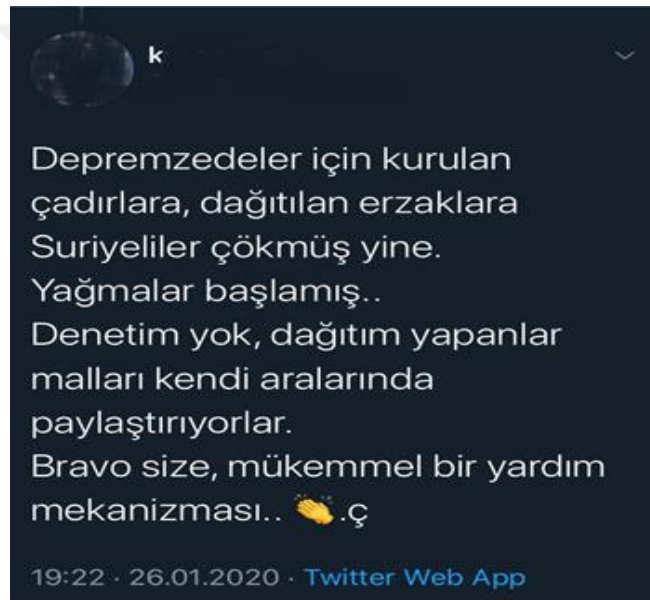


As it can be understood from the rhetoric that the citizens, who were affected by the destruction as a result of a natural disaster, were disturbed by the presence of Syrians, it once again surfaced. Syrians are seen as scapegoats and are not wanted. Since Syrians are the “other”, the view that they do not deserve to share is a dominant view and xenophobia is reappearing.

There are thousands of tweets targeting and commenting on Syrians over the Elazig earthquake. Some of these tweets are as follows: “Syrians have flocked on the supplies distributed for the earthquake victims in the tents again. The looting has begun. There is no control, the distributors distribute the goods among themselves. Bravoto you, an excellent help mechanism..”

Figure 25.

Tweet Message (19)



It is seen that Twitter users, who were negatively affected by the news, made unfounded allegations based on the information written by accounts with anonymous sources. As it can be understood from this post, it is expressed in a slang term that Syrians “flocked” on the supplies distributed. Here, the word “to flock” is a particularly used word, meaning “to take what does not belong to oneself”. A hate speech is made by claiming that Syrians are “predators”. In the tweet, people who distribute aid materials are also accused, allegedly stealing the goods.

Aid to Syrians and aid to earthquake victims are sometimes subject to hate

speech: “You spend \$ 40 billion on Syrians for the war in Syria. What about the earthquake in #Elazig ..! You say "Don't expect everything from the state" to your own earthquake taxpayer, you will collect money from that citizen again via SMS. Don't #Elazig people have as many rights as Syrians.! ”

Figure 26.

Tweet Message (20)



The user making this post also compares an event that happened with another. He is xenophobic when he interprets a situation, speaking humanly, in which one is not different from another.

It is seen that the economy is the basis of the criticism against Syrians. Aids that are said to be given to Syrians, aids provided and their employment in the public sector with positive discrimination are viewed negatively by the broad public and cause negative comments. Most of these comments contain hate speech. For example, the news about the appointment of 830 Syrian teachers in Adana, Syrians to Syria Platform shared with the following comment: “Why are there thousands of Turkish teacher candidates waiting to be appointed? Strategic Migration Engineering

continues at full speed; Turkey is tried to be made a new land for the Arabs by clearing out Syria! Turkey .. Wake up! "

Figure 27.

Tweet Message (21)



There is a post on Syrians to Syria Platform that 830 Syrians were allegedly appointed as teachers in Adana. This claim was shared 787 times and received over 1200 likes. The post has 60 comments. In this case, the situation is perceived as “Strategic Migration Engineering” and Turkey as the “new homeland to the Arabs”. The Ministry of Education made a statement regarding this issue and responded to the allegations. The Ministry stated that the news in question did not reflect the truth and that the people who were allegedly appointed as teachers to schools were Syrian volunteer educators who were previously working at Temporary Education Centers. It was stated that these people were trained and selected among those who were entitled to receive a certificate after the exam. It has been stated that these people will work

temporarily in designated areas such as out-of-class activities, field work, translation, family information activities to support the adaptation process of Syrian children to the school within the scope of the “Syrian Volunteer Educator Agreement”. In the statement made, it was stated that it was not possible for Syrian volunteer trainers to be in the teaching staff and it was announced that the incentive fee payments of the trainers would be made by UNICEF within the scope of the agreements (Sözcü, 2019).

Thousands of people are misinformed and hatred towards Syrians is fueled by putting the news containing lack of information into the information flow. A comment that comes under this post also reinforces this idea.

Figure 28.

Tweet Message (22)



Commenting on the news about the appointment of Syrians as teachers, a user attributes the unemployment to Syrians and says, “The men work for little money and go around half hungry. Unemployment is everywhere in the country...” He refers the unemployment problem in the country to Syrians working by accepting little money.

In the user's own words, Syrians live “half hungry, half full”, and it is emphasized that their quality of life is not good. When the interpretation is examined, the conditions seem the same for all people. The user also says “...they say be grateful for 2300 lira and hold Syrians so that people don't rebel”, and it is understood that the writer sees Syrians’ being “half-hungry and half-full” state as a “thankful” state. With a nationalist discourse, he states that Turks have become second-class citizens in their own countries due to the presence of Syrians. It can be said that the tweet was written in a xenophobic style.

The Syrian policy implemented by the government is generally considered as a “political move” in such social media environments. According to the opinions of those who hold this view, the government will ensure the continuation of their power by granting Syrians the right to vote in elections. An exemplary comment on this issue is as follows: “They lost Istanbul and Ankara by a small difference, they are trying to show good citizenship by showing themselves well to close this difference, but I have a great grudge in me, they do not ask for the public opinion whether to hold an early election or about Istanbul canal, let's not ask the public. The public always have a say, they say.”

Figure 29.*Tweet Message (23)*

This opinion is constantly kept on the agenda and it is stated that the importance of citizenship has been lost. The post, which includes a reproach against the government, criticizes the idea that Syrians are being shown to the Turkish people as “good” and as a result they are trying to be granted citizenship. There is concern about the presence of Syrians and the right to vote. Those who have this kind of reasoning criticize Syrians and those who support them. For example, even the possibility of granting citizenship to a Syrian named Mahmud, who had helped during the Elazig Earthquake and was mentioned in the previous pages, is harshly criticized.

Figure 30.

Tweet Message (24)



The Syrians to Syria Platform's post, who shared the news, was liked 166 times and shared 58 times. The post includes the following statements: “AKP (Justice and Development Party) Chairman: We will give citizenship to Syrian Mahmud! Go down with your politics!” The possibility of granting citizenship to Syrian Mahmud is criticized as a political decision and this situation is not welcomed. While the comments made to this news clearly contain hate speech, it is also seen how much information the commenting users lack. Some of the hate speech about citizenship that may be given to Syrian Mahmud are as follows;

Figure 31.*Tweet Message (25)*

When the statements are examined, it is understood that there is a great feeling of hatred towards Syrians. The first example of this feeling of hate is as follows; “It will be a shame for the Syrian Mahmud now, he will pay taxes on everything, pay for the drugs to the hospitals.” That user was uncomfortable with Syrian Refugees in the Republic of Turkey who do not pay taxes and money for drugs or hospitals. He refers to that by saying Syrian Mahmud will lose such opportunities when provided with a possible citizenship. Economically, Syrians are seen as a burden and the emphasis on taking away their unpaid rights draws attention. Another hateful speech is as follows;

“If this Mahmud is such a hero, why the hell didn’t he save his own country.”

Mahmud is one of the millions of refugees who had to leave his country as a result of the war. That user mocks him by referring to his heroism in the earthquake which he should have showed in his own country. Spelling errors are common in the post, and the post contains a slang phrase. The next post containing hate speech is as follows;

“Then Mahmud should do his military service as a citizen and go to Syria, protect the homeland like heroes! (May our country not need those who escaped from their homeland).” The clearly disturbed thought in this post is the situation of Turkish soldiers in Syrian territory. The user stated that Syrians do not defend their country, instead, “Republic of Turkey troops” defend it. It is asked from Mahmud to go to Syria, regarding a possible citizenship, “as the Turkish soldiers”. Owner of the comment wishes that he would not need Syrians to defend his own country by saying “not to be in need of them”, He emphasized that Syrians have fled from the war in Syria and escaped from their country. Another post includes words that insult Syrians. The hatred and anger towards Syrians are brought to the dimension of racism with the statement “Get out of this country, the Syrian scums...” Syrians are called “scum” and asked to “get out” of the country. The choice of words does not seem coincidental and it is seen that an insulting sentence was written deliberately. The last example on this subject is as follows; “Veterans, who are not considered retired and whose salaries are cut, are not worthy as a few run-away Syrians. It is impossible not to go crazy” This post also compares it with other events and people. Comparing the cut of veterans' salaries and the “value” given to Syrians, Syrians are called “fleeing”. As used herein, “escaped from” fleeing the war in their country with a word reference is made to the refuge in Turkey. The word “run-away” is used as an insult in the post.

It is observed that most of the hate speech produced against Syrians is due to

lack of information. That lack of information brings out the view that many Syrians in Turkey live comfortably and enjoy their life without having to work.

Figure 32.

