



Hate speech in Turkish media: The example of Charlie Hebdo attack's

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Abstract

Aim: The attacks on the French satirical magazine on January 7, 2015, over caricatures of the Prophet Mohammad and other Islamic figures are discussed in this paper. The study's goal is to assess how journalists feel about whether caricature constitutes hate speech or free expression.

Method: The goal has been reached through an analysis of columns published in the top five daily Turkish newspapers in terms of circulation during the first six months after the massacre that claimed the lives of twelve people. Before diving into the columnists' responses, we first analyse the larger context of this discussion, including how hate speech is defined, who it is directed at, and how it relates to free speech.

Findings: The language used in the mainstream media was not found to be severe enough to increase prejudice and discrimination in this study. Many newspapers published columns that emphasised free speech and peace within the first six months after the Charlie Hebdo attack. The study's findings show that the media outlets reported controversial topics by favouring one political viewpoint over another.

Implications/Novel Contribution: The significance of this study lies in the fact that it uses media scanning, one of the most effective methods in the development of hate speech within the scope of research on hate speech in the national media, to bring attention to the separatist rhetoric and xenophobia used by individuals or communities who are the objects of hate speech. If we want to create a sustainable society based on fairness and equality, the language used in the media is crucial.

Keywords: Charlie Hebdo Attack, Hate Speech, Freedom of Expression, Turkish Press

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INTRODUCTION

The question is, when exactly does hate speech become a hate crime. Concerning free speech, how does hate speech relate to it? While responses to this question will vary from country to country, the underlying concept of "We" and "others" discrimination that motivates hate speech will remain consistent. Discrimination refers to the sum of thoughts and actions to oppress one group over another. Implicit discrimination is an attitude of bigotry. Some forms of bias and prejudice can be observed in Turkey's mainstream media. Discourse in the media is crucial in addressing the rise of prejudice and intolerance in a globalising world.

This climate of intolerance fosters discrimination, which in turn encourages hate speech, which leads to hate crimes. The media contribute to this vicious cycle/hierarchy by creating alternate realities and, knowingly or not, inciting hatred. The reports of the Hrant Dink Foundation, titled "Hate Speech in Media and Discriminatory Language," serve as a guide, even though a systematic study of this topic has not yet been conducted in Turkey. The media's use of language to legitimise action or discriminatory discourses is particularly important here.

French cartoon magazine Charlie Hebdo, named after the Islamic religion and prophecy-based cartoon and massacre that claimed the lives of 12 people on January 7, 2015, published the results of a six-month investigation into the work of the five most prominent Turkish journalists. The study's overarching goal is to determine whether the columnists view the attack's resulting caricature as an example of free speech or hate speech.

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The columnists' findings were mentioned after discussing the concept of hate speech, hate speech directed at individuals, and the right to freedom of expression.

Hate Speech

There is a consensus that "hate speech" cannot be defined precisely. Even though this idea has been discussed since ancient times, each culture's definition of hate speech is based on the particulars of its own history, economy, and government. Hate speech has its roots in the word itself, which has a structural meaning that includes "us" and "others" when it is expressed as discourse (Sozeri, 2012)

In its Recommendation 97 (20) issued in 1997, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe defined hate speech as follows: "All expressions of aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination and hostility towards minorities, immigrants, and people of immigrant background will be included. This includes but is not limited to religious intolerance. Comments aimed at an individual or group are a clear example of "hate speech" in this sense" (Weber, 2009).

The term "Hate Speech" is defined broadly by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe. First, the fact that an individual or group identifies with a particular race initially sparks racial hatred. And secondly, inciting religious intolerance is an incitement to religious intolerance based on the division between believers and nonbelievers. Third and last is the promotion of intolerance, which results in "aggression in the form of nationalism and ethnocentrism," to borrow language from the Council of Europe's Committee of Minister's definition of "hate speech." Hate speech and hate crimes are inextricably linked, so the European Organization for Security and Cooperation (OSCE) has adopted a different definition that is widely accepted (Weber, 2009).

"The fact that the victim, the property, or the purpose of a criminal offence has been chosen because of the actual or perceived ties, allegiances, belongings, support, or membership to a group with similar characteristics based on real or physical disability, sexual orientation, or other similar factors, all types of crimes committed in such a way as to include counter-crimes " (Ambikai., 2016; Binark, 2010).

