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# Media and Civil Society Cooperation for Rights of Refugees Project

Media 18-Month Monitoring Report

News Coverage on Refugees and Migration in the National  
and Local Media

01.06.2017-30.11.2018

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İLTİCA VE GÖÇ ARAŞTIRMALARI MERKEZİ, İGAM

GAZETECİLER CEMİYETİ

Prepared by : Prof. Dr. Ülkü Doğanay

Researchers : Kubilay Öztürk, Emrehan Nalbantoğlu, Dilara Cılızoğlu, Selin Çalışkan

Project Team : Esra Yurt, Project Coordinator & Görkem Göker, Project Assistant & Deniz Özonuk, Project Assistant

Contributors : Linas Çeviri, Karınca Ajans

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## INTRODUCTION

With the open-door policy, it implemented between 2012 and 2015, Turkey occupies a significant place among the countries where victims of war, who had to leave their homeland as a result the civil war and conflict environment that has been continuing in Syria since March 2011, sought refuge. As of December 2018, Turkey hosts 3 million 613 thousand Syrian refugees, including more than 143 thousand refugees living in camps (temporary shelters), which makes it the country with the highest Syrian population in the world after Syria. The number of refugees and persons demanding international protection currently in Turkey reaches 4.3 million when you include people from other countries that have also applied for asylum. The presence of such high numbers of refugees and persons that have applied for asylum has significantly altered the demographics and social fabric South Eastern provinces of the country and a significant portion of refugees have settled in such cities as Gaziantep, Ankara, Istanbul, Izmir, Hatay and Mersin because of the inadequacy of the camps and for other reasons.

While the understanding that the turmoil and conflict in Syria will not be resolved in a short amount of time and the prolonged stay of refugees in Turkey has demonstrated the need to accelerate efforts for the cohesion and integration of refugees, the increasing visibility of refugees has been leading to discriminatory judgements and hate speech in public opinion. Indeed, the 2017 joint study by Hacettepe University Centre for Migration and Political Studies and ARCAM, titled Syrians Barometer, demonstrated that prejudices against refugees and the belief that refugees will not leave Turkey grew stronger within the public opinion in recent years. It needs to be highlighted at this point that the media play an important role in creating the sort of content that will facilitate the public acceptance of refugees as is the case with discriminatory judgements vis-a-vis refugees becoming mundane and widespread. Research has shown that the way in which refugees are portrayed in print and visual media has a significant impact on both the public opinion and how politicians and decision makers will deal with the problem. Insufficient and incorrect media coverage of refugees may embolden the prejudices against them, thus creating a negative impact on the mutual acceptance and harmonization processes between the host community and the refugees. The correct and complete transmission of information by local and national print and visual media to the public opinion via their reporting on refugees and persons that have applied for international protection is significant to prevent disinformation and fight against discriminatory speech.

This study was designed based on the assumption that efforts of the government and decision makers regarding the cohesion and social acceptance of refugees need to be speeded up to alter the negative public perception vis-a-vis refugees and that the media has an important role to play. The study examines the way in which reports, and columns published in print and visual media in Turkey handle the issues of asylum and refugees based on the fundamental characteristics of the news discourse. Seeking to answer how and how much refugees and persons that have applied for international protection appear in newspaper and television reports, the study aims to contribute to determining the problems with the media discourse vis-a-vis refugees. Another objective of the report is to create a roadmap for the transformation of this discourse in such a way as to support the public acceptance of refugees by means of demonstrating the negative components within news reports that facilitate the dissemination of discriminatory opinions and judgements about refugees as well as positive components.

### Background Information and Assumptions

Studies show that the media play an important role in the entry into public circulation of arguments that facilitate the dissemination, legitimization and reproduction of discriminatory rhetoric both in Turkey and globally (see Van Dijk, 1991, 1992a, 1992b; Wodak and Reisigl 2001; Köker and Doğanay, 2010; Alver, 2003, Doğanay and Çoban Keneş, 2016). It is known that especially newspaper reports and columns that people read guide their judgements about social segments that they do not have an opinion about except for brief encounters in their daily lives. For instance, Teun A van Dijk emphasizes that, in regard to the ethnic affairs, the ideological frameworks that many people have in their daily lives do not develop spontaneously but the discourse imposed by mass communication tools has a determining role in formation of them (1991: 238; 2005: 361).

Therefore, it can be argued that reinforcement or transformation of public perception on refugees is possible through practices of newsworthiness in written or visual media relations with news sources, the composition of headlines and news templates, choice of words, elements of graphic design and various discursive strategies.

The findings of studies that problematize the way in which refugees, immigrants and asylum seekers are portrayed in the media indicate that the media's discourse towards "foreigners", which they earmark as a general category, is xenophobic, racist and discriminatory and that

news content that is based on stereotypes, victimizing, targeting and, at best, blind to problems and their reasons is widespread.

Van Dijk observes that minorities, immigrants and people from third world countries rarely appear in dominant mass media, that when they do they are less often used as credible and routine news sources, that they are described stereotypically albeit not negative, as a burden on our precious resources, a threat or a problem, that they are assumed to be insufficient or backward when compared to our norms, objectives, expertise or culture, that they are in need of our altruistic help, understanding or support (1999:368-9) and that they are described as “cheeky and threatful” kind of people as " (2010: 19).

Similarly, Friedman observes in his study on the British press that the press does not correctly distinguish between immigrant those migrating due to economic causes and refugees, that it manipulates and exaggerates the number of refugees and immigrant asylum seekers and draws a terrifying framework for women and children through “dangerous young man” news (Friedman 2008’ as cited in Kolukırik, 2009: 7).

Another study on the British and Australian press indicates that the dominant repertoire with regard to refugees marks them as "unwanted occupiers", “unwanted invaders”, “aliens, immigrants who should be kept out of the country” immigrant and repeated use of similar linguistic tools construct refugees as diverging from normality and criminals on the other hand media do not attempt to look at the issue from refugees’ perspective and give no consideration to how these anti-refugee discourse may impact upon refugees (Parker, 2015).

More recent studies that look into the way in which Syrian refugees are covered in the global press indicate that refugees are defined as victims of the war in Syria, that the tragic aspects of the problem are highlighted and that the refugee crisis is explained in the press in terms of numbers (Fotopoulos and Kaimaklioti, 2016). We can argue that studies looking into the approach of the press in Turkey towards refugees produce results that are partially like those from abroad. For instance, the report prepared by Hakan Ataman on behalf of Hrant Dink Foundation, titled "Discriminatory Rhetoric in Print Media: Syrian Refugees" (2014) concludes that the stance of the local and national press regarding Syrian refugees lacks the rights-based approach. The media-related results of Murat Erdoğan's study titled "Syrians in Turkey: Social Acceptance and Adaptation" (2018) indicate that the interest of the media in Turkey in the matter remains limited and that, although adopting a closer stance to the issue, the local press

opts for a more news event-based approach. The study concludes that the priority of news about Syrians in the national media is determined by the relations of the press with the government, that the emphasis of "knowing one's place" defined in conjunction with the notion of being "guests" is commonplace, and that refugees can appear in both local and national newspapers in connection with their poverty, victimization or criminal actions.

Another study looking into the way in which reporting about refugees is done in the press examined 1022 news reports published in the three biggest national newspapers by circulation from 2011 to 2015. The study conducted by Doğanay and Çoban Keneş arrives at similar conclusions as previous studies. The study reveals that the print media tackles the presence of Syrian refugees in Turkey on four main axes and that these four axes also serve as the foundation for the rational and emotional justifications for the discrimination as well as the rationalization of the emotional state at the juncture of these two. Accordingly, in reports and columns that frame the presence of Syrian refugees as a "threat", this threat perception is used as a means of criticizing the government's foreign policy and refugees are associated with the economic burden and safety problem they entail. On a second note, even within the rhetoric that explicitly or implicitly approves of the government's open-door policy with regard to refugees, the presence of Syrians in Turkey is objectivized with the emphasis being put on the money spent, the quantity of assistance provided and the number of refugees without taking rights violations and/or the humanitarian dimension of the matter into consideration. On the third axis determined by the study, it is demonstrated that a rhetorical plane that "sentimentalizes" the presence of refugees in Turkey, their circumstances and the reactions towards "excessive visibility" of refugees in cities takes centre stage, that "conscientious solutions" are proposed for problems, that the emphasis is put on the importance of assistance and solidarity, that, however, the socio-political reasons or outcomes of the problem are not mentioned. The study found out that, in some examples at the extreme ends of the spectrum, refugees are characterized as "fugitives from war" and "terrorists" and that the "racist" discourse that targets refugees with such negative labels as "cowards", "filth", "traitors", "thieves", "free loaders" and "ignorant people" is reproduced (2016a). Another study dated 2016 by Doğanay and Çoban Keneş dwelling on how Syrian women refugees are portrayed in the news demonstrates that the lack of the rights-based approach in the news leads to the dissemination of a perspective that legitimises the abuse of refugee women or at the very least renders it mundane. The study concluded that women refugees, who are not "considered" as victims of war, overlooked and used as filler, are primarily depicted in the news as the actors of

aestheticized violence and police incidents and that the fact that the male violence suffered by refugee women, who can only appear in the media's radar with stories of harassment, rape, violence, death and self-sacrificing mothers, is a result of the patriarchal order that is implicitly justified in these news is covered up (2016b).

The insight offered by these studies on the way in which immigrants and refugees are portrayed in the media indicates that the information brought into circulation by print and visual media is devoid of a perspective that would allow the public to perceive immigrants and refugees as subjects with rights bestowed upon them by international law and that news reports prepared with temporary, spontaneous and conjectural reflexes are structured within a framework that reinforces the emergence and growth of discriminatory, and sometimes racist, reactions against refugees in the public opinion. Nevertheless, it would be deceiving to suggest that no change occurred in the media's outlook on refugees since 2011, when Syrian refugees first started arriving in Turkey. Both the public opinion and media employees are informed about the status and circumstances of refugees in Turkey owing also to efforts of public bodies and entities as well as civil society organizations dealing with the matter and studies are carried out with a view to increasing the sensitivity of the public opinion and the media in terms of refugee rights. In this regard, it is equally important to highlight the positive developments as it is to continuously monitor the rhetoric of national and local media regarding immigrants and refugees and determine the problematic aspects of this rhetoric.

The findings of the studies that are briefly referred to above were helpful in designing this study based on the following assumptions:

1. For the refugees and the host community to be able to live in harmony together, it is important that integration is not considered as a one-way action that is imposed from top to bottom and that policies are developed based on mutual acceptance. The media has an important role in this process.
2. While the focal point of news reports about refugees in national and local media revolves around the problems encountered or caused by refugees, the social, political, economic reasons/relationships that lie in the background of these problems are not included in the media's agenda and no perspective is developed regarding the solution of these problems.

3. A rights-based perspective focusing on the rights and claims of refugees gets limited coverage in the media.
4. Reports and columns conveying positive experiences, success stories and anti-discriminatory attitudes regarding refugees are important in terms of the acceptance of refugees in the public opinion.

## Methodology

The study is based on a qualitative analysis of news about immigrants and refugees that appeared in the national or local press from 1 June 2017 to 30 November 2018. The study examines the media discourse on matters of migration and asylum that is built within the reports and columns of 7 national and 7 local newspapers as well as news broadcasts of 7 national television channels. The national and local newspapers included in the study were determined based on their circulation as per the data of the Press and Advertising Agency. The reason for relying on circulation figures when selecting the newspapers is the assumption that the most read newspapers might play a more substantial role in terms of the entry into circulation and dissemination of convictions in the public opinion about immigrants and refugees due to the size of the masses they will reach. Based on this assumption; while Hürriyet, Sabah, Sözcü, Posta, Habertürk, Milliyet and Takvim were the national newspapers included in the sample, on the local newspaper front, newspapers published in Gaziantep, Mersin, Adana and Hatay, where the concentration of refugees is the highest, in addition to Izmir were included in the study based on their circulation.

**Table 1: Newspapers and television channels included in the study**

Newspaper		Television Channel
National	Local	National
Hürriyet	Ankara Başkent (Ankara)	ATV
Sabah	İstanbul Gazetesi (İstanbul)	TRT1

Sözcü	<sup>1</sup> Yeni Asır (İzmir)*	Kanal D
Posta	Adana Günaydın (Adana)	NTV
Habertürk	Hatay Asi Gazetesi (Hatay)	Star
Milliyet	Gaziantep Güneş	Fox
Takvim	Hâkimiyet (Mersin)	CNN Türk

The reports and columns were purchased from the Media Monitoring Centre by conducting a search with the keywords Syrian, refugee, asylum seeker and immigrant. Due to the limitations of the study, the research team only picked the news reports and columns that had to do with refugees and asylum seekers in Turkey or Turkey's refugee policy among the ones registered by the Media Monitoring Centre and the analysis was based on these news reports and columns. While daily supplements of newspapers were also taken into the scope of the study, for television channels, the study was limited with the main news bulletins due to the high number of news bulletins throughout the day and the frequent repetition of news.

Whereas all news reports about immigrants and refugees in Turkey published in the selected newspapers were analysed for the period that is the subject of the study, another method was utilized in determining the television news included in the study due to its limitations and the difficulties in analysing television news that are mostly composed of visual elements. The number of news reports concerning migration and asylum broadcast in the main news bulletins of the 7 national television channels during the 18-month period was determined to be 1728. In order to create a sample from these news reports, an incident or theme was selected from the leading themes in terms of the migration and asylum agenda of the newspapers for each month and one news report about this theme was included into the study from each television channel. However, since some channels did not publish any migration or asylum-related news during certain months, 119 news reports could be included in the study from the 7 national channels for the 18-month period.

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<sup>1</sup>\*Yeni Asır newspaper entered national circulation on 28 February 2017. However, the newspaper, whose headquarters are in Izmir, was considered within the group of local newspapers in this report due to the fact that it continues to have the highest circulation among newspapers that are published in the Aegean region.

The news reports and columns were examined by using the critical discourse analysis method used by Teun A. van Dijk in analysing news about immigrants and refugees in many countries. Accordingly, the texts were first subjected to a qualitative content analysis and then they were treated based on the main components of the news discourse.

In the qualitative content analysis phase, the newspaper reports and columns as well as television news were separately read and coded as per the coding guidelines and then the data was fed into the SPSS program and subjected to a statistical analysis. Since the visuals and the frameworks used in the news can change as they go on to continuation pages, these were coded as separate news to facilitate the analysis.

In the first phase of the study that consisted of the qualitative content analysis, the news reports were examined according to criteria such as the subject of the news report, how the refugees were named in the news report, the countries of origin of the refugees in question, whether or not refugee women and children were mentioned, whether the news report referred to rights demands of the refugees, whether they conveyed an instance of victimization of the refugees, whether positive or negative expressions or discriminatory words were used with regard to the refugees and whether discrimination suffered by the refugees was mentioned in addition to their structural characteristics such as what page of the newspaper they were published on, what person/persons were considered as the news source and who the actor(s) of the news were. Moreover, in addition to similar criteria, the way in which different images were used was also problematized for television news reports. The coding guidelines for newspaper news reports contained 29 questions and the coding guidelines for television news reports consisted of 27 questions. The choices for the questions were organized in such a way as to allow multiple coding where it was deemed necessary.

The coding guidelines used for the analysis were prepared and tested in joint meetings of the project research team based on the news reports procured from the Media Monitoring Centre in May 2017 for preliminary preparation purposes. The two-person coding team was then trained. In addition, news reports published during the month of May were coded together and the necessary changes were made in the coding guidelines to create a common coding standard. News reports detected from June onwards were archived and coded daily.

In the second phase of the study, the results from the qualitative content analysis were considered to determine the leading themes regarding migration and asylum issues in

newspapers and on television from the 18-month period. 355 reports and columns were then selected <sup>2</sup> by observing the balance between local and national press in such a way as to represent the leading themes, how and in what context immigrants and refugees are referred to in the reports and columns, how visual material was used and the theses underlying discriminatory components. The titles of these reports and columns, the choice of words and the local meaning structures providing the ideological framework for the discourse of the news report were examined. The following sections of the report will first provide general information with regard to the location within newspaper pages and the distribution of newspaper reports and columns about immigrants and refugees and then questions such as what themes are part of the newspapers' agenda with regard to immigrants and refugees, whose point of view is conveyed in the news reports, how they represent immigrants and refugees, the strategies through which discrimination is reproduced on newspaper pages as well as how and to what extent anti-discriminatory content is present will be addressed. The answers to these questions will be provided through both a detailed assessment of the qualitative content analysis results and the discourse analysis of reports and columns selected as examples.

## IMMIGRANTS AND REFUGEES IN REPORTS AND COLUMNS

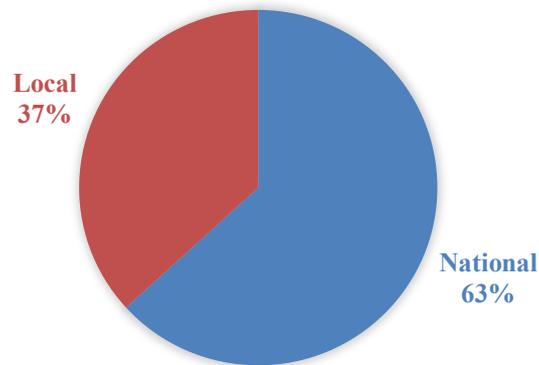
### General Information

1829 reports and columns dealing with migration and asylum issues were detected in the newspapers over the 18-month period. Of these reports and columns, 673 (36.8%) were published in the local press and 1156 (63.2%) were published in the national press. This distribution shows that migration and asylum related issues get wider coverage in the national press compared to the local press published in regions with high refugee concentration. Nevertheless, when assessing these ratios, it should also be noted that the number of news reports published in the local press is far fewer than the news reports in the national press.

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<sup>2</sup> For the discourse analysis, 132 reports and columns were selected from the local press while 223 were selected from the national press. Of these, 42 were columns, 312 were news reports and 1 was an interview.

**GRAPH 1. DISTRIBUTION OF NEWS REPORTS AND COLUMNS ACCORDING TO TYPE OF NEWSPAPER**



The highest number of news reports concerning refugees published in the local press were in Istanbul, where both the concentration and public visibility of refugees are high. On the other hand, it can be argued that the local press in Gaziantep, where the refugee population is high, shows a relatively high amount of interest in refugees: more than one fifth of all news reports (21.7%) published in the local press come from the Gaziantep Güneş. Given the fact that the combined percentage of the news reports published in the three newspapers from the provinces of Adana, Mersin and Hatay (22.9%), all with high refugee concentration, is close to the percentage from Gaziantep, it becomes clear that the local press in Gaziantep covers the refugee problem more extensively compared to the other provinces. On the other hand, it should be noted that only the newspaper with the highest circulation in each city as per the data from the Press and Advertising Agency was included in the sample due to the limitations of the study and that these results cannot be generalized to cover the rest of the local press.

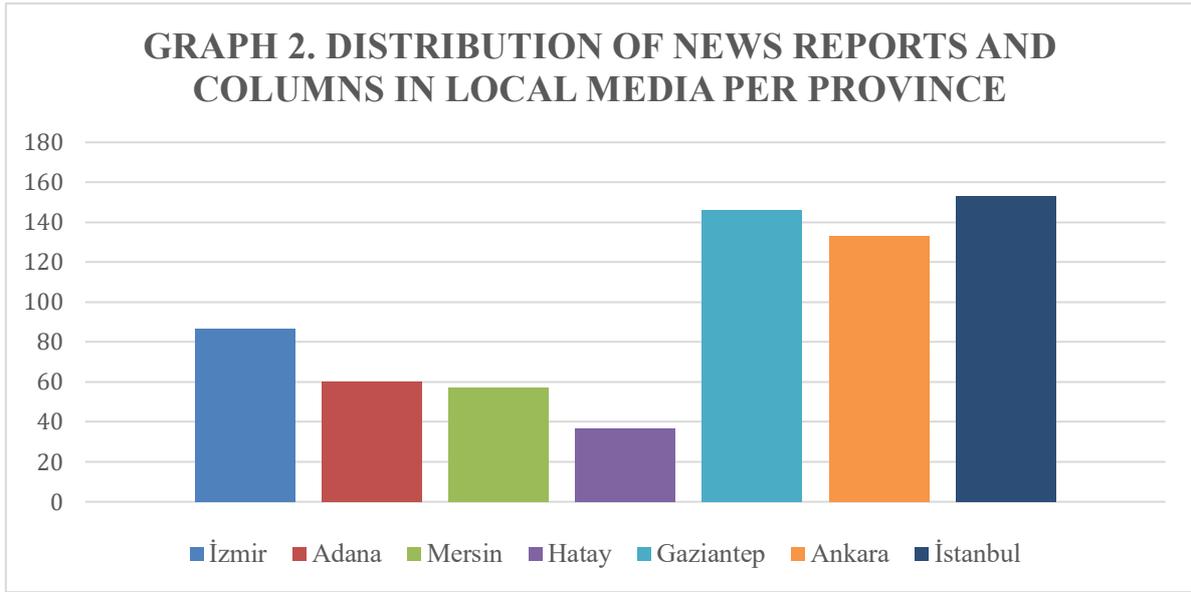


Table 2 shows the distribution of migration and asylum related news reports across newspapers. This table shows that Milliyet is the newspaper with the most extensive coverage of migration and asylum matters in the national press with 266 news reports and that it is followed by Habertürk with 261 reports and columns and Hürriyet with 225 reports and columns. Takvim is the newspaper with the lowest number of reports and columns about refugees in the national press. On the local press side, it was observed that İstanbul Gazetesi published in İstanbul (154 news reports), Gaziantep Güneş published in Gaziantep (149 reports and columns) with a high refugee concentration and Ankara Başkent published in Ankara (133) featured multiple reports about the matter. It is striking that Hatay Asi published in Hatay, which also harbours a significant refugee population, had the lowest number of reports and columns in the local press over the 18-month period that was examined.

**Table 2: Distribution of reports and columns across newspapers**

Name of the newspaper	Frequency	Percentage %
Milliyet	266	14.5
Habertürk	261	14.3
Hürriyet	225	12.3
Sözcü	166	9.1
İstanbul Gazetesi	154	8.4
Gaziantep Güneş	149	8.1
Ankara Başkent	133	7.3
Sabah	115	6.3

Posta	90	4.9
Yeni Asır	87	4.8
Adana Günaydın	59	3.2
Hâkimiyet	57	3.1
Hatay Asi	37	2
Takvim	30	1.6
Total	1829	100

It was determined that of the texts that were examined 90.4% were news reports and 8.9% were columns (see Graph 3). Given that the Turkish press has a widely accepted tradition of publishing daily columns, it becomes evident that special attention needs to be paid to the fact that columnists, who can be claimed to be the gatekeepers in shaping and channelling public opinion, showed limited interest in immigrants and refugees who currently have a total population that is more than 4 million.

Moreover, graph 3 shows that columns were mostly published in the national press. Of the total 162 columns on migration and asylum published in newspapers over the 18-month period, only 39 were published in the local press. Although this result needs to be interpreted by bearing in mind that columns are generally less frequently published in the local press, the limited amount of interest shown by columnists, who might be considered as local opinion leaders in areas with increased close contact with refugees, in refugees and problems concerning them can be construed as a situation that will negatively impact mutual acceptance and integration.

The number of interviews on migration and asylum published in newspapers was limited to 13 during the examined period. For the most part, these texts were dedicated to interviews with experts and administrators on subjects such as healthcare, employment and assistance.

GRAPH 3. DISTRIBUTION OF NEWS REPORTS AND COLUMNS ACCORDING TO TYPE OF NEWSPAPER

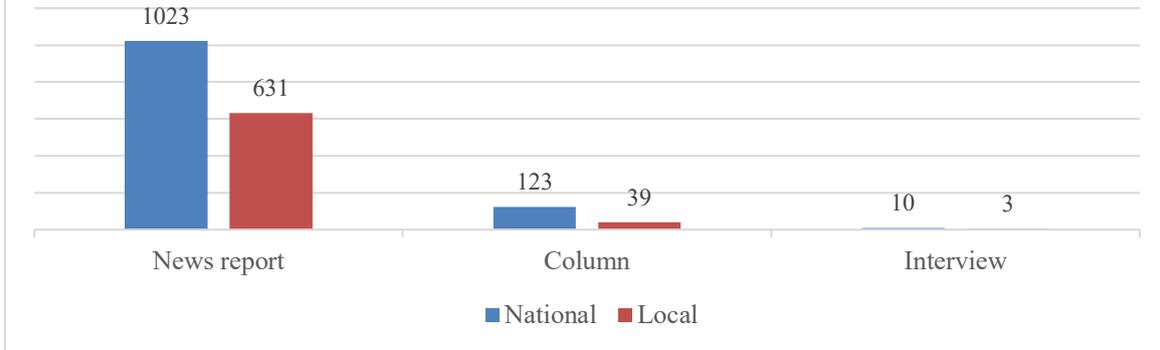
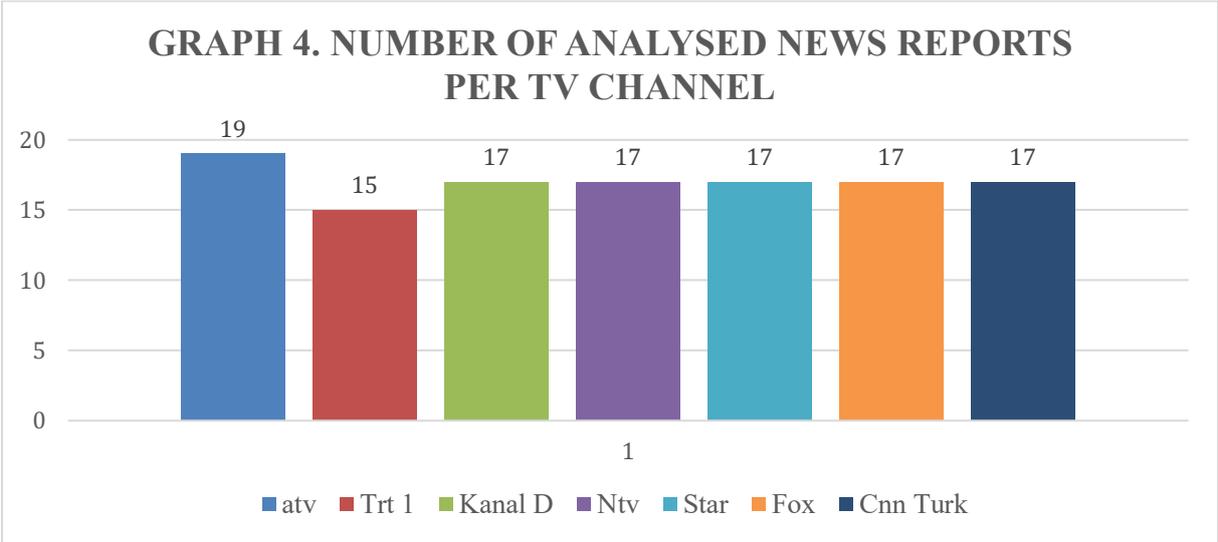


Table 3 shows that columns about refugees and immigrants were published for the most part in Sözcü (29), Hürriyet (28) and Milliyet (23) newspapers in the national press. Hürriyet also published 7 interviews about this subject. The newspaper with the highest number of columns in the local press was İstanbul Gazetesi (14). Whether or not columns and interviews create a positive or negative opinion about refugees will be separately addressed later.

Table 3. Type of text across newspapers

	News	Column	Talk-Interview	Total
Hürriyet	190	28	7	225
Sabah	104	11	0	115
Sözcü	136	29	1	166
Posta	84	6	0	90
Habertürk	239	22	0	261
Milliyet	241	23	2	266
Takvim	26	4	0	30
Gaziantep Güneş	141	7	1	149
Hâkimiyet	50	7	0	57
Hatay Asi	35	2	0	37
İstanbul Gazetesi	140	14	0	154
Yeni Asır	83	3	1	87
Adana Günaydın	57	2	0	59
Ankara Başkent	128	4	1	133
Total	1654	162	13	1829

The television news that were examined were determined by picking 1 news report per each month's leading theme broadcast within the main news bulletins of the channels over the 18-month period. However, since no immigrant and refugee related news were broadcast on some channels in certain months and that during some other months some channels broadcast multiple news reports related with the two leading themes, the distribution of news reports that were selected from the channels was shaped as follows.<sup>3</sup>



Front covers of newspapers convey the important events of the agenda, political developments and the information believed to capture the public's attention according to the editorial choices of the media outlet. When skimming through newspapers, most readers prioritize reading the news reports on the front and back covers. The front cover is fertile ground in terms of drawing the attention of the reader towards reports that continue following pages. Therefore, the most important and striking information is displayed on the first page. The study concluded that news about immigrants and refugees are rarely placed on the first page (7.5%, 135 news reports and 3 columns in total). Sözcü newspaper had 3 columns on refugees and immigrants published on its front page.

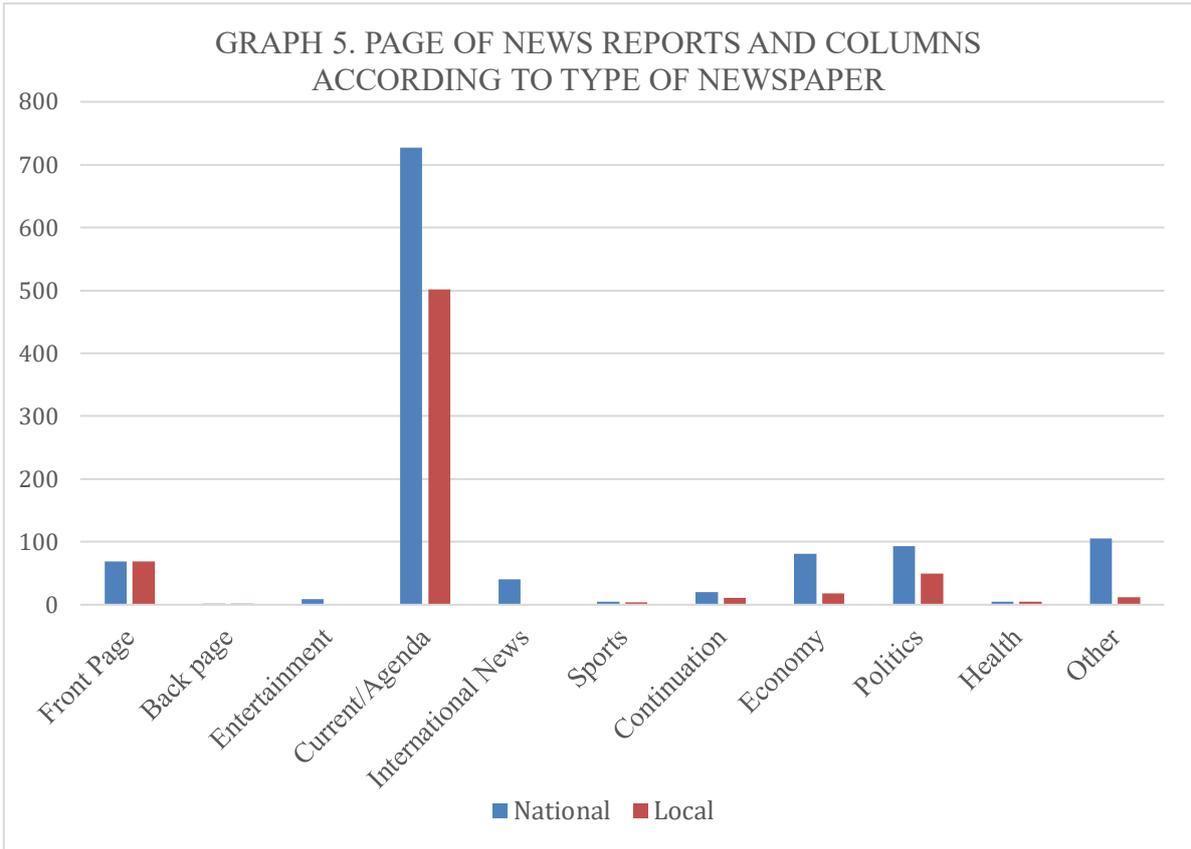
<sup>3</sup> No news related to migration and asylum themes were broadcast in main news bulletins by Kanal D in June 2017 and July 2018, by CNN Türk in October 2017, by TRT in December 2017, February 2018 and May 2018, by Star in December 2017 and April 2018, by ATV in February 2018, by NTV in May 2018 and by Fox Tv in October 2018. This goes to show that news concerning immigrants and refugees have a lesser likelihood of appearing on the agenda of television news compared to newspapers.

It was observed that for the most part newspapers place news about refugees and immigrants on centre pages, also referred to as the “third page”, that are usually dedicated to current/popular news and judicial cases. Accordingly, 67.2% of news about refugees were published on current/agenda pages. Similarly, there was limited coverage (15.4% in total) of refugees on pages that are dedicated to economy, politics and international news.

**Table 4. Distribution of reports and columns according to pages**

Page	Frequency	Percentage %
Front Cover	138	7.5
Back Cover	4	0.2
Entertainment	9	0.5
Current/Agenda	1229	67.2
International News	40	2.2
Sports	9	0.5
Continuation	31	1.7
Economy	99	5.4
Politics	143	7.8
Health	10	0.5
Other	117	6.4
Total	1829	100.0

On the other hand, as it can be seen from Table 4, local press published in regions where refugees and the local population are in closer contact, opted to report their news about immigrants and refugees on their front pages at almost double the rate of national press (4.4% versus 8.2%). Although this difference can be construed as the local press attributing more newsworthiness to news about refugees, a more detailed examination is required.

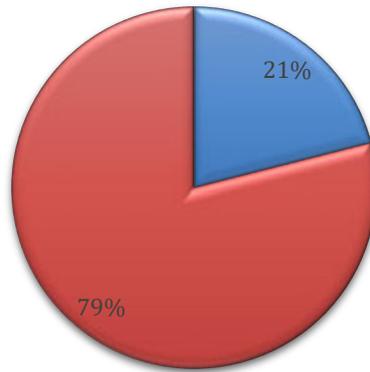


When it comes to television news, where within the piece refugees and immigrants are mentioned matters due to the visuals-dominant nature of television news and the fact that it caters to both the hearing and the visual sense of the viewers.<sup>4</sup> In order to keep the viewer's attention alive, television news are often broadcast with a title on the bottom of the screen (news flash) and voice-over that accompanies the rolling video. It was observed that 96 of the total 119 television news analysed within the framework of the study referred to refugees in both the title and the voice-over whereas refugees were only mentioned in the voice-over in the rest.

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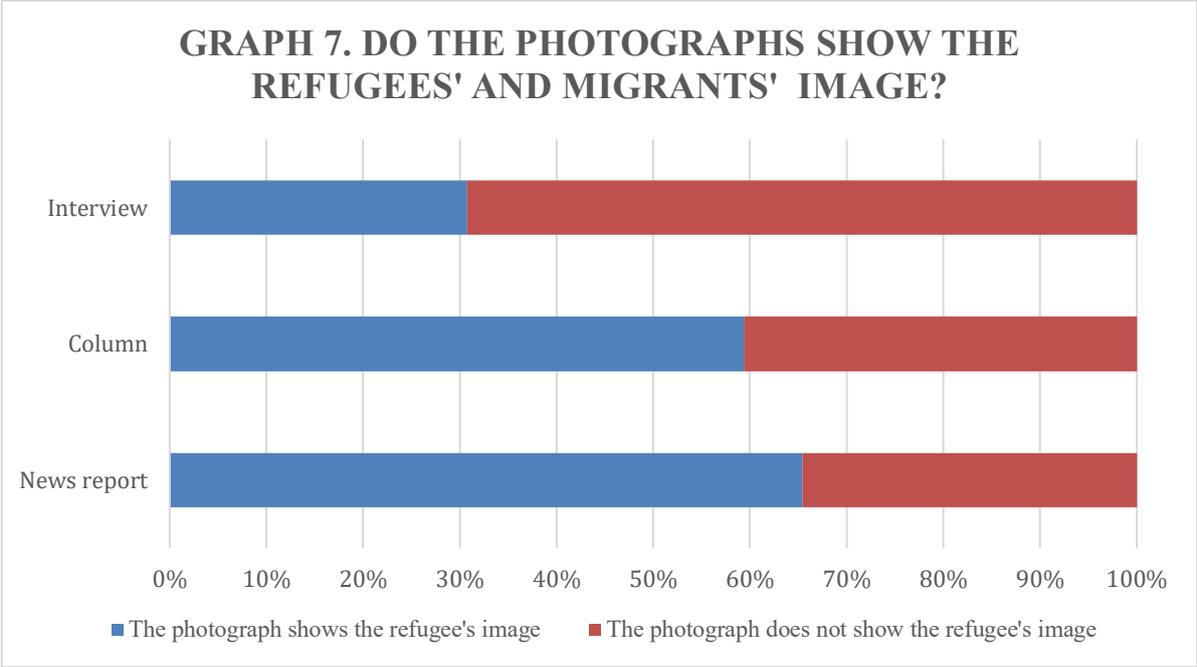
<sup>4</sup> Except for instances where explicit mention was required, the term "refugees" was used instead of "refugees and immigrants" in the serial titles within tables and graphs used in this report due to space limitations.

