

## HATE SPEECH IN TURKISH AND ISRAEL PRESS: A COMPARISON ANALYSIS OF MAVI MARMARA RAID

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### **Abstract**

Hate speech can be defined as discourses which include hate addressed to individuals in the forms of ethnicity, race, gender, nationality, religions, and other individual discriminations. In other words, hate speech is a kind of production of discrimination. Especially, after media's becoming a powerful organization in individuals' daily life, it is possible to face hate speeches in all process of societies. Hate speeches mainly show ideological functions, when their natures are not clear in the extent of significance. By hiding basic reasons of social conflicts, they cause us to forget democratic solutions. Beside their ideological functions, hate speeches have direct connections with hate crimes and in modern societies hate crimes are reinforced by hate speeches. Nowadays, hate speeches have become extensive all around the world. Especially in Turkey, hate speeches have reinforced anti-Semitism, homophobia and racism. Contrarily, after 11 September attacks; some social phobias, which have been reinforced by hate speeches like Islamophobia and xenophobia, have increased steadily in USA, European Union and Israel. In this study it is aimed to explain that how hate speeches affect news discourse and news frames in terms of production of hatred in Turkish and Israeli press. In order to do this, the news which was published by Turkish and Israeli printed press about Mavi Marmara raid will be analyzed. Discourse analysis method of Teun van Dijk will be used for the study. For sampling, *Yeni Şafak* and *Vakit* from Turkey, *Haaretz* and *Jerusalem Post* from Israel have been selected for analysis for five days after the raid.

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### **INTRODUCTION**

Today, discourse has become a powerful structure which nothing can stand against it in terms of manipulating and canalizing masses. In this context, it should be focused on that running of social structure has been controlled by modern powers with using discourse and its dimensions. According to Sancar critical studies, which try to analyze the production of social domination in terms of discourse, have been trying to show how social power is realized by using language and its nature (2008: 135).

The power of defining is sourced by the power relations based on the instrumentalization of discourse and its structure. With supporting this identification, Fairclough (2003: 159) tells that in order to provide running of the power, discourse makes contributions by creating continuously objects and subjects in social relations. Like Fairclough, Michel Foucault (2000:128) tells that power rounds in institutional and discourse connections. Similarly, van Dijk (2005: 319) figures out that with using and controlling discourse and its structures, it can be possible to control social structures and produce social consent to the power in that society. For producing and controlling discourse, it is undeniably true that mass communication vehicles have gained an importance for last decades. Today media organizations and their owners check production of discourse financially and technologically, beside this they check newspapers, televisions and telecommunication and computers industries carefully in terms of producing of discourse (van Dijk, 2005: 320).

The reinforcement effect of discourse in the power relations as being social controlling mechanism and acceptance of discourse as legitimization vehicle for hegemonic relations have caused the usage of different discourse types in the contexts of hegemonic and social control relations. Especially, types of discourses which legitimize the power relationship produce the social content and power relations have been addressed comprehensibly by these types of discourses. In addition to this, after acceptance of discourse analyze as a method all around the world and completing of a lot of different and exiting studies which was made according to discourse analyze method have consolidated the position of discourse and its discussions in scientific literature in social sciences.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **Nationalist Discourse in Media and Hate Crime**

The core of power is the right of defining made by using authority and the main subject of struggle for power is gaining and retaining of definition, ignoring and canceling other identification made by other authority mechanisms (Bauman, 2005: 254). Authority, which is needed to implement, of being definers on others can not act independently without feels of othering, hate and dislike. New discourse types and its dimensions in last decade in which media plays an important and definer role for shaping social structure are directly based upon nationalism, racism, othering, differentiation etc. After modernism, especially nationalist ideas have got rid of its classical boundaries and nationalism has been articulated to person's daily life wit new dimensions. This new dimensional nationalist idea depends on the basis of nationalism which must be converted a discourse. Nationalism as a discourse; with production of cultural and rhetorical perception, which force persons all around the world to think their nation, national identities in the contexts of nationalism, has gained functionality in some mediums and traditions as producer of language, ideas (Calhoun, 2007: 8-9).

According to Balibar (2007: 249) the concept of modern racism takes a place in the discourse of discrimination and insult. Although whole discourses taking place in media appears only as words, text and conservations, they plays a vital role for producing of modern racism ( van Dijk, 2002: 145). In this context, daily social practices of discrimination assume the cognitive basis of negative beliefs about others. Beside, turning into psychological violence in social structures, the process has turned into physical violence against minorities and varieties. At the same time, racism which is implemented expertly gets a compulsory state in which racism has to be accepted by whole society ( van Dijk, 2003: 52-53)

Because of integrating social interests, media accepts some discourses and values as suitable or compatible in the boundaries of legality and beside this the necessity of definition of others in the boundaries of illegality in terms of media have accelerated the production of racist discourse by media (Shoemaker and Reese, 1997: 103). With thinking from the axis of hegemony and power relationships, racist and nationalist discourses have become the most popular types of discourses and they have been transferred mostly in media content. By supporting this assertion, van Dijk (2002: 152) says that mass media plays a fundamental role for producing of nationalism and racism.