An ideology of exclusion, devaluation, and enmity that represents the systematic hierarchy between groups in society, hate speech is at the root of the most violent forms of discrimination Gorengeli (2013).

Hate crimes have occurred throughout history because of the discourses that arise in the contexts of racism, nationalism, anti-Semitism, etc. (Alkan, 1983). A white student group in 1986 found themselves on a "racist" basis because of an attack on a black student, marking a turning point in the fight against hate crimes that had begun in the 1960s in the United States and the West. Since the 1990s, it has moved to a new level based on gender and sexual orientation, and since the 2000s, it has expanded to include issues of xenophobia and discrimination, which, as Hakan Yılmaz points out, have damaged the democracy culture and led to an unsafe environment (Azhar, 2015; Yılmaz, 2013).

Five distinct categories of hate speech have emerged according to their intended audience: political hatred, hatred of women, hatred of foreigners and immigrants, hatred based on sexual identity, and hatred based on religion Binark and Çomu (2011).

The Relationship between Expression of Freedom and Hate Speech/Crime

In this regard, human rights and the duties of states are directly related to the idea of freedom of expression. Therefore, it is up to the states to know where the boundaries of the concept of free speech end and to investigate how far free speech can go in the face of hate speech. A state has serious obligations to safeguard individuals and communities supporting free speech and being subjected to hateful rhetoric.

Article 10 of the ECHR, which regulates freedom of expression, is as follows; "Everyone has the freedom to explain and express their views. This right includes the freedom of opinion and the intervention of public authorities and the freedom to receive and impart information or ideas without regard to the borders of the country. This article does not preclude states from keeping radio, television and cinema businesses under a permit regime. These freedoms of duty and responsibility are the provision of national security, the protection of territorial integrity or public safety, the provision of public order and the prevention of crime, the protection of health or morals, the protection of others' reputation and rights or the authority and impartiality of judicial power, as mandatory measures

in a democratic society to certain conditions of the form foreseen by the law, to limitations and sanctions. "

Limitations on freedom of expression are explained from the second paragraph. Accordingly, in accordance with the positive obligation of freedom of expression, the state is to create an environment in which this freedom can be used freely; it shall not interfere with the exercise of this freedom within the limits accepted by law in accordance with its negative obligation (Göktepe, 2016).

Charlie Hebdo Attack

On January 7th, 2015, Algerian-born French citizens Said and Cherif Kouachi siblings -determined to be responsible for the attack- have been armed to the office of French satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo in Paris at 11.30 am local time. The responsibility of the attack that 12 people lost their lives is that they defined themselves as belonging to the Yemeni branch of Al Qaeda. The long-standing attack on France and the world that has made a big impact is not the first attack on Charlie Hebdo. The magazine, which was attacked by a bombed attack in 2011, was already receiving frequent threats. It was under police protection since then. On January 9th, the attackers were killed by special teams of gendarmerie and police. The cause of the Charlie Hebdo attack is mentioned as the caricature of the magazine on the Prophet Muhammad, and yet, the magazine announced that it will continue its work in the same way as its publications.

After the Charlie Hebdo attack, the slogan "Je Suis Charlie"(We are all Charlie) in various countries has become a kind of symbol and many demonstrations have been organized on it. Another dimension of the Charlie Hebdo attack is the debate and disagreements that have arisen since the events. While a large section regarded the events as freedom of expression and freedom of the press, a section approached the events with the reaction of disrespecting religious beliefs with cartoons presented as the cause of the attack. This approach has also found its reflection in the media (Trt Herber, 2015).

Charlie Hebdo Attack in Turkish Media

This study includes Turkish press comparison of five high-circulation newspapers of that period between January 7, 2015 and June 30, 2015, after the Charlie Hebdo attack. In this context, the way the presentation of the incident with the columnists in the newspapers is examined within the concept of hate speech. Moreover, the fact that "The Prophet Muhammad caricature", which is said to have caused this attack, was investigated as if it was seen as a hate speech or freedom of expression. "Charlie Hebdo", "Charlie Hebdo Attack", "Hate Speech", and "Freedom of Expression" keywords were used during screening.

