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# ONLINE HATE DISCOURSE: A STUDY ON HATRED SPEECH DIRECTED AGAINST SYRIAN REFUGEES ON YOUTUBE

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## ABSTRACT

Hate speech existed even before the world gained a digital dimension. But unlike the past, with the widespread use of the Internet this language that carries violent, racist, sexist and hostile notes acquired a plane that enables it to spread much faster over these networks. Extant literature shows us that groups that are exposed to this speech the most are women, LGBT individuals, racial and religious minorities, foreigners, immigrants and refugees. It is a well-known fact that the regions that experience that most immigrant mobility are South Sudan, Afghanistan and Syria. This study focuses on online hate speech directed at Syrian immigrants. The objective is to reveal the hate speech generated by users on Syrian immigrants and circulated on YouTube and to show through which speech practices this takes place. As a result of this study, it was observed that Syrians were stigmatized with negative labels such as "traitors, a potential threat, overstepping, the sources of financial difficulties."

Keywords: Hate speech, online hate speech, YouTube, hate crime, Syrians.

## INTRODUCTION

According to the "advisory jurisdiction" accepted by the Europe Council's Committee of Ministers in 1997, "hate speech covers all forms of expressions that spread, incite, promote or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, anti-Semitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance." Hate speech is the symbolic and linguistic regeneration of the alienating and discriminating attitude in real life. It is possible to come across this way of expression in various aspects of life from daily speech to book and from graffiti to political speech.

The most notable groups that are exposed to hate speech are LGBT individuals, women, racial and religious minorities and immigrants and refugees. According to UNHCR data, the countries that generate the highest number of refugees in the world are Syria (5.5 million), Afghanistan (2.5 million) and South Sudan (1.5 million). One of the countries that receive the highest number of Syrian refugees is Turkey. According to the official numbers provided by Turkish Republic Ministry of Interior Directorate

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General of Migration Management, the number of Syrian refugees accommodated in 26 Temporary Asylum Center established in 10 cities is 256.971, whereas the number of refugees living outside of these centers is 2.521.907. It seems that this process has brought with it hate speech directed at Syrians which ranges from daily life to traditional media and to social media. Just like in Turkey, one could talk about the uncontrollable worldwide hate speech directed at refugees on social media. In 2016 as a result of demands coming from Germany regarding this issue, Mark Zuckerberg, the founder of Facebook was forced to state on February 27th, 2016 that they heard the loud voices on their network and that they didn't have enough resources to stop the hate speech directed at immigrants on Facebook, but they would work harder to prevent it (The Guardian, 2016). On the other hand, one could also talk about groups that work on preventing measures and recommendations on this issue. For example, in a meeting supported by European Union and U.N. Alliance of Civilizations on February 3rd, 2017, various recommendations were developed for journalists, media and the governments and among these recommendations "Begin a dialogue with social media companies to address their role in spreading hate speech. This can include training people who review content for social media sites, or finding technical solutions, such as algorithms, to identify and shut down hate speech" was also added (ijnet.org, 2017). Importance of the measures applied with these algorithms is clear. However, on the other hand, to reveal this growing hate speech is among the duties of official establishments, civil society organizations as well as academicians. And this study is the result of such a concern.

With the second-generation Internet, a new Internet process emerged where the users created things together and by sharing. This new interactional Internet process has different qualities than the traditional media. With the new generation Internet user derived content creation has emerged and differing from the traditional media, common people had the opportunity to make their voices heard. Due to innovations that enable even the non-professional users to easily generate content, the users make the content they generated available to other users. Therefore, it could be said that the new media offers an alternative field and it provides an enabling channel for the users to express themselves. On the one hand these contents create a liberating and alternative way out for minorities and the weaker groups in the society and on the other hands, it prepares a suitable ground for the usage of "racist, ethnicist, sexist" language and can turn into an oppression tool. It is possible to come across such hate speech examples in numerous channels including blogs, microblogs like Twitter, social sharing networks such Facebook and Instagram as well as video sharing web sites like YouTube.

The extant literature offers studies that show that in Turkey's past symbolic and linguistic regeneration of alienating and discriminating attitude was put into circulation through "traditional media" (Köker ve Doğanay, 2010; Uzun, 2009; Tuncer, 2009). What most of these studies focus on is mainly the hate speech put into circulation through media professionals. And in the recent years it is possible to come across numerous studies that examine hate speech through new media (Binark, 2012; Çomu, 2012; Aygül, 2010; Öztekin, 2015; Vardal, 2015; Taş, 2017; Kuş, 2016, Dink Vakfı Raporu, 2016). This study is concerned with the hate speech specifically generated by YouTube users, put into circulation by them and directed at Syrian refugees. The main objective of this study is to reveal through which discourse practices the "hate speech" directed at Syrian refugees on YouTube takes place. This way, these types of speeches

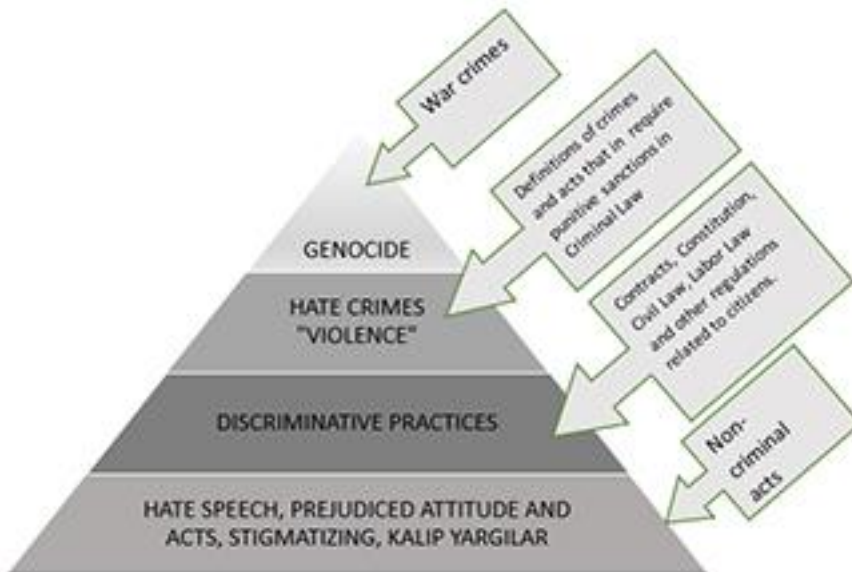
can be made more visible and arguable. As a result, this study can contribute to the determination of various preventing strategies in this issue. In line with this objective, the keyword "Syrians" was entered to the YouTube's interface and various hate speech contents were accessed. These contents were listed according to the dates they were uploaded using the filtering feature of YouTube. Between the dates of July 1st, 2016 and July 7th 2016, one video was selected for each day. Each video was uploaded on the day it was selected. The main reason for this method was the size of YouTube's content and the impossibility of accessing all this content. The accessed content was analysed according to Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis technique.

In line with all this, first of all the concepts of "hate speech", "discrimination" and "hate crime" will be explained and then hate speech and social networks will be examined. Finally, an analysis on the hate speech posts directed at Syrians and put in circulation on YouTube will be offered.

### **HATE CRIMES, DISCRIMINATION AND HATE SPEECH**

"Hate" can lead to various phenomenon including hate speech, discrimination, hate crimes as well as genocide. All these processes are interconnected. By taking into consideration the steps of the pyramid called the 'hate pyramid' in the literature (Ataman, 2012: 62), a textual route that goes from hate crimes, to discrimination and to hate speech, prejudiced attitude and acts, stereotypes which are the basis of all this process will be followed through a reverse analysis.