After transformation which nationalist idea has experienced, nationalism as a discourse has started to find more places in media in daily life. Phenomenon of hate and hate speech has played a most important role for appearance and usage of nationalist and racist discourses in mass media. In the course of time hate crime has expanded its boundaries on covering basis of social gender, nationality, national origin, sexual preferences, disabilities etc. (Binark, 2009: 13). Today hate crimes and hate speeches are accepted as crimes that person can meet with them easily not only in the content of mass media but also in his or her daily life.

Because of hate crimes' not having definite boundaries in law people can remain unprotected when they meet frequently hate crimes and hate speeches in their daily life. Being clear and concrete of legal texts in law philosophy requires defining of crimes and punishments specifically without any hesitation or comment. However, definition of hate crimes and hate speeches can not be done specifically and this causes a lot of political discussions on the subject. Because hate is a personal feeling; hate crime does not only include only personal hating or dislike, actually it is a more complex phenomenon than hate and because of this it should be evaluated with its political, sociological and cultural dimensions (Kaymak, 2010: 254). In order to abolish this complex situation, Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) defined hate crimes (OSCE, 2005). A hate crime can be defined as: (A) Any criminal offence, including offences against persons or property, where the victim, premises, or the target of the offence are selected because of their real or perceived connection, attachment, affiliation, support or membership of a group as defined in Part B; (B) A group may be based upon a characteristic common to its members, such as real or perceived race, national or ethnic origin, language, color, religion, sex, age, mental or physical disability, sexual orientation or other similar factor.

### **What is the Hate Speech?**

After common usage of hate speech and hate crimes in new media, hate speech was defined by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe in 1997. According to this definition, hate speech which stated the term "shall be understood as covering all forms of expression which spread, incite, promote or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, anti-Semitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including: Intolerance expressed by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination and hostility against minorities, migrants and people of immigrant origin (Alğan and Şensever, 2010: 16). According to Jacobs and Potter 'Hate speech' is a term which refers to a whole spectrum of negative discourse stretching from hate and incitement to hatred; to abuse, vilification, insults and offensive words and epithets; and arguably also to extreme examples of prejudice and bias (Quoted by McGonagle, 2001: 23). According to Pankowski (2007), hate speech is a term for discourse intended to degrade, intimidate, or incite violence or prejudice against a person or group of people based on their race, gender, age, ethnicity, nationality, religion, sexual orientation, gender identity, disability,

language, moral or political views, socioeconomic class, occupation or appearance (such as height, weight, and hair color), mental capacity and any other similar distinction. Beside this hate speech can be commented as the reflection of impatience and intolerance. Hate speech includes exorbitance and it consists of prejudices which carry on exorbitance (Post, 2009: 123).

Hate speech is produced in discourse practices of daily life and it is distributed so easily and naturally without any hesitation in the discourse forms of homophobic, transfobic, heterosexist, sexist, racist, nationalist, xenophobic, discriminative because of features of new media environment (Binark, 2010: 11). There are two important factors in forming and sealing of hate crimes. The first is hate speech and second is mass media which seals and distributes all the hate speeches. With using TV journalism and discussion programs on TV, mass media has gained a capacity for providing a unique platform for presentation of hate speeches (Çelenk, 2010: 215). According to İnceoğlu (2009), while media as a vehicle of dominant ideology is producing nationalism and racism, at the same time it produce feelings of social anger and hate; it also directs these feelings to others. According to frame of these boundaries hate speech is the most dangerous discourse in terms of its results. Because it is a type of production of discrimination which postpones today, makes future unpredictable and have the danger of damage to wholly all persons in the society (Çelenk, 2010: 215). According to Brink (2001: 119), hate speech is an expression of discriminatory attitudes that have a long, ugly, and sometimes violent history. As such, hate speech is deeply offensive to its victims and socially divisive. Supporting these definitions clearly, Pankowski (2007) said that today, almost nobody questions the fact that hate speech is a dangerous phenomenon.

### **Results of hate Speech in Social Structure**

Hate speeches have various results and first of them is the damage which could be psychical or psychological. Hate speech can cause short-term damages also it can cause huge and long term damages if it often takes places in media or if it is frequently taken into account by some groups in terms of propaganda and exaggeration. Especially in media and political atmosphere in which hate speeches are dominant persons internalize the hate speeches in long term and some types of illegal implementations which threaten the legal rights of minorities or illegal implementations ignoring these legal rights can become normal (Karaköse, 2010). According to Cortese (2006) the spread of ethnic and racial hatred continues to elicit violence throughout the modern world. The dissemination of ethnically indictable messages has precipitated tribal clashes in Kenya. In Rwanda, ethnic stereotyping and repeated media calls for the extermination of Tutsi led to a massive genocide perpetrated against that group (Quoted by Tsesis, 2009: 510).