**GRAPH 6. WHICH PART OF TV NEWS ARE THE REFUGEES AND MIGRANTS MENTIONED?**

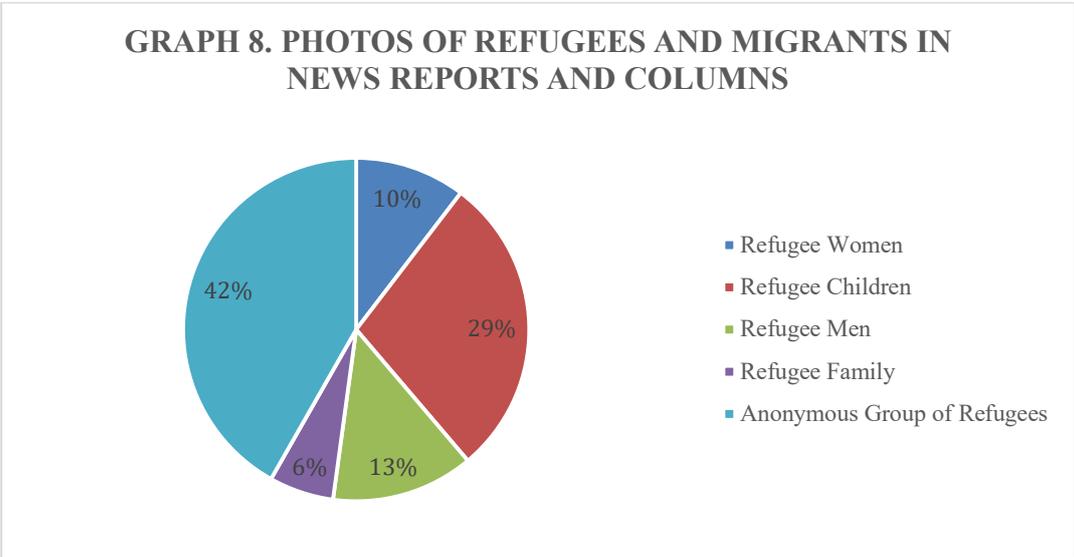


■ in the text ■ both in the headline and in the text

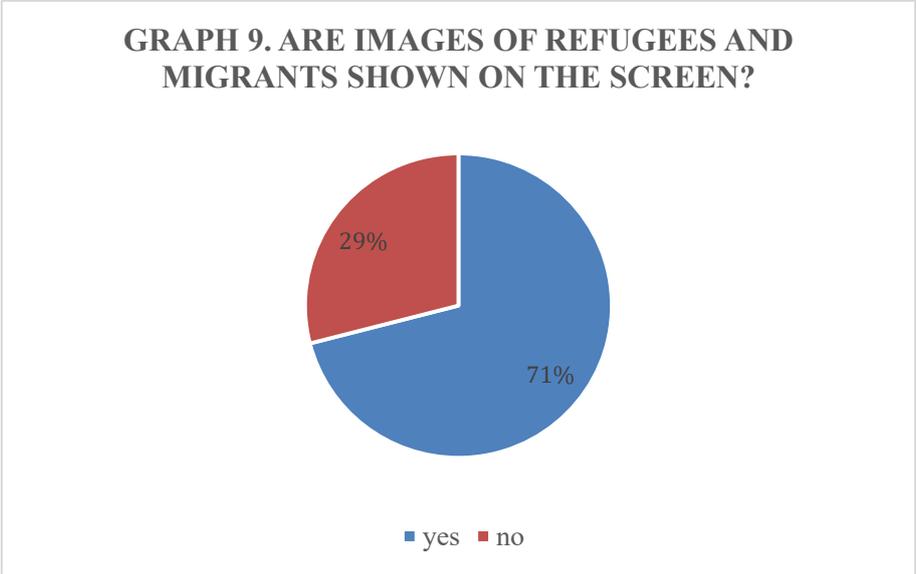
Photographs are also used to draw the reader's attention to the news and complement the news narrative. As they increase the space occupied by the news on the page, photographs also demonstrate the degree to which the editor wants the news report in question to be seen. Out of the total 1829 reports and columns published in the newspapers that were examined, photographs were used in 1387 (76%). 27 were columns. 65.5% of these reports and columns included images of refugees. 886 news reports and 19 columns in total made use of images of refugees. The number of news reports and columns that made use of images of refugees corresponds roughly to 50% of the total 1829 news reports dealing with migration and refugee issues. In other words, newspapers did not use images of refugees in half of their reports and columns about refugees.



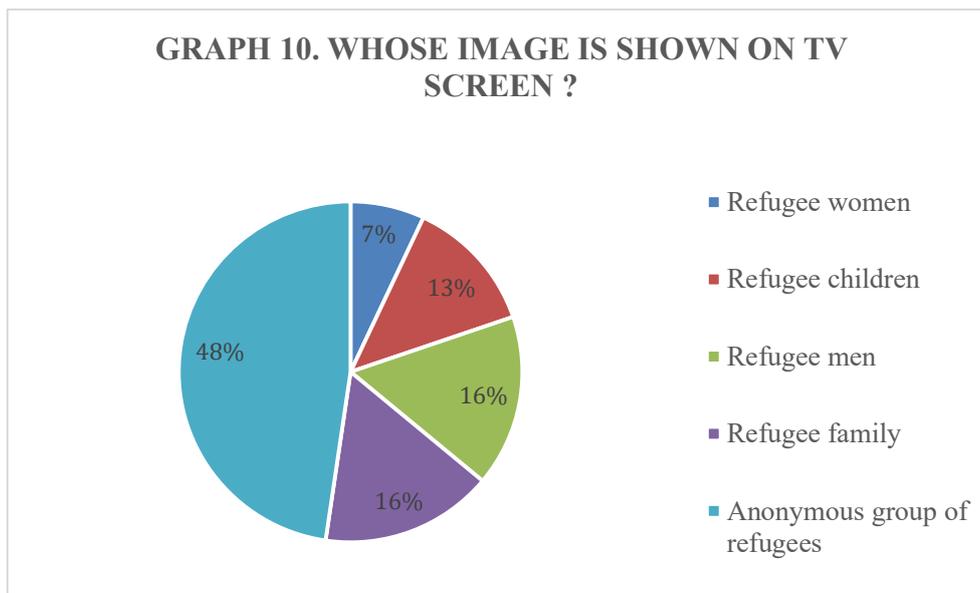
When we attempted to answer the question of which refugees were portrayed in the photographs, we concluded that in a total of 380 reports and columns refugees were portrayed in crowded groups. When we investigated who specifically were in these photos, it was observed that images of refugee children were used in 259 reports and columns, more than the photos of refugee men and women. This choice may be explained with the fact that images of children are more suited for capturing the reader's attention. 94 photos of refugee women and 121 photos of refugee men were also detected.



On the other hand, when television news was examined, it was determined that images of immigrants and refugees were used in 85 pieces out of 119 and that 34 pieces did not make use of images of refugees despite dealing with the issues of migration and refugees.



The examination of television news revealed that where images of refugees were used they were portrayed in crowded groups for the most part as was the case with newspaper reports; however, refugee children appeared less frequently on TV screens compared to newspapers and refugee men, who received limited coverage in newspapers, were more visible in television news. The kind of framework within which refugees whose images were used in television and newspaper news were represented will be discussed in the following stages of the analysis.



### Invisible and unnamed on newspaper pages and television screens: Immigrants and Syrians

77.2% of news published in the national and local press regarding asylum and migration matters over the 18-month period were about Syrian refugees. The examination of the type of these texts demonstrated that 81% (131) of the total 162 columns published in the national and local press focused on Syrian refugees. In other words, the visibility of Syrians in columns was higher than immigrants and refugees from other countries.

The total share of news about Iraqi, Afghan, Pakistani, Iranian, African, Somali etc. immigrants and refugees was around 16.1%. The fact that reports and columns mostly concentrated on Syrian refugees is understandable given that more than 3.5 million Syrians are currently living in Turkey. Furthermore, the fact that non-negligible numbers of refugees who are currently living in Turkey under extremely difficult conditions, fall prey to human traffickers, work in the informal economy and lack any legal guarantees are either not at all visible or only partly so puts them in an even more vulnerable situation.

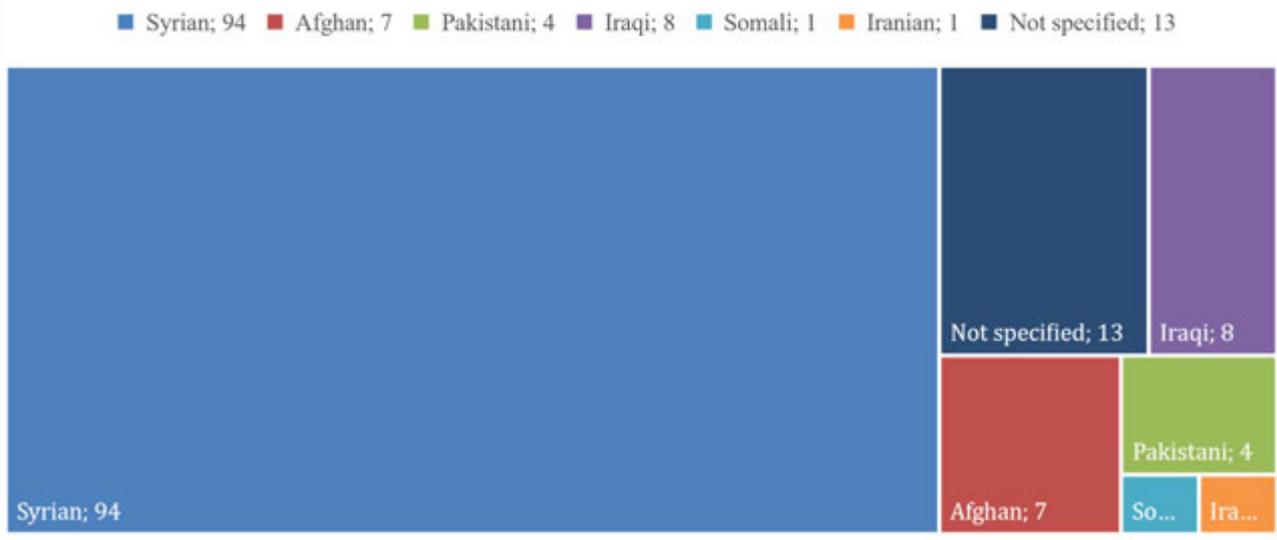
**GRAPH 11. REFUGEES' AND MIGRANTS' NATIONALITY OR COUNTRY OF ORIGIN MENTIONED IN THE NEWSPAPERS**



\*Multiple-coding has been used in this graph.

The visibility of refugees in television news is almost non-existent as is the case with newspaper news. 79% of this news are about Syrian refugees. While the number of news items about Iraqi immigrants and refugees were 8, 7 news items mentioned immigrants and refugees from Afghanistan and only 4 talked about Pakistanis. There was only 1 news each concerning Somalian and Iranian immigrants and refugees within the selected news reports.

**GRAPH 12. REFUGEES' AND MIGRANTS' NATIONALITY OR COUNTRY OF ORIGIN MENTIONED ON TV NEWS**



\*Multiple-coding has been used in this graph.

Another problem encountered on newspaper pages was the ambiguity about how to name immigrants and refugees. Owing partly to the government's incoherent policy about the matter, the media adopts a contradictory approach when it comes to naming Syrians currently present in Turkey. In their 2016 study, Doğanay and Çoban Keneş considered this ambivalent attitude of the press about refugees "a state of not being able to give it a name" and observed that Syrians present in Turkey are referred to as "guests", "immigrants" or "asylum seekers" according to the conjunctural preferences of the government or simply mentioned as Syrians without any definition despite the fact that they have refugee status according to international law. This study also demonstrates that the naming confusion persists to a certain extent. The 18-month press monitoring shows that most journalists choose to name Syrian refugees as only "Syrians" (58.7%). Leaving aside the fact that this appellation does not differentiate between Syrians who are currently in Turkey and Syrians living in their own country and that it presents all Syrians who are currently in Turkey as members of a homogeneous group, it is also problematic as it renders why Syrians are here and their status almost invisible. On the other hand, it was observed that more than one third of the news (36.3%) made use of the word "refugee". Phrases such as Syrian refugee, Syrian asylum seeker or Syrian immigrant were used in approximately one fourth (24%) of the news; moreover, the terms immigrant (30%) and asylum seeker (19.1%) were also used.<sup>5</sup> One of the findings of this study that differs from previous studies is that the guest designation has now been abandoned in line with the change in the government's policy. Another salient finding of the study is that around 9% of the news refer to refugees as "fugitive" or "fugitives". Thus, refugees who resort to migration routes to save their lives or for a better life and who are often the victims of deadly accidents are associated with an epithet which implies that they have done something illegal and committed a crime (of evading the law). Considering that this appellation also covers such phrases as "fugitive migrant" and "Syrian fugitive", it gets easier to understand how problematic it is since it creates the impression that refugees who escaped the war in their country and sought refuge in Turkey did something illegal and are criminals.

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<sup>5</sup> For a brief assessment on why the terminology used about refugees matters see Metin Çorabatır, <http://www.igamder.org/wp-content/uploads/2015c/metin2terminology.pdf>

**Table 5. Designations used for immigrants and refugees in reports and columns**

	Frequency	Percentage %
Refugee	662	36.3
Migrant	548	30.0
Asylum seeker	348	19.1
Fugitive/Syrian/migrant	171	9.3
Guest	15	0.8
Syrian	1072	58.7
Foreigner	15	0.8
Syrian Refugee/Asylum seeker/Migrant etc.	438	24.0
Other	2	0.1
Total*	3271	179.2

\*Multiple-coding has been used in this table.

It was observed that the refugee designation was used in television news in a much more limited fashion compared to newspapers. With a dominant preference towards naming refugees as "Syrians", television news also had a much higher likelihood of using phrases containing the word fugitive compared to newspapers (21% versus 9.3%). This difference can be explained by the reliance of television journalism on sensational content and their tendency to keep the tension alive during news pieces by naming refugees as "fugitives" to achieve this.

**Table 6. Designation of immigrants and refugees in television news**

	Frequency	Percentage %
Refugee	18	15.1
Migrant	33	27.7
Asylum seeker	21	17.6
Fugitive/Syrian/migrant	25	21.0
Syrian	77	64.7
Foreigner	2	1.7
Total*	176	147.9

\*Multiple-coding has been used in this table.

## What the Newspapers and Televisions Deem Worthy of Reporting

What the press writes or does not write about immigrants and refugees and what information they deem to be important, striking and worthy of sharing with the public opinion and what other information they consider not to fit these criteria are determined by professional ideologies that shape the practices of attributing newsworthiness. Professional codes of journalism can attribute newsworthiness to information as long as it is current, carrying conflict or violent content, exceptional, weird, striking and sensational and to the extent that it is compatible with the economic and political networks of interest and the ideological positioning surrounding the news outlet.<sup>6</sup> Accordingly, when the distribution of reports and columns published over the 18-month period in migration and asylum matters according to themes was examined, it was observed that information regarding human trafficking was conveyed in one fifth (366 news reports, 20%) of these.

Theme	National	Local	Total
Camps and Accommodation Conditions	34	15	49
Education	58	35	93
Health	42	24	66
Population Increase/Refugee Population/Number	46	18	64
Urban Contamination/Degeneration/Disruption of order	26	16	42
Economy (Cost of Refugees)	40	21	61
Employment and Unemployment	53	31	84
Assistance	50	44	94
EU Refugee Deal	50	19	69
Refugee policy of foreign countries, institutions and organizations	63	42	105
Turkey's border policy/foreign relations	44	17	61
Turkey's refugee policy	155	102	257

<sup>6</sup> For an assessment regarding newsworthiness attribution of "conventional journalism" see Sevda Alankuş, Barış Gazeteciliği El Kitabı (Peace Journalism Manual). [http://bianet.org/files/static/bia\\_kitaplar/barisgazeteciligikitap.pdf](http://bianet.org/files/static/bia_kitaplar/barisgazeteciligikitap.pdf)

Refugees' Status in Turkey	40	23	63
Refugees' Cohesion/Integration	158	137	295
Refugees' Tragedy	134	56	190
Repatriation of Refugees	90	55	145
Discrimination/Lynch/Ill-treatment Against Refugees	82	21	103
Crime/Violence	113	57	170
Death/Accident on Migration Routes	64	20	84
Human Trafficking	245	121	366
Studies/Reports on Refugees	93	30	123
Refugee Success Stories	36	29	65
Other	37	15	41
Total*	1156	673	1829

\*Multiple-coding has been used in this table.

This information relates to refugees who attempt to go from Turkey to other countries via sea or land routes, fall into the traps of human traffickers and often suffer accidents and/or lose their lives in their migration journey. When the titles and texts of news under this theme are examined, we see that the journey that refugees and immigrants embark upon with hopes of reaching another country, which is interrupted by an accident or as a result of the intervention of law enforcement agencies, is referred to as a "journey to hope" and the phrase "journey to death" is used in some news reports.<sup>78</sup> In both instances, the act of associating this journey of irregular immigrants with the hope of a better life and defining it as a journey that will end in certain death seen in these titles goes to show that the exaggerating strategy used in the titles serves the purpose of dramatizing the situation. Thus, the reasons and circumstances that lead the immigrants and refugees to depart for another country by risking their lives can be hidden or overlooked within the news narrative. On the other hand, it is observed that immigrants and refugees are referred to as "fugitives", "fugitive immigrants" and "Syrian fugitives" and the information that they are "caught" is conveyed in most news reports under this theme in

<sup>7</sup> For an example, see "15 thousand migrants caught at sea in their journey to hope", Ankara Başkent, 25.10.2017; "Photos of the journey to hope that will make you cry", Yeni Asır, 06.08.2017.

<sup>8</sup> For an example, see "104 migrants caught in their journey to death", Takvim, 29.10.2017.

contradiction with the designation of "journey to hope".<sup>9</sup> Therefore, immigrants and refugees are associated with doing something illegal, being fugitives (from the law) and thus, the perpetrators of a "crime" in the eyes of the reader.

The news report below is an example of the kind of framework used by newspapers to tackle the drama of refugees on migration routes and involved in human trafficking. The words and visuals used in the news report as well as the way in which the news narrative is established are striking in terms of grasping the dominance of a perspective, which appeals to the reader's conscience while associating refugees with crime but overlooks the reasons underlying the problems or demands for the solution of these, on all the components of the news report in question.

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<sup>9</sup> For an example, see "43 fugitive migrants caught in Dikili", *Yeni Asır*, 14.02.2018; "9 fugitive Syrians caught, including 7 children", *Istanbul Gazetesi*, 10.10.2018; "93 fugitives caught in Dikili and Menderes", *Sözcü*, 3.02.2018.

# Umuda yolculuğun ağlatan fotoğrafları



Ege'de kaçak göçmenlerin çocuklarının çaresizliği görenlerin yüreğini sızlattı. İzmir'de yakalanacaklarını anlayan göçmenler bottaki bebeği denize atmakla tehdit etti. Aydın'da ise yakalanan göçmenlerin bebeği kendisini kurtaran askere gülümsedi

**S**ahil Güvenlik Komutanlığı ekiplerinin İzmir Dikili ve Aydın Didim açıklarında göçmenlerin yakalanmasına yönelik düzenlenen operasyon sırasında İstik botlardaki iki bebeğin çekilen fotoğrafları göçmenlerin kını sızlattı. Son 6 günde düzenlenen operasyonlarda 66 çocuk kurtarıldığı belirtildi.

## DENİZE ATACAKLARDI

02 Ağustos' saat 06.25'te, İzmir Dikili ilçesi Bademli ölelerinde İstik bot içerisinde bir grup düzensiz göçmen olduğu bildirildi. Görevlendirilen Sahil Güvenlik

botları tarafından tespit edilen İstik bot durduruldu ve ve içerisinde bulunan Suriye sızlaklı 19'ü çocuk, 71 göçmen yakalandı. Dikili Limanı'na getirildi. Operasyonda, düzensiz göçmenlerin hiç birinin can yeleğinin bulunmadığı, kullanılan bota taşıma kapasitesinin çok üzerinde göçmen bulunduğu ve göçmen botunun su altına bulaşmış olduğu belirtilen, göçmenlerin can güvenliğine tehdit oluşturan bir durumla karşılaşıldığı bildirildi. Göçmen botunun durdurulması amacıyla büyük çaba harcandı. Göçmen botunun durdurulması amacıyla büyük çaba harcandı. Göçmen botunun durdurulması amacıyla büyük çaba harcandı.

6 günde 66 çocuk göçmen yakalandı. Son 6 günde İzmir, Çarşaklı ve Aydın'da Sahil Güvenlik ekipleri yasadışı göçü önlemek amacıyla düzenlenen operasyonlarda 194 göçmen yakalandı. Yakalanan göçmenlerin 66'sı çocuk olduğu belirtildi. Göçmen botunun durdurulması amacıyla büyük çaba harcandı. Göçmen botunun durdurulması amacıyla büyük çaba harcandı. Göçmen botunun durdurulması amacıyla büyük çaba harcandı.

## “Tearful photos of the journey to hope”

Yeni Asır newspaper reports on the efforts of Coast Guard Teams to get them to turn back from their journey without endangering the lives of refugees named "fugitive migrants" accompanied with the photo of a "soldier rescuing" a baby. The role assigned to refugees in this story is that they "drew knives" at Coast Guard teams, who carried out an "operation" and tried to stop them, and that they tried to stop the soldiers by threatening to throw their baby into the water. Told like a high-tension detective story by using words such as operation, knife, threat, the story continues with the boat safely stopped, 50 migrants, 11 of them children, "captured" and the baby with the happy ending smiles at the soldier who rescued her. The news report also defines the attitude expected from the readers: The readers are expected to "be moved" at the desperation of the children of immigrants presented in a frame of "crime" at such levels that they can draw knives for their goal or kill their babies, as is indicated in the sub-heading.

Similarly, human traffickers are blamed with not taking precautions, deceiving refugees and leaving them to their own devices in news about refugees who fall into the hands of human traffickers and come to the verge of death; however, these news reports lack the background information on why sufficient precautions were not taken to avoid this situation in the first

place and how and in what sort of a network of relations human traffickers drag refugees into these endeavours. The news report below exemplifies news that convey human trafficking as a problem of "conscience" rather than considering it as a societal and political problem.

Posta Günü/ Gazete İstanbul  
Tarih : 2017-09-27  
Sayfa No: 13  
Sb/Çm : 19  
R.E(7L) : 23.883

# Liya HAYATA TUTUNDU



**Oğlu öldü kızı kurtuldu**  
Ölümden dönen kız Liya'ya sarılan Suzan Abdullah, Irak'a döneceklerini söyledi.

## VİCDANSIZ

24 ÖLÜ, 14 KAYIP  
Avrupa Birliği üyesi Romanya'ya ulaşmaya çalışan ve çoğunluğu Suriyeli olan mültecileri taşıyan tekne 22 Eylül'de Kosova'nın Karadra ilçesi açıklarında batmıştı. 24 kişi ölmüş, 14 kişi kaybolmuştu. Sahil Güvenlik 40 gökmeni kurtarmıştı. Yaralanan 4 yaşındaki Iraklı Liya, Sahil Güvenlik'te görevli askerin kucagında karaya çıkmıştı.

**'IRAK'A DÖNECEĞİZ'**  
Liya yoğun bakımdaki 4 günlük tedavinin ardından annesi Suzan Abdullah'a kavuştu. İngiltere'ye ulaşmak için eji ve 2 çocuğu ile tekneye binen Suzan Abdullah'ın oğlu Levent'i faciada kaybettiği öğrenildi. Ölümden dönen kız Liya'ya sarılan Suzan Abdullah, Irak'a döneceklerini söyledi. ■ Ergün AYAZDIMA

Batan mülteci teknesinin kaptanının Ahmet adlı Suriyeli olduğu ortaya çıktı. Kaptanın sadece kendi ailesine can yoldağı güvencisi belirlendi.

Kayıp 14 kişi arasındaki kaptanın teknedeki 78 mülteci'den kişi başı 2 biner dolar (7 bin lira) aldığı tespit edildi.

### “Liya clanged to life”

The story of a refugee woman who lost one of her children when a boat carrying 78 refugees sank was dramatized in the story, another Syrian captaining the boat is held responsible for the tragedy and accused of being "heartless". However, no information is provided in the story on how a Syrian refugee can smuggle people and work as a captain using what kinds of relationship networks and the underlying reasons for such ease in human trafficking in Turkey are not questioned.

Another theme that stood out within the reports and columns that were analysed over the 18-month period concerns the cohesion and integration of refugees (295 reports and columns, 16.1%). It is understandable that developments regarding the integration of refugees and Turkey's refugee policy have become priority topics on the news agenda (257 reports, 14%) in line with politicians and the public opinion starting to voice the fact that refugees have now been living in Turkey for a long time and that they might be here to stay. On the other hand, it was observed that the local press publishing in regions where there are more frequent encounters between refugees and the local population pays more attention to the cohesion and integration of refugees compared to national press. Indeed, while 158 reports and columns

appeared in the national press about this theme (13.6% of the 1156 reports and columns published in the national press), this number was 137 (20.3%) for the local press where a total of 673 reports and columns were published.

When the titles and texts of reports and columns about this theme were examined, it was observed that, in addition to announcing educational activities for refugee children and skills training for refugee women, the content that was provided also dealt with refugee children coming together with Turkish children to play, mingle, paint pictures and sing songs together to give messages of peace and harmony.<sup>10</sup> In texts where this theme was explored, the fact that integration is a two-way process was often overlooked. Therefore, no traces of an understanding that mutual understanding is required for the acceptance of refugees by the Turkish society, that it is important to learn each other's language and that both sides need to respect the other's cultural codes and values were found in the reports and columns and cohesion was construed as the cohesion and integration of refugees into the host society.

The following news report is striking in terms of demonstrating how, in addition to the meanings conveyed by the plain text of the news, the meaning can be completely reversed through strategies such as irony, figures of speech or exaggeration and how a piece of content that affirms efforts towards the integration of refugees might lead to associations or insinuations in the complete opposite sense in the reader's mind.

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<sup>10</sup> For exemplary news reports, see "Cultural education for refugee children", *Hürriyet Ankara*, 24.09.2017; "Educators gearing for coding training for refugees", *Istanbul Gazetesi*, 16.09.2017; "Syrian children to be rehabilitated", *Habertürk*, 16.08.2017; "3500 children mingling with each other", *Sözcü*, 26.09.2018; "Erasing the traces of war with notes", *Sabah*, 15.10.2018; "Messages of peace in 9 languages from children of all colours", *Ankara Başkent*, 27.07.2017.



## “Welcome to the Cohesion Circus”

This news report is on how Syrian and Turkish children came together for a circus and performing arts and developed friendships. However, headline "cohesion circus" implies that the "cohesion" project bringing together host community children and refugee children as well as the activities conducted for the cohesion of refugees are in fact a simple show, a circus.

One of the premises that facilitates the appearance of the integration theme on the agendas of newspapers is the fear that is created with regard to what might happen in the event that integration does not take place. The following reports from Sözcü newspaper is a striking example of how this fear is instilled using such words and phrases as "terror", "turning into a mafia" and "risk", which are placed in the headline and lead to the perception that the presence of refugees is a threat.

# Suriyeliler entegre edilmezse terör ve mafyalaşma riski artar

Türkiye'de bulunan Suriyeli sığınmacı sayısının 3 milyon 106 bine ulaştığını belirten CHP'li Erdoğan Toprak "Mültecilerin gettolaşmasıyla, yakın gelecekte Türkiye'yi ciddi siyasi, sosyal ve ekonomik sorunlar bekliyor. Önlem alınması şart" dedi

CHP Genel Başkan Başdemir ve İstanbul Milletvekili Erdoğan Toprak "Suriyeli mülteciler Raporu" hazırladı. Raporunda Suriyeli sığınmacı sayısının son bir haftada 9 bin kişi daha artarak, 3 milyon 106 bine ulaştığı ifade edildi. AB ülkelerinin bugüne kadar Türkiye'ye aldıkları Suriyeli mültecilerin yalnızca 7 bin 772 kişi olduğunu vurguladığı raporda, resmi rakamlara göre ülkemizde 3 milyon 106 bin 912 Suriyeli mültecinin bulunduğu kaydedildi. Toprak CHP lideri Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu'na da sunduğu raporunda ya bilgileri paylaştı:

**EN HAYATLI KONU:** Mülteci tablosu gelecek 5-10 yıl içerisinde ülkemizin en hayati, siyasi, sosyal, toplumsal sorunlarından biri olacaktır. Dil bilmeyen, eğitim almamış 1.5 milyon çocuk ve genç Suriyeli, topluma kazandırılmazsa, suç örgütleri, terör örgütleri için insan kaynağı olma, toplum için sosyal mayınlara dönüşmeye adaydır. 2.9 milyon Suriyeli 81 ile dağılım durumunda. Ülkemizin gettolaşma, mafyalaşma, çeteleşme ve terör tehdidi altında.

**VATANDAŞLIKI:** Suriyelilere vatandaşlık verilmesi, bu ağır insani ve sosyal sorunu hızla çözme için en doğru adımdır. Son dönemde kentlerimizdeki mahallelerde, Suriyelilerle çatışma, kavga gibi, kimi zaman ölümlü sonuçlanan olaylar yaşanıyor. Dil eğitimi olmayan 1.5 milyon Suriyeli genç ve çocuk, suç örgütleri, terör örgütleri için en müsait insan malzemesi olmaya aday konumda. Milyonlarca kendi gençlerine iş ve ekmeğe vermeyen hükümetin, her an patlamaya, toplum içindeki sosyal mayınları dönmeye hazır bu Suriyeli gençler için herhangi bir çözüm planı yok. Başta Almanya olmak üzere, pek çok Avrupa ülkesinin bile 40-50 yıldır uyguladıkları entegrasyon programlarına rağmen, 2'inci 3'üncü nesillerde bile hâlâ çözümedikleri bu sorun, Türkiye için çok daha acil ve yakıcı hale gelmiş durumda.



## Gettolaşarak yerleşiyorlar

GEÇİCİ barınma merkezlerinde kalan Suriyeli sayıları, sığınmacıların onda birinden de az. 2.9 milyonu ise 81 ile dağılım durumunda. İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir, Adana, Mersin. Bunu gibi büyük illerin yanı sıra, Yozgat'tan, Sincop'a kadar tüm ülke sathına yayılan Suriyeli sığınmacılar, kendi mahallelerini, gettolarını oluşturarak yaşamayı seçiyorlar. Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa, Hatay gibi illerde, Suriyeli mültecilerin nüfusuna oranı yüzde 17-25 arasında değişirken, Kilis'te bu oran yüzde 97'ye yükseliyor.

## 1 milyon 157 bin Suriyeli çocuk okula gidemiyor

Geçici barınma merkezlerinde kalan Suriyeli sayıları sadece 235 bin. Geride kalan 2 milyon 872 bin mülteci ise 81 kente dağılım vaziyette. Kayıt dışı kaç kişinin olduğu ise bilinmiyor.

Suriye'den göçen mültecilerin yaklaşık 1 milyon 157 bini, 0-14 yaş grubunda. Üçte biri eğitim öğretim çağındaki Suriyeli dil bilmiyor, okula gitmiyor, kuruma kampı dışında yaşayarak büyüyor.

İçişleri Bakanlığı Göç İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü'nün verilerine göre 21 Temmuz 2017'de 3 milyon 097 bin olan mülteci sayısı, 27 Temmuz'da 3 milyon 106 bine yükseldi. Türkiye'de bulunan Suriyeli'nin sayısı 3.1 milyonu aşarken, İraklı, Afgan, Abkahlılarla birlikte toplam sayı 4 milyona yaklaşıyor.

"Terror and mafia risk will increase unless Syrians are integrated"

The news report indicates that if the refugees, named as "asylum-seekers" based on a report prepared by CHP İstanbul MP Erdoğan Toprak, are not integrated into Turkish society, Turkey may face serious problems and young people and children who do not speak Turkish can become human resources for terrorist organizations and criminal groups. Using the expression "Our country is under the threat of ghettoization, mafias, gangs and terrorism" to present the existence of refugees as an evident threat, the news report raises the claim of Syrians' involvement in incidents resulting in fights and deaths as evidence for this threat.

The themes pertaining to Turkey's refugee policy, assistance and employment/unemployment that were observed in the reports and columns were more common in the local press compared to the national press. 102 news reports dwelling on Turkey's refugee policy were detected in the local press. 155 news reports appeared in the national press on this theme. These numbers correspond to 15.1% and 13.4% of the total number of news reports published by the local press and the national press respectively. On the other hand, while 44 news reports (6.5%) were published on the theme of assistance in the local press against 50 (4.3%) in the national press, the issues of employment and unemployment were addressed in 31 news reports (4.6%) in the local press and in 53 (4.5%) news reports in the national press. These differences can be

explained by the fact that contact with refugees is more intensive at the local level and that local players have a clearer perception of the problems.

**Table 8. Distribution of the themes of reports and columns according to type of newspaper**

Theme	National	Local	Total
Camps and Accommodation Conditions	34	15	49
Education	58	35	93
Health	42	24	66
Population Increase/Refugee Population/Number	46	18	64
Urban Contamination/Degeneration/Disruption of order	26	16	42
Economy (Cost of Refugees)	40	21	61
Employment and Unemployment	53	31	84
Assistance	50	44	94
EU Refugee Deal	50	19	69
Refugee policy of foreign countries, institutions and organizations	63	42	105
Turkey's border policy/foreign relations	44	17	61
Turkey's refugee policy	155	102	257
Refugees' Status in Turkey	40	23	63
Refugees' Cohesion/Integration	158	137	295
Refugees' Tragedy	134	56	190
Repatriation of Refugees	90	55	145
Discrimination/Lynch/Ill-treatment Against Refugees	82	21	103
Crime/Violence	113	57	170
Death/Accident on Migration Routes	64	20	84
Human Trafficking	245	121	366
Studies/Reports on Refugees	93	30	123
Refugee Success Stories	36	29	65
Other	37	15	41
Total*	1156	673	1829

\*Multiple-coding has been used in this table.

This thematic distribution showing what information about immigrants and refugees the national and local press attribute newsworthiness seems to conform to the journalistic preferences of mainstream journalism. Nevertheless, the media has an important role to play when it comes to the acceptance by the host society of more than four million immigrants and refugees currently present in Turkey, the maintenance of the relations between the two societies on a peaceful level and the fight against hate speech. Therefore, the fact that the media determines newsworthiness based on the conventional journalism when conveying information about refugees bears the risk of reinforcing a single-sided and negative public perception of refugees.

