

THE MEDIA PORTRAYALS OF SYRIAN ASYLUM SEEKERS AND MORAL  
PANIC

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO  
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
OF  
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

SEDA MOHUL

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR  
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE  
IN  
THE DEPARTMENT OF MEDIA AND CULTURAL STUDIES

FEBRUARY 2024



Approval of the thesis:

**THE MEDIA PORTRAYALS OF SYRIAN ASYLUM SEEKERS AND  
MORAL PANIC**

submitted by **SEDA MOHUL** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **Master of Science in Media and Cultural Studies, the Graduate School of Social Sciences of Middle East Technical University** by,

Prof. Dr. Sadettin KİRAZCI  
Dean  
Graduate School of Social Sciences

---

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Barış ÇAKMUR  
Head of Department  
Department of Political Science and Public Administration

---

Prof. Dr. Necmi ERDOĞAN  
Supervisor  
Department of Political Science and Public Administration

---

**Examining Committee Members:**

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Barış ÇAKMUR (Head of the Examining Committee)  
Middle East Technical University  
Department of Political Science and Public Administration

---

Prof. Dr. Necmi ERDOĞAN (Supervisor)  
Middle East Technical University  
Department of Political Science and Public Administration

---

Prof. Dr. Burak ÖZÇETİN  
Istanbul Bilgi University  
Department of Media

---



**I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.**

**Name, Last Name: SEDA MOHUL**

**Signature:**

## ABSTRACT

### THE MEDIA PORTRAYALS OF SYRIAN ASYLUM SEEKERS AND MORAL PANIC

MOHUL, Seda

M.S., The Department of Media and Cultural Studies

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Necmi ERDOĞAN

February 2024, 95 pages

Due to the conditions created by the civil war in Syria, Turkey is at the top of the migration routes of millions of people who had to leave their country. One of the striking points about asylum seekers, who are becoming more visible in the media day by day, is the representation of crimes in the media. The aim of this thesis is to critically examine the relationship between the threat perception created in the media and moral panic by analyzing the discourses presented in selected newspapers, while investigating the representation of Syrian asylum seekers in crime news. This study, adopting a qualitative design, utilizes Teun Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis as the research method and focuses on crime news where Syrian asylum seekers are portrayed as perpetrators or victims by analyzing the online content of three national daily newspapers published between 2019 and 2022.

**Keywords:** Syrian Asylum Seekers, Representation, Critical Discourse Analysis, Crime News, Moral Panic.

## ÖZ

### SURİYELİ SİĞİNMACILARIN MEDYA TASVİRLERİ VE AHLAKİ PANİK

MOHUL, Seda

Yüksek Lisans, Medya ve Kültürel Çalışmalar Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Necmi ERDOĞAN

Şubat 2024, 95 sayfa

Suriye’de yaşanan iç savaşın yarattığı koşullar nedeniyle Türkiye, ülkelerini terk etmek zorunda kalan milyonlarca insanın göç rotalarının başında yer almaktadır. Medyada her geçen gün daha fazla görünür hale gelen sığınmacılara dair dikkat çeken noktalardan biri de medyada suçların temsilidir. Bu tezin amacı Suriyeli sığınmacıların suç haberlerindeki temsil biçimlerini araştırırken, seçilmiş günlük çevrimiçi gazetelerde sunulan söylemleri analiz ederek medyada oluşturulan tehdit algısının ahlaki panikle ilişkisini eleştirel bir biçimde incelemektir. Nitel bir deseni benimseyen bu çalışma, araştırma yöntemi olarak Teun Van Dijk’in eleştirel söylem analizini kullanmakta ve 2019-2022 yılları arasında yayınlanan üç ulusal günlük gazetenin çevrimiçi içeriğini analiz ederek Suriyeli sığınmacıların fail veya mağdur olarak gösterildiği suç haberlerine odaklanmaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Suriyeli Sığınmacılar, Temsil, Eleştirel Söylem Analizi, Suç Haberleri, Ahlaki Panik.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

These lines were written thanks to the support and encouragement of my advisor, Prof. Dr. Necmi Erdoğan. Reaching this stage would not have been possible without his support, suggestions, and guidance throughout my graduate education. Therefore, I express my gratitude to him; being his student was one of the big chances in my life.

I would like to thank Assoc. Prof. Barış Çakmur for taking the time to be part of my thesis committee and sharing his valuable insights with me, and Prof. Dr. Burak Özçetin for enlightening me with his evaluations and helping me improve my thesis. Additionally, I am deeply thankful to Prof. Dr. Funda Gençoğlu for her guidance and support in every aspect I needed, which means a lot to me.

I would also like to thank dear Alican, who encouraged me to embark on this long journey; Banu, who never withheld her support from me and shared so much with me along the way; and Bilge, who made significant contributions to this process for always having time to listen, sharing her ideas and being ready to help. My appreciation for her encouragement and friendship throughout my studies. Then I also want to thank my dear friends Ahmet, Basing, Berke, Büşra, Civan, Deniz Fatma, Hilal, Merve, Mertcan, Sena and Serhat for being by my side and motivating me during this process.

Finally, I am also grateful to my parents and siblings for their love and support throughout my life, whose presence has always strengthened me.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM .....	iii
ABSTRACT .....	iv
ÖZ .....	v
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .....	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS .....	vii
LIST OF TABLES .....	ix
LIST OF FIGURES .....	x
CHAPTERS	
1. INTRODUCTION .....	1
2. LITERATURE REVIEW .....	6
2.1. Ideology, representation and discourse .....	6
2.2. The related studies about media representation of the Syrian asylum seekers and moral panic .....	12
3. CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK .....	19
3.1. Moral Panic Concept .....	19
3.2. Critical Discourse Analysis .....	31
4. METHODOLOGY .....	37
4.1. Collection of the data .....	37
4.2. Research Questions .....	38
5. ANALYSIS .....	39
5.1. Makro Structure Analysis .....	39
5.1.1. Thematic Structure Review .....	39
5.2. Analysis of News Headlines .....	42
5.2.1. Theme 1: Safety of Women and Children .....	42
5.2.2. Theme 2: Social Disruption and Conflict .....	46
5.2.3. Theme 3: Illegal Immigration and Border Security .....	51
5.2.4. Theme 4: Threat of Security .....	53
5.3. Results and Discussion .....	61

6. CONCLUSION .....	70
REFERENCES .....	75
APPENDICES	
A. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET .....	85
B. THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU .....	95

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 4. 1. The political orientations of newspapers .....	38
Table 5. 1. Most frequent keywords (in headlines and spots) per newspaper. ....	65

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 5. 1. (Yeni Çağ, 09.06.2020).....	42
Figure 5. 2. (Yeni Akit, 14.08.2021).....	43
Figure 5. 3. (Yeni Çağ, 01.12.2021).....	44
Figure 5. 4. (Sözcü, 19.01.2022).....	45
Figure 5. 5. (Yeni Çağ, 04.06.2019).....	46
Figure 5. 6. (Sözcü, 15.07.2019).....	48
Figure 5. 7. (Yeni Akit, 30.09.2021).....	49
Figure 5. 8. (Yeniçağ, 11.08.2021) .....	49
Figure 5. 9. (Sözcü, 11.08.2021).....	50
Figure 5. 10. (Yeniçağ, 1.08.2020) .....	51
Figure 5. 11. (Sözcü, 10.08.2021).....	52
Figure 5. 12. (Yeni Çağ, 28.05.2020).....	53
Figure 5. 13. (Sözcü, 05.08.2019).....	55
Figure 5. 14. (Yeniçağ, 18.02.2020) .....	56
Figure 5. 15. (Yeni Akit, 04.01.2020).....	57
Figure 5. 16. (Yeniçağ, 4.01.2019) .....	58
Figure 5. 17. (Yeni Akit, 28.04.2020).....	58
Figure 5. 18. (Sözcü, 08.12.2021).....	59
Figure 5. 19. (Yeniçağ, 03.02.2020) .....	60
Figure 5. 20. (Sözcü, 05.04.2022).....	61

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

This study explores the discursive representation of Syrian asylum seekers in criminal news from three daily Turkish newspapers published on their websites between 2019-2022. It investigates how representations of victims and perpetrators of crime are justified and the extent to which ideologies embedded in news accounts reflect the newspapers' political stances concerning moral panic.

Due to the conditions caused by the civil war in Syria, Türkiye is at the top of the migration routes of millions of people who have been forced to leave their country. Based on the latest data announced by the Ministry of the Interior, Presidency of Migration Management., the number of Syrian asylum seekers granted temporary protection as of February 2024 in Türkiye, which is the country hosting the most significant number of migrants in the world, is 3,167,421. (PMM, 2024) While the migration wave that started after the Syrian civil war has left 12 years behind, the primary issues such as border crossings, housing, and essential benefits that are on the agenda of asylum seekers have been replaced mainly by economic and social problems such as crime, unemployment, insufficient access to education and health services.

One of the points that draws attention to asylum seekers, who are more visible in the media every day, is the representation of crimes in the media. The subject of crime, which is not a case that can be attributed to any identity, is often associated with Syrian asylum seekers presented as perpetrators in criminal incidents in the media, and it seems that individual crimes are made a public concern by resorting to generalizations. In addition, the expression "Syrian," which is constantly created with criminal themes and negative meanings on the agenda and is persistently used

when describing asylum seekers, turns into an image and creates a dichotomy in the form of “us” and “them.” Especially in the last period, which is shown as the source of social and economic problems of Syrian asylum seekers, murder, extortion, harassment, theft, smuggling, begging, conflict, some events, such as the subject of attack with the news agenda it is named; these crimes to be put on the agenda of the forms of the relationship between crime and immigration, it is observed that feeds on stereotypes. Although crime is represented in all types of media, it is stated that newspapers are one of the most influential media organizations in crime reporting and readers’ fear of crime. (Altheide, 1997) Mainly, when there is a surge in crime reports, portraying asylum seekers as linked to criminal activities in the media leads to a perception of danger. Consequently, this fuels attacks against asylum seekers. Sometimes, societal and political anxieties directed at individuals or groups seen as challenging shared values and interests are labeled moral panic.

In this study, while trying to understand the forms of representation of Syrian asylum seekers in crime news, analyzing the discourses presented in selected daily online newspapers and the relationship of threat perception created in the media with moral panic will be discussed. This research aims to offer a perspective on the position of these discourses towards the construction of moral panic, which Cohen (1972) defines as "the identification of a situation, a person or a group as a threat to social values and interests." (p. 1), and how this represents as an example of the ideological positions of newspapers. Considering that the ideological and political views of the newspapers published at the national level are decisive in the news that identifies Syrian refugees with crime, crime-related news published on the specified dates from the websites of Sözcü, Yeni Çağ and Yeni Akit newspapers, where asylum seekers are intensively discussed, will be compared in terms of discursive similarities and differences. The factors that are effective in selecting newspapers are that it is impossible to talk about a structure like the mainstream media due to the transformation caused by the restructuring process of the media ownership structure in Türkiye. Furthermore, the absence of anti-immigrant rhetoric in left-wing and opposition-leaning newspapers led to their exclusion from the research universe.

“How are Syrian asylum seekers represented in crime-themed news?” was designed as the study’s central question. The related sub-questions are “How are Syrian

refugees represented in crime-themed news by national newspapers with different publishing policies?”, “How are refugees presented in criminal incidents in which they are perpetrators/victims?” “What are the explicit or implicit messages of the news?” “Is there a category such as ‘us and them’ in the news, and if so, what are their contexts?” “How were the news on lynchings and conflicts presented, and how were the cases covered in this news?” “Does the newspaper’s political stance/position affect the representation of Syrian asylum seekers due to its proximity to political power?” “How can the relationship of prominent representations in the news with the construction of moral panic be explained?” “Do news discourses contribute to the construction of moral panic?” are structured in the form.

In this study, the criminal news about Syrian asylum seekers in Türkiye in selected national newspapers is handled within the framework of specific examples. In addition, in the internet pages of three different daily newspapers selected from their websites to narrow down a vast universe, the news in which Syrian asylum seekers were determined as perpetrators or victims between 2019-2022 was chosen as a sample. The scope of work, selected papers on the internet pages of the most preferred definitions of “Syrian”, in addition to the Syrians under temporary protection that is used to attempt “immigrants”, “asylum seekers”, “refugees”, “Syrian nationality” searched with keywords such as. Then, crime-themed news content about Syrian asylum seekers from Sözcü, Yeni Çağ, and Yeni Akit newspapers published on their websites in the relevant period was randomly selected and included in the analysis. In this context, the research object does not include columns or press statements by bureaucrats and politicians about criminal events. Within the scope of the study, the concept of moral panic selected as a framework for the events described will be examined with the discourse form of newspapers and news headlines, news entries, and news photos as visual rhetoric to reveal the topic represented. For this reason, sections such as news text, presentation of the main event, context relationship, and conclusion, which are included in the schematic category of critical discourse analysis, are excluded from the analysis.

With the answers to the main and sub-questions given above, it aimed to investigate the forms of representation of Syrian asylum seekers in crime-themed online news

and thus contribute to the literature. The moral panic framework will be used as a tool to analyze the discourses around the representation of asylum seekers in crime-themed news. The study chose critical discourse analysis because critical analyses of the migration issue are important in studying news discourse on crime. This study distinguishes itself from previous examinations of the media portrayal of Syrian asylum seekers, which have been extensively explored, as it primarily focuses solely on the process of criminalization and its correlation with the phenomenon of moral panic and focuses on the analysis of national daily newspapers as they are the most widely read print media sources. The content produced by the selected newspapers in crime-themed news about asylum seekers will be subjected to critical discourse analysis, and the answers to the main question and sub-questions of the research will be shared in the conclusion part, with the analysis made in the dimension of content and discourse. By following this path, the study aimed to analyze the representation of Syrian asylum seekers in crime news and to establish a relationship with the construction of moral panic. The fact that the research only covers the news of the last three years and covers internet news can be included in the study's limitations.

At this point, it is possible to briefly explain what Syrian asylum seekers are called in the media and public opinion: "Migrant" is defined as a person who leaves the country of residence and goes to another country, regardless of the reason for immigration and legal status. According to the United Nations (UN) Convention on the Legal Situation of Refugees, which was signed on July 28, 1951, in Geneva and forms the basis of the asylum terminology, refugee refers to individuals who are outside their country of nationality and are unable or unwilling to return to their country of nationality due to a well-founded fear of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion. (UN, 1951) Refugees cannot be sent back to their countries if they do not volunteer. Since the concept of immigration can include people who migrate voluntarily, it is also stated that although the conditions may be similar to refugees, they differ in terms of choice. In addition to these, asylum seekers include people seeking international protection whose application has not yet been finalized by the competent authorities in the country to which they have applied; that is, they are not considered refugees in terms of status. Syrian asylum seekers in Türkiye are subject

to temporary protection status. Syrian asylum seekers who are not considered refugees as a legal status due to geographical limitations are considered “conditional refugees.” The group that is the subject of the research is referred to by the media and public opinion as a migrant, asylum seeker, refugee, or “Syrian” in a way that refers only to their identity. In the continuation of the study, the concept of “asylum seeker” will be used to emphasize the group that is the research subject due to its legal status.

In this thesis, which aims to analyze the discourse about Syrian asylum seekers in crime-themed news of the print media in Türkiye, after making a general definition for the group that is the subject of analysis, information on ideology, discourse, and representation will be given. After these sections, the formation of moral panic in the media will be conveyed with known examples. Then, information will be given about the method to be used in the study.

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.1. Ideology, representation and discourse

Ideology is a broad and complex concept, serving as a system of values that explains the current world in its most widely recognized form. However, this concept is interlinked with notions such as worldview and belief systems, encompassing a scope broader than these concepts. Its origins trace back to the 16th and 17th centuries. For the first time, the concept was critically examined in the theories of Marx and Engels. According to them, ideology represents an inverted, distorted reflection of reality, obstructing the clear perception of genuine material relations. Subsequently, this concept was extensively explored by Gramsci, who defined the organizing element of ideology as hegemony. In later years, the field of cultural studies, concerned with the relationship between ideology and the media, specifically emphasized the role of the media in production and consumption processes, utilizing Gramsci's conceptualization of hegemony.

Another significant aspect of ideology pertains to its association with language and discourse. Discourse can be understood as a reference to a systematic linguistic order encompassing codes, terminologies, or agreements, ranging from a single word or speech act to broader forms of communication, such as political speeches or legal dialogues. (Tonkiss, 2012) Numerous definitions of discourse exist, yet at its core, it can be described as the manifestation of language expressed in both oral and written forms, transmitted from a source to a recipient. Furthermore, discourse bears imprints of the culture, social groups, class position, education, and profession within which it is situated, as it operates as a coded message. (Sözen, 1999, s. 20) Discourses are also representations of various positions of social actors that are "seen" in different ways. Fairclough (2001) argues that various discourses shape the

portrayal of impoverished and marginalized individuals across multiple societal domains, including government, politics, medicine, and social science. Within each of these domains, differing discourses correspond to the diverse roles and statuses of individuals within society. This suggests that discourse plays a significant role in defining social identities and behaviors, as exemplified by the distinct styles exhibited by business managers and political leaders.

The concept of discourse arises as a method employed to examine the relationships among action, discourse, and power. (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997) Linguist Zellig Harris introduced the term 'discourse' in 1952, extending the boundaries of linguistic analysis by delving into texts. This exploration burgeoned in the early 1970s, making discourse a focal point in this field of study. These studies operate under the assumption that discourse significantly influences both written and oral communication. It is influenced by social characteristics such as social class, gender, status, ethnicity, power, age, networks, or perception groups. The impact of these factors lies in the interpretation made by listeners, readers, and analysts regarding the speaker or writer's social attributes expressed through these forms of communication (Van Dijk T. , 2008)

As mentioned by discourse analyst Van Dijk (2001), discourse can be interpreted as a multidimensional phenomenon crucial for maintaining mental control within society. Regulation or production of discourse becomes necessary for this purpose. However, the context in which discourse operates is equally significant for its existence. Also, discourse assumes a pivotal role in expressing and continuing ideologies. It influences the adoption, reinforcement, alteration, and perpetuation of ideologies. This also applies to the media, as their texts derive their power from language within specific situational contexts. In this regard, the significance of media discourse does not solely lie in straightforward reading but rather in the frequently implicit explanatory frameworks and fundamental rules of interpretation. (Davis, 1985) Van Dijk, a prominent figure in critical discourse analysis, is widely recognized for his scholarly contributions regarding the influence of media on public perception. His work underscores the pivotal role of news content in shaping individuals' social and political knowledge. Van Dijk highlights the substantial

impact that media representations exert on public opinion formation. He emphasizes that the construction and presentation of news content hold significant sway over people's understanding and interpretation of societal events, influencing their perspectives and beliefs about the world. Van Dijk's (2001) research emphasizes media discourse's influential role in shaping the wider population's collective consciousness and viewpoints. The discourse analysis of race-related news coverage in the Dutch and British press unveils a prevalent trend wherein headlines tend to frame ethnic issues, often portraying ethnic minorities through stereotypical depictions linked with negative attributes such as crime and violence. This portrayal perpetuates harmful stereotypes and contributes to the reinforcement of racism within society. Through interviews with newspaper readers, he identifies the media's role in shaping public discourse and influencing not only what people talk about but also how they perceive certain issues. This study underscores the media's significant impact on ideological frameworks, shaping perceptions that are directly influenced by media representations. Consequently, it can be argued that power dynamics are at play, with discourse serving as a tool through which influential narratives are constructed and disseminated.

This section also explores the concept of representation, defined as 'acting on behalf of someone or a group.' The ideological analysis of representation in media texts, including the production and consumption processes, originated from the British Cultural Studies school. Stuart Hall stands as one of the most prominent figures in these studies. Within communication discourse, Hall delved into the relationships among media, power, and ideology, explicating culture through the theory of social production and reproduction, highlighting the media's role in obtaining consent. Similarly, Stuart Hall's representation approach stands as a frequently referenced source in explaining refugee representation in the media. Hall's (1982) representation theory, entrenched within debates on ideology, hegemony, and discourse, asserts that representation, considered as ideological frameworks of the dominant class, involves the production of meanings of concepts in our minds through language, as outlined in the following passage: "Representation is a very different notion from that of reflection. It implies the active work of selecting and presenting, of structuring and shaping; not merely the transmitting of an already-existing meaning but the more

active labour of making things mean."(p.64) Hall posits that meaning is produced through representation and constructed via signifying practices. He argues that representation is not merely a consequence of events but a constituent element and the foundational cause behind events. The process of constructing meaning differs across societies, groups, and individuals, with representation serving as the primary vehicle for this process. (Çelenk, 2005)

As specified by Hall (1991), akin to the process of hegemony, individual or social identities are integral to the meaning-making process. As absolute and final fixation of meaning is unattainable, the construction process remains perpetual and ongoing. In fact, identity formation is also a continual process inherent in representation and is never entirely finalized. Hall elucidates the process of identity construction concerning its representation, drawing from his personal experiences as an example. He underscores the distinction between representation and reflection, positing that identity is perpetually both a narrative and a representation, inherently existing within the realm of representation. "Identity is not something which is formed outside and then we tell stories about it. It is that which is narrated in one's own self."(p.49) Hall contends that reversing any identity is not as straightforward as overturning its narratives. He illustrates this point using examples of representations and narratives that have normalized the marginalization of black culture in the UK and suggests that various categories and antagonisms contribute to the intricate construction of identities.