With being thought in the axis of power relations, it is clearly seen the addition of hate speeches to hegemony and power relations. Especially, suppressing of an idea to other ideas, identities and differences which are in the social formation of that country according to axis of power relations; hate speech can be used intensively. In this context, hate speech aims at recreating of reactionary ideas and theories which were defeated by democratic struggle before and that is why it runs as a discourse type in order to collapse or downgrade the advantages of democracy (Boyle, 2001: 493). With thinking these ideas, it is possible to say that hate speeches can strengthen power relations in social formations, establish hegemony in society and damage democratic systems of societies. Beside its negative effects on democracy, hate speech also causes the consolidating of racism and domination. In this context, those who subject to hate

speeches and hatred automatically retract from society, and remain as silent and invisible as possible (Matsuda, 1993: 50).

To sum up, it is undeniably true that mass media acts as a vehicle and alliance for reproducing and continuity of power relations by using hate speeches and hatred. The reproduction of power relations and running of power relations can be seen so clearly in some specific events in pluralist social structures or some social events especially between enemy countries. Also these types of events are preferred to be used as news for production of hate speech. News which awakens hate speech is generally breaking news and it has a sensational details. The news which forms whole contents of news bulletins in a short time can cause serious discussions and oppositions (Çelenk, 2010: 226).

The Mavi Marmara raid which caused death of nine people on 31 May 2010 caused serious discussions, oppositions and bombshell in Turkish and Israel public opinions. The presentations of Mavi Marmara raid were made differently by the press of these countries. For the presentations of the raid, countries used hate speech frequently in order to canalize their public opinions. This proved that hate speech as news discourse can affect and shape news and indirectly public opinions effectively.

### **The Relations of Turkey and Israel before Mavi Marmara Raid**

Turkey and Israel were known to be two allies in the Middle East for a long period of time. Although this alliance seems to be essentially based on military relations, the perception of alliance could also develop in political and cultural contexts as well. In the early 1990s, bilateral relations developed in the face of cooperation between security institutions, and they thrived and expanded to include diversifying economic relations, cultural and scientific cooperation, and gained depth in social dimensions through the end the decade. Thanks to approaches which emphasize that Turkey will not use its close ties with Israel against third parties, bilateral relations emerged as a Middle Eastern fact which cannot be denied by anyone, especially by Arabic countries (Özcan, 2010: 39). The positive atmosphere created by the peace process between Israel and Palestine had a great role to play for the realization of that much intimacy between these two countries in the 1990s. However, the deadlock in the peace process towards the end of the 1990s and the termination of el-Aqsa Intifada influenced Turkish-Israel relations as well. Sharon government came to power in Israel in the year 2000 and his government's policy to find a solution for the Palestine conflict started a new era in Turkish-Israeli relations. Ecevit -then the Prime Minister- warned Sharon in his visit to Turkey in 2001 by saying that "If the hope for peace is lost, our relation can be adversely affected". In April 2002, after Israel's increasing military operations in occupied lands, great protests against Israel were organized in many cities of Turkey. Ecevit blamed Israel for committing genocide and tensions raised between the two countries (Tür, 2009: 23-24).

The tense period in the Turkish-Israeli relations is marked with the developments which occurred as result of a series of events after 2005 and continuing up to the Mavi Marmara Raid. The first tension in the bilateral relations appears to be caused by Halid Meşal's, the chef of political bureau of HAMAS, visit to Turkey after Palestine's elections in January 2006. Although Turkey did not send him a formal invitation and received him formally, this led to a new tension in relations (Tür, 2009: 27). Later on, Israel's Lebanon raid in 2006 consolidated negative ideas about Israel in Turkish public opinion. In 2007 Turkey made intensive efforts to settle the conflicts between Syria and Israel and to find solution for Palestine conflict. Turkish

government which brought the two sides together in Ankara showed great efforts in this process. However, after Israel government suddenly attacked to Gaza Strip and killed about 1300 civilians most of whom were children, the relations between the two countries almost came to an end. After the raid started Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan defined Israel as an assaultive country and Gaza as an “open-air prison” and remarked that this operation as a great blow to peace (Tür, 2009: 27). After a short time, the crisis in Palestine session in Davos is a proof of the fact that the relation between the two countries came to an end. In the session, Erdogan harshly criticized Israel government for their operations on Palestine people in Gaza and for their harsh policies. Prime Minister Erdoğan’s direct rebuke of Israeli President Shimon Peres and walking off the stage increased the tensions between the countries. After this event, the Israeli authorities and soldiers depicted in TV series *Kurtlar Vadisi* and *Ayrılık* led to serious uneasiness in Israel government and public. Israeli Foreign Minister Avigdor Lieberman remarked that “This is a serious provocation and supported by the state. Even an enemy country would not broadcast such a TV series which has nothing to do with reality and which shows Israel soldiers as barbaric murderers. It is meaningful and afflictive that these TV series are broadcasted in Turkey, which has diplomatic ties with Israel, which reveals how tense the Turkish-Israeli relations are. Lastly, while it was expected that the Turkish-Israeli relations would recover, Israeli Deputy Foreign Minister Danyy Ayalon’s invitation of Oğuz Çelikkol, Turkey’s ambassador for Tel Aviv to his office making him sit to a lower sofa and asking the media to broadcast it brought relation to a new dimensions. Ayalon who did not treat Çelikkol anything to eat or drink said in Hebrew that “We want people to see that he is sitting lower than us and that there is only one flag here” completely shelved the possibilities that the relations between the two countries would be mended.