Indeed, the study has demonstrated that the problems and point of view of refugees who flee their countries to save their lives and are forced to grapple with severe poverty and abuse, work as cheap labour and pay high rents to live in dilapidated houses in Turkey where they have sought refuge by leaving the lifestyle they are used to behind, are almost not at all reflected onto the reports and columns of newspapers about refugees and immigrants. Another striking finding of the study is that the ratio of news touching upon refugees' problems in terms of education, healthcare and housing to the total number of news reports is around 11.3%. This goes to show that, barring dramatic incidents or circumstances, newspapers take a distanced stance vis-a-vis the problems of refugees. The total number of news reports tackling the themes of housing conditions, education and healthcare for refugees was limited to 208. On the other hand, problems of refugees such as poverty, illness etcetera or their deaths were dramatized in the narratives of 190 reports and columns. Another finding of the study was that, compared to local press, the national press was more eager to convey the stories of refugees by dramatizing them. The ratio of these sorts of news reports was 11.5% in the national press compared to 8.3% in local press.

When the titles and texts of news reports where the dramas of refugees are conveyed, incidents such loss of children, death, poverty, financial difficulty, separation, murder and accidents as are conveyed within a dramatic framework.<sup>11</sup> In these news reports, while the victimization and the difficulty of the circumstances surrounding refugees and immigrants are conveyed by

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<sup>11</sup> For example, news reports see "Beggar children of the metrobus" Sabah 13.09.2017, "Exhausted by life" Posta, 14.09.2017, "I want my son" 18.09.2017, Milliyet; "Their war is different", Hürriyet, 24.09.2017; "Went to the market with children, did not come back", Istanbul Gazetesi, 11.10.2018.

appealing to the emotions of the reader, no knowledge, background information or opinions are provided with regard to the reasons underlying all of these and how they could be solved. The following news reports are examples of how background information is hidden from the eye of the reader while the drama of the refugees is conveyed.

### “No one would experience his pain even in 80 years”

Medya Takip Merkezi  
Posta  
Günlük/Gazete  
İstanbul

Tarih :2018-10-28  
Sayfa No:1  
StxCm :0  
R.E(TL) :14.662

# YAŞADIĞI ACI 80 YILDA YAŞANMAZ

**Suriyeli 8 yaşındaki Muhammed Ali annesini hiç tanımadı. Babasının öldüğü bombardımanda gözünü kaybetti, yüzü ve vücudu yandı. Tam tedavi olacakken kendisini dilendiren amcası hastaneden kaçırdı.**

## AMCANIN ZORBALIĞI

Suriyeli Muhammed Ali'nin geçen yıl babası ile kaldıkları çadır bombalandı. Baba Cemil Ali öldü, Muhammed Ali bir gözünü kaybetti, vücudu ve yüzü yandı. Muhammed Ali akrabalarıyla Mersin'e taşındı. Amca Fuad Ali'nin dilendirdiği küçük çocuğu, sanatçı Haluk Levent Antalya'da hastaneye yatırdı.

## DEVLET KORUMASINDA

Üç operasyon geçiren ancak yüz nakli de gereken Muhammed Ali'nin amcası Fuad Ali, Haluk Levent'in kurduğu AHBAP derneğine "Yüzü düzelirse onu dilendiremem" diye para istedi. Reddedilince çocuğu hastaneden kaçırdı. Polis, çocuğu Mersin'de çöpten kağıt toplarken buldu.

Devlet koruması altına alınan çocuğun amcası hakkında işlem başlatıldı.

Dün sokakta kağıt toplarken bulundu.

Muhammed Ali'nin tek oyuncuğu kendisini bulan polislerin verdiği polis üniformalı bir bez bebek.

FOTOGRAF: GIBAY GURDALIHA

The news report not only openly exhibits the image of a refugee child with facial and physical deformations but also published full name of the child. The justification for such exhibition of the child is carried to the headline as "No one would experience his pain even in 80 years" and the story of his pain and what happened to him is told. As is the case in several news reports on refugee children, another refugee kept responsible for his situation (his uncle in this case) is included in the story, but the war and its causes which led the child to experience such pain are not mentioned at all. While providing information that the child experienced bombing and lost his father when his tent was bombed, the news report hides the information on where and why the bombing happened from the reader.



### “Weary of life”

The story is about a refugee child at school age who had to work on the street. The child who sells tissues and fell asleep in the couch he sat down to rest is depicted with the headline "Weary of Life", however no information is given on why the child had to work rather than go to school and the conditions causing the situation.

In addition, refugees and immigrants were the subject of 170 news reports in newspapers in connection with incidents of violence and crime apart from human trafficking. Thus, the ratio of reports and columns where refugees are associated with crime to the total 1829 reports and columns reached 9.2%. By generalizing criminal acts such as seizure by force, forgery and theft where refugees are implicated to almost refugees, these kinds of reports and columns strengthen the perception that these incidents are far more common than they are in reality. In these sorts of news reports, the refugees who are associated with "crime" are referred to as "Syrians" under a general category<sup>12</sup>.

The following news report is about a harassment incident where a Syrian refugee was implicated. While both the perpetrator and the victim of the incident conveyed in the news reports appeared to be Syrians, an act of harassment and the ensuing fight, which are commonplace but are not attributed newsworthiness by newspapers, gained news value when the perpetrator was a refugee.

<sup>12</sup> For examples of such news reports see "Syrians invaded city of villas and set up a ghetto" Sözcü, 16.03.2018, "We lost the fake invoice business to Syrians" Sözcü, 21.10.2018, "Syrians banned from leaving Bursa" Sözcü, 02.11.2017.



# Tacizciyi dövüdüler

İstanbul Sultangazi'de geçen perşembe Suriyeli evli, bir çocuk annesi I.H. yemek siparişi vermek için lokantaya girdi. Suriyeli garson Ferhan Al C. (19) iddiaya göre; kadının eline dokunup "Kocan evde mi? Değilse size geleyim" dedi. Tepki gösteren kadın uzaklaştı. Tacizi, kocası Z.A.'ya anlattı. Kocasıyla işbirliği yapan kadın, lokantaya gidip garsonu dışarı çağırdı. Kocası ve akrabaları garsonu yakalayıp feci şekilde dövüdü. Polise teslim edilen garsonun tedavisi sürüyor. ■ DHA



## “They beat down the harasser”

The story is on a Syrian refugee woman who went to a restaurant, was harassed by a Syrian waiter, told her husband and relatives who then grouped together and beat down the waiter. Such type of harassment cases and subsequent fights which are not deemed newsworthy when done by members of host community become newsworthy when refugees are involved. Thus, widespread public prejudice that refugees are harassers with tendencies towards violence and fighting is reinforced.

The study indicates that, although in a limited manner, newspapers attribute newsworthiness to acts of discrimination, lynching and ill treatment targeting refugees. This theme was explored in 103 reports and columns, which corresponds to 5.6%. However, it was observed that local media outlets that operate in regions where the local population is in closer contact with refugees gives one fourth the space to these sorts of incidents compared to national press. Accordingly, while 82 reports and columns were published in the national press about this matter, local press took an interest in the issue in merely 21 reports and columns.

In news reports exploring lynching attempts against Syrians, this situation is often described as "trouble", "tension" or "escalation", references are made to a "Syrian tension's occurring in a given province or neighbourhood, it is pointed out that this is "dangerous"; however, it is kept from the public eye that these incidents, which often end in refugees being displaced, are in

fact "lynching attempts"<sup>13</sup>. When the texts of these news reports are analysed, it is seen that Syrians are pointed out as the people responsible for the incidents, that local people from the neighbourhood assembled to react to the crime committed by Syrians or to the act of harassment where Syrians were implicated and that as a result, "commotion" or "tensions" occurred. In some news reports, while locals from the neighbourhood in question are cited as the news source and their statements and testimonies to the effect that they "do not want Syrians in their neighbourhood" are used, the point of view of the refugees who were forced to leave the neighbourhood and displaced is not covered in the news report.

The following examples show how the responsibility for the incidents is assigned to refugees who are associated with the crime while the lynching attempts against refugees are hidden in the news narrative and the way in which justifying reasons are presented.

### “Dangerous escalation”

Reporting that a discussion among neighbourhood residents and refugees in Ankara turned into a fight, it is indicated that "tensions escalated in the neighbourhood" following the fight. However, the reality behind the incidents that the news report represents almost as an ordinary result of "tensions in the neighbourhood" is that the businesses owned by refugees have been damaged, i.e. material losses incurred by refugees whom are not known whether to be involved in the fight or not. This situation, defined as "dangerous escalation" in the news report is understood to be a lynch attempt in reality.



<sup>13</sup> For an example of news reports of this kind see "Tensions around Syrians in Elazığ", Milliyet, 7.09.2018; "Dangerous provocation in Şanlıurfa" Sabah, 01.10.2018, "Dangerous escalation", Hürriyet, 05.07.2017.



## “Neighbourhood commotion in Bursa”



### Bursa'da mahalle karişti

**B**URSA'nın Osmangazi İlçesi Başaran mahallesinde önceki gece bir çocuk, yaklaşık 20 kişilik Suriyeli gruptan kaçarak, Mehmet Kahraman'a ait kahvehaneye sığındı. Suriyeliler, Kahraman'dan çocuğu kendilerine vermelerini istedi. Çocuğu vermemekte direnen Kahraman bıçaklı saldırıya uğradı. Elinden ve karnından yaralanan Mehmet Kahraman hastaneye kaldırılırken, grup kaçtı. Olaylar dün yine alevlendi. Akşam saatlerinde mahallede toplanan yaklaşık 300 kişilik grup, Suriyelilere ait ev ve iş



yerlerine saldırarak camlarını kırdı. İhbar üzerine olay yerine çok sayıda polis ve Çevik Kuvvet ekibi sevk edildi. 'Mahallede Suriyeli istemiyoruz' şeklinde slogan atan kalabalık dağılmayınca polis müdahale etti. Kalabalık bir süre sonra dağıldı. Polis, mahallede yeni bir olay yaşanmaması için güvenlik önlemleri arttırdı. Polis, sokak girişlerini bariyerle kapattı.

■ Emver Fatih TIKIR  
Osman SİSKO/DHA

The news reported with the headline "turmoil in the neighbourhood" an incident where a group of 300 attacked homes and businesses owned by Syrians. The background information conveyed in the news is that a group of 20 "Syrians" attacked the owner of a coffeehouse with a knife because he did not give away a child who took shelter in the coffeehouse. However, no information is given in the report on who the child is, why he was escaping or what happened to the child after this incident.

The news report also indicates that the attackers, dubbed as "crowded", chanted slogans saying, "We don't want Syrians in the neighbourhood".

It has also been observed in this example that justifying reasons for attacks against Syrians have been presented in the narrative.

Another striking finding of the study is that newspapers, which prioritize the issues of the cohesion and integration of refugees on their pages, do not take an interest in refugee success stories (65 reports, 3.5%). By dwelling on efforts regarding the cohesion and integration of refugees as well as the actions of the government, public officials and the civil society on one hand and turning a blind eye to success stories that would facilitate the acceptance of refugees by the society on the other, newspapers reduce the process of social cohesion and integration, which needs to be considered as a two-way process, to a one-sided, top-to-bottom actions. Thus, the public acceptance of refugees, who mostly appear on the public agenda in conjunction with issues such as human trafficking, victimization, poverty and crime, becomes harder. Indeed, merely 36 and 29 reports and columns were dedicated to the success stories of refugees by the national and local press respectively over the 18-month period. Although it can

be argued that the local press covered refugee success stories more than the national press in relative terms, the fact that positive stories about refugees were covered at such a low level in all the news reports published in 7 national and 7 local newspapers over the 18-month period calls for a rethinking of the problems that can arise from the unilateral stance of the press on the cohesion and integration of refugees. Indeed, the coverage of the success stories of refugees as well as the details of their lives both in Syria and in Turkey on newspaper pages is important in terms of paving the way for transforming the perception of difference in the ranks of the host society and allowing both sides to see each other as equals. However, news narratives that reduce these stories to individual success still seem problematic regarding transforming the perception about refugees lacking the distinctive features of richness, entrepreneurial skill or above average intelligence that are attributed to these refugees. Indeed, it was observed that the success stories conveyed in the news reports that were analysed usually had to do with the circumstances of extremely talented or exceptionally well-educated refugees. As a result, while stories of "ordinary" refugees are almost invisible on newspaper pages, the success of a few outliers can be marked out as "extraordinary". Newspapers do not attribute newsworthiness to information about what kind of lives the refugees had while they were in their country, under what circumstances they came to Turkey and what kinds of lives they lead in Turkey; instead refugees are reduced to mere numbers and the perpetrators or the victims of dramatic incidents portrayed in the news.<sup>14</sup>

The following news report is striking as an example of how the individualization of the success stories of refugees can facilitate overlooking the refugees who do not get the "opportunity" to achieve the same kind of success.

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<sup>14</sup> For news reports on refugee success stories see "Syrians set up 6589 companies in 7 years", Sözcü, 28.01.2018; "From Kandahar to NASA: A success story", Istanbul Gazetesi, 20.07.2017; "Syrian art camp" Hürriyet, 24.07.2017.

Estanbul Gazetesi  
Günlük Gazete  
İstanbul

Tarih : 2017-07-20  
Sayfa No: 16  
Sıra No: 13  
R.E(TL) : 837

## Kandahar'dan NASA'ya bir başarı hikâyesi

Afgan asıllı Hidayatullah Arghandabi'nin yaşam öyküsü bugünlerde üniversite tercihi yapacak birçok gençte ilham verecek.

Kandahar'da doğan Arghandabi, İstanbul Aydın Üniversitesi'nde (İAU) burslu okurken önce model uydurucu projesi için NASA tarafından ABD'ye davet edilen ekibin içinde yer aldı. Ardından mezun olur olmaz dünyanın en büyük enerji firmalarından birinde çalışmaya başladı.

1990'lı yılların sonuyla 2000'li yılların başlarına damgasını vuran Taliban ve El-Kaide terörü ile Afganistan Savaşı, birçok hayatı söndürdüğü gibi, birçok insanı da vatanından ederek mülteci konumuna getirdi. Ancak vatanından kopmak zorunda kalan kimi insanların Türkiye tercihleri de hayatlarını bambaşka bir şekilde etkiledi.

### Mezun olur olmaz dev firmaya girdi

Bunlardan biri de, Afganistanlı genç mühendis Hidayatullah Arghandabi. 1994 yılında, Taliban ve El-Kaide terörünün bütün Afganistan'ı kasıp kavurduğu günlerde, Kandahar'da dünyaya gelen Arghandabi, 2013 yılına kadar terör, şiddet, kan, gözyaşı ve savaşın içinde yaşadı. 2013 yılında kazandığı başarı bursuyla İstanbul Aydın Üniversitesi Elektrik Elektronik Bölümünde yükseköğretime başlayan Arghandabi, bu yıl üniversiteden mezun oldu. Mezun olur olmaz dünyanın en büyük enerji firmalarından biri olan Nordex'te çalışmaya başladı. (İHA)



## “A success story from Kandahar to NASA”

The success of an Afghan-origin refugee who was born in Kandahar and received his university education in Turkey with scholarship is reported. The news reports how the refugee was living in his own country "in the middle of terrorism, violence, blood, tears and war" until 2013 and that "some people who had to be stranded away from their homeland chose Turkey" and that completely changed their lives by referring to the success of the refugee. However, no information is given on how these refugees maintain such "lives" and how many of them have the means for education in this news report. Instead, the news report names the decisions of around 170 thousand refugees who ran away from the war in Afghanistan taking refuge in Turkey as a personal "choice".

Another one of the striking findings of the study is, as can be seen in Graph 13 below, that the success stories of refugees have only been published on the front page <sup>15</sup> only in 4 news reports in an 18-month period. Front pages of newspapers are created by editors and chief editors by choosing the content that is deemed to be the important events of the day and that they wish to inform the reader about as a priority and placing it on the page in a manner that will capture the attention of the reader. The space a news report occupies and its placement on the first page are also determined based on the value the editor and the chief editor attribute to it. Therefore,

<sup>15</sup> All these news reports were published on Hürriyet newspaper with the following headings: “İTÜ’s Afghan champion” 05. 07. 2018, “Hard path of the champion” 22. 07. 2018; “The path of the Ravdas”, 02. 01. 2018 and “Art that sought refuge in İstanbul” 24. 07. 2017; three of these reports focus on personal success stories while only the last one is on Syrian painters who opened an art centre in İstanbul. The heading "Syrian art camp" was used in the continuation of this report on following pages. The word "camp" as used in the headline should be particularly noted. The reference to the "refugee camps" using this word recalls "temporariness" just like refugees accommodating in camps despite the news being on the success story of Syrian artists.

it matters what incidents and themes about refugees appear on the first page. The study has discovered that the news reports about migration and asylum matters that were deemed worthy to be placed on the first page in national and local press during the 18-month period were predominantly about the drama of refugees (25 reports and columns), Turkey's refugee policy (23 reports and columns), cohesion and integration of refugees (21 reports and columns), their return to their countries (19 reports and columns), human trafficking (18 reports and columns) and crime-violence (15 reports and columns). This distribution demonstrates that refugees are brought onto the front cover with dramatic incidents that might capture the reader's attention, when they are associated with human trafficking and crime or within the framework of subjects such as Turkey's political choices and matters of cohesion or repatriation. On the other hand, newspapers chose to either completely overlook or allocate very little front-page coverage to matters of education, housing, health problems, employment and unemployment as they apply to refugees or their success stories as mentioned above.



\*Multiple-coding has been used in this graph.

When we examined to what extent the themes that were explored differed between reports and columns, it was observed that columns primarily focused on the issues of Turkey's refugee

policy (47 columns) as well as discrimination, lynching and ill treatment of refugees (31 columns). (See Table 9). Nevertheless, further analysis is required to understand the ratio of columns problematizing discrimination against refugees where the content is anti-discriminatory and columns where the refugees are held responsible for the problem. On the other hand, the population of refugees (14 columns), urban contamination (11 columns) and the economic cost of refugees (20 columns) are some of the themes that stand out in columns. Graph 13 also shows that refugee success stories never had any coverage on columns published on the front pages of newspapers.

Theme	News	Column	Talk-Interview
Camps and Accommodation Conditions	48	1	0
Education	87	5	1
Health	60	3	3
Population Increase/Refugee Population/Number	48	14	2
Urban Contamination/Degeneration	30	11	1
Economy (Cost of Refugees)	41	20	0
Employment and Unemployment	72	10	2
Assistance	86	5	3
EU Refugee Deal	64	5	0
Refugee policy of foreign countries, institutions and organizations	93	12	0
Turkey's border policy/foreign relations	55	6	0
Turkey's refugee policy	210	47	0
Refugees' Status in Turkey	53	9	1
Refugees' Cohesion/Integration	274	16	5
Refugees' Tragedy	165	20	5
Repatriation of Refugees	128	16	1
Discrimination/Lynch/Ill-treatment Against Refugees	71	31	1
Crime/Violence	162	7	1
Death/Accident on Migration Routes	81	3	0
Human Trafficking	363	3	0
War/Civil War in Syria	17	1	0
Studies/Reports on Refugees	107	16	0

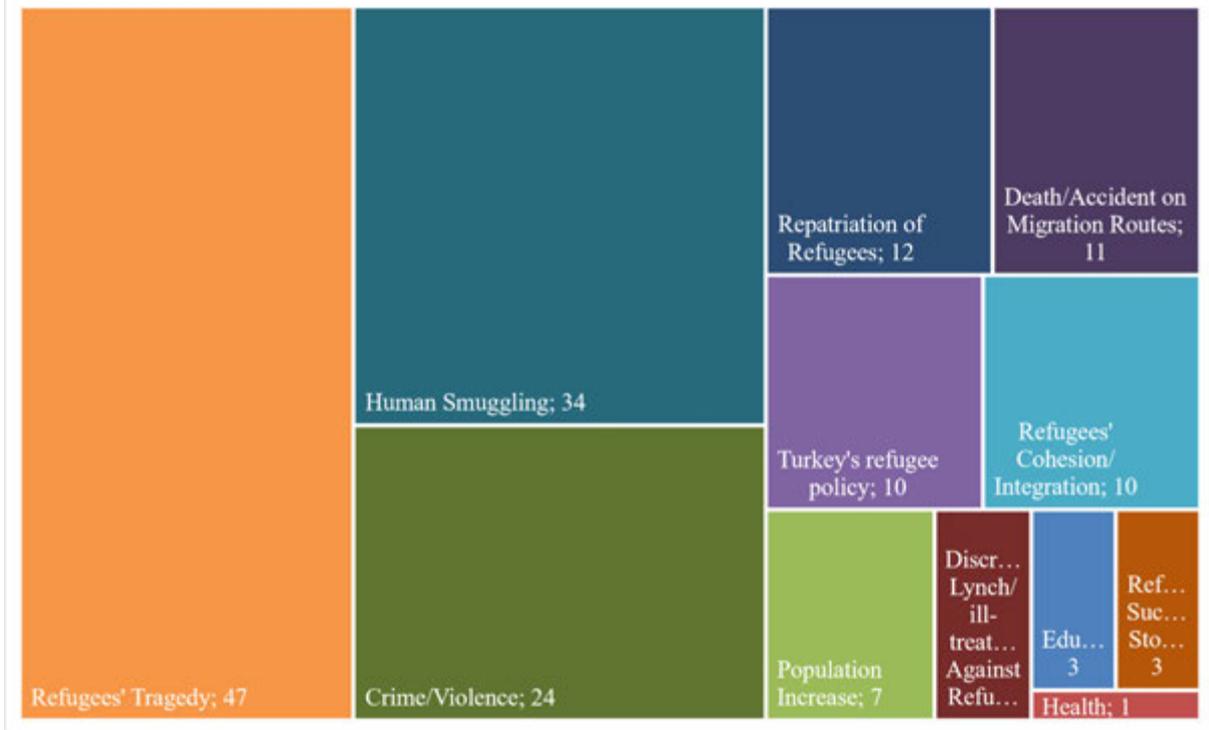
Refugee Success Stories/Richness/Investments	60	5	0
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\*Multiple-coding has been used in this table.

When we had look at the themes of the low number of talks and interviews within the texts that were examined, it was observed that the drama of refugees and their cohesion and integration had a dominant place and that themes such as healthcare, population increase, employment, urban contamination and assistance were also treated in interviews conducted with refugees.

Even though the thematic distribution of television news followed a similar line as newspaper news in general, it can be argued that the theme of the drama of refugees received a lot more coverage (39.5%) than it did in newspaper news where the percentage was 10.3% due to the nature of television news, which favours sensational footage and content. The theme of human trafficking was in second place (20% in newspaper news against 28.6% in television news). Moreover, criminal and violent incidents (20.2% against 9.2% in newspaper news) and stories of death on migration routes (9.2% against 4.6% in newspaper news) were two other themes that received more coverage in television news compared to newspaper news. The cohesion and integration of refugees, a leading theme in newspaper news, got more limited coverage in television news (8.4% against 16% in newspaper news). On the other hand, themes of education (4 pieces) and healthcare (1 piece) for refugees and success stories (3 pieces) received almost no coverage in television news.

**GRAPH 14. THEMES ON TV NEWS**



\*Multiple-coding has been used in this graph.

### Whose Point of View Do the Reports and Columns Reflect?

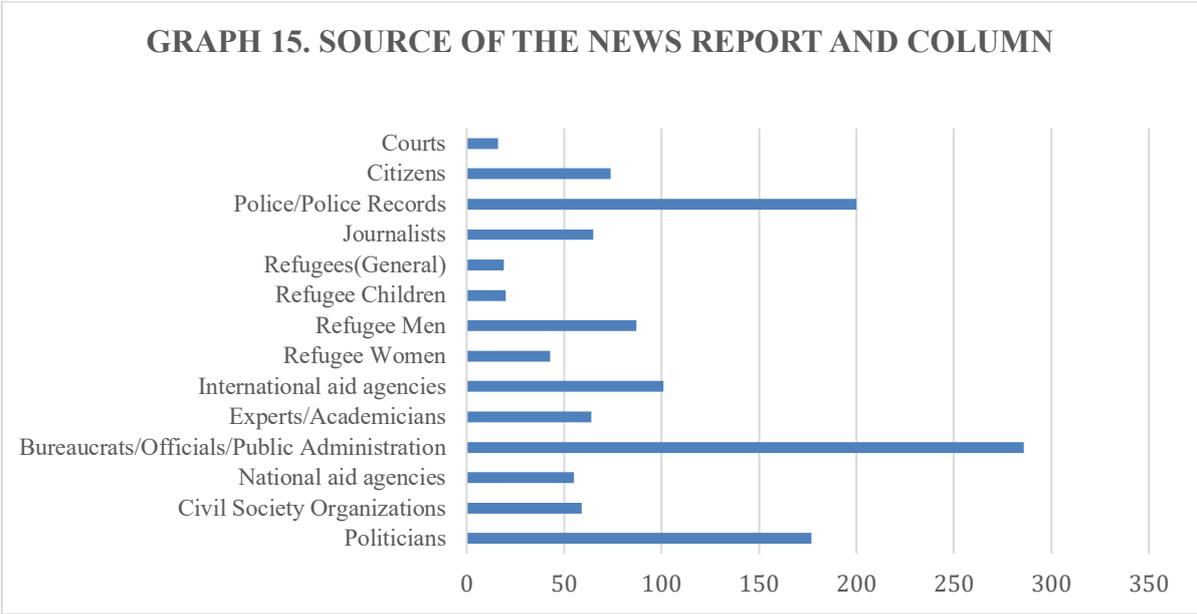
Who the press considers as the source for the reports and columns when treating their themes and who the reports and columns are about -in other words, who the actor/subject of the news is matter as much as what themes the press chooses to convey the information about refugees through since these are pointers to the ideological preferences that lie in the background of the information and whose point of view the "journalist" uses to convey the information. At this point, the question "What is the news about?" needs to be assessed together with the questions "Who is the source of the news?" and "Who is the news about?".

### Invisibility of Refugees as the News Source

In conventional journalism, the authorities that journalists refer to for the most part as their news source are police records, government officials, politicians, public institutions and organizations and to some extent experts. This preference, which allows for easy access to

verifiable information for journalists, also prevents the “voice” and "testimony" of the people or the victims of a given incident from making their way onto newspaper pages since it reflects a preconceived notion regarding who is valuable as a news source and whose point of view, voice or testimony is worth conveying.

Leaving columns and interviews aside, in 487 newspaper reports (29.4%) out of the total 1654 that were assessed within the framework of this study, it was not possible to determine who the news source was. The analysis revealed that journalists, as per the codes of conventional journalism, considered bureaucrats, administrators, decision makers (286 reports) and politicians (177 reports) as the news source among the remaining reports. Moreover, the police and police records constituted the news source in 200 reports. What is striking about Graph 15 is the low number of reports where anonymous refugees or refugee men, women and children were seen as the news source. The total number of reports where they were considered as the source was 169. While refugee men were the news source in more than half of these reports (51.4%), refugee women were considered as the source in only one fourth of these.



These low numbers mean that the voice of refugees is not carried onto newspaper pages and that refugees are not seen as worthy news sources<sup>16</sup>. Although this situation applies similarly

<sup>16</sup> For an example of the low number of reports where immigrants and refugees were seen as the news source or where their word was conveyed see "178 came out of a divided truck bed" Habertürk,

to both the national and the local press, as it can be seen from Table 10, the ratio of refugee women being considered as the source in reports and columns in the local press is far lower.

Similarly, the number of reports and columns where civil society organizations were considered as the source was also quite limited. Civil society organizations that carry out work in matters pertaining to refugees constituted the source for only 3.2% of all news reports and columns. The ratio was barely 9% in total for national and international aid organizations. The low percentage of either refugees or organizations working in the field of refugee rights being considered as news sources points to a significant problem regarding the media's function of informing the public opinion. This stance shows that members of the press, who position themselves within impartial and objective journalism based on their professional ideologies, are almost completely failing to cover the opinion and point of view of one of the parties of the incident they are reporting.

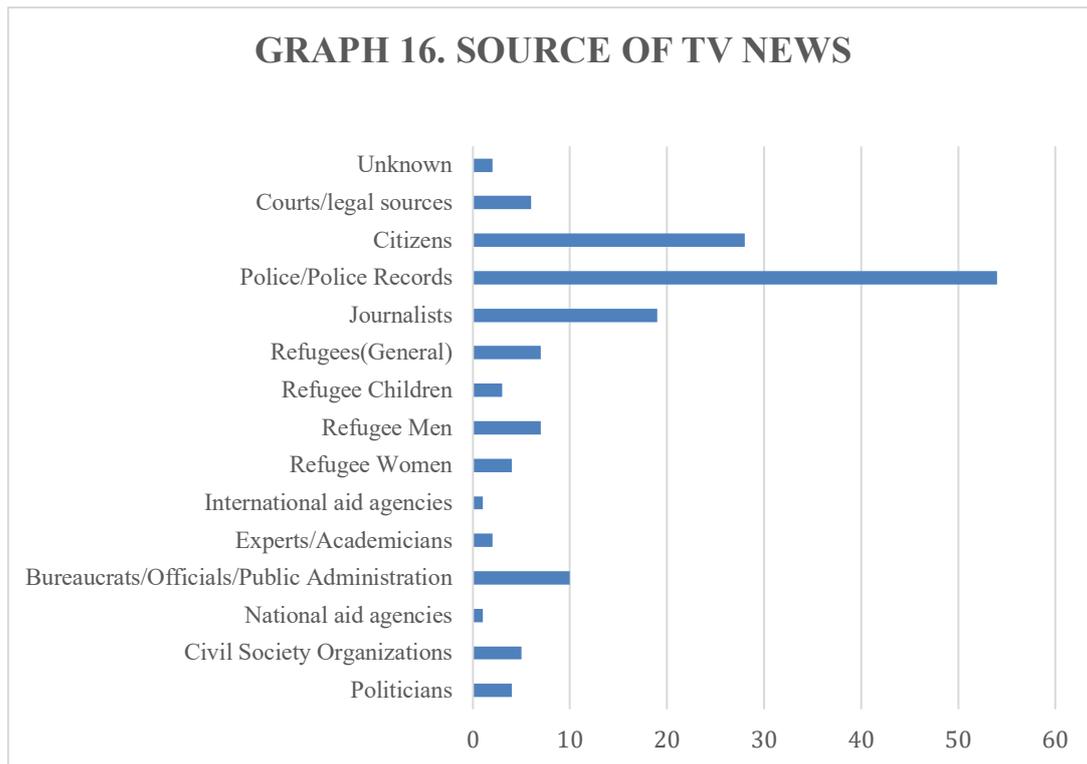
**Table 10. Source of reports and columns according to type of newspaper**

Source	Type of Newspaper		
	National	Local	Total
Politicians	103	83	186
Civil Society Organizations	35	25	60
National Aid Agencies	33	26	59
Bureaucrats/Administrators/Public Administration	155	141	296
Experts/Academicians	45	29	74
International Aid Organizations	62	48	110
Refugee Woman	36	8	44
Refugee Men	60	31	91
Refugee Children	13	9	22
Anonymous Refugees	16	7	23
Journalists	112	31	143
Police/Police Records	109	93	202

09.02.2018; "Syrian art camp", 24.07.2017; "I was completely burnt when a bomb fell on me" (Interview), Hürriyet Kelebek supplement, 26.09.2017; "We won't go even if the war ends", Milliyet, 01.02.2018

Citizens	54	27	81
Courthouse	5	11	16
Unknown	380	166	546
Other	5	1	6
Total	1159	674	1829

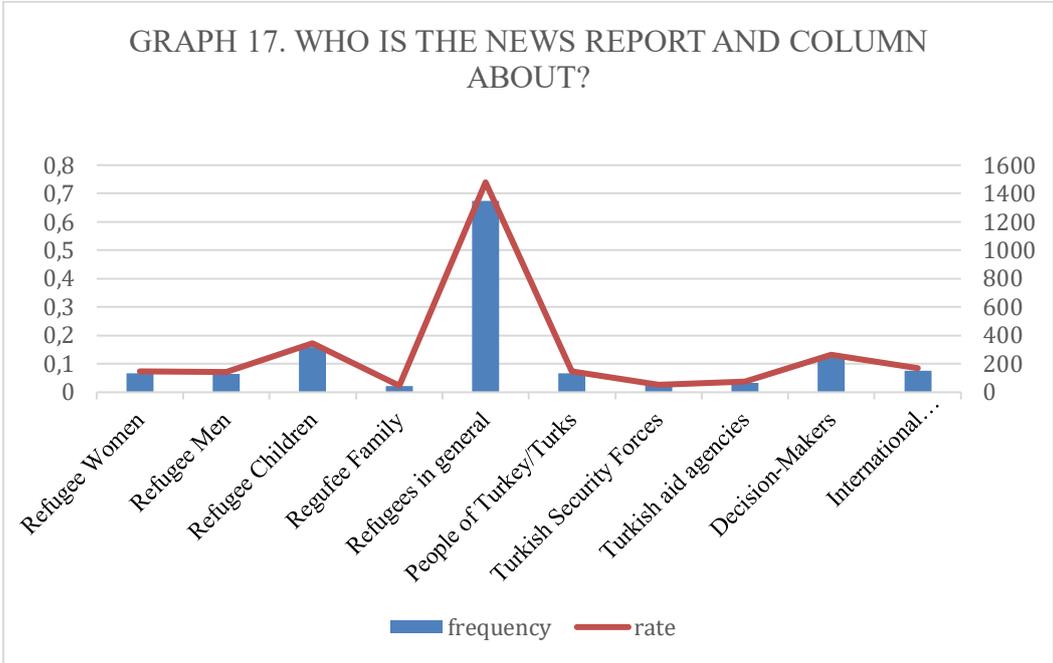
When television news was examined, it was observed that only 2 news reports had unknown sources in contrast with newspaper reports. While around 11% of newspaper reports relied on police records as their source, 45.4% of television reports were based on police reports. This difference again shows the tendency of television journalism to attribute newsworthiness to sensational events that are reflected onto police reports as well as crime and violence. Apart from this, it was observed that in 23.5% of the reports the members of the host community, i.e., citizens and in 16% of the reports the journalists, that is to say, reports printed by newspapers were shown as the source. The ratio of citizens being considered as the source in newspaper reports and columns was 4.4%. The percentage of television reports where refugees were the news source (17.6%) was also higher compared to newspapers, which considered refugees as the news source in 11% of their reports and columns. This difference between newspaper reports and television reports in terms of considering citizens and refugees as the news source stems from the tradition in television journalism where interviews are conducted to rely on eye witness testimonies.



