

UNIVERSITY IN THE NEWS

2022

MEDIA MONITORING REPORT



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PRESENTMENT

We have reached the conclusion of the second series of University in the News Reports. Over the span of approximately a year, we have meticulously prepared seven separate reports. When I say, “we prepared,” please note that the Civic Space Studies team conducted an excellent scanning and compilation effort, and our dear Beyza Kural meticulously analyzed the news articles. I also contributed with certain refinements and guidance. These reports are of great importance to us because we value language, its usage, communication, media, and the press. Let’s take a look at the concepts and labels that have been associated with the media in recent years: post-truth, disinformation, far-right, populism, monopolization, polarization, partisan media, pro-government press, othering, demonization, conspiracy theories, sensationalism, dramatization, popularization... The list goes on, and there exists a vast body of critical literature regarding each concept on this list. It is unfortunate that such a literature had to emerge. It is regrettable that we find ourselves compelled to write and contemplate extensively about the detrimental impact of the media on social, cultural, and political life.

The University in the News Report delves into the consequences of the media’s disappointing state on the fate of students. It examines how university students are portrayed in the news in a country like Turkey, where social movements, democratic formations, and youth movements are swiftly criminalized. Each part of the report thoroughly analyzes how university students and institutions are represented in pro-government media. The panorama it reveals is highly problematic and alarming, both in terms of democratic public discourse and media ethics.

The report we have prepared not only examines how the students, universities, and student protests are framed by the pro-government media frames but also sheds light on the structural, ethical, professional, and humanitarian crisis within the overwhelming majority of the press in Turkey. Communication, i.e. to make it common or as John Dewey put it, “the most splendid affair of things,” encompasses sharing, gathering, coming together, and collaboration... It is the very thing that actually constitutes what we refer to as society. What have we found in the news articles we have analyzed? Religion-based enemization, enemization based on sexual orientation and identity, marginalization through criminalization, dividing society into two separate poles through a rigid “us vs. Them” binary, and devaluation under the guise of moralism. In other words, the news articles and news organizations we have examined not only target specific segments of society but also undermine the very concept of society as a whole.

The Civic Space Studies Association, whose name, ideas, and dedicated team members inspire and empower us, strives to disseminate the language of peace, democracy, and justice through these reports and all its other endeavors. If we have been able to contribute, alongside Beyza who carries a significant burden in supporting the efforts of both the association and the democratic voices of our country, we consider it a great joy. With friendship and solidarity.

Burak Özçetin

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UNIVERSITY IN THE NEWS

INTRODUCTION

In the second section of our university reports named *University in the News*, we will delve into the representation of university students and universities in government-friendly media outlets with a comprehensive approach. We will construct the theoretical and methodological framework of our analysis by examining news narratives and framing techniques.

Frames can be defined as relatively stable and socially shared categories/classification systems that individuals resort to in order to make sense of new information. On one hand, people read new information/news within these frames; on the other hand, the media employs frames in the presentation of information/news. Framing essentially involves selection and emphasis.

In this sense, how does the news engage in framing an issue? We understand that news articles are not merely “informative” but rather heavily ideological texts. The textual construct of news frames a subject by defining the problems, delineating causal connections, engaging in moral evaluations, and proffering both explicit and implicit resolutions.

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Discourse analysis, alongside framing analysis, aims to dissect the narrative structure and the constructed world of meaning within the text. Discourse, encompassing social actors and subjects, can be defined as institutionalized and established forms of speech and expression that classify, name, position, generate knowledge about, and exert power and constraints over these entities. It encompasses not only linguistic expressions but also embodied forms of expression manifested in practices and institutions. When examining patterns, commonalities, and relationships encompassing different texts and events, what we are scrutinizing is discourse. Discourse analysis delves beyond the surface of the text to explore the relationships, historical processes, and paradigms produced by words, terms, and concepts. Language operates as a site of ideological and political struggle, where form is as important as content.

In the forthcoming reports, we will conduct a comprehensive analysis of how political and opposition students are stigmatized as “enemies of religion,” “terrorists,” and “deviants.” Furthermore, we will examine the definition of an acceptable university student and the characterization of legitimate political activism. The representation of students advocating for their rights to housing and livelihood, as well as the portrayal of the AKP’s touted “university miracle” and the depiction of university students in judicial news, will also be examined with meticulous examples.

We hope that the reports we prepare contribute to the ideals of a democratic and inclusive university. Enjoy reading.

Burak Özçetin
Beyza Kural

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I: TARGETING IN THE NEWS “ENEMIES OF RELIGION”

For the University in the News II report, we examined 300 news articles from A Haber, Akşam, Yeni Şafak, Takvim, Türkiye, Sabah, Yeni Akit, and Milli Gazete in 2022 that include university students. Based on these articles, we have prepared reports highlighting recurring patterns that stand out across different sources. The first report you are currently reading focuses on the portrayal of political and opposition university students as “enemies of religion.”

We conducted a detailed analysis of 22 articles on this subject. Within the overarching theme of “religion enmity,” prominent subtopics emerged, such as “defamation of religion” and “disparagement of religious beliefs.” Our subheadings were established by identifying the individuals targeted in these articles, the actions that were targeted, and the recurring emphases employed to legitimize the targeting.

When it comes to the subject of “religion enmity,” the religion in question is Islam. The asserted grounds for this hostility vary, ranging from a song lyric to a performance or statements made in a classroom. The descriptions used to label individuals involved in these incidents transitioned from student to “provocateur” and from academics to “impudent.” Within the emphasis on the judicial process to establish legitimacy, the outcome of acquittal did not alter the targeting. The actions taken against the targeted individuals were reported with a tone of “legitimacy,” while attempts were made to establish this legitimacy through opposition.

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1. WHO WERE TARGETED?

In the 22 news articles we examined, we observed that students, academics, or both groups were targeted as “enemies of religion.”

In the analysis of the 22 news articles, we found that students were targeted in eight articles, academics in eleven articles, and both groups in three articles.

1.1. “STUDENTS AS ENEMIES OF RELIGION”

The majority of the news articles targeting students focused on singling out an individual student who sang a song during an event. The headlines specifically mentioned the student's name, highlighting their involvement and making them the target of the article.



“New scandal from *****, the ringleader of provocations at Boğaziçi University! Mocking religious values like this!”

“Turkey witnessed a period of provocations at Boğaziçi University. The leader of these provocations, ***** , has now committed a new scandal. While allegedly singing a song to the crowd, ***** used the expression ‘Beware, Allah is speaking.’” *Takvim*, 23.5.22

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The news articles consistently highlighted the demonstrations that ensued following the appointment of a new rector at Boğaziçi University, often referring to them as “provocations.” The targeted student was also targeted due to participation in these protests. The news coverage predominantly revolved around a brief video clip capturing the moment when the student sang a song and uttered the phrase “Beware, Allah is speaking.”

Let us take a closer look at one of the news articles on this topic. The headline of the article, which featured the student’s name, included phrases such as “mocked religion” and “the leader of the actions disregarded religious values” (A Haber, 23 May 2022). The article itself consisted of a five-line summary and a one-line news text. The news text read, “The leading figure of the actions at Boğaziçi University, this time, mocked religious values.” The six-line article featured the video that was the subject of the news and included a screenshot from that video. By emphasizing the student’s “leadership,” the article aimed to convey that the incident extended beyond an individual act, but rather attributed it to the entire protest movement and its participants in general.



"Insults to Islam under the name of 'Sacred Cow Festival' at Ankara University Faculty of Political Sciences! Muslim students express their outrage." [Takvim, 13.5.22](#)

In addition to individual targeting, there were also news articles that targeted all students during collective events. An example of such news articles emerged from the traditional "Sacred Cow Festival" (Kutsal İnek Bayramı) at Ankara University, where a student's performance dressed as an imam became the subject of targeting and news coverage.

In the news article published in Takvim newspaper on May 13, 2022, the video of the student dressed as an imam and photographs capturing that moment were presented with an emphasis on "insulting Islam." The news text created a contrast between "students" and "Muslim students," highlighting the reaction of the latter. These articles targeted both the student dressed as an imam by name and collectively targeted those who participated in the event.

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It is indeed noteworthy how the long-standing tradition of the Sacred Cow Festival, which has been in place for almost 80 years, was sensationalized as a brand-new scandal in the news, along with other highlighted aspects. Phrases like “a country that is 99% Muslim” and “likely to hold positions in the government in the coming years” were used to frame the requirements of being part of the government’s leadership. Describing the protesters as “Muslim students” not only created a sense of antagonism among other students but also made assumptions about the religious identities of a particular group of students, which is problematic.

1.2. “ACADEMICS AS ENEMIES OF RELIGION”

The news articles targeting academics were primarily focused on a specific academic who was singled out based on their statements during lectures. These articles often framed the academic’s remarks as “insults to the prophet” and highlighted their affiliation as a columnist for the opposition newspaper *Birgün*.

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“Disgraceful scoundrel: Insulted our Prophet - (...), a writer for Birgün newspaper and an instructor at the Faculty of Arts and Design at Yıldız Technical University, insulted our Prophet (peace be upon him) and mocked him with hadiths during a lecture.

(...) responded to a protesting student by saying, ‘You are a product of the intellect imposed by Islamic propaganda.’ Yeni Şafak, 14.12.22

The “news article,” which began with the insult “disgraceful scoundrel,” characterized the statements of academic (...) as an “unprecedented lowliness.” While the article repeatedly claimed that (...) insulted religion and the Islamic Prophet, there was very little explanation regarding the nature of these insults. Expressions that could be considered within the scope of freedom of thought, expression, analysis, and guaranteed by the constitution/international conventions and court decisions were defined as criminal acts. The articles identified the academic as an “instructor” and “Birgün columnist,” and his photograph was also published.

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2. HOW WERE THEY DEFINED?

The targeted students and academics were referred to as students or academics in the news, but that was never the sole word used to describe them. Especially the protests in which the students participated appeared as adjectives that continued to target them.

Here are some of the expressions used towards the students:

- Boğaziçi protester
- Ringleader of provocations
- Provocateurs mocking Islamic values
- Insulting lefties

Indeed, the distinction between “students” and “Muslim students” appeared in the news as well.