The reason behind the Mavi Marmara Raid was that the fleet which was organized by non-governmental organizations from 20 countries with 600 participants including some European Parliament members wanted to break the blockade and enter directly to Gaza to end the land and sea blockade on Gaza Strip since 2006. Israel’s opposition to this organization from the very beginning and not wanting to stop inhumane policies increased the support of non-governmental organizations from different countries to this organization. Concordantly, the fact that organization was done by non-governmental organizations, the declaration that it had peaceful and humanitarian aims and the fact that there were not any firearms in the ships are all evidences to prove that the organization had a civilian initiative. On May 31, at night Israeli Defense troops attacked on the ships in the international waters 72 admiralty miles off the shores of Israel. The ships were carrying staple food products and medicine for the people in Gaza Strip who had been struggling to survive under blockade. Nine Turkish citizens on board the Mavi Marmara were killed and many other got wounded as result of deadly raid of Israeli soldiers. It was the first time that Turkish citizens were killed by the soldiers of another country. As a result, the Turkish-Israeli relations that were already uneasy came to an end. Turkey called back its ambassador to Israel and announced that it cancelled some organizations with Israel. Besides, Turkey brought this issue to United Nations General Assembly and ensured that the decision that Israel violated International Bill of Human Rights and international law was given. In his speech in Executive Board meeting of Organization of the Islamic conference, Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs Ahmet Davutoğlu remarked that the event was September 11 of Turkey and that it means that nothing will be the same with Israel here after.

## METHODOLOGY

In accordance with the study news which was published in Turkish and Israeli press about Mavi Marmara raid will be taken in hand. Especially the focus points of the study are how racist hate speech affects news frames of published news about the raid and how hate speech of published news legitimize hate crimes which are committed by press. In this context, four national newspapers two of them from Turkish press and two of them from Israeli press were selected in order to make a comparative analysis of published news about Mavi Marmara raid.

Yeni Şafak and Vakit were selected from Turkish press because of their presentation of Islamic, nationalist and conservative ideology in Turkey. These newspapers also have biased editorial policies in terms of presenting news about jews, zionists and Israel; and they generally use negative news frames and discourses about the conflict of Palestinian-Israel. Jerusalem Post and Haaretz were selected from Israeli press. Although editorial policies of Jerusalem Post and Haaretz are defined as liberal, newspapers generally take their place in the Israeli side. Also they can be nationalist and defenders of nationalist policy of Israel government when they face some international problems. Moreover, the studies made by The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics found that Haaretz and Jerusalem Post reporting were more favorable to Israelis than Palestinians, and more likely to report stories from the Israeli side. This study proves that these newspapers use biased editorial policies when they face nationalist problems and events. Also having English editions affected us to select and add these newspapers in the sampling. In this context, it can be said that four newspapers select and use the biased news structure, frames and discourse types periodically in order to support their readers' ideological perspectives

Critical discourse analysis method of Teun van Dijk will be used for analyzing the news about Mavi Marmara raid. News about the raid will be analyzed for five days after the event and also news about the raid will be analyzed according to macro and micro structures which are the necessity of van Dijk's method. With analyzing the news, the study aims to reveal the racist hate speeches and the news frames which help and support for shaping of racist and discriminative discourses. Beside this, there is a lot of published news about the Mavi Marmara raid for analyzing; however, it is not possible to analyze all the news. Consequently, some of the news providing more data was selected for analyzing.

## FINDINGS

### Vakit

On 1st June newspaper published news with giving a huge place in its headline about Mavi Marmara raid with using the title of "Zionist dogs". While writing the news, words and adjectives carrying negative meanings such as dog, rat, arrogant, harlot, rabid, murderer were used frequently and directly in order to define Israeli soldiers in news text. The structure and frame of news were formed according to antagonism and hatred and by doing this, newspaper aimed to produce and legitimize hate discourse and hate speeches in its news text. Especially presentation of the same news in inside page was based on hatred, antagonism and hate speeches in terms of its title and subtitles. For example, titles and subtitles were selected to form a mutual discourse and news frame which includes hatred and hate speeches according to editorial policy in terms of canalizing reading process of readers. Moreover, the news reflects a problematic structure in terms of usage of news sources. Correspondent of newspaper and his