#### Ambiguity of refugees as news actors

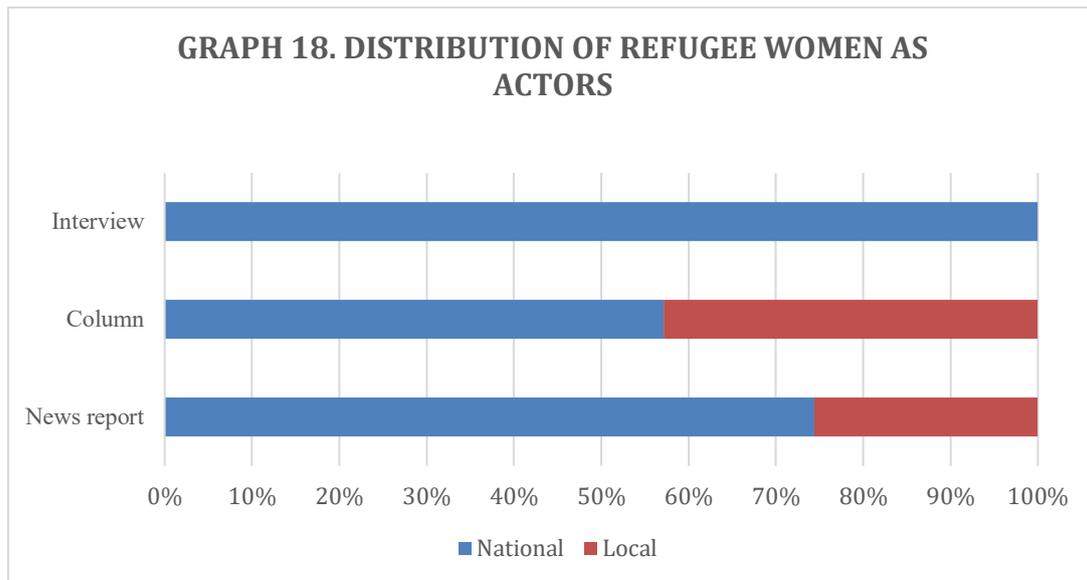
When we examined the news reports and columns about immigrants and refugees that were published in the 7 national and 7 local newspapers over the 18-month period, it was observed that the vast majority of these (1348 reports and columns, 73.9%) referred to refugees or immigrants as a general category, that, nonetheless, there were no clear mentions of who these people were and thus refugees were rendered ambiguous as a subject. In other words, while information is conveyed in reports and columns about Syrian refugees, fugitive immigrants, asylum-seekers or Syrians in general, refugees are not able to assume a distinct identity as the subject or the actor of the news. For instance, the total number of reports and columns about refugee women was 133 (7.3%). The ratio is almost the same for refugee men (7.2%). Refugee children are portrayed in a total of 316 reports and columns (17.3%) that are especially about cohesion, integration and education. Other than refugees, decision-makers (13.2%), international organizations and institutions (8.4%) and the Turkish public in general (7.4%) predominantly appear as the subject or actor of the reports. These findings demonstrate that refugees can become the actors of reports and columns only as parts of a general category and

that refugee women, men and children only get limited coverage on newspapers as the actors of reports and columns.



\*Multiple-coding has been used in this graph.

Especially a comparison between the national and local press shows that the visibility of refugee women in the local press as news actors corresponds to roughly one third of their visibility in the national press. While the number of reports and columns in the local press where refugee women were coded as the actor was 35, the number reached 98 in the national press. In addition, only 7 columns where refugee women were coded as the subject/actor were detected. This low number leads us to think that the media's tendency not to see refugee women as the subject of reports is much stronger in the ranks of columnists who can be considered as gatekeepers. On the other hand, only 1 interview/talk was detected where refugee women were positioned as the actor (where the interview was done with a refugee woman).



When the themes of reports and columns published in the newspapers were assessed, it was observed that women refugees were positioned as the subject or the actor mostly within news stories about cohesion and integration (38 reports and columns) or dramatized news stories (38 reports and columns). Moreover, the themes of crime and violence (22 reports and columns) and discrimination and lynching of refugees (17 reports and columns) are also explored within reports and columns where refugee women take centre stage as the actor. Crime and violence (62 reports and columns) was the leading theme for immigrant and refugee men. While refugee men received almost no coverage on newspaper pages in connection with the themes of cohesion, integration and employment, they were portrayed in 23 reports and columns as part of dramatized news stories. Leading themes for refugee children were cohesion and integration in 108 reports and columns, drama of refugees in 74 reports and columns, education in 55 reports and columns, healthcare in 27 reports and columns and crime and violence in 22 reports and columns. These figures show that refugee men are represented within a more negative framework in the media compared to refugee women and children.

The distribution of these reports and columns shows that refugee men appear in the press through themes that associate them with violence and facilitate the increase of discriminatory judgements instead of themes that would facilitate the acceptance in the public opinion of them staying in Turkey and building a new life through cohesion and integration. On the other hand, there is no significant difference between refugee women, children and men in terms of reports and columns where success stories are conveyed.

When we analysed the reports and columns where refugees and immigrants were treated as a general category, human trafficking was the leading theme with 351 reports and columns (26%). It was followed by Turkey's refugee policy with 235 reports and columns, drama of refugees with 184 reports and columns, the cohesion and integration of refugees with 165 reports and columns and repatriation of refugees with 141 reports and columns.

**Table 11. Breakdown of refugees and immigrants according to themes of news reports and columns where they are coded as actors**

	Refugee Women	Refugee Men	Refugee Children	Refugees in General	Total
Camps and Accommodation Conditions	1	0	10	41	46
Education	5	1	55	45	88
Health	4	7	27	35	64
Population Increase/Refugee Population/Number	0	1	5	61	64
Urban Contamination/Degeneration	1	0	5	41	42
Economy (Cost of Refugees)	0	0	2	58	59
Employment and Unemployment	6	2	5	76	83
Assistance	3	3	20	69	90
EU Refugee Deal	0	0	3	62	62
Refugee policy of foreign countries, institutions and organizations	3	0	10	91	96
Turkey's border policy/foreign relations	2	1	3	54	56
Turkey's refugee policy	2	1	16	235	242
Refugees' Status in Turkey	4	1	8	54	60
Refugees' Cohesion/Integration	38	3	108	165	286
Refugees' Tragedy	38	23	74	96	184
Repatriation of Refugees	4	4	4	141	144
Discrimination/Lynch/Il-treatment Against Refugees	17	6	13	74	97

Crime/Violence	22	62	22	86	162
Death/Accident on Migration Routes	7	6	11	76	84
Human Trafficking	6	11	13	351	364
Studies/Reports on Refugees	7	2	20	113	122
Refugee Success Stories	15	18	14	29	64
Other	9	6	10	26	51
Total	133	131	315	1345	1751

\*Multiple-coding has been used in this table.

All such considerations demonstrate us that news items prefer to deliver the information regarding refugees mostly from the perspective of the majority actors and in cases where refugees are more on the forefront as the news actors, they are addressed in terms of cohesion/integration that may be associated with the interests of the majority actors or within the framework of themes such as Turkey's refugee policy; and furthermore, they are associated with dramatic incidents that may draw the interest of the reader or with the human trafficking that results in dramatic incidents such as accident or death and that mainly also involve criminal and violent acts. It has been identified that refugees have a limited coverage as the actors of the news in news reports or columns relating to problems faced by refugees such as education, healthcare, accommodation or employment.

When it comes to television news, refugees are observed to be standing out as news actors as members of an anonymous category as is the case in newspaper news. On the other hand, the rate of refugee children, men and women being used as news actors is higher as opposed to those in newspaper news.

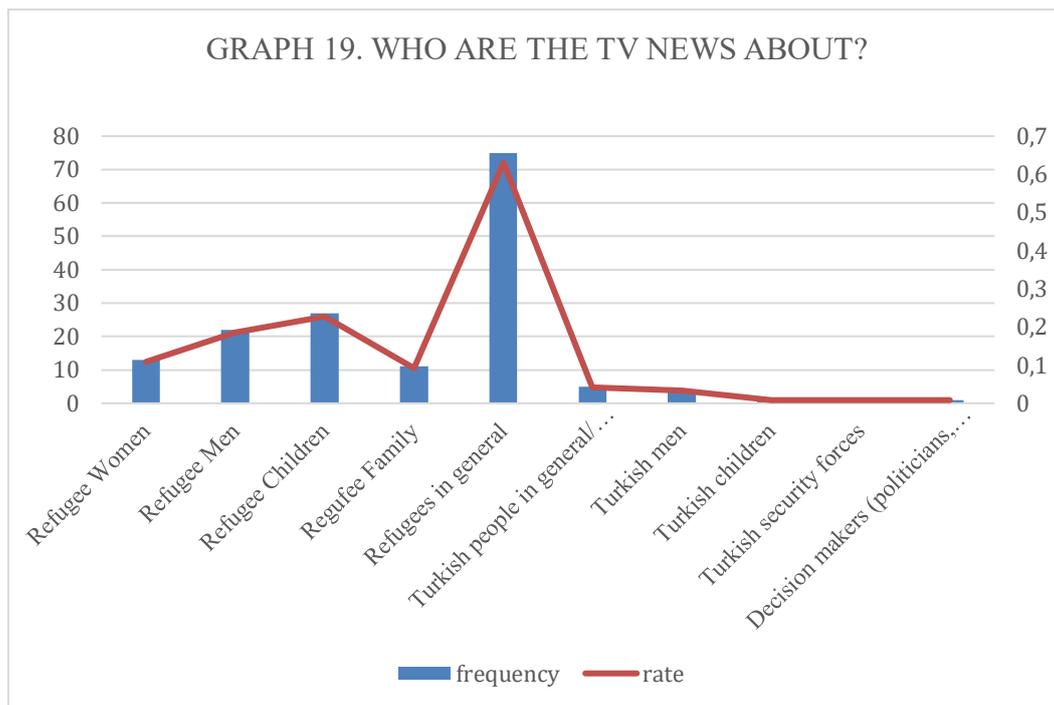


Table 12 shows that the news actors in news reports related to the tragedies of refugees are mainly refugee children and that refugee children are also subjects of news reports related to death on migration routes and human trafficking. Refugee women can also become news actors when the item is on dramatic incidents or is about human trafficking, crime and violence. It is observed that refugee men stand out in news related to crime and violence except for the news reports where refugees are addressed as a general category.

**Table 12. Thematic distribution of television news where refugees are coded as actors**

	Refugee Women	Refugee Men	Refugee Children	Refugee Family	Refugees in General	Total
Education	0	0	2	0	2	4
Population Increase/Refugee Population/Number	0	0	2	0	6	8
Urban contamination/degeneration	0	0	0	0	3	3
Assistance	1	0	2	0	2	5
Turkey's refugee policy	0	0	0	0	10	10

Refugees' cohesion/integration	1	1	7	0	5	10
Refugees' tragedy	9	8	18	8	24	47
Discrimination/lynch/ill-treatment against refugees	0	0	1	0	3	4
Crime, violence	3	9	1	1	13	24
Death/accident on migration routes	2	2	4	2	8	11
Human trafficking	5	4	4	4	28	34
Refugee Success Stories/	0	1	0	0	2	3
Other	2	5	2	4	11	24

\*Multiple-coding has been used in this table.

## Representation of refugees in news reports and columns

### Representation of refugees in texts: Association with negative and positive incidents

The role attributed to the actors in the news report, i.e. to what extent they are associated with negative or positive incidents is as important as the subject of the news reports and columns with regards to demonstrating what kind of a framework is presented by reporters on refugees and immigrants. In line with the conventional journalism, approximately 66% (1206 news reports and columns) of the news reports and columns reviewed under the study present a neutral representation of refugees. This rate does not significantly change when columns and interviews are excluded from the scope (66.9%). In the rest of the news reports and columns, it has been determined that refugees and immigrants are depicted from a frame of positive or negative incidents. Whether refugees are covered in newspaper pages in connection with positive or negative incidents is important for guiding the perception of the public on refugees. As can be seen in Table 13, refugees and immigrants have been represented in connection with

positive incidents in 244 (13.3%)<sup>17</sup> and with negative incidents in 379 (20.7%)<sup>18</sup> news reports and columns in a total of 1829. The higher number of news reports and columns where refugees are represented in a negative context as opposed to the positive ones can help legitimize discriminatory judgements and convictions of the public on refugees although such news reports and columns do not directly contain discriminatory content.

**Table 13. Representation of refugees per type of newspaper and text**

Type of Text	Type of Newspaper	Associated with positive incidents	Associated with negative incidents
News	National	116	198
	Local	112	121
Column	National	7	48
	Local	7	10
Interview	National	2	2
	Local	0	0
Total	National	125	248
	Local	119	131
	Total	244	379

Regarding the distribution of the news reports on positive or negative incidents related to refugees, it has been observed that local press covered more news reports on positive incidents regarding refugees when compared to national press. 116 news reports have been identified where refugees were reported in connection with positive incidents among a total of 1023 news reports in a period of 18 months. This figure corresponds to 11.3% of the total number of news reports in national press. In local press, the number of news reports where refugees were represented in connection with positive incidents was 112 in a total of 631 news reports, i.e.

<sup>17</sup> For examples of news reports where refugees and immigrants are represented in connection with positive incidents, see “Apple of eye of immigrant women, now a brand”, İstanbul newspaper, 06. 09. 2018; “3500 children integrated”, Sözcü, 26.09.2018; “Certificate for Syrians receiving greenhouse production training”, Milliyet, 12. 12. 2018; “Syrian children planted trees in the soil they sought refuge in”, Milliyet, 09.04.2017; “Works of Iranian refugees enchanted”, Sabah, 5.06.2017.

<sup>18</sup> For examples of news reports and columns where refugees and immigrants are represented in connection with negative incidents, see “Merely Torbalı is worth 14 countries”, Yeni Asır, 01. 07. 2017; “My mother and father are victims of revenge”, Yeni Asır, 03. 02. 2018; “Cost of Syrian refugees turned out to be very heavy”, Sözcü, 18. 07. 2017; “What's it got to do with it?” (Fatih Altaylı, Column) Habertürk, 09. 07. 2017, “When society does not react”, (Emin Çölaşan, Column), Sözcü, 06. 02. 2018).

17.7% of the total number of news reports published in the local press. The fact that local press reports more news on positive incidents as opposed to national press can be explained by higher chances of reporters' encounters with refugees at the local level.

On the other hand, although local press precedes national press when it comes to depicting refugees in connection with positive incidents, no significant difference has been observed between local or national press in terms of the rate of news reports on negative incidents among all news reports. A total of 198 news reports have been identified where refugees have been represented in connection with negative incidents among the news reported by the national press and 121 such news reports have been identified in local press. The ratio of these to total news reports is around 19% for both levels of press.

Regarding columns, it has been observed that a negative frame is used to present refugees in 58 columns out of a total of 162. In other words, convictions associating refugees with negative incidents have been included in more than one thirds of columns. The total number of columns depicting refugees with a positive frame is only 14. This figure corresponds only to 8.6% of all articles. In a comparison in terms of types of newspapers, it has been observed that refugees have been covered in connection with positive incidents in 7 out of a total of 39 columns in local press and in 7 out of 123 columns in national press whereas the ratio of such columns representing refugees associated with negative incidents was much higher in national press. Refugees have been covered with a frame of negative incidents in 48 columns (39%) in national press and in 10 columns (25.6%) in local press. These results indicate that columnists that have the opportunity to guide the opinions of the public have a more negative attitude against refugees. Moreover, it can also be stated that columnists that are in the position of gatekeepers in national press convey more content that may be instrumental in the emergence of negative opinions and judgements against refugees when compared to local press.

Regarding the themes of news reports and columns where refugees are represented in connection with positive incidents, cohesion of refugees (100 news reports and columns), success stories (58 news reports and columns) and employment (28 news reports and columns) are the prominent ones. However, crime and violence (123 news reports and columns), human trafficking (118 news reports and columns), Turkey's refugee policy (50 news reports and columns), urban contamination, degeneration (39 news reports and columns) and economy (37

news reports and columns) are the themes that are instrumental in coverage of refugees in a frame related to negative incidents.

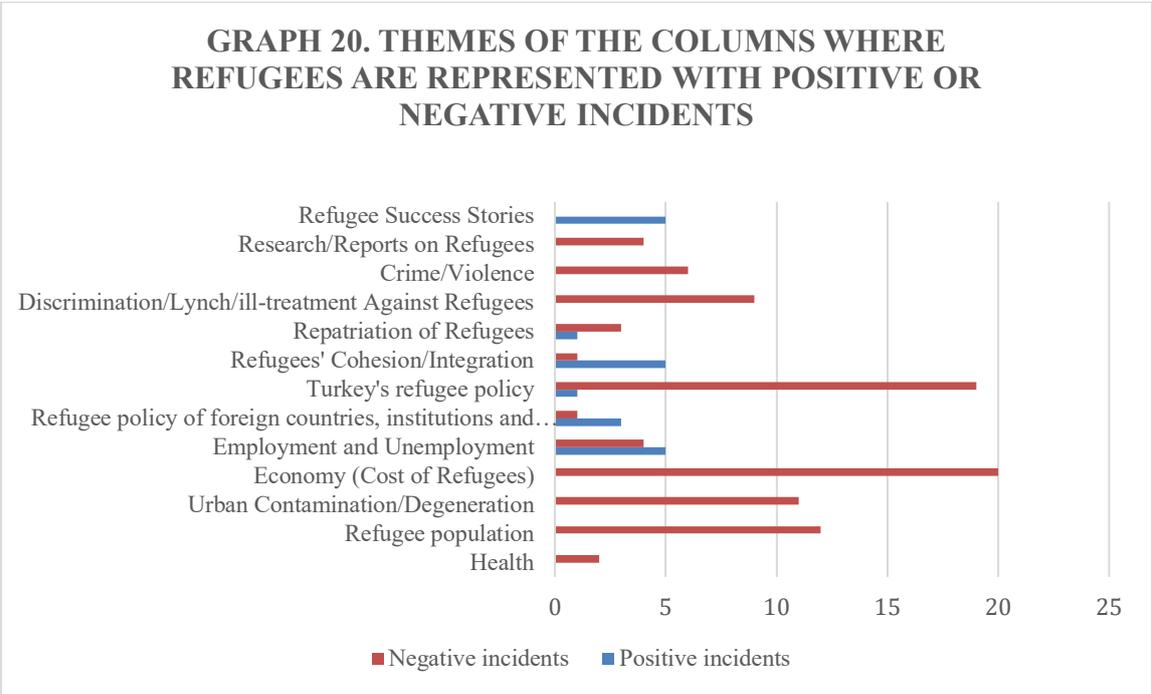
**Table 14. Breakdown of news reports and columns where refugees and immigrants are represented in connection with positive or negative incidents according to their themes**

Themes	Related to positive incidents	Related to negative incidents	Total
Camps and Accommodation Conditions	2	5	7
Education	33	5	38
Health	12	7	19
Population Increase/Refugee Population/Number	1	34	35
Urban Contamination, degeneration	0	39	39
Economy (Cost of Refugees)	1	37	38
Employment and Unemployment	28	20	48
Assistance	14	1	15
Turkey's refugee policy	10	50	60
Refugees' Status in Turkey	14	5	19
Refugees' Cohesion/Integration	100	3	103
Refugees' Tragedy	12	12	24
Repatriation of Refugees	20	10	30
Discrimination/Lynch/Ill-treatment Against Refugees	2	16	18
Crime/Violence	3	123	126
Human Trafficking	1	118	119
Refugee Success Stories	58	0	58
Other	33	57	90
<b>Total*</b>	<b>243</b>	<b>379</b>	<b>622</b>

\*Multiple-coding has been used in this table.

Graph 20 indicates that refugees and immigrants are represented with a frame of positive incidents in the themes of success stories (5 columns); cohesion and integration (5 columns); employment and unemployment (4 columns) but are represented in a negative frame in the themes of economy and cost of refugees (20 columns) and Turkey's refugee police (19 columns), urban contamination (11 columns) and population increase (12 columns). Thus, it is

observed that columns contributed to the dissemination of discriminatory public opinion that refugees are economic burdens, they pollute and degenerate cities and that they have too many children and reproduce. On the other hand, refugees have also been instruments used by columnists to express their opposition against the government via their criticisms of Turkey's refugee policy.



\*Multiple-coding has been used in this graph.

The following two examples can give an idea on how negative representation of refugees in news reports and columns emerge. The columns establish a connection between the presence of refugees in Turkey and the rising unemployment and the news report uses the word "fugitive" to refer to refugees and immigrants who endanger their lives with the hopes of a better life and become victims in the hands of a human trafficking gang.

## 80 milyonluk ülkede 29 milyon çalışıyor!

**T**emmuz ayı işsizlik oranına göre işsiz sayısı **88 bin kişi** arttı. İşsizlik **yüzde 10.8'e** çıktı. Bu kadar makyajı kim yaparsın güzelliği yarışmasında kafaya yarırdı. Size şöyle anlatayım... **Nüfusu 80 milyon** olan Türkiye'de **çalışabilir nüfus 60 milyon 700 bin...** İşgücü **32 milyon 800 bin...** Çalışan **29 milyon 265 bin...** Neredeyse 80 milyon kişiden **51 milyon** çalışmıyor, kendisine bakılmayı bekliyor! İşsiz sayısı sadece **yüzde 10.8'de** kalıyor!

Resmi açıklama **3 milyon 531 bin kişinin işsiz** olduğunu söylerken siz buna iş aramaktan sıkılmış, resmi olarak başvurmamış işsizleri de ekleyin. Ne etti? **6 milyon 310 bin...** Lakin işsizlik yüzde 18.2 olarak açıklanamadı.

Peki, **makyaj nasıl yapıldı?** İşsizliği düşük tutmak için **kadrosuz ve geçici işçiliğin** süresi uzatıldı. İşsizlerin geçici gelir desteği sağlamak için gerçekleştirilen **Toplum Yararına Programlardan** yararlanma süresi uzatıldı.

Tabloyu biraz daha netleştirelim. **Sağlık Bakanlığı, İŞKUR** vasıtasıyla Ankara'da görevlendirilecek **40 kişilik temizlik işçiliği** ilanına çıktı.

Başvuran sayısı **55 bin 538 kişi** olarak açıklandı. Bunların **3 bin 42'si üniversite mezunu**. 4 bin 184 de yükseköğretim mezunu olarak kuraya katılmaya hak kazandı.

Hani Türkiye'nin koalisyon hükümetlerinin ülkeyi felaket yönettiği yıllar vardı ya, işte o yıllardan biri olan **2000 yılında işsizlik yüzde 6.5'deydi**. İstikrar işsizliği katladı. Kriz ne zaman başladı? **Ağus-**

**Murat MURATOĞLU**



**tos ayında...** O tarihten beri her gün büyük bir şirket iflas öncesi **konkordato** ilan ediyor. Küçükler kimsenin haberi bile olmadan batıyor. Çalışanları işsiz kalıyor.

Zira sermayesi eriyen firmalar ya maliyet kısıyacak ya da batacak. **Maliyetini nasıl kısıyacak?** Son çıkan elektrikleri mi kapatacak? Yoksa çay ikramını mı azaltacak? Hayır, **çalışanı işten atacak**. Özel sektörde yatırım falan kalmadı. Yatırım yoksa ne yapacaksınız fazla elemanı? Haliyle firmalar **gider kısmak** adına işçi çıkardı.

Şirketler ne zaman eleman alır? Ülkenin istikrara kavuşacağına inanıp **büyüme beklentisine** güvenirse alır. Bu sayede daha çok iş yapacaktır. Daha çok kazanacaktır. Var mı öyle bir görüntü? Yok!

Bir de nur topu gibi **4 milyon Suriyeliyi** besliyoruz. Bu insanlar hayatlarını nasıl idame ettirecekler? Çalışacaklar. Daha azna, daha fazla ve kayıtsızca... **Çıkar Türk'ü, al Suriyeliyi...** Ne SGK ödersin, ne vergi...

Sahi işsizler sefaletten kırılırken toplanan paralar ile ne yapılır? Söyleyeyim, bu yolduktaki çayır çayır harcanır. Bunun **11 milyar lirası kamu bankalarına sermaye** olarak tanımlanır.

Madem oranı istediğin gibi ayarlıyorsun şu işsizliği yüzde 5 seviyelerine indir değil mi ama! Yakaşiyor mu bize? **Bunun da inanı yok, onun da olmayacak**. Lakin şekil olarak güzel duracak!

“29 million people work in a country of 80 million”

The column published in Sözcü newspaper establishes a connection between rising unemployment and employment of Syrian refugees in Turkey. Criticizing the government with the words "and we also feed 4 million Syrians like newborns", the author repeats unsubstantial claims that set the basis for discriminatory prejudices against refugees and establishes an opposition of "us" and "them" with the expressions "Fire Turks, Hire Syrians... Pay neither social security nor tax". He thus attributes the responsibility of the economic crisis and unemployment to the refugees in Turkey.



## “ ‘ 1-Day Delivery’ truck contained 48 fugitives ”

The news report is about the “rescue” operation for refugees and immigrants who, with the hopes of a better life, started a journey in the back of a transport truck of a human trafficking gang. While the news report referred to refugees and immigrants as “high number of fugitives, including children at the ages of 3-4, found semi-conscious” has the implication that they have committed a crime and thus negatively represents them.

On the other hand, the expression “1-day delivery truck” used in the headline is striking in the sense of how the discourse that reduces refugees to numbers and almost objectivises them is carried to the headline.

With regards to the type of framework used to represent which refugees in news reports and columns, it is observed that refugees represented with an unclear, neutral frame (68%) in the news reports and columns where are depicted as members of a general category and coded as the subject or actor of the news as such. However, when coded as a general category, refugees have been associated with positive incidents in 9.5% and with negative incidents in 22% of the news reports and columns about them. On the other hand, it has been identified that refugee women were represented in a positive manner in only 37% (28%) of the 133 news reports and columns where refugee women were the subjects/actors and that refugee children were covered in connection with positive incidents in only 20% (64 news reports and columns) in 316 news

reports and columns about them. While refugee men were represented in connection with positive incidents in 17.5% of the news reports and columns about them, they were covered in a frame of negative incidents in more than 40% of the news reports and columns where they are coded as the subject/actor of the news, which is different from the case of women and children. It is such that, the number of news reports where refugee men are covered in connection with negative incidents is almost equal to those where they are represented from an unclear/neutral frame.

**Table 15. Which refugees are represented in which way in news reports and columns?**

	Related to positive incidents	Related to negative incidents	Unclear / neutral	Total
Refugee Women	37	13	83	133
Refugee Men	23	53	55	131
Refugee Children	64	25	227	316
Anonymous Refugees	129	299	920	1348

When it comes to whether the representation of refugees in the news reports or columns differ according to newspapers, it has been observed that Sözcü is the newspaper that relates refugees with negative incidents most in national press. The number of news reports and columns covering refugees in connection with positive incidents is only 7. On the other hand, Hürriyet, which published 37 news reports and columns associating refugees with positive incidents, represented refugees in connection with negative incidents in 43 news reports and columns and Milliyet in 46 news reports and columns while covering them in relation to positive incidents in 31 news reports and columns. These figures indicate that although the national press follows a generally unclear/neutral line about refugees, they cover refugees more in connection with negative incidents rather than positive ones. The outlook in local press is slightly different as opposed to national press. Again, although a neutral stance was dominant without any overwhelmingly positive or negative representation, it has been identified that representation in connection with positive incidents was higher in İstanbul Newspaper, Gaziantep Güneş and

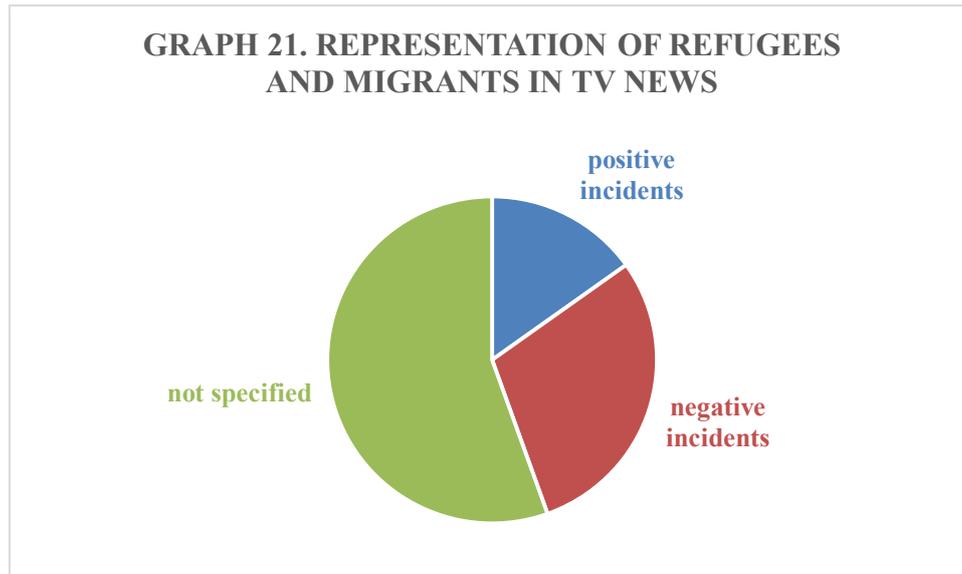
Hâkimiyet newspapers as opposed to negative incidents. Yeni Asır, Hatay Asi, Hâkimiyet and Adana Günaydın newspapers reported more negative incidents than positive.

**Table 16. How are refugees represented in newspapers?**

	Positive	Negative	Unclear / neutral	Total
Hürriyet	37	43	145	225
Sabah	16	22	77	115
Sözcü	8	70	88	166
Posta	11	22	57	90
Habertürk	19	36	206	261
Milliyet	31	46	189	266
Takvim	3	8	19	30
Gaziantep Güneş	36	22	91	149
Hâkimiyet	15	12	30	57
Hatay Asi	1	9	27	37
İstanbul Gazetesi	41	26	87	154
Yeni Asır	10	19	58	87
Adana Günaydın	8	18	33	59
Ankara Başkent	8	26	99	133
Total	244	379	1206	1829

When it comes to television news, it has been observed that refugees and immigrants were represented in a neutral/impartial manner in 55.5% of the news reports. This rate is lower compared to the rate in newspaper reports and columns which is 66%. On the other hand, refugees and immigrants are represented more in connection with negative incidents in television news reports. While negative representation of refugees corresponds to 20% of the news reports and columns in newspapers, this ratio is over 29% in television news. However, television news reports are more inclined to represent refugees in connection with positive incidents when compared to newspapers. While this rate was 13% for newspapers, it was 15% for television news.

**GRAPH 21. REPRESENTATION OF REFUGEES AND MIGRANTS IN TV NEWS**

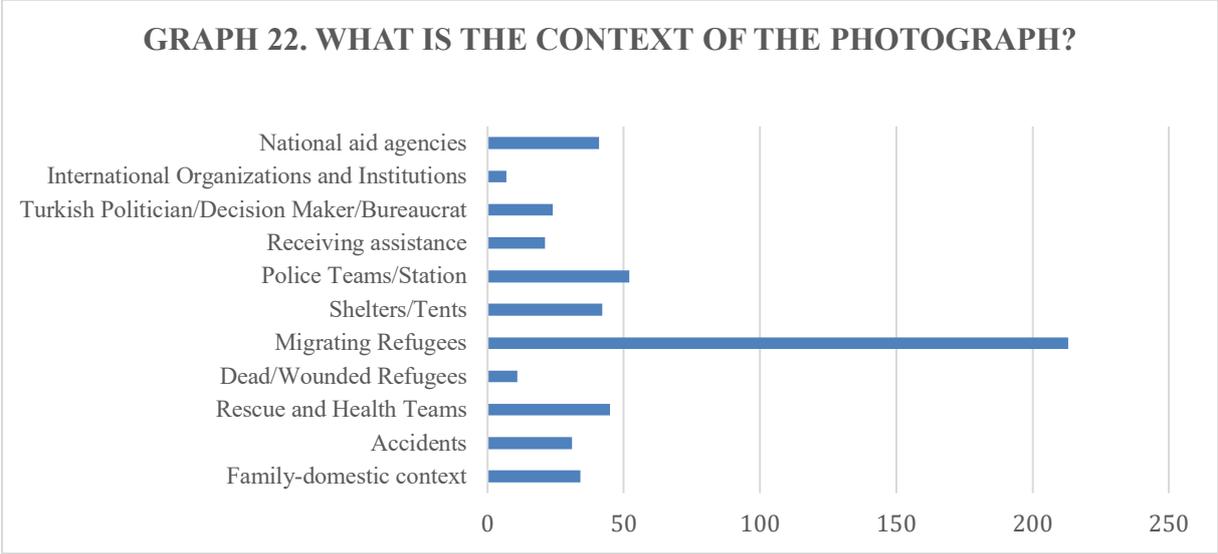


What do the images tell about refugees?

Photographs present preliminary information to the reader on what the news report or column is about. Readers get a first impression on a news report usually through headlines and photographs. After reading the headlines, sub headings and photo captions, the reader decides whether to read the rest of the news report or the column based on this first impression. That is why, photographs are highly important especially in terms of news. Photographs not only tell the reader what the news report is about but also inform the reader on the attributes of the incident or situation covered in the news. Photographs often give a clue to the reader on what to think about the person or persons covered in the news report. The angle of the shot, framing, light and other factors may either help the reader to empathize with or get a positive impression about the person in the photograph or may cause them to have negative feelings. Therefore, it is important to determine what kind of an impression the refugee image in news photographs create on the reader (the coder of the news for this study). For this purpose, first the sort of context established about refugees by all photographs used in the news reports and columns in the scope of this study were reviewed and then the photographs containing images of refugees were separately analysed.

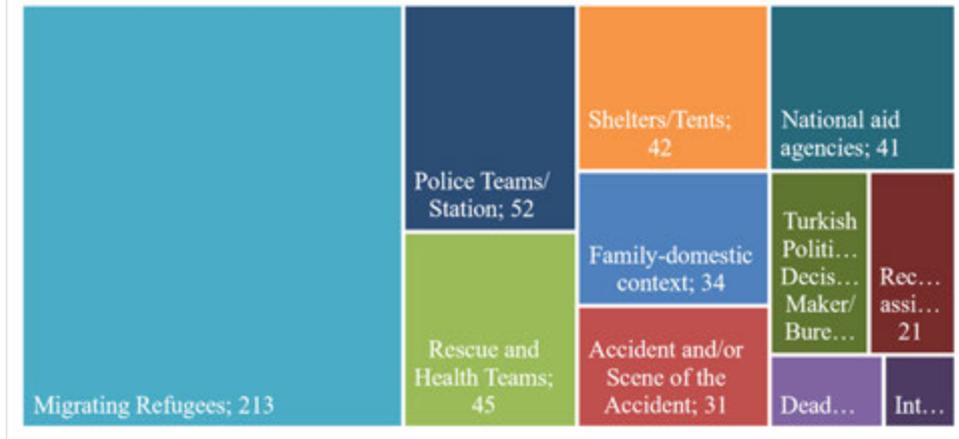
It has been identified that photographs were used in a total of 1387 news reports and columns in the scope of the study. The context in which one third of such photographs (427 photographs) were taken could not be identified. When reviewed in terms of which context is reflected in the remaining 960 photographs, it has been identified that approximately one fourth of these cover

images of Turkish politicians, decision-makers and bureaucrats (227; 23.6%) and of national and international aid organizations (91 photographs). Moreover, images of refugees on migratory routes were included in 217 photographs.



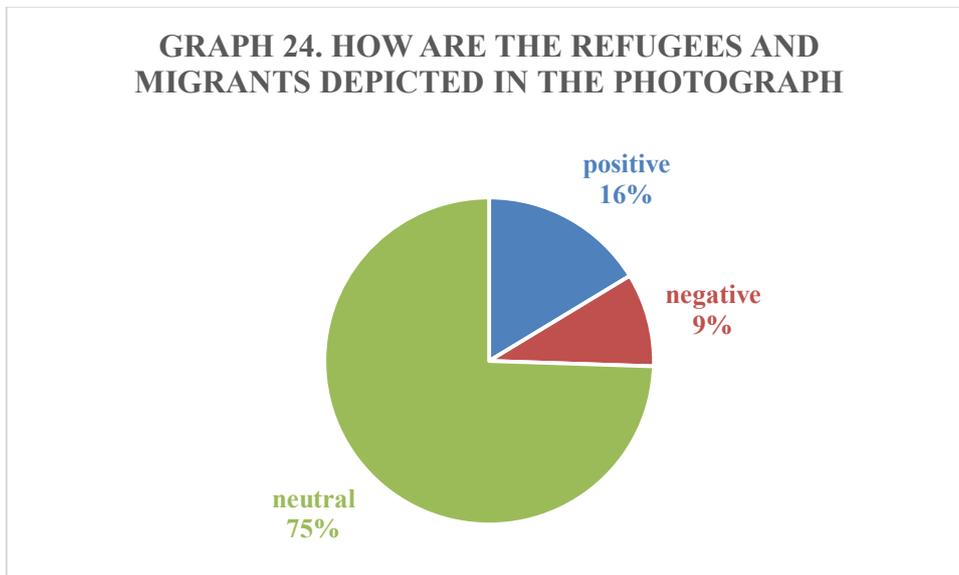
The total number of photographs containing images of refugees is 909. This figure corresponds to 66% of the photographs in total. In other words, 34% of all photographs covering asylum and migration topics did not contain any images of refugees. On the other hand, in around one fourth of photographs including images of refugees (in 275 photographs), no information could be gathered on the context. In other words, information on where and under which conditions the photograph was taken cannot be derived by using the images. In the remaining 562 photographs, it is observed that most of them (213 photographs; 38%) include images of migrating refugees. This is followed by images of police teams and police stations with 52 photographs; i.e. when refugees are not photographed on migration routes, they are represented most in a context associated with crime. Furthermore, refugees appeared together with rescue and health teams in 45 photographs.