Consequently, individuals may find themselves in multiple positions of marginality and subordination. However, these experiences do not uniformly affect everyone in the same manner. (Hall,1991) "We are all complexly constructed through different categories, of different antagonisms, and these may have the effect of locating us socially in multiple positions of marginality and subordination, but which do not yet operate on us in exactly the same way." (p. 49) In his representation theory, Hall delineates two distinct representation systems. The first system involves an individual's construction within their inner world, encompassing a complex structure interwoven with surroundings and facts. While individuals tend to hold simple and similar representations for concrete objects like a table, this does not the case for

abstract concepts such as love or God. Moreover, the creation of representations for these abstract concepts does not necessarily require direct experience. The second system revolves around language. Hall (1997) emphasizes that the meaning generated through language and the signifiers used in producing this meaning play a pivotal role in shaping representations. The interpretation of indicators can vary from person to person, and concepts often exhibit similarities in visual indicators, thereby contributing to the interpretation process.

This can lead to a discussion on the conceptual content before delving into the examination of stereotypes. Walter Lippman, the first to theoretically examine the concept of stereotype, described these formed ideas, ideologies, or expectations as influential in people's judgments; he famously referred to them as 'the pictures in our heads' (Bottom, 2012). In this way, people can process and reconstruct the information they perceive together with what they have acquired in the past. (İmançer, 2004) Horton and Hunt (1972) defined stereotype as "the shared image of other groups or categories of people" in their field of "Sociology". (p. 163)

Hall suggests that societal power dynamics significantly influence emotions and thoughts directed toward the represented. Media-generated perceptions about certain individuals or groups contribute to the formation of stereotypes. These representational practices also impact these groups' prejudices, alienation, attitudes, and other perceptions. According to Hall (1997), stereotypes oversimplify, personalize, naturalize, and rigidify the perception of an individual by highlighting a few simple, vivid, and memorable characteristics. Additionally, the stereotype establishes boundaries, excluding anything that falls outside of its parameters. As mentioned earlier, the relationship between the viewer and the viewed is not fixed and remains in a constant state of evolution. Meanings are contingent upon the elements involved in the construction process and the relational dynamics with those elements. Hall introduces another dimension of stereotyping within this construction process, focusing on constructing the 'other' by placing oneself at the center. Therefore, while the issue of identity contains numerous inaccuracies in various aspects, individuals tend to find temporary solace by defining the 'other'. (Hall S. , 1991) Also, he notes that stereotypes are used to maintain boundaries between

different groups of people, as it has been proven that racial boundaries can be fallible. (Hall S. , 1997a) At this juncture, it's pertinent to highlight Hall's utilization of the Black example in his conceptual framework. Hall perceives Black identity as a construct that emerged from a symbolic and ideological struggle at a specific historical juncture. In popular culture, Black individuals are often reduced to physical attributes—thick lips, curly hair, wide faces, and noses. These characteristics are employed in numerous popular representations, oversimplifying and reducing Black individuals to a few essentialized features. As explained by Hall (1997), these racial stereotypes form part of a 'racialized regime of representation,' persisting until the latter part of the 20th century. Therefore, through stereotypical representations in various TV programs, Black people were portrayed and made visible in the media by being linked to migration issues, and associated with dramatic or crisis narratives. (Hall,1995) Hall's viewpoint illustrates how media representations contribute to the construction of identities, using the example of how black people are depicted in England. He argues that the marginalization and perceived inferiority of black culture in English media are not coincidental occurrences but rather the outcomes of political and cultural practices embedded in the representation and discourse of British society, with the media playing a significant role. Black experiences are either omitted or portrayed through stereotypes within these representation and discourse frameworks. Consequently, black individuals are often depicted as objects rather than subjects in media portrayals, relegated to the unspoken and invisible 'other' within white aesthetic and cultural discourse. (Varol, 2016)

Ruth Wodak's analysis, which is based on discourse and ideology, focuses on the use of exclusionary language by right-wing populist parties regarding immigration issues, building upon the traditional qualitative stereotypes underscored by Hall. The analysis highlights how these parties instrumentalize various ethnic, religious, linguistic, or political minorities, portraying them as scapegoats for the majority of prevailing societal issues. Wodak observes that right-wing populists interpret these groups as menacing national threats, utilizing a rhetoric that revolves around creating scapegoats and adversaries using conventional stereotypes. This practice effectively generates an "us versus them" narrative, designating specific groups, including Roma, Muslims, Jews, or other minorities, socialists, incumbent parties, and the

media, as responsible for existing societal challenges. As reported by Wodak, these parties simplify complex problems by attributing blame to these identified 'others', presenting seemingly straightforward solutions to existing fears and concerns. The rhetorical techniques of "victim-perpetrator reversal," "scapegoating," and "construction of conspiracy theories" are essential components of the arsenal of right-wing populist rhetoric. In essence, anyone can be portrayed as a dangerous "Other" if it serves specific strategic and manipulative aims. (Wodak, 2001)

## **2.2. The related studies about media representation of the Syrian asylum seekers and moral panic**

This dissertation aims to scrutinize the portrayal of Syrian asylum seekers in criminal news by selected Turkish newspapers, examining their depiction in relation to the concept of moral panic. The Turkish media's construction of narratives concerning various marginalized groups has been a subject of considerable scholarly attention. Previous studies within media and cultural studies literature have extensively examined the representation of Syrian immigrants. In this section of the dissertation, the focus will be on reviewing existing research on the portrayal of Syrian asylum seekers and the occurrence of moral panic within media discourse. Additionally, this literature review encompasses studies related to crime-media dynamics and moral panic, alongside discussions on media, discourse, and migration. Notably, while moral panic is frequently employed within media studies, its application, specifically concerning immigrants in the media, remains limited based on the existing literature review.

It is evident that most studies focusing on the intersection of refugees and media primarily conduct discourse analyses of refugee-related news in print media. Çağlar and Özkır point out that this trend emerges due to the highly polarized media landscape. They suggest that by subjecting columns addressing refugee-related topics to discourse analysis, insights can be gleaned regarding the interconnections between media, politics, and Turkish society. The analysis also highlights the excessive politicization in the's media landscape in Türkiye. (Çağlar & Özkır, 2015) What they describe as the extreme politicization of the media is not merely an emphasis on public duty from a liberal perspective but rather an acknowledgment that the media

sector has always been entwined with economic and political relations. They argue that when examining the refugee issue in the media, a politicized media is expected to generate discourse and content aligned with their political stances. However, their study reveals that the media produces materials from a superficially anti-government standpoint.

Their research intends to elucidate that aside from the media's alignment as either anti-government or pro-government, a political stance is independent of the government's perspective, which also influences the production of news discourses. In a related study, these scholars employed Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis method to scrutinize news across four distinct newspapers. They observed that another noteworthy aspect within the politicized media environment is the stance concerning the government, notably discernible in the differing discourses on refugees between newspapers like *Hürriyet* and *Sabah*. (Çağlar & Özkır, 2015)

Other than to the polarized nature of the media, another important aspect is a comprehensive analysis that addresses the findings regarding the dominant discourse on immigrants in the media. In this study carried out by Kolukırık (Kolukırık, 2009), news about refugees from 14 different national newspapers published between 2003 and 2008 as *Milliyet*, *Hürriyet*, *Yeni Şafak*, *Zaman*, *BirGün*, *Bugün*, *Akşam*, *Sabah*, *Tercüman*, *Radikal*, *Türkiye*, *Star*, *Vatan*, *Referans* were examined. Accordingly, immigrants are depicted routinely within news coverage, particularly in news texts concerning refugees. These texts portray a superficial and non-solution-oriented approach, aiming to normalize the situation. As well, while conveying the challenges refugees face, there is a tendency to repetitively highlight and exaggerate issues, often driven by circulation concerns. Given the significant influence of the media in shaping public opinion, the examination of Syrian refugees within Türkiye's print media holds utmost importance. The study's conclusion emphasizes that the news texts propagated as part of media strategies fall short in addressing the refugee crisis. It asserts that addressing the refugee problem requires both time and proactive initiatives from politicians and civil society groups to effectuate substantive solutions. (Kolukırık, 2009)

Similarly, in a study analyzing the discourse surrounding immigrants within the national press, the news articles spanning the years 2011 to 2017, particularly those

addressing Syrian refugees, were scrutinized. The analysis revealed that refugees were predominantly portrayed through problematic, discriminatory, and marginalizing discourses, particularly concerning topics such as the economy, education, language, health, legal regulations, and social cohesion. Contrary to portraying Syrian refugees through representations reflecting their everyday lives, the study's findings indicated that media coverage tended to rely on a typology constructed around discriminatory and marginalizing discourses, disseminated widely through influential mass media channels. (Gölcü & Dağlı, 2017) In a related study addressing the same concern, researchers concluded that asylum seekers were consistently problematized and objectified within media narratives.

Doğanay and Keleş (2016) conducted an examination focusing on the topics and themes presented in news articles and columns across three mainstream newspapers. The primary objective of this study was to explore how Syrian refugees were portrayed within these media pieces and to question the media's role in legitimizing, disseminating, and perpetuating discriminatory discourses against immigrants, foreigners, and refugees. Their research also aimed to delineate the rational and emotional justifications behind the discrimination faced by Syrian refugees in Türkiye, exploring how these justifications were rationalized and interconnected within different discursive contexts.

In Göker and Keskin's (2015) study on refugee representation, an analysis was conducted using content analysis and critical discourse analysis methods across five national newspapers. The findings revealed a prevalent discourse centered on refugees as an "economic burden," aligning with Van Dijk's observation. Additionally, the analysis illustrated that refugees were consistently linked to social abnormalities, crime, disorder, and conflict within the news coverage. According to the significant findings of Göker and Keskin's study on news discourse, they highlight the presence of an "us and them" dichotomy, which aligns with Van Dijk's concept of the victim production mechanism. They argue that victimization operates as a two-fold process, wherein refugees are portrayed as victims of war, yet concurrently, this narrative also provides a platform for the development of populist discourse and the establishment of an "us-them" divide.

Another study, led by Murat Erdoğan (2015), aimed to scrutinize the media's stance toward refugees. The research posits that the prevailing "high but fragile level of social acceptance" toward refugees in Türkiye is intrinsically linked to the media's attitude. The analysis revealed a disparity in portraying Syrian refugees across different newspapers. Those closer to political power often depicted Syrian refugees as "people in need of help," while in some other newspapers, the portrayal shifted to labeling them as "rebels" or "terrorists."

Çobaner's (2015) study addressing the representation of immigrants in the media, particularly focusing on refugee children, offers another notable example. The analysis scrutinized online news content from four distinct national newspapers representing diverse political orientations, including Hürriyet, Birgün, Radikal, and Yeni Şafak. The study's conclusion highlighted a deficiency in providing adequate background and contextual information concerning the causes and ramifications of the adverse situations faced by Syrian refugee children. Additionally, the news content lacked a connection to the fundamental rights of these children.

A similar study analyzed the visual representation of Syrian refugees in the Turkish press from 2011 to 2015; which is a topic that is often ignored in the academic literature. Their study revealed that the majority of images portraying asylum seekers depicted them as either needy individuals or potential threats within the context of news content. Additionally, the study highlighted a prevalent use of photographs emphasizing themes of poverty and deprivation concerning refugees, aligning with the overarching perception of them as a threat. Consequently, these representations delineated asylum seekers' characteristics as distinctly different from the norm, emphasizing their differences and contributing to their exclusion from wider society. (Pandir, Efe, & Paksoy, 2015)

In a notable study within the Turkish literature employing critical discourse analysis and investigating the phenomenon of moral panic, Deniz Özçetin examined mechanisms of urban transformation within Istanbul's urban renewal areas, mainly focusing on portraying the urban poor in news articles from the 2000s. Özçetin approaches the discourses targeting subcultures alongside instances of crime within

the context of neoliberal urban policies, and critically interprets police strategies within this framework. By analyzing representations in news texts, Özçetin aims to uncover how discourses on urban/street crimes are utilized in legitimizing neoliberal urban policies and urban renewal projects. Her study is noteworthy for its multidimensional depiction of how fear discourse is constructed in the media and how specific subcultures or ethnic groups are associated with crime, even being stigmatized or "demonized". (Özçetin, 2014).

Another example of the representation of migrants in the media is 'Bad News for Refugees,' which examines the media's stance on refugees and asylum seekers in the UK and its impact on public understanding through content analysis. Some analyses highlight the use of derogatory terms like 'illegal immigrants' to describe refugees/asylum seekers who are depicted as having entered the country illegally. These studies illustrate that media representation of 'race,' migration, refugees, and asylum seekers often portrays them negatively, inciting 'moral panic,' 'conflict,' 'crisis,' and 'threat.' (Philo, Briant, & Donald, 2013)

Additionally, Buchanan's research sheds light on the prevalent use of stereotypes in depicting refugees. His study reveals that these stereotypes rely on oversimplified generalizations and unfounded refugee assumptions. Based on a survey of major British newspapers over one year, Buchanan notes offensive generalizations portraying immigrants as 'miserable,' 'pathetic,' and 'shabbily dressed.' The study suggests that media discourse, particularly following criminal events, became the focal point in confirming people's greatest fears about 'immigrants' through negative labeling and clichéd images. (Buchanan & Grillo B. & Threadgold, 2003)

In the Critcher's view, while migration, primarily through refugees, has historically caused social tension in numerous countries, it has only recently been extensively discussed as a moral panic. (2008) The ongoing debate surrounding this issue revolves around numerous interpretations and needs distinct boundaries owing to its evolving nature. Cohen and Critcher present differing views on moral panic criteria, yet they concur that the term should not be loosely employed to categorize every instance of anger or concern without proper validation because Cohen disagrees with

Critcher's proposal to limit the concept solely to incorrect depictions of foreigners and victims as scapegoats reinforcing dominant regulatory practices. (Cohen, 1987; Critcher, 2008) However, Jevkes (2011) believes this moral panic analysis needs to be revised and requires revision, although partially invalid.

In the study by Gomes and Machado, crimes committed by immigrants and minority ethnic groups were examined, analyzing the discourses presented in Portuguese daily newspapers. Based on their findings, media coverage of these crimes tends to reinforce public stereotypes about 'criminals,' often associating crime with ethnic minorities and socially excluded groups such as gypsies and immigrants. These stereotypes can potentially portray these groups as threats to societal values and interests, leading to the creation of a moral crusade wherein media outlets become the voices of morality, prompting audiences to an exaggerated and emotionally charged response. Additionally, newspapers perpetuate that these social groups pose a genuine societal issue and a threat, advocating for proactive measures that align with the sentiments of citizens calling for increased social control. (Gomes & Machado, 2011) Numerous studies addressing racial inequalities in media coverage highlight a recurring trend: a disproportionate representation of black perpetrators compared to white victims. This trend is frequently observed in newspapers, where images of black suspects are depicted as criminally involved, often shown in handcuffs or resisting arrest. This disparity in portrayal between black and white suspects is notably more prevalent in televised news coverage (Entman, 1990) The creation of implicit depictions and the utilization of images portraying distressed or helpless crowds contribute significantly to constructing a criminal image derived from textual representations of refugees. Hence, visual representations in the media play a pivotal role in shaping societal concerns about crime and immigrant groups.

In another study focused on media crime coverage, Pollak and Kubrin examine how crime stories are portrayed in newspapers and on television, specifically analyzing cases involving children. Their content analysis concluded that the characteristics attributed to crime, offenders, and victims in the media often contrast with the model suggested by official crime statistics. Furthermore, regardless of the nature of the crime, television content tends to deliver news in a more sensational and fear-

inducing manner, contributing to a perceived lack of security. While the degree of fear induced may differ between TV news and newspaper content, the same crime is often presented differently across these media. (Pollak & Kubrin, 2007)

The study of Sedláková, (2017) includes quantitative and qualitative research on migration and war refugees from August 2015 to September 2015 in Czech Radio's six news programs, as the most covered topic in the Czech media in 2015 was migrants framed as a crisis, threat, and risk. The study asserts the media's role in fostering moral panic during the investigated period. Refugees are depicted both implicitly and explicitly as linked to terrorism and religious radicalism, portrayed as scapegoats posing a threat to the integrity of Czech society, its values, and its culture. Moreover, the media often frames migration to Europe as a broader menace to Western civilization and culture. Sedláková suggests that an uncertain risk and an ambiguous enemy, whose boundaries aren't clearly defined, generate greater anxiety compared to a well-defined and understood danger. This connection to moral panic can be established from this perspective.

Observing various ethnic identities, migrants, and subculture groups marginalized in different historical periods, and studies often focus on these subjects as part of the phenomenon of moral panic.

## CHAPTER 3

### CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

#### 3.1.Moral Panic Concept

Mass media is one of the most effective sources in creating the social reality of crime and spreading the concept of crime. The language used, the information included and the facts omitted in a news bulletin or newspaper greatly influence how the public perceives crime (Jewkes, 2011). In addition, it is pointed out that the media has a role in setting the agenda and has a say in shaping public perception through the news it highlights. (McCombs, 1972) As per Quinney (2001), the coverage of crime news in newspapers and on television affects a person's estimation of the frequency of crime and their interpretation of crime. Accordingly, since crime and control are not independent of media dynamics, the media should also be considered as a visual and emotional constitutive element of the criminal typology. Indeed, it can be observed that the media constructs various representations of criminals and shapes public perceptions about different types of crimes. The emotions attached to these representations also contribute to mobilization. (Mercan,2019)

"When discussing the place of crime in news discourse, one of the concepts that is often used is moral panic. Moral panic, according to the Communication Dictionary, is 'an exaggerated social reaction, often amplified by the media, to minor deviant behaviors.'"(Mutlu, 1998, s. 304) Young argues that within moral panics, people tend to react excessively without addressing the underlying societal issues. It aims to arouse fear and anger not only through an alleged external threat to the so-called "normal" values but also through the "stigmatization of the other" that disregards the norm and he contends that moral panics are rooted in deep-seated social conflicts distinctions, and cultural differences. (Young, 2011) In some studies, moral

panics are presented as "volatile and short-term manifestations of long-term moral regulation processes"; that is, security-themed crises related to possible regulation processes. Moral panics have been the subject of numerous studies to date, including youth deviance, AIDS, child abuse, drugs, migration, refugees, media violence, street crime, and more. (Hier S. , 2008)

Immigrants are also one of the common subjects of moral panic, portrayed as a threat to the integrity, values, and culture of the society in which they live. (Poynting, Noble, & Tabar, 2001) Political elites and the media frequently engage in "moral panic" rhetoric by creating exclusionary practices centered on nationality, race, ethnicity, religion, gender, or other differences associated with immigrants. This narrative often includes elements of fake news, conspiracy theories, and political agendas, demonizing immigrants as a threat to societal values. Immigrants are portrayed as carriers of foreign cultures, resistant to integrating into the mainstream culture, making excessive demands for education, housing, and resources, and inclined towards criminal behavior. (Cree, Clapton, & Smith, 2015) The anti-immigrant antipathy created by these biased assumptions is constantly reproduced by the press and leads to the resurgence of the extreme right. (Philo, Briant, & Donald, 2013) An illustration of this phenomenon can be found in the Austrian and British press during the 1990s, where three distinct metaphorical labels were used to describe the actions of asylum seekers. They were characterized as a 'flood,' 'wave,' or 'influx,' indicating a perceived numerical majority. Moreover, military metaphors such as 'time bomb,' 'beggars,' 'liars,' 'thieves,' and 'invasion' were employed, attributing fear and violence to these individuals. (Cohen S. , 2002) Goodall argues that the representation of immigrants in the media in this way produces and reproduces stereotypes of violence and crime. (Collins,2007) According to David Campbell (1998), although each representation has its own unique requirements, each one naturalizes the self as normal, healthy, civilized, or equally positive and alienates the other as pathological, sick, barbaric or equally negative, thereby triggering moral concerns. Similarly, the portrayal of minorities and immigrants in the news often depicts them as 'problematic' and presents them as a threat in relation to valuable resources like employment, education, space, and housing. (Özgür, O. ,2018) Moral panic refers to collective responses directed at minority or marginalized

individuals or groups perceived as threatening commonly held values or interests. Consequently, the fear of potential harm from these individuals or groups generates shared apprehensions. A defining aspect of moral panics is the media's tendency to exaggerate particular concerns, thereby prompting or sanctioning actions that are deemed 'highly disproportionate'. (Brouwer et al., 2017)

Explanatory models of moral panic have drawn on discourse theory from Marxism, Social Constructionism and more recently the concept of the 'risk society' (Hall et al., 1978; Goode and Ben-Yehuda, 1994a; Critcher, 2008; Thompson, 1998). The topic of moral panic was initially explored through a thorough analysis of authoritarian personality studies in Europe, particularly by the researchers associated with the Frankfurt School, including Adorno. (Hall S., 1978) Studies on media influence gained prominence during the emergence of fascist and totalitarian governments in Europe in the 1920s and 1930s. These studies focus on how mass communication tools manipulated mass consciousness under the control of elite executives. They explore the formation of stereotypes, notably during the rise of anti-Semitism in Germany during the fascist era. These stereotypes were engineered to create a 'hate object,' portraying Jews through antagonistic clichés and subjecting them to 'torture fantasies,' which played a functional role in maintaining dominant power relations, particularly in paranoid situations. (Cohen S. , 2002) Similar discourses are valid for Gypsies and blacks living in the USA during the same period. Different ethnic identities, immigrants, and subculture groups that were transformed into hate objects were actually turned into moral panic objects of those years.