The five newspapers with the highest circulation have not been able to reach the archives of the first periodical Zaman Newspaper since 8 March 2016 <https://goo.gl/SZ5BhY>, and therefore the news of the other five newspapers Posta, Hurriyet, Sozcu, Sabah and Haberturk have been reached, content articles that can constitute an example of the concept of hate speech have been analyzed by the method of Discourse Analysis <https://goo.gl/FeFLWj>. The circulation numbers and lines of the five selected journalists are as follow in Table 1:

The journal language used in the column of five newspapers has been investigated in the context of hate speech. The Discourse Analysis method, which is the basic pillar of this study, is a method based on subjective reality and interpretation (Gokce, 2006). Another method, Content Analysis, is used to distinguish the freedom of expression of hate speech, reflecting the point of view of journalists. This method is dependent on the data used, for example graphs and tables. According to Content Analysis, numerical data, graphs, positive and/or negative discrimination were used (Esra, 2015).

Table 1: News source analysis

The Name of Newspaper	Circulation	Political View
Posta	380.410	Trying to be neutral
Hurriyet	359.388	Liberal/Trying to be neutral
Sozcu	331.715	Left-nationalist/Against government policies
Sabah	304.813	Liberal/Supporting government policies
Haberturk	188.801	Supporting government policies

The categories on the Reports of Hrant Dink Foundation called "Media Watch on Hate Speech" were used (Exaggeration/Attribution/Distortion; Swearing/ Insult/Defamation; Enmity/War Discourse; Using inherent identity characteristic as a basis for hate or humiliation/Symbolization), at last, a totally subjective and interpretive study was conducted by using Teun A. Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis.

Charlie Hebdo Attack's news value-distribution of columns by journal

Newspaper columns were evaluated regarding the frequency of Charlie Hebdo attack news. Accordingly, Hurriyet Newspaper, which is liberal-often neutral, became the newspaper that allocated the most space to Charlie Hebdo and Freedom of Expression concepts with 40 news, while Sabah Newspaper as liberal- as a representative of pro-government became the newspaper with the least corner writing about this attack.

Table 2: Distribution of columns in accordance with newspapers

Newspaper	Sozcu	Hurriyet	Haberturk	Posta	Sabah	Toplam
Frequency	33	40	32	23	19	147

Table 3: Distribution of columns by month

Newspaper	January	February	March	April	May	June	Total
Sozcu	32	1	0	0	0	0	33
Hurriyet	40	0	0	0	0	0	40
Haberturk	32	0	0	0	0	0	32
Posta	23	0	0	0	0	0	23
Sabah	15	2	0	2	0	0	19

It was observed that only Sozcu and Sabah Newspapers contained columns about Charlie Hebdo attack after January, when the distribution of the corners in the newspapers was examined. Hurriyet, Haberturk and Posta Newspapers, did not publish a column article on this subject about the attack on Charlie Hebdo after January.

Theme of Charlie Hebdo attack news

In this part, under the Charlie Hebdo attack, the columns of the newspapers have examined the themes through which the attack was conducted.

After Charlie Hebdo Attack, the column articles were investigated through which themes this attack was conducted.

According to Sozcu Newspaper findings; in the study conducted with keywords between January 7th 2015 and June 30th 2015, 67 columns were found and 33 of them were considered relevant. The Sozcu columnists have denounced the attack with an emphasis on freedom of expression with 18.2 percent and 9.1 percent have accepted that as an attack on Islam and used the hate speech emphasis, but have not included the concept of hate speech. The following report of the same newspaper on the same day of the attack is an example of Exaggeration/Attribution/Distortion; "Charlie Hebdo, at last, "satirized" the Prophet Muhammad with a caricature, and exposed to a severe reaction of Islam world in France and around the world." (Sozeri, 2012).