Türkiye'nin bürokratlarını yetiştiren önemli okullardan biri olan Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi'nde 'Kutsal İnek Bayramı' adı altında İslam'a hakaret edildi. Yüzde 99'u Müslüman bir ülkede ilerleyen yıllarda yönetim kadrolarında olma ihtimali bulunan öğrencilerin bu hareketlerine Müslüman öğrenciler ise tepki gösterdi.

“...Muslim students, on the other hand, reacted to the actions of the students.” Takvim 13.5.22

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Derogatory expressions such as “disgraceful scoundrel” and “impudent” were also used towards academics.

Hadsizlere suç duyurusu! Müslümanlardan müptezellere karşı ortak tepki

“Criminal complaint to the impudent! Common reaction from Muslims against addicts”, [Yeni Akit](#), 21.12.2022

İBDA’cılardan hakaretçi solaklara müdahale

“Intervention by İBDA’ists against insulting lefties”, [Yeni Akit](#), 18.12.2022

Rezil herif: Peygamber Efendimiz'e hakaret etti

“Disgraceful scoundrel: Insulted our Prophet”, [Yeni Şafak](#), 14.12.2022

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3. HOW DID THEY BECOME “ENEMIES OF RELIGION”?

In the news, being targeted as “enemies of religion” was often discussed under headings such as “blasphemy - disrespect towards religion” and “insults towards the prophet.”

In the news, regarding the accusations of blasphemy - disrespect towards religion, certain incidents stood out. One was the utterance of the phrase “Beware, Allah is speaking” while singing during an event. Another notable incident was a performance in traditional attire, including a turban and robe, as part of a traditional “Cow Festival” event. Additionally, an academic’s remarks during a lecture were reported as being associated with accusations of insulting the prophet.

4. HOW DID LEGAL PROCESSES APPEAR IN THE NEWS?

In the news articles we examined under this heading, there was a notable emphasis on the “judicial process.” It was highlighted in the headlines of the eight news pieces that the complaints were filed and investigations were initiated.

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"Hz. Muhammed'e hakaret" soruşturmasında karar verildi! Dosya Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi'ne gönderildi

The decision has been made in the investigation of "insulting Prophet Muhammad"! The case has been sent to Yıldız Technical University. (A haber, 27.12.22).

Boğaziçi eylemcisi dini değerleri hedef aldı... Soruşturma başlatıldı

"Boğaziçi protestor targeted religious values... Investigation was initiated." (Akşam, 23.5.22)

The legal processes were used in the news to support the "guilt" of the individuals targeted. This emphasis remained consistent even in cases where the legal proceedings resulted in dismissal or acquittal.

A criminal complaint was filed based on a similar action in previous years against the student targeted due to the "Cow Festival" was reported with accusatory language in the news, despite the fact the process ended in acquittal.

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O PROVOKATÖR YİNE SAHNEDE

2016 yılında da benzeri yaşanan provokasyonun öncü ismi yine [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] 2016 yılında da benzer eylemi gerçekleştirdiği için hakkında suç duyurusunda bulunan ve üniversiteden ceza alan [REDACTED] geçtiğimiz aylarda beraat etmişti.

“THE PROVOCATEUR ON STAGE AGAIN - (...), the leading figure of a similar provocation that occurred in 2016, is once again in the spotlight. (...), who faced criminal charges and disciplinary action from the university for a similar act in 2016, was acquitted in recent months.” [Sabah, 13.5.22](#)

Similarly, in the news regarding the academic, the decision of non-prosecution was also reported with headlines such as “a decision has been made about [the academic].”

GÜNDEM

Hız. Muhammed'e hakaret ettiği iddia edilmişti: Akademisyen hakkında karar verildi

Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesinde müfredat dışına çıkarak Hız. Muhammed'e hakaret ettiği iddia edilen öğretim görevlisi [REDACTED] hakkında, ceza soruşturması yapma yetkisinin ilgili Üniversite Rektörlüğüne ait olması sebebiyle görevsizlik kararı verildi. Dosya Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi Rektörlüğü'ne gönderildi.

15:35 - 27/12/2022 Salı — DHA

“It was alleged that he insulted Prophet Muhammad: Decision made about the academic - (...), an instructor at Yıldız Technical University, who was accused of insulting Prophet Muhammad by deviating from the curriculum, was deemed to lack jurisdiction due to the authority to conduct criminal investigations belonging to the relevant University Rectorate. The case has been referred to Yıldız Technical University Rectorate” [Yeni Şafak, 27.12.22](#)

The language used in relation to legal processes, along with the emphasis in the headlines, progressed within the framework of portraying the targeted individual as “guilty,” suggesting that they had “already committed this crime before,” and implying that “the necessary actions will be taken.” This framework attempted to legitimize the act of targeting and vilifying.

5. WHAT WERE CONSIDERED REASONABLE ACTIONS?

While statements or actions perceived as insults to religion were prominently highlighted and subject to accusations, actions taken against such acts were portrayed in a completely different framework. These actions were presented under the framework of “legitimate responses to religious insults.”

In these publications, while student protests were portrayed with headlines such as “terrorism” and “propaganda,” the headlines regarding “actions taken against religious insults” were far from this negative language. When reporting on these actions, which they considered to fall under the “reasonable” category, they also used expressions such as “uprising,” “intervention,” and “sending them home” in a positive tone.

MÜSLÜMAN ÖĞRENCİLER TEPKİ GÖSTERDİ

Bu hakaretlere bazı Müslüman öğrenciler ise daha fazla dayanamadı. Okulda gelenek haline gelen ve İslami değerlerin ayak altına alındığı etkinliği basan o öğrenciler, büyük tepki gösterdi.

“Muslim students expressed their reactions” [Takvim](#), [13.5.22](#)

In these news articles, there was often a contrast that emerged among students. The targeted students were considered as one of the two sides, and the other side was labeled as “Muslim students” or “students with religious sensitivities.”

'İnek Bayramı' rezaleti ile ilgili Ankara Üniversitesi'nden açıklama: İnceleme başlatıldı...

Ankara Üniversitesi'nde bir grup 'İnek Bayramı' adı altında gerçekleştirdiği etkinlik ile İslami değerleri hedef almıştı. Duruma tepki gösteren bir grup öğrenci salona girerek, rezalete müdahale etmişti. Türkiye'nin gündemine oturan olay ile ilgili Ankara Üniversitesi'nden açıklama geldi. Açıklamada, skandal organizasyonla ilgili inceleme başlatıldığı duyuruldu.

“Statement from Ankara University regarding the ‘Cow Festival’ scandal: Investigation launched...”

A group of students at Ankara University had organized an event called the “Cow Festival,” which targeted Islamic values. In response, another group of students entered the venue and intervened in the scandalous event. The incident, which made headlines in Turkey, prompted a statement from Ankara University. The statement announced that an investigation has been launched into the scandalous organization.” Sabah, 16.5.22

The news article published in Sabah Newspaper regarding the “Cow Festival” above highlighted the intervention of those who reacted to the event and this was affirmed. Similar positive portrayals were observed in other headlines of this nature.

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Efendimiz'e (sav) dinsizce hakaret etmişti! YTÜ'deki Müslüman öğrenciler [REDACTED]'a karşı ayaklandı

“He had insulted our Master (peace be upon him) in an irreligious manner! Muslim students at YTU protested against (...).” [Yeni Akit, 16.12.22](#)

The expression “protesting against” took on a negative tone in the news when it came to opposition students, however, in these news articles, “protesting against” was used in the context of “deserved consequences” regarding “reasonable actions.”

İBDA'cılardan hakaretçi solaklara müdahale

“Intervention by İBDA'ists against insulting lefties” ([Yeni Akit, 18.12.22](#))

An example of a news article that best reflects the general framework of actions taken against the protests against targeting can be found in Yeni Akit. The article titled “[Intervention by İBDA'ists against insulting lefties](#)” covered an intervention by a group referred to as “İBDA'ists” against the support action for an academic who was targeted due to their remarks during a lecture.

In the news article, the slogans of the socialist organizations' joint statement were mentioned as “they roared.” The action taken against this protest was announced as “a group carrying İBDA flags dispersed the socialists and sent the secularists who supported the insult against Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him) back to their homes.” Opposition newspapers, which reported the İBDA-flagged action as a “provocation,” were also targeted in the news.

II: TARGETING IN THE NEWS “TERRORISTS”

We had started questioning how opposition students and academics were targeted, how they were defined, and how they were addressed within discriminatory and exclusionary frameworks in the reports named University in the News. In our first report, we problematized the labeling of students and academics as “enemies of religion.” In this report, we will delve into “terror” and “terrorist” frameworks frequently encountered in pro-government media.

Students were once again the most targeted group in the news. Activist students were almost never identified as students in the news. When university protests were covered, the main dichotomy was established between “terrorist” activists and “nationalist” students.

Not only students, but also individuals and institutions showing solidarity with students, fell victim to the label of terrorism. The ease with which students and academics were labelled with the terms “terror” and “terrorist” aligns with the government’s tendency to associate any form of opposition and criticism directed towards itself with terrorist activities and view them as criminal acts.

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1. WHO WERE TARGETED?

Students and academics were the most targeted individuals in the news related to universities. Representatives of civil society organizations, politicians, and political parties were also targeted at the points where they interacted with students.

In 16 out of 18 news articles, students were targeted with explicit references to “terrorism,” while in the remaining 2 articles, academics were also targeted using similar descriptions.

1.1. STUDENTS



Turkish youth did not allow the scandal at METU to go unnoticed! Instead of a slanderous tablecloth, a Turkish flag was raised. a haber, 11.11.22

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In the news related to students, student clubs were frequently targeted, and we observed that social media posts, in particular, were used as a means to target students. On the other hand, antagonisms were built between the students that issued statements in support of the targeted students and the student groups that made counter statements.

Among our media scans, we encountered a news article about a lawyer discussing chemical weapon allegations. The article included information about that lawyer's participation in a press statement and signature campaign during their student years. This news serves as an example of how past student activities and persecutions can later be used as a justification for targeting individuals.