Along with the mass society theory that attracted academic interest from the Frankfurt School, issues such as crime, violence, aggression, and racism also began to be addressed, and in later years, the field of cultural criminology, which is defined by British subculture studies, laid the groundwork for a closer examination of the role of the media in crime. These discussions, which continued to have an impact until the 1950s, generally focused on studying the working classes, attempting to identify and cope with the categories of dangerous classes into which they were classified. (Ferrell, 1999) In the 1960s, with the shift away from studies focused on

the causes of criminal behavior, attention turned to the role of media and culture in triggering public overreactions to the behavior of "criminal classes". Media and culture became the focal point for understanding this phenomenon through the lens of representation and meaning, with the goal of exposing social inequalities and prejudices. (Güven O. Ö., 2018) The concept of moral panic, particularly popularized by empirical research based on deviance theories after the 1960s, has been used in studies on witch hunts in New England by Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994) lynchings in the South in the 1890s in America by Jenkins (1992) and crime incidents in England and America at the end of the 20th century by Garland. (Yıldız & Sümer, 2011) This concept has been defined in sociology studies and has subsequently been the subject of research not only in media and cultural studies but also in criminology and psychology fields. (Ferrell J, 1999)

Based on the consensus definition of moral panic, it is considered as a social reaction against individuals or groups that are thought to conflict with social values and interests. Biases and exaggeration, depicted by the media through stereotypes crafted for 'others,' significantly contribute to the emergence of moral panic by directing society's anxieties and fears. Rowe suggests that certain common uses of the moral panic concept are primarily designed to minimize the level of threat and adverse outcomes. These instances aim to portray concerns, regardless of their validity, as amplified and inflated. (Rowe, 2009) Numerous examples associated with this concept suggest an implicit or explicit political stance that capitalizes on prejudices against a 'deviant' other perpetuated through clichés. (Bilić, 2018) When discussing the definition of the concept of moral panic, it is pertinent to begin by addressing the categories proposed by Goode and Ben-Yehuda. (1994) They have characterized the moral panic concept by five key criteria as follow:

1. Concern: It involves a high level of concern about the behavior of a particular group or category and the consequences of this behavior on the rest of society. This concern can manifest itself through public opinion polls and social movements, much like social problems.

2. Hostility: Secondly, there must be a level of hostility towards groups emphasized as a threat element. These individuals are seen as a potential threat to the values,

interests, way of life, or existence of the law-abiding society or a large part of society. As a result, a dichotomization between "them" and "us" occurs, and the targeted deviance turns into an exaggerated spiral in the form of a cliché such as "public villains against public heroes" or "good and evil".

3.Consensus: There must be a minimum level of consensus that the moral panic arises from the wrong behavior of the group that is seen as a real, serious, and potential threat source in the entire society or in certain sections of society.

4.Disproportionality: There is an implicit assumption that the concern is disproportionate to the magnitude of the threat in the use of the term moral panic. Generating numbers and spreading them is an important factor in moral panic

5.Volatility: Moral panics are variable and sudden. Although they may remain hidden for a long time and occasionally resurface, they can decrease over time. Additionally, while some moral panics can continue and institutionalize, others may disappear seemingly without a trace. When an official response to a person, group, or event is disproportionate to the threat, police officers, politicians, and judges infer that the threat is everywhere. When these reactions combine, a moral panic can be said to have begun. (Goode & Ben Yehuda, 1994)

Also, according to Goode & Ben Yehuda's theory, "politicians and media cannot create an concern where there is none at the outset." (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 1994, s. 127) Therefore, moral panics are known as social reactions that are usually reflected or exaggerated by media, but are necessarily based on real public concerns and are influenced by pre-existing conditions rather than temporary anger. (Hunt, 1997, s. 636)

The concept of moral panic was first used by Stanley Cohen in his book "Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers," which explains the nature and origins of moral panic processes. Cohen was also the first person to conduct empirical research on the impact of moral panic events on media reactions. In his view, societies periodically undergo phases of moral panic, where a specific condition, event, individual, or group is identified as a threat to societal values and

interests. This entity is often depicted in a stylized and stereotypical manner by the mass media. The moral guardians of society, including editors, bishops, politicians, and other authoritative figures, take charge of defending societal norms. Socially recognized experts provide their analyses and proposed solutions to the perceived threat. Various coping mechanisms are developed or employed, although these are ineffective. Eventually, the condition either fades away, becomes less prominent, or worsens and becomes more noticeable. (Cohen,1972) As indicated in his analysis, at times, the source of panic may be entirely new, while other times, it may be something that has long existed but is suddenly brought into the spotlight. Occasionally, the panic fades away and is only remembered in folklore and collective memory, but in other instances, it leads to significant and enduring consequences, influencing legal, social policies, or reshaping societal perceptions.

Cohen describes a minor and low-level conflict that took place in 1964 between two subcultural youth groups, the Mods and Rockers, in the town of Clacton, England. During Easter 1964, adverse weather conditions, including cold and wet conditions, departed from the norm, with Easter Sunday recording the coldest temperatures in eighty years. This inclement weather compounded the frustrations of shopkeepers and stall owners, who experienced diminished business activity. Concurrently, young people, fueled by rumors of discriminatory practices by café owners and bartenders, grappled with their boredom and irritation. Tensions escalated as several groups engaged in scuffles and stone-throwing incidents on the pavements. The emergence of the Mods and Rockers factions, initially characterized by distinctions in fashion and lifestyle and later solidified, further intensified the situation. Motorcyclists and scooter riders added to the chaos by engaging in reckless behavior, resulting in broken windows and damaged beach huts. Additionally, the sheer volume of people flooding the streets, coupled with the pervasive noise and the inadequacies of an ill-prepared and understaffed police force, contributed to an atmosphere of discomfort, oppression, and occasional fear over the two days. This sequence of events represents the initial deviation or impact within the analytical framework. (Cohen S. , 1972)

After the two-day minor violent incidents, the media used headlines that suggested tourists in the town were treated to a scene from a battlefield, with some describing it

as a "war zone: “‘Day of Terror by Scooter Groups’ (Daily Telegraph), ‘Youngsters Beat Up Town – 97 Leather Jacket Arrests’ ( Daily Express), ‘Wild Ones Invade Seaside – 97 Arrests’ ( Daily Mirror).” (Cohen S. , 1972, s. 25) The media's portrayal of the term "Mod" evokes deviance and, contrary to its previous connotations, now conveys negative meanings for this youth subculture, thereby establishing stereotypes. Additionally, the media's symbolic representation of the reported events influences law enforcement and judicial responses, with press headlines suggesting danger and urging other institutions to take action. However, the accuracy of these reports immediately following the events remains questionable, as clichéd reporting lacks objective evidence. Moreover, the use of confrontational language associated with the involved parties in the incidents perpetuates negative symbols within society and heightens the impact of these events on the community. (Cohen S. , 1972)

As explained by Cohen, (1972) the concepts of "moral panic" and "amplification of deviance" in the 1960s are interconnected with particular presumptions about mass communication. The primary role of mass communication in moral panic events was to serve as society's primary information source regarding deviations and social issues. During its emergence, the roles of moral panic were articulated as agenda setting, image transfer, and breaking societal silence. In his view, communication tools facilitate moral panics, identify scapegoats, and thus guide social control. (Alemdar & Kaya, 1983) According to Altheide, the purpose of these fears created in the media is to promote a "sense of disorder" and a belief that "things are out of control," thus encouraging social control. (Bilić, 2018)

Another point about moral panic is that it replaces the silent concerns of the public, which were previously ignored or denied, with exaggeration, prejudice, and loud overreactions. When explaining the concept, Cohen noted that as a result of the situation in the case he described, Mods and Rockers became even more divided and began to see each other as opposites due to this exaggerated approach. (Thompson & Greek, 2012) Therefore, according to Cohen, the high risk perception of the public, which was influenced by the media's excessive exaggeration of the event, does not match the real formation of the event. This situation, where the media triggers a distorted perception, is called "over-reporting." (Portas, 2018)

As Greer mentions, Cohen demonstrates how the labeling and marginalization of Mods and Rockers, as well as the emphasis on mutual enmity, generated a "deviancy amplification cycle" in which additional disruptions were nearly inevitable. These occurrences appeared to validate early suspicions, leading in further media coverage, public protest, and policing, and thus the reaction spiral proceeded. The moral panic happened at a period when society was undergoing tremendous transformation. Increased adolescent spending power and sexual freedom, which blurred moral and class lines and undermined established principles of hard labor and sobriety, sparked fear and animosity among "respectable society". The "creation" of Mods and Rockers supplied "scapegoats" or "folk devils", a deviant minority against which the conforming (nostalgically) might rail. (Greer, 2005, s. 29)

In this study, another influential figure in the examination of the construction of the moral panic approach is Stuart Hall. Hall and his colleagues, in their book 'Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order,' investigate the ideological role of the media in depicting crime and deviance. They discuss an unexpected 'mugging' epidemic in the cities of England in the early 1970s, perceived as a 'new type of crime.' (Hall, 1978) Putting black youths at the center of these events, Daily Mirror reported the issue with the following headline: "Crimes of Violence Escalate, a Word Common In The United States Enters the British Headlines: Mugging. To our Police, it's a frightening new strain of crime." (Hall, 1978, s. 1) While the Daily Mirror continues its coverage of this theme, it provides detailed descriptions of the incident, emphasizing the term 'Mugging' and supplementing it with statistical information regarding the rise in robbery and violent crimes. These news reports continue to be on the agenda for 13 months, and Hall (1978) questions why British society reacted excessively to robbery in the historical conjuncture of that period.

During that period, there existed a crisis of hegemony amid challenging economic conditions, confronting a working class with a tradition of resistance and struggle. At this juncture, securing public consent became more crucial than ever. To strengthen the legitimacy of the working class's resistance, the effective utilization of mechanisms that criminalized behaviors, particularly targeting black youth, was perceived as necessary. In this process, young black men were specifically labeled as

potentially prone to violence. This depiction of crime not only relied on simplistic terms but also utilized alarming images and themes, contributing to the perception of a 'general social crisis' and an increase in crime rates later on. (Hall, 1978) The moral panic that occurred about the robbery mentioned in the study was also widespread in the press in a sensational wave, leading to a situation where local people, experts, and commentators' reactions to the events and the "doomsday scenarios" produced about them resulted in the mobilization of the police against certain segments of the population in the "mugging" areas. According to Hall, this period also signified a crisis in the legal sphere. Laws remained unchanged, adhering to traditional 'tough' or deterrent measures, persisting with the prevailing notion that the only strategy was to 'toughen up. Additionally, while crime became a source of racial tension for blacks living in the city, it was also naturalized. Hall and his colleagues discuss the effects of the 'mugger' representation on young black people living in the city: 'Handsworth case, it is impossible to fall into the trap of thinking that 'mugging' is simply a term for what some poor boys do to some poor victims in the poor areas of our large cities. The effect also serves as a way to legitimize support for coercive legal regulations and, as mentioned above, to establish legitimacy for increased control measures "more than ever before." (Hall, 1978)

In his analysis of the racialization of crime in this representation, Hall also touches on how meaning is fixed. This cliché, which derives its power from the representation, has taken on a fixed meaning by being naturalized as a legacy of colonial times. (Hall, 1985) Hall, who articulates that the fundamental characteristics attributed to black individuals through representation are permanently fixed in nature, explains that the portrayal of black people heavily relies on specific clichés. He highlights how meanings, differences, identities, and subjectivities contribute to forming a 'racialized representation regime'. Moreover, he indicates that this condition endured until the conclusion of the twentieth century. (Hall, 1997)

Based on the perspective of Hall and his colleagues, news is the final product of a complex process that begins with a systematic classification and selection of events and topics based on socially constructed categories. (Hall, 1978) As a source of information for the normative rules of society, news poses a threat to moral understanding while simultaneously reinforcing it. Crime, by its very nature of

deviant behavior and its consequences, creates a threshold in society and ensures media coverage. However, rather than objectively reporting events, the media assumes the role of shaping public opinion about crime, criminals, and abnormal behavior. As the media constructs a general perception of reality in this role, it also shapes the perception of crime itself. Thus, the media is one of the most significant factors in disseminating concepts related to crime. (Hall S., 1978,)

The term 'moral panic' has evolved to encompass various interpretations beyond the examples previously mentioned. Within social science literature and media industries adapting to evolving societies, the concept has matured, giving rise to numerous diverse examples. (David, Rohloff, Petley, & Hughes, 2011) While debates on the extent of impact, adherence to the principle of proportionality, the effect of audience response on policies, or the creation of public demons have led to differentiations, Hier (2008) suggests that, for moral panic to occur, two main focal points must be present:

- a) The interest of elites and/or interest groups responding to specific threats against the dominant social order.
- b) The degree to which moral panics can act to support or not support the dominant regimes of everyday moral regulation and their relationships with the base and/or interest groups.

At this point, it is possible to make a comparison between the perspectives of Hall and Cohen, two prominent approaches to the concept. Cohen's take on moral panic assumes a neutral stance towards society's role, simply stating that 'different readers can make different interpretations (Hunt, 1997) Hall and others' approach, as mentioned in their study, includes the concept of irrational and unjustified reactions, which differentiates it from Cohen's work. Based on this, when the official response to an individual, groups of individuals, or a series of events is disproportionately severe compared to the actual level of threat posed, when various authoritative figures such as police chiefs, judiciary members, politicians, and editors perceive the threat in nearly identical terms and convey unified perspectives on rates, diagnoses, prognoses, and solutions, and when media portrayals consistently

emphasize sudden and sensational increases (in terms of numbers involved or occurrences) and novelty beyond what a rational, realistic assessment could support, then it is justifiable to characterize this as the onset of a moral panic. (Hall S. C., 1978)

Hall accentuates the impact of the period's circumstances, in addition to Cohen, regarding the propagation of panic. He refers to Gramsci's analysis of a 'hegemonic crisis' amidst economic stagnation, political decline, and social unrest in 1970s Britain. In line with Hall's perspective, the moral panic emerging from the amalgamation of societal unease surrounding crime, theft, racial divisions, and poverty signifies an underlying crisis within hegemony. He views this moral panic, spawned by street crimes, as a responsive administrative rationality to the upheaval in economic and political conditions. Hall asserts that this phenomenon was not orchestrated deliberately by the police, government, courts, or influential media but rather emerged from these entities as a reaction to the changing socio-political landscape. (Hall S. C., 1978)

When comparing the two approaches to the concept of moral panic in this study, it can be observed that Cohen's approach generally encompasses the effects of the media's exaggeration of events and individuals or groups during the transformation of youth culture into symbols of deviation and crime. Conversely, Hall and colleagues examined this impact in relation to crime patterns associated with Black communities, emphasizing racial discrimination. Another crucial aspect is the moral panic phenomenon explored by Hall et al., which highlights a crisis concerning judicial and security matters. Even in the absence of legal changes, it prompted the mobilization of police forces against specific segments of the population in 'mugging' areas. According to Hall's perspective, assessing the 'mugging' issue, particularly considering the Handsworth case, in terms of social forces and the accumulating contradictions within it or from a historical context rather than a linear history, has fundamentally altered the nature of the problem. (Özçetin B. , 2010)

Following the comparison made by Jones, the key feature of Cohen's conception of moral panic is his emphasis on societal reaction. His acknowledgment of the mods

and rockers in his title did not signify a primary emphasis on the activities of these subcultures per se. Rather, his main focus was on the broader societal response to these activities. At one juncture, he even characterizes the conduct of the subcultures as simply 'background'. As indicated by Schlesinger, Cohen's approach cross-references Birmingham's subcultural studies and his analysis is 'media-centric'. (Jones, 1997) Additionally, Hall's examination of 'mugging' as a symbol of a crisis in hegemony is more extensive compared to Cohen's analysis of moral panic. When comparing them in terms of the duration of the effects of moral panic cases, Cohen views moral panics as short-lived events that dissipate after a few weeks or months.

In Cohen's analysis, a crucial element in comprehending the response to deviant behavior is the framework surrounding information about such behavior. He posits that 'every society holds certain conceptions about the origins of deviation and a collection of representations that formulate the typology of deviance.' The news, functioning as the primary source of information concerning a society's normative limits, offers insights into what is deemed acceptable or unacceptable, the boundaries that should not be transgressed, and the shapes and stereotypes attributed to deviant behavior. (Güven, 2018) Cohen articulated that the moral panic triggered by street crime during the 1970s led to the emergence of a new perspective termed 'left realism.' This perspective was regarded as both a product of and a reaction to the idealistic position of the left, notably evident in works like 'Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order,' which surfaced in the 1980s. (Hall S. C., 1978) In alignment with Hall and other scholars' perspectives, akin to Cohen's initial analysis, groups categorized as deviant—often distinguished along dominant class, race, and gender lines—are subjected to media scrutiny through specific clichés.

The dominant language patterns in moral panic are intertwined with concepts such as security, sovereignty, and racism. (Welch, 2005) Refugees are frequently depicted as a menace rather than individuals escaping peril, seeking asylum in another country. This portrayal contributes to a moral panic, fueled by the fear that "they" pose a threat to our national security and way of life. (Bilić, 2018) Especially in regards to crime-related topics, or even without specifically addressing crime, according to

Cohen's theory, the creation of a perception of imminent danger for social or political "peace" is enough for the first stage of moral panic to occur. (Cohen S. , 1972)

In examining the current response to asylum seekers in this study, it is necessary to apply the criteria of moral panic. The approach outlined by Goode and Ben Yehuda (1994) will be utilized, and in order to provide a better explanation of the theoretical framework, examples from Cohen and Hall will be considered. In this context, a relationship can be established between asylum seekers comprising the sample of this research and the discourse of crime.

### **3.2. Critical Discourse Analysis**

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) emerged as a means to critically evaluate discourse, uncover underlying ideologies, analyze societal issues, and illuminate the implications of discourse production. Language, along with its dynamic carrier, discourse production, and continuity, plays a pivotal role in the scrutiny conducted by critical discourse analysis. Among the prominent figures in this field, known for their theoretical, methodological, or practical contributions, are Norman Fairclough, Teun A. Van Dijk, Ruth Wodak, Siegfried Jager, and Ron Scollon.

It can be argued that Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) emerged from Foucault's approach to power and discourse. (Oğuz, 2008) This concept was proposed by Fairclough (1998) as a method to explore the connections between language, power, and resistance. The basic principles of the approach were laid out in 1991 by N. Fairclough, G. Kress, T. V. Leuwen, Ruth Wodak, and Teun v. Dijk. Wodak expressed the purpose of critical discourse analysis as examining the social inequality resulting from the processes of explanation, representation, construction, and legitimation that occur through language, from a critical perspective.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) originated as an interdisciplinary field in the 1960s and 1970s, aiming to analyze discourse across various approaches. It explores the nuanced contexts of power, domination, hegemony, class differences, gender, race, and ideology. According to Van Dijk, CDA does not merely an analytical

method but a wide-ranging research area integrating critical analysis, theory, and practice. It emphasizes the social practice of language and other representational systems to scrutinize their social and ideological dimensions. CDA examines diverse forms of discourse, including texts, speeches, and visual media, to uncover discursive underpinnings behind social phenomena like power dynamics, hegemony, inequality, and biases. It delves into how these discursive elements are created and perpetuated within societal, political, and historical contexts. (Van Dijk T. A., 2001)

Fairclough and Wodak (2001) summarize the main principles of critical discourse analysis in their article, "Critical Discourse Analysis" as follows:

- Critical discourse analysis addresses social problems.
- Power relations are discursive.
- Discourse shapes society and culture.
- Discourse is ideological work.
- Discourse is historical.
- The connection between text and society is indirect.
- Discourse analysis is both interpretive and explanatory.
- Discourse is a form of social action.

Van Dijk (2001) argues that the relationship between discourse and the social dimension is carried out by mental models, while Fairclough proposes that this task is fulfilled by discourse practices, i.e. text production and consumption. Ruth Wodak, on the other hand, sees ideology as an important element in establishing and maintaining equal power relations for critical discourse analysis. Wodak's perspective indicates that the dominant structures that produce, structure, and interpret discourse are legitimized by the ideologies of powerful groups. Van Dijk (2019), on the other hand, acknowledges that ideologies are expressed through discourse but also notes that they are distinct from discourse. He argues that ideologies are not personal but are social cognitive forms used by individuals. Ideologies, defined as the belief systems of social groups and movements, are used not only to make sense of the world (from the group's perspective) but also to provide a basis for the group members' social practices. Typically, ideologies arising from group conflict and struggle enable a comparison to be made between "us" and

"them." However, while group members' ideologies and social practices are closely related, Van Dijk emphasizes that these are distinct concepts and that ideologies cannot be reduced simply to "ideological practices."