Table 4: The themes highlighted by Sozcu newspaper

Theme of the News	Positive Tone	Neutral Tone	Negative Tone	Total
The Impact on the Economy	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Freedom of Expression	4 (26.7%)	2 (100%)	0 (0.0%)	6 (18.2%)
Islamophobia	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
The Emphasis of Peace	3 (20%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	3 (9.1%)
"Terrorism is Not Religious/ True Islam is Not That"	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
"We are all Charlie" Response	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (100%)	1 (3.1%)
Hate Speech	3 (20%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	3 (9.1%)
The Emphasis of "French Terrorist"	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
The Emphasis of Laicism	5 (33.3%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Total	15 (100%)	2 (100%)	1 (100%)	33 (100%)

Table 5: The themes highlighted by Haberturk newspaper

Theme of the News	Positive Tone	Neutral Tone	Negative Tone	Total
The Impact on the Economy	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Freedom of Expression	2 (10%)	0 (0.0%)	3 (30%)	5 (15.6%)
Islamophobia	2 (10%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	2 (6.3%)
The Emphasis of Peace	5 (25%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	5 (15.6%)
"Terrorism is Not Religious/ True Islam is Not That"	6 (30%)	2 (100%)	0 (0.0%)	8 (25%)
"We are all Charlie" Response	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	3 (30%)	3 (9.4%)
Hate Speech	4 (20%)	0 (0.0%)	3 (30%)	7 (21.9%)
The Emphasis of "French Terrorist"	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (10%)	1 (3.1%)
The Emphasis of Laicism	1 (5%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (3.1%)
Total	20 (100%)	2 (100%)	10 (100%)	32 (100%)

Sozcu Newspapers writers have reacted in general to the participation of Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoglu in the unity rally, which was held with the participation of world leaders and people in France on 11 January 2015 (Sozeri, 2012). More than one writer has shown a neutral attitude by saying, "This attack is an attack on

freedom of expression, but I would not press it."

According to Haberturk Newspaper findings; in the study conducted with keywords between January 7th 2015 and June 30th 2015, 65 columns were found and 32 of them were considered relevant. It was seen that the pro- government discourses are reflected in the columns of this centrist newspaper. The main focus of Haberturk was seen to be "This is not the true nature of Islam" because of the fact that the terrorists were Muslims. Therefore, Haberturk has focused on Islamophobia rather than that fact. The newspaper has also pointed out the themes such as Freedom of Expression and Peace on the frame of balanced journalism. Only three journalists have not perceived the Charlie Hebdo caricature as a freedom of expression, and reacted to the slogan "We are all Charlie".

Haberturk, who owns authors from different perspectives in his own field, for example, Ozcan Tikit has the following division in his letter dated January 9, 2015:

"The attack in Paris, above all, is a political attack on the press and the freedom of thought. It does not change the fact that Charlie Hebdo has chosen to push the boundaries of freedom of the press too much by scratching the differences with some publications."

Tikit stressed freedom of thought and press here. The rest of the article states that Charlie Hebdo does not deserve this assault, no matter what he has published - with hate speech, we all say that Charlie Hebdo will continue to say 'Je Suis Charlie'.

Table 6: The themes highlighted by Sabah newspaper

Theme of the News	Positive Tone	Neutral Tone	Negative Tone	Total
The Impact on the Economy	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Freedom of Expression	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (7.7%)	1 (5.3%)
Islamophobia	0 (0.0%)	2 (40%)	2 (15.4%)	4 (21.1%)
The Emphasis of Peace	0 (0.0%)	2 (40%)	2 (15.4%)	4 (21.1%)
"Terrorism is Not Religious/ True Islam is Not That"	1 (100%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (5.3%)
"We are all Charlie" Response	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	3 (23.1%)	3 (15.8%)
Hate Speech	0 (0.0%)	1 (20%)	5 (38.5%)	6 (31.6%)
The Emphasis of "French Terrorist"	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
The Emphasis of Laicism	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Total	1 (100%)	5 (100%)	13 (100%)	19 (100%)

According to Sabah Newspaper findings; in the study conducted with keywords between January 7th 2015 and June 30th 2015, Sabah Newspaper was found the most reactionary newspaper in the five newspapers investigated, regarding the columns which focused on Islamophobia (21.1%), "We are All Charlie" (15.8%) and rudeness to Islam and hate speech concept (31.6%). 36 columns were found and 19 of them were considered relevant. For instance, Hasan Bülent Kahraman in the following column called, "Is there no such thing as holy?..." has accepted Charlie Hebdo's caricature as a rudeness to Islam. In fact, he has been the only columnist who used the concept of "hate speech" in 147 corner posts (Sabah, 2015).