Table-1: Hate Pyramid (cited by Ataman, 2012: 62).



Although it is still difficult to talk about a 'hate crime' definition, that sociologists and legal experts agree on completely, one can state that for an act to be defined as a "hate crime" it include two conditions. According to this persuasion, first a punitive crime should be committed and this crime should be carried out with a prejudiced motivation (Karan,2012: 86). Act what include these tow conditions are defined as

hate crimes. In order for a crime to be considered a hate crime, it should be committed with a prejudice.

When we talk about hate crime, instead of an act directed towards an individual/individuals or property/properties, what we mean is mainly the act that is directed at the whole society to which they belong. Therefore, as Göregenli has also pointed out, hate crimes are by nature social and are about the cohabitation perspectives that groups making up the society have and the ideological outcomes of these perspectives. And this is exactly why hate crime is a political issue (2009). Hate crimes are directed against the entire group it target and it aims to send a message to the said group. At this point, using Ataman's words, we can say that 'hate crime' can be characterized as the 'manifestation of violence' and it attempts to send a message through the victim to the group to which the victim belongs (2012: 49). This message is usually one that demands the victim's group to be destroyed or at least to 'seem like it doesn't exist' or at best to 'become invisible'.

In general hate crimes are deeds that attack on a group or an individual for their identity, belief, political views, gender or sexual orientation. The most influential characteristic that generally causes this is qualities like the victim's real or perceived color, nationality, sexual orientation, look, ethnic origin, rather than the victim's deeds or acquisitions. In short, the victim is generally exposed to this act not because of his actions but because of his/her very 'existence' (Göregenli, 2009). From the perspective of the individuals who commit this act, it is not important who the targeted individual is. What matters is to which group this individual belongs. What is targeted here is not the individual or the very existence of the property but what these actually symbolize. Therefore, for the individual who commits this crime, the victim can be any one or any property that he/she believes to represent the same things.

Hate crimes can manifest themselves through various acts including physical attacks, violence or attack threats, harassments, destruction of property and goods, racist, hateful or aggressive graffiti, arson, aggressive brochures and posters, bullying at school or workplace (Alğan, Şensever, 2010: 7).

Hate crime is usually mistaken for discrimination. In fact, "hate crime" and "discrimination" are different. According to UN Human Committee General Commentary, EU Directive and ACHR's judicial opinion, "discrimination" can be defined in with the following:

*"the term 'Discrimination' can be explained as any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, color, descent or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life" (Ataman, 2012: 66).*

As one can discern from this definition, discrimination is just one step that leads the way to hate crime. Discrimination is only the systematical disregard of people's fundamental rights because of their identity or their beliefs. This state of disregard is the dispossession of said groups from the protection against violent acts that is provided to other groups in front of the law (Ataman, 2012: 66-67). Although the acts of discrimination are generally directed at weaker or minority groups within the society, it is not always the case. For example, discrimination against women is a matter of male-dominated mindset and societal structure rather than a matter of women being a minority (Çelenk:10). These kind discriminative practices occasionally

manifest themselves through decisions that do not offer the victims any protection. Therefore, despite being different a phenomenon from 'hate crime' and 'discrimination', 'discriminative' practices make up one of the most important milestones on the way leading to 'hate crime'. Discriminative practices pave the way for the individual or individuals who will attempt to commit a crime and offer them a suitable ground for this. Believing that they will not be facing any punitive consequences, the culprits are much more likely to commit criminal acts and deterrent forces are much weaker. The main quality that makes up the mental background of discrimination is the prejudices nurtured against a certain group and the members of the said group. Briefly, prejudice refers to an attitude that assesses other people based on their group identity instead of their individual existence, as well as the entirety of negative and dogmatic convictions. From this point of view, the term discrimination can be used to describe the circumstances where prejudices turn into acts. One should not mistake prejudice with stereotypes. Stereotypes are more about the filling of some information voids. Stereotypes are not always negative either. Instead they are some impression created regarding a certain object of group and images created in the mind as a total of references. Therefore, negative stereotypes enables the generation of prejudices (Göregenli:5- 7). Another important step on the route to hate crime is "hate speech".

The term hate speech is used to describe "the discourses that intend to insult, to intimidate and to provoke violence or prejudice against an individual or a group because of the said individual or group's race, gender, age, ethnicity, nationality, religion, sexual orientation, sexual identity, disability, moral or political views, socioeconomic class, profession or looks (such as height, weight or hair color), mental capacity and any other similar characteristic." (Çelenk citing Pankowski, 2010: 215).

It is very difficult to say that hate speech has a widely accepted definition. Moreover, one could also say that there are differing opinions on determining the limits of hate speech. For example, on discussions about 'hate speech' and 'freedom of speech' two different opinions are predominant. Some claim that freedom of speech cannot be limited in any way, whereas some claim that there are exceptions to the freedom of speech. It is impossible to disagree with the former view's concern that argues limitations brought to 'hate speech' can pave the way to any limitations directed at freedom of speech. On the other hand, as Çelenk also notes, "hate speech", like racism, is a 'crime that has been proved to be fatal in terms of its consequences (2010: 5). For this reason, it is very hard to place 'hate speech' under the freedom of speech category. However, one can talk about various criteria whether an expression is hate speech or not. Foremost among these criteria is "the context of the expression, the person who used the said expression, his/her intention in using that expression, the content or form of the expression, the extent of the audience the discourse reaches and the possibility of danger the speech causes" (Çelik, 2013: 212). Therefore, to what extent the person who uses the said expression has the authority to cause danger is an important criterion in terms of assessing an expression as 'hate speech.' One should not forget that hate speech usually paves the way for hate crimes. Hate speech can be racist, xenophobic, homophobic etc. In terms of its practices, hate speech can be actualized in the form of stigmatization or labeling (Aygül, 2010). The targeted group can be labeled in various stereotype frames and various prejudiced discourses can be developed against the said group.

Canada Human Rights Court has listed various indicators regarding hate messages. According to this, hate messages can sometimes represent the target group as a powerful threat, it can make negative generalizations regarding the target group through powerful references, it can depict the target group as defenseless peoples, it can describe them as the source of extant problems in the world or the society, it can blame the target group as dangerous by nature, it can make them look unqualified and bad, it can send a message saying that in order to protect the others this group must be removed or destroyed, the target group can be deemed nonhuman by using associations with animals or harmful substances, it can use a humiliating language directed at the target group, the past tragedies or atrocities experienced by the target group can be underestimated or consecrated or with various messages, people can be summoned to take action against the target group (Bianrk citing Akdeniz, 2010: 15-16).

In categorizations on hate speech it is observed that 'hate speech' is mostly carried out on the basis of political, racial and religious matters or on the basis of gender. Moreover, it is seen that foreigners and immigrants are frequently the targets of such discourses. Therefore everyone defined as the 'other' by the society (notably the LGBT individuals, minorities or foreigners) is placed in the focus of hatred.

### **HATE SPEECH AGAINST REFUGEES**

Otherness mainly signifies an exclusion practice. On an individual level it means 'I' and on the societal level it means no one of 'us'. As the individual is defined and 'I' or 'us' on the basis of Other, in a sense there is a relationship where one cannot exist without the other (Yanikkaya: 21). One of the groups deemed as the 'Other' is immigrants. One of the most important studies on immigrants in the frame of otherness is penned by Van Dijk. Having reviewed the news published by American newspapers, Van Dijk has identified that discourses in these texts directed at immigrants and minorities have a certain pattern in terms of their subject matters in his study. Van Dijk has found that immigrants were defined with this line: 'they are coming in large numbers.' Van Dijk's other evaluation is that just like in Spain, the immigrants in Netherlands, German and France are portrayed as 'a threat that will never adapt to the society.' The newspapers generally focus on the cultural differences. Immigrants are frequently perceived as a 'threat.' Another interesting observation is that immigrants are generally represented as insolent, different and criminal. Van Dijk has also noted that a representing style that specifically says 'We don't act this way' was used against the immigrants (Van Dijk, 2010:18).