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1.2. ACADEMICIANS

ABD'den Boğaziçi provokatörü akademisyenlere tokat gibi belgeler: Komiksiniz

Boğaziçi Üniversitesi'nde rektör atamalarına karşı başlattıkları eylemlerle karmaşa ve kaos girişiminde bulunan isimler destek de alamadıkları bu protestolarını halen belli çapta sürdürse de kamuoyunun desteğini alamadı. Söz konusu eylemlerin faili akademisyenlerin sözde dünyayı örnek göstererek sundukları verilerin de yalan olduğu ortaya çıkmıştı. Bu durum bir kez daha tescillendi.

“Documents from the USA regarding the Boğaziçi provocateur academics: You are a joke” Sabah, 30.12.22

In the year 2022, academics at Boğaziçi University, who have been in resistance lasting up to 900 days and their ongoing vigils extending to the 600th day continued to be targeted.

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1.3. PEOPLE WHOM STUDENTS SHOW SOLIDARITY WITH

In news articles where students were targeted, individuals who received support from these students were also subjected to targeting. Professor Dr. Şebnem Korur Fincancı, who faced detention and prosecution for a period of time following her statement regarding the investigation of allegations of chemical weapon use in military operations, and Sezgin Tanrıkulu, a member of the Republican People's Party (CHP) who made similar statements on the issue were also mentioned in the news articles where students were targeted due to the banners they hung addressing the subject. The Peoples' Democratic Party (HDP) became the targeted political party, often being used as a "pretext" for the targeting. HDP member of parliament Meral Daniş Beştaş was also targeted in the news article where her statement on the attack against Kurdish students was labeled as "provocation."

The news regarding the scholarship provided by the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, led by Ekrem İmamoğlu from the Republican People's Party (CHP), also served as an example of politicians being targeted alongside students.

2. HOW WERE THEY DEFINED?

ODTÜ'de PKK paçavralı gösteri



Haberi Paylaş:



AA yazdır

Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi'nde Devrim Yürüyüşü gerçekleştirildi. PKK sempatanları, yürüyüşü PKK propagandasına çevirdi.

"A demonstration with PKK rags at METU", Akşam, [28.5.2022](#)

Even though academics were called as academics in the news articles, albeit with accusatory adjectives, these articles still refrained from calling students as students.

2.1. STUDENTS

Apart from the news article targeting a student for their political activities during their time as a student, there were 15 other news articles related to students. Only three of these articles included statements indicating that the individuals being targeted were students. However, these mentions did not present their student identities in a positive manner. The news articles referred to them as “university girl,” “university student” in quotation marks, and “students who love PKK.”

But how were students portrayed? Students were mostly described as “PKK lovers/sympathizers,” “PKK advocates,” and “terror sympathizers.”

Student clubs were also referred to in a context that detached them from their student identities. Examples include “An organization named METU Forum” and “A Twitter account named Ankara Free Student Initiative.”

In two news articles related to the trials in which students were being prosecuted, they were described as “provocateurs” and “defendant-suspects.”

On the other hand, there were also mentions of other students in the news articles. The students who were reported to have taken down the banner hung by the targeted students were referred to as “Turkish youth,” “patriotic students,” and “students affiliated with the Turkish Youth Union (TGB).”

2.2. ACADEMICIANS

In news articles about academics, their academic status was mentioned, but the adjectives and subsequent sentences did not emphasize this aspect. Expressions such as “activist,” “Provocative academics from Boğaziçi,” and “Academics responsible for the protests” were used in the news articles.

3. EXEMPLARY NEWS

In our research, we observed that the news articles with a predominant emphasis on terrorism and nationalism targeted which individuals and how they were described. These articles covered a wide range of topics, from the banners hung by students on campus to their participation in the Boğaziçi protests, as well as campus marches and social media posts.

We are concluding our report with exemplary news articles.



"We hauled it down since the university did not do it"

"At Middle East Technical University, a group called 'METU Forum' hung a banner in support of HDP and TTB Chairperson Şebnem Korur Fincancı's false claims about chemical weapons. However, students affiliated with the Turkish Youth Union (TGB) hauled down the banner and replaced it with the Turkish flag." (Yeni Şafak, 13.11.2022)

The news article titled "We hauled it down since the university did not do it" presents a visual contrast by displaying a photo of the banner hanging on a wall alongside a photo of the same wall with the Turkish flag and three men standing on it. This juxtaposition helps emphasize the antagonism highlighted in the article. The description of "An Organization Named METU Forum" as a group distances the student club from legitimacy and student identity. On the other hand, the description of "students affiliated with the Turkish Youth Union (TGB)" carries a connotation of being "real students." The article seeks to criminalize the HDP (People's Democratic Party) through Korur-Fincancı, who is associated with the Turkish Medical Association (TTB) as its chairperson, even though she is not actually the chairperson of the HDP.

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The sentence “...stated that outsiders came to the university to conduct propaganda activities” in the news content also reinforces the implication that the person who hung the banner cannot be a student, as indicated by the term “outsiders.”

GÜNDEM

Boğaziçi Üniversitesi'nde eylemciye ders yok!

Boğaziçi Üniversitesi'ndeki eylemlere öncülük eden ve kadroları başka üniversitelerde olan 12 akademisyene bu yıl ders verilmedi. Üniversiteden yapılan açıklamada, “Bir grubun tahakkümünü devam ettirmek amacını taşıyan her türlü tutum ve davranış üniversite yönetimi tarafından engellenecektir” denildi.

Haber Merkezi — 00:00 . 7/09/2022 Çarşamba — Yeni Şafak



“No classes for the activist at Boğaziçi University!”

“This year, 12 academics who led the protests at Boğaziçi University and had positions at other universities were not assigned any classes. In a statement issued by the university, it was stated that “any attitude or behavior aiming to maintain the domination of a particular group will be prevented by the university administration.” [Yeni Şafak, 7.9.22](#)

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The negatively toned news article titled “No classes for the activist at Boğaziçi University!” that describes academics as “activists” is one of the news articles targeting academics. The article includes a photograph of academics participating in a vigil protest at the university.

The news article focuses solely on the university’s statement and provides limited information beyond that. Academics are described based on the statements made in that announcement. While the names of the academics are listed in a sequential manner, there is no mention of any individual's specific statement.

III: TARGETING AND HATE SPEECH TOWARDS LGBTI+ STUDENTS

In the first two installments of the University in the News report series, we examined examples of students being targeted and labeled as "enemies of religion" and "terrorists" due to their activities, press statements, or participation in protests.

In the third installment, we closely examine news articles that directly target LGBTI+ students based on their mere existence.

We have observed that almost all the news articles targeting LGBTI+ students also contain hate speech. In the 11 articles we examined, this targeting and hate speech were carried out through terms such as "deviance" and "provocateur." Many of the articles were related to statements made by groups that defined LGBTI+ students in this way. The sentences of anti-LGBTI+ groups were prominently featured in the news articles. On the other hand, the words of LGBTI+ students appeared only in one or two articles as part of the targeting. Let us also note that we came across mentions of Pride March and a few rare LGBTI+ identities in quotation marks.

1. HOW WERE THEY DEFINED?

“LBT, LGB, LGBT, LGBTHDPKK...” While preparing the University in the News reports, we sometimes encountered examples that gave the impression of someone pressing down on all the silent letters. In all the examples we examined for this report, the term “LGBT” was present.

We encountered the term “LGBT+” twice and the term “LGBTİ+” once in the texts. For example:

- “The planned LGBT+ picnic at Istanbul University was canceled due to the reaction of the students.” ([Yeni Şafak](#))
- “Istanbul Governorate did not grant permission for the 19th Istanbul LGBTİ+ Pride March that was planned to take place today at Maltepe Rally Area.” ([ahaber](#))

However, none of these usages appeared in a positive or neutral manner. The term “LGBT” was frequently used in negative, targeting, and hate speech-containing expressions such as “[LGBT deviants](#),” “[LGBT provocation](#),” “[LGBT siege](#),” and “[LGBT's address of provocation](#).” In the following sections, we will take a closer look at these descriptions.

We cannot say that the definition becomes free from negativity when the term “LGBT” was used alone or when we came across phrases that initially appear neutral, such as “[LGBT event](#),” “[LGBT demonstration](#),” or “[LGBT picnic](#).” In such texts, the framing of the news around “deviance” continued to have the influence of underlying hate-filled expressions.

2. HOW WERE THEY TARGETED?

In all the news articles issuing LGBTI+ individuals, the predominant theme was “deviance.” Furthermore, we also came across mentions of “provocation” and “global gangs” in relation to them.

LGBTI+ students were subjected to hate speech within the context of these themes. The texts also included references to the names of student clubs that organized their activities.

2.1. DEVIANCE



“The National Vision youth stands against deviants. The Istanbul University Beyazıt Campus branch of the Anatolian Youth Association (AGD) has announced that they will not allow the activities of the deviants called LGBT, showing an honorable stance against immorality.”

[Milli Görüş](#), 17.06.2022

“Deviance” and “deviants” were among the most frequently used expressions of hate speech we encountered in the news. When we searched for “deviance” in the search box, we found corresponding results in all of the news articles.

In 5 out of the 11 news articles, the term “deviant” was included in the headlines.

- “No tolerance for deviance” ([Milli Gazete](#))
- “The National Vision youth stands against deviants.” ([Milli Gazete](#))
- “AGD triumphed over LGBTist deviants.” ([Milli Gazete](#))

- “AGD responds strongly to the deviant group LGBT: Stop this disgraceful rush!” ([Milli Gazete](#))
- “AGD calls on the government: Put an end to the activities of deviant associations.” ([Milli Gazete](#)).

Although not explicitly stated in the headlines, the source of the term “deviance” mentioned in the news articles was the statements made by various groups against the LGBTI+ community, which were present in 10 out of the 11 articles. The news frames propagated the statements of anti-LGBTI+ groups while neglecting to include alternative perspectives or the statements of the accused actors.

İstanbul Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi'nde LGBT+ üyeleri tarafından 'onur haftası' için planlanan organizasyona pek çok sivil toplum kuruluşu 'Sapkınlığın karşısında fitratın yanındayız' başlıklı hazırlanan bildiriyle tepki gösterdi.

"26 detained in unauthorized LGBT protest at Istanbul University"
[Yeni Şafak](#), 18.06.2022

Yaklaşık 150 sivil toplum kuruluşunun katılacağı "Aileni ve neslini koru, sapkınlığa dur de!" mitingi, yarın saat 15.00'da Saraçhane'de başlayacak.