Tweet Message (26)

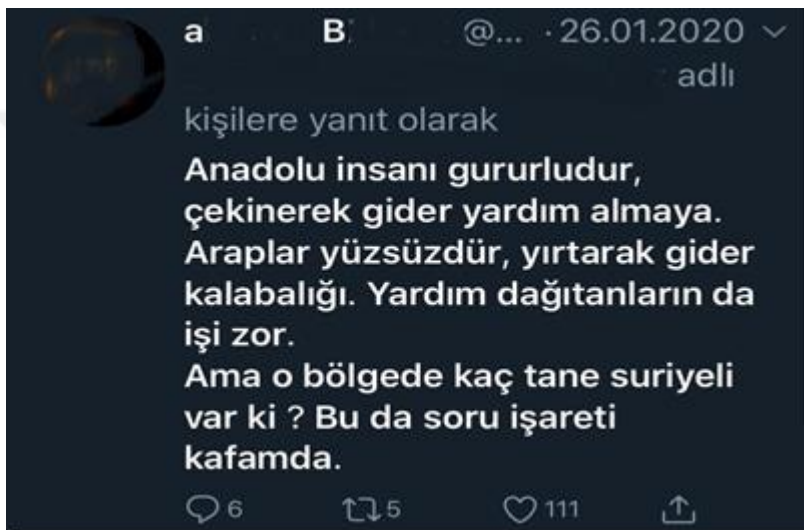


In the post shared by the Syrians to Syria Platform on another news site, a photograph of a Syrian smoking hookah is used. This article states that the Syrian in the image “enjoys hookah in the earthquake tent”, while “the Turks cannot find tents”. There is no source provided for where the photograph was taken, and it is emphasized that Syrians occupied the earthquake tents and also enjoyed themselves. In the news written in large fonts and different colors, “Turks cannot find a tent” is attributed to the existence of Syrians. The article uses the phrase “Your Syrian Brother”, which puts everyone who helps Syrians as the focus of criticism. Many comments have been made to this news, whose source is unknown and whose accuracy has not been confirmed. These comments also meet the criteria for hate speech. One of the

comments made on this situation is as follows; “Anatolian people are proud; they hesitate to get help. Arabs are hypocrites, tearing the crowd. It is also difficult for those who distribute aid. But how many syrians are there in that area? This is a question mark in my head.”

Figure 33.

Tweet Message (27)



This post was liked 111 times and retweeted 5 times. The post has 6 comments. The post contains racist statements and accuses Arabs of “being shameless”. There is a common belief that after the Elazig Earthquake, aid was given to Syrians who did not deserve and claimed to have gone to the city afterwards. Many users who have these thoughts are encountered. A user shared the same opinion about Syrians with the following words; “As an Elazig earthquake victim, I say don't send aid to Elazig. Aids come from all over Turkey, but only 20 percent reach Elazig. Syrians from the surrounding provinces flock to Elazig. They're basically looting the aid.”

Figure 34.*Tweet Message (28)*

The interactions this post has received are also substantial. The post received 6 comments, 121 likes, and the post was shared 68 times. The owner of the post states that he is also affected by an earthquake and that the aid has almost not reached their hands. This user also states that Syrians “loot” the aid and expresses his discomfort with the presence of Syrians. Since Twitter is a social network where users can freely post their thoughts, the reality of the comments posted in this channel cannot be known precisely, and since it is seen that many users can make these comments in order to get likes, it cannot be said with a certain language whether they are the right source or not.

As it can be seen when the expressions are listed one under the other, the basis of the posts subject to hate speech is xenophobia, as well as economic and political. Since the employment of the Syrians here leads to the view that they will make them permanent here, users interpret the employment of Syrians in the private sector as well as in the public sector with hate speech. Syrians commented on the Syrians to Syria Platform with a post that Syrians would be employed in agriculture. The content

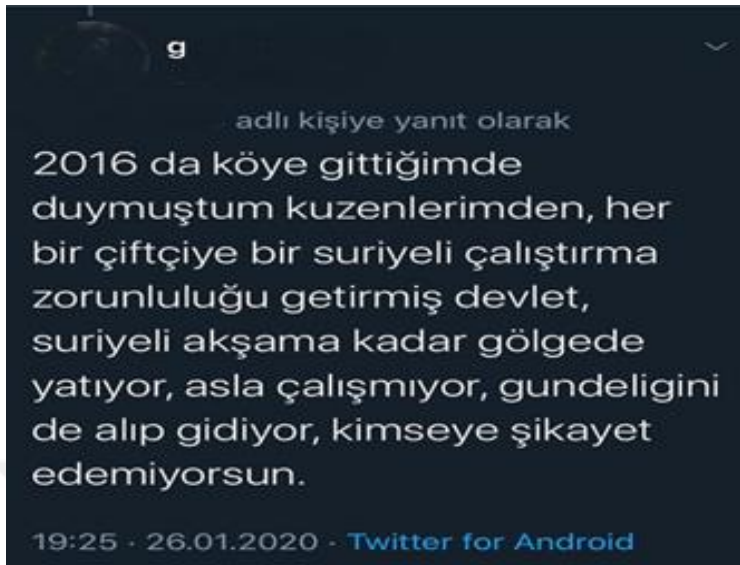
is shared with the following sentences; “Perhaps the most dangerous of the steps taken to ensure the permanence of Syrians is employment in agriculture. Also known as the project of resettling refugees in villages! Please let's occupy our villages!”

Figure 35.

Tweet Message (29)



This content has more than 2.000 likes. The content was shared 979 times and comments containing hateful and xenophobic content were posted. The post emphasizes that a danger is approaching, and the severity of this situation is given by frequently used exclamation marks. It is said that villages must be protected, and a danger is approaching. Syrians are turned into targets with these discourses. The first of the responses to this post is as follows; “When I went to the village in 2016, I heard from my cousins that the state obliged each farmer to employ a syrian, the syrian is in the shade until the evening, they never work, they get their wages and leave, you cannot complain to anyone.”

Figure 36.*Tweet Message (30)*

The user who wrote the answer stereotypes all Syrians by referring to an incident three years ago. Since there is no source of the discourse “obliging the farmers to employ Syrians”, it seems that this discourse goes no further than a claim. It is alleged that Syrians do not work or leave after getting their wages, and Syrians are turned into a focus of hate with these statements.

Another hate-oriented speech that comes under the same post is as follows; “If we move the Syrians to the villages, the country will be fucked up.”

Figure 37.*Tweet Message (31)*

The idea of Syrians being employed in villages is not well received, as can be seen in the comment in this post. Using a slang term, it is expressed that if this happens, it will not be good for the country, and the dissatisfaction with Syrians is expressed.

Another breaking point for people with hate speech emerges in the following interpretation: “The Ottoman Empire brought Greeks to the villages for employment in the last period, when the first conflict broke out, the Greeks settled in these villages massacred their neighbors and raped their neighbors. History repeats but we ignore it.”

Figure 38.*Tweet Message (32)*

This comment includes a racist hate speech against both Greeks and Syrians. It is stated that the Syrians are a danger, and by making an allegation about the Greeks, it is claimed that the Syrians may harm the “property, life and honor” of the Turkish people “like the Greeks” in the coming years.

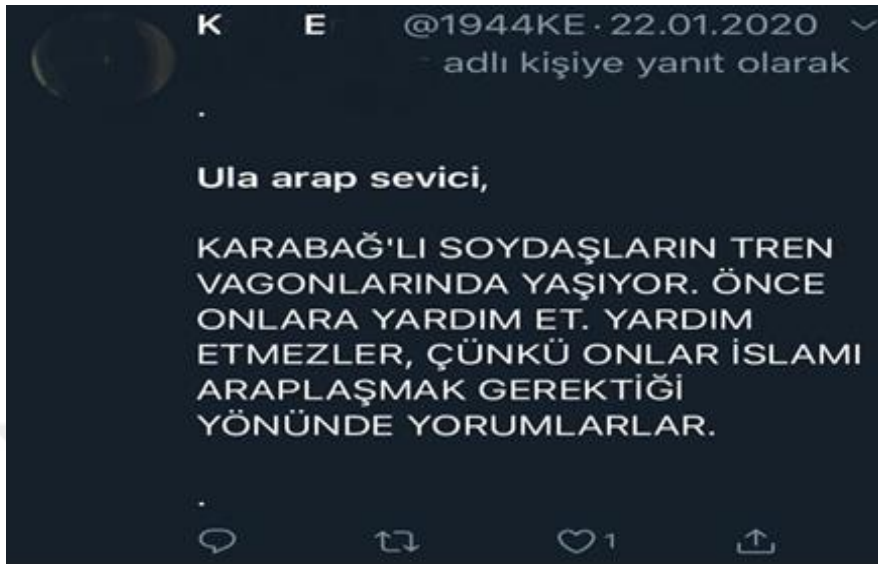
Another factor influencing the emergence of hate speech stems from the way public policies are presented. For example; the decision to collect aid for Syrians on Friday, which is a special day for Muslims, can cause significant reactions and the reactions can quickly go beyond the limits of innocent criticism and evolve into hate speech. For example, a comment is as follows: “According to the news in the image, it is stated that aid will be collected for Syrians in mosques on Friday! Based on the fact that there are terrorist elements among those fleeing Idlib, we do not find this practice correct; we present the situation to the knowledge and evaluation of our people!”

Figure 39.

Tweet Message (33)



The reaction to the aid to Syrian refugees is that “terrorist elements” having entered the country among Syrians and they will also benefit from this aid. The belief about Syrians is that not all of them are innocent, there are terrorists among them, which sparks the negative reaction against Syrians. It can be said that the comments to this post contain a religious-sect predominance and nationalist xenophobia. A user commented; “Hey arab lovers, YOUR BROTHERS LIVE IN THE TRAIN WAGONS OF THE KARABAĞ. HELP THEM FIRST. THEY DON'T HELP, BECAUSE THEY INTERPRET ISLAM AS A NEED TO BECOME ARABIC.”