**GRAPH 23. CONTEXT OF PHOTOGRAPHS WHERE REFUGEES ARE REPRESENTED**



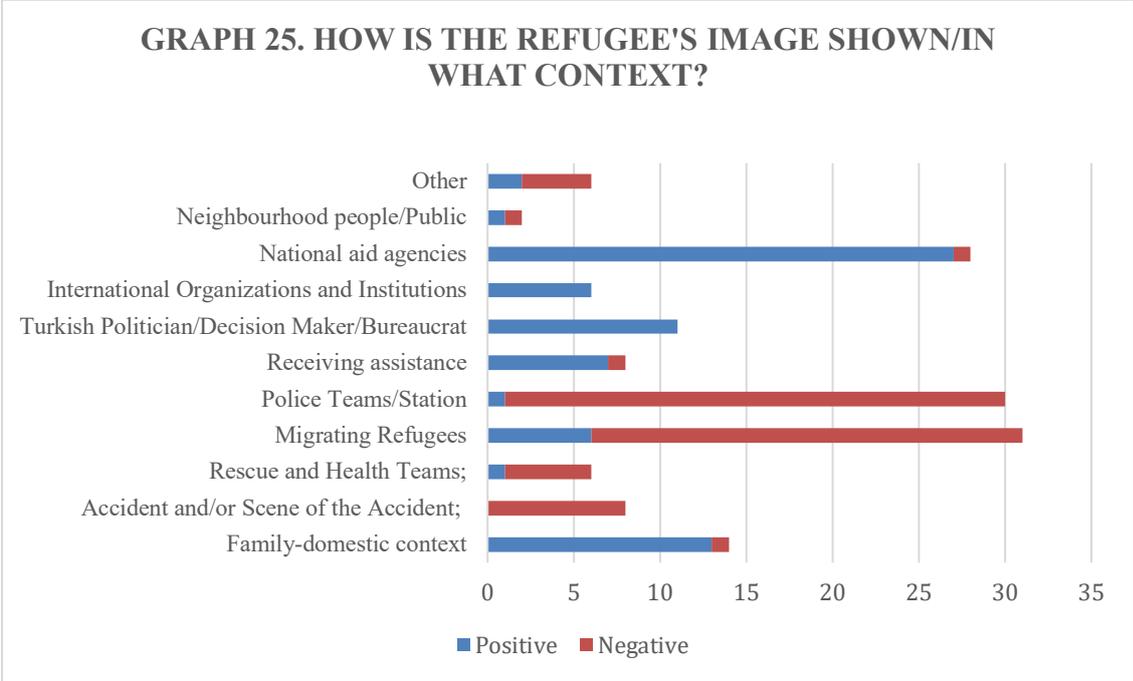
With regards to the impression created by photographs about refugees, it has been identified that in one fourth of photographs containing images of refugees, there were elements causing positive impression (compassion, empathy, appreciation, light, refreshing, etc.) or those causing negative impression (making uncomfortable, image causing revulsion or fear, violent element, ugliness, dark, etc.): a positive impression can be derived in 148 photographs (16.2% of all photographs) on refugees and a negative one in 84 photographs (9.2%).

**GRAPH 24. HOW ARE THE REFUGEES AND MIGRANTS DEPICTED IN THE PHOTOGRAPH**



With regards to the context in which photographs positively or negatively representing refugees are depicted, it has been observed that refugees were mainly presented with a negative framework in photographs including images of migrating refugees, police teams and police

stations or images of accidents or rescue. Out of a total of 52 photographs where refugees were shown in images together with police teams, they were represented negatively in 29 (56%), neutrally in 22 and positively in only 1 photograph.



The news photograph below illustrates photographs where refugees are represented in connection with negative actions. The news report is about 3 persons, stated to be Syrians, who attacked a pharmacy following an argument. The photograph in the news report showed a moment of "being caught red-handed" and the text of the news report informs that a Syrian, who could not get the medicine written in his prescription from the pharmacy, attacked the pharmacy together with a crowded group, that 4 persons were injured, and 3 Syrians taken into custody.



## ECZANE ÇALIŞANLARINA SALDIRI: DÖRT YARALI

Mersin Tarsus'ta devlet hastanesinin karşısındaki nöbetçi eczaneye gelen **Suriyeli** bir kişi, doktorun yazdığı ilaçları almak için reçeteyi çalışanlara verdi. Çalışanlar, ilaçlardan birinin olmadığını, muadilini verebileceklerini söyleyince tartışma çıktı. Eczaneden ayrılan **Suriyeli**, bir süre sonra kalabalık bir grupla geri geldi. Parke taşları ile eczaneye saldıran grup, çalışanlardan 4 kişiyi yaraladı. İhbar üzerine gelen polisler 3 **Suriyeli**'yi gözaltına aldı. Yaralılardan Süleyman Kaya'nın durumunun ağır olduğu bildirildi.

● MUSTAFA ERCAN **DHA**

### **Eczacılar Birliği saldırıyı kınadı**

Türk Eczacılar Birliği'nden yapılan açıklamada şöyle denildi: "Sağlık çalışanlarına yönelik şiddete karşı kamu otoritesi acilen kapsamlı önlemler hayata geçirmelidir. Özellikle nöbet hizmeti esnasında kolluk kuvvetlerinin devriye gezerek, eczanelerin güvenliğini sağlaması hususunda bir kez daha çağrıda bulunuyoruz."

**"Pharmacy staff  
attacked: four  
injured"**

The photograph in the news reported by Milliyet newspaper has the image from the moment of being captured, possibly taken from security camera recordings, after 3 persons indicated as Syrians attacked the pharmacy. In the background there is one person with his hands in the air and in the forefront, there is the image of another person who stands next to the counter holding something resembling a club.

One example of news reports where photographs of refugees and immigrants were used in a positive framework was encountered in Hürriyet newspaper. The following news report mentions a concert by a chorus of children from 12 countries, including Syria.

# Çocuklar şarkılarla barış mesajı verdi



■ MUĞLA'nın Bodrum ilçesinde, İnsanca Yaşam Derneği öncülüğünde, Azerbaycan kökenli İranlı sanatçı Ramın Farhangniya tarafından kurulan 'Rengarenk Göçmen Çocuklar Korusu' üç aylık çalışmanın ardından ilk konserini verdi. Nural Kültür Merkezi'ndeki konseri yaklaşık 500 kişi izledi. Türkiye, Suriye, Hollanda, Rusya, Ukrayna, Azerbaycan ve Avusturya'nın da aralarında bulunduğu 12 ülkeden 6 - 16 yaş arasıdaki 21 çocuktan oluşan koro sahneye rengarenk kıyafetlerle



Ramın Farhangniya

çaktı. 10 dilde seslendirildiği şarkılarla dünyaya barış mesajı verdi. Üç ay içerisinde çocuklara 10 farklı dilde şarkı söylemeyi öğrettiklerini belirten Ramın Farhangniya, "Çocuklar çok yetenekli ve istekli. Dünyanın birçok yerinden katılan çocuklarımız var ve Bodrum'da yapıyorlar. Onlar dünyaya barış ve dostluk mesajı vermek istiyorlar. Farklı kültürlerin bir araya gelmesi için çaba harcıyoruz" dedi.

■ Merya ELTEŞ / BODRUM (DHA)

## DESTEK GEREKİYOR

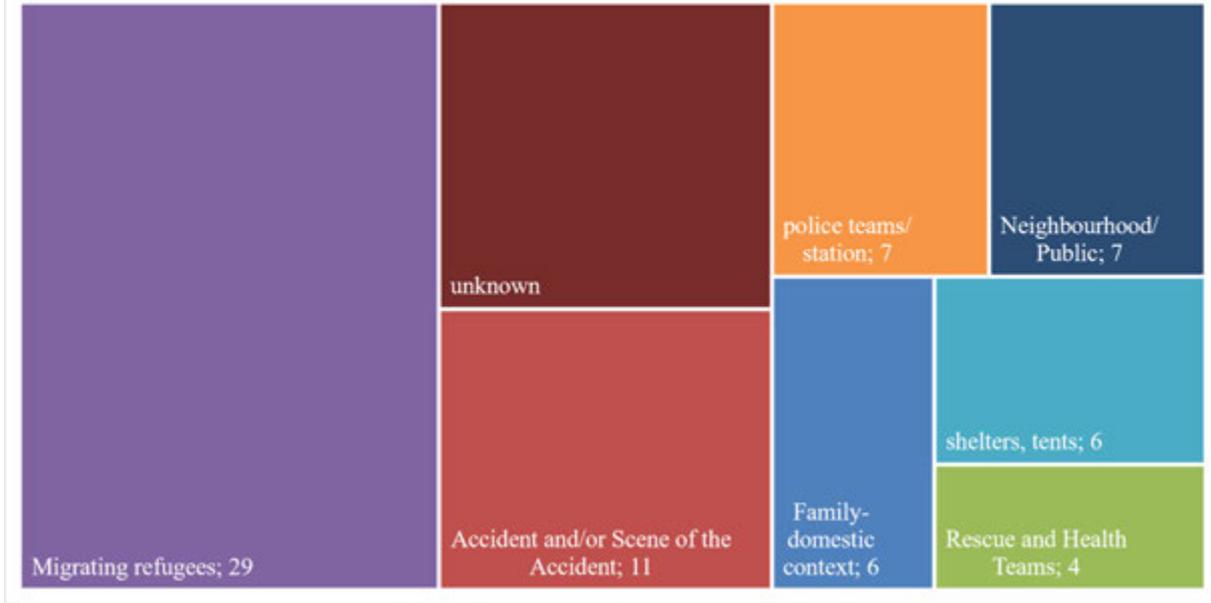
■ Çocuklara destek olunmasını istediğini belirten Farhangniya, "Biz kendi çabamızla sanat yapma çabasındayız. Ama bu tek başına olmuyor. Bu çocuklara destek lazım. Bu çocukları birçok ülkeye götürmek istiyorum. Her ülkede onların çocuklarıyla buluşup onlarla konserler versinler. Çocuklar barış şarkıları söyleyin, büyükler savaşı durdurun. Çocuklar en masum canlılar. Üç ay içerisinde çalışmalarının karşılığını da aldılar. Ben bu koreoğraf kurucusu ve şefi olarak çok memnunum" diye konuştu. Çocukların dans gösterisi ve konseri sonunda vatan dağlar koroyu ayakta alkışladı.

## "Peace message from children through songs"

The photograph in the news report shows a group of children, unidentifiable as to which are refugees, singing songs on the stage in their t-shirts and colourful clothes with the peace sign in front of them. The photograph is important to show that there can be no discrimination among children when stripped from the labels on their origins.

The dominant element in television news reports is images. Most of the time, reporters write the text based on the images running in the video. With regards to the context and the type of coverage of images of refugees and immigrants in television news considering this situation, it has been observed that they have mainly been depicted on migratory routes (29 news reports) or using accident scene images (11 news reports). Moreover, there are 7 news reports where refugees and immigrants are depicted together by police teams and police stations and 4 news reports where they are shown during the intervention of healthcare teams. This distribution indicates that refugees may appear on television screens as part of visual elements that dramatize the narration.

**GRAPH 26. WHAT IS THE CONTEXT OF REFUGEE AND MIGRANT COVERAGE ON TV SCREENS ?**



With regards to how refugees are represented in the images covered in these news reports, it has been observed that they were in a context of positive incidents in 14 news report and in a context of negative incidents in 33 news reports.

### Strategies of Reproducing Discrimination in News Reports and Columns

#### What Did not Make it to the Agenda: What the Newspapers, Screens did not See or Write

In the activities carried out on refugees, special efforts are made, in cases of war and displacement, for women and children to improve their situation and to relieve them of their victimization<sup>19</sup> as they are in a vulnerable and exploitable position. As a matter of fact, both governmental organizations and several national and international non-governmental organizations carry out projects for refugee women and children in Turkey and international institutions and organizations publish calls for grant applications special for such activities. However, news on refugee women and children can only find a limited space in newspaper pages.

<sup>19</sup> See: <https://www.unhcr.org/tr/tum-multecilerin-yasadigi-koruma-sorunlari-kadinlar-tarafindan-da-paylasilir>

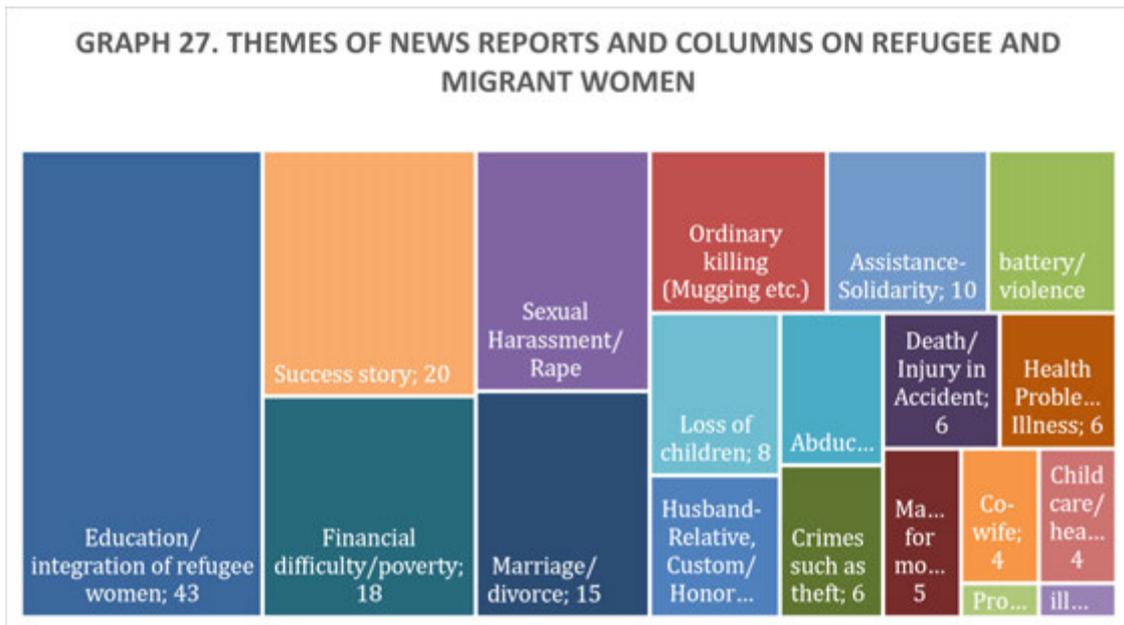
## Representation of Refugee and Immigrant Women in News Reports and Columns

In the period of 18 months, only 133 news reports and columns were on refugee and immigrant women among 1829 news reports and columns in 7 national and 7 local newspapers. In these texts, a separate question was used to research which themes are used to represent refugee women in addition to the assessment of the themes of news reports and columns in general. The answers to this question once again showed that news reports and columns cover training and integration of refugee women more. Accordingly, this theme has been addressed in approximately one third of news reports and columns (43 news reports and columns).<sup>20</sup>

Although the number of news reports published in national press and local press are close to each other, it can be stated that local press prioritizes more the news reports on the theme of training and integration of women as opposed to the national press, because there is a total of 35 news reports on immigrants and refugees in local press. As a matter of fact, while the training and integration theme was covered in one fourth of national press news reports on refugee women in 98 news reports, this ratio reaches 57% for local press. On the other hand, it has been observed that the success stories of refugee women attracted more attention from local press when compared in terms of ratios. 9 out of 20 news reports on this theme have been published in local press.

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<sup>20</sup> For examples of news reports on the themes of training of integration of refugee women, see “Syrian and Turkish women socializing”, İstanbul Newspaper, 27. 10. 2017; “Syrian women's chorus at jazz festival”, Sabah, 19.07.2017; “Sister hand to migrant women”, Milliyet, 13.11.2017; “Women of two countries met in transformation kitchen”, Habertürk, 07.11.2017; “Asylum-seeker mothers and their daughters at university”, Habertürk, 15.10.2017; “Training support to refugee women”, Ankara Başkent, 19. 10. 2017.



\*Multiple-coding has been used in this table.

It has been observed that, in line with the findings of the 2016 study by Doğanay and Çoban Keneş, apart from the training and integration theme, immigrant and refugee women were mainly covered in newspaper pages through themes such as sexual harassment, rape, abduction, battery and violence (30 news reports and columns in total) and related to incidents such as spouse-relative murder, murder and death-injury in accident (24 news reports and columns in total), i.e. through themes conducive for pornographisation of violence. The following news report on a pregnant refugee woman raped by two individuals and killed with her 10-month old baby is an example to the newspaper language which personalizes violence by hiding the underlying social reasons of violence against women, pornographizes the violence by publishing details that might attract the attention of readers and creates new victimizations.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> For a research that studies personalization of violence against women and pornographisation of violence by the press on the case of murder of Italian activist Pippa Bacca, see Doğanay and Kara, (2011).

# KATLEDİLEN ANNE VE BEBEGİ UĞURLANDI TÜRKİYE'Yİ AĞLATTI

2 canı tarafından vahşice öldürülen Suriyeli 9 aylık hamile kadın ile 10 aylık bebeği için dün Sakarya'da cenaze töreni düzenlendi. Ale ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanı Kaya'nın da katıldığı törende namazı kıldıran Diyanet İşleri Başkanı Görmez ve vatandaşlar, gözyaşlarına hakim olmadı

SAKARYA'nın Kaynarca İlçe-  
sinde Birel K. ve Cemal B. adlı  
censillerin perşembe günü cinsel  
istismarda bulunduktan sonra  
vahşice öldürdükleri 9 aylık  
hamile Emami Al-Rahman (21)  
ile 10 aylık bebeği Halaf Al-Rah-  
man'ı Adapazarı İlçesi'ndeki  
Othman Camii'nden binlerce vatan-  
daş uğurladı. Talihsiz kadının  
eşi Halid Al-Rahman ile kar-  
deşleri Muhammed ve İsmail  
Al-Rahman, tabutlara sarılarak  
gıyâca döktü. Cenazeye Ale  
ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanı  
Fatma Betül Savaş Kaya ile  
AK Parti yöneticileri ve sivil  
toplum kuruluşları da katıldı.

Cenaze namazını kıldıran  
Diyanet İşleri Başkanı Mehmet  
Görmez de gıyâcalarına tuta-  
madı. Görmez, insanlığı insanlı-  
ğından utandırmak bir vahşete  
sahit olduklarını belirterek,  
"Bugün sadece başında tımmeci  
Muhammed'in bir evladını taşı-  
yan bir annenin cenazesini kılma-  
dık, bir sadece hıyeromunda sitti  
eksis kalmsı 10 aylık bir bebeğin  
cenaze namazını kıldradık, biz  
ayrı zamanda tarih boyunca ma-  
lumlara unut olmsız aziz malle-  
timizi mahcup edecek, hepimizi  
üzecek bir vahşete şahit olduk,  
vahşete şahit oluyoruz" dedi.

## BİZE NE OLDU?

Önce bir baba sonra da Diya-  
net İşleri Başkanı olarak burada  
olduğuna vurgulayan Görmez,  
sözleri kaydetti: "Bize ne oldu  
ki biz zalimlerin, zulmün yaza-  
ladığı mazlumun zalimi olduk.  
Bize ne oldu ki biz vicdanımıza  
ve merhametimize sığınan bebe-  
ğin katili olduk. Bunun üzerinde  
hep birlikte düşünmeliyiz. Bur-  
dan bütün insanlığı sesleniyö-



Cenazede, acılı eşi Halid Al-Rahman'ın  
kayıplarını yürekle taşıdı.



Genç kadın ve bebeği vahşice öldür-  
yenlerin başörtüsü ve saçlarını  
döke döke topakla örtmelerine karşı

rum, cenazesini kaldığımız  
20 yaşındaki anne, 10 aylık bebek  
mi mülbet'i yoksa bizim vicdanı-  
mız mı mülbet'i. Onlar mı mül-  
bet'i yoksa bizim merhametimiz  
mi mülbet'i? Bir hâlini gölgesine  
hepimiz sığındık. 10 aylık bebek  
mi sığınacak bu tarih boyunca  
mazlum unuttu olmsız, bu güzel  
vatana, bu arız vatana. Buradan  
bu cenaze merasiminde ülke-  
mizde yaşayan bütün vatandaş-  
larımıza ensarsa müşacir olmsız  
bütün kardeşlerimize sesleniyö-  
rum, aziz kardeşlerim ülkemizi  
döke misafirlere ve müşacirleri-

bakarken hiçbirimiz siyasi mülla-  
hazaların penceresinden  
bakmayalım. Vicdan bizi birleş-  
tirmesse her şey bizi ayırır, mer-  
hamet bizi birleştirmesse her şey  
bizi parçalar. Tarih boyunca zal-  
mın karşısında durmuş, maz-  
lumun ahından korkmuş bir  
milletin evladlarıyız. Bunu  
hiçbir zaman  
unutmayalım."

Anne ve bebe-  
ğinin cenazesi,  
cenaze namazı-  
nın ardından def-  
nedilmek üzere  
Suriye'nin İdil  
kentine gönderildi.

## 3 gün önceden plan

TUTUKLANAN Birel K. (34) ve Cemal B. (22),  
ifadelerinde 3 gün önceden plan yaptıkları bel-  
lirterek günleri anlattı: "Amacımız aramızda sorun  
olan kocası Halid Al-Rahman'dan intikam almaktı.  
Eji işleyen sabaha karşı evlerine gittiğimiz kadın  
darp ederek bayıttık. O sırada ağlayan bebeği de  
kompolar uyanacak diyerek boğuz-  
rak öldürdük. Daha sonra da Birk-  
yolu yakınındaki Topça Ormanları'na  
gittik. İlimiz de tecavüz ettik. Daha  
sonra da kafasına odunla vurarak  
öldürdük. Halid Al-Rahman'ın bizi  
şikâyet edeceğinden emindik. Onu  
da öldürmek için plan kurduk. Yaka-  
lanmasaydık onu da öldürcektik."



## "Final farewell to murdered mother and baby: TURKEY IN TEARS"

This news report is about  
an incident causing public  
indignation. Reporting the  
murder of a 9-month  
pregnant woman and her  
10-month old baby, while  
the perpetrators are named  
"manslayers", yet their  
surnames were hidden only  
by giving their initials.  
However, the names and  
surnames of the woman  
who was murdered, her  
baby and her husband and  
siblings were fully written.  
While respecting  
presumption of innocence  
of perpetrators, the news  
report worsens the  
victimization of those who  
live by disclosing their  
names.

However, naming the  
perpetrators as  
"manslayers" and the  
incident as "savagery"  
causes the social  
dimensions of male  
violence to be hidden in  
this case, like other cases.

The news report continues  
reporting the speech of the  
Head of Religious Affairs  
and the statements of  
perpetrators. The coverage  
of the perpetrators'  
statements are in the nature  
of "pornographisation of  
violence" explained above.  
Perpetrators explain the  
rape and how the murder  
took place with all the  
details.

Women have been the subject of 24 news reports and columns<sup>22</sup> on marriage, marriage in return for money and co-wife practices in line with the prescribed role of women in a patriarchal society and its structure that approves institutions such as co-wives, multiple marriages etc. When we add the 24 news reports on childcare, children's health, longing for children etc. we can come to the conclusion that refugee women have been the subject of news on the axis of marriage and family or abuse and violence apart from training and integration. Apart from these themes refugee women have been represented on the pages of newspapers in relation to financial difficulties and poverty, assistance and solidarity and health conditions and illness.

**Table 22. Distribution of news reports and columns on refugee and immigrant women according to type of newspaper**

	National	Local	Total
Murder by spouse-relative	6	1	7
Manslaughter/Extortion etc.	9	2	11
Battery/Violence	6	2	8
Sexual Abuse/Rape	14	2	16
Abduction	4	2	6
Co-wife	4	0	4
Marriage/Divorce	10	5	15
Marriage in Exchange for Money	4	1	5
Theft and similar offences	4	2	6
Death/Injury in Accident	5	1	6
Financial Difficulty/Poverty/Harsh Living Conditions	12	6	18
Health Problems	6	0	6
Assistance-Solidarity	9	1	10
Childcare/Child Health	4	0	4
Loss of/Longing for Child	6	2	8
Success Story	11	9	20
Education/Integration	23	20	43
Other	2	2	4
<b>Total*</b>	<b>116</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>161</b>

\*Multiple-coding has been used in this table.

<sup>22</sup> For examples of news reports on marriage of refugee women, see “6 thousand 495 Syrian brides in 1 year”, Posta, 01. 12. 2017; “Formula of declaration with 2 witnesses in Syrian marriages”, Milliyet, 18. 01. 2018; “Bride at 12, mother at 13”; Posta, 17. 09. 2017; “Missing bride turned out to be in Antep”, Hürriyet, 09. 08. 2017.

One of the interesting findings of the study is that in the news reports and columns on marriage of refugee and immigrant women, abuse of the women within the marriage or by way of the marriage has been deemed as invisible or that Syrian men have been held responsible. For instance in many of the news reports on child marriage this situation has been explained with the cultural characteristics of the refugees (seeing early age marriage as normal in their countries); in the news reports on women arranged to be married with Turkish men in exchange for money this situation has not been defined as a problem and a criminal offence of women trafficking; and the women who run away after having taken the money and the gold pinned during the ceremony has been shown as the offender. The following news report exemplifies the normalizing attitude of the press regarding marriage with refugee women in exchange for money:

## 7 kocalı Emira!

**Suriyeli göçmen Emira Mahmod ile anne ve babası olarak tanıştığı iki dolandırıcı, Türk gençlerini evlilik oyunuyla soyup, kaçıyor**

Giriş Tarihi: 10.6.2017



Suriye'den Türkiye'ye sığınan bir çete, evlilik yapmak isteyen gençleri dolandırıp kaçıyor. Damat adaylarına aile pozu vererek güven sağlayan çete, 21 yaşındaki Suriyeli Emira Mahmod'u dini törenle evlendiriyor. Sahte anne-baba, evlilik karşılığı 7-10 bin TL başlık parası alınıyor. Taze gelin ise düğün yapıp altınlar takıldıktan sonra kaçıyor. Bazen de damatları atlara verilen sakinleştirici ilaçla uyutarak ortadan kayboluyor. Son mağdur garson Ahmet Cebi, "Emira'nın sözde anne ve babasıyla tanıştık. Düğün yaptım; enne ve babasına 10 bin TL verdim, 35 bin TL'lik takı taktım. Düğün sonrası ailesini Adana'ya gitmeleri için otagara bıraktım. Eşimle alışverişe gittik. Mağazadan çıkmadı. Kameralara bakınca anladık ki başörtü ve giysisini çıkarıp altın ve paralarla kaçmış" dedi. Cebi'nin bir TV kanalına çıkmasıyla birlikte, Emira Mahmod'un, Rifat Güneş ve engelli bir gençle birlikte çok sayıda kişiyi dolandırdığı ortaya çıktı.



### “Seven husbands for Emera”

The refugee women whose full name and photograph are used in the news report is accused of “conning Turkish young people with marriage and running away”. The text of the news report normalizes “marriage in exchange for money” which is a criminal act by law and the information that the woman is made to marry Turkish men for 7 to 10 thousand TL is presented as if this is an ordinary situation. The woman who runs away with the money and gold given during the wedding and her relatives dubbed “the gang” are declared criminals in the news story, stating that she conned other people similarly before but not including any expression on the crime committed by men implicated in this incident which can be legally named as trafficking in women.

The headline also makes a reference to the musical “Seven Husbands for Hurmuz” implying the woman’s wantonness.

When the types of the texts concerning refugee and immigrant women are evaluated, news reports seem to be more prevalent. In a total number of 7 columns identified to be on refugee women manslaughter (4 articles), sexual abuse and rape (4 articles) and marriage (4 articles) have been the dominating themes.

Here we believe it will be beneficial to analyse, as an example of columns focusing on refugee women being subject to sexual abuse and rape, the article written by Fatih Altaylı on the rape

and murder of a pregnant women together with her baby in Sakarya to attract attention to the effort to try and individualise this act and try to ignore the motive of hate behind the act:

HaberTürk  
Güncel/Gözetici  
Bölgesel

Birlik 2017-07-09  
Sayfa No: 13  
Sıra No: 3  
R.E.T.L.U.: 24.364

## Eylemi eylemciden koruma dönemi

HAMBURG  
savaş meydanı.  
Mülteci  
2. Dünya Savaşı'ndan  
beri kent böyle  
bir şey görmemiştir.  
Otomobiller  
yakıyor, binalar  
kurdaklanıyor,  
alışveriş merkezleri,  
dükkanlar yağmalanıyor.  
G-20 protestosu arlı  
altında vandallızın  
her türü sergileniyor.  
Hamburg'da G-20 karşıtlarınca  
yapılan gösterilerin "lideri"  
olduğunu söyleyen **Andreas  
Bleischmidt** ise "Biz böyle bir  
şey planlamamıştık. İşler zvanan-  
dan çıktı. Yanlış yaptık" diyor.  
Andreas haklı,  
işler zvanandan çıktı.  
Oysa göstericilerin amacı  
çok makul görünüyordu.  
"G-20'nin sahip oldukları  
zevignliği paylaşmamasını,  
fakirliğin sürmesini, aşırı sanayi-  
leşmenin yarattığı sorunları, finans  
sistemindeki adaletsizliği, G-20  
ülkelerinin çevreye verdiği zarar"  
protesto edeceklerdi aslında.  
Yani makul gerekçelerle  
bir protesto yapılacaktı.

Ancak protestonun da  
tabiat gereği içerdiği  
şiddetin de "makuliyet"  
ölçüsünde kalması gerekiyor.  
Kalmadı.  
Boku çıktı.  
Haliyle de tepki gördü.  
Ne yazık ki, dünyanın  
her yerinde "makul ve anlamlı"  
protestolar bu hale getiren  
bir grup "profesyonel ve  
vandal eylemciler" türü var.  
Bunu biz de yaşadık geçmişte.  
Muhtemelen bir güzellikle başla-  
yan protestolar, gerekli duyarlılığın  
gösterilmemesiyle artan tarisyona  
değerdendiren benzer profesyonel  
eylemciler ve ortamı uygun bulan  
kümpen gruplar nedeniyle bir  
anda başka bir boyuta geçmişti.  
Aslında bu gibi "profesyonel  
protestocular" ve "vandalılar"

hükümetlerin  
işine yarıyor.  
Çünkü makul  
talepler ve masum  
tepkileri bir anda  
kabul edilemez olaylar  
haline getiriyor, hükü-  
metlerin bu eylemlere  
"aşırı şiddetle" tepki  
vermesinin önünü  
açıyor, olaylardan  
rabatsız olan apolitik  
kitlelerin de hükümetlerin yanında  
yer almamasına neden oluyorlar.  
Artık haklı toplumsal  
eylemlerin en büyük  
düşmanı, bu gibi gruplardır.  
Bugün Gazî'ye doğru geri  
bakınca, FETO'nün korkutici  
ve daha sonra da bağlatında  
olduğu terör gruplarıyla  
buradaki provokasyonu,  
etindeki medyayla da hükümeti  
babalayan tam daha net görüyoruz.  
Makul ve masum eylem  
yapmak giderek zorlaşıyor.  
Bu açıdan bakanca  
**Kenal Kılıçdaoğlu**'nun  
Adalet Yürüyüşü, tam bunları  
bertaraf eden şekilde çok değerli.  
Çünkü artık eylem yapanla-  
rın, eylemlerinin en çok "eylem-  
cilerden" koruması gerekiyor.

**TEKE TEK**  
Fatih ALTAYLI  
et.fatayli@tgsente.com.tr

**YAPRAK SARMA EYLEMİ**  
HAMBURG'dan  
gelecek görüntüler ara-  
sında, savaş alanına  
dönen bir sokak ve  
çatışmaları birinci  
kattaki evinin balkon-  
unda yaprak sararak

izleyen Türk kadını-  
nın görüntüsü  
beni çok güldürdü.  
Türk olmanın  
ne demek olduğunu  
çok net gösteren  
bir görüntüydü.

**NE ALAKASI VAR?**  
OLAY hakkında  
sonuna işrem, 2 sapık,  
2 ruh hastası, 2 açgözlük,  
9 aylık hamile bir kadını  
kaçırtıp tecavüz ediyor.  
Sorezonda da kadın ve 10 aylık  
oğlunu boğazlayarak öldürüyorlar.  
Hamile kadının  
karındaki bebek de ölüyor.  
Çoklu tecavüz ve 3 cinayet.  
Akıl almaz bir vahşet.  
Sorezonda yazılarınıza bakıyo-  
rum, akıl izan her şey kaybolmuş.  
"Suriyelilere tepki  
gösterenler yüzünden oldu,  
çokluk yaptınız bakan  
sonuçlarını görüyor musunuz?"  
Haydaaaa!  
Bu kadar hatalı bir mantık  
yürütme olabilir mi...  
(Kılıçdaoğlu gibi konuşmuş!)  
Bu reziliğin Suriyelilerle  
veya Suriyeli mültecilerle  
kayı olma ne alakası var.  
Bu başlı başına ayrı  
bir sapıklık, ayrı bir cinayet.  
Suriyeli mülteciler yüzünden  
işinden gücünden olmuş  
yüzlerce, binlerce insan var.  
Hastane kapsamında beklerken  
ya da hastaneye vereceği ek  
ödemeyi hesapladıkları yanından  
geçen Suriyeli göçmene hiçbir şey  
istenmeden ilgi gösterilmesine sinir  
olan binlerce vatandaşımız var.  
Günde 100 liraya yaptığı işi,  
30 liraya yapan Suriyeliye kapırdığı  
için uyuz olan binlerce amele var.  
Var oğlu var.  
Bu yüzden de Suriyeli göçmen-

lere ya da yürütülen poli-  
tikaya kızıyor olabilirler.  
Ama bunun bir  
kadına tecavüz etmekle,  
hamile bir kadına  
tecavüz etmekle, kadını ve  
yanındaki çocuğunu öldürmekle  
nasıl bir bağlantısı olabilir?  
Bir Suriyeli, ötekli kalabalıklar  
tarafından linç edilse tamam,  
bu eleştirisi hakkı olabilir.  
"Suriyeli işini ölmenden aldı,  
nefret ediyoruz bunlardan" diye  
biri çılap bir Suriyeliyi öldürse  
tamam, bunun adı ricikçilik, nefret  
cinayettir. Eleştirisi biçimini anlamam.  
Ama bu dipçelik sapıklıkta,  
cinayette, insanlık dışı olmaktadır.  
Bu sapıklar için eren,  
dinin, dinin önemi yok.  
Meseleyi yanlış platformda  
tartışmayın lütfen.

**YAPRAK SARMA EYLEMİ**  
HAMBURG'dan  
gelecek görüntüler ara-  
sında, savaş alanına  
dönen bir sokak ve  
çatışmaları birinci  
kattaki evinin balkon-  
unda yaprak sararak

izleyen Türk kadını-  
nın görüntüsü  
beni çok güldürdü.  
Türk olmanın  
ne demek olduğunu  
çok net gösteren  
bir görüntüydü.

“What does it have to do with it”

In the second part of Altaylı's column titled “What does it have to do with it?”, it is claimed that perpetrators of attacks and murders targeting refugee women are not related to the fact that the woman is a refugee. The author depicts the incident as exceptional by naming the perpetrators as "pervert", "mentally ill", "lowlife" and thus claim that murder is the result of a personal perversion, illness.