"University under LGBT siege: The target of the global gang is the youth", [Yeni Şafak](#), 17.09.2022

Açıklamada; eşcinsellik gibi anormal bir olgunun etrafında inşa ettikleri sahte algılarla insanları kandıran, sönmeye yüz tutmuş saman alevi mesabesindeki **sapkın** örgütlerin mağduru oynamalarına izin vermeyeceklerini belirterek, "Eşcinselliğin bir **sapkınlık** olduğu hakikatini psikoloji, biyoloji ve tıp bilimleri başta olmak üzere tüm ilim dallarında anlatmaya, **sapkın** örgütlerin istismar ettiği çocuklarımıza terapi

"LGBT's provocation address is Taksim! The deadline they gave to the state has expired! New statement from NGOs that did not allow perversion in Beyazit." [ahaber](#), 25.06.2022

On the other hand, there were instances where the term "deviants" was directly used in the news text. For example, "Deviants' picnic canceled" ([Yeni Şafak](#)).

2.2. PROVOCATION, GLOBAL GANG ACTIVITY

"Provocation" was another theme that emerged alongside the emphasis on "deviance." The picnic organized by LGBTI+ students for Pride Month was labeled as "provocation."

İstanbul Üniversite İletişim Fakültesi önünde toplanan Müslümanlar, bugün yapılması planlanan LGBT etkinliğine izin vermedi. Konuya duyarlı vatandaşlar "Ülkemizde sapıklık istemiyoruz" sloganlarıyla kirli provokasyonu defetti.

"...Concerned citizens countered the dirty provocation with slogans like 'We do not want perversion in our country.'" ([ahaber](#), 17.06.2022)

Additionally, we also came across news articles that heightened the emphasis on “provocation” with the use of the term “global gang.” The reference to a “global gang” aligns with the vague external enemy perception of the circles of government. According to this narrative, LGBT is seen solely as an extension of a global conspiracy plotted against Turkey.



“University under LGBT siege: The target of the global gang is the youth”, [Yeni Şafak](#), 17.09.2022

3. WHOSE VOICES WERE ACCOMMODATED?

In all of the news articles we reviewed, statements against LGBTI+ individuals were included. The main focus of the news articles often revolved around statements made in response to an event or activity organized by the LGBTI+ community.



"AGD's honorable stance against LGBT: No perversion allowed!"

[Millî Gazete](#), 16.06.2022

Statements targeting LGBTI+ individuals were predominantly featured in the news articles, often accompanied by photographs and full texts. We also observed that the news articles were occasionally enriched with statements from those participating in the announcements. However, it is noteworthy that there was no direct inclusion of the voices of LGBTI+ students in any of the news articles.



"AGD's call to the government: End the activities of perverted associations"

[Millî Gazete](#), 27.06.2022

In two news articles, the words of LGBTI+ students managed to find their way into the text, so to speak. While the statement against the ban on the 19th Pride March was explicitly mentioned in the text, it was included visually within a news content.

İSTANBUL VALİLİĞİ "ONUR YÜRÜYÜŞÜ"NE İZİN VERMEDİ

İstanbul Valiliği, bugün Maltepe Miting Alanı'nda gerçekleştirilmek istenen 19. İstanbul LGBTİ+ Onur Yürüyüşü'ne izin vermemiştir.

İstanbul Valiliği'nin paylaşılan açıklamasında şu ifadeler kullanılmıştır:

VALİLİĞE TANIDIĞIMIZ MÜDDET DOLDU!

Vali Ali Yerlikaya bu sırada "kadınların dışarıya bile çıkmasını yasaklamak isteyen" İsmailağa Cemaati liderinin cenazesindeydi. Yani halkı kin ve nefrete teşvik ettiği için önlem almasını istediğimiz güruh ile bir aradaydı.

Nefret kampanyalarının örgütlenmesine engel olmak bir yana çağrımıza en ufak bir tepki bile göstermeyen kamu kurumlarının ve devlet bürokratlarının bu nefret suçunun bir parçası olduğunu ve sorumlu olduğunu ilan ediyoruz.

İster polis ister örgütlediğiniz paramiliter güçlerden LGBTİ+'lara ve İstanbul Onur Yürüyüşü'ne yönelik gerçekleşecek olan saldırının **sorumlusu ve suç ortağı sizsiniz!**

Buradan Türkiye halklarına sesleniyoruz:

Baskılar, tehditler bize vız gelir; biz lubunyalor en ufak bir çatlıktan bile nefes alır, varlığımızı şonlatırız, çünkü her yürüyüşümüz onur yürüyüşü bizim. Bu baskılara bir arada direndiğimizde olabilecekleri ise hepimiz için için biliyoruz. İçimiz bir cesaret parıltısı bekliyor "artık yeter" demek, bir arada yaşamı mümkün kılmak için özgür ve eşit yaşamı savunan herkesle **Direneceğiz Lubunya!**



"İl sınırlarımız içerisinde provokatif eylem ve olayların meydana gelebileceği, açık yer toplantısına katılacaklarda dahil olmak üzere halkın huzur ve güvenliğinin, kişi dokunulmazlığının, tasarrufa müteallik emniyetin, genel sağlığın ve genel ahlakın, başkalarının hak ve özgürlüklerinin korunması, olası şiddet ve terör olaylarının önlenmesi, provokatif eylem ve olayların yaşanmaması için söz konusu açık yer

"The time allowed for the governorship has expired!" [ahaber](#), 25.06.2022

In another news article related to the picnic that LGBTİ+ students wanted to organize at the university, threats against the event and precautionary warnings for the aftermath were mentioned in a news text titled "[LGBT Provocation in Beyazit](#)":

- LGBTists organized themselves on social media with slogans such as 'Whose Beyazit is it, huh?' and 'Are we ready to paint Beyazit in rainbow colors?'"

- “Due to the threat posed by Shariah-based gangs, the picnic has been canceled. If you are in the vicinity of Beyazıt, we advise you to move in large groups and safely leave Beyazıt.”

4. HOW WAS HATE SPEECH USED?

Hate speech was present in all the news articles we examined.

Let us take a closer look at the definition of hate speech used in KaosGL's [Media Monitoring Reports](#):

In summary, any discourse that humiliates, excludes, criminalizes, deems as sinful, and calls for combating based on an individual's sexual orientation or gender identity, labeling it as deviant, perverse, poisonous to families, young people, and children, constitutes hate speech. (p.93)

Let us delve deeper into the texts that follow the definition. The majority of the news articles were about the Pride Picnic planned to be held at Istanbul University. Instead of focusing on the subjects as the participants of the Pride Picnic, the news articles covered the statements made against the picnic.

As detailed in the above statement, all of these news articles defined sexual orientations and gender identities as “deviance.”

In the anti-statements, which were the focus of these news articles, direct references to [“the one condemned in the Quran”](#) were included. The antagonism created through emphasis on the sin and the opposition to religion distinguished itself via the division between being [“Muslims,”](#) [“citizens,”](#) and the “LGBT”.

In addition to the statements made, the definitions and sentences in the news articles also perpetuated this division. In a news article about the reaction to the Pride Picnic, it was stated, “A large number of Muslims gathered in front of the faculty, continuing their reactions against the LGBT event.” ([Yeni Şafak](#))

An example sentence highlighting the religious opposition frame is found in the news article titled “LGBT Provocation in Beyazıt,” which includes the announcement of the Pride Picnic: “The picnic, announced to take place 1.5 hours after Friday prayers, stirred up the citizens.” ([Yeni Şafak](#))



“26 people were detained during the unauthorized LGBT demonstration at Istanbul University.” [Yeni Şafak](#), 18.06.2022

We also came across examples where the activities of LGBT+ individuals were criminalized by emphasizing them as “unauthorized.” The news about the cancellation of the Pride Picnic following the statement titled “[We Stand by Creation Against Deviance](#)” could serve as a good example in this regard.

The news article included a statement that directly used hate speech by referring to the picnic as “deviance.” The expression “A large number of Muslims gathered in front of the faculty, continuing their reactions against the LGBT event” was used in relation to the statement. The subsequent sentences mentioned that “However, some individuals who wanted to continue the unauthorized demonstration caused disturbances in the area” regarding the Pride Picnic.

The framework of the analyzed news articles was shaped by hate speech such as “[not allowing LGBT to prevail](#)” and “[not allowing deviance](#).” The news articles repeatedly portrayed a narrative where local, national, and male individuals were depicted as defenders of the family, children, and ultimately the state against the perceived “LGBT siege.”

IV: RIGHT TO HOUSING

As the housing crisis deepened, particularly in Istanbul, the right to housing became one of the main topics of student protests. In the news articles we examined as part of our report, the right to housing and students' livelihood concerns were among the most frequently discussed subjects. In this section, which focused on the media representation of housing rights-related actions, we analyzed 44 news articles on the issue.

The predominant theme in the news articles ranged from highlighting "good news" provided by politicians regarding newly opened dormitories, scholarship opportunities, and legal regulations to addressing the concerns of housing and livelihood, occasionally giving voice to the students.

While we did not come across news articles explicitly featuring student demonstrations or legal cases concerning the matter, we encountered texts within the examined articles that shed light on the voices of students or highlighted their living conditions.

1. WHAT WAS THE PREDOMINANT THEME IN THE NEWS ARTICLES?

The predominant theme in almost all of the news articles is the issue of housing and livelihood. However, the framing of this coverage varies.

Among the examined articles, 27 of them highlight the “good news” aspect. These articles focus on newly opened dormitories, dorm occupancy rates, scholarship applications, and regulatory changes related to college and dormitory fees, often based on statements from politicians.

We also came across 13 news articles addressing the increasing housing expenses for students, the conditions of dormitories, and the limited budgets allocated for nutrition. These articles feature the difficulties of finding accommodation and the challenges students face in their livelihood.

Four news articles, on the other hand, contain discourses that target students, journalists, and politicians through the right to housing.