or her explanation from the ship were accepted and used as main source of the news. Beside this, syntax of news generally consists of negativity and torture of Israeli soldier. Especially information about people which were killed by Israeli soldiers on the ship was highlighted in the news discourse and these people were defined as martyrs in order to awake readers' feeling against Israel in terms of hatred and antagonism. Also by writing the news according to hate speech, newspaper proved that it works for providing its readers' ideological and political demands about Israel, Zionism and Jews. Furthermore, newspaper tried to prove in its news frame and discourse that reason of the raid is based on religion conflict between Muslims and Jews and also this perception could determined whole editorial policy of Vakit. Another item which was used to form and strengthen hatred and hate speech in the news is the reflection or presentation of Mavi Marmara's being a charity organization. Newspaper highlighted that Israel attacked a charity organization and killed innocent people in the ship. By doing this, newspaper awakens negative feelings and creates hatred against Israel in the perception of its readers' ideological point of view. Also in order to support and strengthen hate speech, newspaper does not hesitate to use visual items such as photos, banners or cartoons.

On 1st June newspaper published different news in its headline with using the title of "Not to be let Israel to get away with Mavi Marmara raid". The content of the news includes explanations of Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan about the raid and also his complaints. The title of news was cited directly the sentences of Erdogan and by doing this newspaper proved its biased usage of news source. Also using Erdogan's negative sentence against Israel directly as a title and including of hatred in its title; newspaper internalized its discourse according to hate speech. Newspaper also tried to select its words forms among negative words and adjectives which include hatred and hate speech in order to establish and produce news frames which were established on hate speech. Beside this, newspaper generally used some hostile and aggressive explanations made by Turkish diplomats and politicians for strengthening its news frames and discourse in term of hatred and hate speech. Also beside this, frequently usage of words such as hate, threat, dislike, murders shows the high utilization rate of realization of hate speech in the news. The title is "The arrogant Zionist soldiers could not tolerate the Turkish flag" and this title was formed in order to legitimize and produce hate speech against Israel in the news frames. In this context, by taking into account this news, it can be said that newspaper tried to collect their readers on the platform of hate and hate speech against Israel and in order to realize this newspaper used a lot of items and knowledge which must awaken the feelings of readers according to hate speech.

On 2nd June newspaper converted the explanations of Prime Minister Erdogan about the raid into news and published the news with using the title of "Warning to Killer". The title of news defines directly the Israeli side of the event as killers and words such as murderer, butcher and killer were used to define the Israeli politicians and soldiers. This caused to form a negative meaning in the news text and also force the news to close its meaning in hate speech. Beside this, usage of some explanations of Erdogan as titles and subtitles shows that newspaper internalized Erdogan's ideas without any hesitation and used the news in order to legitimize his ideas in terms of hate and antagonism against Israel. As news source, the explanations, which include hatred and antagonism against Israel, of Turkish side of the event takes wide range of place and this compels the text to close its meaning in the context of hate speech. Also sentences or words chosen for the usage of titles and subtitles includes negative word forms such as hatred, antagonism, dislike, killers, butchers etc. by doing this, newspaper supports and strengthens its news frames and news discourse according to hate speech. Moreover, visual items of the news such as photos, place of the news on newspaper, cartoons, and spots again



were chosen in order to strengthen the news discourse in terms of hate speech. What is more, in order to strengthen and awaken in the perception of readers, newspaper tried to form this news with taking readers ideological demands into account in terms of hate speech and opposition of Israel. After all of these evaluations about the news, it can be said that items such as titles, photos, word forms, adjectives, sources were used to form hate speech as news discourse. Beside this, used items for forming hate speech define and determine ideological side of Vakıf clearly in the sight of readers.

On 3rd June newspaper published news about the raid with using the title of "Shame on Zionists" by giving huge place in its headline. The topic of news focused on hatred against Israel from all over the world. Beside, newspaper wanted to strengthen its general news discourse by using some special word and adjective forms including hatred and hate speech such as "shame on", "wild", "murderer", "savagery" in the title and subtitles of news. This solidified news discourse in terms of hate speech and also newspaper used totally general news frames for forming hate speech in its news. Also visual items of news such as photos and cartoons which are about demonstrations from all over the world were selected to represent the opposition of whole world against Israel. Consequently, it can be said that photos, titles, subtitles, cartoons used for the news caused a semantic closure in the news text.

On 3rd June newspaper published news with using the title of "They insist on being dog". As the title suggests, newspaper planned to form and develop hatred and antagonism against Israel by forming its news discourse according to hate speech. Defense Minister of Israel Ehud Barak's explanations which give beneficial data for forming hate speech in news discourse were used partly to support hate speech. Also hate speech was highlighted by giving place directly in the titles and subtitles of news. Especially usage of word and adjective forms such as "dog", "mad dog", "rabies" supports and facilitates syntactic closure of news text in terms of hate speech. Readers can not evaluate or read the news critically because of the strong formation of ideological discourse structure of the news in terms of hate speech. Usage of news source again reflects an ideological preference in the news because explanations supporting and strengthening hate speech of Israel side were used directly in the news. Finally, this news was formed totally according to hate speech in terms of its titles, sources, news frames, word forms etc.