This approach that explains such massacre of women as a personal perversion not only makes the social structures and causes that make such attacks and murders possible but also when the author claims that the murder is not related to the refugee identity of women at all and that there is no discrimination, he does not question whether perpetrators committed murder for “hate purposes”, i.e. whether this was a hate crime. As a matter of fact, one of the questions to be asked here is whether the murderers would have had the same courage to commit the crime if the woman had not been a refugee.

The tables and graphs above clearly put forward that the success stories of refugee and immigrant women are carried to the pages of newspapers in a limited manner, and that the

demands of women for their rights and the abuse they are subjected to by marriage in exchange for money and early marriage is not covered at all or in a limited manner. The fact that the news agenda of the newspapers do not focus on the problems the women face, nor the rights of the women who establish half of the refugee population in Turkey is forcing these women to be more susceptible to abuse.

When the television news reports are analysed, it has been observed that from 119 news reports 13 are on refugee women, from which 4 are on loss or longing for children and 2 are about accidents or deaths on the path of migration. There is only 1 news report that focuses on success stories of refugee women. This distribution shows that television news reports only represent refugee women with dramatic incidents or in relation to their roles as mothers.

### Representation of Refugee and Immigrant Children in News Reports and Columns

Just as women, children find themselves a place in the news agenda not in relation to violation of their rights, problems they face in relation to their rights such as accommodation, health or in relation to child labour, child marriage and similar abusive conditions but over critically important issues for the host community such as cohesion and integration. According to 2018 statistical data although there are more than 1.6 million refugee children in Turkey<sup>23</sup>, the news and columns about refugee children is 316 as stated above. This figure corresponds to %17.3 of the analysed news reports and columns. Apart from the general analysis of the theme of news reports and columns, when the themes associated with refugee children are questioned, a total of 108 news reports and columns (%29.6) are on integration and cohesion of children<sup>24</sup> and related themes, 68 news reports and columns (%18.6) are on children benefiting from educational services<sup>25</sup>. Themes such as the difficult living conditions of the children, poverty and financial difficulties<sup>26</sup>, and health problems have a secondary place in the agenda of the

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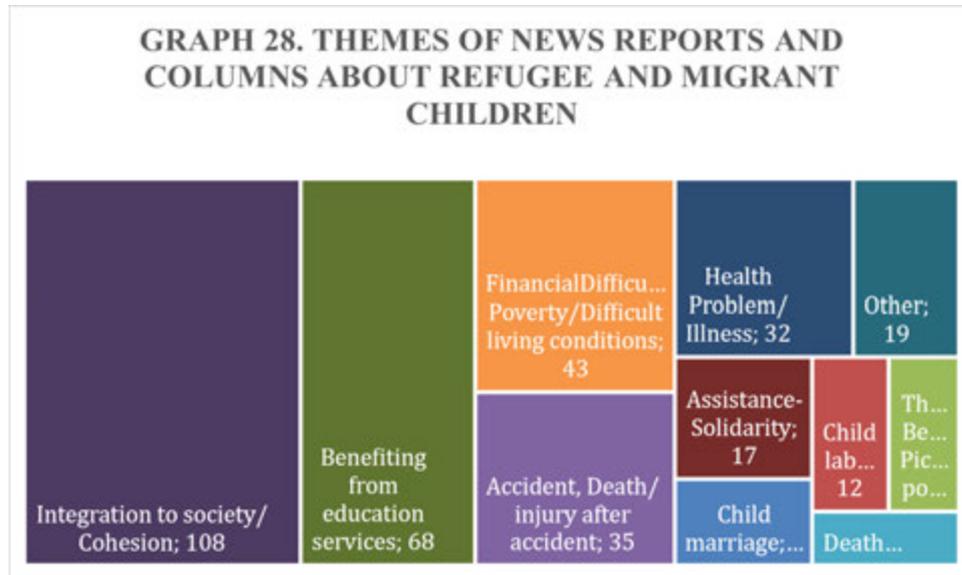
<sup>23</sup> [http://www.goc.gov.tr/icerik3/gecici-koruma\\_363\\_378\\_4713](http://www.goc.gov.tr/icerik3/gecici-koruma_363_378_4713) accessed: 26.02.2018

<sup>24</sup>For examples of news reports and columns on the theme of cohesion and integration of refugee children see. "Exhibition on Peace from Hands of Children" *Hürriyet*, 29.09.2017; "Syrian Children will be Rehabilitated", *Habertürk*, 16.08.2017; "They Drew the Syria in their Dreams", *Gaziantep Güneş*, 18.08.2017; "Peace Message in 9 languages from colourful children", *Ankara Başkent*, 21.07.2017.

<sup>25</sup>For examples of news reports on education of refugee children see. "Doping to Primary School from MONE", *Takvim*, 15.12.2017; "Syrians should be guided to Theological High Schools" *Milliyet*, 13.08.2017; "Now they became students", *Hürriyet*, 27.09.2018.

<sup>26</sup>For examples of news reports on difficult living conditions and poverty faced by refugee children see "Their war is different" *Hürriyet*, 24.09.2017; "311.000 babies with no country" *Hürriyet*, 09.03.2018; "They shared poverty", *Habertürk*, 12.08.2017.

newspapers. On the first of these themes there were 43, on the second there were 32 news reports and columns. Over a period of 18 months, child marriage was tackled in 10 news reports and 2 columns and child labour was tackled in 12 news reports.



\*Multiple-coding has been used in this table.

These figures put forward that the many problems faced by hundreds of thousands of refugee and immigrant children that cannot go to school<sup>27</sup> and work under harsh conditions in an unregistered way with no social security<sup>28</sup> do not attract the attention of the national and local press. Likewise, although many refugee children are forced to child marriage, children and women are arranged to be married in exchange for money, sold to men as second, third, fourth wives and live under heavy abuses, it has been observed that the press does not focus on this issue almost at all. These problems faced by refugee children are ignored by the local press just like the national press. During the 18 months covered by this study there have only been 2 news reports on child marriages and 4 news reports on child labour in the local press. In other words, the national and local press have attributed newsworthiness to the cohesion and integration of refugee children and the educational services to overcome this problem, yet they have not seen

<sup>27</sup> According to January 2018 data out of the 976.200 children at school age 608.084 have access to education. <http://www.meb.gov.tr/bakan-yilmaz-608-bin-suriyeli-cocugun-egitime-erisimi-saglanmistir/haber/15549/tr> According to the declaration of the Minister of National Education Ziya Selçuk on 27 December 2018 in Evrensel Daily from 1.047.536 Syrian children at school age 651.000 have had access to education.

<sup>28</sup> For a study in child labour of Syrian children in Turkey see. Kuvvet Lordoğlu and Mustafa Aslan (2018).

the presence of hundreds of thousands of children who have not been able to benefit from these services since they were obliged to work or get married at an early age as a problem.

The news reports below clearly exemplify the repeated ignorance of the newspapers from different views instead of naming and putting forward the violations with respect to refugee children who must work on the streets and who are faced with injuries due to work accidents, tiredness and heavy work conditions, and who are deprived from the right to education.



### “Syrian kid’s fingers stitched up”

The news report published in Sözcü newspaper conveys the information that the fingers of an 11-year old refugee child were sewn back after being ripped off in an accident. After reading the text of the news, it is understood that the child got his hand into a meat grinder placed in front of a supermarket during the sacrifice Eid. However, rather than questioning whether the child was working in the supermarket or not, it is claimed that he was “there to help the supermarket staff” and that the accident happened due to “carelessness of the child”, thus hiding the situation in favour of the employer, which is then understood to be an occupational accident.



## Pilavcının dövüğü çocuk kitap satıyor

■ **İZMİR** Kemeraltı Çarşısı'nda, 2.5 yıl önce seyyar pilavcı tarafından dövülen Suriye uyruklu Hasan Hantumani (10), kitap satarak ailesinin geçimine katkıda bulunmaya çalışıyor. Olay, 2016 yılının Mart ayı başında, Kemeraltı Çarşısı'nda meydana geldi. Suriyeli Hasan Hantumani, şapkasını düşürdüğü için kendisine kızan seyyar pilavcı Musa D. tarafından yere fırlatılarak, dövüldü. Olay anına ilişkin görüntüler yayınlanınca tepkilere neden oldu. Polis ekiplerince gözaltına alınan Musa D, 'kasten yaralama' suçlamasıyla sevk edildiği adliyede adli kontrolle serbest bırakıldı. Annesi sık sık hastalandığı için kendisinin para kazanmak zorunda olduğunu söyleyen Hantumani, Kemeraltı Çarşısı'nda kitap satıyor.

## “Kid beaten up by pedlar sells books”

Yeni Asır newspaper reports the news on a refugee child who was previously subject to violence became a street vendor to earn a living for his family. However, there is no content in the news report as to a school-age child being forced to work on the streets and the problems this creates for the child. To the contrary, a positive and empathizing frame is created about the child who is a violence victim by showing his photo when holding Atatürk's Nutuk book and no information is reported on the background of the violence or the poverty suffered by the family.



## “ ‘SELLER’BUCKS’ ”



This news report is about a refugee child who has to work to earn a living. The news report depicts with humour the efforts of a school-age child when he tried to earn money by saving tables for customers in a café rather than going to school and this effort is associated with the “cunningness” and “ability to earn money” attributed to people from Kayseri as this happened in Kayseri. This news report also shows that the victimization of refugee children working on the street does not carry any news value for the agenda of newspapers.

In such news reports, children are included with their dramatic stories rather than the violation of rights they have been subject to. To this effect, it is important to mention once again that the newspapers have included a limited number of news reports on child labour.

As for television news reports, it has been observed that refugee children find themselves air time just like women through dramatic incidents. In 9 out of the 27 news reports identified to be concerning refugee children, they have been the subject of the news report because of accidents or death caused by accidents, in 6 they have been represented in financial difficulty and poverty; refugee children appear to be the actor of 5 news reports with the theme of aid and solidarity, and 5 news reports concerning integration and cohesion. In contrast there have been just 2 television news reports on child labour, and 1 on sexual abuse, rape and child marriage problems each.

## Comparing Victimization using "Us" and "Them" as an instrument of Antagonism

The studies on discrimination and racism put forward that the majority actors blame the other party over the victim position they attribute to themselves and establish a discriminatory discourse through the contradiction they put into circulation between “us” and “them”<sup>29</sup>. In fact, in the study conducted by Doğanay and Çoban Keneş on the national media from a perspective that degrades the problems concerning the refugees to economic balances, it has been identified that for instance the local population has been declared as the victim instead of the refugees who have to pay high rent to a house they can find. This victim status has been described as a loss situation for the majority actors and the responsibility of this victim-hood has been once again loaded on to the refugees (2016a; 161). Thus, the victim status for the majority actors is associated with the presence of the refugees (for them to fulfil the fundamental humanitarian requirements such as working, staying in a house for which they have paid the rent, having benefited from healthcare and educational services), and the victim status of the refugees is established through dramatic stories of “being in need of our selfless help” as Van Dijk states (1999:268-9). Here one of the main problems is with no doubt the difficulty to articulate the demands for rights by the refugees in the news discourse to the victim status given to them. As a result, it is very difficult to establish a perspective that voices the demands of rights by the refugees and showing them as legitimate while they find a place for themselves with their “victimization” in the news reports and columns.

The news reports and columns where victimization is conveyed one way or the other amongst the 1829 news reports and columns analysed in this study constitutes an important part. Amongst these in 156 news reports and 48 columns the victims are Turkish actors<sup>30</sup>, and in 477 of them the victims are refugees<sup>31</sup>. When we look at the distribution of actors there are two

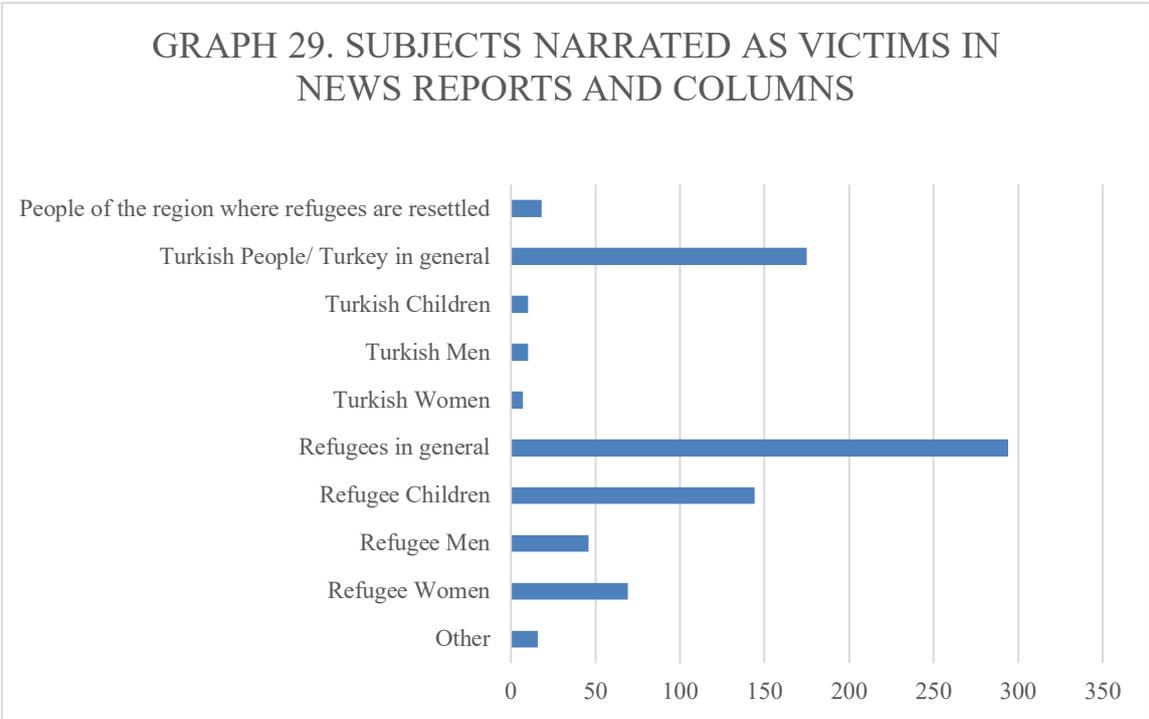
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<sup>29</sup> For example, see Eser Köker and Ülkü Doğanay (2010).

<sup>30</sup>For the news reports and columns focusing on the victim status of majority actors please see. “One more time“, Takvim, 13.09.2018; "If you have no money go home", İstanbul Gazetesi, 19.11.2018; "The Syrian Trouble we have Caused Ourselves", Sözcü, 11.03.2018; "Taxes are increasing because of Syrians", Sözcü, 04.10.2017; "Syrian Tradesman in Hatay are bigger in number than Turkish Tradesman", Posta, 17.09.2018; "The Tradesman are going Bankrupt", Gaziantep Güneş, 05.10.2018; "Diseases Like Tuberculosis and Measles can Spread", Milliyet, 23.09.2017.

<sup>31</sup>For examples of news reports and columns focusing on victim status of refugees see: "They left 50 immigrants in Elazığ saying it was İstanbul", Yeni Asır, 03.11.2017; "Remorselessness", İstanbul Gazetesi, 29.10.2018; "The queue for the process was endless", Sözcü, 30.09.2018; "Number of Child Workers Increasing", Hakimiyet, 01.10.2018; "What they hoped what they found", Ankara Başkent, 14.11.2018.

main categories "Turks and Turkey in general" (175 news reports and columns) and "refugees in general" (294 news reports and columns). Apart from these in 144 news reports and columns refugee children, in 69 refugee women and in 46 refugee men have been identified as the victim of the case or the situation.



\*Multiple-coding has been used in this graph.

A large part of the news reports and columns narrating Turkish actors as victims are mostly about the refugee policy of Turkey. Apart from the 65 news reports indicating Turkey's refugee policy as the cause of the victimisation of the majority of actors, this theme is also mentioned in 20 out of the 48 columns where Turkish actors have been coded as the victims. On the other hand, economy, especially the cost of the refugees to the economy of Turkey, ranked second both in the news reports and in the columns. Thus, the presence of refugees appears to be a basis for journalists and authors to criticize the government policies, and the responsibility of the victim status for the majority actors is once again attributed to the refugees. As a result, the majority actors appear to be the victim of contamination of cities and degeneration of urban life in 34 news reports and columns, of violence and crime in 34 news reports and columns, of population increase in 26 news reports and columns, and of unemployment and employment in 20 news reports and columns concerning asylum and migration issues. Another interesting finding of the study is that in 6 news reports and 6 columns on discrimination and lynch towards refugees the majority actors have again been identified as the victim.

**GRAPH 30. THEMES OF NEWS REPORTS AND COLUMNS NARRATING TURKISH ACTORS AS VICTIMS**



\*Multiple-coding has been used in this graph.

The following news reports are interesting in the sense that they show how the victim status of the majority actors have been configured on being opposed to refugees. In the news report, the allegation that "the other" "disrupts the unity, the cleanliness, and the purity of us" that has been identified as the preliminary strategy of racism in the previous studies<sup>32</sup>, is being created once again with the "assumption that refugees carry illness".

<sup>32</sup> See Köker and Doğanay (2010) and Çoban Keneş (2015).

**CHP'li vekil Fikri Sağlar'dan korkutan açıklama geldi:**

# Suriyeliler AIDS getirdi



Fikri Sağlar

CHP Mersin Milletvekili Fikri Sağlar, Mersin'deki AIDS vakalarında artış görüldüğünü, bunun da Suriyelilerden kaynaklandığını savundu. Sağlar, Suriyeli mültecilerin Türkiye'de kontrol altına alınmış bulunan 8 ayrı hastalık mikrobu taşıdıklarını, bunlar arasında AIDS'in de olduğunu söyledi.

CHP'li Sağlar, Dünya Sağlık Örgütü'nün açıklamaları ile paralel biçimde Türkiye'de uzun süredir, sıtma, şark çıbanı, çocuk felci, tüberküloz, kızamık, tifo ve



Wki  
TOPRAK

brusella hastalığının görülmeye başladığını ve bu hastalıkların kontrol altına alındığını vurguladı. Ancak Suriyeliler ile birlikte 7 hastalığın yeniden hortladığını ve bunlara AIDS'in de eklendiğini iddia eden

Sağlar şu çarpıcı açıklamayı yaptı: "Yeterli kontrol yapılmadan yurda alman ve kaçak yollarla giriş yapan mülteciler arasındaki bazı kadınlar, denetimsiz biçimde gece kulüplerinde, partilerde çalışmaktadır. Fuhuş çetelerinin eline düşen mülteci kadınların, Mersin'de AIDS vakalarındaki

artışına neden olduğu iddia edilmektedir. Bu durum vatandaşlarımızı huzursuz etmektedir. Toplumun yalnızca sosyo-ekonomik iç dinamiklerini bozmakla kalmayan mülteciler, toplum sağlığını da derinden sarsmaktadır."

Türkiye'de en çok Suriyeli mültecinin yaşadığı illerin başında Mersin'in geldiğini belirten Sağlar şöyle konuştu: "Mersin'de resmi kayıtlara göre 350 bin Suriyeli yaşıyor, ancak gerçek nüfusları bunun üzerinde. Bölgede gasp, hırsızlık, fuhuş gibi asayiş olaylarında da artış var."

**"CHP MP Fikri Sağlar states the feared: Syrians brought AIDS!"**

In its news report, where Member of Parliament from CHP is indicated as the source, Sözcü newspaper accuses Syrian refugees as carrying diseases. The report also holds refugees responsible for the increase in the number of extortions, theft, prostitution and public order incidents.



Medya Takip Merkezi  
Media Monitoring Center

İstanbul Gazetesi  
Günlük/Gazete  
İstanbul

Tarih :2017-08-02  
Sayfa No:13  
StxCm :0  
R.E(TL) :130



## uriye ve Irak'tan gelenlerde Hepatit C oranı çok yüksek

Abant İzzet Baysal Üniversitesi Tıp Fakültesi Enfeksiyon Hastalıkları Anabilim Dalı'nda görevli Dr. Fatma Sirmatel, son yıllarda Suriye ve Irak'tan gelen göçmenlerde Hepatit C oranının çok yüksek olduğunu söyledi. Üniversitede viral hepatitler konusunda, çalı-

şanlara yönelik eğitim programı gerçekleştirildi. Eğitimi veren Enfeksiyon Hastalıkları Anabilim Dalı'nda görevli Dr. Fatma Sirmatel, son yıllarda Suriye ve Irak'tan gelen göçmenlerde Hepatit C oranının çok yüksek olduğunu ve cinsel yolla bulaştığını söyledi.

### “Hepatitis C rate high among the ones from Syria and Iraq”

The news report published in İstanbul Newspaper accuses refugees and immigrants with carrying Hepatitis C. The news report is also in the nature of a warning for Turkish people as it provides information that is disease is venereal; thus, refugees and immigrants are branded as elements that threaten the health of “us” and that make “us” sick.

Besides the role of the news reports and columns of disseminating racist and discriminatory prejudices established around the allegation that refugees and immigrants carry illnesses; cause the hosting people to become ill and "make them dirty", the allegation that the refugees have more privilege and rights when compared with the hosting population act as an intermediary for the establishment of "us" and "them" antagonism feeding racist and discriminatory attitudes. The news reports and columns we have analysed below exemplify the discriminatory language that forms the basis of victimisation of "us".

Vatandaşı isyan ettiren uygulama

# RESMİ DAİREYE BİLE ARAPÇA TABELA ASTILAR

Üşküdar Nüfus Müdürlüğü'nde numaratorler  
Arapça oldu. Türkçe neredeyse unutuldu...



CHP'li Meclis üyesi Neziha Küçükdoğan'dan fotoğrafları paylaşarak tepki gösterdi: "Her yere Arapça afişler asılmış. Hiçbirinin Türkçe karşılığı yok. Arapça bilmediğim için işimi halledemedim."

Özlem GÜVEMLİ'nin haberi sayfa 12'de

## “Revolting practice: ARABIC SIGNBOARD IN GOVERNMENTAL OFFICE”

Using the headline “practice causing citizens to rise”, the news report covers the statement of CHP MP who reacts to informative posters and transaction numbers provided in the own languages of refugees when they go to population directorates to handle their registry related business. The sub-heading of the news report “Turkish almost forgotten” emphasizes that services received by refugees in their own languages is against “us” referred to as “citizens” accompanied by the words of CHP politician “I left without handling my own business”.

In the column below the author places the refugees getting assistance from the government across the sections of the society that are the victims of the economic policies of the government to criticize these policies, and with the clash between "us" and "them" shows the refugees as the cause of "our" problems.

## Öğrenciye 'bedavacı olma' Suriyeli olunca 1200 lira

**Y**ıl 1923...  
Durumu zaten

biliyorsunuz. Savaşın çıkmış **yakık, dökük** yeni kurulmuş bir ülke... Ne para var ne de satacak fabrika...

İstanbul Üniversitesi'nin duvarında "**Avrupa'ya talebe yollanacaktır**" ilanı... Öğrenciler burs ile Avrupa'nın önde gelen üniversitelerine yollanıyor.

Büyük Önder her birine; "**Sizleri birer kuvilcim olarak gönderiyorum; alevler olarak geri dönmelisiniz**" telgrafı çekiyor.

\*\*\*

Tam **95 yıl** sonra... Millet yine yokluk içinde... Ne para kalmış ne satacak fabrika...

Ülkenin Cumhurbaşkanı; "**İlla burs... Niye burs? Bursun geri ödemesi yok. Be evladım, kredi aldığın zaman faizsiz... İş bulmadan da değil, iş bulduktan sonra çok basit taksitlerle ödüyorsun. Bu seni bedavacığa da alıştırıyor. Bu milletin gençlerine bu yakışı**" mesajını veriyor.

\*\*\*

Ah!be Cumhurbaşkanı... Bakınız **Kanada Başbakanı** tarifeli uçakla gidiyor diğer ülkelere resmi ziyarete... **Bir sürü uçak var bizde...** Katar da hediye etti bir tane...

Bedavacığa alışsak, sadece hediye uçağı satsak, onun parasıyla **115 bin öğrenciye 4 yıl boyunca** burs sağlasak...

**Suriyeli olunca 35 milyar dolar** harcadığını açıkla. **Suriyeli öğrencilerin destek**

**Murat MURATOĞLU**

sozcumuratoglu@gmail.com @sozcumuratoglu

\*\*\*

**bursu 1200 lira...** Kendi gencine gelince bedavacığa alışma! Verilen **500 liralık** burs mu fazla?

Seçim öncesi seçmene **kömür, makarna** bedava... Hele Sayıştay raporlarındaki **mil-yarlarca liralık** yolsuzluklara bakınca... Yapılan sarayları, makam arabalarını hiç sayma...

Sonuçta bunların hepsi vergilerimizden giden para... **Öğrenciye yok** ama...

Burs dediğin de öyle **her isteyene** verilmez. Yüksek öğrenim gören **başarılı ve ihtiyaç sahibi** öğrencilere verilir. Zengin burs ile ne işi olur? Parası olmayana **yardım etmek** devletin boynunun borcudur.

\*\*\*

Genelde **Kredi ve Yurtlar Kurumu**, fakülteye: "**Biz gelir düzeyi düşük öğrencileri tespit edemeyebiliriz, ihtiyacı olan 50 öğrenci ismi gönderin, burs çıkaralım**" der.

Peki, hangi isimler gider? **Vekil çocukları, torpilli akrabaları, parti gençlik kolları...**

\*\*\*

Öğrenciye gösterdiği adres öğrenim kredisi... "**Faizsiz**" diyor lakin ödemediğin her gün gecikme zammı kesiliyor. **İki yıl** içinde ödemezsen vergi dairesi **haciz** işlemlerine başlıyor. Maalesef yine yanlış biliyor. Kandırılmaya doyamıyor!

"To the students 'do not be freeloaders'; to Syrians '1200 TL' "

The author places refugee students stated to be receiving 1200 TL support scholarship against the Turkish students whom President Erdoğan recommended "not getting used to freeloading" and use loans rather than scholarships. By not including the information that the 85% of the source of the scholarship given to refugee university students is the European Union, the author almost places Syrian students as the source of victimization of Turkish students who could not get a scholarship, thus misleading the public opinion and disseminating the discriminatory prejudices targeting refugees.

As seen in the above column economic relations and the distribution of resources appears as if it is one of the primary presumptions for reinforcing the discriminatory prejudices vis-a-vis refugees. Indeed, the price of the economic crisis and increasing taxes have been attributed to the refugees as seen in the news reports below.

## “Taxes rise due to Syrians”



**Suriyeliler yüzünden vergiler yükseliyor**

GIDA Tarım ve Hayvancılık Bakanı Ahmet Eşref Fakıbaba'nın, "Suriye'den gelen 3,5 milyon misafirimiz var. Kendileri ülkelerine dönmek istese de, biz onları göndermeyeceğiz, ihtiyacımız var" sözleri tartışma yarattı. MHP Iğdır eski Milletvekili Sinan Oğan "Yüreğiniz yetiyorsa önce Şanlıurfa'lılara, sonra da Türk Milleti'ne sorun, bakalım millet ne diyor? MTV zammı da Suriyeliler yüzünden" dedi. Fakıbaba'nın "Suriyeliler gitmek isteseler bile biz göndermeyiz" sözlerine tepki gösteren Oğan, millete reva gördükleri yüzde 40'lık Motorlu Taşıtlar Vergisi artışının ana sebebinin Suriyelilere harcanan 30 milyar dolar olduğunu söyledi. Oğan, "Kimin parasını kime harcıyorsunuz? Sonra da para bitince bütçe açığını kapatmak için milletin parasına göz koydular" dedi.

**108 MİLYAR TL GİTTİ**

MHP'den ayrılan Gaziantep Bağımsız Milletvekili Ümit Özdağ da 8 Temmuz 2017 itibarıyla Suriyeli mültecilere harcanan paranın 30 milyar dolar olduğunu söyledi. Özdağ, "Bunun TL karşılığı yaklaşık 108 milyar liradır. Türkiye, her bir Suriyeli için resmi olarak yıllık 5 bin 97 lira masraf yapıyor. Bu para ile 416 hastane, 2 adet havaalanı, 7 tane Boğaz köprüsü, 498 de üniversite yapılabilir. 6,5 milyon asgari ücretlinin, ayda 569 lira daha fazla maaş alması sağlanabilirdi" diye konuştu. Kamil ELİBOL

Former MHP MP Sinan Oğan's claim that the reason for the increase in motor vehicle tax is the expenditures for Syrian refugees is carried to the headline without quotation marks, i.e. as if it is a reality presented to the public opinion by the newspaper. Oğan's criticisms against the government are centred on the claim that the budgetary deficit originates from the expenditures for the refugees. Without providing any basis for this claim, the news report rather gives number of hospitals, airports, bridges and universities that could otherwise have been built using the annual amount of money claimed to have been spent for each refugee; spells out the annual amount of spent for each refugee and by referring to the increase that could be introduced to the minimum wage with this money, brings the employees crushed by the economic crisis opposite refugees.

In the news report below carrying the allegation that refugees are making the people feel the burden of the crisis even more to its headline, different from the news report above the said allegation is conveyed in quotation marks.



Medya Takip Merkezi

Ankara Başkent  
Haftada 6 Gün/Gazete  
Ankara

Tarih :2018-10-06  
Sayfa No:4  
StxCm :0  
R.E(TL) :1.245



## "Suriyeli sığınmacılar ekonomik krizin yükünü daha da ağırlaştırıyor"



**I**YI Parti Genel Başkan Yardımcısı ve İzmir Milletvekili Dr. Aytun Çıray, "Sonuçları ve kapsamı bakımından cumhuriyet tarihinin en büyük ekonomik krizi yaşanırken, Suriyeli sığınmacılara tanınan ayrıcalıklar pes dediriyor" diyerek, sığınmacıların ekonomik krize etkilerini meclise taşıdı.

TBMM Başkanlığına yazılı soru önergesi veren İYİ Parti Genel Başkan Yardımcısı ve İzmir Milletvekili Dr. Aytun Çıray, Hazine ve Maliye Bakanı Berat Albayrak'a dikkat çeken sorular yöneltti.

Suriyeli sığınmacılar konusunun sadece Ensar-Muhacir edebiyatıyla anlatmanın Türk milletini kandırmaktan başka bir şey olmadığını dile getiren Çıray, "Sığınmacıların barınma ihtiyacı ev kiralalarını artırmış, kayıt dışı çalışan sığınmacılar sebebiyle işsizlik yükselmiş, sığınmacıların sosyal yaşama entegre edilmeye çalışılmasıyla eğitim ve güvenlik sistemimiz işleyemez hale gelmiştir" dedi.

### "SIGINMACILARA GELDİKLERİ ÜLKELERE GÖRE MUAMELE EDİLİYOR"

Sığınmacılara geldikleri ülkeye göre farklı politikalar uygulandığına vurgu yapan Çıray, "Çin zulmünden kaçan Doğu Türkistanlı sığınmacılar, kucaklarındaki bebekleriyle havanlanlarından geri döndürülüyor. Bununla birlikte Suriyeli sığınmacılara ücretsiz eğitim, sağlık, ulaşım, sosyal güvence gibi Türk vatandaşlarına bile verilmeyen haklar veriliyor. Suriyelilere ilişkin tüm veriler kamuoyundan saklanıyor. Resmi olarak kaç Suriyeli var, bunların ülkemize yıllık maliyeti nedir, hangi haklardan ücretsiz yararlanıyorlar, sığınmacıların Türkiye'de doğan çocuklarının sayısı neden açıklanmıyor? Bir işyerinde kayıt dışı çalışan Suriyeli sayısını bir kenara bırakalım, Türkiye'de suça karıştığı için gözaltına alınan veya tutuklanan sığınmacı sayısı nedir?" sorularını yöneltti.

### "VATANDAŞLARIMIZA KEŞKE SURIYELİ SIGINMACI OLSAYDIK DEDİRTİLİYOR!"

Berat Albayrak'a "Suriyeliler ve diğer ülkelerden göç eden sığınmacılar için barınma, işe ve diğer giderlerin güncel maliyeti kaç milyar TL'dir" sorusunu yönelten İzmir Milletvekili Aytun Çıray, "Resmi rakamlara göre sayıları üç buçuk milyonu aşan Suriyeli sığınmacıların on altı yıllık AKP iktidarlarının dış borç destekli beton ve tüketim ekonomisinin kaçınılmaz sonucu olan krizi hem daha ağırlaştırdığı, hem de krizden çıkış maliyetlerini yükselttiği açıktır." dedi.

Çıray açıklamasını "Türk Milletinin krizin altında ezilen kesimlerini rahatlatabilecek kaynakların önemli bir bölümü tarihimizin en yanlış dış politikasının bedeli olarak Suriyeli sığınmacılar için kullanılmak zorunda kalıyor. Ezilen vatandaşlarımıza da adeta 'keşke Suriyeli sığınmacı' olsaydık dedirtiliyor. Bu gerekçeleri bakımından ne akla, ne sağduyuya; sonuçları bakımından ise ne ahlaka ne de vicdana sığmayan bir politikanın içler açısı manzarasıdır." eleştirisiyle noktalandı. (Başkent)

## "Syrian asylum-seekers increase the burden of economic crisis"

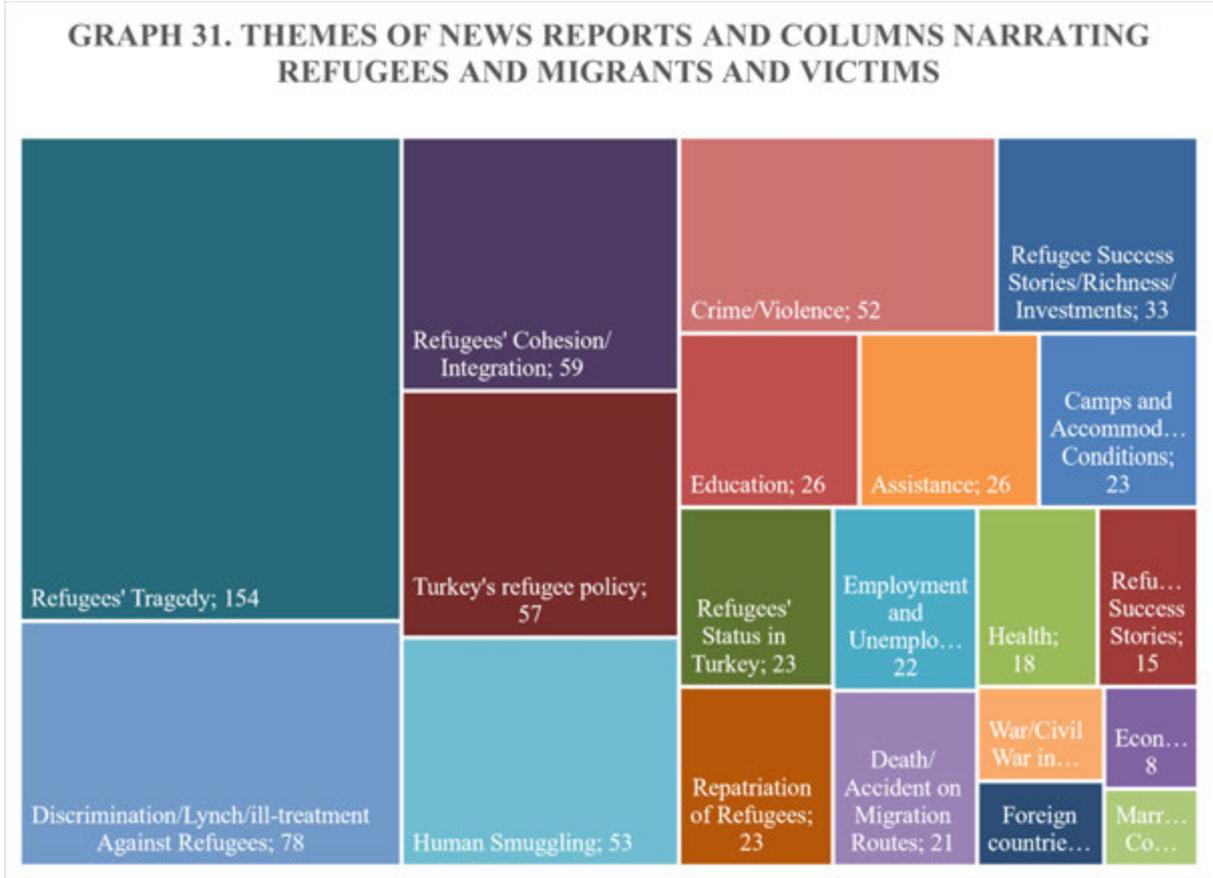
The news report covers claims of İYİ Party Deputy Chairperson that Syrian asylum-seekers are given privileges, and the refugees are blamed for increasing rents, rising unemployment, education and security systems becoming unfunctional. Hence, the refugees, who are exploited by being forced to pay much higher rent to houses compared to their real values and being forced to work illegally for low pay, are blamed for rising rents and unemployment.