1.1. “GOOD NEWS”

Bakan Kasapođlu, öđrencilere müjdeyi verdi: KYK burs rakamlarında devrim yapacađız

“Minister Kasapođlu delivers good news to students: We will revolutionize the scholarship amounts of the Higher Education Loans and Dormitories Institution (KYK)”, [Sabah](#), 07.12.2022

- “[105 new dormitory buildings are coming](#)”,
- “[Students’ Housing Problem is Being Solved](#)”,
- “[Scholarship like a salary! To be given to candidates choosing these departments in university](#)”,
- “[Minister Kasapođlu delivers good news to students: We will revolutionize the scholarship amounts of the KYK](#)”,

The examples provided above were taken from texts that seemingly contained “good news” messages that appeared to solve all the problems related to students’ housing issues. These texts emphasized the notion that the problem was resolved (?) with the construction of new dormitories, without reminding readers of the nature of the housing problem and the demands associated with it.

In these news articles, which often only feature statements from politicians, the “good news” announcements varied including topics such as new dormitories, scholarship announcements, and fee regulations for foundation universities* and private dormitories.

1.1.1. THE GOOD NEWS ANNOUNCEMENT OF NEW DORMITORIES

The news articles that announced the good news about dormitories primarily relied on statements from politicians, including the then Minister of Youth and Sports.

**Öğrencilerin barınma sorununu çözecek adım!
105 yeni yurt binası geliyor! Gençlik ve Spor
Bakanı Kasapoğlu A Haber'de anlattı**

“A step to solve students' housing problem! 105 new dormitory buildings are coming! Minister of Youth and Sports, Kasapoğlu, explained it on A Haber.” [Takvim](#), 12.09.2022

The above news article is also based on the statements of the Minister of Youth and Sports regarding the upcoming opening of new dormitories. The Minister explains the aim of expanding Turkey's vision in terms of student dormitories. In the statement, the minister mentions that Turkey has far more dormitories compared to the capacity in European countries.

*The term “Foundation university” is used to describe the special status of private universities in Turkey.

The sentence “While some may come with different scenarios, we will come with accomplishments and services” is also included in this text. Without addressing student protests and demands related to the right to housing, this sentence in the article presents a framework that criminalizes student demonstrations while emphasizing Turkey's success.

In another news article in this category, there is a statement from a university rector regarding the construction of dormitories. The headline reads “[Good news about dormitories from Rector Özkan](#),” emphasizing the size of the allocated area for the dormitory (10,000 square meters). Under the subheading “Students' housing problem is being solved,” the article includes quotes from the rector stating that the area allocated for the dormitory and the students' housing are among the issues that need to be resolved.

Erdoğan'dan çalışan ve tatil yapmak isteyen öğrencilere müjde! Gençlere yurt otel

“Erdoğan delivers good news to working and vacation-seeking students! Youth hotels for young people”, [Türkiye Gazetesi](#), 27.06.2022

The last example, titled “Good news,” is based on President Erdoğan's statement. The article titled “[Erdoğan delivers good news to working and vacation-seeking students! Youth hotels for young people](#)” was accompanied by a photograph of three female students posing in a workspace within a dormitory. According to Erdoğan's statements reflected in the article, he explains that students will be able to stay in dormitories for free during the summer months. However, it's worth noting that just eight months after this news article was published in June 2022, the first institutions evacuated for earthquake victims were once again student dormitories.

1.1.2. SCHOLARSHIP ANNOUNCEMENTS

Another section within the “Good news” category includes scholarship announcements. These news articles mention “scholarships like salaries” and “thousands of liras that will be transferred to the account in the blink of an eye.” There are criteria for these scholarships, ranging from specific departments to be chosen to certain foundation dormitories.

Maaş gibi burs! Üniversitede bu bölümleri seçen adaylara verilecek

2022-07-26 16:47:00

“Scholarship like a salary! To be given to candidates choosing these departments in university” [Türkiye Gazetesi](#), 26.07.2022

51

The news article titled “[Scholarship like a salary! To be given to candidates choosing these departments in university](#)” features the scholarships that will be provided as a result of the Higher Education Council's (YÖK) opening of new departments and protocols with the industry. The article mentions that YÖK is “opening new departments in universities to meet the need for domestic and national human resources.” The article includes photos of university lecture halls as well as visuals of cash in bundles.



The use of cash visuals is also seen in other news articles. In the article titled “[5,200 TL in your account in the blink of an eye with the scholarship provided by the General Directorate of Foundations!](#)” which refers to the scholarship provided by the General Directorate of Foundations, a visual of cash in hand is used.

Göz açıp kapatana kadar 5.200 TL hesaplarda! Üniversite öğrencilerine 8 ay boyunca ödeniyor

Ekonomi

2022-09-17 09:47:17

Günümüzde artan eğitim masrafları nedeniyle üniversiteye giden öğrenciler bir hayli zorluk yaşıyor. Öğrenciler her ay yüksek masraflar altına giriyor. Bu yüzden burs fırsatları sık sık dikkat çekiyor. Geri ödemesiz burslardan faydalanan öğrenciler borçlanmadan rahat bir eğitim imkanı yakalıyor. Bu burslardan birisini de Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü sağlıyor. Yükseköğrenim öğrencilerine verilen burs 8 ay boyunca düzenli olarak ödeniyor. Ödenen miktar ise en az 5.200 TL olarak hesaplandı. Enflasyonun yüksek çıkması ve bu yılki KYK'nın artacağı düşünüldüğünde bu miktarın artacağı tahmin ediliyor.



“5,200 TL in the accounts in the blink of an eye!”,
[Türkiye Gazetesi](#), 17.09.2022

1.1.3. FEE REGULATIONS FOR PRIVATE DORMITORIES AND FOUNDATION UNIVERSITIES

The “calls” made to foundation universities and private dormitories constitute the final section of the “good news” category. We observed frequent news coverage of statements made by officials from the Higher Education Council, including “discount calls” to foundation universities and “sensitivity requests” directed towards board of trustees.

YÖK Başkanı Özvar'dan vakıf üniversitelerine ekstra indirim çağrısı

“YÖK Başkanı Özvar calls for additional discounts to foundation universities”, [Türkiye Gazetesi](#), 17.08.2022

Among the articles we have reviewed in this section, there is one that highlights the words of YÖK President Prof. Dr. Erol Özvar during the consultation meeting of the Higher Education Council of the Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey (TOBB). The article titled “Call for Discounts” focuses on his statements.

The news article includes an image of a meeting with seven men present on the podium. It quotes Minister Özvar, who mentions that they have received requests for discounts from parents and that support will be provided to foundation universities, indicating that offering additional discounts would be beneficial for the universities.

16 Ağu 2022 - 17:50 - Eğitim

Vakıf üniversiteleri ücretleriyle ilgili açıklama

“Statement regarding the fees of Foundation Universities”,
[Millî Gazete](#), 16.08.2022

In another newspaper, there is a neutral headline that conveys another statement by the YÖK President on a similar topic: “Statement regarding the fees of Foundation Universities.” The [article](#) highlights the YÖK President’s remarks about students having “certain demands” and the statement “Hopefully, in the coming days, we will take a step regarding this matter” is emphasized in the spotlight. The article includes the visual of the YÖK logo.

An important point to note is that the news articles in this section often directly quote statements from institutional officials. However, they may lack additional information regarding the status of fees or specific details about students' demands.

1.2. STRUGGLE FOR LIVELIHOOD

- [“The monthly cost for students is staggering,”](#)
- [“Students are struggling with livelihood before education,”](#)
- [“Three students sharing one meal”,](#)

In the news articles where the predominant theme diverges from the realm of “good news,” we encounter texts that allude to the challenges pertaining to students’ livelihoods, nutrition, housing expenses, and dormitory conditions. These texts, which revolve around this theme, were found in only two of the sources we examined: *Türkiye* and *Millî Gazete*.

Within the theme of “struggle for livelihood” that we have compiled, these news articles encompass a range of topics including calculations of monthly living costs, difficulties in renting accommodation, and discussions on the conditions of dormitories.

In 5 out of the 13 news articles in this section, there is inclusion of students’ voices. Thus, these articles can be considered as the ones where students’ voices are most frequently heard. Alongside students, the opinions of experts, real estate agents, and marketplace sellers also form the foundation of these news articles.

Öğrencinin aylık maliyeti dudak uçuklatıyor

“The monthly cost for students is staggering”,
[Türkiye Gazetesi](#), 23.07.2022

In the news article titled “The monthly cost for students is staggering,” the spotlight emphasizes how economic conditions are causing university candidates to contemplate their choices as the application deadline approaches. The article includes an interview with an education and career counselor, providing insights and advice on the matter.

Bir öğrenci evi ne kadara döşenir?

Eğitim

2022-09-24 05:42:30

“How much does it cost to furnish a student apartment”,
[Türkiye Gazetesi](#), 24.09.2022

In another news article that seeks to answer the question, “How much does it cost to furnish a student apartment?” interviews with marketplace sellers in Istanbul are featured. The article begins with the statement, “There is currently a student activity at the marketplaces, and the shopkeepers are happy.” It provides advice to students on topics such as the cost of furnishing a student apartment and offers suggestions like free portage services.

20 Eylül 2022 - 04:30 - Eğitim GÜNCELLEME: 20 Eylül 2022 - 09:49

KYK'de koğuş sistemi!

Üniversite kazanan gençler, KYK yurtlarının barınma sorununa çözüm olmasını beklerken bu sene yeni bir uygulama ile karşılaştı... Yurt odalarında ranzalar artırıldı...

“Ward system at KYK!”, [Millî Gazete](#), 20.09.2022

The news article titled “Ward system at KYK!” draws attention to the condition of dormitories. The article highlights the increase in bunk beds in dormitory rooms, and mentions that students have expressed their dissatisfaction with this situation. While there are no direct interviews with students, the article states, “Students have been expressing their reactions on social media, likening the dormitory rooms to prisons and trying to bring attention to the situation by sharing photos of their dormitory rooms.”

2. WHOSE VOICE WAS HEARD?

In the analyzed news articles, significant attention was given to politicians, particularly the Minister of Youth and Sports, representatives from the Higher Education Council (YÖK), and university rectors. Out of 16 articles that highlighted the presence of politicians and other influential figures, only eight of them incorporated the perspectives of students to some extent. However, it is noteworthy that merely four of these articles included statements directly from students regarding their specific issues. Additionally, two separate articles that featured the voices of students also subjected them to targeting. Alongside these observations, the news coverage encompassed institutional announcements and featured statements from local businesses, real estate agents, and experts.