On 4th June newspaper issued news about Mavi Marmara raid with using the title of "This is the moment of violence". Generally news includes the event experienced in the moment of the raid as news topic. Again this news includes negative words forms which are reminiscent of hatred and antagonism against Israel in titles, subtitles and rhetoric of news. Also newspaper highlighted the not giving permissions of Israeli soldier to people in order to help wounded people in the ship. Also newspaper used word forms taking its root from religion in order to awaken holy feeling of its readers and this affected the news discourse to form on the basis of religion conflicts. For example, people killed by Israeli soldiers were defined as martyrs and this reinforces the perception of readers according to antagonism and hate speech. Furthermore, hate speech in the news was strengthened by usage of explanations of people on the ship and this caused the text syntactic closure in the context of dominant reading.

At the same day newspaper published news with using the title of "Erdogan: By doing banditry, they can not achieve anything" and its content is about explanations of Erdogan's about Mavi Marmara raid. Negative explanations which give beneficial discourse material for forming hate speech in news about Israel were used and highlighted directly in the forms of

title and subtitles. By doing this, newspaper internalized the explanation of its source by not criticizing and this caused a problematic relation of news source and journalist. Also this type of news source usage which accepted Erdogan as first definer and his explanations reliable caused the syntactic closure of news text with directions of hate speech. Because of the direction of editorial policy of Vakit and ideological expectations of its readers, journalist writing the news formed and structured his news on the basis of antagonism in order to legitimize hate speech in the sight of society.

On 5th June newspaper published news awakening hatred and antagonism about Israel among Turkish citizens. The news has an awakening title which is "Jews can not enter". The topic of this news about tradesman who do not want to sell their products and goods to Jews tourists in Antalya where is preferred by Jews frequently for vacation. News highlighted placards displayed by tradesman in order to support its discourse structure with using social complaints and hatred against Israel. Newspaper with thinking its readers expectations used the placard every part of its news as a title, subtitles and visual items of the news. Beside this, newspaper did not try to form hate speech and antagonism against Israel, contrary to this, it tried to form and reflect hate speech and antagonism which have been already created by social conscious. Moreover, news sources and their explanations were selected in order to strengthen and support hatred and hate speech which is wanted to form in the news text. Because of this, usage of news sources shows a problematic structure and this caused syntactic closure of news in terms of hate speech.

News published at the same day with using the title of "Dog SAZ commandos of Israel". The news content includes a lot of information about SAZ commandos in terms of humiliating, aspersion and blame. Also news was formed according to a discriminative discourse depended on contradiction of us and them. In this context, newspaper separates people in two groups and they were defined in terms of us and them. This caused the formation of hate speech strongly in the news text. Beside this, newspaper also defined Israeli soldiers with using negative words or adjectives such as "dog", "idiots", "murderer", "butcher", etc. Whereas, people on the ship were defined as holly persons, martyrs and newspaper used possession words to define them. This results the syntactic closure of the news in terms of hate speech and compels readers to read the text according to dominant reading process.

### **Yeni Şafak**

On 1st June Yeni Şafak published news about Mavi Marmara raid in its headline with using the title of "Sons of Hitler". News totally was formed on the basis of hatred and antagonism in terms of its awakening title and photos. Especially the title of news consists of hate and antagonism about Israel in high levels. That is why, negativity, biased word and adjective forms, discriminative sentences were used all part of the news without any hesitation. For example, news includes a lot of negative word forms such as "blood", "violence", "torture", "murderer", "pirates", "Tel Aviv pirates" and "genocide" for producing hatred and antagonism against Israel. Beside this, journalist writing the news implemented newspapers' editorial policy perfectly in order to produce hate speech in sight of readers in terms of usage of news source. Newspaper generally used biased news sources in order to legitimize and strengthen its news frames and discourses. Because of this readers can not find any explanations from the other side of event. Also newspaper used the sentence of "You know killing well" said by Erdogan to define Simon Peres and Israel Government at Davos. By reminding the story of Palestinian-Israel conflict, newspaper strengthened its news discourse which depends on the torture of

Israel in Mavi Marmara raid. In order to support hate speech in news text, supportive explanations of other news sources were highlighted as title and subtitles directly. For example, an explanation of Erdogan which includes threat to Israel was used as subtitle of the news. All of these implementations prove and legitimize the internalizing of the newspaper for producing hatred and antagonism in its news discourse which includes hate speech against Israel.