This language of hate situates different ethnic groups in the society as sources of fear and concern and most of the time marks them as the 'enemy' (Çomu, 2012: 119). This language carries racist expressions within it. To fight against this language, it is important to raise awareness. Immigrants are mostly disdained through this language. Containing emotional hatred, this language is packed with rational arguments or instrumentalized with false information (immigrants are exploiting the welfare system etc.). Sometimes hate speech is actualized through indirect ways and at first sight, this might seem like innocent satire and humor. Hatred speech most commonly used against immigrants are listed below:

- Contrasting "us" and "them"
- Generalizations ("all refugees ...") and blanket attributions (e.g. refugee = Muslim)

- Normalization of discriminatory attitudes: "It's no wonder that ..."
- Projecting onto "refugees" problems involving all of society like sexism, criminality or housing shortage
- Pejorative designations like "economic migrant" suggest that the fundamental right to asylum here is being exploited by people who are coming to Germany solely for financial reasons, not because they are seeking refuge from persecution.
- Dehumanization: equating refugees with insects, parasites, animals, etc.
- Lies about refugees and alleged criminality, violence, rapes, forged official papers – often disguised as an alleged personal experience.
- Cultural racism ("They simply don't fit in here")
- (Nationalistic) relativizations: what about "our" children / homeless, etc.? # Soon we'll feel like strangers in our own country / "our way of life is doomed"
- The establishment / the mendacious press – never tell us the truth anyway
- Anyone who helps refugees is a do-gooder, or quite probably a left-wing extremist. # So am I to be labeled a Nazi just because I ... / where is my own freedom of speech if you delete my comments? Dinar & Mair etc.2016:7)

Dink Foundation has provided these headings in its works on how the Syrians are labeled in the media:

In the print media, Syrian refugees are

- identified with security concerns and 'terrorism';
- accused of being ungrateful;
- presented as responsible for economic problems;
- marginalized with 'us' vs 'them' dichotomy;
- presented as a threat against health;
- Syrian women are subjected to double discrimination (hrantdink.org).

One of the labels used in marginalizing is also to blame the marginalized group for various things including not working, for being lazy and not paying taxes.

### **HATE SPEECH ON ONLINE**

Unlike traditional media (books, television and radio), new media includes new information and communication technologies as well as social contexts associated with these, devices that expand communication skills, communication activities and practices developed by using these devices and social regulations and organizations shaped around these devices and practices. All digital technologies such as computers, mobile phones, game consoles, iPods and palm data bank recorders are categorized under the heading of new media (Binark, 2007: 21). With its characteristics such as digitalism, interaction, multimedia formats, virtuality and dissemination, new media enables numerous contents to be generated, stocked and put into circulation.

With the new media, as communication, telecommunication and computer fields are interconnected, the road is also paved for regular citizens to share information and content. O'Reilly has defined the participation that has taken place especially through the internet first with blogs and then with social media as "Web 2.0". The process defined as "Web 1.0" is a term used for the process where information and image were only accessed as passive viewers. This era ended in the 1990s. With the end of this process, a new period started where the viewers had more influence on the content. "With its features of text-graphic-video sharing, sharing sites, search engines,



socialization, participation, access, ease of usage Web 2.0 has allowed the masses to create content. It also started collective creation period, and this improved social networks and cooperation" (Ünal, 2014: 8).

Social networks are software that allow for communication between individuals and groups through applications that enable information exchange on web. (Ercan, Gülmez citing Boynd., 2014: 115). Thanks to this individual and group interaction has improved. Especially after 2000s, with the emergence of different social networks set up for making friends, sharing videos and photos, making a search or actualizing various business purposes such as Sixdegrees.com (1997), Ryze.com (2001), Friendster (2002), Photobucket (2003), LinkedIn (2003), Facebook (2004), Flickr (2004), Netlog (2004), Youtube (2005), MySpace (2006), Twitter (2006), Foursquare (2009), Pinterest (2010), Instagram (2010) has helped increase the interest in the said social sharing networks.

One of these social networks is YouTube, a video sharing network. Actually, YouTube is not the first video-sharing network. It is though that a webs site set up in 1997 called shareyourworld.com is the first video-sharing network (Çomu, 2012: 74). YouTube was founded in November 2005 by three former employees of network banking system PayPal, Jawed Karim, Chad Hurley and Steve Chen. As it is today, YouTube is a Web 2.0 based application mainly managed by users. Unlike the traditional media, hate speech generated on social media is mostly created and put into circulation by common people. Having become separate channels on their own right, YouTube channels are mostly not inspected at all and this might cause false information to spread very quickly and uncontrollably. On the other hand, comment section located under the videos allow the users to interact with each other and most of the time steadily increases the hate language on this channel. Actually, like most social media network, YouTube offers its users explanatory texts stating that these kinds of contents are prohibited. In the hate speech section of its policies, YouTube shares information that these kinds of contents are not appropriate. And it states that these kinds of disruptive contents should be notified and that necessary sanctions will be applied.

The screenshot shows the YouTube Help page for Hate Speech. The page is titled "Hate speech" and is part of the "Policy Center" section. The main content area is white with a dark blue header and footer. The header includes "YouTube Help" and "YOUTUBE" with a logo. The footer includes "Policies, safety, and reporting" and "Policy Center". The main content area is divided into two columns. The left column contains the main text, and the right column contains a sidebar with a list of policy topics. The main text explains that YouTube encourages free speech but does not permit hate speech. It defines hate speech as content that promotes violence against individuals or groups based on certain attributes, such as race or ethnic origin, religion, disability, gender, age, veteran status, and sexual orientation/gender identity. It also notes that there is a fine line between what is and what is not considered to be hate speech. The sidebar lists various policy topics, with "Hate speech" highlighted. The sidebar items include: Protecting your privacy, Your content & Restricted Mode, Harassment and cyberbullying, Hate speech, Impersonation, Threats, Child endangerment, Nudity and sexual content, Violent or graphic content, Harmful or dangerous content, Spam, deceptive practices & scams, Legal Policies, Additional policies, Working with third party view service providers, Subscriber counts, and The Importance of Context.

YouTube Help

YOUTUBE GET SUPPORT

Policies, safety, and reporting > Policy Center

## Hate speech

We encourage free speech and try to defend your right to express unpopular points of view, but we don't permit hate speech.

Hate speech refers to content that promotes violence against or has the primary purpose of inciting hatred against individuals or groups based on certain attributes, such as:

- race or ethnic origin
- religion
- disability
- gender
- age
- veteran status
- sexual orientation/gender identity

There is a fine line between what is and what is not considered to be hate speech. For instance, it is generally okay to criticize a nation-state, but if the primary purpose of the content is to incite hatred against a group of people solely based on their ethnicity, or if the content promotes violence based on any of these core attributes, like religion, it violates our policy.