In the majority of the news articles with “Good News” theme, the statements of politicians and official individuals and institutions were highlighted. In this section, the statements of the Minister of Youth and Sports, particularly regarding dormitory capacities and the construction of new dormitories, were frequently featured.

The Minister's remarks were followed by the President of the Higher Education Council (YÖK), who made calls for discounts in foundation universities. Also, President Erdoğan's words appeared in a promising good news article titled "Youth Hotels as Dormitories."

Among the [news articles](#) that featured politicians, there was only one article that included a written statement from Saadet Party Member of Parliament Abdulkadir Karaduman, which also shed light on the challenges confronted by students. Karaduman emphasized the considerable hardship faced by students because of the ongoing increase in dormitory costs and examination fees. This statement was published under the headline "Students Struggling to Fulfill Basic Needs."

In the news articles we examined, the thoughts or demands of students did not prominently appear. When we included sentences that encompassed the general opinions of students, we came across 10 articles. Out of these 10 articles, four of them included statements from students regarding specific issues without targeting the students.

The [interview](#) conducted with a student who started living in a caravan as a response to the high rental prices in Samsun served as an example of news articles where the student expressed their problems in their own words.

Ev kiralari artınca karavanda yaşamaya başladı: Aylık 750 TL ödüyor

“Started living in a caravan, paying a monthly fee of 750 TL when the rental prices increased”, [Millî Gazete](#), 28.10.2022

The news article about the visit of Republican People’s Party Member of Parliament Okan Gaytancıoğlu to a student house was one of the articles that directly conveyed the students’ words. Titled “[University Student: We divide one cheese into three, I am ashamed of this situation](#),” the article consisted of statements made by the students. It is worth noting that all the students whose direct statements about the issues were included in the news articles were male students.

Two news articles emerged as examples of targeting. The [first one](#) featured photos from a student’s trip abroad, shared on social media, along with the statement “We cannot find shelter!” made by the same student during a group meeting in the Parliament. The second [article](#) included the messages about a student’s statement about the lack of beds in dormitories reported by journalist Nevşin Mengü discussing.

The only news article about protests consisted of a headline and a brief description, spanning nine lines. Titled “Protest by Students at Muğla KYK,” the [article](#) mentioned that students were protesting against the dormitory management. However, it did not provide information about the reason behind the protest or the outcome of the demonstration.

V: “ACCEPTABLE” PROTESTS

When does a protest become acceptable? Which themes can protests be organized around that are deemed acceptable and even desirable? Who is allowed to organize a protest and even encouraged to do so? In this report, we address how acceptable actions are defined and framed in the government-friendly media.

In the examined news articles, the protests against LGBTI+ people and activities perceived as derogatory towards religious beliefs are among the protests considered acceptable were prominent. Furthermore, when an opposition party was criticized, student-led actions immediately gained visibility. In fact, these protests were reported within the context of freedom/right of expression and assembly. Opposition to LGBTI+ rights, defense of religion against attacks, and nationalism shaped the prevalent themes and tone of these actions.

In these publications where student protests were reflected under headings such as “terrorism” and “propaganda,” the headlines concerning “protests against religious insults” and statements targeting LGBTI+ people were notably absent from this negative language. While these actions, which were explicitly deemed acceptable, were reported, the expressions like “uprising,” “intervention,” and “sending them home” were used as positive connotations.

1. WHICH PROTESTS WERE CONSIDERED “ACCEPTABLE?”

We examined 29 news articles under the category of “acceptable protests.” Out of these, 11 were related to press statements and marches.

1.1. WHEN DID ANTI-PRICE HIKE AND ANTI-RACISM PROTESTS BECOME VISIBLE?

Two of the protests that were reported without targeting were press statements organized by students against price hikes.

The protest against transportation fare hikes held in front of the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (İBB) and the press statement by students regarding the private university fees were reported in a manner that reflected the students’ demands.



“University students protested the fare hike in front of the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (İBB).”

[Yeni Şafak, 7.4.22](#)

While the protests of opposing students were frequently depicted using criminalizing language, a distinct change in tone occurred when the targeted institution was an opposition-led municipality. A notable example of this can be observed in the news coverage of the press statement held by students in front of the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (İBB), wherein their demands were directly communicated through banners supported by youth organizations. These news articles, emphasizing “the price hikes that ignited public outrage among Istanbul residents,” notably lacked the negative expressions commonly encountered in similar reports involving opposition students.

Similar language and emphasis were also evident in the coverage of statements against racism.

GÜNDEM

İstanbul Sabahattin Zaim Üniversitesi Öğrencileri ırkçılığa tepki gösterdi: İnsanlığın cenazesi kaldırıldı

İstanbul Sabahattin Zaim Üniversitesi Sosyoloji Kulübü, düzenlediği etkinlikte sembolik olarak insanlığın cenazesini kaldırdı. Kulüp Başkanı Rumeysa Tunç, öldürülen masum çocuklara ve ırkçılığa dikkat çekerek, "Medeniyetimizi kuranlar belki bize öl dediler ama hiç öldür demediler. Çünkü bir insanı öldürmek tüm insanlığı öldürmekten farksızdı." dedi.

20:05 - 27/05/2022 Cuma — Yeni Şafak



★ İLGİNİZİ ÇEKERLİR

Libya'da çöl bölgesi göle döndü
Libya'da meydana gelen sel felaketinde Al-Mukhaili çöl bölgesi suyun birikmes...

İKİ MİLYONA YAKIN

"Students of Istanbul Sabahattin Zaim University protested against racism: The funeral of humanity was held." [Yeni Şafak, 27.5.22](#)

Öğrenciler, doğu Türkistan için yürüdü

AGD, Doğu Türkistan'da yaşanan olaylar ile ilgili "İnsanlık İçin Onurunla Ayağa Kalk" sloganıyla Kocaeli Üniversitesi Umuttepe Kampüsü'nde basın açıklaması düzenlendi.

MILLİ GAZETE HABER MERKEZİ Haber Merkezi Tüm Haberleri



TAKİP ET 150 B TAKİP ET TAKİP ET TAKİP ET

Emeklinde a...tekte

"The students marched for East Turkistan." [Milli Gazete, 18.12.22](#)

In these news articles, the students were referred to as “students” instead of using terms like “protesters” or “provocateurs” that we often encountered in reports about opposing students. Student organizations were also mentioned by their names in the news text without the use of negative expressions. For example, in the case of the “Anatolian Youth Association (AGD), Kocaeli Branch, University Commission,” their name was included in the news without negative connotations. It is worth noting that almost all the press statements made by the protesters were quoted directly in the news. The news article was concluded with the protesters’ emphasis on “Islamic countries should unite”. Additionally, photographs showing all the protesters’ banners and flags were used in the news.

1.2. HOW WERE THE PROTESTS AGAINST LGBTI+ INDIVIDUALS PORTRAYED IN THE NEWS?

News texts frequently incorporated hate speech as for the protests against LGBTI+ individuals.

In the news reports of 2022, targeting and hindrance of the Pride Picnic organized by the Equality Club at Istanbul University, as well as the hate speech-laden statements made against it, were frequently encountered.

In this section of the report, we will examine news examples regarding the press statements made against this action.

AGD'nin fendi LGBT'li sapkınları yendi

AGD başta olmak üzere üniversiteli gençler İstanbul Üniversitesi Eşitlik Topluluğu isimli sapkın oluşumun 'Onur Pikniği' programına tepki gösterirken sapkınlar pikniği iptal etmek zorunda kaldılar.

 Bekir Şirin
Tüm Haberleri



Büyütmek için resme tıklayın

ABONE OL Google News

Emekliye o tarihte
gönderilecek ikramiyeler

“The AGD (Anatolian Youth Association) defeated the deviant LGBTists.”
[Milli Gazete, 17.6.22](#)

The article titled “The AGD (Anatolian Youth Association) defeated the deviant LGBTists” initiates hate speech by incorporating the term “deviants” in the headline itself.

While emphasizing the contrast between groups, the news articles often include statements that not only highlight the opposition but also question the legitimacy of one group. In the case of the student group organizing the march for East Turkistan, their name is mentioned in the news text without any negative connotations. However, in the particular article we examined regarding the Pride Picnic, the student group organizing the event is referred to as the “deviant organization known as Istanbul University Equality Club” in the text. Furthermore, the article juxtaposes them with “vigilant university students” and “Islamic organizations” who stand in opposition to the cause of the Pride Picnic.

The news text frequently employs verbs such as “to be vigilant,” “to deny permission,” “to resist,” and “to not allow,” which highlight and characterize the organizers of the event as justified, legitimate, and powerful. In contrast, LGBTI+ individuals are described as “deviant,” emphasizing the cancellation of the event, and the text concludes with the sentence “it was observed that they lacked the courage to carry out the program.” While LGBTI+ individuals are identified with “deviance,” the AGD is portrayed as “behaving based on morality and spirituality.”

AGD'den LGBT'ye karşı onurlu duruş: Sapkınlığa izin yok!

Küfrün karşısında onurlu bir duruş sergileyen AGD'nin İstanbul Üniversitesi Beyazıt Kampüs Teşkilatı LGBT adlı sapkınların faaliyetlerine izin vermeyeceklerini açıkladı.



“AGD takes an honorable stance against LGBT: No tolerance for deviance!” *Milli Gazete*, 16.6.22

In another news article titled “AGD takes an honorable stance against LGBT: No tolerance for deviance!” on the same subject, we encounter similar emphases on “deviants/honorable individuals” and “resist and disallowance.” The photographs accompanying the article capture the moments depicting the all-male group making a press statement in front of the university gate.

1.3. WERE THE PROTESTS AGAINST “RELIGIOUS INSULTS” PORTRAYED IN THE NEWS?

Among the news articles where students were the subjects, their protests against “religious insults” were also represented without targeting them, and their demands were deemed acceptable.

Efendimiz'e (sav) dinsizce hakaret etmişti! YTÜ'deki Müslüman öğrenciler [REDACTED] karşı ayaklandı

“He insulted the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) in an irreligious manner! The Muslim students at YTU (Yıldız Technical University) rose up against (academician)” Yeni Akit, 16.12.22

While the term “rising up” carried a negative tone when referring to oppositional students, in these particular news articles about “acceptable protests,” “rising up” was portrayed within the framework of a “deserved outcome.”