On 1th June newspaper published another news about Mavi Marmara raid with using the title of "Private state attacked villainously". News was transmitted on the basis of negativity and the rhetoric of news generally was formed according to negative news frames including hatred and antagonism. Also words and adjective preferences in the news imply the raid realized by Israeli soldiers is inhuman and illegal, words forms were selected in the context of this reality. In this context, whole sentence or word forms implying hate speech were used in main and subtitles of the news. Usage of news source in the news has a problematic structure in term of giving detailed information about the event. Generally newspaper used biased explanations of news source in order to strengthen its news discourse which includes hate speech.

On 2nd June newspaper published different news in its headline with using title of "PKK has become a supporter of Israel". News was written in order to connect the terrorist attack of PKK which has happened same night with Mavi Marmara raid. News content focused on the connection between to events in terms of their happening at the same time and almost same place. By doing this, newspaper tried to prove and supports its news structure with some coincidences. Moreover, some explanations made by biased news sources were used in order to increase reliability of the news and strengthen the news discourse in terms of editorial policy of newspapers. Consequently, newspaper could create a hatred and antagonism in social perception against Israel by showing and proving the connection between Israel and PKK. Beside this, newspaper could normalize and legitimize the hate speech in its news in terms of perception of Turkish society. Also news highlighted another situation between Turkey and Israel. According to news, Israel does not want Turkey to become powerful in its region and Middle East and that is why, Israel supports PKK in order to weaken Turkey. Using these topics newspaper wanted to awake its reader's perception in terms of hate speech and antagonism against Israel.

On 2nd June newspaper issued used the title of "Israel will pay the price for this massacre" for its news including explanations of Erdogan about Mavi Marmara raid. Newspaper used frequently the explanations which imply the price of massacre made by Israel to draw its readers' attention. Especially the sentence of "You must fear from our hostility" said by Erdogan was written with huge sorts in order to draw attentions of readers in terms of increasing hatred and antagonism against Israel. Also this sentence was used in order to form and shape news discourse according to production of hate speech in the news text. Rhetoric of news also has sentence implying and reminding the hostility and hatred against Israel in terms of producing hate speech and newspaper internalized and embraced Erdogan's explanations by using them as title and subtitles without quotation marks in its news frames. The news used some visual items generally photos in order to support and strengthen the news discourse including hate speech. Moreover, some words having negative meanings like "liar", "brassy", "bass" and "faithless" were used under the photos of Israel President Simon Peres, Israel Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu, Avigdor Liberman and David Ayalon in order to define their characters. By doing this, newspaper forced its readers to read the news from ideological point of view and because of this the news was formed according to editorial policy of newspaper and ideological expectations of readers.

On 3rd June newspaper issued news about the visit of Ehud Barak to SAZ commandos after Mavi Marmara raid in its headline with using "Congratulation for massacre". Congratulations mistake made Ehud Barak and Israel's not apologizing for the raid were highlighted in news structure in order to prove and awake readers in terms of increasing their hatred and antagonism against Israel. The news also has word forms implying hatred and hate speech in its news rhetoric. For example, some these words declare without any hesitation that Ehud Barak is "stupid", "butcher" and "heartless". Therefore, the news structure was organized in order to produce and distribute and also legitimize hate speech in the perception of readers.

At the same day, with using the title of "Israeli soldiers threw the wounded into the sea" in its headline, newspaper reported the event from explanations of witnesses. News frames was formed according to explanations of witnesses and rhetoric of news tells the story in order to create and produce hatred and antagonism in the consciousness of readers. Newspaper internalized information given by witnesses and the news was formed to legitimize hate speech produced by the usage of story. For example, actions of Israeli soldiers were defined in a negative perception and negativity about Israel soldiers were produced by usage of some word forms such as "violence", "murderer", "torture" and "genocide". Beside this, newspaper used information given by witnesses as title and subtitles of the news without quotations marks and this caused a problematic usage of news source. Moreover, nationalist discourse was highlighted and strengthened in the news rhetoric by using information of Turkish citizens' killing by Israeli soldiers with bold and big font.

On 4th June newspaper published news in its headline with using the title of "Soldier shot even doctors who cured them on the ship". News frame was formed on the discourse of inhuman behaviors of Israeli soldiers against doctors although they cured soldiers without any hesitation. Because of this discourse structure, title and subtitles of news generally imply the news discourse in order to produce hate speech in news discourse. Beside this, the emphasis of inhuman behaviors of Israeli soldier was frequently highlighted in news structure to awake and provoke hatred and antagonism which are in the consciousness of society about Israel. Also news reinforced hate speech in terms of usage of visual items such as photos and cartoons. The formation of news discourse also was organized editorial policy of the newspaper and ideological expectations of its readers.