Van Dijk is one of the main theorists associated with critical discourse analysis in the field of media and discourse, particularly since the 1980s. He describes CDA as an interdisciplinary field rather than a method, and his work has been influential in shaping this perspective. Teun V. Dijk's critical discourse studies have been influenced by the approaches of post-structuralist theorists such as M. Foucault, L. Althusser, V. Voloshinov, M. Pecheux, P. Bourdieu, M. Bakhtin, C. Mouffe, E. Laclau, and N. Luhmann.

According to Dijk, discourse analysis encompasses social, cultural, and political dimensions. The model he developed, known as socio-cognitive critical discourse analysis, aligns with this perspective. Van Dijk (2015) further emphasizes that critical discourse analysis serves as a bridge between micro and macro approaches. Through this method, one can uncover the underlying meanings and implications within a text. Therefore, employing critical discourse analysis is the most comprehensive approach to examining ideological messages in a text, determining their intended audience, how they are conveyed, and by whom.

One of the core tenets of discourse analysis involves elucidating text and speech through theories developed for various levels and dimensions of discourse. While classical linguistics and semiotics typically distinguish between form (signifiers) and meaning (signifieds), contemporary discourse analysis necessitates a separate yet interconnected examination of phonetic, graphic, phonological, morphological, syntactic, micro and semantic, stylistic, superstructural, rhetorical, pragmatic, conversational, relational, and other structures and strategies present in both text and speech. Each of these levels possesses its distinct structures that can be interpreted or processed at different levels, both within and beyond the traditional linguistic boundaries of the sentence, and within broader usage and communication contexts. Such a multifaceted structure extends beyond mere textual analysis alone; it also elucidates the interplay between text and speech structures within their cognitive, social, cultural, or historical milieus. (Van Dijk T., 2007) His context is not a type of

social environment or variable such as age, gender, or race, but rather subjective mental representations of the participants related to the communicative environment's characteristics. These mental representations are called context models. Understanding the meaning of the text and speech within the context is also the understanding of discourse. (Van Dijk T. , 2008)

Van Dijk (2015) asserts that contextual models of communicative events regulate the correlation between discourse production and the social environment. Social variables like class, gender, and ethnicity, influencing language usage, function through subjective mental representations. Moreover, these representations are not solely subjective; they entail personal and social cognitive processes.

While discourse analysis is concerned with the reproduction of domination through texts or speeches - that is, discourse - it asks the following questions to analyze discursive power :

1. How is the dominant group able to control through discourse?
2. How are the mental processes and actions of the powerless controlled by these discourses, and what role do they play in creating social inequality?
3. How can the controlled group resist the imposed power through discourse?

The last question, addressing the abuse of power, is a fundamental inquiry to unveil power dynamics in the media and the reconstruction of discourses. Critical discourse analysis facilitates the identification of power relations embedded within discourse. He emphasizes, through the aforementioned questions, that this approach concentrates on the interplay among cognition, discourse, and society, as well as the management of discourse, rather than focusing solely on an objective social context. This triangular relationship formed by these dimensions permits an understanding of both local and global contexts of discourse. (Van Dijk T. , 2003)

A critical discourse analysis should encompass not just context-oriented examination, but also delve into various discourse structures and levels including linguistic, visual, auditory, semantic, syntactic, and stylistic dimensions. The critical

discourse analysis model is frequently favored for uncovering ideological elements present in news texts discussing concepts like racism, marginalization, and prejudice, particularly those that pertain to refugees. It is also commonly employed to study media representations of refugees. (Van Dijk T. , 2006) This approach has also been used in many news studies in Türkiye.

Van Dijk contends that social power is established through linguistic practices and seeks to unveil the various forms of power present in discourse by analyzing their relationship. He suggests that the choice of news and its sources serves as a means to establish and perpetuate social power. Hence, linguistic communication, speech styles, and various communicative elements are scrutinized to identify the structures, strategies, and actions that construct positions of power. (Sancar, 2008) His linguistic analysis includes two separate categories: "syntax" and "semantics." In the syntax category, the grammar structure of sentences is explained, while in the semantic category, the meaning of the entire discourse is taken into account. Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis comprises two main categories: macro and micro. The macro analysis covers 'thematic' and 'schematic' structures, encompassing the examination of titles, news introductions, main events, news sources, contextual and background information, and photographs. Conversely, micro-structure analysis involves scrutinizing syntactic elements, discourse coherence, lexical choices, and rhetorical features within news content.

The method can be listed as follows (Van Dijk, 2001):

A. Macro Structure

1. Thematic Structure

a. Headlines (main, sub, or side headlines)

b. Leads/ Spots (If there is no spot, the first paragraph of the news text should be taken. If the news consists of a single paragraph, the first sentence can be taken as the lead.)

c. Photographs

2. Schematic Structure

a. Circumstances

3. Main events

4. Results
3. Background
4. Context
5. News story
6. Comments
- B. Microstructure
  1. Syntactic Analysis
  2. Semantic Analysis
  3. Stylistic Analysis (Word Choices)
  4. Rhetorical

Van Dijk (2007) highlights that in crime-related news, a prevalent method involves employing racial labels that are often unrelated to the content. Thus, analyzing semantic implications of indirect references, ideological implications like irrelevant details about news actors, and implicitly suggestive statements that obscure the unsaid might offer more insight than solely focusing on the explicit text.

## CHAPTER 4

### METHODOLOGY

#### 4.1. Collection of the data

This study employs a qualitative design and relies on the method of Critical Discourse Analysis, which involves collecting and analyzing non-numerical data. Van Dijk's thematic analysis of macro-structures was adopted for the study (1988, 1985, 2008). Data was collected from search engines and archive search pages of the examined newspapers, and the findings were analyzed using the Maxqda software program. Although the distribution of news in the examined newspapers varies, 21 crime-themed news articles featuring Syrian asylum seekers were included in the study. Equal number of news selection was not taken into consideration, as qualifications that could diversify the discourses were taken into consideration instead of the number of news items.

This study aims to examine the representation of Syrian asylum seekers in the news in three national newspapers published on their websites from different perspectives by examining the news of Sözcü, Yeni Çağ, and Yeni Akit newspapers. In the selection of newspapers, factors such as the density of criminal publications against Syrian refugees and editorial perspectives were considered, and newspapers that represented Islamist conservative, nationalist, and secular nationalist views and had different positions near the government were selected. First, a data pool was created by choosing the words immigrant, asylum seeker, refugee, and Syrian national to be used while scanning. The selected news was obtained by scanning the newspaper headlines based on keywords through the search engine on each newspaper's official web page<sup>1</sup>. As a result of the scanning, the news published in Yeni Çağ, Sözcü, and

---

<sup>1</sup> Yeni Çağ Gazetesi (<https://www.yenicaggazetesi.com.tr/>)  
Sözcü Gazetesi (<https://www.sozcu.com.tr/>)  
Yeni Akit Gazetesi (<https://www.yeniakit.com.tr/>)

Yeni Akit newspapers were examined and aimed to select different news for four themes from every newspaper. In the next part of the study, crime-themed news about Syrian asylum seekers will be examined with the method of critical discourse analysis. Since critical discourse analysis does not have a specific data collection method. (Meyer, 2001) qualitative research data collection methods were used in this study.

#### 4.2. Research Questions

In the titles of the crime-themed news analyzed in the newspapers, the discourse concerning Syrian asylum seekers as victims or perpetrators of crime has been disclosed. This study aimed to address the following questions in this chapter:

- How are Syrian asylum seekers represented, and how are their identities constructed in crime news within printed media?
- How are representations of asylum seekers in printed media legitimized based on the newspaper's political stance?
- How might the portrayal of Syrian asylum seekers in crime news be connected to the phenomenon of moral panic?

**Table 4. 1.** The political orientations of newspapers

	<b>Title</b>	<b>Political Orientation</b>
<b>Newspapers</b>	Yeni Çağ	Nationalist
	Sözcü	Secular Nationalist
	Yeni Akit	Islamic Nationalist

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **ANALYSIS**

#### **5.1. Makro Structure Analysis**

In this category, a theme is developed while the news texts are managed with macro propositions. Van Dijk noted using the term 'theoretical superstructures' to differentiate semantic organization from macrostructures but also employed the more general term 'schema' for ease of reference. Consequently, the headline stands as the opening category of the schema. However, many newspapers do not feature a separate lead, often marked by bold type, rendering this category optional. Other recognized news categories include background or quotations, referred to as verbal reactions. These elements generally do not form a part of the news events but provide general context or detail historical, political, and social conditions. The last part of a news article is the comment section, which is also an optional category encompassing expectations, speculations, or additional details about the news conclusion provided by the journalist. (Van Dijk T. , 2011)

In summary, macro structural analysis involves examining various elements such as headlines, news introductions, key points or the first paragraph of news text, main events, news sources, background and contextual information, comments or evaluations from the involved parties, photographs, etc.. (Özer, 2011) In this study, if there is no news entry element of the thematic structure as explained above, the first paragraph of the news will be taken as the basis.

##### **5.1.1. Thematic Structure Review**

The thematic structure is the first element to be examined at the macro level. Thematic structure, as understood, comprises larger elements such as titles and

subtitles, serving as cues for readers to discern the main theme of the text. Headlines, notably, play a pivotal role in signaling the subject of the discourse. (Van Dijk T. , 1988) These parameters serve as crucial elements for the reader's comprehension of the text's theme. Consequently, it becomes possible to analyze whether an ideological perspective is communicated to the reader through processes like information reduction, editing, and generalization within these structures that shape the news discourse.

Furthermore, photography is encompassed within the macro structure, as it has the potential to influence the discourse presented in headlines and news entries. Therefore, the utilization of photographs in crime-themed news articles represents another aspect under scrutiny in this study. "News texts are the first and most important texts where photographs find their application area. News is the privileged text where photographs find their most meaningful form in the cause-and-effect relationship of photo usage. For this reason, news articles have become the most common area of use for photographs. In practice, the term 'press photo' is sometimes used instead of 'news photo' due to this widespread usage." (Atik & Gezgin, 2017)

The following semantic categories proposed by Teun van Dijk (1993) will be used in the analysis of the findings to be obtained using critical discourse analysis (p.264):

- a) Argumentation: negative evaluations from the 'facts'.
- b) Rhetorical figures: 'their' negative actions and 'our' positive actions, euphemisms and denials.
- c) Lexical style: choice of words that include negative or positive evaluations.
- d) Storytelling: telling from negative events as personal experience; providing convincing details about the events' negative aspects.
- e) Structural emphasis of 'their' negative actions: mentioning negative agents in headlines, leads, summaries, sentence syntax, or other properties of text schemata.
- f) Quoting credible witnesses, sources or experts.

In the analysis of news texts, the additional following questions were created by using the parts of rhetorical means and institutional framework in Jäger's method (Jäger, 2001):

- Does the language and graphic contexts of texts include any symbols or any metaphors?
- Does the texts include any target group?
- What is the effect of the discourse in headline/spot?
- What is the effect of the article on the main and subordinate discourses in this subject area?
- What is the general characterization of the newspaper?

This study focused on thematic structure analysis, aiming to systematically examine the news headlines on a particular theme. Consequently, schematic structure analysis of the macro structure was not included in this study. In the analysis segment of this thesis, attention will be given to the examination of titles and news entries to infer the news theme, thereby providing insights into the macro structure. Out of the selected 21 news articles, emphasis will be placed on elements such as information reduction, generalization, and construction. To align with the study's objectives, not all news articles pertaining to Syrian asylum seekers in the mentioned newspapers were analyzed. Instead, the focus was specifically on incidents involving Syrian asylum seekers, either as perpetrators or victims of crime. It is notable that a majority of crimes reported by media outlets are associated with interpersonal violence, comprising the majority of reported crimes according to official statistics (Chermak & Chapman, 2007) The news articles scanned and included in the study during the relevant dates also confirm this.

The crime themes of the news examined in this study are as follows:

- Theme 1: Safety of Women and Children
- Theme 2: Social Disruption and Conflict
- Theme 3: Illegal Immigration and Border Security
- Theme 4: Threat of Security

## 5.2. Analysis of News Headlines

### 5.2.1. Theme 1: Safety of Women and Children

This theme focuses on news articles that highlight crimes involving women and children, regardless of whether they are the perpetrator/suspect or the victim from asylum seekers community. These articles evoke a sense of sensitivity and highlight the need for increased protection for these groups. They often use emotive language to highlight the shocking nature of the crimes and advocate for stronger protection and support systems.

Yeni Çağ Newspaper/9 June 2020

Headline: Syrian brutality darkened Yusuf's life: Feed the crow and it'll gouge your eye.

Lead/Spot: 11-year-old Yusuf Aktaş, who went to the fountain to get water in Kars, was attacked by 3 Syrian children under the pretext of splashing water. Yusuf Aktaş, who recounted the incident, stated that two people held him while the other one stabbed his eye with a stick. 11-year-old Aktas wants to be treated to prevent the loss of his left eye, which has not been affected by the injury in his right eye.



**Figure 5. 1.** (Yeni Çağ, 09.06.2020)

The thematic structure analysis reveals several concerning elements within the news article. Primarily, the headline lacks clarity regarding the incident and news theme. The phrase 'feeding the crow to peck its eye out,' used in reference to refugees, implies 'doing evil to the good,' comparing Türkiye to Syrian asylum seekers as hosts and guests. This proverb in the headline results in a broad generalization, branding all Syrian asylum seekers as 'ungrateful' based on an incident involving two individuals. Moreover, the commentary overlooks crucial details, such as the perpetrator being a child. By using the phrase 'Syrian brutality' in reporting the news, the portrayal of Syrian asylum seekers as criminals and threats is perpetuated. As the headline does not contain enough information about the incident, the spot of the news can be read to reach the information about where and when the incident took place. The detail that the perpetrator given as the culprit of the incident is "Syrian" is also an unrelated association to the incident. In addition, details about the way the incident happened lead to a perception that refugees are ruthless.

Photo: Two photos of the victim child are used in the news. In one of them, emphasizing the dramatic aspect of the news, the victim child can be seen crying.

Yeni Akit Newspaper/14 August 2021

Headline: Despicable, heartless people! What was the sin of this innocent child?  
Syrian child injured in Altındağ: 'Please don't kill me.'

Lead/Spot: After being injured by stones thrown in Altındağ, the Syrian child responded to the question "What do you want to say to the bad people?" by saying, "Please don't kill me!"



**Figure 5. 2.** (Yeni Akit, 14.08.2021)

The thematic structure analysis of the news article centers on a lynching incident involving Syrian asylum seekers in Altındağ. The article's headline takes a sympathetic stance toward the targeted asylum seekers, highlighting their victimization, particularly through the statement of an injured child involved in the incident. The introduction of the news article sets a dramatic tone, emphasizing the tragic aspect of the events. However, it lacks background information regarding the incident's context. It highlights the child's injury caused by thrown stones but fails to delve into the underlying reasons or circumstances leading to the lynching incident on the specified date. Instead of a photograph, a video about the child's statement is used in the news article. In addition to the expressions used by the child, her injured appearance also reflects the tragedy of the incident.

Yeni Çağ Newspaper/1 December 2021

Headline: A Syrian man punched a woman going to work and knocked her unconscious. Feed the crow so it will scoop out your eye.

Lead/Spot: Tuğba Serbest was attacked with a punch by Ibrahim Talep while she was going to work in Konak, Izmir. Serbest fainted from the punch she received, and the attacker was arrested by police teams. The moments were captured on camera.



Figure 5. 3. (Yeni Çağ, 01.12.2021)

Thematic structure analysis: In the headline of the news article, specific details about the incident were provided, focusing on the suspect's name, nationality, and immigrant status. The usage of the proverb 'feed the crow so it will scoop out your eye,' implying harming those who do good, aimed to depict the suspect as an 'other' within the news content. Furthermore, this phrase was employed in reference to the host-guest comparison between Türkiye and Syrian asylum seekers. Additionally, this statement is a reference to the fact that they responded unfairly to Türkiye's hosting of Syrian immigrants under temporary protection. By extrapolating from a single event, the article appeared to categorize all Syrian asylum seekers as 'ungrateful.' Additionally, the term 'Syrian brutality' used in depicting the incident seemed to portray them as a criminal and threatening element.

Sözcü Newspaper/19 January 2022

Headline: A Syrian spreads terror! He killed and buried.

Lead/Spot: It has been revealed that Nasir A., a Syrian national who was arrested 10 days ago for killing his wife's cousin in Erdemli district of Mersin, also killed his missing 4-month pregnant wife, Rim A. (23), whom he accused of not giving him her social media password, and buried her in the reeds in their backyard.



**Figure 5. 4.** (Sözcü, 19.01.2022)

Thematic structure analysis: The headline of the news article emphasizes the identity of the perpetrator and provides specific details about the murder, highlighting the phrase 'spreads terror.' This statement, containing elements of fear and hatred, could be categorized as a phobic representation. Additionally, the focus on the 'Syrian' identity of the perpetrator in a sensational manner within the headline tends to reinforce the criminalization of all asylum seekers, further enhancing the subjective view of the incident.

Photo: There is a photo in the news that is thought to belong to the crime scene of a reed bed surrounded by security barriers.

### 5.2.2. Theme 2: Social Disruption and Conflict

This theme encompasses news articles that uncover conflicts, tensions, or instances of lynching between local residents and Syrian asylum seekers within a community. These articles often accentuate differences between various groups, possibly emphasizing Syrian identity. Through analysis, this theme aimed to uncover whether the discourse perpetuates stereotypes, exacerbates tensions, and contributes to societal prejudice, or if it emphasizes empathy and compassion.

Yeni Çağ /4 June 2019

Headline: Syrian asylum seekers attacked local residents.

Lead/Spot: Lead/Spot: Kocaeli's Gölcük district turned into a battlefield as a fight erupted between Syrian asylum seekers and local residents. Following the incident, in which the police intervened by firing shots in the air, the Syrians were evacuated from the area.



Figure 5. 5. (Yeni Çağ, 04.06.2019)

Thematic structure analysis: The article's headline places emphasis on Syrian asylum seekers as the central figures without delving into the incident's details. It depicts them as the aggressors in the conflict, labeled as 'attacking' the local community. This portrayal positions the asylum seekers as potential criminals and insinuates a threat to public safety.

The use of strong and violent language such as 'battlefield' and 'clash' heightens the article's alarmist tone. Highlighting police intervention is portrayed as a positive step, suggesting a narrative where the asylum seekers were unruly and required restraint. Overall, the article reinforces negative stereotypes, portraying asylum seekers as dangerous, unmanageable, and a threat to local communities.

Photo: The article includes a generic image depicting a large crowd, not directly linked to the incident discussed. The caption beneath the photo, 'Dangerous tension before the holiday,' perpetuates the negative depiction of asylum seekers as potential threats to the community. This image further solidifies the article's portrayal of asylum seekers as violent and unsafe.

Overall, the article adopts a sensationalist and biased tone, framing the asylum seekers as a peril to the local community. Through the use of intense language and emphasis on police intervention, it perpetuates adverse stereotypes, potentially contributing to the increased marginalization of this vulnerable population.

Sözcü Newspaper/15 July 2019

Headline: Tension between local people and Syrians in district! People revolted.

Lead/Spot: In Turgutlu district of Manisa, two Turkish citizens were injured in a fight between locals and Syrians, in which knives, stones, and sticks were used. The police prevented the tension from escalating by using pepper spray and firing warning shots. The Syrian family was taken to a safer place under heavy security measures, and the angry crowd dispersed after talking to the CHP Turgutlu Mayor Çetin Akın who came to the scene.



**Figure 5. 6.** (Sözcü, 15.07.2019)

Thematic structure analysis: headline and lead of the news article lack specific information about the cause of the incident. The use of the words 'Suriyeli' (meaning 'Syrian' in Turkish) and 'gerginlik' (meaning 'tension' in Turkish) together in the headline creates a perception that the tension is attributed to Syrians, potentially legitimizing discriminatory attitudes. The absence of information about the source of the incident in the headline aims to pique the reader's curiosity. Furthermore, while the news text reports no legal consequences for the group involved in the altercation, it implies through the headline that locals retaliated due to an incident involving Syrian asylum seekers. The mention that the injured individuals were Turkish indirectly identifies the refugees as instigators and a security hazard.

Photo: Four photos and a video of a group of men believed to be present during the incident are used in the news. In addition, the video in the lead of the news includes the subtitle "Syrians sent two Turks to the hospital." The photos do not include the materials used by the parties, and there is a visual of a gendarmerie vehicle that is thought to have intervened in the incident. It can be stated that the photos are compatible with the theme of the news.

Yeni Akit Newspaper/30 September 2021

Headline: Dangerous tension in Torbalı, İzmir! They burned the houses and vehicles of Syrians.

Lead/Spot: An attack was launched on the sites where Syrians live intensively in the district of Torbalı in İzmir. In the incidents, the homes and vehicles of Syrians were set on fire.