Figure 40.*Tweet Message (34)*

The aids are criticized to be compromised. By using the term “arab lovers”, the user creates a nationalist and racist language of hatred and thinks that Arabs do not deserve help. The owner of the post chose to write his thoughts in capital letters, and it is understood that he was shouting an idea. He also shows that he despises Arabs, preferring to write only the phrase “arab lovers” in small letters. This post also compares other events and nations to Syrians, expressing the discomfort that Syrians are “Arabs”. The prevailing opinion is that Syrians do not deserve help because they are “Arabs”. There is an opinion that the communities that deserve help should be of their own “descendants”, “blood” and “religion”.

All institutions trying to help Syrians get their fair share of criticism. For example, while sharing a news for the Red Crescent, it was brought to the agenda with the following comment: “@Kizilay, who dressed 1 million people in Syria, should be careful; the money you spend is not your father's! Our country has spent \$ 58 billion so far, and it continues to be spent! You are not the UN; You have 5 million

comments have been posted. Some of these comments are as follows; “In addition to the Red Crescent, yesterday, by exploiting emotions again, Presidency of Religious Affairs collected money in mosques for these dishonest people. His own people are in poverty, moreover, in the streets dying in freezing cold, they are collecting money for the Syrian. Put yourself before others. I am not paying a penny.”

Figure 42.

Tweet Message (36)



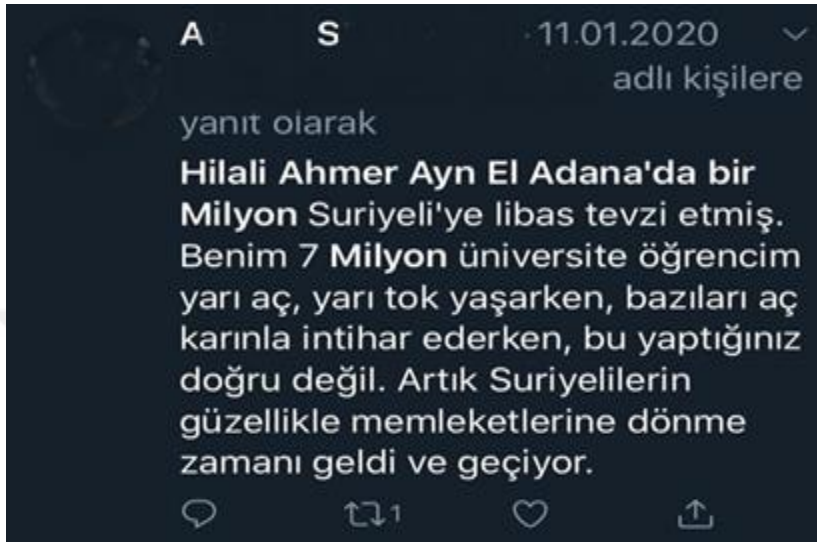
The aid campaign organized by both the Presidency of Religious Affairs and the Red Crescent for Syrians was met with negative reaction. The user who calls Syrians “dishonest” makes a racist hate speech, Syrians’ economic existence is not wanted, and insulting words and sentences are used by crossing the limits of freedom of expression. It was determined that Syrians were marginalized once again by using the proverb “Put yourself before others”.

Another post including negative reaction is as follows; “Hilali Ahmer Ayn El delivered libas to a million Syrians in Adana. While my 7 million college students live half hungry, half full, some commit suicide with no bite, this is not right. Now it

is time for Syrians to return to their homeland smoothly.”

Figure 43.

Tweet Message (37)



When the tweet is examined in depth, it is seen that word are being twisted and references are made to “Arabization” by choosing Arabic words. The name of the Red Crescent established in the Ottoman Period was “Hilal-i Ahmer Society”. The origin of the word in Arabic shows that it is particularly preferred and has reference. In the continuation of the tweet, there is the phrase “Ayn El Adana”. It bears a reference to the city of “Ayn Al Arab”, a city in Syria. The words “Libas” and “tavzi” are also Arabic-origin words, and again references are made to Arabization. The meaning of the word libas is “clothes”, and the meaning of the word tevzi is “to deliver”. The user especially chooses Arabic words to criticize delivery of clothes to 1 million Syrian by Red Crescent in Adana and hints that cities of the Republic of Turkey transformed into “Arab” city. As can be seen from the comments made, the reason for all economic and political negativities is attributed to the existence of Syrians. In particular, it is emphasized that many students study in difficult

circumstances. The aids that are provided to Syrians instead of citizens of Republic of Turkey are seen as the reasons of “suicides” and Syrians are announced as being scapegoats.

Another negative comment under the post is as follows; “Is it normal to care about other people while your own citizen suffers from poverty? I think there is no more uneven and unreasonable approach than that.”

Figure 44.

Tweet Message (38)



Similar criticisms appear in this post, and the reasons for the problems in the country are attributed to Syrians. Aid to Syrians is generally not welcomed and it is observed that there is a serious dissatisfaction. The user thinks that helping Syrians is “uneven” and “unreasonable” and thinks that the aid given to Syrians should be stopped in order to end the “poverty” in the country.

An important issue is the emotions that cause these interpretations. These statements clearly define the motivations that are effective in the emergence of hate speech. It is clearly seen that the most effective motivation for the creation of hate

speech is the lack of information. The most important factors effecting the circulation of misinformation about Syrians situation in Turkey is misinterpretation of activities of some organizations.

Another area of reaction against Syrians is education. The adaptation problems caused by the intensive involvement of Syrians in the society and the fact that they settle in cities and start schools without the necessary integration activities cause a reaction. The reactions to the language problem of Syrian students are as follows; “We believe the findings of the trainer correct but incomplete! Why aren’t the problems experienced by Turkish students in classes mentioned, where almost half of the refugee students do not speak Turkish!”

Figure 45.

Tweet Message (39)



It was stated that the interpretation of a news article about education negatively reflected the adaptation problem of Syrians on the success of Turkish students. One comment on this post is as follows: “How can you ensure the integration? Their culture is Arabic. Why are they trying to be integrated as if they are Turkish? They will never be. The issue of blood is blood in their art! ”

Figure 46.

Tweet Message (40)



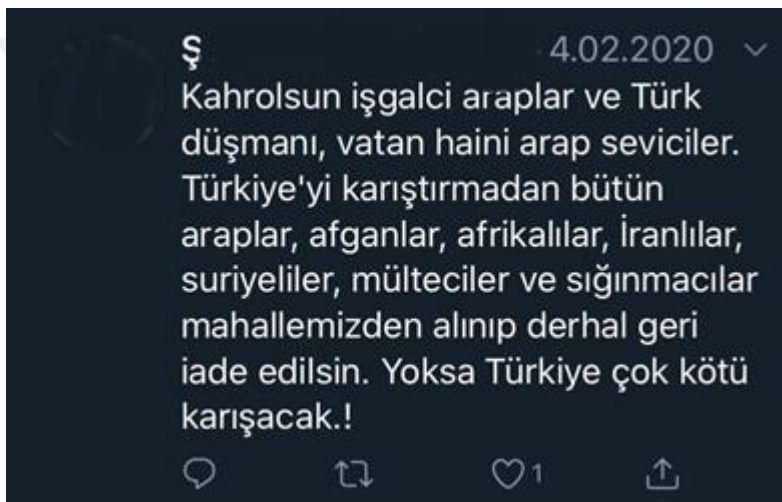
The concept of “being Turkish” is glorified in the criticism of the adaptation process, which is desired and thought to be incomplete regarding education, and “being Arab” is humiliated. The answer given to the language problem of Syrians is interpreted as “the issue of blood”, by glorifying “Turkish blood”, a racist hate speech is made on the grounds that Arabs can “never” be like a “Turkish” because “their blood is not Turkish blood”.

Another comment on this title about education is as follows; “Down with the invading Arabs and the traitorous Arab lovers who are anti-Turkish. Before ruining Turkey; arabs, africans, afghans, syrians, refugees and asylum-seekers should be

taken our neighborhood and promptly returned back from. Or Turkey will be messed up badly!” As Köker and Doğanay reported, minorities, immigrants and foreigners are seen as “the other” in the eyes of the society. For this reason, these groups are positioned as enemies that “must be taken out, exiled and fought” (Köker & Doğanay, 2010, p. 51- 55).

Figure 47.

Tweet Message (41)



The user not only wants Syrians to be deported, but also wants all foreigners in Turkey to be deported. He uses the word “invader” for Arabs and accuses those who support Arabs of “treason”. The post, which has a troubled language in terms of xenophobia, produces hate speech by using both a nationalist and racist approach against “Arabs, Afghans, Africans, Iranians, Syrians, refugees and asylum seekers”. It is stated that the presence of people of different nationalities in the country can trigger a “confusion” or that “confusion” can be caused by those who do not want these elements and are intimidated.

It is seen that many problems in education are attributed to Syrians with the comments made. Another post clearly confirms this. Syrians to Syria Platform put

down all the problems of education system on Syrians with the following words;
 “Stop the nonsense about Turkey’s hospitality @tcmeb poor quality education
 deriving from training 600 thousand child asylum seekers should be seen. Turkish
 kids are ranking in the bottom on PISA tests;SEE IT ALREADY..!”

Figure 48.