### Reporting hateful content

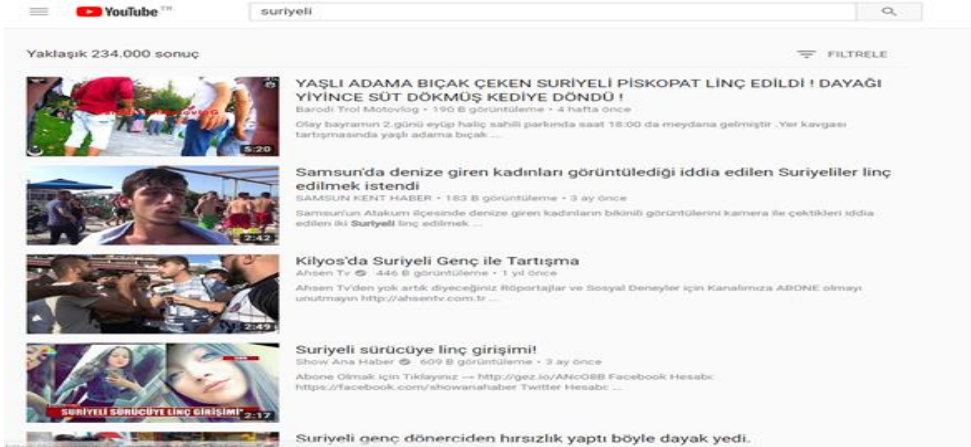
Keep in mind that not everything that's mean or insulting is hate speech. If you're upset by content that a specific person is posting, you may wish to consider [blocking the user](#).

#### Policy Center

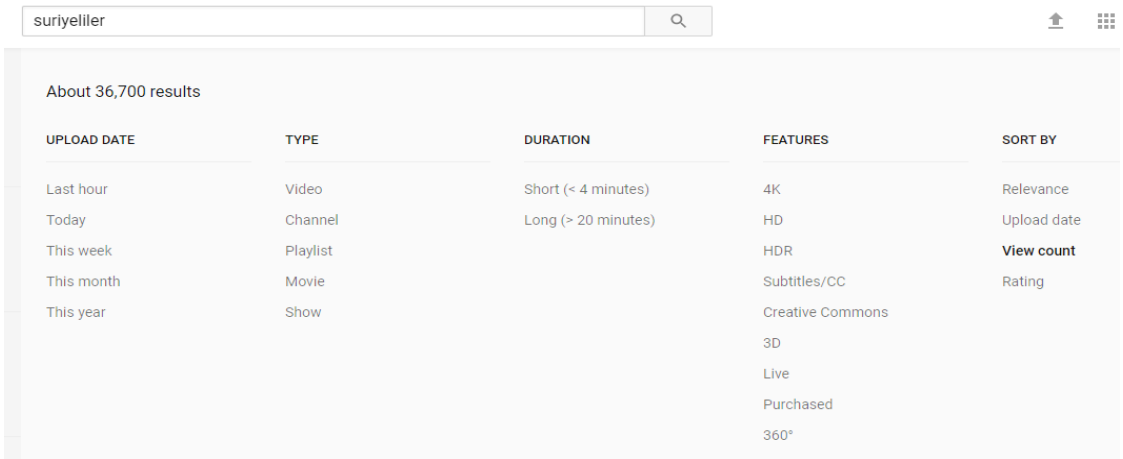
- Protecting your privacy
- Your content & Restricted Mode
- Harassment and cyberbullying
- Hate speech**
- Impersonation
- Threats
- Child endangerment
- Nudity and sexual content
- Violent or graphic content
- Harmful or dangerous content
- Spam, deceptive practices & scams
- Legal Policies
- Additional policies
- Working with third party view service providers
- Subscriber counts
- The Importance of Context

**HATE SPEECH DIRECTED AT SYRIAN REFUGEES ON YOUTUBE**

In this study, the main page of YouTube was opened and the word 'Syrian' was entered in the search box. It was observed that there were 234.000 on this word. This is YouTube's interface:



Using YouTube's filtering feature, these videos are listed according to their upload dates.



Taking into consideration the dates 1-7 July 2017, when reviewing 7 sample videos the following features were noted: video titles, number of viewers, total time of the videos, when it was released, what was on the first image and number of comments said video got. On the other hand, the entire video was transcribed, and a discourse analysis was carried out through these texts. According to these the following information was acquired:

Video-1<sup>1</sup>

Title:	Syrians again, this time they <b>started to harass the tourists</b>
URL:	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v43HIXyLx-c">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v43HIXyLx-c</a>
Duration:	1.09
Date of release:	1 July 2017
Number of views:	5.067
Number of likes:	14
Number of dislikes:	3
Number of comments:	6
Definition:	Syrians again, this time they started to harass the tourists

On the video there is a woman walking in the sea. And we can see men surrounding the woman. This close pursuit continues until the woman gets out of the sea. On the other hand, the two-man shooting the video comes into the frame. The person holding the camera say "don't get me wrong. These are definitely not Turkish man, they are Syrian men. We condemn them" and he laughs as he shoots the video. We cannot see anyone helping out the woman being harassed in the whole video. Video was viewed 5.067 times, 3 users disliked t it and 14 users liked it.



Yine Suriyeliler, bu kez turistleri taciz etmeye başladılar

Martı & Seagull TV • 5 B görüntüleme • 4 ay önce

Yine Suriyeliler, bu kez turistleri taciz etmeye başladılar.

Syrians again, this time they started to harass the tourists

The words 'again' and 'this time' used in the title of the video 'Syrians again, this time they started to harass the tourists' labels the Syrians on 'harassment' and associates them with harassment. Therefore, the words crime, perversity and Syrians are brought together here. This pattern can be viewed within the framework of 'us' and 'them' dichotomy as well as generalization principal. Here 'us' is defined as non-harassing, decent and moral whereas 'them' are defined as associated with crime and harassment. On the other hand, with words like "again" and "this time" generalizations are made.

<sup>1</sup> Video's transcription can be found at Appendix-1.

**Video-2**

Title:	Syrians and Turks' beach fight in Cebeci - Kartal24.com
URL:	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bz8lc8EcbtU">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bz8lc8EcbtU</a>
Duration:	00.51
Date of upload:	2 July 2017
Number of views:	95.070
Number of likes:	86
Number of dislikes:	34
Number of comments:	257
Definition:	
Labels:	

The entire video, which lasts 51 seconds, contains footage of battery, brawl and lynching. Video was viewed 95.070 times, 86 users liked it and 34 users disliked it.



Cebeci'de Suriyelilerle Türklerin plaj kavgası- Kartal24.com  
Kartal 24 • 95 B görüntüleme • 4 ay önce  
Bu video alttaki haberde yayınlanmak amaçlı yüklenmiştir. ...

→ Syrians and Turks' beach fight in Cebeci

Considering all videos seasonally, the phrase 'Syrians and Turks' beach fight in Cebeci' in the title is a 'harassment at the beach' incident associated with Syrians and it seems like an altercation caused as a result of this incident. And Syrians are once again labeled with crime and harassment.

**Video-3<sup>2</sup>**

Title:	Lynch attempt on Syrians whom were claimed to have recorded women swimming in the sea in Samsun
URL:	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1tcHatmScA">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1tcHatmScA</a>
Duration:	2.41
Date of upload:	2 July 2017
Number of views:	190.751
Number of likes:	467
Number of dislikes:	90
Number of comments:	1.057
Definition:	Attempt to lynch two Syrians whom were blamed to have recorded woman swimming in the sea in Samsun's Atakum district.

<sup>2</sup> The transcription is in Appendix-2.

The entire video shows one or a couple of men who run away from the lynching attempt of a crowded group, who take refuge in a hut and who are removed to another location by the police. Here there is also tension between the police and the Turkish people. In the video, there are scenes of some young man talking to a microphone and describing how the incident occurred. Video was viewed 190.751 times. 90 users disliked it and 467 users liked it.