Figure 5. 7. (Yeni Akit, 30.09.2021)

Thematic structure analysis: The headline and introduction of the news adopt a descriptive narrative, depicting asylum seekers as the victims of a lynching incident, described as a 'dangerous tension.' This phrasing downplays the severity of the lynching incident by portraying it as a mere tension.

Photo: The news includes a visual depiction of a burning car and shop, along with a firefighting vehicle attending to the scene. The chosen photo aligns with the news article's thematic focus.

Yeni Çağ Newspaper/11 August 2021

Headline: Dangerous development in Ankara: A knife fight between foreign nationals and Turks: 1 in serious condition, 2 injured.

Lead/Spot: Two Turkish citizens were injured in the knife fight that broke out between neighborhood residents and foreign citizens in the park in Ankara's Altındağ district. A group of approximately 100 people came together after the incident and damaged workplaces and vehicles belonging to foreigners.



Figure 5. 8. (Yeniçağ, 11.08.2021)

Thematic structure analysis: The title of the news aligns with its theme but does not explicitly mention the nationality or immigrant status of the asylum seekers. However, emphasizing the ethnic identities of both the perpetrator and the victim through specified details like name and age contributes to the creation of an 'us-versus-them' narrative. This emphasizes a perceived 'threat-danger' scenario, potentially raising security concerns. The news, covering the lynching of Syrian asylum seekers and the subsequent detention of the perpetrators, implies a portrayal of refugees as a potential security threat to the citizens.

Photo: The news featured a photograph depicting a densely gathered group of people along with a police officer and car. The visual highlighted people taking to the streets, emphasizing the chaotic atmosphere of the situation.

Sözcü Newspaper/11 August 2021

Headline: After the knife fight, reaction towards refugees: 2 injured.

Lead/Spot: The incident occurred yesterday evening in a park located in Battalgazi Neighborhood. An argument erupted between two groups for reasons yet to be determined. Allegedly, the argument escalated into a fight, during which a foreign national, identified as Y.A, reportedly wounded Emirhan Yalçın (18) and Ali Yasin Güler with a knife before fleeing the scene. After the incident, residents of the neighborhood gathered in the park where the incident took place and reacted. Approximately 100 people damaged workplaces and vehicles belonging to foreigners. Police teams had difficulty calming down the events. Then, Altındağ District Governor Cumali Atilla came to the scene and met with the residents of the neighborhood and persuaded them to return to their homes.



**Figure 5. 9.** (Sözcü, 11.08.2021)

Thematic structure analysis: The news story covering the lynching attacks in Ankara Altındağ on August 11 lacked the 'spot' element, and the initial paragraph did not include the reaction mentioned in the title. The analysis considered both the opening and concluding paragraphs. The details about the alleged perpetrator were limited, but the term 'foreign er' was used in the remainder of the news story in reference to individuals residing in the area known for hosting refugees. When examining the overall news delivery, despite the incident being a case of mass assault and a subject of legal proceedings, it was reported using terms that downplayed its severity, portraying it as a relatively minor act of violence

Photo: A photograph showing a crowded group of people and a police officer and car was used in the news.

### 5.2.3. Theme 3: Illegal Immigration and Border Security

This theme generally reflects an emphasis on border security and law enforcement response to illegal immigration and human smuggling.

Yeniçağ Newspaper/ 1 September 2020

Headline: “They enter Türkiye waving their hands and arms: like a roadside inn at the Iranian border.”

Lead/Spot: Illegal immigrants continue to enter Türkiye, which is the country hosting the most refugees in the world. Illegal immigrants, who enter Türkiye from the Iranian border, aim to go to Erzurum via Van and Ağrı without any formalities and 1000 dollars to human traffickers.



Figure 5. 10. (Yeniçağ, 1.08.2020)

Thematic structure analysis: The headline, which aims to highlight border security concerns, provocatively states that migrants entered Türkiye without permission, 'waving their hands and arms' (indicating an unhindered entry). The tone of the paragraph insinuates that the primary intention of the illegal migrants is to reach Europe, emphasizing the Iranian border as a gateway for unauthorized entries and human trafficking.

Photo: A photograph thought to have been taken from a drone, showing illegal immigrants on the migration route in a rural area, is used in the news.

Sözcü Newspaper/ 10 August 2021

Headline: 28 illegal immigrants were found in a 14-seater minibus.

Lead/Spot: 30 Syrian nationals, 28 of whom were illegal immigrants, were caught in a 14-seater minibus stopped by the police in Osmaniye. The driver, A.Y.S., who was taken into custody, was fined 56,730 TL.



**Figure 5. 11.** (Sözcü, 10.08.2021)

Thematic structure analysis: The news title uses the term 'illegal' to describe asylum seekers entering Türkiye through irregular means. Highlighting the Syrian nationality

of asylum seekers at the start of the news links them to illegality and potential criminalization.

Photo: Two photos and a video were used in the news, showing the mentioned Syrian asylum seekers in front of a police station and the provincial migration authority.

#### 5.2.4. Theme 4: Threat of Security

This thematic category encompasses crime-related news featuring fraud, extortion, robbery, and organized crimes like historical artifact smuggling. The objective is to conduct a critical analysis to ascertain whether these news articles contribute to a narrative of internal insecurity, possibly perpetuating stereotypes.

Yeni Çağ Newspaper/28 May 2020

Headline: Brutality among Syrians in the heart of Istanbul, they drank together and then cut each other.

Lead/Spot: Three individuals of Syrian nationality, who were so drunk that they could not stand on their feet in Laleli, stabbed each other.



Figure 5. 12. (Yeni Çağ, 28.05.2020)

Thematic structure analysis: The news article's title, featuring the phrase 'Syrian brutality,' hyperbolically portrays Syrian asylum seekers as an exaggerated criminal and threat factor within a locally significant incident. Additionally, the focus on the

Syrian identity of the involved parties, coupled with the phrase 'drank together and then cut each other,' symbolically associates this event as a security threat tied to the identity of asylum seekers. Consequently, this representation symbolizes the presence of asylum seekers as a security issue.

Photo: A photograph is used in the news article which shows a few individuals, with one of the injured lying on the ground and being camouflaged, and is believed to be from the scene of the incident.

Sözcü Newspaper/11 June 2019

Headline: Syrians are pushing the boundaries of violence in Esenyurt.

Lead/Spot: In Esenyurt, Istanbul, fights involving Syrians have sent shivers down the spine. In the first incident, Syrians who had enmity between them attacked each other mercilessly. One of the Syrians, grabbed a wooden plank from a mosque courtyard, assaulted the individuals he was fighting with. A Syrian was severely injured under heavy blows. In another incident in Esenyurt, 5-6 Syrians armed with sticks attacked another person. The person they knocked down was saved from lynching by people around him. The shocked locals in the area experienced moments filled with fear.

Thematic structure analysis: This news article, focusing on the incidents involving Syrian asylum seekers in Esenyurt, portrays events in a negative light. The choice of words, such as 'violence' and 'blood-curdling fights,' dramatizes the events, potentially aiming to depict Syrian asylum seekers as dangerous and prone to violence through an exaggerated presentation. Moreover, the article lacks contextual information about the root causes of the events, which might lead readers to perceive the incidents superficially and without proper understanding. This absence of context, as per Van Dijk's approach, might contribute to forming a negative image by disproportionately highlighting the role of Syrian asylum seekers in the events. Additionally, the news text positively portrays the local population by highlighting their intervention as 'bystanders.' This rhetorical strategy appears aimed at presenting the local community in a positive light in contrast to Syrian asylum seekers.

Sözcü Newspaper/30 June 2021

Headline: Gendarmerie conducted an operation against Syrian drug dealers.

Lead/Spot: The gendarmerie teams, who are working against drug traffickers in Istanbul, conducted an operation against a gang of 5 people consisting of Syrians.

Thematic structure analysis: The headline directly conveys information about the incident. However, the explicit mention of "Syrians" alongside the drug dealers in the title, while unrelated to the detailed news content, may inadvertently create an association between illegal activities and asylum seekers. This could potentially lead to the perception of asylum seekers as a security concern due to their presence, despite the absence of any direct connection between the two in the news content.

Sözcü Newspaper/5 August 2019

Headline: A Syrian woman who was stealing money from tourists in Taksim Square was caught.

Lead/Spot: A Syrian woman thief who stole money from the bags of tourists in Taksim Square was collared after the tourist noticed the situation. The thief was taken into custody and brought to the police station.



**Figure 5. 13.** (Sözcü, 05.08.2019)

Thematic structure analysis: The headline of the news aligns with the information presented in the introduction, being informative. However, there's an unnecessary

emphasis on the suspect/thief's ethnic identity and gender, which appears irrelevant to both categories.

Photo: Instead of photo, a video is used in this news. The video includes a dialogue between two people, apparently plainclothes police, and the suspect woman after the moment of the incident.

Yeniçağ Newspaper/18 February 2020

Headline: Interesting statement from a Syrian thief: "I am Syrian, you cannot touch me.

Lead/Spot: In Istanbul, when the thief who entered Prof. Dr. Zeki Fındıkoğlu's car was caught, he said, "I am Syrian, you cannot touch me." Zeki Fındıkoğlu's wife Nuriye Fındıkoğlu intervened and took the Syrian thief out of the vehicle. Many stolen items were found on the thief.



Figure 5. 14. (Yeniçağ, 18.02.2020)

Thematic structure analysis: Firstly, the intention appears to be creating a memorable impact on the reader's mind by quoting a section from the alleged thief's statement in the headline. The aim, reflected in the initial paragraph of the news, is to stress the perpetrator's assertion, indicating that being Syrian would exempt him from punishment, irrespective of the action taken. Additionally, across all news articles, credibility is enhanced through the use of numerical data—a persuasion technique highlighted by Van Dijk. The phrase "many" was employed in the opening paragraph for this specific purpose

Photo: An photo of the car in question and the people thought to be the victims was used in the news with headline.

Yeni Akit Newspaper/4 Ocak 2020

Headline: Conscience-stricken thief returned what was stolen.

Lead/Spot: The thief who stole a wheelchair in Ankara brought the chair back because he felt remorse.



**Figure 5. 15.** (Yeni Akit, 04.01.2020)

Thematic structure analysis: Yeni Akit, which is generally seen to be less likely to report on crime incidents in which Syrian asylum seekers are involved as perpetrators, used an emotional expression in this news headline and spot, stating that the person who allegedly stole the wheelchair from a Syrian asylum seeker brought it back due to remorse.

Photo: Instead of a photograph, an image with siluet thought to represent the theme was used in the news.

Yeniçağ Newspaper/4 January 2019

Headline: Syrians killed a Syrian by cutting his throat!

Lead/Spot: Syrian Mohammed Abdo, who was wanted missing in Adana, was found dead with his throat cut. It was claimed that two Syrians, who were detained as murder suspects, killed Muhammed Abdo for his car



**Figure 5. 16.** (Yeniçağ, 4.01.2019)

Thematic structure analysis: In the headline of the news, emphasis was placed on the identity of the perpetrator and the murder details, highlighting the Syrian origin of both the perpetrator and the victim. The expression used portrayed the harm inflicted by members of the same group on each other, rather than focusing on the news content. Furthermore, the sensational style and emphasis on the 'Syrian' identity of the perpetrator reinforce the subjective view of the incident

Photo: In the photo, an image that appears to belong to the suspect, who is handcuffed and detained under police custody, is used.

Yeni Akit Newspaper /28 April 2020

Headline: Police officer who shot Syrian young arrested.

Lead/Spot: The police officer who caused the death of a Syrian young man when his gun accidentally went off during an operation in Adana was arrested.



**Figure 5. 17.** (Yeni Akit, 28.04.2020)

Thematic structure analysis: The article adopts an explanatory headline and shares elements related to the identity of the victim and the fact that the perpetrator is a police officer, the discourse is strengthened by quoting official sources.

Photo: There is a photograph was used showing the young man in the news lying on a stretcher and a paramedic helping him.

Sözcü Newspaper/8 December 2021

Headline: 700 historical artifacts were found in the house of a Syrian smuggler.

Lead/Spot: Anti-Smuggling & Organized Crime Department (KOM) teams carried out an operation on a house in Adana's Seyhan district. During the search, 250 coins from the Roman period, 20 statues with animal and human figures from the Hittite period, 420 figurines and objects from the Roman and Byzantine periods, and 167 equipment used to cleaning historical artifacts were seized. A Syrian national related to the incident was taken into custody. The suspect, who was referred to court, was released under judicial supervision.



**Figure 5. 18.** (Sözcü, 08.12.2021)

Thematic structure analysis: The news headline aligns with the content. However, the emphasis on the Syrian identity within the news text, detached from criminal aspects, amplifies the representation of Syrians in crime-related news.

Yeniçağ Newspaper/ 3 February 2020

Headline: Syrians raided the restaurant run by Syrians with cleavers.

Lead/Spot: In Istanbul, a group of Syrians stormed a restaurant with swords, machetes, and axes due to debts. Four individuals from the group, who raided the restaurant operated by Syrians and also robbed some money from the cash register, have been arrested.



Figure 5. 19. (Yeniçağ, 03.02.2020)

Thematic structure analysis: The news article incorporates various terms detailing the violent incident and underscores the shared ethnic identity between the perpetrator and the victim, emphasizing the harm inflicted upon each other. It portrays a representation that indicates an internal threat to peace and security within the group of Syrians identified as the 'other'.

Photo: The photo includes an image thought to represent the people in the restaurant where the incident took place.

Sözcü Newspaper/5 April 2022

Headline: 93 illegal immigrants caught at the Syria- Türkiye border.

Lead/Spot: 93 illegal immigrants trying to cross into Türkiye around the Ermiş Border Police Station in the Çobanbey town of Syria were caught. It was learned that

the illegal immigrants were sent back to the region they came from in Syria after their interrogation and checks.



**Figure 5. 20.** (Sözcü, 05.04.2022)

Thematic structure analysis: The news referred to the individuals as immigrants, yet by emphasizing their 'illegal' status within the context of border security, it further perpetuates an image of uncertainty and insecurity regarding refugee representation, thereby reinforcing the perception of the 'other'.

Photo: A photo of deported immigrants was used in the news.

### **5.3. Results and Discussion**

This part of chapter aims to compare the discourse analysis findings of the examined news articles, address the research questions outlined in the introduction, and discuss the correlation between these findings and the concept of moral panic. A total of 21 crime-themed news articles from the websites of three national newspapers were subjected to critical discourse analysis using Van Dijk's method. The analysis encompassed headlines, leads (spots), and accompanying photographs, categorizing the news into four main themes.

The examination of crime-related articles from the Yeni Çağ newspaper revealed a lack of detailed information regarding the causes of incidents. Upon scrutinizing

news articles within this context, a discernible pattern emerges where discussions about Syrian asylum seekers cast as perpetrators predominantly center on tangible aspects such as the method and location of the crime or underscore the victim's ethnic background rather than furnishing nuanced insights into the contextual underpinnings of the incidents. Most of the scrutinized news exhibit a deficiency in detailing the precipitating factors behind the crimes, with a notable proportion employing language lacking constructive elements. Notably, in news articles portraying asylum seekers as suspects, there is a tendency to portray them as potentially guilty. Interestingly, within the specified date range, no articles depicted Syrian asylum seekers as victims. Instead, asylum seekers were consistently linked to security issues and were uniformly referred to as 'Syrians' rather than 'asylum seekers' throughout all analyzed articles.

Moreover, an evident pattern emerged in the news content, wherein the metaphor of 'guest' was used to describe asylum seekers, insinuating ingratitude toward the hospitality received without explaining. This metaphor places Syrian refugees in a secondary position similar to the results achieved by analogous studies in the literature, indirectly associating them with behaviors that could be considered culpable. Upon closer examination of the discourse within the analyzed news articles, there is a clear tendency to employ exaggerated expressions in presenting the incidents, portraying Syrian asylum seekers as a perceived threat. Generally, it employs sharp and discriminatory language, often featuring attention-grabbing descriptions within its news headlines. The significant contrast in the portrayal of asylum seekers in aid-related news, where they are depicted as seeking undeserved help, starkly reinforces the framing of danger and threat seen in crime-related news. This positioning accentuates the 'otherness' of asylum seekers in the narrative.

The crime news sourced from the Sözcü newspaper portrays asylum seekers through a lens that accentuates the Syrian identity, often depicting them as the 'other' or the 'culprit,' thereby employing a clear 'us vs. them' dichotomy. The portrayal of asylum seekers, whether as perpetrators or victims, employs judgmental language and descriptive headlines or leads. Even in cases where incidents are at an alleged stage, suspects are unequivocally depicted, reinforcing stereotypical judgments in news

presentations. Interestingly, the similar points between the Yeni Çağ newspaper, another nationalist publication, and Sözcü are noticeable in their similar approaches toward asylum seekers. Both newspapers employ discriminatory and empathy-deprived language, occasionally featuring news articles with identical headlines and content.

When assessing the crime-related news in the Yeni Akit newspaper, a noticeable departure from other publications emerges, depicting Syrian asylum seekers less frequently as perpetrators and more often as victims. This distinct approach diverges from the usual portrayal of refugees as a perceived threat. Yeni Akit, acknowledged for its proximity to the government, exhibits a contrasting narrative. It employs comments that evoke compassion and empathy for refugee victims, steering away from the commonly used discriminatory language against refugees. For instance, the 'Altındağ Incidents' of August 10, 2021, involving an altercation between a group of Syrian individuals and local youths in Battalgazi Neighborhood, affiliated with Altındağ district in Ankara, is a pertinent example. While Sözcü and Yeniçağ highlighted police intervention in their coverage of the events, Yeni Akit, three days post-incident, presented a perspective that deemed the situation a provocation, focusing on a Syrian girl injured during the conflict. Notably, the content reveals a narrative that condemns violent attempts against Syrian asylum seekers, often accompanied by emotionally charged comments, further emphasizing the portrayal of refugees as the 'other.' The agency's news texts were typically conveyed without additional commentary in the news involving refugees as perpetrators. Additionally, the newspaper's stance toward Syrian asylum seekers aligns with its support for the government's refugee policy. While it is noted that the discourse of the news analyzed is free from anti-immigrant rhetoric, it is beneficial to mention the newspaper's proximity to the government and its tendency to portray particular identities as threats in some periods of its publications, mainly targeting sexual orientation groups.

The analysis of newspaper content reveals a tendency to depict Syrian asylum seekers primarily as perpetrators. Another notable observation from these findings is that the news articles focus more on detailing an incident's occurrence rather than

delving into its underlying causes. Also, when the victim is a Turkish citizen, these news articles in *Sözcü* and *Yeni Çağ* tend to create a sense of opposition, framing refugees as a source of conflict and a threat to security. Additionally, the narratives in these articles intensify emotions by frequently using tense language related to the crimes. This heightened emotional impact aims to evoke increased sympathy and compassion for the crime victims while instilling disdain or animosity towards the perpetrators.

The examples highlighted in the study depict a recurring pattern where refugees are often labeled as "unscrupulous," particularly when they are portrayed as perpetrators in various events. One notable observation is the scarcity of details concerning racist practices or discriminatory experiences faced by refugees, despite the abundance of information focusing on the "deviant" behavior or crimes attributed to groups constructed as the "other" in media discourse. Van Dijk's assertion regarding the construction of discourse around such groups often involves contrasting elements, such as "our virtues versus their vices" or "our diligence versus their laziness." The news articles examined in this study frequently portray these groups, limited by crime news, as a perceived threat to the established social order and security, contributing to the narrative of these groups as "problematic."

When a comparison is made, despite the differing political and ideological orientations of *Yeni Çağ* and *Sözcü* newspapers, an observation can be made regarding the similarity in their portrayal of Syrian asylum seekers because of these reasons. Both publications tend to highlight details unrelated to the incident itself, adopting a nationalist language that paints Syrian asylum seekers as "potential criminals" and "ungrateful guests." These prominent tropes seen in the newspapers, defining an "us versus them" narrative through anti-immigrant rhetoric and perpetuating dangerous refugee stereotypes, appears to reproduce nationalism within their news discourse.

Indeed, visual imagery in news articles plays a crucial role in shaping perceptions. In the analysis, it is apparent that *Yeni Çağ* and *Sözcü* newspapers tend to accompany reports where asylum seekers are depicted as perpetrators with images portraying the

victims in pitiful or injured states. Conversely, in the Yeni Akit newspaper, where asylum seekers are more often portrayed as victims, similar images depicting them as injured or pitiful are utilized. This observation aligns with findings from Mannik's study (Mannik, 2012), highlighting how visual representations in media coverage often perpetuate stereotypes and exaggerations about refugees. Regardless of whether asylum seekers are depicted as victims or threats, the media tends to use visual elements that distance, sensationalize, and potentially dehumanize them through standard "othering" techniques. Such visual stereotypes can influence how readers interpret and empathize with groups in society, thereby strengthening their public perceptions. In the news discourse of Yeni Akit, such expressions not only emphasize the alarming aspects of the crime committed but also evoke emotions of pity and empathy towards the victims. Therefore, we can conclude that the two types of representations found in the newspapers are reproduced in crime news, aligning with the well-known portrayal of asylum seekers.