Furthermore, claims and accusations based on misinformation regarding the refugees' population increase and crime rates are reflected in the news report straight from the words of an İYİ Party politician criticising the government's refugee policy.

It is observed in the caption of the news report that "citizens" and "Syrian asylum-seekers" are brought against each other and it is claimed that the resources that could ease the burden of disadvantaged segments in the society were transferred to the refugees.

Thereby, rather than revealing the real reasons behind the problems mentioned in the news, the article becomes a tool for the politician's populist discourse and seeking votes over refugee hostility.

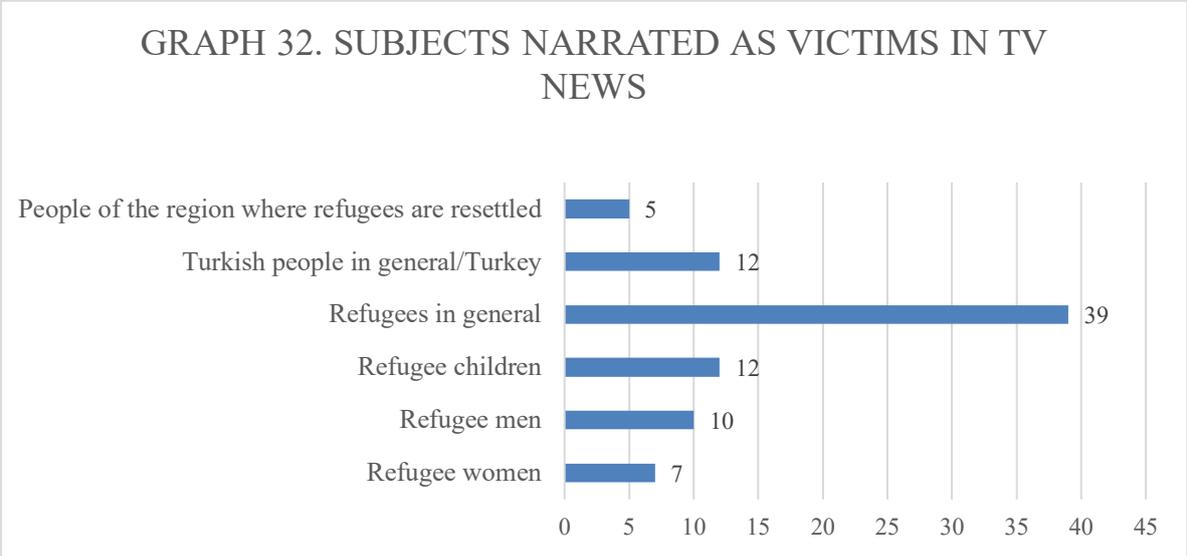
The approach of the news reports and columns towards the victim status of the refugees is, as mentioned above, through making their stories more dramatic. In about one third of the 477 news reports and columns where refugees have been marked as the victim of the event or situation, the dramatic stories of the refugees have been presented as the source of their victim status. In 57 news reports and columns Turkey's refugee policy, in 53 news reports and columns human trafficking, and in 52 news reports and columns crime and violent events have been shown as the cause of the victim status. In contrast, the news reports and columns on the victim status of refugees with respect to education and employment has been limited to 26 and 22 respectively. Amongst the 103 news reports and columns that focus on themes such as discrimination and lynch against the refugees the number focusing on the victim status of refugees is 78. As mentioned above, 12 of these represent Turkish actors as victims as well.



\*Multiple-coding has been used in this table.

When the television news reports are considered, in 12 of the 73 news reports conveying a victim status, this status has been marked for Turks and Turkey in general whereas in 5 the people of the region where the refugees are located are seen as the victim. In the remaining part

of the news reports refugees as a general category, refugee children, refugee men and lastly refugee women are defined as the victim of the event or the situation that is conveyed.



When the themes of the news reports where the refugees are marked as the victim of the event conveyed is analysed, it is seen that these are news reports conveying the drama of the refugees and human trafficking.

The victimisation narrative is instrumental in stories of refugees and immigrants to be told in a dramatic manner and addresses to the conscious of the reader, and sometimes is instrumental in establishing a correlation between the reader and the victim. Together with this, overly dramatized poverty, violence and migration stories makes the readers focus on the individual victim status rather than see the problem and perceive those problems that are based on political and social reasons as a personal deprivation or problem and is therefore problematic. The news reports that do not bear information on causes and resolutions on the victim status, may build up the dramatic aspects to increase number of readers or viewers, but also cause the reader/viewer to distance from the real reasons behind the problem increasing the distance between them and the victim. For that reason, besides identifying over whom and how the victim status is defined in the news reports and columns, to what extent the demands for rights of the identified victims are allocated space should also be analysed.

## Invisibility of the Demands for Rights

The study has put forward that despite the partial inclusion of victimisation of refugees and immigrants in the news reports, there is limited number of news reports conveying their demands for rights.

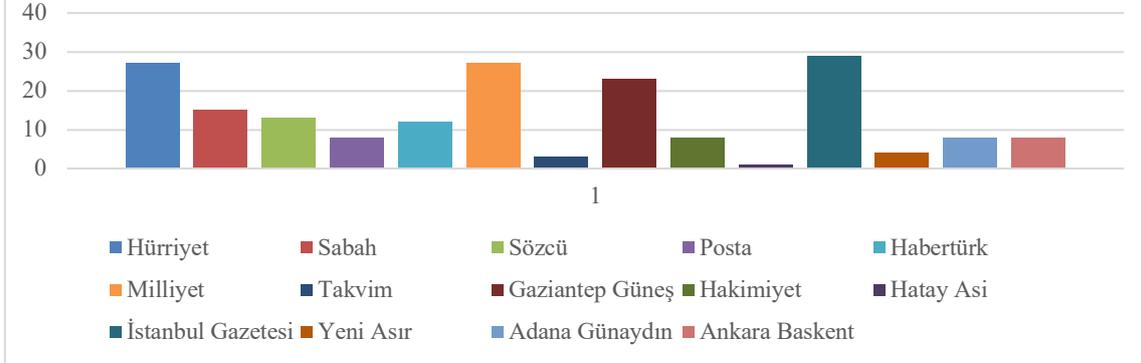
During the 18-month period the demands for rights by the refugees have only been the subject of 170 news reports and 16 columns (10% of total). Out of the 477 news reports and columns where refugees have been marked as the victim of the event or the situation the ones focusing on the demands of rights by the refugees have been just 75 (%15.7)<sup>33</sup>. This low rate shows that even in cases where the newspapers reflect the victim status, they ignore the demands for rights by the refugees that could resolve this victimisation. When the type of the newspapers conveying the limited demands for rights are classified according to types, it has been seen that the local press allocates more space to the demands for rights when compared with the national press. The local press that has published 673 news and articles on asylum and migration issues has published just 82 news reports and columns on demands for rights by the refugees. This figure corresponds to 12% of the news reports and columns published in the local press. In contrast, the national press has focused on the demands for rights by the refugees in just 105 of the 1156 news reports and columns (9%).

When we look at the distribution of these news reports and columns amongst the national newspapers, Hürriyet and Milliyet, and İstanbul newspaper amongst the local press allocate more space than the others to demands for rights by the refugees. In the national press Takvim daily allocates the least amount of space to demands for rights with 3 news reports and in the local press Hatay Asi is at the same position with 1 news report. On the other hand, 13 news reports have been allocated space in the Sözcü daily on demands for rights by refugees yet none of the columns in this newspaper has focused on this theme.

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<sup>33</sup> For examples of news reports and columns concerning demands for rights by the refugees please see "Syrian children cooling off in sewage waters", Adana Günaydın, 01.07.2017; "We ran away because our son was gay", Milliyet, 01.11.2018; "Iraqi Turks are complaining: IDs are renewed we cannot get treatment", Habertürk, 27.11.2017.

GRAPH 33. DISTRIBUTION OF NEWS REPORTS AND COLUMNS COVERING RIGHTS DEMANDS OF REFUGEES AND MIGRANTS IN NEWSPAPERS



When the themes for the demands for rights of refugees and immigrants are evaluated both in the national and international press the predominant theme appear to have been education. Besides the 57 news reports and columns where this them has been dealt with, 49 news reports and columns have been on employment and demands on job security and in 36 columns social assistance demands have been the focus. The demands pertaining to health, right to accommodation, freedom to travel, right to citizenship of refugees have found limited space on the pages of the newspapers.

Table 23. Demands for rights of refugees and immigrants according to type of newspapers

Demands for rights	National	Local	Total
Education	31	26	57
Housing	14	5	19
Health	10	10	20
Employment and Job Security	24	25	49
Freedom to Travel	9	6	17
Citizenship	7	3	10
Fight Against Discrimination	12	15	27
Social Assistance	18	18	36
Other	5	1	7
Total*	104	82	186

\*Multiple-coding has been used in this table.



When the television news reports are considered there has been just 1 news report on the demand for rights by the refugees. This news report was on employment and job security. The fact that television journalism that generally chooses to convey the stories and victim status of refugees and immigrants to attract the attention of the viewers and keep them tied to the screen with dramatic images and news stories does not include content on the demands for rights of refugees and immigrants shows that the conventional journalism understanding of the newspapers is even more distinct and news reports on demands for rights are almost non-existent on television news reports.

### Not Ignoring Discrimination-Disseminating Discrimination

Table 24 also shows that there is limited space allocated in newspaper pages to the demands of refugees and immigrants on fight against discrimination. National press has dealt with the demands on this theme in 12 news reports, local press on the other hand has included it in 14 news reports and 1 column. Yet besides the low figure, to be able to evaluate how problematic the press sees the discrimination against the refugees we need to look at how much the fight against discrimination finds space in the pages of the newspapers. During the 18-month period the national and local press has included a total of 125 news reports and columns on the discrimination refugees are subjected to<sup>34</sup>. 88 of them have been published in the national and 37 have been published in the local press. Another interesting finding of the study is that there have only been 4 columns in the local press on the theme of discrimination. In the national press however, the number of columns on the theme of discrimination against the refugees over the 18 month period has been limited to 26. These low figures show that the columnists who have a potential to establish a public opinion and stance on discrimination have refrained from exhibiting an attitude against such discrimination vis-a-vis the refugees.

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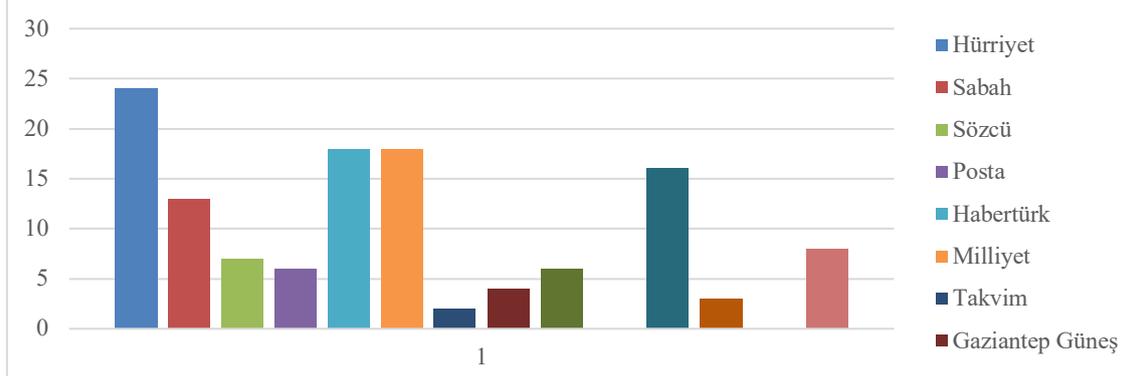
<sup>34</sup>Please see for examples of these news reports and columns “Door of friendship for Syrian students”, İstanbul Gazetesi, 03.10.2018; “The cost for Syrian refugees was very high“, Sözcü, 18.07.2017; “Hate speech in Media“, Sabah, 08.07.2017; “The only way out is marriage“, Milliyet, 17.09.2018; “Cheap and Unregistered“, Hürriyet, 06.07.2017; “Being a women in the Middle East“, Hakimiyet, 09.10.2017.

**Table 24. Texts mentioning discrimination against refugees according to type of newspaper**

	News	Column	Talk-Interview	Total
National	61	26	1	88
Local	33	4	0	37
Total	94	30	1	125

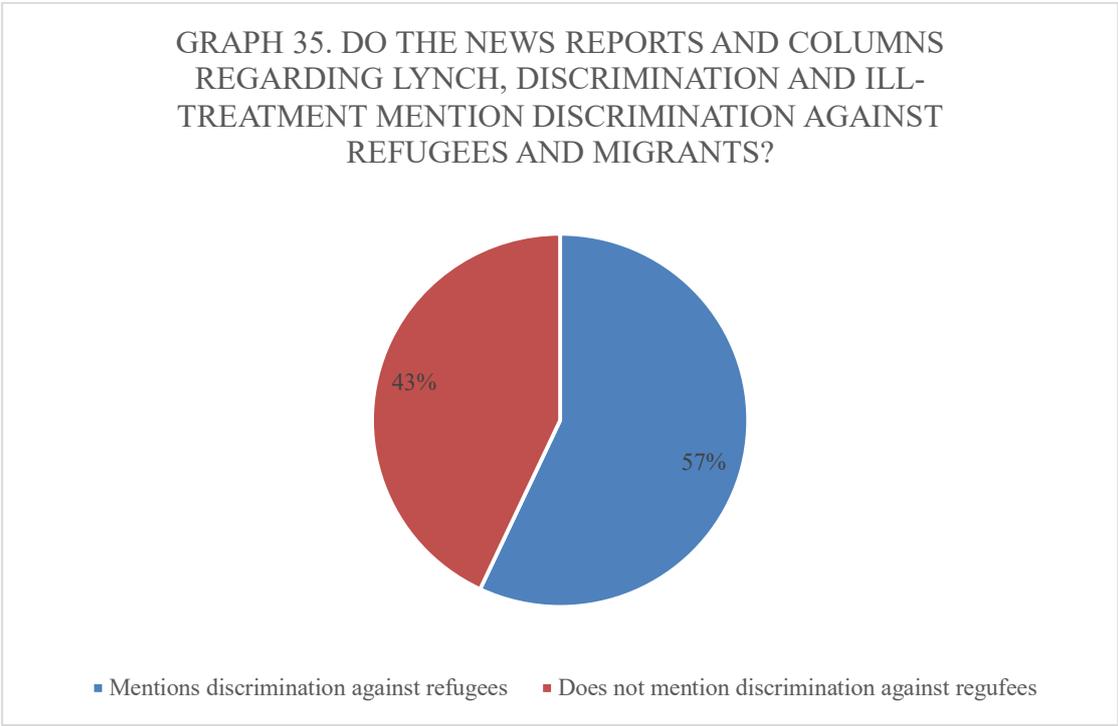
When the distribution of news reports and columns on discrimination against refugees is analysed, it can be seen Hürriyet daily has been the newspaper that allocates most of the space to this theme (16 news reports and 8 columns); Milliyet and Habertürk follows Hürriyet with 3 columns, 1 interview and 14 news reports and 12 news reports and 6 columns respectively. In the local press however, discrimination against refugees have found place in a total of 16 news reports in İstanbul newspaper and 8 news reports in Ankara Başkent newspaper; in contrast to this the issue has not been dealt with in Hatay and Adana where the refugees and local population come face to face more frequently.

**GRAPH 34. DISTRIBUTION OF NEWS REPORTS AND COLUMNS MENTIONING DISCRIMINATION AGAINST REFUGEES AND MIGRANTS IN NEWSPAPERS**



Above in Table 7 it was mentioned that there were 103 news reports and columns identified in relation to discrimination, lynch and ill treatment targeting refugees in the classification of news reports and columns. Amongst these the number of news reports and columns including an expression or an implication that the ill treatment against the refugees constitutes discrimination is 59. In other words, in 43% of the news reports and columns about discrimination, ill treatment

and lynch attempts against refugees there is no information that the refugees have been subject to discrimination.



On the other hand, newspapers do not see refugees as a news source although they have been subject to lynch or ill treatment. In the news reports concerning such attempts the number of news reports that have taken refugees as a news source has been just 7. In 5 of these, the demands of the refugees to fight against discrimination has been included. For 18 months there have been 40 news reports and 8 columns where the theme of fight against discrimination against refugees have been sighted.

These figures show that even when the newspapers have included news reports on ill treatment, discrimination and lynch attempts against refugees, they act hesitant to define these as discrimination against refugees; do not include the demands of the refugees for their rights and do not portray discrimination against refugees as a problem.

In the newspapers that allocate limited space to discrimination against refugees (6.8%), it has been observed that the rate of news reports and columns to include discriminatory language and content at a clearly identifiable tone is rather lower (5%)<sup>35</sup>. In contrast, it is worth noting that

<sup>35</sup>For examples of news reports and columns on the discriminatory language and arguments against refugees see "We will really have a lot of fun" Sözcü, 20.04.2018; "Half of the Syrians will not Go

in 31 columns written by authors who chose to ignore the discrimination against especially the refugees include discriminatory expressions. This figure corresponds to one third of the discriminatory content against refugees that is identified in the study, and 19% of the 162 columns identified in the newspapers during these 18 months.

**Table 25. Discriminatory expressions targeting refugees and immigrants in news reports and columns**

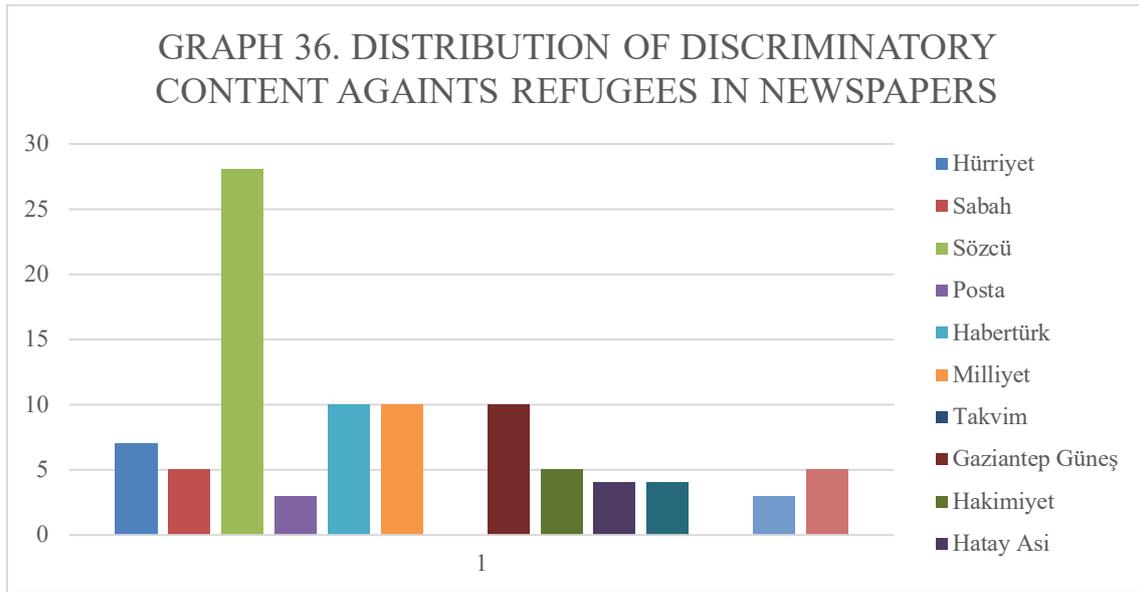
	News	Column	Talk-Interview	Total
National	36	26	1	63
Local	26	5	0	31
Total	62	31	1	94

When the distribution of news reports and columns with discriminatory content is considered, Sözcü daily takes the first place with 12 news reports and 16 columns. This figure shows that half of the 31 columns including discriminatory content against refugees published in the national and local press during the 18-month period have been published in the Sözcü newspaper. Another interesting finding of the study is that in Hürriyet that focuses on the discrimination against refugees in 24 news reports there has been discriminatory language and expression in 4 news reports and 2 columns, and in Milliyet that focuses on this content in 18 news reports and columns this language and expression have been used in 8 news reports and 2 columns. Discriminatory language and expression have been used in 6 news reports and 4 columns published in Habertürk that focuses on the discrimination against refugees in 10 news reports and columns. In the local press, discriminatory content has been included in İstanbul Gazetesi with 2 columns and 1 news report amongst the 16 news reports and columns on discrimination against refugees. Besides there have been discriminatory content in 5 news reports published in the Ankara Başkent newspaper. The fact that newspapers handle

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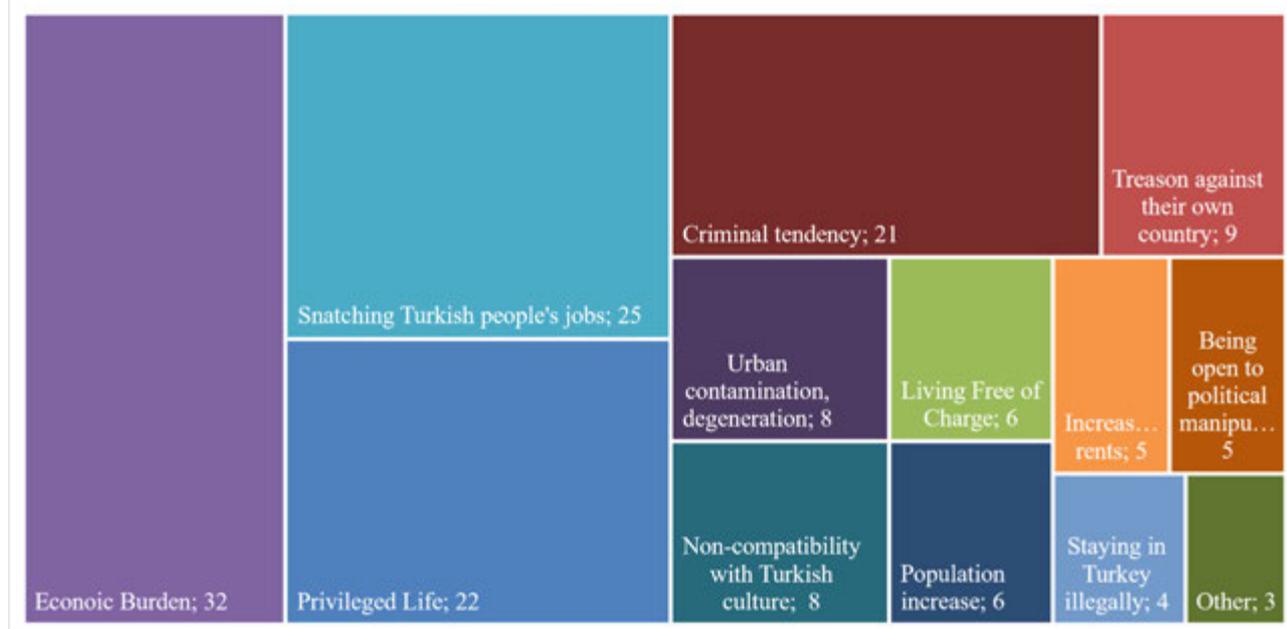
Back", Habertürk, 04.03.2018; "Who Will Pay for the Syrian Disaster", Sözcü, 02.09.2017; "Let's See what will Happen in 2018", Milliyet, 01.01.2018; "There might be Ghettoization", Hürriyet, 15.10.2018; "Are you here for Hatay?", Hatay Asi, 01.11.2017; "The Tradesman are Going Bankrupt", Gaziantep Güneş, 05.10.2018.

discrimination against refugees on one hand and disseminate discriminatory content on the other hand shows that the mainstream newspaper editors do not follow a consistent attitude on issues concerning refugees and that reflexes that do not overlap on the same topic and change depending on conjuncture, daily events and the reaction of the public are included in the pages of newspapers. The most consistent attitude regarding this has been shown by Sözcü daily that exhibits an anti-refugee attitude and included discriminatory content in its news reports and columns.



When the allegations through which these discriminatory expressions against refugees and immigrants are voiced are analysed, it is seen that the first place belongs to economic burden brought onwards by refugees (34%). This is followed by allegations that they took away employment opportunities from Turkish workers (%26.5), conduct a privileged life (%23.4), inclined to commit crimes (%22.3), betrayed their own country (%9.5), not adapted to Turkish culture, caused urban contamination and degeneration (%8.5), disrupted Turkish demography (%6.3) as the thesis for the basis of discriminatory expressions targeting refugees. This distribution shows that the press that has the obligation of informing the public opinion and convey correct information continues to misinform in relation to topics concerning refugees and provide one sided information in certain cases.

**GRAPH 37. THEMES THAT ARE DISCRIMINATORY AGAINST REFUGEES AND MIGRANTS**



\*Multiple-coding has been used in this table.

Examples for news reports and columns containing discriminatory discourses against refugees and immigrants have been provided under various headings above. Therefore, here we will just focus on a few examples where allegations that refugees and immigrants have changed the demography of certain regions of Turkey and that they have caused urban degeneration.



## '2040'ta her 13 kişiden biri Suriyeli olacak'

21. Yüzyıl Türkiye Enstitüsü'nün Yönetim Kurulu Başkanlığı'nı da yürüten İYİ Parti Genel Başkan Yardımcısı Ümit Özdağ, "Suriyelilerin büyük bölümü için Türkiye, bedava alışveriş yapılan süper markete benziyor. Bedava alışveriş yapılan süper marketten kimse ayrılmak istemez" dedi.

Enstitünün, "Suriyeliler" raporunu kısa zamanda açıklayacaklarını söyleyen Özdağ, Türkiye'de şu anda her 20 kişiden birinin Suriyeli olduğunu belirlerken, "2040'ta bu rakam 7.5 milyona doğru yükseliyor. Her 13 kişiden biri Suriyeli olacak. Gettolaşma başladı. Böyle bir nüfus yapısıyla milli devleti muhafaza edemezsiniz" ifadesinde bulundu.

Özdağ, "Vatandaşların yüzde 85'inden fazlası, Suriyelilerin dönmelerini istiyor. Hemen hemen her konuda ayrılan Türk toplumu, Suriyelilerin geri dönmeleri konusunda mutabık. AB, Suriyelilerin Türkiye'de kalmasını istiyor; kendisine kabul etmiyor. Herkes kendi vatanına dönsün, diyoruz" görüşünü dile getirdi.



Ümit Özdağ

### "In 2040, one in every 13 people will be Syrian"

One of the main prejudices underlying discriminatory language against refugees is related to the conspiracy theories over demography. Indeed, a declaration made by İYİ Party Deputy Chairperson Ümit Özdağ, about refugees' population increase that triggers refugee xenophobia is headlined in the news report in quotation marks. The report also covers one-sidedly Özdağ's claims that "Syrians think of Turkey as a free of charge supermarket", "the Syrians live in Turkey for free"; "the refugees' population increase threatens national state", "more than 85% of the citizens want Syrians return", and normalizes the reactions targeting refugees and discriminatory reflexes in the public sphere.

Denial appears to be amongst the main strategies of racist and discriminatory discourse. Van Dijk states that in societies where racism and discrimination are not accepted morally the "positive self" formation requires the denial of racism. Denial is expressed with the words "I am not against the..... but" and is continued with negative comments against foreigners, immigrants, refugees. Thus "denial serves the strategic purpose of being able to say negative things about others without being labelled as a racist" (1991:188). The article below is important in the sense that it exemplifies the discriminatory prejudices of a columnist that uses "I am neither expressing xenophobia nor despising refugees"... "I am not against those people but..." connecting these prejudices to this "but" and presenting it as a "reality".



# BÜYÜK TEHLİKENİN FARKINDA MIYIZ?

**Y**abana atılacak gibi değil..  
Durum çok ciddi.. Daily News'ten Murat Yetkin dün dikkat çekti..

**Topraklarımız terörist kaynıyor..**

PKK, FETÖ, DHKP-C bir yana, Suriye'ye gidip IŞİD saflarında çatışan 1500

Türk'ten 900'ü geri dönmüş..

**Aramızda yaşıyorlarmış!.**

Aramızda yaşayan sadece IŞİD'li Türkler olsa iyi, Araplar var, Çeçenler var, Özbekler var, var oğlu var.. **Türkiye merkez üssü gibi..**



mtezkan@milliyet.com.tr

*bomba koyarak.. Otoparka çektikleri araca da bomba yerleştirmişler.. Uzaktan kumandayla mikrodalgayı patlatacak, panikle kaçanları öldürmek için iki militan kalabalığın ortasında kendini patlatacak, dışarı çıkanları öldürmek için de bomba yüklü araç patlatılacak.. Yüzlerce kişi ölecekti.. Ne kadar doğru bilmiyorum.. Basına yansıyan senaryo bu..)*

**★**  
İnsanın kanı donuyor.. Olabilir mi?  
**Evet.. Çünkü..**  
**BİR:** Bu insanlar başka bir düzen kurmak için IŞİD'e katıldı..  
**İKİ:** O düzeni kurdular kurmasına da yürütemediler, yenildiler; öfkeli..  
**ÜÇ:** Bu insanlar kendileri gibi yaşamayanları kâfir sayıyor..  
**DÖRT:** Ne kadar çok insan öldürülse o kadar çok sevaba gireceklerini düşünüyorlar..  
**BEŞ:** Kendilerini patlattıkları an cennete gideceklerine inanıyorlar..

**★**  
Suriye sınırına duvar çektik.. Açık sınır politikasından devasa duvar politikasına geçtik ama bir hayli geç kaldık galiba..

**★**  
Önceki gün **Emniyet Müdürlüğü** açıklama yaptı.. 283 IŞİD militanı yakalanmış; 96'sı Türk, 187'si yabancıymış! **Dikkat!** Yabancı militan sayısı daha fazla..

**★**  
İstanbul polisi büyük iş başardı.. 29 Ekim Bayramı'nı kana bulamak isteyen iki IŞİD militanını yakalamakla kalmadı, onlarla bağlantılı hücreyi çöktü.. Deşifre olan planları dehşet..

**★**  
(Haber kaçırılmış olanlara hatırlatma.. Büyük alışveriş merkezindeki bir mağazadan aldıkları mikrodalga fırını bozuk çıktı diye iade etmişler, tabii içine

## Bazı ilçeler Türkiye değil

Ne yabancı düşmanlığı yapıyorum..  
Ne **mültecileri** hor görüyorum..

**Bir gerçeğin altını çizmek istiyorum..** Bazı iller, bazı illerin bazı ilçeleri Türkiye değil.. Orada yaşayan insanlar kim belli değil..

**★**  
Yaşadığım kentten, İstanbul'dan örnek vereyim.. Laleli, Aksaray, Zeytinburnu, Fatih sanki bizim ülkenin semtleri değil.. Zeytinburnu'na git, bütün tabelalar **Arapça..**  
**Sadece Araplar yok, Çeçenler de orada, Özbekler de, Kazaklar da..** Reina'yı basan Özbek militan oradan çıktı..

Beyoğlu taraflarına gel, Afrikalı kaynıyor..  
**Hele Aksaray Somali va-**

tandaşından Ugandalısına.. **Suriyelisinden,** Pakistanlısına orada.. **Çetesiyle, mafyasıyla, kadın ticaretiyle, uyuşturucu pazarıyla oradalar..**

İnanmayan, itiraz eden, abartıyorsun diyen Emniyet'e sorsun.. Veya bir akşam benimle Aksaray'a gelsin.. Sabaha kadar turlayalım.. **Korkmazsa tabii..**

**★**  
O insanlara karşı değilim ama durum kontrol dışı gibi duruyor.. 900 yerli IŞİD militanımız deniliyor..

Sorum şu..  
**Ne kadar yabancı uyruklu IŞİD militanımız var?**

Geçen günkü operasyonda IŞİD militanı suçlamasıyla gözaltına alınan 283 kişiden 187'sinin yabancı olması düşündürücü değil mi?

Korkutucu değil mi?

## "Are we aware of the big danger?"

At the beginning of the column, the columnist criticises the open boarder policy of the government towards the refugees fleeing war, and states that this policy puts the country under the threat of terrorism. The columnist claims that majority of the captured ISIS militants are foreigners, and they "live among us" due to the open boarder policy.

To highlight the majority of the threat, at the second part of the column, a terrorist attack scenario is reflected and the red caption "Some districts are not Turkey" attracts the attention of the reader to the demographic structure of the areas where mostly foreigners live, and accuses all foreigners living in Turkey (Chechens, Uzbeks, Kazaks, Somalians, Ugandans, Syrians, Pakistanis) of being members to gangs, mafia, dealing with woman trafficking, drug trafficking, being ISIS militants. At the beginning of this section the columnist states that he does not have a xenophobic approach, he does not depreciate refugees, and places his position on a morally acceptable ground, however right after that he lists the xenophobic arguments with the words "I would like to underline a fact".

At the end of the column, he reminds the reader of the terrorist attack scenario and appeals once again to the reader's fears writing "how many foreign national ISIS militants do we have?" ... "Isn't it frightening?" and reinforces this perception of fear to legitimize xenophobia.

As mentioned above, racist and discriminatory discourse are frequently resorted arguments to keep the perception that the population and demographic structure are under threat and keep the worries of the members of the hosting society that they will lose their current privileges and that "us" will stop "to be us" alive. The headline for the news below "Fatih is now small Syria" is interesting in terms of showing how this worry of "us has stopped being us" is reflected to the newspaper pages.

## "Fatih is now small Syria"

Millet Gazetesi  
Cankaya/Gazete  
İstanbul

Tarih: 2017-10-19  
Sayfa No: 13  
Sicil No: 9  
R.E.(T.L): 33.324

# 'Fatih artık Küçük Suriye'

İstanbul'da Suriyelilerin yoğun olarak yerleştiği Fatih'te göçmen rahatsızlığı artıyor. 3 Suriyelinin yaralandığı son kavgadan sonra bölge sakinleri, "Burada bizden çok Suriyeli yaşıyor. Fatih, 'Küçük Suriye' oldu, huzurumuz kalmadı" diyor



**'Şehir kültürleri yok'**

Zeyrek Mahallesi muhtar Mehmet Kemal Serbetçi, "Bundan 3 gün önce Suriyeliler Türk bir çocuğu dövmüşler ama neden dövmüşler bilgin yok. Bunun üzerinde dayak yiyen çocuğun yakını da sığın alıp bu alerji yapıldığı Hattat Nazif sokağı girmişler. Sonra üç Suriyeli yaranama" diye özetliyor yaşananları. Mahallelerinde Suriyeli nüfusun her geçen gün arttığı belirtilen Serbetçi, "Suriyelilerin Türkiye

göçmenleriyle birlikte bizim mahalledeki ev kiraları da arttı. Fiyatlar bu kadar yüksek olunca kendi vatandaşlarımız bunlarda oturamıyor ama Suriyeliler 8-10 yıldan beri kaldıkları için rahatlıkla ödeyebiliyor. Suriyeli nüfusu artınca sığınatçılar da çoğaldı. Suriyelilerin çoğunun yerleşim yerleri sığınatçı ve uyum sağlanamıyor. Benim yaşadığım, bir an önce buradan geçirdiği ülkelerine geri gönderilmeleri ya da belli noktalarda toplanmaları" diyor.