Samsun'da denize giren kadınları görüntülediği iddia edilen Suriyeli linç edilmek istendi  
 SAMSUN KENT HABER • 190 B görüntüleme • 4 ay önce  
 Samsun'un Atakum ilçesinde denize giren kadınların bikişli görüntülerini kamera ile çektikleri iddia edilen iki Suriyeli linç edilmek...

Lynch attempt on Syrians whom were claimed to have recorded women swimming in the sea in Samsun

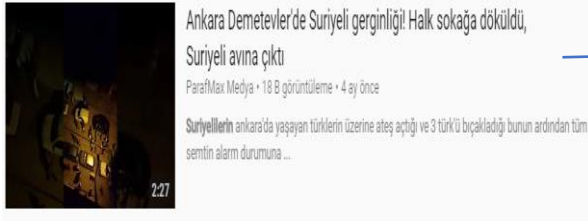
The 'claimed' phrase in the video definition 'Lynch attempt on Syrians whom were claimed to have recorded women swimming in the sea in Samsun' shows that the publisher of this piece of news has a distant attitude towards the said news. However, when the content of the video was reviewed it was observed that the interviews associated the Syrians with crime and harassment just like the other videos and that generalizations were used. It was seen that in the video statements such as 'We are Turks', 'We have our mothers and sisters', 'They are calling names to people's sisters' were used. Here it was observed that sexist and honor glorifying statements such as 'mother and sister' were uttered.

**Video-4<sup>3</sup>**

Title:	Syrian Tension in Demetevler, Ankara! People on the streets hunting for Syrians
URL:	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jA2e_QlzSMs">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jA2e_QlzSMs</a>
Duration:	2.26
Upload date:	3 July 2017
Number of views:	18.318
Number of likes:	71
Number of dislikes:	8
Number of comments:	135
Definition:	It was claimed that Syrians opened fire on Türks living in Ankara and stabbed 3 Türks after which whole neighborhood was in alarm.

It is understood from this video that there has been a chaos and disturbance. Video was viewed 18.318 times, it was disliked by 8 users, and liked by 71 users.

<sup>3</sup> The transcription is in Appendix-1.



Syrian Tension in Demetevler, Ankara! People on the streets hunting for Syrians

In the video a crowd marching somewhere can be seen. 'Alahuekber' shouts and whistling sounds can be heard on the streets and people are chanting "we are Turks". The phare 'hunting' in the title "Syrian Tension in Demetevler, Ankara! People on the streets hunting for Syrians" implies that immigrants are not human in a way.

#### Video-5<sup>4</sup>

Title:	Social experiment on Syrians! (Ran away with the money)
URL:	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hnGUhgKhc3c">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hnGUhgKhc3c</a>
Duration:	10.17
Upload date:	5 July 2017
Number of views:	580.000
Number of likes:	15.000
Number of dislikes:	3.000
Number of comments:	7.007
Definition:	Hello "TORUNLAR" In this video I carried out a Humanity Test on Syrians. You could call this a SOCIAL EXPERIMENT. I drop a certain amount of fake money in my pocket as I pass in front of them and I test their humanity. Some of them give me the money back and some run away with the money. Don't misunderstand me. My aim in making this video is not to humiliate Syrians or be a racist. I also point this out in the video.
Labels:	Social experiment, social experiment on Syrians, dropping money

In this video a Youtuber claims that he is carrying out an experiment on Syrians.

The YouTuber who shot and spread this video called the act he carried out as "estimating the humanity of Syrians". In the whole of the video the YouTuber who shot the video pretends to drop the fake money he has in his hands or in his pocket in places with lots of Syrians around. And he explains that he would observe what Syrians would do in such a situation. Video was viewed 580.000 times. It was liked 3000 time and disliked 15000 times.

<sup>4</sup> The transcription is in Appendix-1.



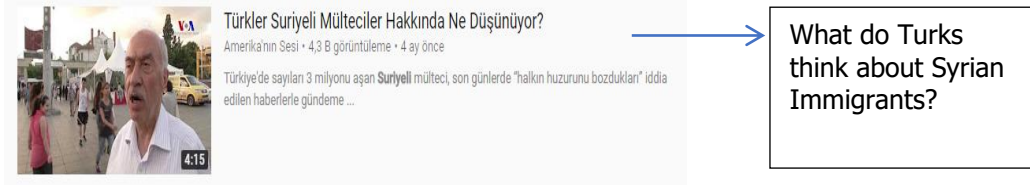
Social experiment on Syrians! (Ran away with the money)

Throughout the video the YouTuber pretends to drop his money in a total of 6 places and everything that takes place afterwards was shot with a hidden camera held by his friend. Only in one of the cases mentioned on the video does two friends pick up the money and examine it. Yet in that case they do not take the money and run away with it. However, from the image at the beginning of the video, the photos that come afterwards and the arrows shown on their heads saying, 'they took it and ran away' it can be that no one in the video actually committed such a act. Throughout the video it was observed that 'us' and 'them' dichotomy was regularly used and the 'crowdedness' reference was applied several times with phrases like 'there are so many Syrians among us now' and 'they hang out in flocks' on the other hand the humanity of Syrians on the video is being questioned. With statements like 'Let's see which one will act more humanely', 'Is there a decent human being here?', it was observed that phrases associated with the 'treacherousness accusation' frequently directed at immigrants in the literature were used. Lastly, the statement 'they are all such a type I mean I don't want to talk about this' used in the video could reveal the tendency to adopt the 'us' and 'them' dichotomy as 'us' being physically superior and 'them' physically inferior. At the end of the video, the YouTuber has 2 Syrian children by his side and says, 'the children are always innocent' as he caresses their hair. This attitude is in line with Dinar and Mair's argument that hate is generally dressed as humor and satire and it almost always offers an excuse. In this video one could talk about the existence of a secret hate speech covered as innocence.

**Video-6<sup>5</sup>**

Title:	What do Turks think about Syrian Immigrants?
URL:	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AOUzzjRna8s">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AOUzzjRna8s</a>
Duration:	4.14
Date of upload:	6 July 2017
Number of views:	4.382
Number of likes:	22
Number of dislikes:	13
Number of comments:	49
Definition:	Over 3 millions of Syrians in Turkey has been recently showing up on the news with issues like "they are disturbing the public peace". What do Turks think about the Syrians? Do Syrians really disturb the peace in this country? Amerika'nın Sesi asked the opinion of the common citizen on the street Originally published at - <a href="https://www.amerikaninsesi.com/a/turk...">https://www.amerikaninsesi.com/a/turk...</a>

In this video citizens passing by in İstanbul's Bakırköy district are asked questions like 'what do you think about the immigrants? Do Syrians disturb the public's peace?' Video was viewed 4.382 times, disliked by 13 users and liked by 22 users.



Throughout the video it is possible to talk about some hate contents that manifest themselves. The statement 'They are going to cause trouble for the Turks' used in this video marks Syrians as a potential threat. In another interview, someone states that 'Syrians have disturbed the peace. Because there was peace and quiet in our country before.' Once more, the immigrants are labeled as the source of current problems. And once more in this video Syrians are associated with phrases like 'harassment', 'moral and material damage', 'interference' and they are mentioned with crime and harassments.

<sup>5</sup> The transcription is in Appendix-2.



**Video-7<sup>6</sup>**

Title:	We asked about Syrians to Eskişehir locals: <b>'They are traitors'</b>
URL:	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CK0B5cBmJ_w">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CK0B5cBmJ_w</a>
Duration:	5.04
Date of upload:	7 July 2017
Number of views:	84.052
Number of likes:	785
Number of dislikes:	227
Number of comments:	652
Definition:	This week we asked locals in Eskişehir 'What do you think about Syrians?.'
Labels:	

In this video, a young man interviews 7 people and asks them what they think about the fact that Syrians have come to Turkey. Video was viewed 84.052 times, 227 users disliked it and 785 users liked it.