Additionally, in the crime discourse of Yeni Akit newspaper, a representation of a needy refugee is presented instead of the "ungrateful" image in the "us vs. them" comparison established through the guest image, which is different from the other two newspapers Yeni Çağ and Sözcü, both representing right-wing ideologies on a nationalist line and a secular nationalist publishing group, respectively. One could posit that the distinctive discursive approach toward asylum seekers in Yeni Akit, compared to the other two newspapers, can be attributed to their respective stances towards the government, as previously elucidated. Therefore, it can be said that the political stance/position and proximity to the newspaper's government directly impact the representation of Syrian asylum seekers in order to answer one of the sub-questions of the study.

**Table 5. 1.** Most frequent keywords (in headlines and spots) per newspaper.

<b>Keywords used in the analysis of news texts (in headlines and spots)</b>		
<b>Yeni Çağ</b>	Dangerous event, tension, brutality, ungrateful, assault, terrify,	Syrian, fugitive

<b>Sözcü</b>	Tension, terrify	Syrian, Syrian asylum seeker, fugitive refugee
<b>Yeni Akit</b>	Dangerous event, tension, provocation, cruelty, unscrupulous, innocent child	Syrian, Syrian asylum seeker

When the elements in the news texts taken from selected national newspapers are examined, a tendency is evident toward offering commentary on the identities of both offenders and victims rather than objectively presenting judicial incidents. Specifically, Syrian asylum seekers are often addressed as a generalized concept, termed "Syrians," in numerous news articles. Another prevalent aspect observed in these news pieces is the division between "us" and "them." Repetitive and stereotypical judgments, manifesting in the portrayal of this group as ungrateful within the news discourse, contribute to the consolidation of negative perceptions surrounding them. In cases where the suspect or perpetrator is a Syrian asylum seeker, the news text implicitly or explicitly underscores this ungratefulness, creating an impression that such incidents could occur to anyone if precautions against asylum seekers are not taken.

Consequently, the representation of these individuals in crime-themed news exhibits exclusionary elements. The tendency to generalize based on isolated crime incidents fosters a perception of refugees as a threat to public safety. Furthermore, sensational language in reporting crime incidents sets the stage for a panic.

Although the thematic analysis in this study was limited to headlines and news promotions, preventing the possibility of a quantitative analysis, it was observed that the ages of the Syrian refugees who were reported to have committed crimes or crimes in the news were generally not shared. The suspects or perpetrators of the crimes were predominantly Syrian male asylum seekers. The news articles scrutinized and included in the study during the relevant dates incidents like lynching, murder, theft, and sexual crimes appear more prominently in news content compared to smuggling or other organized crimes. Therefore, it can be asserted that

these traditional crime types receive more representation in the examined news articles. Additionally, visual elements such as scene images, victim statements, witness accounts, and reactions from grieving or shocked family members are frequently utilized in crime-themed news. These expressions and visual descriptions, which aim to evoke emotional reactions in readers, are presented with striking and vivid expressions. Furthermore, upon examining news articles related to murder, attacks, and violent crimes, it becomes evident that elements emphasizing horror and fear are highlighted in some of the news pieces.

For instance, in right-wing newspapers, there is a recurring portrayal of an "ungrateful" refugee, seemingly in response to the hospitality extended by the host community. Through repeated metaphors in criminal news, this representation strengthens the position of the host while implying that the refugee is no longer welcomed, aligning with the observations made by findings in previous studies. This implicit discourse of power, frequently encountered in newspapers such as *Sözcü* and *Yeni Çağ*, describes a relationship where the guest can be present without allowing one to forget their guest status. This situation highlights the metaphor of "host" and "guest" emphasized in news discourse, along with the label of "ungrateful" assigned to the "other," who is positioned as a victim and innocent.

This imagery created by the media points to another narrative. The etymological relationship between "host" and "hostility" reinforces the idea of hospitality, inevitably defining the guest as the "other." It can be said that this otherness in crime news is similar to the other mentioned before, which is the enemy that threatens the host. The news examined highlights contrasts, particularly regarding victims who are children and women. Based on the discourse in these news reports, it can be argued that the media reflects and perpetuates a specific attitude, expectation, and, consequently, a moral judgment. As a result, the perception of refugee groups as a stigmatized category becomes further entrenched. This situation underscores the language and imagery used in news reports that generalize all Syrian refugees based on isolated incidents, disregarding the broader societal aspects of migration.

Throughout this study, crime-themed news visuals often include photos featuring crowds without direct conflict or solely display victim images to evoke pity.

Moreover, regardless of whether they depict perpetrators or suspects, most photographs show individuals whose faces are not obscured. Indeed, portraying criminal acts through persistent dichotomies like innocent-guilty or good-bad significantly influences readers' perceptions.

Besides, presenting events where victims are ordinary individuals emphasizes that "it can happen to anyone." However, this discourse tends to portray refugees as potential threats regarding criminal activities. This framing in news coverage shapes readers' perceptions, leading to a generalized sense of fear or suspicion around refugees, accentuating their portrayal as potential sources of criminal behavior. In addition, these discourses that evoke fear, anxiety, a sense of insecurity position refugees as unwanted and by incorporating details of police intervention in select news articles, the reports gain legitimacy through their association with official sources.

Reliance on news from agencies tends to limit interpretative approaches, resulting in potential variations in the analysis findings across different crime reports within the same newspaper. In cases where the police are involved, individual incidents are portrayed as crises or conflicts in newspaper reports, often without providing necessary contextual details. This trend contributes to depicting Syrian refugees, whether they are perpetrators or victims, as the primary cause of security concerns, conveying implicit messages through the news coverage. Furthermore, media representations of both sides of a crime tend to focus on personal or demographic characteristics unrelated to the news subject matter.

In the discourse of the news examined in this study, Syrian asylum seekers, who are exposed to social prejudices through exclusion and exaggerated depiction, gradually become the subject of concern. This fear in media representation is also a defining characteristic of moral panic and often involves a tendency to exaggerate and magnify specific concerns. From this standpoint, the discourse on crime-related anxieties incorporates dramatic, sensational, and exaggerated portrayals of events. The use of dramatic expressions like "spread horror," "killed and buried," or "Syrian savagery" in the headlines highlighted within this study can serve as examples of this trend. Such language accentuates the sense of alarm, contributing to the construction

of a heightened sense of fear or concern regarding refugees' involvement in criminal activities.

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **CONCLUSION**

This chapter concludes the study by summarizing the research findings, highlighting the limitations of this study, and suggesting possibilities for future research.

Considering the study's findings, the analysis of criminal news within the scope of the study, despite the relatively different political positions of the newspapers examined, revealed some prevailing common discourses concerning Syrian asylum seekers. There is a tendency in nationalist newspapers, frequently known for their opposition to Syrian asylum seekers, to highlight their insecurities regarding the group's involvement in crime, thus amplifying the visibility of asylum seekers in the media. The detailed coverage by the media of specific factors in crime news involving Syrian asylum seekers, whether they are victims or perpetrators, highlights its capacity to influence public perceptions through biased reporting and fostering stereotypes. The portrayal of Syrian asylum seekers in the analyzed news articles can contribute to creating an image that aligns them with an ontological threat and a presumption of guilt. The perception of ingratitude, imposed on refugees by emphasizing transience through the guest discourse and not embracing them as a permanent presence, along with similar negative judgments, contributes to the construction of a guilty image in crime-themed news.

Another crucial observation from the discourse analysis of crime-themed news in this study involves the exaggerated representation of refugees' culpability in criminal acts. This circumstance can contribute to the perception of migration as a security concern and reinforce it through stereotyping, resulting in the formulation of shared concerns among right-wing media. When the propagation of an approach attributing crime to Syrian asylum seekers deepens their exclusion and discrimination, primarily during election periods, it fuels anti-immigrant rhetoric from far-right factions. It has

the potential to escalate the situation further. Furthermore, regardless of whether it is diagnosed as a moral panic, anti-refugee discourse also has the potential to escalate societal tensions. It is known that policymakers, especially right-wing political parties, sometimes instrumentalize anti-refugee discourse as a tool to mobilize support, thereby exacerbating social divisions. While the socio-economic dimension of crime often remains disregarded, with explanations predominantly attributing causation directly to immigrant status, thereby divorcing the issue from its legal context, it has gained such prevalence that it has been taken out of a strictly legal context and has become a subject of discussion among all segments of society. Furthermore, it can be argued that the portrayal of these elements in the dissemination of criminal incidents to the public is problematic. The exaggeration of crimes attributed to asylum seekers, who are often depicted as assailants, fugitives, or thieves, reinforces a perception of them as dangerous refugees and "potential criminals" within the public consciousness, particularly in the manner in which the news is presented.

One of the other objectives of this thesis is to examine the extent to which the empirical alignment of the representation of Syrian asylum seekers in the media with moral panic is plausible. The concept of moral panic often presents mundane events with an exaggerated spiral, characterized by an unusual approach to panic, as observed in other well-known instances. However, it is recognized that this approach cannot be regarded as a fundamental criterion, as otherwise, many social deviations would fall outside this definition.

When we apply the fundamental characteristics transferred in the theoretical framework for moral panic to the analysis results, although there are clear indications of the evidence of moral panic, we can say that not all of them are confirmed. Firstly, a definitive judgment regarding the criterion of concern cannot be reached. On the other hand, this situation has been supported by some researchers in subsequent years, emphasizing that not every moral panic can be predicted by the criterion of concern. (Cricher, 2003) Regarding another criterion, hostility, direct access to this observation cannot be reached in the examined crime news. The reason for this is that, at this point, in this study, due to the media structure, only a sample of

newspapers that can be explained by their political views and discursive differences in their positions relative to the government are selected, and other newspapers are excluded from the research universe. Although there is a strong opposing attitude in crime news whose source is reporters from newspapers that stand out with their nationalist publications, the research universe needs to be expanded in order to reach generalizations. The elements explaining the consensus criterion also include the hostility criterion.

In this respect, reaching a consensus seems unlikely, as confirming this criterion requires support with numerical data and involves covering all daily newspapers in the research population. This situation indicates that conducting a process-oriented quantitative analysis may also be beneficial in addition to content-oriented examinations, such as discourse theory in moral panic studies. Regarding the criterion of disproportionality, the threat posed should be exaggerated. In this respect, official figures indicate that the contribution of crimes committed by asylum seekers to the total crime rate is observed to be low.

Although this situation partially confirms the theory, a broad observation cannot be made due to the study population limitation, as in the consensus criterion, because in the news discourse where asylum seekers are portrayed as criminals, there is no focus on a particular pattern of deviant behavior. Therefore, a broader and quantitative examination is necessary also to determine if the media regularly emphasizes the same type of crime news, which could indicate disproportionality in reactions. Regarding the duration of the effect where consensus cannot be reached on moral panic, temporary events that create temporary explosions in the agenda and usually lose their effect after a few weeks and months are involved. (Cohen, 1972)

This study conducted a scan covering a three-year period, which is assumed to be reasonable for the criterion of temporariness. In the news examined in the study, there is no sudden state of alarm and rapid extinguishing of reaction as described during this process. Therefore, due to its continuity, it does not conform to the assertion that moral panic covers a short period. Other examples of moral panic, such as youth delinquency, are also outside this criterion.

As a result, upon examining the fundamental conceptualizations of moral panic at the outset of this study, specific observations merit attention. However, despite the discursive contradictions found in crime reports in the examined newspapers that may reveal a criminal immigrant identity, it can be argued that the diagnosis of moral panic construction is not clear-cut in certain aspects of the analyzed articles. There are uncertainties regarding its differentiation from anxiety in the media. Even though it has a compatible background with several of the models included in the study, the concept of moral panic is inadequate in providing a solid and fully compatible conceptual framework for this sampling. Like in other similar studies on race and migration, in this example as well, it can be said that the attitudes of right-wing newspapers, which perpetuate exclusionary typical discourses depicting immigrants as a threatening group that needs to be controlled for the host population, appear to reduce the effects of stigma in some news of this study. The findings in the study are consistent in terms of the portrayal of Syrian asylum seekers in the media and the dangerous discourse on which these depictions are based. However, their final status is ambivalent because they cannot be easily diagnosed.

Thus, the findings are also cautiously distant from a clear indication of moral panic. In this scenario, it might be proposed that there is a need for a broader study to not only discuss what constitutes moral panic but also to examine the distinction between moral panic and not anxiety in media discourse regarding concerns. This study may encourage us to consider the origins of moral panic and the characteristics around which it is shaped. Although this result expresses an opinion on the redrawing of the boundaries of moral panic, it may be a recurring anecdote that questions the capacity of its principles or updates the content of the concept, regardless of its essence. Within the scope of this study, despite the absence of observable effects confirming a relationship between the presence of Syrian asylum seekers and crime levels in the news analyzed across various years, as mentioned in the discussion of essential criteria, there is a need for quantitative research to ascertain the portrayal of the relationship between the asylum seeker population and crime reports.

This study restricts its scope to articles featuring criminal news, explicitly focusing on the discourse within right-wing newspapers. It aims to contribute to future

research on media representations of Syrian asylum seekers or minority communities. Such investigations may entail a more expansive analysis of migration representations within the media landscape. The lack of comprehensive studies on moral panic can be attributed to its predominantly studied within the field of communication, coupled with the limited academic research conducted within the context of media, power, and human rights. When considering the study's limitations, exploring various discourse forms shaping public perceptions is essential. These may include depictions of Syrian asylum seekers as a financial burden or a perceived threat, discussions regarding economic and social assistance, debates on their right to work or education, arguments about job competition in the labor market, and attributing responsibility for the country's economic challenges. Additionally, although not covered in this study, examining the reactions and perspectives of authorities concerning crimes involving Syrian asylum seekers could offer valuable insights.

Thompson (1998) stated that "the age we live in is the age of moral panics" due to the increasing speed of successive moral panics and the spreading nature of contemporary panics, which focus on many groups. During the past quarter century, significant changes have occurred in the restructuring of knowledge production, facilitating the generation of moral panic within the media domain. However, uncertainties persist regarding what the concept will encompass and exclude. Following these developments, in the digital age we live in, the presence of immigrants positioned against a variety of parameters such as financial crises, security concerns, and cultural homogeneity anxiety, along with the rise of far-right discourse, the changing nature and scope of moral panic can be re-evaluated in light of the refugee crisis. Given the impact of this situation on shaping concerns regarding the presence of crime and migrant groups in society, along with the various viewpoints and stances prevalent within the Turkish media, the necessity for a neutral and constructive media language, as well as the importance of a human rights-based approach becomes inevitable.

## REFERENCES

- Alemdar, K., & Kaya, R. (1983). *Kitle İletişiminde Temel Yaklaşımlar*. Ankara: Savaş Yayınları.
- Altheide, D. L. (1997). The News Media, the Problem Frame, and the Production of Fear. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 38(4), 647–668.
- Altheide, D. L. (2009). Moral panic: From sociological concept to public discourse. *Crime, Media, Culture*, 5(1), 79-99.
- Atik, A., & Gezgin, S. (2017). *Manşet İllüstrasyonlarından Dijital Haber Fotoğrafına Basın Fotoğrafçılığı*. Konya: Eğitim Yayınevi.
- Bilić, P., Furman, I., & Yildirim, S. (2018). The Refugee Crisis in the Croatian Digital News: Towards a Computational Political Economy of Communication. *The Political Economy of Communication*, 6(1). Retrieved from <https://www.polecom.org/index.php/polecom/article/view/91/300>
- Bottom, W., & Kong, D. (2012). The Casual Cruelty of our Prejudices?: On Walter Lippmann's Theory of Stereotype and its 'Obliteration' in Psychology and Social Science. *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, 8(4), 363-394.
- Buchanan, S., & Grillo B. & Threadgold, T. (2003). What's the story? Results from research into media coverage of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK. <https://www.article19.org/data/files/pdfs/publications/refugees-what-s-the-story-.pdf>
- Campbell, D. (1998). *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.
- Christie as cited in Banks, J. (2012). Unmasking Deviance: The Visual Construction of Asylum Seekers and Refugees in English National Newspapers. *Critical Criminology*, 293-310.
- Cohen, S. (1972). *Folk devils and moral panics: The creation of the Mods and Rockers*. Taylor & Francis e-Library.

- Cohen, S. (2002). *Folk devils and moral panics*, 3rd edn. London: Routledge. Cree, V. E., Clapton, G., & Smith, M. (2015). *Revisiting Moral Panics* (1st ed.). Bristol University Press.
- Çağlar, İ., & Özkır, Y. (2014). Köşe yazılarında Suriyeli mülteciler. In *Disiplinlerarası Göç ve Göç Politikaları Sempozyumu* (p. 539-572). İstanbul: İstanbul Sabahattin Zaim Üniversitesi.
- Çağlar, İ., & Özkır, Y. (2015). Suriyeli mültecilerin Türkiye basınında temsili. *Ortadoğu Yıllığı*.
- Çobaner, A. A. (2015). Çocuk Hakları Bağlamında Suriyeli Mülteci Çocukların Haberlerde Temsili. *Marmara İletişim Dergisi*, 24(1), 27-54.
- David, M., Rohloff, A., Petley, J., & Hughes, J. (2011). The idea of moral panic – ten dimensions of dispute. *Crime, Media, Culture*, 7(3), 215-228.
- Davis, H. (1985). *Discourse and Media Influence*. In T. Van Dijk (Ed.), *Discourse and Communication: New Approaches to the Analysis of Mass Media* (p. 44-60). Berlin.
- Doğanay, Ü., & Çoban Keneş, H. (2016). Yazılı Basında Suriyeli ‘Mülteciler’: Ayrımcı Söylemlerin Rasyonel ve Duygusal Gereçeklerinin İnşası. *Mülkiye Dergisi*, 143-184.
- Erdoğan, M. (2015). *Türkiye’de Suriyeliler: Toplumsal kabul ve uyum*. İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.
- Erdoğan, M., Kavukçuer, Y., & Çetinkaya, T. (2017). *Türkiye’de yaşayan Suriyeli Mültecilere Yönelik Medya Algısı*. Ankara: Özgürlük Araştırmaları Derneği Yayınları.
- Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and Power*. London: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (2001). The dialectics of discourse. *Textus*, XIV(2), 231-242.
- Fairclough, N., & Wodak, R. (1997). *Critical Discourse Analysis*. In T. van Dijk (Ed.), *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction* (p. 255-284). London: Sage Publications.

- Farris, E. M., & Mohamed, H. S. (2018). Picturing immigration: how the media criminalizes immigrants. *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, 6(4), 814-824.
- Garland, D. (2008). On the concept of moral panic. *Crime, Media, Culture*, 4(1), 9-30.
- Geçici Koruma Yönetmeliği. (22 Ekim 2014). Resmi Gazete (Sayı: 29153). <https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/3.5.20146883.pdf>
- Gomes, S., & Machado, H. (2011). Media's made criminality: the construction of moral panic over gypsies and immigrants. In S. J. Maldoran (Ed.), *Citizenship, Inclusion or Exclusion*.
- Goode, E., & Ben Yehuda, N. (1994). Moral Panics: Culture, Politics, and Social Construction. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 20.
- Göker, G., & Keskin, S. (2015). Haber Medyası ve Mülteciler: Suriyeli Mültecilerin Türk Yazılı Basınındaki Temsili. *Gazi Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi İletişim, Kuram ve Araştırma Dergisi*, 23(2), 229-256.
- Gölcü, A., & Dağlı, A. (2017). Haber Söyleminde 'Öteki'yi Aramak: Suriyeli Mülteciler Örneği. *Akdeniz Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Dergisi*, 28(28), 11-38.
- Greer, C. (2005). Crime and Media: Understanding the Connections. In C. Hale, K. Hayward, A. Wahadin, & E. W. (Eds.), *Criminology* (p. 25). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Güven, O. Ö. (2018). Suçun Sosyolojisi ve Haber Söyleminde Temsili. *Gaziantep University Journal of Social Sciences*, 17, 176-195.
- Hall, S. (1982). The rediscovery of "ideology": Return of the repressed in media studies. In M. Gurevitch, T. Bennett, J. Curran, & J. Woollacott (Eds.), *Culture, society and the media*. London: Methuen.
- Hall, S. (1985a). Signification, representation, ideology: Althusser and the post-structuralist debates. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 2(2), 91-114.
- Hall, S. (1985b). Signification, Representation, Ideology: Althusser and the Post-Structuralist Debates. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 2(2), 91-114.