Ülkelerindeki savaş sonuna Türkiye'de yaşamaya başlayan Suriyeli göçmenlerle, yerleştikleri bölgelerde yaşananlar arasında gerçekleşen ayımsızlığın son örneği öncelikli gün İstanbul Fatih'te yaşandı. Göçmenlerin yoğun olarak yaşadığı Fatih'in Zeyrek mahallesinde Suriyeli bir grup ile mahalleli arasında yaşanan tartışmada silahlı tartışma çıktı. Karşılaşma netice etmiş. Aldo Ayar(21), Hamit Ayar(22) ile Halit Ayar(23) adlı üç Suriyeli yaralanırken, polis silahsızlanmasını sağlamak için çabasına başladı. Dört kişilik kan, sonunda bir sığınatçı sığınatçı hissedildi bo-yuta gören Suriyeli karıştığı bir tartışma. Konuştuğumuz mahalle sakinlerinin neredeyse tamamı, sığınatçılarında, hatta Türkiye'de bile Suriyeli istemediklerini söylüyor.

**'Bizden daha çoklar'**  
Yaşanan kavgaya, 'Suriyeli 4-5 kişi bir elip bir 16-17 yaş-

larında bir çocuğu dövmüşler, bunun üzerine de inoçlu aksam binden 20 kişilik bir grup olayın olduğu yerde toplanmış. Sokaktan alt tarafında da 50-60 kişilik Suriyeli grup ilerinde sopa ve bıçaklarla bunların yanına geldi ve kavgaya başladı. Sonra silah sesi duyuldu ama kim ya da kimler ateş açtı bilmiyoruz" şeklinde anlatılan bir esnafın sözleri sığınatçı bakışın özetini niteliğinde.

**'Suriyeliler Fatih'e göçtünden beri huzurumuz kalmadı. Bir apartman daifesinde 3-4 aile biden oturuyor ve çok gü-**

ruklü yapıyorlar. Ama halkımızın da çok büyük kabalığı var. Eskiden mahallede 500 TL olan ev Suriyeliler geldikten sonra 1500 TL oldu. Böyle olanca birkaç ev sahibi evlerini kiraya verip unak sentlere tapındı. Artık bidden çok Suriyeli yaşıyor burada ve bidden daha rahatlar. Tek istediğim Suriye'deki sığınatçı bir an önce bizimisi ve Suriyelilerin ülkelerine dönmeleri."

**'Devlet göz yumuyor'**  
Mahalle sakinlerinin Suri-

The news report highlights "loss of what was ours" with the headline "Fatih is now a mini-Syria". The article reports that refugees increase rents in the area, they receive assistance from 8 or 10 different places so they can afford high rents, they beat up children and make the area unsafe, they live as crowded groups and make noise, they pick fights and get involved in all kinds of "mess", therefore all racist stereotypes are recapped through witnesses from the community. The journalist attributes newsworthiness to these witnesses and uses the spot "they do not have a city culture" in red and contributes to antagonism between "us" having a city culture and "they" depicted as "uncivilized".

When the details of the news report are read, it is understood that the incident was a fight that led to 3 Syrians getting wounded by gun-shots.

The journalist interviews the neighbourhood community about this fight, however does not use the Syrian refugees as a news source, who are understood to be the real victims of the fight and suffered from discrimination of the community.

When an analysis on television news is conducted it has been identified that there is mention of discriminatory treatment towards refugees in 11 news reports and in 1 news report there is discriminatory expression against the refugees. The fact that television news reports having access to larger masses when compared with numbers of newspaper circulation are abstaining from approving discriminatory actions and expressions targeting refugees and establishing a framework that recreates them, is an indication that television journalists are exhibiting a much more conscious attitude that television that has access to larger masses has a larger potential to feed social tensions and lynch culture.

### Rights-Based Journalism: "Good" Practices

Although there is a predominant perspective in the news reports and columns that ignore the violation of rights of the refugees and the possible resolutions for these violations, the presence of news reports and columns during this 18-month period, that could be classified as examples of "rights-based journalism", putting forward the violation of the rights of refugees, questioning the social reasons behind these violations and asking for the resolution of these cannot be ignored. The presence of texts of this type although rare within the news reports and columns analysed, does not eliminate the validity of the general evaluations of this study in relation to the problems in the press pertaining to refugees and immigrants. Together with this, the presence of the examples recounted below is valuable in the sense that it shows how important it is for the press to make news with a rights-based perspective regarding the refugees in terms of improving living conditions of them in Turkey and facilitating their acceptance by the host community.

The news report shared below regarding the murder of a pregnant refugee after being raped together with her 11-month-old baby fall outside the scope of the conventional journalism that reduces the event to a mere refugee enmity, framing it as a dramatic story of violence, pornographisation violence and explaining it through the personality disorder, mental illness or deviancy of the perpetrators and evaluates it as a result of refugee animosity. The news report is bringing light to the social reasons behind this act of violence by relating it to the widespread animosity against the refugees in the society.

# Vahşetin suç ortağı kim?

Suriyeli hamile kadının tecavüze uğrayıp 11 aylık bebeğiyle birlikte öldürülmesi infial yarattı. STK'lar "Suriyeliler gitsin" söylemlerinin olayı tetiklediğini söylerken, Aile Bakanı "Suriyeli kardeşlerimizi hedef gösterenlerin Suriye'deki zalim rejimden farkı yok" dedi



Bırol K. ile Cemal B., Kaynarca Adliyesi'ne sevk edilirken, yaklaşık 200 kişi adliyenin önünde toplandı. "İdam" sloganları atan kalabalık, diranmeyi ve kapıyı zorlamayı sürdürünce jandarma havaşa uyarı ateşi açtı.

**T**ürkiye, Sakarya'da yaşanan vahşi cinayetin sekizinci yaşayıyor... Bir tavuk fabrikasında çalışan 34 yaşındaki Bırol K. ile 22 yaşındaki Cemal B., iddialara göre kızılılarıyla aynı apartmanda bulunan Suriye sığırcısı Halid Al-Rahman (27) ile tartıştı. Tartışmanın ardından önceki akşam Bırol K. ile Cemal B., Suriyeli için Hürriyet Mahallesi'ndeki evine girdi. Kapıyı bozdu ve içeri girip, içeri girip zanlılar, Rahman'ın 9 aylık hamilesi ile 11 aylık bebeğini keşfettiler. Hamile kadın ve çocuğunu ilgisizce emerek öldürdüler. İki canı habis eden 11 aylık bebeği de boğazladılar.

## IRKÇI SÖYLEMLERE TEPKİ

İnsanlık dışı olayı protesto eden sivil toplum kuruluşları BHH, MİBİDER, Eğitim İle Sen, Cihanmümin ortak açıklama yaptı. BHH Sakarya Bölgesi Şubesi'nin Aydın, "Çölyün arka planına bakıldığında, sosyal medyada özellikle sinist ve aşırı milliyetçi söylemlerden bazı kişilerin halkı galeyana getirmek için 'Suriyeliler gitsin' kampanyasını başlatma girişimlerinin etkili olduğunu görüyoruz. Çözümü Boşnak, Tatar, Türk, Kürt, Suriyeli ile birlikte kesilip, zulmü her türlü bastırıyor, birlikte yaşayabilmeye varacağı yolumuz var" dedi. Cihanmümin Sakarya Temsilcisi Fatih Yarılançoğlu da basın çevresinde sıkı söylemlerle 'Suriyeliler'le ilgili olumsuz algı oluşturulmaya çalışıldığını söyledi.

## 'BARBARLIĞIN IRKI, MİLLİYETİ YOK'

Büyük acı yaşayan Suriyeli baba müzakeratından, Kaynarca İlçe Devlet Hastanesi'ne kaldırıldı. STK temsilcileri baba Halid Al-Rahman'ı hastanede ziyaret etti. Sakarya Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanı Zeki Toçoğlu da yaptığı yazılı açıklamada, olayın faillerinin hak ettiği cezayı bulacağını belirtti. Kadın ve Demokrasi Derneği (KADDER) de insanlık dışı olaya tepki gösterdi: "Sığınmacıların hedef talimatı haline dönüştürülmesi, ülke içlerindeki huzur ortamının bozulmasına yol açması bizlere, Türk toplumu ile Suriyeli sığınmacıların karşı karşıya gelmesine yol açtığını gösteriyor. Sınıkların en ağır cezası olmasını talep ediyor, takipçisi olacağımıza bildiriyor ve bu vahşeti kınıyoruz."

## 'SİĞİNMACILAR HEDEF TAHTASI'

Vahşete tepki gösteren Aile Bakanı Fatma Benil Soyun Kaya, Twitter'da şu ifadeleri kullandı: "Bu vahşeti gerçekleştirenlerin insani olmayan, Tevrat ve İncil'inin irki, milliyeti yok. Provokasyonlarla Suriyeli kardeşlerimizi hedef gösterenlerin Suriye'deki zalim rejimden farkı yoktur."



Emami Al-Rahman ile 11 aylık bebeği Fatih, boğaz Adana-Bozazır'nda bulunan Orhan Camii'nde kılınacak cenaze namazının ardından MİT'e gönderilecek.

## 'BABY DA ÖLDÜRECEK'TİK'

EMAMI Al-Rahman doğum için dün (cumalı) günü hastaneye girecekti. İyilerinden evine dönen baba, eşi ve bebeğini evde bulamayınca polisi aradı. Yapılan çalışma sonrası kadın ve bebeğinin cesetleri bulundu. Gözaltına alınan iki zanlı suçlarını itiraf ederek, "Yakalanmasaydık Halid Al-Rahman'ı da öldürmeyi planlıyorduk" dedi. İki zanlı tutuklanarak cezaevine gönderildi.

"Who is the complicit in this barbarity?"

Headline of the news announces that the violence targeting the refugee woman was not the result of a conflict due to individual and personal reasons but a "complicity". The caption refers to the statements of civil society organizations and also the Minister of Family and expresses that this complicity is a result of refugee-phobia among the public.

The report also covers the civil society organizations' observation that the spreading racist discourse of well-known people in the media and social media targeting refugees lies behind the incident.

Analysis of the newspaper and television news reports show that problems such as sexual abuse of refugee women, degradation and marriage in exchange for money do not find a place in the agenda of the press most of the time; and when they do it is not the fact that women are being sold in exchange for money that bears newsworthiness, it is their "running away" with the pinned money and gold from the wedding ceremony that is marked as important. The news report below is an exception to the persistent attitude of the conventional press to ignore the violation of rights experienced by refugee women.

Milliyet  
Günlük/Gazete  
İstanbul

Tarih :2017-11-11  
Sayfa No:18  
Stx:cm :0  
R.E(TL) :17.420

Medya Takip Merkezi

**Mülteci kadınların umudu VAKAD ayakta**

**ÇİĞDEM YILMAZ**  
İstanbul

Kanun Hükmünde Kararname (KHK) ile kapatılan ve kapısına mühür vurulan Van Kadın Derneği'nin (VAKAD) yönetici ve aktivistleri, başvuru almayı sürdürüyor. Alan ziyaretlerini sürdüren derneğin yönetici ve aktivistleri, sokakta, evlerde, ofislerde kadınlarla bir araya gelerek kadın sorunlarına çözüm arıyor.

Özellikle mülteci kadınlara yönelik istismların arttığına dikkati çeken VAKAD'ın eski başkanı Songül Özüver, "Van'da yüzlerce mağdur kadın var. En çok da cinsel şiddet başvuruları alıyoruz. Sadece son 3 ayda evlilik vaadiyle kandırılan 5 kadın bize ulaştı. Mağdur edenlerin hepsi de evli erkekler" dedi.

**Zehra'nın hikâyesi**

Dernek eski yöneticilerine ulaşan başvurulara göre evli erkekler mülteci kadınları ya ikinci bir eş olarak alıyor ya da bekar olduklarını söyleyip birliktelik yaşıyorlar. Bu yolla mağdur edilen kadınlar-

dan biri de İranlı Zehra A. Saha çalışmalarıyla ulaşılan 36 yaşındaki Zehra H., ülkesinde can güvenliği olmadığı için Türkiye'ye sığınmış. Yaşamak için Kuşadası'na yerleşen Zehra A., burada tanıştığı S.A. ile resmi olmayan yolla yuva kurmuş.

Kısa süre sonra da hamile kalan H., bebeğini doğurmaya yakın birlikte olduğu kişinin evli olduğunu öğrenmiş. H. şimdi çocuğunun kendisinden alınmasıyla tehdit edildiğini söylüyor. Zehra'ya oluşturdukları bir dayanışma ağıyla yardım eli uzattıklarını belirten Özüver şöyle devam etti:

"Kendi imkânlarımız doğrultusunda bir ev tutup Zehra'yı güvenli bir yere taşıdık. Zehra 2-3 aydır bizim yaptığımız dayanışma yardımları ve devletten aldığı yardımlarla geçiniyor. Ama bu durum böyle nereye kadar devam edecek? Çocuğun bakımını karşılamadığı ve Zehra'yı mağdur ettiği için babaya dava açtık. Zehra gibi aynı durumu yaşayan onlarca kadın var ve bu kadınlar imam nikâhıyla kandırılarak cinsel olarak sömürülüyor."

*KHK ile kapatılan Van Kadın Dayanışma Derneği, özellikle mülteciler olmak üzere mağdur kadınlara el uzatmaya devam ediyor. Dernek yöneticileri çalışmalarını imkânları dahilinde evlerde, sokaklarda sürdürüyor...*



**“Hope of refugee women VAKAD is alert”**

The news report has Songül Özüver as a witness, who is the former Chairperson of Van Women's Association that was closed by a Decree Law, covers the experiences of the association's activists and staff about the sexual violence and abuse suffered by refugee women. The report covers the story of an Iranian refugee woman and uses a language that contributes to sharing women's experiences and problematizing male violence that lies behind these experiences.

Within the content of the study, just as refugee women, there have been limited number of news reports that identifies the violation of the rights of the refugee children from a rights-oriented perspective. Below are two news reports regarding young refugee children made to work

although it is illegal and the determination of this situation by institutions working on international supply chains.

Hakimiyet Haftada 6 Gün/Gazete Mersin

Tarih: 2018-10-01 Sayfa No: 3 SzeCm: 0 R.E( TL): 1.738

# Çocuk işçi sayısı artıyor



Bilgin Yeşilboğaz

Mersin Baro Başkanı Bilgin Yeşilboğaz, ülkemizin kanayan yarası olan çocuk işçi sayısının azalması gerekirken, sığınmacılarla birlikte daha da arttığına dikkat çekerek, "Ülkemizde çocukların çalışması sorun olarak görülüyor mu?" diye sordu.

**"MERSİN'DE 205 BİN 784 SURIYELİ YAŞIYOR"**

Mersin'deki avukatlarına "Uluslararası Koruma ve Müttecilere Yaklaşım Eğitimi" verdi. Programda konuşan Yeşilboğaz, Mersin'de 205 bin 784 Suriyelinin yaşadığı bilgisini vererek, "Geçici koruma altında bulunan Suriyelilerin yoğun olduğu ilk 10 il arasında Mersin 6. sırada yer alıyor. Mütteci sayısının bu kadar yoğun olduğu ülkemizde ve kentimizde, mütteciler meselesel eğitim, barınma, sağlık, istihdam, hukuki yardım başta olmak üzere ayrıca, kadın ve çocuklar koruma ihtiyacı gibi sorunlarla baş başa bırakılmıştır, zor şartlar altında yaşam mücadelesi vermektedirler. Mütteciler haklarının ne olduğunu tam olarak bilmiyor, bileşeler dahi nerelele başvuracakları konusunda sıkıntı yaşıyorlar" ifadelerini kullandı.

**SİĞINMACILARLA BİRLİKTE ÇOCUK İŞÇİ SAYISI DA ARTTI**

Yeşilboğaz, ayrıca Türkiye'de yasalara göre 15 yaşından küçük kızların çalıştırılmasının cezaya tabi olduğunu anımsatarak, "Ülkemizin kanayan yarası olan Türkiye'de çocuk işçi sayısı azalması gerekirken, sığınmacılarla birlikte daha da artmıştır. Özellikle ekonomik ve istihdam sorunları nedeniyle, birçok mütteci çocuk okula gitmek ya da oyun oynamak yerine, çocuğuna veda ederek ailesine yardım etmek için çalıştırılmak zorunda kalıyor. Acaba ülkemizde çocukların çalışması sorun olarak görülüyor mu? Hükümet siyasi, kültürel, ekonomik ve güvenlik alanlarında yapmış olduğu çalışmalarda, müttecilerden göz önünde bulundurulmalı; sosyal, kültürel ve ekonomik sorunlarını minimuma indirmelidir" dedi. **20.5'te Haber: Mihriban ERMİS**

## "Number of child workers rise"

Hakimiyet newspaper covers a speech by Chairperson of Mersin Barr Association during a training activity for the lawyers and headlines the chairperson's words about the problem of young children being employed although it is legally a crime. The article reports that refugee children at school-age are forced to work due to poverty, and captions Chairperson of Bar Association Yeşilboğaz's question: "is child labour seen as a problem in our country?".

It is also important that the young child's face is blurred in the photo, and it shows the sensitivity of the newspaper and the journalist about the problem of exposing children's images in this kind of news.

## Çocuk işçilere yakın takip

Türkiye'deki tedarik zincirlerinde kayıt dışı ve fason üretim dolayısıyla malzemelerin kaynağı tespit edilemedi. Ancak, pamuk tarlalarında 8 yaşında çocukların çalıştığı belirtildi.



Şeyma ERİN  
07.05.2017 29 Ağustos 2017

Haberler | Denetim



Türkiye'deki hazır giyim sektörünün tedarik zincirinde çocuk işçilerin kullanılması yine Avrupa gündemine girdi. Hollandalı giyim markalarının Türkiye'deki pamuk ve konfeksiyon tedarik zincirinin incelenmesi sonucunda, pamuk tarlalarında 8 yaşında çocukların çalıştığı ve fason üretimin yaygın olduğu konfeksiyon alanında çocuk işçilerin çalıştığı da belirtildi.

monarda çocuk emeği çalışma uruzu kapsamında, Türkiye'deki Nakitima Akademi Kooperatifi ile Washington DC, ABD merkezli sivil toplum kuruluşu Fair Labor Association (Adil Emek Demek) tarafından yürütülen araştırmada, Hollandalı giyim markaları Coolinvestments, DuPont & DeBruin, Just Brands, PVH, Varova Fashion Holding ve WE Fashion için Türkiye'de yapılan üretimler incelendi. Projenin

nedeniyle Türkiye'de çocuk emeği sınırsız riskinin yükselmesi gösterildi. Araştırma raporunda, Türkiye'deki hazır giyim sektöründe çocuk emeği kullanımının yaygın olduğu belirtilerek, "Bazılar 8 yaşında olan küçük çocuklar pamuk tarlalarında çalışıyor" denildi. Özellikle tarım işçisi ailelerin bütün aile üyelerinin toplam ücretini başına ücret aldığına dikkat çekilen raporda Şanlıurfa'da çocukların çalıştırılması yaygın olduğu belirtildi. Raporla şu ifadelerle yer verildi: "Tedarik zincirinin bu halkasında düşük ücret ve yoksulluk çocuk emeği kullanımının önünü açıyor. Proje üyeleri, mükemmeliyetçi en az olduğu yerde çocuk emeğinin en fazla kullanıldığını tespit etti" sözlerine yer verildi. Türkiye'deki pamuk tarlalarından Hollanda'daki satış noktalarına kadar, tedarik zincirinin 4 halkasının da incelendiği projede, bu halkalar arasında iletişim kopukluğu, resmi ilişkilerin azlığı ve konfeksiyon üretiminde fason işletmelerin yaygın olarak kullanılması nedeniyle, hangi üründe hangi pamuğun kullanıldığı veya hangi giysinin hangi atölyede imal edildiğini belirlemenin son derece zor olduğu kaydedildi.

### ŞİRKETLERE ÇAĞRI

Raporla, "Bu projede, katılan şirketler tarafından satılan ürünlerin çocuk emeği sınırsızından azade olduğu garanti edilemediği gibi, projede yer alan şirketlerin çocuk emeği riskiyle ne seviyede karşı karşıya olduğu da tam olarak belirlenemez" ifadeleri kullanıldı. Araştırmacılar şirketlere çağrıda bulunarak, çalışanların satın alma ve tedarik konusunda bilinçlendirmelerini, işçi hakları standartlarını gündemde tutmalarını, mülteci ve göçmenlerin yoğun olduğu bölgelere odaklanmalarını ve devletin çalışma koşullarıyla ilgili denetim ve düzenlemelerini geliştirmesine yardımcı olmalarını istedi.

### GEÇEN YILDA GÜNDEME GELDİ

TÜRKİYE'deki hazır giyim ve tekstil sektörlerinde aralarında çocukların da olduğu Suriyelilerin çalıştırılması geçen yılın başında da gündeme gelmişti. Londra merkezli İş ve İnsan Hakları Kaynak Merkezi (BHRRC), Avrupa'da 28 markanın ürünlerinin tedarik zincirlerinde mülteci ve çocuk emeği olduğunu, bu mültecilerin insanlık dışı

denetlendirdiği ve çocuk işçi çalıştırılması durumunda sözleşmelerin feshedildiğini savunmuştu.

## "Close observation for child workers"

A report in Sözcü newspaper covers the information that international companies manufacturing ready-to-wear clothing in Turkey employ unregistered workers and subcontracted manufacturers employ young children including Syrians and emphasizes that this situation is under observation by international organizations.

It is a known fact that not just children but refugees who have to work to sustain their life in Turkey are face to face with important violations of their rights in the area of employment. Working longer hours with no social security, unregistered and with less pay when compared to Turkish workers is amongst the major negligence seen. As a result, as the analysis above shows, the employment process of the refugees and the violations they are subject to over this process does not attract the attention of the press, to the contrary news reports and columns showing the refugees as the cause of unemployment and economic crisis is prevalent in the national and local press. The news report regarding the violation of rights of refugees in the field of employment surfaces as one of the few items covered in the press on this topic.



# UCUZ VE KAYITSIZ

Suriyeli mülteciler hayatımızın her yerinde. Birleşik Metal İş Sendikası, akademisyenlerle Suriyeli ve Türk tekstil işçilerinin durumunu araştırdı. 604 işçiyi kapsayan anket, Suriyelilerin Türk işçilerden yaklaşık yüzde 25 daha ucuz çalıştıklarını ve kayıt dışı oranının yüzde 100'e yaklaştığını ortaya koydu. Anket, Türk işçilerin Suriyelilere yardımcı olsalar da bir gün gödecekleri umudu taşıdıklarına da gösteriyor.

**Selime TURHAN**

**S**URİYELİ mültecilerin durumu son dönemde Türkiye'de gündemin birinci sıradadır. Birleşik Metal İş Sendikası da tekstil sektöründe Suriyeli ve Türk işçilerin emek piyasasındaki durumunu araştırdı. Suriyeli işçilerin kayıt dışı ve düşük ücrette çalıştıkları tespit edildi. Araştırma ancak seninle İstanbul'un tekstil sektöründe yürüten birleşik Türk ve Suriyeli işçilerle anket yapıldı ve en doğru sonuçları ortaya çıkardı. "Suriyeli Göçmen Emekçi" başlıklı çalışmada İstanbul'un başta Bağcılar ve Güngören olmak üzere tekstil sektöründe yoğun olduğu ilçelerde anketlere girildi. Türk ve Suriyeli 604 işçi ile konuşuldu. Çalışma sonuçlarına göre, Türk ve Suriyeli işçiler arasında büyük bir maaş farkı ortaya çıktı. Ayrıca, işler Türk obası işleri Suriyeli 604 çalışan yüzde 33'ü aylık ücretin altında çalışıyor.

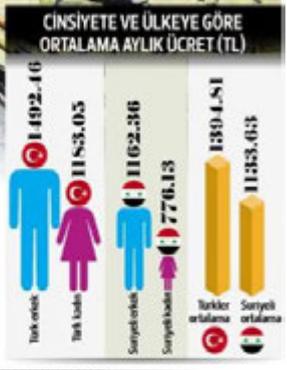
**% 100 KAYIT DIŞI**

İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisadi Araştırma Projeleri Kurulundan dernekler ve resmi kuruluşların akademisyenleri Erhan Erol, Ayşe Engi Akpol, Cemal Salman, Ezgi Pınar, İpek Güneşcan, Evren Yiğit Mısırlı, Mustafa Kalıncı, Pedriye Muhsin tarafından yapılan çalışma Türkiye'deki mültecilerin 2.7 milyonu kadar Suriyelilerin emek piyasasına etkilerini dikkate alıyor. Çalışmanın en çarpıcı sonuçları ücretler ve kayıt dışılığa ortaya çıkıyor.

- Çalışmaya göre, Türk erkek işçiler düşük da olsa atarında en yüksek maaşı alırken, Türk kadın işçiler Türk erkek işçilerden ortalama 309 TL daha az kazanıyor.
- Suriyeli erkek işçiler ise Türk kadın ve erkek işçilerin ortalama maaş alıyor.
- Suriyeli erkek işçiler, Türk erkek işçilerden ortalama 330 TL daha alırken, Suriyeli kadın işçilerin ortalama ücreti Türk erkek işçilerin yaklaşık yarısını ancak buluyor. Ve, tüm işçilerin ortalama maaşından yaklaşık 499 TL daha düşük kazanıyorlar.
- Sigortalı çalışmada Türk erkek işçilerin yüzde 34'ü, Türk kadın işçilerin ise yüzde 32.2'si sigortalı çalışırken, Suriyeli erkek işçilerin yüzde 99.6'sı kadın işçilerin ise tamamı sigortalı. Bu durum aynı zamanda Türk erkek işçilerin yüzde 46'sının, Türk kadın işçilerin ise yüzde 63'ünün kayıt dışı olduğunu ortaya koyuyor.

## 'SURIYELİ ÜCRETİ DÜŞÜRÜYOR'

Türk işçilerin bir diğer göçüne Suriyeli işçilerin sektördeki ücret seviyesini düşürdüğü, Türk erkek işçilerin yüzde 77'si yani dörtte üçü, Türk kadın işçilerin yüzde 60'ı yani yaklaşık üçte iki Suriyelilerin gelmesiyle birlikte ve Türkiye'de genel olarak ücretlerin düştüğü gözlemleniyor. Ayrıca, Türk işçiler Suriyelilerin ülke ekonomisine olumsuz etkide bulunduğu da düşünülüyor. Türk erkek işçilerin yüzde 65'i, kadın işçilerin de yüzde 72'si Suriyeli göçünün ülke ekonomisine olumsuz etkide bulunduğu diye görüşüyor.



**ÇALIŞMA İZNI VERİLMESİN**

ANKETE katılan Türk tekstil işçilerinin yüzde 64'ü Suriyeli işçilerin ücretlerinde çalışma izni verilmemesi gerektiğini savunuyor, yüzde 32'si olarak belirtiyor. Türk işçiler çalışma izni verilmemesine daha sıcak bakıyor. Türk işçilerin yüzde 52'si Suriyelilere geçici çalışma izni verilmemesine sıcak bakıyor diye etti. Türk tekstil işçilerinin yüzde 74'ü Suriyelilere Türkiye Cumhuriyeti vatandaşlığı verilmemesine karşı çıkar ve yüzde 85'i çalışma ortamının daha emniyetli bir şekilde Suriyelilerin göçünü engellemesini istiyor.



## TÜRKLER DAHA ZOR İŞ BULUYOR

TÜRKLER DAHA ZOR İŞ BULUYOR

TÜRK işçilerin iş bulma süreci geçen yılın yüzde 20'si Türk işçilerin Suriyelilere göre daha zor iş bulduğunu belirtiyor. Bunun devamında işçilerin yüzde 62'si Suriyeli işçilerin Türkiye'ye göre daha düşük ücret aldığı için işverenlerin Suriyelileri tercih etmeye başladığını, Türk erkek işçilerin yüzde 80'ine görüşü bu yönde çıktı. Suriyeli işçilerin daha düşük ücret aldığı kabul görülen durumda bulunan Suriyeli işçiler, ajantik olarak, onların ücreti yetenek beklentilerine göre değerlendirildi. Adaylık ücreti yeterli bulan Suriyeli erkek işçilerin oranı yüzde 72'den, Suriyeli kadın işçiler içinde bu oran yüzde 68 olarak belirtildi.

## SUÇLASALAR DA YARDIMCILAR

TÜRK işçiler, iş bulmalarını güçleştiren işverenlerin dışındaki diğer faktörler de Suriyeli işçilere yardımcı oluyor. İşyerinde ayrımcılığa uğradıklarını söyleyenler de Suriyeli işçilerin Türk işçilerin işyerinde kendilerine yardımcı olduklarını vurguluyor. "Türk işçiler işyerinde Suriyeli işçilere yardımcı oluyor" dediklerini katılan Suriyeli erkek işçilerin oranı yüzde 43, kadın işçilerin oranı ise yüzde 85 çıktı.

## "Cheap and unregistered"

The news report covers the results of a study carried out by United Metal Workers' Union about Syrian textile workers. The news report displays the exploitation of Syrian refugees in employment by highlighting that almost all Syrian workers in Turkey are unregistered, they are paid in cash, and receive less pay than Turkish workers.

The study has also shown that the press has included contents which problematise hate speech against refugees, although limited in number. The news report below is differentiated from the others in the sense that it has taken the hate speech of the media at its focus. Sabah daily has alleged that Hürriyet daily that was run by Doğan Media group at the time of publication of the news report and Sözcü and Cumhuriyet newspapers from the opposing tendency has made publications creating social tension vis-a-vis the Syrian refugees and that these publications were made with "malicious intentions". At this point the ownership relations and the support of the press agency to the refugee policies of the government in line with these relations that has determined the tone of the news concerning refugees should not be overlooked. To this end, whatever the intention may have been, the news report below is striking in the sense that journalists themselves have conceded to the role of the press regarding the production of hate speech.

## Medyada nefret dili

**SURİYELİ** mültecilerin ülkeyi terk etmesi için sosyal medyada yürütülen kara propoganda ve bazı medya kuruluşlarının 'Suriyeli karıştı' ard niyetli yayınları toplumsal gerilimlere de zemin hazırlıyor. Suriyelilerin 'suç profilinin' özellikle öne çıkarıldığı haberlerin medyadaki bayraktarlığını ise Doğan Medya Grubu yapıyor. Bu gruba ait Hürriyet ve DHA ile Sözcü ve Cumhuriyet'in de aralarında bulunduğu bazı gazeteler sistemli bir şekilde Suriyelileri dışlayan ve ırkçılık içeren haberlere imza atıyor. Geçtiğimiz günlerde Suriyeli gençleri hedef alan Hürriyet, İstanbul'da sahillerin nargile için Suriyeli gençler yüzünden duman altı olduğunu ve halkın da şikayetçi olduğunu öne sürdü. Gazete ayrıca sahil ve plajlarda giden Suriyeli gençlerin fotoğraflarını sık sık paylaşarak taciz nefret odaklı haberlere imza attı.



### “Hate speech in media”

The article reports that “black propaganda” is made on social media and on certain media outlets for Syrian refugees to leave the country; especially the criminal profiles of Syrians are highlighted in news reports; news is covered in a way to outcast Syrians with a racist manner.

The news report criticises a report in Hürriyet newspaper about Syrian young people smoking hookah in Istanbul coast leaving the public beach thick with smoke, by also printing the young people's photos and covering hate-speech in social media posts, and consequently, harassing them.

## CONCLUSIONS

During the 18-month period that has been analysed under this study (1 June 2017-30 November 2018) the analysis of 1829 news reports and columns in 7 national and 7 local newspapers and 119 news reports in 7 national television channels have led to the following conclusions:

1. The newspapers prefer to tackle subjects concerning refugees and immigrants in their agenda/current events pages. This means that the problems and the issues concerning more than 4 million refugees and immigrants are not deemed valuable enough to be covered on the first pages of the newspapers.
2. Different from the findings of the earlier studies (Doğanay and Çoban Keneş, 2016), it has been identified that journalists are not that reluctant to use the term of refugee any more. Together with this the terminology "Syrian" is still preferred to identify a general category by the press, thus the refugee status of Syrians in Turkey is pushed to the background. This situation is especially more apparent in the television news reports. On the other hand, the refugees and immigrants that are trying to travel to third countries for a better life are labelled as "fugitive/s" with almost no exception on either the newspapers or television channels, thus being instrumental in creating on the minds of the reader or the viewer a status as if they are doing something illegal and thus running away from it.
3. The refugees and immigrants that do not come from Syria are almost "invisible" in the newspaper pages and television screens.
4. In both the newspapers and television news reports, the refugees and immigrants have been attributed more "newsworthy" when it comes to dramatic incidents and tragedies. This situation causes the refugees to find a predominant place in especially the television news reports with violence, criminal acts, dramatic stories or accidents on migratory routes. The newspaper reports, and columns also give priority to themes such as cohesion and integration of refugees; it has been observed that the local press where the people come face to face with refugees and immigrants more and interact has allocated more space to these themes when compared with the national press. Yet the news reports and columns on these themes do not take into consideration that cohesion is a two-way

process, and integration is reduced more to one-sided educational activities that are being conducted. On the other hand, success stories of refugees and immigrants are given limited space on the pages of the newspapers and TV screens, and these stories that are instrumental in positive coverage of refugees and immigrants are labelled as personal success and exceptional cases; there is a distinction made between actors of these stories with "ordinary" refugees. "Ordinary" refugees' stories of escaping war and struggling to establish a new life in Turkey or their struggle for survival on the other hand can only find a place in the pages of the newspapers within dramatizing perspective, by addressing to the conscience of the reader. While refugees are being stereotyped in the news around the lines of violence, poverty, victimization, the fact that success stories or general stories on migration and stories of survival that could make the refugees to be accepted more easily by the public are allocated limited space is making the resolution of the problems of social acceptance and integration more difficult.

5. Journalists do not regard refugees as source of information, and they are not carrying their views, words to their pages or screens. This leads to the "words" and "testimony" of the refugees to be deemed invaluable, their perspective not being included in the news in controversial cases and in cases of ill treatment, lynch, discrimination where only the view of the majority actors is reflected to the pages of the newspapers and television screens in a single sided manner, and thus causes the dissemination of discriminatory attitudes and judgements.
6. Although there is an independent or neutral position adopted in the news reports in line with the dominant codes of the prevalent understanding of conventional journalism in relation to the event and situation conveyed, the number of news reports and columns in newspapers and television news reports where the refugees and immigrants are covered in a negative framework are more than the news reports and columns where they are portrayed from a positive framework. The columns where refugees and immigrants have been covered in a negative framework constitute one third of the columns covering asylum and migration issues. This situation shows that the columnists, who are the keepers of the threshold with the information and problems they portray in their columns, contribute to the reinforcement of the negative judgements of the public that refugees and immigrants commit crime, engage in illegal acts, and are

untrustworthy. On the other hand, it has been observed that the local press allocates more space to news reports and columns portraying refugees and immigrants when compared with the national press.

7. The dramatized news reports refer to the victim status of refugees, yet the violation of the rights they have been subjected to and the demands for their rights to overcome these violations and to improve their living conditions do not find space in the pages of the newspapers or television screens.
8. The problems of women and child refugees and immigrants that are more vulnerable to exploitation due to the conditions they live in are predominantly not attributed newsworthy in the press and media. When women and children are the subject of the news they are either presented as the victim of an isolated incident in the dramatized news story or they are held responsible of the position they are in. Thus, the social causes behind the exploitation and the violence are overlooked.
9. The discrimination and ill-treatments towards refugees find limited space in the agenda of the press; in the news reports regarding lynch attempts there is a call for poise, yet the responsibility of the events is allocated to the refugees.
10. Both in the news reports and columns, examples of discriminative utterances against the immigrants and refugees which target, label them or feed prejudices against them; and strategies pertaining to racist discourses are detected.
11. The study puts forward the fact that although the number has been limited, there have been news reports and columns in the newspapers and television news that criticize discrimination against refugees and immigrants, document and identify the violation of rights during the period of the study.

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