Tweet Message (42)



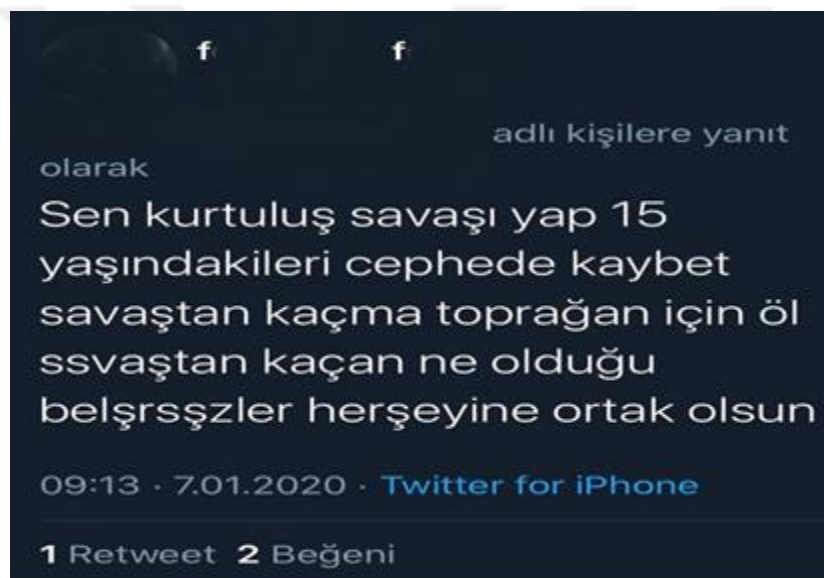
In the post, it is requested that Syrian refugee children are not included in the education system and that “hospitality” comes to an end. However, the articles of the provisions of the “Temporary Protection Regulation” prepared on the basis of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection stated that the basic needs of persons under temporary protection such as accommodation, work and education are compulsory rights, and stated that all refugees have the right to benefit from these rights. In this context, it is seen that each individual has the right to receive education. These rights are being prevented with feelings of hate and the failures of “Turkish children” are

attributed to Syrians.

Hate speech is frequently encountered in the comments to this post. One of the comments is as follows; “After fighting in Independence War and losing 15 year old children on the fronts without escaping from the warr for our soills, now we have to share everyything with unceaartin beings.”

Figure 49.

Tweet Message (43)



Spelling and word mistakes are frequently encountered in the comments made. The writer describes Syrians as “uncertain beings” and expresses his discomfort at the inclusion of Syrian children in the education system. By comparing Syrian children with 15-year-old children participating in the War of Independence, it produces xenophobia by comparing “our” and “them”.

The next comment consists of the following sentences; “these children can’t be trained, instead they will teach Arabic to our kids these savages brought measles mumps etc to turkey there wasn’t any their teachers are loose it makes me crazy

teachers who deal with them cannot catch up with our kids in some schools they outnumber they are sharks!”

Figure 50.

Tweet Message (44)



When the interpretation is examined, the poor sentence structure stands out. There is a spelling error in almost every line. The sentence, which begins with the emphasis that Syrian children cannot be “educated”, evolves to the idea that Syrians are “wild” and spread disease. It is claimed that the attitudes and behaviors of Syrians also disturb teachers, and they criticize the assistance provided to Syrians and call them “sharks”. With the tweet, which has a racist hate speech, it is seen that xenophobia is at an extreme level.

Feelings of hatred towards Syrians also cause individual incidents to be attributed to all Syrians. A user made the following comment to the Syrians to Syria’s post; “Last week someone scratched our cars on the street we searched they were syrians, each car painting costs 2 thousand tl. They need to go back to their country immediately we do not have any more patience do not test us.there are 10 children in each home their noise ruin our psychology.”

Figure 51.*Tweet Message (45)*

In his comment, the user attributes an individual incident to all Syrians. This comment was liked by 7 people. This post also draws attention to spelling and word mistakes. The post also criticizes the current family structure and culture of Syrians. As seen in this incident, Syrians who are exposed to xenophobia due to the attribution of individual events to all Syrians become more difficult to adapt to society.

Syrians to Syria Platform have targeted all Syrians by referring to a murder news they shared. The post is as follows; “It was reported that the Syrian refugee woman was brutally murdered by four refugees. We have been warning from the beginning; We have millions of Syrians with post-traumatic stress disorder and everyone is in danger ..!”

Figure 52.

Tweet Message (46)



In the post, one single event is accepted as a sociological fact and it is emphasized that everybody is under threat by stating that millions of Syrians suffer from “stress disorder”. Syrians are seen as “threats” and it is implied that cases similar to this news of murder may occur at any time.

Figure 53.

Tweet Message (47)



The post was shared 148 times and received 271 likes. The post pointed out the most important part, “unwanted Syrians sent to Turkey”. The Syrians to Syria Platform, by giving the news with these sentences, creates the perception that more Syrians are “on the road” and by trying to create a structure against Syrians, Syrians are placed in the center of hate. Comments made under this post also supports this opinion. One comment is as follows; “Men are on Strike for 2 Syrians. There are Millions of Refugees, We Keep Our Mouths Shut. POOR US ..”

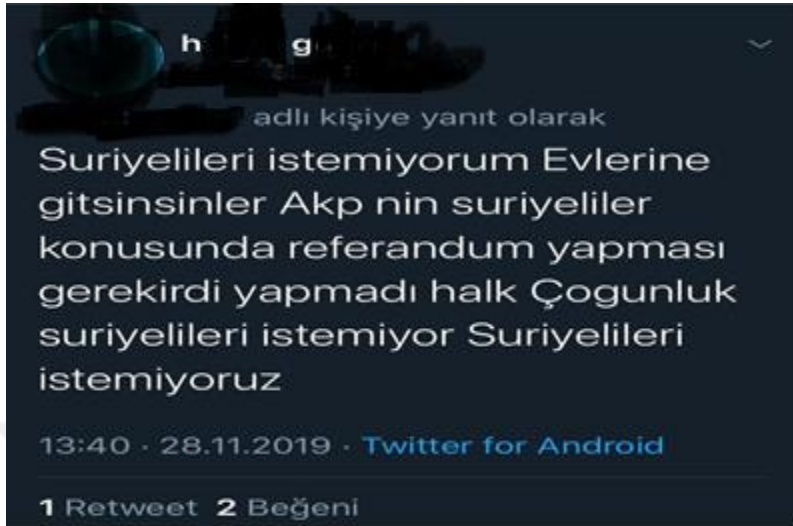
Figure 54.*Tweet Message (48)*

Post owner confirms the strike against Syrians in Greece, claims that Turkey also needs to do the same and criticizes the silence against the Syrians. As can be seen from this post, the stages in which the feeling of hate can be multidimensional. It is seen that the violence, which started verbally before, can reach dimensions that can be physically put into action.

Another comment to the post shared is that Syrians do not come with the decision of the public and are not wanted. Post is as follows; “I don't want Syrians, let them go home Akp(JDP) should have held a referendum on Syrians. People don't want the majority of Syrians. We don't want Syrians.”

Figure 55.

Tweet Message (49)

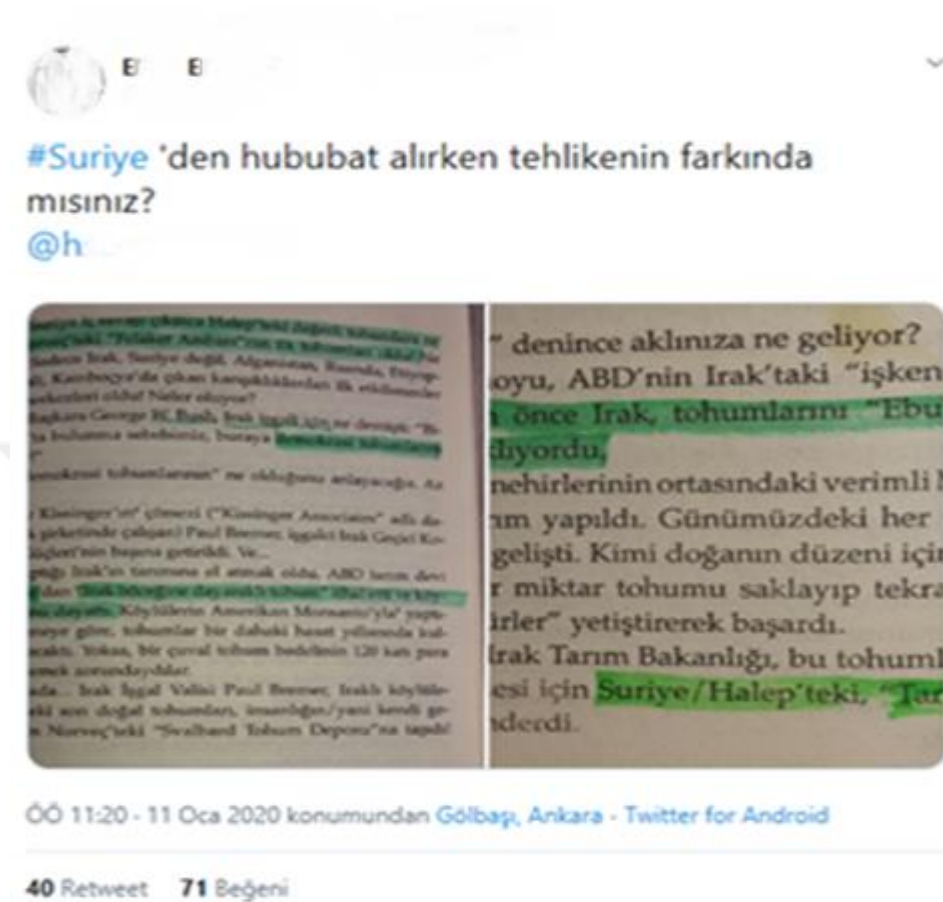


In the post, such a decision was made only by the political power; It is criticized for not asking the opinion of the people by referendum or any other means. It is seen that this view is supported by likes and shares by other users.

For producers of hate speech, Turkey's “interference” with “Syrians” is not the only important thing but also trade with Syria is also seen as an important factor. As an example of the tweets posted on this subject is as follows, “Are you aware of the danger while buying grain from #Syria?”

Figure 56.

Tweet Message (50)



This post has 71 likes and 40 retweets. In the post, it is claimed that “the valuable seeds of Syria are sent to different countries and seeds that are not organic are used in trade”. The visible form of the post is shared in Figure 57 and Figure 58.