MÜSLÜMAN ÖĞRENCİLER TEPKİ GÖSTERDİ

Bu hakaretlere bazı Müslüman öğrenciler ise daha fazla dayanamadı. Okulda gelenek haline gelen ve İslami değerlerin ayak altına alındığı etkinliği basan o öğrenciler, büyük tepki gösterdi.

“Muslim students reacted” [Takvim, 13.5.22](#)

These news articles established opposition based on the students’ beliefs. Phrases such as “Muslim students” and “students with religious sensitivities” were emphasized in the texts.

VI:

NEWS RELATED TO JUDICIARY

*In the sixth part of our report series titled *University in the News*, we examined how judicial cases, including male violence, suspicious deaths of women, and suicides among university students, were portrayed in the media.*

The conservative tone in cases of suspicious deaths of female university students, the selection of photographs in news articles about male violence, and the efforts to find the “real culprit” in the coverage of Enes Kara, who took his own life after sharing a video describing the pressure he faced in a religious dormitory, were among the key findings in the analysis of 38 news articles.

1. MALE VIOLENCE NEWS

We examined eight news articles regarding the cases of male violence resulting in the suspicious deaths or injuries of young female university students.

We also came across news articles where the conservative tone was evident from the headline itself, such as “Woman loses her life by falling from the balcony in a male household.” Additionally, we observed that photographs of women who had experienced male violence were frequently included in the news texts.

Haberler ► Yaşam Haberleri ► Hemşirelik öğrencisi Melike, erkek evinde balkondan düşerek can verdi

Hemşirelik öğrencisi Melike, erkek evinde balkondan düşerek can verdi

“Nursing student Melike tragically lost her life by falling from a balcony in a male household.”, [ahaber](#), 14.01.2022

In one of these news articles, the suspicious death of a female university student - resulting from falling from a balcony - was highlighted in the headline with the emphasis on “Falling from a balcony in a male household.” This pattern, commonly seen in news about male violence and murder, serves as an example of victim-blaming or an attempt to legitimize the loss of life under the guise of “morality.”

In the news article, a photo of the young woman posing for the camera was used, but there was no mention of the name or photo of the man who was said to be her boyfriend, arrested, and released under judicial control. We also did not come across any follow-up news regarding the aftermath of this man.

yaşındaki Sedefnur Çağlar, polis memuru olan erkek arkadaşı Ahmet Ata ile birlikte, polis memuru O.Ç.'nin evine misafiriğe gitti. Burada 2 polis memuru ve E.Ş. isimli kadınla alkol alan Sedefnur Çağlar, sabah saatlerinde 7'nci kattaki dairenin balkonundan düştü. Sedefnur, Derince Eğitim ve Araştırma Hastanesi'nde yoğun

“The trial of Sedefnur Çağlar, who fell from the 7th floor in Kocaeli, is beginning! Was the young girl's fall from the balcony accidental or was she pushed?”, [ahaber](#), 21.09.2022

We observed that the case of another university student who was injured in a suspicious manner after falling from a balcony was closely followed in the news. These news articles included the name and photograph of the suspect, who was stated to be the young woman's boyfriend, as well as information indicating that he was a police officer. Some news articles also used photographs of this individual taken during his military service, where he was seen holding a firearm.

Additionally, in almost all of the news articles, the photographs of the young woman were prominently featured as the main visuals. We also came across news articles where photographs of the suspect male and the young woman were placed side by side or shown together.

In the news texts, there were mentions of the young woman “visiting with her boyfriend” and that alcohol was consumed.



“A horrifying incident at Istanbul University Faculty of Political Sciences! A deranged professor stormed into the office of a female academic...”,
[ahaber](#), 29.11.2022

When the incidents of male violence are at issue, we also observed a pattern where the headlines explicitly mention that the ones who were exposed to violence are women, but there is no information in the news texts about the perpetrators being male. For example, the [news article](#) with the headline “A horrifying incident at Istanbul University Faculty of Political Sciences! A deranged professor stormed into the office of a female academic...” exemplifies this pattern.

It is indeed notable that in both the main visuals and the images used within the news articles, women are often depicted with their faces covered and represented in a passive position, symbolizing their experience of violence. This is an observation that catches the attention.

It is evident that in the headline, the one who was exposed to the violence is identified as a “female academic,” while the perpetrator is simply referred to as a “professor.” There is no emphasis on the perpetrator’s gender, although the threatening statements in the news article imply that the perpetrator is male. The information that the male individual, identified as “Prof. Dr. B.A.,” was arrested and subsequently released is mentioned in the news article. Another striking point is the sensational presentation and language of the news. The unfinished sentence in the headline piques the reader’s curiosity, while the emphasis on a “horrifying incident” intensifies the dramatic tone. The sensational framing in the text is evident through statements that aim to generate curiosity rather than providing concrete details about the incident. The sentence structure in the headline contributes to the pornographic portrayal of violence. The choice of photographs used in the news article complements this perception. While the topic is male violence, there is no mention of the perpetrator’s gender. On the contrary, the emphasis is placed on their professorship.

Mersin’de üniversiteli kızın başına gelenler dehşete düşürdü! Yüzüne sıvı attılar: Gözümü açamıyorum

“The things that a university girl in Mersin experienced have left everyone horrified! They had a liquid thrown onto their face: I am unable to open my eyes.”, [ahaber](#), 20.11.2022

It is concerning to observe that there is a reluctance to address the gender of the perpetrators, and at the same time, there is a hesitancy to refer to young women as women. In the case of the academic, the news website used the term “female academic,” but when it came to the university student, they referred to her as a “university girl.”

In this news article as well, while the headline indicates that the victim is a woman who experienced violence, the perpetrators are described as “two individuals on a motorcycle” without emphasizing their gender.

2. SUICIDES AMONG STUDENTS

We also closely examined the news about university student Enes Kara. Before taking his own life, Enes Kara had recorded a video describing the pressure he experienced at a religious community dormitory. Kara's suicide brought attention to the conditions in religious community dormitories and the housing issues faced by university students. Out of the 14 news articles about Kara, four of them consisted of statements made by AKP and government officials.

Türkiye'yi yasa boğdu: Tıp öğrencisi Enes Kara çektiği videodan sonra hayatına son verdi

Fırat Üniversitesi Tıp Fakültesi ikinci sınıf öğrencisi Enes Kara, Elazığ'da bir binanın 7. katından atlayarak yaşamına son verdi. Kara, olaydan önce çektiği videoda ise ailesinin zoruyla kaldığı yurttaki baskılara maruz kaldığını ve psikolojik olarak yorulduğunu ifade etti.

16:19 . 11/01/2022 Salı — Diğer

“Turkey mourns: Medical student Enes Kara takes his own life after sharing a video.”, [Yeni Şafak](#), 11.01.2022

In the initial [news reports](#) about Enes Kara, his own words were included. In the spotlight of the first news article we examined, we encountered the sentence “...Kara, in the video he recorded before the incident, expressed that he faced pressures in the dormitory where he stayed against his will due to his family’s insistence and that he was psychologically exhausted.”

Even though the news article mentioned the pressures Kara faced in the dormitory, it did not mention the specific religious community, but it did relay his father’s statements about his long-standing involvement in that community.

In the following days, news articles with a focus on the “real culprits” emerged. These articles blamed the “leftists,” “atheists,” and “opposition” for the incident.

Enes Kara'nın intiharıyla ilgili çarpıcı tespit: Sebebi, solun propagandasını yaptığı ateizmdir!

“Striking observation regarding Enes Kara’s suicide: The reason is the atheism, seen as left-wing propaganda!”, [Yeni Akit](#), 12.01.2022

This is the first example we encountered where the news is based on statements from a social media user who attributes the cause of the suicide to “the promotion of atheism as left-wing propaganda.” The emphasis on “targeting religion” that we examined in previous sections was also reiterated in these texts.

Enes Kara'nın intiharının perde arkası aylar sonra aralandı! İşte ateist arkadaşı ile tüyler ürperten WhatsApp yazışmaları...

“The backstage of Enes Kara's suicide was revealed months later! Here are the horrifying WhatsApp conversations with his atheist friend...”,
[Yeni Akit](#), 21.05.2022

The news articles that refrained from mentioning the name of the religious community involved in the incident constructed a narrative with texts suggesting that the real pressure came from “atheists.” In the above news text, the statement “...it was revealed that the truth behind the suicide was not ‘pressure from the religious community’ but rather encouragement from an atheist friend” reiterated this emphasis.

The prominent discursive strategies in the examined news articles on violence, suspicious deaths, and suicides were as follows:

- A perception that the incidents were isolated and often resulted from the individual mistakes of those who experienced violence;
- Deliberate disregard of systemic and structural relationships such as male violence and religious community pressure, etc.;
- A conservative attitude that blames the one who was exposed to violence;
- Legitimizing and exonerating the crime and the perpetrator, while simultaneously inventing new culprits.

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VII: VISUAL USAGE

In the seventh part of our report series titled *University in the News*, we will closely examine selected examples of visuals used in the news articles we analyzed.

The visual preferences and usages play a complementary role in shaping the narrative of the text. In the news articles, the constructed antagonism among students continues with the dichotomized visuals. The criminalization of students is reinforced using red highlights and words in the visuals.

1. "THOSE AND THESE"



"Yes, those are students, but these are also students! In Boğaziçi, acts of vileness in the mosque, while in Mardin, cleaning the mosque!", *Yeni Akit*, 21.04.2022

Our first visual example illustrates the maneuver of polarizing students through the placement of photos and the use of expressions. As seen, two photos are placed side by side. On the left, there is a photo capturing a moment when a student climbed onto a car during one of the protests at Boğaziçi University. On the right, there is a photo showing students cleaning the floors of a mosque in Mardin. Between the two photos, the sentence “Vileness in the mosque at Boğaziçi, cleaning in the mosque in Mardin” is placed on a red background. Below the visual, in uppercase letters, the sentence “Those are students, but these are also students” is written.

The emphasis on “acceptable protests” and “acceptable students” that we examined in previous reports is also evident in this visual. The visual selection maintains the hidden implication of labeling opposing students as “enemies of religion.”