At the same time, Ibrahim Altay, a writer of Sabah Newspaper, voiced that in the article "Charlie Hebdo and Journalism," this attack was an attack on freedom of expression. But, in doing so, he did not neglect to say the following:

"Charlie Hebdo was, unfortunately, a racist, xenophobic and homophobic material. He published cartoons not only with Islam but also with other values such as Christianity and Judaism. They pictured the Muslims as ugly, hunchback, strange nostrils and disgusting people... Let's just underline: Charlie Hebdo is defending his right to life and freedom of expression, even if it is confusing the freedom of criticism and insult."

What is important here is that Sabah Newspaper, although displaying a pro-government attitude, has a democratic stance with different voices in it.

Table 7: The themes highlighted by Posta newspaper

Theme of the News	Positive Tone	Neutral Tone	Negative Tone	Total
The Impact on the Economy	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Freedom of Expression	2 (22.2%)	0	2 (50%)	4 (17.4%)
Islamophobia	0 (0.0%)	2 (20%)	2 (50%)	4 (17.4%)
The Emphasis of Peace	7 (77.8%)	2 (20%)	0 (0.0%)	9 (39.1%)
"Terrorism is Not Religious/ True Islam is Not That"	0 (0.0%)	2 (20.0%)	0 (0.0%)	2 (8.7%)
"We are all Charlie" Response	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Hate Speech	0 (0.0%)	4 (40%)	0 (0.0%)	4 (17.4%)
The Emphasis of "French Terrorist"	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
The Emphasis of Laicism	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Total	9 (100%)	10 (100%)	4 (100%)	23 (100%)

According to Posta Newspaper findings; in the study conducted with keywords between January 7th 2015 and June 30th 2015, 54 columns were found and 23 of them were considered relevant. Posta Newspaper is one of the newspapers producing political content at least, although its circulation is the highest out of the five newspapers which were investigated. That is the reason why its columns regarding Charlie Hebdo attack have been mostly neutral. In addition to be the one out of five newspapers, which emphasizes peace the most, Posta does not take a clear stance on whether the caricature which caused the attack carries out the hate speech or the freedom of expression.

Cumhuriyet Newspaper published Charlie Hebdo's 4-page cartoons on January 14, 2015, but delivery trucks were stopped by the police and two journalists on trial were sentenced to two years in prison [Binark and Çomu \(2011\)](#). Posta Newspaper writer Nedim ener criticized the following words of Prime Minister Ahmet Davutolu during the period of "The Time to Defend Freedom of Expression" column:

"We are so determined to protect the honor of the Prophet. For this reason, every Muslim has a sensitivity to reveal his whole being. It's not right to associate this with press freedom."

The prime minister may have perceived the initiative of violence as having encouraged him with the words "putting forth his whole existence" in this sentence. It is also evident that this act is perceived as a hate speech to Islam. However, the Prime Minister who immediately participated in the Republican Walk on January 11th and condemned this attack, did not show the same sensitivity when the cartoon was published in Cumhuriyet Newspaper.

On the contrary, freedom of expression should apply to the whole world.

CONCLUSION

In this study, the language of the mainstream media has not been found as intense as to raise the discriminatory language and the prejudice. Columns have been written in the first six month of following the Charlie Hebdo attack; it is shown that there has been emphasis on freedom of expression and peace on often neutral and the centrist newspapers. Sabah Newspaper, as a representative of pro-government media, has focused more on Islamophobia and the hate speech concept as distinct from others, and has not mentioned the freedom of speech. Yeni Akit Newspaper, as a representative of conservative pro-government media, engages hate speech with the report called "Charlie Hebdo has looked for a trouble again." Yet, in the study, there has not been another discourse example in other examined newspapers. While Hurriyet Newspaper and Sozcu Newspaper have emphasized the freedom of expression, Posta Newspaper has focused on the peace concept. Haberturk on the one hand, has focused on "This is not the true nature of Islam" theme; and, on the other hand, Sabah Newspaper has mentioned that the caricature was a subject of an attack to Islam itself. According to the research result, it is seen that the newspapers have made news as they represented their political ideologies, and have not considered the other opinions.

Through this study, it was aimed to emphasize human rights, to strengthen awareness, to draw attention to the separatist language and xenophobia used for the people or groups who are the targets of hate speech, through the media scanning which is one of the most important tools in the production of hate speech within the scope of research on hate speech in the national media. Especially if a long-term social environment based on egalitarian, and social, human rights is targeted, the language used in the media is very important.

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