- Hall, S. (1990). Cultural Identity and Diaspora. In J. Rutherford (Ed.), *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference* (p. 222-237). Lawrence & Wishart.
- Hall, S. (2018). Two Old and New Identities, Old and New Ethnicities [1991]. In D. Morley (Ed.), *Essential Essays, Volume 2: Identity and Diaspora* (pp. 63-82). New York, USA: Duke University Press.
- Hall, S. (1994). Kültür, Medya ve İdeolojik Etki. In M. Küçük (Ed.), *Medya, İktidar, İdeoloji*. Ankara: Ark Yayınları.
- Hall, S. (1996). The Problem of Ideology: Marxism without Guarantees. In D. Morley, & K. Chen (Eds.), *Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies* (p. 26). New York: Routledge.
- Hall, S. (1997). The Spectacle of the Other. In *Representation: Cultural Representation*. New York: Sage Publications.
- Hall, S. (1997a, 2022). Representation & The Media. Retrieved from <https://www.mediaed.org/transcripts/Stuart-Hall-Representation-and-the-Media-Transcript.pdf>
- Hall, S. (1997b). The Work of Representation. In S. Hall (Ed.), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (p. 13-74). Milton Keynes: Open University.
- Hall, S. (2017). *Temsil: Kültürel Temsiller ve Anlamlandırma Uygulamaları*. İstanbul: Pinhan Yayınları.
- Hall, S. C. (1978). *Policing the crisis: Mugging, the state, and law and order*. London: Macmillan.
- Hall, S., Bob, L., & M., G. (1985). *Siyaset ve İdeoloji "Gramsci"*. Ankara: Birey ve Toplum Yayınları.
- Harris, Z. S. (1952). Discourse Analysis. *Language*, 28(1), 1-30.
- Hier, S. (2008). Thinking beyond moral panic: Risk, responsibility, and the politics of moralization. *Theoretical Criminology*, 12(2), 173-190.
- Hier, S. P. (2002). Conceptualizing Moral Panic through a Moral Economy of Harm. *Critical Sociology*, 28(3), 311-334.

- Horton, P. B., & Hunt, C. L. (1972). *Sociology*. Tosho Printing Co.
- İmançer, D. (2004). Sosyal Psikolojik Açından Stereotip Kavramının Dil ve Metin Analizinde Kullanımı. *Selçuk Üniversitesi, İletişim Fakültesi Akademik Dergisi*, 17, 128-142.
- İnceoğlu, Y., & Çomak, N. (2009). *Metin Çözümlemeleri*. İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları.
- Jäger, S. (2001). Discourse and knowledge: theoretical and methodological aspects of a critical discourse and dispositive analysis. In R. Wodak (Ed.), *Methods of critical discourse analysis*. SAGE Publications.
- Jenkins, P. (1992). *Intimate Enemies: Moral Panics in Contemporary Great Britain*. Newyork: Adline de Gruyter.
- Jewkes, Y. (2011). *Media and Crime*. 2nd Edition, Sage, London.
- Jones, P. (1997). Moral Panic: The Legacy of Stan Cohen and Stuart Hall. *Media International Australia*, 6-16.
- Kolukırlık, S. (2009). Image of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the Media: An Evaluation on Media Politics. *Gaziantep Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 1-20.
- Mannik, L. (2012). Public and Private Photographs of Refugees: The Problem of Representation. *Visual Studies*, 27(3), 262-276.
- McCombs, M. E. (1972). The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36(2), 176-187.
- J. (2012). Unmasking Deviance: The Visual Construction of Asylum Seekers and Refugees in English National Newspapers. *Critical Criminology*, 302.
- Meyer, M. (2001). Between Theory, Method, and Politics: Positioning of the Approaches to CDA. In M. Meyer & W. Ruth (Eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (p. 17). London: Sage Publications.
- Mutlu, E. (1998). *İletişim Sözlüğü*. Ankara: Ayraç Kitabevi.

- Özçetin, B. (2010). İdeoloji, İletişim, Kültür: Bir Stuart Hall değerlendirmesi. Akdeniz Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Dergisi
- Özçetin, D. (2014). Stigmatization And Criminalization of Urban Poor Through News Discourse in Turkey: Portrayal of Purse-Snatching And ‘Troubled’ Lower Class Neighborhoods. [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. The Department of Political Science And Public Administration: METU.
- Özer, Ö. (2011). Haber Söylem İdeoloji: Eleştirel Haber Çözümlemeleri. Konya: Literatürk Yayınevi.
- Pandır, M., Efe, İ., & Paksoy, A. F. (2015). Türk Basınında Suriyeli Sığınmacı Temsili Üzerine Bir İçerik Analizi. Marmara İletişim Dergisi, 24, 1-26.
- Philo, G., Briant, E., & Donald, P. (2013). Bad News for Refugees. Pluto Press.
- Presidency of Migration Management. (2024). Temporary protection. Retrieved from <https://en.goc.gov.tr/temporary-protection27> (Accessed: February 20, 2024)
- Pollak, J. M., & Kubrin, C. E. (2007). Crime in the News: How Crimes, Offenders and Victims Are Portrayed in the Media. Journal of Criminal Justice and Popular Culture, 60-82.
- Poynting, S., Noble, G., & Tabar, P. (2001). Middle Eastern Appearances: “Ethnic Gangs”, Moral Panic and Media Framing. Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology, 34(1), 67–90.
- Quinney, R. (2001). The Social Reality of Crime. New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.
- Sedláková, R. (2017). Moral panic over migration in the broadcasting of the Czech Radio. Lodz Papers in Pragmatics, 13(2), 235-260.
- Sözen, E. (1999). Söylem: belirsizlik, mübadele, bilgi, güç ve refleksivite. İstanbul: Paradigma Yayınları.
- Stuart, H., Chas, C., Jefferson, T., Clarke, J., & Roberts, B. (1982). Policing The Crisis: Mugging, The State and Law and Order. Hong Kong: The Macmillan Press Ltd.

- Thompson, Kenneth, 1937-. (1998). *Moral panics* / Kenneth Thompson. London : Routledge
- Tonkiss, F. (2012). *Discourse analysis*. In C. Seale (Ed.), *Researching Society and Culture*. London: Sage Publications.
- UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), *The 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol*, September 2011, <https://www.refworld.org/legal/modellaw/unhcr/2011/en/83363> [accessed 15 February 2024].
- Van Dijk, T. (1988). *News as Discourse*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Van Dijk, T. (1993). *Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis*. *Discourse & Society*, 4(2), 249-283.
- Van Dijk, T. (2000). *New(s) Racism: A Discourse Analytical Approach*. In S. Cottle (Ed.), *Ethnic Minorities and the Media* (pp. 211-226). Philadelphia: Open University Press.
- Van Dijk, T. (2001). *Critical Discourse Analysis*. In H. E. Hamilton, D. Schiffrin, & D. Tannen (Eds.), *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (p. 352). West Sussex: Blackwell Publishers.
- Van Dijk, T. (2015). *Critical Discourse Analysis*. In D. Tannen, H. Hamilton, & D. Schiffrin (Eds.), *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1991). *Racism and the Press* (1st ed.). London: Routledge.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2001). *Multidisciplinary CDA: A Plea for Diversity*. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (pp. 95-120). London: Sage Publications.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2003). *Critical Discourse Analysis*. In D. T. D. Schiffrin (Ed.), *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (pp. 352-371). MA: Blackwell.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2007). *Bir Söylem Olarak Haberin Disiplinler Arası Çözümlemesi*. In Ü. A. (Ed.), *Medya Metinlerini Çözümlemek: İçerik Göstergebilim ve Söylem Çözümleme Yöntemleri* (pp. 170). Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi.

Wodak, R. (2001). The Discourse-Historical Approach. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (pp. 63-94). London: Sage.

Yıldız, S., & Sümer, H. (2011). Medya ve Ahlaki Panik. *Erciyes İletişim Dergisi*, 35-46

Suriyeli vahşeti Yusuf'un hayatını kararttı: Besle kargayı oysun gözünü (2020, June 9) <https://www.yenicaggazetesi.com.tr/suriyeli-vahseti-yusufun-hayatini-karartti-besle-kargayi-oysun-gozunu-283259h.htm>

Aşağılık vicdansızlar! Bu günahsız çocuğun suçu neydi? Altındağ'da yaralanan Suriyeli çocuk: "Beni öldürmeyin" (2021, August 14) <https://www.yeniakit.com.tr/haber/asagilik-vicdansizlar-bu-gunahsiz-cocugun-sucu-neydi-altindagda-yaralanan-suriyeli-cocuk-beni-oldurmeyin-1566439.html>

Suriyeli biri işe giden kadını yumruk atıp bayılttı. Besle kargayı oysun gözünü (2021, December 1) <https://www.yenicaggazetesi.com.tr/izmirde-ise-giden-tugba-serbest-suriyeli-tarafindan-yumruk-yedi--490239h.htm>

Suriyeli dehşet saçtı! Öldürüp gömmüş (2022, February 19) <https://www.sozcu.com.tr/suriyeli-dehset-sacti-oldurup-gommus-wp6899249>

Suriyeli sığınmacılar mahalle halkına saldırdı (2019, June 4) <https://www.yenicaggazetesi.com.tr/suriyeli-siginmacilar-mahalle-halkina-saldirdi-236893h.htm>

İlçede Suriyeli gerginliği! Halk ayaklandı (2019, July 15) <https://www.sozcu.com.tr/ilcede-suriyeli-gerginligi-halk-ayaklandi-wp5231523>

İzmir Torbalı'da tehlikeli gerilim! Suriyelilerin evleri ile araçlarını yaktılar (2021, September 30) <https://www.yeniakit.com.tr/haber/izmir-torbalida-tehlikeli-gerilim-suriyelilerin-evleri-ile-araclarini-yaktilar-1580600.html>

Ankara'da tehlikeli gelişme. Yabancı uyruklularla Türkler arasında bıçaklı kavga: 1'i ağır 2 yaralı (2021, August 11) <https://www.yenicaggazetesi.com.tr/baskentte-ortalik-karisti-mahalleli-sokaga-indi-yabanci-uyruklularla-turkler-arasinda-bicakli-kavga-468021h.htm>

Bıçaklı kavganın ardından mültecilere tepki: 2 yaralı. (2021, August 11)  
<https://www.sozcu.com.tr/bicakli-kavga-sonrasi-siginmacilara-tepki-2-yarali-wp6586569>

Ellerini kollarını sallayarak Türkiye'ye giriyorlar: İran sınırı yol geçen hanı gibi (2020, September 1) <https://www.yenicaggazetesi.com.tr/ellerini-kollarini-sallayarak-turkiyeye-giriyorlar-iran-siniri-yol-gecen-hani-gibi-298462h.htm>

14 kişilik minibüsten 28 kaçak göçmen çıktı (2021, August 10)  
<https://www.sozcu.com.tr/14-kisilik-minibusten-28-kacak-gocmen-cikti-wp6585350>

İstanbul'un göbeğinde Suriyeli vahşeti, birlikte içtiler birbirlerini kestiler (2020, May 28) <https://www.yenicaggazetesi.com.tr/istanbulun-gobeginde-suriyeli-vahseti-birlikte-ictiler-birbirlerini-kestiler-281306h.htm>

Esenyurt'ta Suriyeliler şiddette sınırı zorluyor (2019, June 11)  
<https://www.sozcu.com.tr/esenyurтта-suriyeliler-siddette-siniri-zorluyor-wp5109163>

Suriyeli uyuşturucu satıcılarına jandarmadan operasyon (2021, June 30)  
<https://www.sozcu.com.tr/suriyeli-uyusturucu-saticilarina-jandarmadan-operasyon-wp6513309>

Taksim Meydanı'nda turistlerden para çalan Suriyeli kadın yakalandı (2019, August 5) <https://www.sozcu.com.tr/taksim-meydanında-turistlerden-para-calán-suriyeli-kadın-yakalandı-wp5266046>

Suriyeli hırsızdan ilginç çıkış: "Ben Suriyeliyim bana dokunamazsınız" (2020, February 18) <https://www.yenicaggazetesi.com.tr/suriyeli-hirsızdan-ilginç-cikis-ben-suriyeliyim-bana-dokunamazsınız-268599h.htm>

Tekerlekli sandalyeyi çaldı, vicdan yapıp geri getirdi (2020, January 4)  
<https://www.yeniakit.com.tr/haber/tekerlekli-sandalyeyi-caldi-vicdan-yapip-geri-getirdi-992252.html>

Suriyeliler bir Suriyelinin boğazını keserek öldürdü! (2019, January 4)  
<https://www.yenicaggazetesi.com.tr/suriyeliler-bir-suriyelinin-bogazini-keserek-oldurdu-219425h.htm>

Suriyeli genci vuran polis memuru tutuklandı (2020, April 28)  
<https://www.yeniakit.com.tr/haber/suriyeli-genci-vuran-polis-memuru-tutuklandi-1208588.html>

Suriyeli kaçakçının evinden 700 adet tarihi eser çıktı (2021, December 8)  
<https://www.sozcu.com.tr/suriyeli-kacakcinin-evinden-700-adet-tarihi-eser-cikti-wp6814516>

Suriyeliler, satırlarla, Suriyelilerin işlettiği restoranı bastı (2020, February 3)  
<https://www.yenicaggazetesi.com.tr/suriyeliler-satirlarla-suriyelilerin-islettiği-restorani-basti-266666h.htm>

Suriye-Türkiye sınırında 93 kaçak göçmen yakalandı (2022, April 5)  
<https://www.sozcu.com.tr/suriye-turkiye-sinirinda-93-kacak-gocmen-yakalandi-wp7055405>

## APPENDICES

### A. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKE ÖZET

Bu tezin amacı medyada her geçen gün daha görünür hale gelen Suriyeli sığınmacıların yazılı basında yer alan suç haberlerindeki temsiliyetlerinin, seçilen gazetelere göre konumunu araştırmak ve bu suç temsillerinin ahlaki panikle ilişkisini tespit etmektir.

Her ne kadar suç tüm medya türlerinde temsil edilse de suç haberlerinde ve okuyucuların suç korkusunda en etkili medya kuruluşlarından biri olan gazeteler aracılığıyla, suç haberlerinin arttığı dönemlerde sığınmacıların medyada suçla ilişkilendirilen bir nesneye dönüştürülmesi ve tehdit algısı bu tezin çıkış noktasını oluşturmaktadır. Bu arka plana dayanarak aşağıda yer alan üç temel sorunun yanıtı araştırılmaya çalışılmıştır:

- Yazılı basında yer alan suç haberlerinde Suriyeli sığınmacılar nasıl temsil ediliyor ve kimlikleri nasıl inşa ediliyor?
- Gazetenin siyasi duruşuna göre yazılı basında sığınmacıların temsili nasıl meşrulaştırılıyor?
- Suriyeli sığınmacıların suç haberlerinde tasvir edilmesi ahlaki panik olgusuyla nasıl bağlantılı olabilir?

Özellikle son dönemlerde de sosyal ve ekonomik sorunların kaynağı olarak gösterilen Suriyeli sığınmacılar, cinayet, gasp, taciz, hırsızlık, kaçakçılık, dilencilik, çatışma, saldırı gibi bazı adli olaylarla ilgili haberlerle gündeme getirilmekte ve bu suçların gündeme getirilme biçimlerinin suç ve göçmenler arasındaki ilişkiye dair stereotipleri beslediği görülmektedir. Bu kapsamda, Türkiye'deki Suriyeli sığınmacılara ilişkin suç haberleri belirli sınırlamalar çerçevesinde ele alınmaktadır. Oldukça geniş bir araştırma evrenini daraltmak amacıyla üç farklı günlük gazetenin

internet sayfalarından 2019-2022 yılları arasında yayınlanan haberlerden Suriyeli sığınmacıların fail veya mağdur olarak belirlendiği içerikler örneklem olarak seçilmiş ve seçilen haberler eleştirel söylem analizi metoduyla analiz edilmiştir. Çalışma kapsamında Sözcü, Yeni Çağ ve Yeni Akit gazetelerinin ilgili dönemde internet sitelerinde yayınlanan Suriyeli sığınmacılara ilişkin suç temalı haber içerikleri, internet sayfalarında en çok tercih edilen “Suriyeli” tanımlarının yanı sıra geçici koruma altındaki Suriyeliler için kullanılan “göçmen”, “sığınmacı”, “mülteci”, “Suriye uyruklu” gibi anahtar kelimelerle taranmış ve bu içerikler rastgele seçilerek analize dahil edilmiştir. Bu bağlamda suç olaylarına ilişkin köşe yazıları veya basın açıklamaları araştırma konusu kapsamında yer almamaktadır. Bu araştırmanın amacı, bir durumun, bir kişinin veya bir grubun toplumsal değerlere ve çıkarlara tehdit olarak tanımlandığı” ahlaki paniğin inşasına yönelik bu söylemlerin konumuna dair bir bakış açısı sunmak (Cohen S., 1972) ve bunun gazetelerin ideolojik konumlarına örnek olacak şekilde nasıl temsil edildiğini tespit etmektir. Gazete seçiminde etkili olan faktörler incelenecek olursa, Türkiye’de medya mülkiyet yapısının yeniden yapılanma sürecinin yarattığı dönüşüm nedeniyle ana akım medya gibi bir yapıdan bahsetmenin imkânsız olmasına ek olarak sol görüşlü gazetelerde sığınmacı karşıtı söylemlerin yer almaması sebebiyle araştırma evreninin dışında bırakıldığı söylenebilir.

Bu çalışma, yalnızca suç konusu ve Türkiye’deki Suriyeli sığınmacılar paralelinde, ahlaki panik olgusuna ilişkin bir incelemeye odaklanması nedeniyle, göç konusunda son değerli kapsamlı çalışmaların yer aldığı literatürdeki daha kısıtlı bir alana tekabül etmektedir. Çalışma kapsamında gerçekleşen literatür taraması, medya, söylem ve göç üzerine tartışmaların yanı sıra suç-medya dinamikleri ve ahlaki panik ile ilgili çalışmaları da kapsamaktadır.

Mülteci ve medyanın kesişimine odaklanan çoğu çalışmada öncelikli olarak yazılı basında yer alan mültecilerle ilgili haberlerin söylem analizinin gerçekleştirildiği görülmektedir. Çağlar ve Özkır (2015), bu eğilimin son derece kutuplaşmış medya ortamı nedeniyle ortaya çıktığına dikkat çekmekte ve mültecilerin ilgili konuları ele alan köşe yazılarının söylem analizine tabi tutulmasıyla medya, siyaset ve Türk toplumu arasındaki bağlantılara ilişkin noktaların toplanabileceğini öne

sürmektedirler. Buna göre medya sektörünün her zaman ekonomik ve siyasi ilişkilerle iç içe olduğunun kabulü olduğunu belirtmekte, medyada mülteci meselesini incelerken siyasallaşmış bir medyanın kendi siyasi duruşlarına uygun söylem ve içerik üretmesinin beklendiğini ileri sürmektedirler. Çalışmalarından, siyasallaşan medya ortamında dikkat çeken bir diğer hususun, özellikle Hürriyet ve Sabah gibi gazeteler arasında mültecilere ilişkin farklı söylemlerde fark edilen hükümete ilişkin tutumları olduğunu aktarmışlardır.

Bu konuyla ilişkili olarak medyanın kutuplaşmış doğasının medyadaki göçmenlere yönelik hakim söyleme ilişkin bulguların kapsamlı bir şekilde analiz edildiği Kolukırık (2009) tarafından gerçekleştirilen bir başka çalışmada, özellikle mültecilerle ilgili metinlerde yüzeysel ve çözüm odaklı olmayan, durumu sıradanlaştırmayı amaçlayan bir yaklaşımın hakim olduğu, mülteciler konusunda medyanın tiraj kaynaklı dramatize etme yolunun tercih edildiği sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Murat Erdoğan (2015) liderliğindeki bir diğer çalışma ise medyanın mültecilere yönelik tutumunu incelemeyi amaçlarken, Türkiye'de mültecilere yönelik mevcut "yüksek ancak kırılgan toplumsal kabul düzeyinin" özünde medyanın tutumuyla bağlantılı olduğunu öne sürmüştür. Analizde farklı gazetelerde yer alan sığınmacı tasvirlerine dikkat çekilirken, siyasi iktidara yakın kesimlerin Suriyeli mültecileri sıklıkla "yardıma muhtaç insanlar" olarak tasvirine karşılık, bazı gazetelerde bu tasvirin onları "isyancı" veya "terörist" olarak etiketlemeye dönüştüğü belirtilmektedir.

Ahlaki panik kavramının esasen medyanın suçlulara dair çeşitli temsiller oluşturduğu ve farklı suç türlerine ilişkin kamuoyu algısını şekillendirdiği, suç ve kontrol ile medya arasındaki ilişkinin de suç tipolojisinin görsel ve duygusal kurucu unsuru olması temeline dayandığı belirtilebilir. Quinney'e (2001) göre gazetelerde ve televizyonda suç haberlerinin yer alması, kişinin suçun sıklığına ilişkin tahminini ve suçu yorumlamasını etkilemektedir. Bazı çalışmalarda dış tehdit yerine, aynı zamanda normları hiçe sayan "ötekinin damgalanması" yoluyla korku ve öfke uyandırmayı amaçlayan bir kriz olarak tanımlanan ahlaki panik, uzun vadeli ahlaki düzenleme süreçlerinin değişken ve kısa vadeli yansımaları veya güvenlik temalı krizler olarak da açıklanmaktadır. (Hier, 2002) Ahlaki panikler bugüne kadar

gençlerin sapkınlığı, AIDS, çocuk istismarı, uyuşturucu, göç, mülteciler, medya şiddeti, sokak suçları ve daha fazlasını içeren çok sayıda çalışmanın konusu olmuştur.