In this video the statement 'I hope we don't get stuck with them' is used regarding the Syrians. This statement shows that perceived potential threat regarding the immigrants. It was observed that Syrians were marked with statements like 'I wouldn't have left my country', 'people who sold out their country', 'traitors' and they were described as having committed treason. With statements like 'We give them bread', 'They have more opportunities than Turks', 'They have all kinds of possibilities' it was observed that hate speech was instrumentalized with false information or defended with rational arguments. Again, with statements like 'they have on or fifteen children', they are seen as a potential threat. The statement 'I think they are inferior to the Turkish people in terms of culture and intelligence' uttered by an interviewee ties the us and them dichotomy with societal discrimination and can be categorized under the disparagement heading.

**CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS**

In his own study Göregenli (2009) describes discrimination as "whether defined as a problem of law or a problem of justice, in the final analysis, it is humane problem that emerges in the affairs between people with mental sources and motivations and suggests a 'mental transformation' for this condition which is built with human affairs and which has intellectual sources and behavioral consequences. Considering this

<sup>6</sup> The transcription is in Appendix-2.

analysis, it is actually possible to say the same thing about hate speech. 'Hate speech' also manifests itself in relations between people. With mental sources and reasons, it is an alienating, discriminating, labeling, excluding language that feed off on prejudices that might ultimately cause behavioral consequences. This language is nurtured through an entire hierarchy. And along with all other mechanisms, this language should be fought too. As long as other mechanisms aren't corrected, only revealing the discourse itself can be seen as a weak struggling field. However, taking this normalized circumstance and making it visible is necessary and meaningful to fight this language. This way by marking it not normal, common and acceptable, the possibility to think about and argue hate speech will be achieved. Therefore, a possibility for mental transformation will be offered.

The condition of not preventing or stopping hate speech enables the violence directed against the others increasingly more legitimate. For this reason, 'hate speech' must be prevented through legal channels and hate speech should be stopped from finding itself a suitable ground. Hate speech is an obstacle that prevents the society to live peacefully together and that stands in front of societal alliance. This study is focused on hate speech with all these concerns listed. Dealing with hate speech directed at immigrants specifically on YouTube, this study attempts to reveal with what types of discourse practices hate speech is built. It was concluded that discriminative language against Syrians was continued within certain patterns. Within this frame, the categories that emerge are listed as below:

- Being accused of being a traitor and ungrateful: Selling out their country, being a betrayer, being a traitor, running away instead of fighting for his/her country...
- Being seen as the source of economic problems and as a burden to Turkey: Being a burden to Turkey, not working, wandering around doing nothing...
- Emphasizing that there are too many of them: Being more crowded than Turks, being too , having too many kids, presenting the possibility to invade Turkey...
- Being associated with crime (harassment, burglary etc.): Harassing the women in Turkey, stealing and committing crime...
- Dehumanizing, making fun of physical appearance: being different, being bulky, looking like camels, being like strapper...
- Using the us and them dichotomy: we being the patriots and them being traitors; we being hard working, us being lazy; us obeying rules and them committing crimes; us superior physically and them being inferior; us culturally high level and them culturally low level etc.
- Seeing them as a potential threat: Having too many kids, causing problems in the future and asking for their independence etc.

Another finding determined in this study was the fact that hate speech is occasionally rendered innocent and more invisible through humor and satire.

In light of these findings, another dimension of the issue here is the struggle against hate speech in new media. In this sense, it could be possible to stop the hate speech by developing various activities and regulations. More tracking and reporting on contents in terms of new media and hatred is important to carry out a regular tracking process on 'hate language' generated through social media. In this framework, fighting strategies against hate language can be developed. In this sense,

individuals can be informed about media literacy and moreover these kinds of behavior can be prevented through more serious legal implementations. Especially carrying out joint studies with these channels, media literacy classes for YouTubers who have a high number of followers can be offered. And YouTubers may be encouraged to get some sort of a certificate for this. It is clear that legal measures against hate speech will increase deterrence. However, developing the formation of education with a perspective that stays away from the understanding that might cause 'hate language' is very important to resolve the matter fundamentally. Such an understanding will make up the cornerstones of societal consensus.

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**Appendix-1**

<b>Scene</b>	<b>Audio</b>
Two young men on the beach are recording men who are harassing a woman walking in the sea.	- The cameraman is my friend Mehmet... Together we thought we could enjoy a swim in the sea. And this is what we found. Come my dear Mehmet, come cameraman. Yes, now you are shooting over there. The dolphin is being invaded by sharks. Yes <b>everyone is getting behind her</b> . This is a crazy thing. What kind of an invasion is this. Look, look, look. Yes, this is what our Syrians do in Turkey. Don't get me wrong. These are definitely not Turkish man. They are Syrian man. We condemn them.

**Appendix-2**

<b>Scene</b>	<b>Audio</b>
A crowded group of men is attacking one or a couple of men on the beach. There is a disturbance.	Incoherent noises as a humming sound can be heard.

**Appendix-3**

<b>Scene</b>	<b>Audio</b>
<p>A crowded group is on the beach. The police run towards the crowd and disperses the crowd.</p> <p>00.26- Police comes to a mobile cabin which has the word Metropolitan Municipality Samsun on it, gets a person under their protection and run towards the police car. In the meantime, a very large crowd is waiting around the police car. Howling can be heard.</p> <p>00.38 A young man talks to the microphone.</p> <p>00.42 The police are dispersing the crowd. A man calls out to the police.</p> <p>In the mean time another man is standing by the police and it seems like there is a tension between them. The other man falls down and the police slaps the man.</p> <p>1.18. Another young man talks to the microphone.</p> <p>1.29 an ambulance carrying the Syrians is driving</p>	<p>Noises are being censured at this point. It seems like people are cursing.</p> <p>- Syrians were taking photos of the ladies here, there was an altercation, a fight broke out.</p> <p>- We have our mothers and sisters here, man. We are Turks, man.</p> <p>They are calling out to people's sisters. Apparently the have been taking photos of the people. They have been molesting people, brother are people's sisters that cheap.</p> <p>-Noises are censured. Having just been beaten up by the police, a man says to the police "Why don't</p>



<p>away from the area. There are police around it. Chants can be heard from the crowd.</p>	<p>you do the same thing you did to us to the Syrians as well” and the police answers him “I am, don’t worry”.</p>
<p>1.58 A young man is talk to the microphone</p>	<p>We heard that one of the Syrian kids was taking photos of the people. He was taking photos of the ladies, he was filming them, a couple of kids from here grabbed the phone from his hands and looked at the photos. When they saw that it was true they beat the kid up. They really messed him up.</p>
<p>2.14 The police is trying to persuade a citizen</p>	<p>Police says: “...for your own peace too. There are journalists from abroad. They would hurt the image in Samsun. Do you get that...”.</p>
<p>Nonstop chants can be heard.</p>	

**Appendix-4**

Scene	Audio
<p>Shot from a window of a house, the camera shows the viewers a crowded group marching down on the street.</p> <p>1.01 The police with motorbikes enter the street. When the police shows up the group marching in front of the building a moment ago starts to run away right and left.</p>	<p>Crowd is yelling allahuekber and whistles can be heard.</p> <p>Sound of sirens can be heard.</p> <p>Booing can be heard.</p> <p>Someone in the crowd yells “We are Turks, Turks”.</p>