Figure 57.

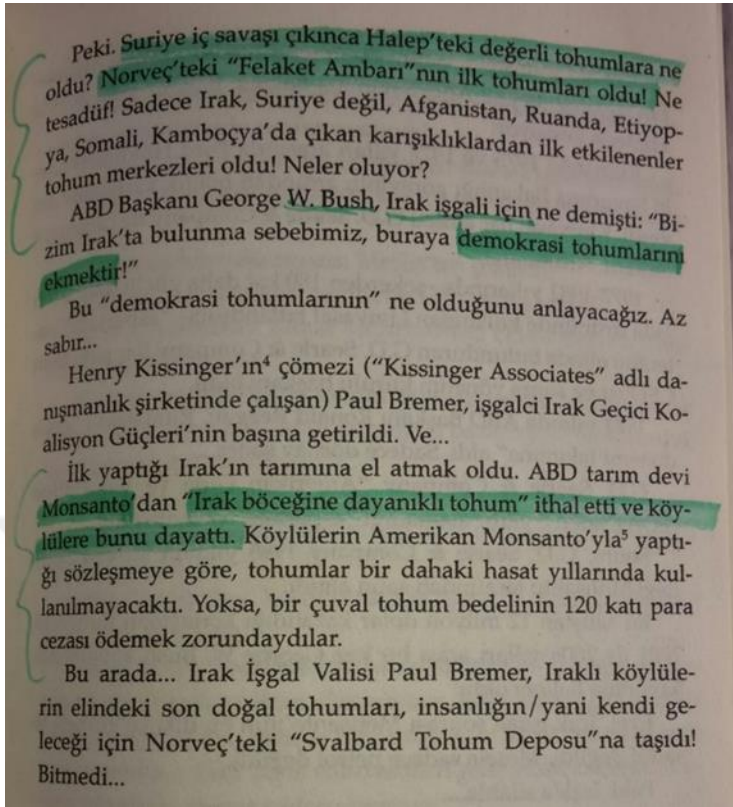
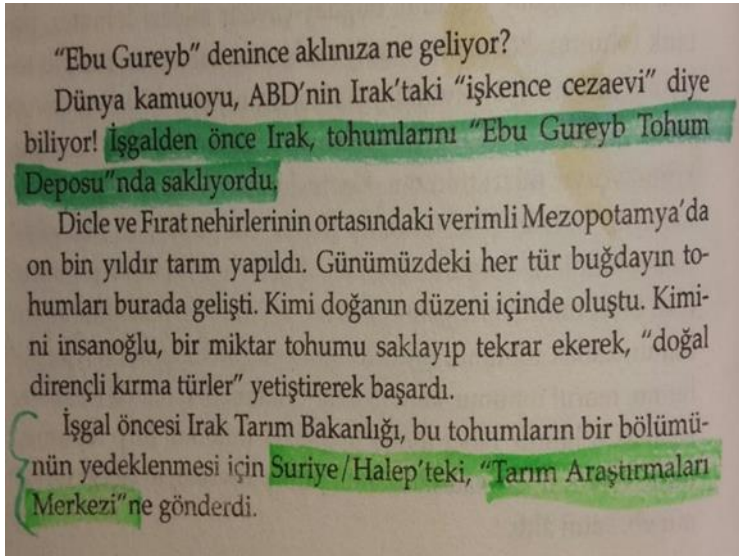


Figure 58.



The post, which emphasized that trade with Syria is also dangerous, was shared with these photographs. It is observed that hate speech is made against Syrians in almost every field. The first of the underlying causes of Twitter users have created

hatred against the Syrians is that Turkey's Arabization. It has been observed that there has been a lot of nationalist and racist hate speech on this issue. The allegations of resettlement of Syrians in villages and giving agricultural land to them also cause xenophobia against Syrians. There are also great reactions against the possibility of granting citizenship to Syrians and it has been determined that there are hate speech against Syrians. Problems related to fluctuations in the economy and unemployment are also attributed to Syrians, and it is thought that Syrians cause these problems. The same is also present in fluctuations regarding education. The fact that Syrian children are educated in the same classes as Turkish children disturbs many people, and the failures of Turkish children are attributed to Syrians. It has been observed that some individual incidents were attributed to all Syrians and hate speech was produced against Syrians.

4.4.3 Hate Speech Against Syrians Through Individual Accounts

In the first part, the Conscience Movement page and the hate speech produced against those who support this movement were examined. In the second part, the hate speech produced by the Syrians to Syria Platform page and the hate speech and xenophobia in the comments on this page were examined. In the current section, hate speech developed against Syrians will be included in individual accounts.

The most important xenophobia developed against Syrians is ethnic discrimination. In ethnic discrimination, Syrians are faced with humiliation for many reasons, especially their ethnic origin. For example, a user posted the following post with the image he added to his message: “First of all, I apologize to anyone who will be affected by this photo. Location Çekmeköy / Alemdağ. Two Syrian motherfuckers cut the throat of this Uzbek young man and massacred him. All Syrians who are not of school age should be deported to their countries immediately. For the sake of our

youth and their future!”

Figure 59.

Tweet Message (51)



As seen in the above post, the source of the hate element is directed to the ethnicity of Syrians. With the expression “not of school age”, all Syrians were approached with a wholesale perspective and it was stated that they should be deported on the grounds that not all of them meet “normal” standards. As can be seen in this incident, individual events are attributed to all Syrians and become the center of insult. The post was supported by 22 likes. The post shared 8 times received 3 comments.

As the messages posted in general are evaluated, it is seen that Syrians are stereotyped in “evil”. For example, a user shared the following message: “In accordance with the decision taken by Mudanya Municipality, the TRAITOR Syrian motherfuckers who harassed women girls on the seaside orally, are banned from swimming on the beaches. God BLESS you. Let it set an example for the other

MUNICIPALS who work at coastal districts with a beach on the SEA.”

Figure 60.

Tweet Message (52)



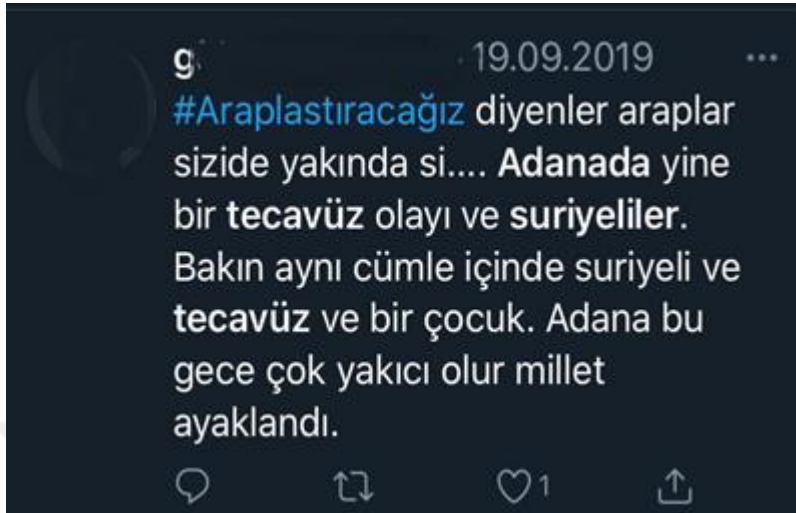
As can be seen, in this post, all Syrians are stereotyped in immorality and the negative situation of a small group is attributed to the whole society. By calling Syrians “TRAITOR Syrian motherfuckers”, he reveals his hatred towards Syrians and creates a racist language of hatred. This post was liked by 16 people and a person retweeted the post. The interaction of these posts, which are seen as individual thoughts, actually shows that many people have the same thoughts. Although most of the participants did not post hate speech, xenophobia and racism, it was observed that they supported these discourses by retweeting or liking the post.

It has been determined that the term “becoming martyr” is also used as a tool in hate speech against Syrians. A user posted the following; “While such lions become martyr, it feels wrong that Syrian motherfuckers enjoy at the beaches.”

Figure 61.*Tweet Message (53)*

The post is shared with a photo of a martyred soldier, and a photo of someone allegedly Syrian smoking a hookah by the sea. This post aims to target to Syrians, and it appears that the post owner has succeeded in this goal. The post was liked by 111 people, received two comments and 5 retweets. In this discourse, in which the feeling of nationalism prevails, Syrians are cursed, and the discomfort is expressed about their existence. In the post, there is a reference that Syrians lead a “comfortable” life, and it is emphasized that many Turkish soldiers are “martyrs” in return for this “comfort”.

Another post is about a rape incident. The post consists of the following sentences; “The ones who say #wewillbecomearabs, soon arabs are going to f... .. Another rape in Adana and Syrians. Look, in the same sentence, a Syrian, rape and a child. Adana will be scorching tonight, the people have risen.”