Göçmenler, yaşadıkları toplumun bütünlüğü, değerleri ve kültürüne bir tehdit olarak tasvir edildiklerinden, aynı zamanda ahlaki paniğe konu olmuşlardır. (Poynting, Noble, & Tabar, 2001) sık sık milliyet, ırk, etnik köken, din, cinsiyet veya göçmenlerle ilişkilendirilen diğer farklılıklar etrafında dışlayıcı kategoriler oluşturarak bu korkuları körüklemek için "ahlaki panik" retoriğine başvururlar. Bu anlatı genellikle sahte haberlerin, komplo teorilerinin ve siyasi gündemlerin unsurlarını içerir ve göçmenleri toplumsal değerlere bir tehdit olarak şeytanlaştırır. Bu durum genellikle, toplumlarına entegre olmaya dirençli oldukları, eğitim, konut ve benzer diğer kaynaklar için aşırı talepkar oldukları ve hatta suça eğilimli oldukları şeklinde tasvir edilmelerini de içerir. (Cree, Clapton, & Smith, 2015). Bu önyargılar tarafından yaratılan göçmen karşıtlığına dayalı tutumlar, medya tarafından sürekli yeniden üretilmekte ve bu durum da aşırı sağın yükselişini beraberinde getirmektedir. (Philo, Briant, & Donald, 2013). Goodall, medyadaki göçmen temsillerinin bu şekilde, şiddet ve suçla ilgili kalıpların üretilmesine ve yeniden üretilmesine neden olduğunu savunmaktadır (Collins,2007). Her temsilin kendi benzersiz gereksinimleri olsa da, David Campbell (1998) her birinin kendisini normal, sağlıklı, medenî veya eşit derecede olumlu olarak doğallaştırırken, diğerini ise patolojik, hasta, barbar veya olumsuz başka temsillerle yabancılaştırdığını ve bu sayede ahlaki endişeleri tetiklediğini belirtir. Benzer şekilde, haberlerdeki azınlıkların veya göçmenlerin tasviri genellikle onları 'problemlili' olarak gösterir ve onları istihdam, eğitim, alan ve konut gibi değerli kaynaklar açısından da bir tehdit olarak sunar (Özgür, O. ,2018). Ahlaki panik, genellikle yaygın olarak benimsenen değerlere veya çıkarlara tehdit olarak algılanan azınlık veya marjinal gruplara yönelik toplu tepkileri ifade eder. Bu durumda, bu bireylerden veya gruplardan gelebilecek olası bir zarar korkusu ortak endişeleri doğurur. Kavramın bir diğer önemli özelliği ise medyanın belirli endişeleri abartma eğilimidir, bu da 'son derece orantısız' olarak kabul edilen eylemleri teşvik etme veya onaylama eğilimindedir. (Brouwer et al., 2017).

Çalışmada ilk kez ahlaki panik süreçlerinin doğasını ve kökenlerini ortaya koyan Stanley Cohen (1972)'in yaklaşımı incelenmiştir. Buna göre, göre toplumlar

periyodik olarak belirli bir durumun, olayın, bireyin veya grubun toplumsal değerlere ve çıkarlarına yönelik bir tehdit olarak tanımlandığı ahlaki panik aşamalarından geçer ve bu geçiş kitle iletişim araçları tarafından sıklıkla stilize ve basmakalıp bir şekilde tasvir edilmektedir. Bu süreçte, etkisiz olmasına rağmen çeşitli başa çıkma mekanizmaları geliştirilmekte veya kullanılmakta, sonunda durum kaybolmakta ya da daha az belirgin hale gelmekte veya kötüleşip daha belirgin hale gelmektedir. Cohen'in analizine göre paniğin kaynağı bazen tamamen yeni olabilir, bu bazen de uzun süredir var olan ama aniden ortaya çıkan bir durumdur. Bu panik kimi zaman kaybolur ve yalnızca kolektif hafızada hatırlanır, ancak diğer durumlarda yasal ve sosyal politikaları etkileyerek veya toplumsal algıları yeniden şekillendirerek önemli ve kalıcı sonuçlara yol açabilir. (Cohen, 1972)

Ahlaki paniğin bilinen farklı çalışmalarından yola çıkılarak, mevcut ahlaki paniğin başladığını gösterir temel birtakım özellikleri ortaya konmuştur. Buna göre, ahlaki panik belirli bir grup veya kategorinin davranışı ve bu davranışın toplumun geri kalanı üzerindeki sonuçları hakkında yüksek düzeyde endişe duymayı içerir. Tehdit unsuru olarak vurgulanan gruplara karşı belli düzeyde bir düşmanlık bulunur. Bu gruplar aynı zamanda, toplumun büyük bir bölümünün değerlerine, çıkarlarına, yaşam biçimine veya varlığına yönelik potansiyel bir tehdit olarak görülmelidir. Ahlaki paniğin, toplumun tamamında veya belirli kesimlerinde gerçek, ciddi ve potansiyel bir tehdit kaynağı olarak görülen grubun yanlış davranışlarından kaynaklandığı konusunda asgari düzeyde görüş birliği ve endişenin büyüklüğüyle orantısız olduğuna dair bir varsayım vardır. Ahlaki panikler değişken ve ani olabilir, hatta uzun süre gizli kalsalar ve ara sıra yeniden ortaya çıksalar dahi zamanla azalabilirler. Ayrıca ahlaki paniklerin bir kısmı devam edip kurumsallaşırken, bir kısmı da hiçbir iz bırakmadan yok olabilir. (Goode ve Ben-Yahuda, 1994)

Cohen'e göre (1972), 1960'lardaki "ahlaki panik" ve "sapkınlığın artması" kavramları, kitle iletişimiyle ilgili belirli varsayımlarla birbiriyle bağlantılıdır. Ortaya çıkışı sırasında ahlaki paniğin rolleri gündem belirleme, imaj aktarımı ve toplumsal sessizliğin kırılması olarak ifade edilmiştir. Ona göre iletişim araçları ahlaki paniği kolaylaştırır, günah keçilerini belirler ve dolayısıyla sosyal kontrolü yönlendirir. (Alemdar ve Kaya, 1983)

Bu çalışmada ahlaki panik yaklaşımı incelenen bir diğer isim Stuart Hall'dur. Hall ve çalışma arkadaşları, medyanın suçu ve sapkınlığı tasvir etmedeki ideolojik rolünü, 1970'lerin başında İngiltere'nin şehirlerinde yaşanan ve 'yeni bir suç türü' olarak algılanan beklenmedik 'gasp' salgını üzerinden tartışmışlardır. Hall'e suç, hırsızlık, ırksal bölünmeler ve yoksulluğu çevreleyen toplumsal huzursuzluğun birleşiminden ortaya çıkan ahlaki panik, hegemonya içinde altta yatan bir krize işaret etmektedir. Bu süreçte genç siyah erkekler özellikle potansiyel olarak şiddete eğilimli olarak etiketlenmiş; suçlular tasvir edilirken sadece basit terimlere dayanmakla kalınmadığı, aynı zamanda endişe verici görseller ve temalar da kullanıldığı ifade edilmiştir. Bu örnekte sözü edilen soygunla ilgili olarak yaşanan ahlaki panik, basında da sansasyonel bir dalga halinde yaygınlaşmış ve bu konuya ilişkin haberlerin, polisin "gasp" bölgelerinde nüfusun belirli kesimlerine karşı seferber olmasıyla sonuçlanmıştır. Hall'e (1978) göre geleneksel 'sert' veya caydırıcı tedbirlere bağlı kalarak, tek stratejinin 'sertleşmek' olduğu yönündeki bu önlemler aynı zamanda hukuk alanında da bir krize işaret etmiş ve suç kentte yaşayan siyahlar için ırksal gerilim kaynağı haline gelmiştir. Hall'ün yaklaşımı bu açıdan, Cohen'den farklı olarak suç, hırsızlık, ırksal ayrımlar ve yoksulluğu çevreleyen toplumsal huzursuzluğun birleşiminden ortaya çıkan ahlaki paniğin, aslında hegemonya içinde altta yatan bir krizden kaynaklandığını vurgulamıştır.

Bu tezde araştırma yöntemi olarak Teun Van Dijk'in eleştirel söylem analizi benimsenmiştir. Mültecilerin medyadaki temsillerini incelemek için de Türkiye'deki pek çok haber çalışmasında kullanılan bu yöntem, özellikle mültecilerle ilgili ırkçılık, ötekileştirme, önyargı gibi kavramların ele alındığı haber metinlerinde yer alan ideolojik unsurların ortaya çıkarılmasında sıklıkla tercih edilmektedir. (Van Dijk T., 2006).

Van Dijk (2007), suçla ilgili haberlerde, çoğunlukla içerikle ilgisi olmayan ırkçı etiketlerin kullanılmasının yaygın bir yöntem olduğunu vurgulamaktadır. Bu nedenle, dolaylı referansların anlamsal çıkarımlarını, haber aktörleriyle ilgili ilgisiz ayrıntılar gibi ideolojik çıkarımları ve söylenmemişi gizleyen örtülü imalı ifadeleri analiz etmek, yalnızca açık metne odaklanmaktan daha fazla fikir verebilir. Bu kapsamda ele alınacak içerikler belirli bir temaya ilişkin haber başlıklarının

sistematik olarak incelenmesini amaçlayan tematik yapı analiziyle çalışılmıştır. Dolayısıyla Van Dik'in makro yapı yaklaşımının şematik yapı kategorisi bu çalışmaya dahil edilmemiştir.

Bu tezin analiz bölümünde, haber temasını ortaya çıkarmak için başlıkların ve haber girişleri incelenerek, makro yapıya ilişkin bilgiler sunulmuştur. Ayrıca çalışmanın amaçları doğrultusunda, söz konusu gazetelerde yer alan Suriyeli sığınmacılara ilişkin suç haberlerinin tamamı analiz edilmemiştir. Bunun yerine, suçun faili veya mağduru olarak özellikle Suriyeli sığınmacıların dahil olduğu olaylara ve karşılaştırmalı bir perspektif sunması açısından üç gazetede de aynı ya da yakın tarihlerde meydana gelen olaylara yönelik haberlere öncelik verilmiştir. Medya kuruluşlarında bildirilen suçların büyük çoğunluğunun kişilerarası şiddet ile bağlantılı olduğu ve resmi istatistiklere göre rapor edilen suçların çoğunluğunu oluşturduğu dikkat çekmektedir (Chermak&Chapman, 2007). İlgili tarihlerde taranan ve çalışmaya dahil edilen haberler de bunu doğrular nitelikte, bireysel suçların ağırlıkta olduğunu göstermiştir.

Bu çalışmada incelenen haberlerin suç temaları şu şekildedir:

- Tema 1: Kadın ve Çocukların Güvenliği
- Tema 2: Sosyal Bozulma ve Çatışma
- Tema 3: Düzensiz Göç ve Sınır Güvenliği
- Tema 4: Güvenlik Tehdidi

Araştırma kapsamında incelenen gazetelere ait internet sayfalarının arama motorlarından ve arşiv tarama sayfalarından veriler toplanmış ve bulgular Maxqda yazılım programı kullanılarak analiz edilmiştir. Çalışmaya ait incelemelerin aktarıldığı bölümde, incelenen haber makalelerinin söylem analizi bulgularını karşılaştırmak amaçlanmıştır.

Yeni Çağ gazetesinin suçla haberleri incelendiğinde, Suriyeli sığınmacıların fail olarak yer aldığı örneklerde, ağırlıklı olarak suçun yöntemi ve yeri gibi somut unsurlara odaklanıldığı, ayrıca haberin tüm unsurlarında mağdurun etnik kökeninin ön plana çıkartıldığı ifade edilebilir. Belirtilen tarih aralığında Suriyeli sığınmacıları

mağdur olarak tasvir eden hiçbir habere ulaşılamamış; bunun yerine, sığınmacılar sürekli olarak güvenlik meseleleriyle ilişkilendirilerek ve analiz edilen tüm haberlerde 'sığınmacılar' yerine 'Suriyeliler' olarak anılarak yer almaktadır. Haber içeriklerinde, sığınmacıları tanımlamak için 'misafir' metaforuna sıklıkla başvurulduğu, gösterilen misafirperverliğe hiçbir açıklama yapılmadan nankörlük yapıldığını ima eden örtük bir dil kullanılmaktadır. Bu metafor, literatürdeki benzer çalışmalarda elde edilen sonuçlarda da örneklendirilmiş, Suriyeli sığınmacılarını dolaylı olarak suçlu sayılabilecek davranışlarla ilişkilendirdiği görülmüştür. İncelenen haberlerin söylemi daha yakından incelendiğinde, olayların sunumunda yer yer abartılı ifadelere yer verilirken, sığınmacıların 'ötekiliği'nin altı çizilmektedir.

Sözcü gazetesinden alınan suç haberleri, sığınmacıları Suriyeli kimliğini öne çıkaran bir mercekle tasvir ederken, açık bir 'biz ve onlar' ikilemine başvurmaktadır. Sığınmacıların şüpheli ya da fail konumu ayırt etmeksizin sıklıkla kalıplaşmış yargıların güçlendiren ifadelere yer verilmiş, bir güvenlik sorunu ve çatışma kaynağı olarak ön plana çıkarmıştır. Her iki gazete özelinde sığınmacılara yönelik benzer bir haber dilinin kullanıldığı, hatta aynı olayı aynı başlıkla ele alan içeriklere rastlandığı ifade edilebilir. Van Dijk'ın (2000) bu tür gruplar etrafındaki söylemin inşasına ilişkin iddiası çoğu zaman "bizim erdemlerimiz, onların kötü alışkanlıkları" veya "bizim çalışkanlığımız ve onların tembelliği" gibi zıt unsurları içerir. İncelenen haberlerde hem kullanılan dil hem de kategorilere dahil edilen haberlerdeki hikaye ve görseller bakımından bu tespit doğrular niteliktedir.

Yeni Akit gazetesindeki suçla ilgili haberler değerlendirildiğinde ise diğer gazetelerden farklı olarak, ilgili tarih aralığında taranan haberlerin çoğunlukla Suriyeli sığınmacıların mağdur olduğu olayları da ele aldığı ve sığınmacıların bir tehdit olarak sunulduğu bilinen tasvirlerin aksi bir söylem kullandığı tespit edilmiştir. Çalışmada vurgulanan örnekler, üç gazetede de fail ya da şüphelilerin "vicdansız" olarak etiketlendiği, yinelenen bir modeli gözler önüne sermektedir. Ancak her koşulda "öteki" olarak inşa edilen sığınmacı temsilinde "sapkın" olarak atfedilen davranışlara veya suçlara odaklanan bilgilerin çokluğuna rağmen, sığınmacıların karşılaştığı ırkçı uygulamalara veya ayrımcı deneyimlere ilişkin ayrıntıların azlığı dikkate değer bir karşılaştırma sunabilir. 10 Ağustos 2021'de Ankara'nın Altındağ

ilçesine bağlı Battalgazi Mahallesi'nde bir grup Suriyeli sığınmacı ile bölgede yaşayan gençler arasında tartışmayla başlayan saldırıların yaşandığı 'Altındağ Olayları' buna bir örnektir. Sözcü ve Yeniçağ gazeteleri olayları konu alan haberlerde, öfkeli grupların varlığına ve polis müdahalesine vurgu yaparken, haklılaştırıcı ifadeler kullanmış ve olayın boyutlarını bir mahalle kavgası şeklinde ifade etmiştir. Yeni Akit ise daha çok kadın ve çocuklar üzerinden ele aldığı durumu provokasyon sayan bir bakış açısı sunmakta ve dramatik ifadelere başvurmuştur. Haberin söyleminde başvurulan bu tür ifadeler, işlenen suçun endişe verici yanlarını vurgularken, sığınmacılara yönelik acıma ve empati duygularını hedeflemektedir.

Bu ve buna benzer içeriklerde özellikle Suriyeli sığınmacılara yönelik şiddet girişimlerini kınayan, ancak bunu da muhtaç oldukları vurgusu üzerinden gerçekleştiren bu yaklaşım, çoğu zaman duygu yüklü yorumları barındırırken aslında “misafir” tasvirinin farklı bir temsil olarak devam ettirildiğini de göstermektedir. Yeni Çağ ve Sözcü'nün suç haberlerindeki “iyiliğin karşısında nankörlük yapan” kinayeli misafir temsiline karşılık, Yeni Akit için hem “mağdur” hem de “muhtaç” sığınmacı tasvirini vurgulayan bir anlatının ortaya çıktığı dikkat çekmektedir. Her iki temsilin farklılığının gazetelerin siyasal eğilimlerinin yanı sıra siyasal iktidara mesafeleri ve göç politikasına verdiği de ile açıklanabileceği gibi, her ikisinin de adli olayların kamuoyuna aktarım biçimi bakımından sorunlu olduğu ifade edilebilir. Ayrıca “kaçak, saldırgan, hırsız” gibi konumları üzerinden tehlikeli bir sığınmacı tasvirine ek olarak "potansiyel suçlu" olarak yaşayan bu temsil, kamuoyunun belleğinde basma kalıp yargıları güçlendirirken, suç haberlerinde bu yargıların yeniden üretimine katkı sağlayabilmektedir.

Çalışmanın sonuç bölümünde, tezin diğer amaçlarından biri olarak Suriyeli sığınmacıların medyadaki temsilinin ahlaki panikle ampirik olarak örtüşmesinin ne ölçüde makul olduğunu incelenmeye çalışılmıştır. Ahlaki paniğe ilişkin teorik çerçevede aktarılan temel özellikleri analiz sonuçlarına uyguladığımızda, her ne kadar ahlaki paniğe dair kanıtlara dair açık göstergeler olsa da bunların tamamının doğrulanmadığını söyleyebiliriz. Öncelikle endişe kriterine ilişkin kesin bir yargıya varılamamaktadır. Bir diğer kriter olan düşmanlık dikkate alındığında incelenen suç haberlerinde bu gözleme doğrudan ulaşılamamakta ve nedeni gazetelerin siyasi

konumlarının ya da iktidara göre konumlarının doğal bir yansıması olarak da açıklanabilmektedir. Uzlaşma kriteri aynı zamanda düşmanlık kriteriyle ilgili olduğu gibi, bu çalışmada araştırma evreni de kısıtlı olduğundan kesin bir şey söylenememektedir. Orantısızlık kriterine ilişkin olarak, oluşturulan tehdidin abartısının tespit edilmesi gerekmektedir. Bu bakımdan resmi rakamlar, sığınmacıların işlediği suçların toplam suç oranına göre payının düşük olduğunu gösterse de daha geniş kapsamlı ve nicel verilere dayanan bir inceleme yapılmalıdır. Bu çalışma, geçicilik kriteri açısından makul kabul edilen üç yıllık bir süreyi kapsayan bir tarama neticesinde ortaya çıkmış ve bu süreç boyunca linç olayları dışında ani bir alarm durumunun mevcut olmadığı görülmüştür. Öte yandan bu değerlendirmenin de kavramın net bir tanımı olmamasından kaynaklanan belirsizliklerden birisi olduğu söylenebilir. Sonuç olarak, ahlaki panik kavramı, çalışmaya dahil edilen modellerin birçoğuyla uyumlu bir altyapıya sahip olsa da bu örnekleme için sağlam ve tam uyumlu bir kavramsal çerçeve sağlama konusunda yetersizdir.

Bu tez, Suriyeli sığınmacıların medya ve suç ilişkisindeki konumunu incelerken, ahlaki paniğin neyi kapsayıp kapsamayacağına ilişkin belirsizliklerin tartışılması ve sınırlarının yeniden düşünülmesi üzerine bir teşvik sağlayabilir.

## B. THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU

### ENSTİTÜ / INSTITUTE

- Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences**
- Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Social Sciences**
- Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Applied Mathematics**
- Enformatik Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Informatics**
- Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Marine Sciences**

### YAZARIN / AUTHOR

**Soyadı / Surname** : Mohul  
**Adı / Name** : Seda  
**Bölümü / Department** : Medya ve Kültürel Çalışmalar / Media and Cultural Studies

**TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (İngilizce / English):** The media portrayals of Syrian asylum seekers and moral panic/

**TEZİN TÜRÜ / DEGREE:** **Yüksek Lisans / Master**  **Doktora / PhD**

- 1. Tezin tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılacaktır. / Release the entire work immediately for access worldwide.**
- 2. Tez iki yıl süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır. / Secure the entire work for patent and/or proprietary purposes for a period of two years. \***
- 3. Tez altı ay süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır. / Secure the entire work for period of six months. \***

*\* Enstitü Yönetim Kurulu kararının basılı kopyası tezle birlikte kütüphaneye teslim edilecektir. / A copy of the decision of the Institute Administrative Committee will be delivered to the library together with the printed thesis.*

**Yazarın imzası / Signature** .....

**Tarih / Date** .....

*(Kütüphaneye teslim ettiğiniz tarih. Elle doldurulacaktır.)  
(Library submission date. Please fill out by hand.)*

*Tezin son sayfasıdır. / This is the last page of the thesis/dissertation.*