**Appendix-5**

Scene	Audio
<p>A man standing in front of an apartment building is talking.</p>	<p>Hello friends, I am Torun brother. This video is going to be about Syrians again, friends. I mean <b>there are so many Syrians in our neighborhood now, it is 70% or 60% Syrians now.</b> These days there are even in our videos as well. Brother, so we thought of filming a video like this. We went and got ourselves fake money, okay? Brother, Syrians here <b>hang out in flocks</b> around here. You cannot find them alone. I mean they hang around in groups of fives or tens guaranteed. I mean it is not possible to find one on his own. So it is going to be very hard for us to shoot this video. I mean it is almost hard, friends.</p> <p>Now with my brothers we went got ourselves fake money like this. Here’s the bundles.</p> <p>As you can see I have some in my hands as well.</p>
<p>00.35- The man talking shows the fake bank rolls in his hand to the camera.</p> <p>00.30 He shows the camera the covered and packaged dollar banknotes in his hand.</p>	<p>These. I am going to go up the Syrians and pretend to drop these in my hand around Syrians who are hanging out in crowded groups. I’ll just pretend to do so. Let’s see if <b>they are going to act like weasel and take the money? Or are they going to act like a real man and give it back to us?</b> We’ll see that....</p>
<p>Here the man shooting the video reveals the name of a follower who was able to answer the question he asked in his previous video. And the name of that follower appears on the screen. Here the sharer asks for viewers to like his video and states that he is going to select one of the likers and announce his/her name.</p>	

1.48 they are filming 5 people in the park with a hidden camera.

2.05. the man in the video walks towards the park. he is seen from a back angle. He tries to put his phone from one pocket to another. At this point he drops the money bundle on the ground. He moves on. He goes a bit further and then turns around. At that moment a man with a hat moves towards the money and picks it up and he hands it over to the man who dropped it.  
on the screen, the message "Wow, wow, wow" appears.

Hidden camera footage (a man sitting at the park is looking at his cell phone. As he walks by he drops the money on the ground. The man doesn't care.  
It says "wasted" on the screen.

Ottoman music is playing. In the mean time, the man moves towards Syrian workers. He is walking.  
Outside noises

Camera is on but it is turned to the ground. Only feet can be seen due to the angle of the camera.

"Now let's see what happened on the video, friends. Let's see if they stole it, bagged it or if they acted like human beings?"

Friends, the one you see with the hat, those three standing and sitting down are Syrians. I detected them and now I am going to walk by them. Let's see how they react when I drop the money. **Is there a human being here? Just one among them, let's see if just among of them will act like a decent human being?**

I dropped the money and still there is no reaction.

Wow, wow, wow he is a real chap. Thanks buddy.

YouTuber shooting: You want some money?

Syrian man: No, no you dropped this.

The mic fell inside me.

YouTuber: Man, you know if I didn't turn around he wouldn't have given it back to me. Look. He wouldn't have given it to me if I didn't turn around. I swear I am a loser if he would. But I turned around and he gave it back. Come on let's move on to the other one. The other man from before says "get closer, closer" or something. I don't understand what he means. "I asked him do you want 'closer' (sokul)"

I am not going to turn around this time. I'll go ahead and turn around from afar..

Man, he didn't even see it..

YouTuber: Friends, we are at this place in our neighborhood. I mean this is where Syrians gather after work. There are at least a hundred or 120 Syrians there. So I made a bundle like this. Now I am going to drop in as I pass them by okay? **Let's see which one will act more humanely. Which one hasn't lost his humanity?** I mean around 20 out of a hundred may see and warn each other about the money. I mean my friend even if he doesn't put it in his own pocket he might think to give it to a friend or something. Now I am going to pass them, I will go among them. Give me your blessing. Now I am going to wave these. Let's see if they put it in their pockets or if they see it and bring it back to me.

Boy, **they are all such types that I mean I don't want to say anything but. It is so weird. I mean when you look at them from 100 km away you can still tell that they are Syrians brother.** I can tell. Now let's go and drop the money and see. **I doesn't see like I can get it back but.** Now I'll just drop it and do something.

YouTuber: Friends in this scene the mic didn't work properly. Moreover the minibus passes by at such an unfortunate moment that I mean the timing. You cannot see it. Look. Now I am dropping the money,

<p>6.18-</p> <p>7.28. As he passes by the park, he drops the money in his pocket on the ground, Syrian boy picks it up and gives it back to him.</p> <p>8.34 He passes by the men sitting in the park</p> <p>9.18 YouTuber has 2 kids with him, he puts his hands on the children's shoulders.</p>	<p>friends on the right are warning me. And now this friend with the pink shirt give it back to me as you can see. I mean there is no problem with me getting the money back here. But the angle on the camera is so narrow here, I mean the place where we put the camera is so limited. I mean it is a tight space. I was going to do the same thing to the friends on the left but they can see the camera so I decide not to. So this is how I wanted to explain this scene to you. I don't know why I had such a fantasy. I could have played a song too. I have played a song. It should be playing lightly in the background. Besides soon someone will come and ask us why we are filming here. Keep watching.</p> <p>Man: Who are you, what do you do?</p> <p>YouTuber: we are preparing this neighborhood's web site.</p> <p>Man: What is your job? Just tell me...</p> <p>YouTuber: For the streets. We are editing the municipality's web site.</p> <p>Man: Because you drew my attention.</p> <p>YouTuber: Yeah, no. It is nothing..</p> <p>Man: good day.</p> <p>YouTuber: Thanks. Film here too, Taner.</p> <p>YouTuber: Now I am going to do this to them. Let's see if they give it back or not?</p> <p>Look brother, look this group. Look. There is at least 10 people here. 2, 4, 6, 7, there are 7 people. 8. I am dropping it brother. Dropping it. Hello.</p> <p>Mum what did you cook for dinner? No Syrian dolma again. They didn't call out brother, did they see it, or did they not see it I don't know either. It is like this at these times in our neighborhood, they leave their workplaces and they wait around to get money. Especially those who work in house cleaning jobs. I mean if a Turkish worker asks for 100 liras these people ask for 20 liras. I am not going to lie. The man works hard. But I am not being a racist or anything.</p> <p>YouTuber: Man, he is real chap. A good man</p> <p>YouTuber's friend: Syrian?</p> <p>YouTuber: Syrian.</p> <p>YouTuber's friend: Well he said 'elb elb' to me. I couldny understand him.</p> <p>YouTuber: didn't he say sakal (alms) or anything?</p> <p>YouTuber's friend: No. He didn't ask for sakal or anything. Brother he said alüp melüp or somethnig. Turn it off, turn it off, turn it off.</p> <p>YouTuber: Friends, this was a good video. But some camera angles might be bad. That is because the camera was hidden. Thank you for your understanding. My friend really stopped at very bad spots. Cars passed by. Other vehicles passed by. At some parts there is no sound. But in general it was a good shooting. You saw it too. Look I have these Syrian kids with me now. Besides kids are always innocent. They are never faulty. See you at our next video. Take good care of yourselves. Good bye. By the</p>
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	way, don't forget to share this vide. Messelabi, messelabi to you. Wave. Come on, see you.
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**Appendix-6**