Figure 62.*Tweet Message (54)*

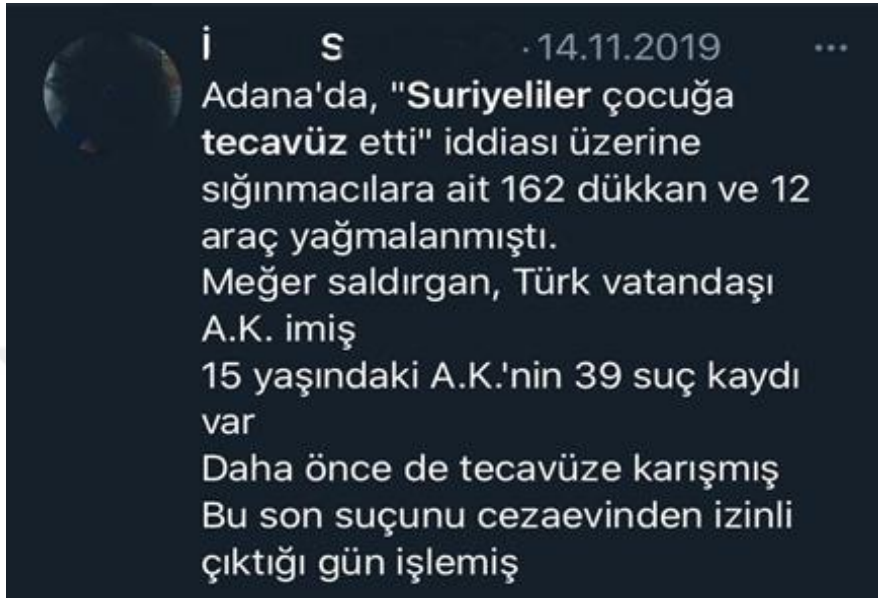
In the shared post, a rape incident in Adana is reported. The post begins with a racist hate speech, the user expresses her feelings of hate by saying “The ones who say #wewillbecomearabs, soon arabs are going to f....” An alleged rape by Syrians using a nationalist and racist approach is attributed not only to the Syrian to have committed the crime, but to all Syrians and Arabs. After this incident, it was determined that the people of Adana rebelled and the vehicles and shops belonging to the refugees were burned with the criminal offense attributed to all Syrians. Crime is attributed to a nation and it is seen that belonging to that nation creates the perception of being the natural perpetrator of this crime. This brings along the culture of lynching and looting.

After a few months of this incident, it was understood that the facts were not the same and that the real criminal was not a Syrian. A journalist's post on this subject is as follows; In Adana, 162 shops and 12 vehicles belonging to refugees were looted based on the allegation that “Syrians raped the child”. Turns out the attacker was a Turkish citizen A.K. 15-year-old A.K. has 39 criminal records, previously involved in

rape. This last crime was committed on the day of temporary release from prison."

Figure 63.

Tweet Message (55)



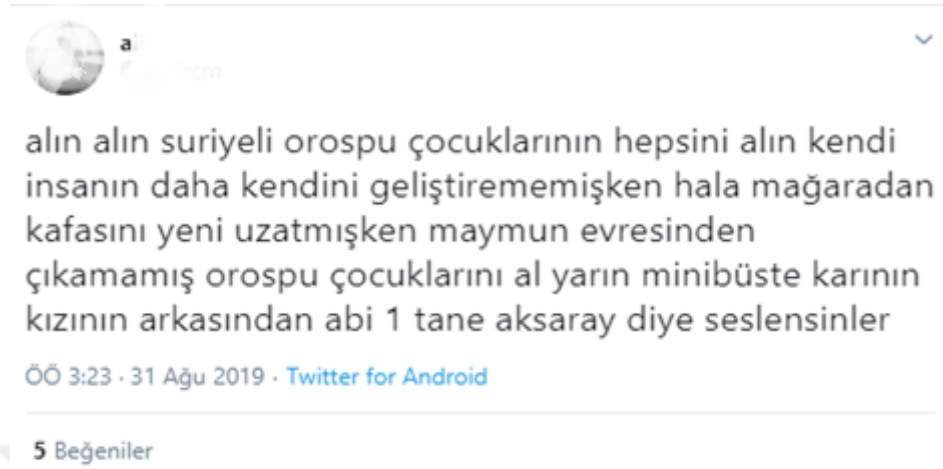
As can be seen from this post, it is clearly seen that there is a prejudice against Syrians in the society. It has also been found that a culture of lynching against Syrians has begun to develop, with feelings of hate and prejudices without reaching the right resources. It is seen that the most important tool that fuels this culture of lynching is social media. It has been proven once again that social media, which causes the rapid spread of false information, can be dangerous in the hands of people with prejudice and hate.

Another user is making hate speech against Syrians through ISIS operations. The post is as follows; "52 Syrians were detained after an operation to ISIS in Bursa. How many 52 entered the country like these. Those motherfucker executioners wander around our country."

Figure 64.*Tweet Message (56)*

As clearly stated in this post, the principle of the personality of crime is widely ignored for Syrians. With this point of view, it is expressed that all Syrians are sympathizers of such terrorist organizations, thus criminalizing the whole society. Another factor that draws attention in this post and in almost all posts is cursing while conveying negativities. Users explain the events they think are negative with another negativity and often resort to insults.

Another popular topic for social media users is the rumor that new refugees are coming. The arrival of people whose legal qualities cannot be fully expressed causes great insults. One of these posts is as follows; “Import all the motherfucker Syrians, while your own man has not improved himself yet, while he has just stretched his head out of the cave, take the motherfuckers who haven't gotten out of the monkey phase, tomorrow in the minibus, let them holler “one aksaray” standing behind your wife and daughter.”

Figure 65.*Tweet Message (57)*

As we come across in this post, some posts both contain heavy expressions and go beyond the limits of freedom of expression. It is clearly seen in the posts that there is great anger against the Syrians fleeing the war in Syria and coming to Turkey. The owner of the post criticizes the admission of new Syrians to the country when there are “people who have not improved themselves” and emphasizes that as long as Syrians are in the country, the locals will not develop anymore because the Syrians will prevent this. Using the terms “living in a cave” and “monkey” for Syrians, the post owner makes racist statements. He assesses the discomfort Syrians coming to Turkey in a different framework and implies that in the future one’s “wife and daughter” will not be able to use public transport comfortably. At this point, Ayata's views are valuable. While conveying the viewing of others he said, “If we do not resist the enemy today, our women will be raped, or some of them will serve the enemy men, let's defend the country” (Ayata, 2018, p. 227). Based on this context, it is determined that the user also has references to this idea in his comments. It can be said that the interpretation that sees Syrians as hostile and that “our wives and daughters” will not be able to act freely in the coming years if they are delayed in the

“defense of the homeland” against Syrians clearly carries a defense call.

The frequent presence of Syrians and their visibility continue to make them a target. The spread of the rumor that Syrians would be taken to the security forces in another news caused great reactions among social media users. One of these posts is as follows; “It's like a joke that Syrians could now be police and soldiers.”

Figure 66.

Tweet Message (58)



Arriving in Turkey after various obstacles, Syrians trying to cling to life and taking part in social and economic life annoys some segments causes and this increases the amount of negative reactions to the Syrians. This post was also supported by 22 likes. When the post is examined, it is determined that the first of the conditions required for Syrians to be a police officer or soldier is to be a Turkish citizen. Anyone who can fulfill the conditions set by the state can be a Turkish citizen, and Syrians will also be able to benefit from these rights. In the examinations made on the post, it was observed that Syrians are unlikely to be police or soldiers without being Turkish citizens. It has been determined that Syrians, who are soldiers and policemen, were trained by the Turkish police organization in Azez, which is located

in the Syrian territory, and became police by obtaining their graduation certificates. A total of 200 people became police with this training and graduated Syrian policemen started to work in Bab, Azez, Jarablus and Çobanbey in Syria (Anadolu Ajansı, 2018). From this point on, it has been determined that most of the posts do not reflect the truth. It is seen that the emotion that causes these posts is due to hatred and xenophobia felt towards Syrians.

We encounter xenophobia against Syrians in all fields and professions. To give an example, the following sentences will set example. “Why can't we work within the borders of our country? Why is the hostile attitude towards our rights protected by Lisbon or Bologna? Why do Syrian doctors, who are ranked 3657th in the best university, work with internships, why are the graduates ranking in 1000 at home #GiveMyEquivalenceCoHE @RT_Erdogan”

Figure 67.

Tweet Message (59)



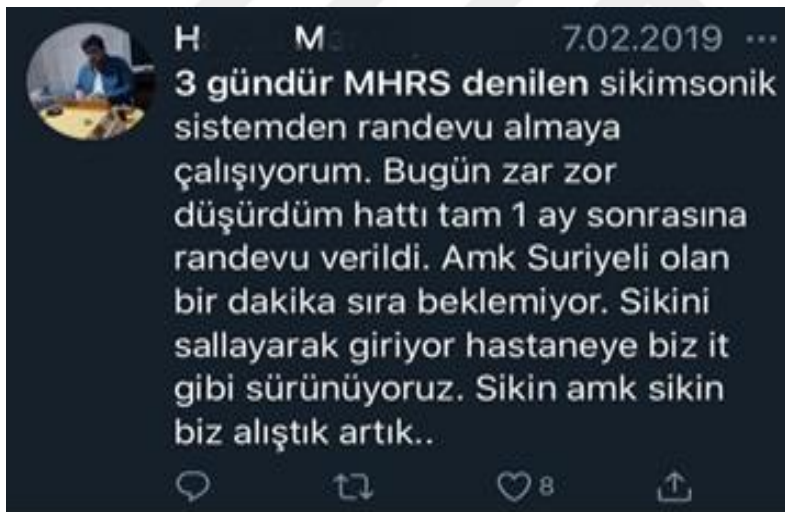
Some people who cannot get equivalence diploma in medicine because of some legal troubles in Turkey. While criticizing that issue, people put Syrians in the

center of the problems regarding this issue. People who have this profession practice xenophobia against Syrians and express that they are being treated unjust. This post was shared 17 times and received 17 likes.

It is seen that the local people are blaming Syrians for the difficulties they face and they practice xenophobia. A comment on this subject is as follows; “I have been trying to get an appointment from the fucked up system called MHRS for 3 days. I barely reached the line today, and I got an appointment for exactly 1 month later. Fucking Syrians do not wait in line for a minute. He enters the hospital shaking his cock, we are treated like dogs. We got used to being fucked now .. ”

Figure 68.