The headline of the news emphasizes the description in the visual as follows: “While the ‘so-called’ students at Boğaziçi University engage in all kinds of disgraceful acts, university students in Mardin collectively cleaned the Ulu Mosque. On one side, there are the ‘villains’ who throw stones at the police and turn the school into a center for terrorist activities, while on the other side, there are patriotic students cleaning the mosque...”



“There was an incident of insult towards Islam at the Faculty of Political Sciences at Ankara University, called the ‘Sacred Cow Festival’! Muslim students reacted to this.” [Takvim](#), 13.05.2022

Another visual that maintains the distinction of “those and these” is from a news article about the Cow Festival at Ankara University. In the visual, a photo from the event is placed on a red background with red banners. The visual includes prominently displayed sentences in large font.

Below the sentence “They insulted Islam,” the expression “Are these the ones who will become governors? Scandalous images at the prestigious university in Ankara” can be seen.



"New scandal from the ringleader of the provocations at Boğaziçi University! Mocked religious values like this!", [Takvim](#), 23.05.2022

The usage of targeting descriptions such as "insulting religion" and "provocateur" sustained in the placement of sentences accompanying these types of visuals. The large-font words written next to students' photos in these visuals created a narrative before even reading the text.

In the example where the phrase "Not a student, but a clown" occupies a significant portion of the visual, it features a photo of a student from the protests at Boğaziçi University. The subheading lists the words "See how he mocked religious values! Boğaziçi provocateur..." The use of large font, exclamation marks, and ellipses, which we frequently encounter in these examples, aims to create an outstanding expression.

2. “THIS INSTEAD OF THAT”



*“The university didn't take it down, we took it down”,
Yeni Şafak, 13.11.2022*

The news about the removal of a banner that read “Chemical weapons are a crime against humanity! The killer state will be held accountable!” at the Middle East Technical University, followed by the hanging of the Turkish flag, is an example of texts that target oppositional students as “terrorists.”

These news articles also frequently used dichotomic visuals, where on one side of the visual is the banner, and on the other side is the photos of the flag being hung.



*“Disgraceful banner at METU! They slandered the Turkish soldiers...”,
Takvim, 11.11.2022*

In another similar news article, the same photos were placed on a red background resembling blood. The sentence “Terrorist banner at METU!” was written in large font on the impactful red color. The sentence “Our flag was hung instead, but it is not enough. The owners of this disgraceful behavior should be held accountable” was also placed on the visual.



“There is no place for LGBT event at Istanbul University! ‘We don't want perversion in our country.’”, ahaber, 17.06.2022

In the case of the hinderance of the Pride Picnic at Istanbul University and the anti-LGBT+ protests that took place, the highlight was provided through large-font texts placed on photos. In the visual including a photo showing individuals wearing turbans resembling a meeting with plainclothes police officers, the sentence “We don’t want perversion in our country” stands out. The lower banner includes the expression “There is no place for LGBT event in Istanbul!”



“What will be the bed capacity in dormitories? Minister of Youth and Sports, Mehmet Muharrem Kasapoğlu, has announced... Applications have started.”, Takvim, 24.08.2022

Finally, we examined an example of the “good news” content from the section on accommodation. This visual features a photo of a well-organized dorm room. The sentence “We surpassed the Republic record of 800,000” stands out as the first noticeable point in the photo on a red background.

In news articles that feature highlights such as “good news” and “record,” visuals like the organized dorm room and images of hardworking students, as seen in this example, were frequently used.

In summary, it is possible to observe a prevalent approach of othering, polarizing, and employing a dramatic tone in the visuals and accompanying statements used in news articles. Government-aligned newspapers persistently establish binary divisions through visuals, emphasizing “us” and “them,” deviants and religious individuals, good and bad.

CONCLUSION

For University in the News Reports we examined 300 news articles published in 2022 from A Haber, Akşam, Yeni Şafak, Takvim, Türkiye, Sabah, Yeni Akit, and Milli Gazete, focusing on university students.

We conducted a comprehensive analysis, delving into the discourse patterns and recurrent themes that surfaced within the news articles, meticulously examining them under seven distinct categories.

The most prominent observation was the systematic targeting and criminalization of activist students in the news articles. Oppositional students were targeted as “enemies of religion” or “terrorists” due to their actions or statements, while LGBTI+ students were directly attacked with hate speech based on their very existence.

In addition to “good news” emphasized articles, addressing one of the main concerns of students as the right to accommodation, we came across the news issuing the struggle for livelihood as the only examples directly quoting the students’ voices.

The protests of oppositional students were highlighted in relation to the institutions they protested at, based on their connection to opposition parties. On the other hand, statements against LGBTI+ individuals and protests taken in response to perceived “religious insults” were categorized as acceptable or justified.

The news articles on violence against female university students often exhibited a conservative tone, while texts related to university suicides intended to place blame on the victims.

The division of “these and those” was evident not only in the texts but also in the visuals used in the articles.

1. TARGETING IN THE NEWS - "ENEMIES OF RELIGION"

- We examined 22 news articles under this heading. The protests and statements of students were consistently portrayed and presented within the framework of attacking religion and harboring hostility towards Islam. Song lyrics, performances, or statements made in class were used as justification for accusing them of being enemies of religion.
- In eight of the news articles, students were targeted, while in eleven articles, academics were targeted. In three articles, both groups were targeted.
- Legal processes were used in the news articles to support the "guilt" of the individuals targeted. This emphasis remained unchanged even when the legal processes resulted in dismissal or acquittal.

2. TARGETING IN THE NEWS - "TERRORISTS"

- Out of the 18 news articles we examined under this heading, 16 of them targeted students, while 2 targeted academics, using descriptions emphasizing "terrorism" to label them.
- Students were generally not identified based on their status as students. The most common descriptions encountered were "PKK sympathizers/supporters," "PKK followers," and "terrorism sympathizers."
- In the news articles issuing academics, although it was mentioned that they were academics, the descriptions used included phrases such as "protestor," "provocateur academics from Boğaziçi," and "academics responsible for the protests."

3. TARGETING AND HATE SPEECH AGAINST LGBTI+ STUDENTS

- Almost all the news articles that targeted LGBTI+ students also contained hate speech. In the 11 articles we examined, this targeting and hate speech was done through terms such as “deviance” and “provocateur.” Many of the articles focused on statements made by groups that defined LGBTI+ students in such derogatory ways.
- The main theme in all the news articles targeting LGBTI+ individuals was “deviance.” In 5 out of the 11 articles, the term “deviant” was included in the headline.
- In all the news articles we examined, there were references to statements made against LGBTI+ individuals. However, none of the articles directly quoted the words of LGBTI+ students.

4. RIGHT TO ACCOMODATION

- Out of the 44 news articles we examined under this heading, 27 of them emphasized “good news.” We also came across 13 articles that highlighted the difficulties of accommodation and the struggle for livelihood. Additionally, four articles contained texts where students, journalists, and politicians were targeted through the issue of the right to accommodation.
- In the news articles we examined in this section, we encountered texts that highlighted the students’ voices or their conditions. However, we did not come across texts that covered the students’ protests related to the issue or the lawsuits filed against them.
- The news articles that emphasized “good news” included about the statements on newly opened dormitories, announcements of scholarships, and adjustments to fees for private dormitories and universities.
- In the 13 news articles under the “struggle for livelihood” heading, 5 of them included statements from students. Thus, this section featured the news articles where the students’ voices were most frequently heard.

5. ACCEPTABLE PROTESTS

- We examined 29 news articles under the category of “acceptable protests.” Out of these, 11 were related to press statements and marches.
- The protests of opposition students were often criminalized in the news coverage, but when the targeted institution was a municipality belonging to the opposition party, the language used changed.
- The protests against LGBTI+ individuals were among the “acceptable” protests.
- The protests against the actions described as “insulting religion” were also included in this category. We encountered distinctions between “students” and “Muslim students.”

6. JUDICIAL NEWS

- In the 38 news articles we examined under this category, there was a noticeable conservative tone when reporting on suspicious deaths of female university students. The selection of photographs in reports on male violence also stood out. In the news about Enes Kara, who took his own life after sharing a video detailing the pressure he experienced in a religious boarding house, there was an effort to find the “real culprit.”
- In the eight news articles we examined regarding incidents of male violence leading to suspicious deaths or injuries of young female university students, the conservative tone was directly reflected in the headlines as well.
- We also noticed that when it comes to male violence, the headlines often mention that the victims are women, but the news texts do not provide any information about the perpetrators being male.
- Out of the 14 news articles about Enes Kara, four of them consisted of statements made by AKP and government officials.
- In the initial news articles about Enes Kara, his own words were included. However, in the following days, news articles with an emphasis on finding the “real culprit” emerged. News articles that did not mention the name of the religious group created a narrative with texts suggesting that the real oppression came from “atheists.”
- Under this heading, there was a tendency to emphasize the individual nature of the incidents while overlooking systematic connections. The perpetrators were legitimized by creating new culprits, while the victims were criminalized.

7. VISUAL USAGE

- The distinction between “these and those” in the texts was also evident in visual usage.
- The emphasis on the “acceptable” in the texts was also repeated in the visuals.

In the report’s concluding remarks, our foremost emphasis will be on the conscious choices behind the dissemination of hate and hostility in news coverage. Rather than providing objective reporting, the examined news articles demonstrate a tendency to polarize and target individuals based on prevailing political struggles and concerns. This is evident in how student protests are portrayed, depending on the subject or individuals being protested. The act of targeting is further reinforced by the mutual support between the media and government representatives. Regrettably, this emphasis extends beyond the realm of news texts alone. The extent of hate speech directed towards LGBTI+ students transcends all facets of life, permeating various domains. Those who become the subjects of targeted news articles find themselves entangled in legal proceedings due to the repercussions of being publicly singled out. Moreover, pressing issues such as accommodation problems and financial struggles, which are as conspicuous as an elephant in the room, are disregarded when it comes to acknowledging the demands voiced by groups of students. The conservative and moralistic narrative prevalent in pro-government media regarding male violence remains unchanged when it comes to addressing violence on campuses. Even the poignant words left behind by university students who have tragically lost their lives fail to prevent the systemic issues from being overlooked.

The purpose of this report was to delineate the conduct of those who dismiss the very voices of students. Nevertheless, the students persist in amplifying their voices and articulating their thoughts not solely within the confines of campuses but across diverse spheres of life, extending from the streets to various arenas.