<b>Scene</b>	<b>Audio</b>
3 texts appear on the screen consecutively.	-What do Turks think about Syrian refugees? - with a population over 3 millions in Turkey, Syrian immigrants have been on the news lately with claims that they have "disturbed the public peace". - Do Syrians really disturb the public peace? Amerika'nin Sesi asks the opinion of people on the streets.
0.16 An old man is talking to the microphone.	- That Syrians came to Turkey in the first place is a mistake. Why? Difference in worldview, different ways of being brought up, well mentality and language difference. Because of all this it is impossible to come to an agreement with this country. Dues to my age, my view and my experience I can say that these people are going cause trouble for our people, the Turkish people in the future. And here is the reason, there are different in terms of the way the Turkish nation is raised, in terms of our views, education and the way they so. To understand and get integrated, especially considering the disagreements Turkish public has among itself in the recent times.... The people coming from another country. Foreigners understanding the people who have embraced this country is not possible.
1.22 A young man is talking to the microphone.	- I think it is wrong to make generalizations. In the end not all your five finger look the same. Well this is about a persons character too. Let's say I am from Adana. Is it okay to say that since there is a bad person in Adana that everyone in Adana is bad? No. There are educated, knowledgeable and cultured people there. Same thing goes for Syrians too. Besides Syrians are people who have run away from war. They ran away from war and I don't think they would come here and disturb anything here.
15- A young man around the age of 16 is talking.	- after they Syrians came they disturbed the peace. Because we had peace and brotherhood in our country in the old times. Now Syrians are here. There is injustice now. well these people we don't know anything about are working at this workplace. Besides that, there is a certain relaxed attitude at public transportation. For example, the last time I took the metro bus was last week and there were only Syrians on the bus. And well they were molesting women with their eyes and that is not very nice. Well too many illegal works have jobs. I mean all of this reflect on us as negatively both morally and materially. It causes damage. So I think what is necessary should be done. I mean everyone should be employed under equal opportunities or they must live that way.
2.36 An old man is talking.	
3.04 A young man is talking.	
3.33. A middle aged man is talking.	

	<p>- It is not to put them all in the same category. There are good people and there are bad people. Security forces are identifying the criminal and giving them the necessary punishment. I believe that. This is not a big incident. It is a singular case. So let's not make a big deal out of this. Let's not exaggerate.</p> <p>- I mean of course there are some good and bad people among them. Generally the country is like, I feel like the authority of the country is getting weaker. Actually doctors and stuff. Anyway let's let them in but the country is really breaking apart. And I saw so many Syrians disturbing people like this. For example our country has black people too but they sell watches they don't disturb anyone. But really there are some situation I feel very uncomfortable with I mean. for example there are harassment incidents at the sea or there are other incidents as well. I mean feel like the country is breaking apart.</p> <p>- this is not just for the last couple of weeks. I was against their arrival from the very beginning. And I still am. I mean what are they doing in our country. Isn't there any other country? Why doesn't any other country accept them? And why our country? I am against this. I am definitely against this. I mean they don't greet you, they are polarizing themselves. I mean for example they open their own shops, those don't help us in any way. Right know they are causing us damage, this is what I think.</p>
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**Appendix-7**

<b>Scene</b>	<b>Audio</b>
<p>ORHUN TV Türkçü's voice A man with a cell phone in his hand recording say this:</p> <p>The young interviewer man asks another young man this question:</p> <p>The interviewer asks an old woman this question:</p> <p>The young man asks a man of about 40 years old this question:</p>	<p>Sound of a wolf is heard.</p> <p>Hello friends, welcome to Orhun TV channel. Today we are going to shares the attitudes and views of the Eskişehir locals on the Syrians. Enjoy the show.</p> <p>- What is your opinion on the Syrians in our country? - I hope we don't get stuck with them.</p> <p>- I think that they came here without fighting for anything. I mean I put myself in their shoes, as a woman, <b>I wouldn't have left my country.</b></p> <p>-Thank you. Thanks.</p> <p>- This is what I think son.</p> <p>-I mean as a human being I see them and I feel sad for them but there is also this. From what I can see and from what I hear apparently they are <b>given very good opportunities</b> here. I am sad for our young people here.</p> <p>- What is your opinion on the Syrians in our country? - Let me tell you my opinion. My name is Murat, I am from Eskişehirli. In Syria, okay we all went to the Friday prayer today. They also repeated it at the Friday preach they said 'we are brother.. whatever' My friend, these are people who sold their country, they are like camels. I mean you look around you there are very young, very young men around you. Aged 20 or 25. It is okay for their mothers, fathers, son and daughter. All kinds of opportunities were provided for them. This.... Why would we give it to</p>

<p>Young man is talking to an old man.</p>	<p>them man. Who are they? Who are they, brother? A man must die for his country. Die man die. Die die. Why did you come here? Die and we will take care of your mother and children. Die. These are <b>traitor</b>. It isn't enough to have our own traitors among us. To top it off we took these in as well. And here we are now. I mean it is not enough. And we are taking care of these as well. What a rich nation we are man. Do you have any other questions?</p> <p>- No, thank you.</p> <p>- I mean I feel like cursing them as well. That's how much I dislike them. There are on the streets over here over there they are everywhere. In groups of twenty. They are like <b>camels</b>. Their children are like <b>strappers</b>. But what can you do? they <b>sold their countries</b>. And they cam here, why? They are scared shit. They have no gut. No guts.</p> <p>- Thank you vey much.</p> <p>- <b>We take them in we give them bread</b> here, and that is a different matter.</p> <p>- in my opinion this is a wrong policy. I mean Syirans here. We need to investigate this first. Why did the Syrians come here? What made the Syrians come here was our own state, our own government. They went there and mixed things up in Syria, they disturbed Syrians' peace as well. Since they had nowhere else to run, they took refuge in our country. And now there is no control at all. They have no records; they are off the record. They have spread out to everywhere. Think about it there are 3 million of them right now. each family has 10 or 15 children. In 10 years they are going to be worse than PKK. They will invade Turkey.</p>
<p>3.35 Young man is talking to a young woman:</p>	
<p>3.43. Young man is talking to another young man:</p>	<p>-Yes, you are right.</p>
<p>4.14 Young man is interviewing another man of about 50 years old.</p>	<p>- We never see any <b>danger</b> from the beginning. I mean they have a conservative way according to their own opinions and views now. That is only their truth. As long as our vote potential doesn't go down, as long as our basis voter basis remains the same, we don't care what happened to the country. This is the idea. Who created all the religious sects, and then Fethullah Gülen community? Do they think that the people don't realize this? We know it all but I don't know how long these people are going to remain quiet.</p>
<p>4.36 Young man is talking to another young man:</p>	<p>- Thank you very much for your opinion.</p> <p>- Thank you.</p> <p>- I think <b>Syrians are seen as more important than Turks in our country</b>. And I think <b>they should leave our country</b> now.</p> <p>- All right. Thank you.</p> <p>- You know, let me give you an example from the Independence War. <b>In the independence war Turkey and Anatolia as a whole we made a huge effort. To save our country. Besides that you know our men, there were the 15 year olds, you know, small children too. Woman carried their babies on their back to the front, in the snow in the winter. And these people</b></p>

	<p><b>they come here like this and they enjoy themselves. It makes me uncomfortable to be looking at them nicely like this.</b> It makes me uncomfortable that <b>people</b> look at them nicely.</p> <p>- I mean in the end they are human too. Because of some disagreement between countries, when a country is facing some difficult times the other country... if you do it for work, you definitely should do it. but not the young people. Woman and children and the old people you can take in. I believe in that. I don't think it is right for the young man to come here and wander around here.</p> <p>- Now we have <b>more Syrians in Turkey than Turks.</b> The other day but I am please with this situation. The other day we sold a bicycle for 350 liras. I think it is a profitable situation.</p> <p>-All right let me tell you this. In the past couple of days there was <b>a harassment incident in Adana.</b> There were young Syrian men involved in that too. What are you going to say about that?</p> <p>- Well I don't want the Syrians in my country anyway. Besides I mean <b>they are inferior to the Turkish nation in terms of culture and mental capacity.</b> I mean that's why they are not suitable for our country. Go away Syria.</p>
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