Tweet Message (60)



Advancements digital platforms and informatics are gradually being implemented and the public is getting accustomed to this field. Those who face problems on digital systems develop xenophobic speech against Syrians, as if they are the source of these problems. The user emphasizes that Syrians benefit more comfortably from these services, while local people “are treated like dogs”. This comment was liked by 8 people. The interpretation written in a language that

marginalize and excludes Syrians contains xenophobia.

Another phenomenon encountered on social media is the comparison between Turkish and Syrians. There are two different types of attitudes taken towards Syrians who have to beg as they do not have proper income in Turkey. The first is that Syrians are underestimated, and the second is that Syrians earn a much higher income by begging than an average Turkish employee. For example, a user said, “While you get in the line to buy in the Tanzim Sales Tent; Syrian beggar crew exploit the nation's sense of pity and take their money away, for example, this beggar couple has made 8 thousand TL! #IamProtesting ”.

Figure 69.

Tweet Message (61)



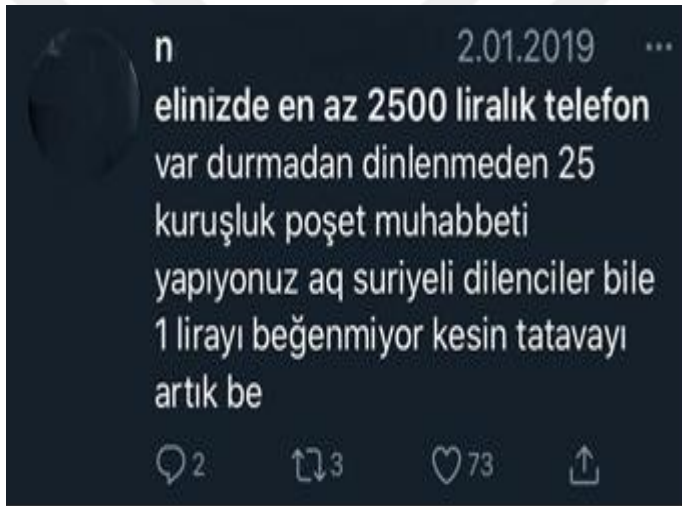
This post was shared 7 times and received 11 comments. The remarkable detail in this post is the emphasis on the nationality of the beggars. The presence of Syrians in the country and their efforts to continue their lives by begging are

associated with other events, and Syrians are shown as the cause of the difficulties people face.

Although Syrians are not the subject of an issue, it is observed that they are exposed to hate speech. The following post is an example for this. “The phone you have cost at least 2500 lira, you are constantly chatting about plastic bags costing 25 pennies, even fucking Syrian beggars do not like 1 lira, stop the nonsense already”

Figure 70.

Tweet Message (62)



With a decision taken by the government, plastic bags started to be sold for 25 pennies in Turkey and the people had negative reactions against this decision. Thousands of tweets and criticisms were made on this subject. Some users also criticize people with this view and make statements by showing Syrians as examples. These discourses contain language of hate. As a result Syrians are labeled as “beggars”. While the comment can be written as “even beggars do not like 1 lira”, the word “syrian” is added to the sentence. This explicitly shows xenophobia and hate speech. This message has also received many interactions and support. 73 people liked the comment, the post was shared 3 times and received two comments.

Generally, when Syrians are mentioned, there are also posts that support the idea that they have pleasure, do not want to work, and refuse the working conditions of many Turkish. One of these posts is as follows; “A Syrian has just quitted the job just that it was forbidden to wear headphones. Lavish fucker”

Figure 71.

Tweet Message (63)



With these kinds of posts, the validity of a typical economic view is presented and it is shared that the Syrians who cannot find a job do not work because they do not have the determination and decision to work. Therefore, they do not deserve support. These posts do not reflect the truth and were written only to make jokes and to receive interaction.

The language of hate developed against Syrians includes sexual humiliation. The posts may appear in forms of nationalist and patriarchal discourses, in spite of not being directly described as a sexual object. A comment on this subject is as follows; “Syrian prostitutes are cheaper, they are everywhere :(”

Figure 72.*Tweet Message (64)*

The post is written in a masculine language and a patriarchal style that assumes that men have a natural superiority over women. Patriarchy advocates that women are inferior to men and secondary to men in all areas of life. (Sultana, 2010, p. 420) The post also conveys nationalist feelings. Nationalist ideology perceives nation women as “representatives of honor”, and enemy women as “provocative factors” trying to seduce the men of the nation (Öztañ, 2004, p. 19). In the post, it is emphasized that Syrian women work as sex workers and their “financial” value is lower than the Turkish, and even if they do similar jobs, “others” are represented as lower than “ours”.

Another discourse written with nationalist feelings that marginalizes Syrians and glorifies being Turkish was shared by a user with the following comment; “In my dreams, Syrian motherfuckers were attacking women, and our rt (Republic of Turkey) men were greeting them with guns. It was complicated as fuck.”

Figure 73.*Tweet Message (65)*

12 Beğeniler

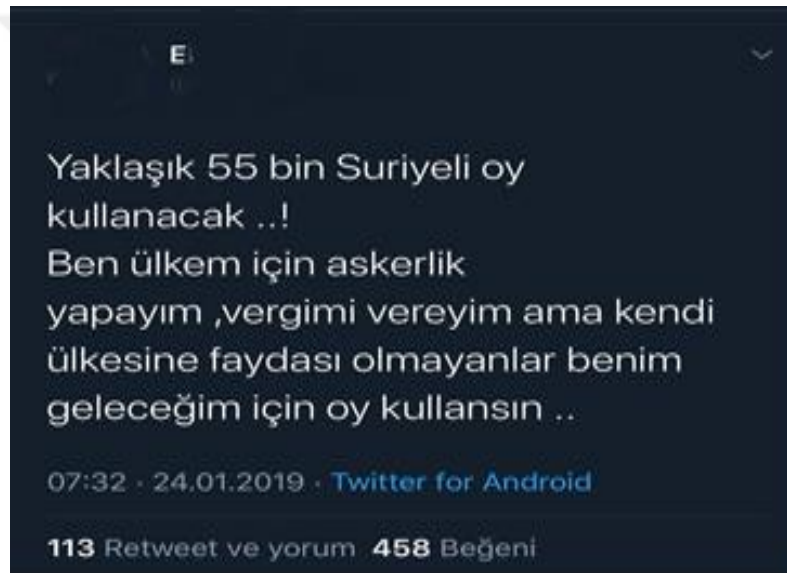
Although this post does not reflect reality in real life, it reflects the view of Syrians. It is also noteworthy that the post was written by a female user. The user talks about her so called dream. She glorifies being Turkish with nationalist feelings while insulting Syrians. While drawing the boundaries of the nation-state, nationalist ideology transforms the land to a feminine character and represents the land with the female body. In this context, homeland brings along the concept of “honor” that must be protected (Öztan, 2004, p. 19). In the interpretation, Syrian men attacking Turkish women is equivalent to attacking the homeland in the nationalist ideology. Aggressive men are the “enemy” men of the outside world, and these “enemy” men want to harm the “honor” of the nation. In this context, those who will save the honor of humiliated women (homeland) are the male heroes of the nation (Öztan, 2004, p. 19). Putting the Syrians “attacking women” and the Turkish “protecting women”, the post owner compares the men of the two nations and insults them with humiliation. The post, which contains racist hate speech, glorifies being Turkish and nationalism. She places all “others” against being Turkish and Turkish men, defines those “our” as brave, warlike, protective and good, while classifying those “them” as aggressive, perverted,

and evil.

The fact that 55.000 Syrians vote in elections was met with negative reaction and criticized with the following sentences; “Approximately 55.000 Syrians will vote ..! I do military service for my country, pay my taxes, but those who do not contribute to their country shall vote for my future ..”

Figure 74.

Tweet Message (66)



This comment was shared 113 times and received 458 likes. It is understood from the interactions to the post that many people also have the same view. In this tweet, the source of the reaction is towards Syrians. However, the implemented decision is determined by laws. Syrians’ voting in elections is compared with the war in their own countries, and the prevailing view is that Syrians escaping from the negativity there “do not contribute to their own country.” People with this view do not welcome the idea that Syrians “escape” from their country and have say in elections Turkey. The view that these voters will shape the future of Turkish politics and the Turkish people increases the dose of criticism. In the criticism, the following

sentences draw attention; “I do military service for my country, I pay my tax”, Syrians will realize these two elements after they become Turkish citizens. It is clearly seen that the critics ignore these facts. The voting of those who are not “from us” and the fact that they have a voice for the future of the country are criticized with nationalist sentiments and the Syrians are marginalized and the discourse of “us” and “them” is repeated.

Finally, the prolongation of the Syrians’ stay and some Syrians’ acquiring citizenship lead many people to hate speech and express their discomfort with the presence of Syrians. Some users take these thoughts to the extent of insults. The first of these posts is; “#syrians conquered the country without even fighting ...”. Another post is; “I’ll make a Syrian girlfriend, at least they do not leave”. The last post is; “Syrian motherfuckers, fuck off already.”

Figure 75.

Tweet Message (67)



Figure 76.*Tweet Message (68)***Figure 77.***Tweet Message (69)*

People who are uncomfortable with the presence of Syrians highlight nationalist feelings on Twitter, express their hatred towards Syrians, and exceed the limits of insults and racist statements and criticism. In the last three posts given above, the existence of Syrians in the country is seen as a threat, and insults are used as they

are thought to have conquered the country. It is clear that these views are also supported by the likes they receive.

Based on the tweets analyzed, it is clear that hate speech developed against Syrians is formed by bias and stereotypes. The prevailing opinion is that Syrian women are at a lower level than Turkish women, and it is seen that Syrian men are also considered to be self-indulgent and free-rider, and they are subject to hate speech in line with these thoughts. The fact that the Syrians are Arabs creates rage in the society and the idea that the country is Arabized appears as the dominant view. Racist attitudes towards Syrians are frequently encountered in posts dominated by nationalist rhetoric. It is one of the most common comments that Syrians are “cowards” and that they cannot even defend their country. However, there is an emphasis on the Turkish being “protective” and “hero”. The most important issues of hate speech against Syrians are the shared posts about the martyrdom of Turkish soldiers in Syrian territory. It was found that these posts made violent hate speech against Syrians.

5 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Hate speech is related to psychological pressure and violence. The most obvious consequences of these discourses can be seen in the Nazi policies that started after 10 November 1938. Millions of people were first targeted for hate speech and the perception of human values by broad masses was prevented. Therefore, the German people took an active role in the Jewish genocide. The researches and trials conducted in the post-war period, especially the Nurnberg courts, have revealed that the German people know many bitter truths about local practices, even if they do not have information about general policies.

The determining factor in preventing hate speech from turning into crime is the penal policies of countries. For example, in Germany, which has Nazi experience, voicing overly leaning views is considered as a hate crime. In the USA, the issue is evaluated with a more liberal point of view and many expressions are not considered as a crime. The main reason for the dissimilarity here is that the definition of crime and hate crime is handled differently from country to country. According to the definition made with the broadest consensus in Turkey, hate crimes are crimes committed with bias.

With regard to the xenophobic hate crime, there should be elements of incitement, hatred and illegality in a crime. Certain groups become victims as a result of the actions that occur with these factors. The discourses chosen and the news language used in the news reflected on both traditional media and social media can also show the victim as the perpetrator. When analyzed within the balance of power, the media can create a language that legitimizes the ideology of the state, shows

actions as being successful and maintains the system, while marginalizing the opponents of the rulers, defending the interests of the ruling classes and developing discriminatory discourses on the other hand. The language created by the media and imposed on the society encourages the feelings of hatred and mediates the orientation of social anger to certain segments.

In this context, the language produced by the media suggests great importance. Media, which is one of the most important tools in spreading dominant discourses, emerges as an important determinant of the social perception towards refugees. News media has a very important place in putting social life into duality as “them” and “us” (Conboy, 2007, pp. 115 - 116). Most importantly, the starting point of hate speech is “us-them” conflict that already exists in social life and marginalization.

As a result of the reflection of the force / power relations that exist in daily life in news texts, these discourses reinforce the existing power structures. The reproduction and maintenance of the dominant structure and dominant thoughts in news discourse causes the power and ruling segments to be presented more positively in the news media and the powerless parties to reinforce their positions (İnal, 1996, p. 133). Constant appeal to the views of the powerful and the rich causes the status quo to be legitimized (Fowler, 2007, p. 22). The economy politics of the news media also supports the institutional and political status quo. Because the media needs the protection of the status quo for its profitability and existence in the market (Conboy, 2007, p. 162).

Turkey also shows that these speeches made by several news. For example, when reporting a theft, the nationality of the thief is emphasized, and the social groups and ethnicity to which he belongs, although not related to the news. It is seen that

many people and groups suffer from the negative environment created as a result of the news presentation preferences of the media. Naturally, crime is newsworthy by definition. However, the way news presented is important. Especially crime news draws the attention of social media readers. The main reason for this situation is the negativity of crime news.

The media may overreact towards a certain group or behavior pattern disrupting the social order. As a result of keeping this reaction on the agenda, a sense of hatred may be developed in the public opinion because of the fear and anger towards people belonging to that group. At this point, a common response, a reaction may arise to such publications shown through the media in the society. This reaction, called moral panic, can cause sudden and disproportionate behaviors in order to avoid from the dangers that may come from the individuals belonging to that group, and can evolve into redundant use of force with the development of a sense of fear (Yıldız & Sümer, 2010).

Social reaction is more aggravated by the influence of the media. These newsworthy events inevitably take place in mass media. Covering such news on the front pages of newspapers and presenting them at the top of TV news, also manipulate the public's perception of important news (Utma, 2018). The attribution of individual incidents, which involve Syrians, to all Syrians and seeing Syrians as “deviants” is seen as the most important issue at this point. The attribution of individual child abuse or rape incidents to all Syrians and Arabs can make everyone who belong to this group feel afraid and show them as enemies, and a “scapegoat” is created as a result of moral panic.

It can be argued that the moral panic created by the presentation of the crimes

in the media increases social sensitivity and initiates the awareness process. As a result, hate crimes may not be avoided.

In the moral panic model; moral panics occur when the media turns a reasonably mundane event into an extraordinary one. The media, with journalists and opinion leaders who negatively portray people wrongly perceived, see them as a source of moral collapse and social discord, and arouse the perception that they are the basis of moral collapse. Moral panic locates and highlights social concerns (Kırçıl, 2009).

The media can define a group or movement as “deviant”, ignoring everything else and focusing on it. In this context, both social and political reactions may arise against these groups, and group members may remain in a spiral of silence.

As a result, Syrians who cannot find a place in the camps and cannot meet their basic needs within the camp borders are excluded from the daily life of the society. As Syrians are marginalized by society and their basic needs are not met, they become more marginalized in order to meet these needs. The high visibility of Syrians in social life also causes them to be mentioned with negativity. It should not be overlooked that Syrians are trying to be drawn into all negativity with their xenophobic hate speech. This situation causes the society to react more to their exclusion. As Conboy puts it, “strangers” are now becoming a threat as well as being a “devil” in the eyes of society (2007, pp. 115 - 116).

Within the scope of the study, the posts about xenophobia and hate speech directed against Syrians on Twitter from social media channels, which are a new media platform, were analyzed. It has also been observed that, due to the features of Twitter, hate content is spreading rapidly and it can quickly turn Syrian minority

groups into targets. These posts exemplified in the relevant parts of the study ignoring human rights and dignity and are a crime in terms of human rights. It has been seen that hate speech targeting Syrians who try to exist in the society turns into physical violence, although not very often. It has been determined that the posts targeting Syrians is based on the feeling that the resources people think belong to them, are used by foreigners and Syrians are seen as an “economic burden”. Among the main reasons of xenophobia and hate speech directed against Syrians, it can be shown that they receive assistance from state institutions. At this point, it is questioned why the aid provided to Syrians is not provided to Uyghur Turks. It is clear that hate speech is produced based on the ethnic origins of Syrians. Too many posts on social media with uncertain sources also cause an increase in hate speech and racist posts. It has been observed that some of the unreliable posts also increased the hate speech against Syrians.

Among these discourses, the reasons such as the resettlement of Syrians in villages and giving land ownership, being appointed as teachers without examination, being involved in theft, harassment and murder can be cited.

It has been determined that the way these events are reflected in traditional media and Twitter messages cause moral panic. As a result, hate speech is produced in social media posts. It has been determined that there is a political reaction against Syrians. When the studies on “Syrians and hate speech” in the literature are examined, it is seen that the reactions towards Syrians have increased especially during the election periods. The reason for this is that Syrians who can fulfill the requirements of being Turkish citizens can become Turkish citizens, which is perceived as a “vote recruitment” plan by segments of society, and it has been determined that the violence of hate speech against Syrians increases especially during election periods. In the

posts shared, it was seen that hate speech was produced through nationalist discourses by supporting the “us” and “them” views of the general consensus against Syrians. Especially because Syrians are Arabs, ethnic and racist hate speech in which nationalism comes to the fore is noteworthy.

When examined through the moral panic model, Syrians are seen as an economic burden and they can be shown as perpetrators while being victimized in many issues such as increased rent, taking part in the working life as cheap labor, being employed without social security rights. Syrians are seen as the subjects of individual incidents as a result of being associated with crime, and this situation can be attributed to all Syrians. Criminal incidents such as rape, extortion, theft, and murder can only be attributed to Syrians and Arabs as a result of belonging to one nation, and it is seen that a culture of lynching has emerged as a result. In the study in which the election period is analyzed, it is seen that Syrians are perceived as perpetrators as a result of the sharing of information such as that Syrians will receive citizenship and benefit from the health and education system free of charge. Especially in the period prior to the election period, a moral panic has emerged by declaring them as “scapegoats”. It is observed that the hate speech which develops against Syrians has positioned and accentuated the concerns about economic, socio-cultural and security issues, causing moral panic. Considering that hate speech can pave the way for hate crimes, it is important to prevent these speeches.

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Appendix A: Abbreviations

- AİHM : Avrupa İnsan Hakları Mahkemesi
- ECHR : European Court of Human Rights
- U.S.A: United States of America
- HIV: Human Immunodeficiency Virus / İnsan Bağışıklık Yetmezliği Virüsü
- AIDS: Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome'un (Kazanılmış Bağışıklık Yetersizliği Sendromu)
- LGBTIQ: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex and Queer
- AGİT: Avrupa Güvenlik ve İşbirliği Teşkilatı
- OSCE: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
- STK: Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları
- NGO: Non-governmental organization
- ILO: International Labour Organization Uluslar Arası Çalışma Örgütü
- IOM: International Organization for Migration Uluslararası Göç Örgütü
- UNHCR: The office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Birleşmiş Milletler Mülteciler Yüksek Komiserliği
- TurkStat: TÜİK Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu
- PYD: Democratic Union Party Demokratik Birlik Partisi
- EU: European Union Avrupa Birliği
- HUGO: Hacettepe University Migration and Politics Research Center Hacettepe Üniversitesi Göç ve Siyaset Araştırmaları Merkezi
- WHO: World Health Organization Dünya Sağlık Örgütü
- UNICEF: United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund) Birleşmiş Milletler Çocuklara Acil Yardım Fonu

- FETÖ: Fattullah Terrorist Organization
- AKP: Justice and Development Party
- UN: Birleşmiş Milletler
- TCC: Turkish Criminal Code