At the same day newspaper published different news about the inhumane behaviors of Israeli soldiers and doctors in its fist page with giving huge places. The titles of news are "Arrested persons were signed a protocol by beating" and "Israeli Doctors treated shot wounds without anesthesia". News generally highlighted the information given by witness and arrested persons because of increasing reliability level of its news discourse. Beside this, the news has a problematic usage of news source because all the news sources are from Turkish side of the raid. And this proves that news discourse was wanted to form according to editorial policy of newspaper and news was written to produce hatred and antagonism against Israel. For example, all parts of the text was shaped to form syntactic closure of the news and inhumane behaviors of soldiers and doctor were used to awake the ideological perception of readers and reinforce the discourse structure of news in terms of hate speech. Actually all news have supported and strengthened their own news discourse because of being on same page and using same news frames in order to produce hate speech and antagonism. Beside this, news blames that doctors and soldiers acted and accepted inhumane behaviors consciously because of religion factors.

On 5th June newspaper published news in its headline about explanations of Erdogan in Konya with using the title of "You shall not kill". Erdogan's critical sentences about Israel government were used as title and subtitles of news directly without quotation marks. News discourse generally includes negativity and it can be supported explanations of Erdogan in terms of hatred and antagonism. Because of this it can be clearly said that newspaper internalized explanations of Erdogan in order to form and increase reliability of its news discourse. Also news defined the raid as an inhuman attack to whole world and because of this news discourse generalizes feelings of hatred and antagonism against Israel by writing its title in English. In this context, the meaning of this news has experienced a syntactic closure in terms of hatred and hate speech. Newspaper also thought and arranged the news discourse according to the ideological expectations of its readers and its editorial policy about Israel. Generally most of the words and adjectives used in writing the news includes and implies negativity because negativity in news structure enables to form and produce hate speech as news discourse.

### **Jerusalem Post**

On 1st June newspaper published news with using the title of "From friend to (almost certainly) foe". Discourse structure of news generally includes negative word forms against Turkey and Erdogan. Erdogan directly was charged for causing Mavi Marmara event and news frame was formed according to hate speech. Also news was highlighted with subtitles and visual items which were chosen to support and strengthen news discourse in term of hate and antagonism. Without showing any sources or official explanation, news paper directly charged flotilla with carrying guns, weapons and munitions to Hamas. Moreover, Turkish officials again were charged in news with not preventing this terrorist organization. Most interesting imply of the news in terms of hate speech is Islamization of Turkey by Erdogan. According to news, Islamization process has been the manifest anti-Israeli policy of the Erdogan's government. It began with an official visit of the Hamas leadership in Turkey in February 2006, continued with Erdogan's attack on President Shimon Peres at the 2009 Davos Conference, the downgrading of military cooperation between the two allied countries and a continuous diplomatic crisis.

On 1st June newspaper published news on newspaper headline about Mavi Marmara raid with using the title of "Peace activists? More like 'peace' militants". News discusses the Mavi Marmara raid in terms of its jihadist purpose and IHH's connection with jihadist organizations. Because of this news frame was formed according to this perception and its discourse was formed to support the perception. Whole discourse of news was formed to charge IHH and flotilla with supporting jihadist groups not humanitarian groups. Also hate speech affected news discourse directly to close the text in terms of hate discourse. For example, visual items of news were selected to produce hate speech in the text. IHH and Hizbullah were reflected in the same photos without any hesitation and this photo was used in a big size to draw attraction of readers.

On 1st June newspaper again published another news which was formed according to hate speech and hate discourse against Turkey and Erdogan. News' title is "Sinking Turkey-Israel Relations" but generally highlighted side of news was Turkey and its anti-Israel politics. Visual item of news was used in order to emphasize anti-Israel politics of Turkey because visual item shows a man who looks like Erdogan wanted to control whole Middle East territory. Also active word forms were selected to explain Erdogan's actions and he was directly charged with responsibility of flotilla raid. Newspaper wanted to emphasize that although some people were killed by Israel soldiers, Israel had to realize this protection because of security of his country

and citizens. Newspaper also affirms that Erdogan has relations with Hamas and other terrorist organization and according to newspaper Erdogan wants to become leader of Sunni Muslim world. Moreover, claims like this generally used in title or subtitles of news to strengthen news discourse which include hate and antagonism against Turkey. To sum up, news discourse generally highlights only Turkish side of events and reflects biased explanation and news did not tell the real story of event. Illegal actions of Israel were never mentioned in news discourse.

On 2nd June newspaper published interesting news using "What is the IHH" title. The news about IHH which was one of the main planners of the Gaza flotilla was formed to blame and charge IHH with connection with terrorist organizations. In order to form news discourse in terms of IHH opposition, newspaper used a visual item which is a photo showing Hizbullah posters. With thinking this, it can be said that News frame was formed to declare the connection which is between IHH and terrorist organization and in news discourse these ideas were wanted to be highlighted in news. Beside this, news has no official or personal source for supporting its claims and it was written from a biased point of view about IHH. Also news charge IHH with awakening Muslims all around the world against Israel in its discourse. For composing hate speech and reproduction of negativity, negative words and discourse structures were used in news frame directly without any hesitations.

On 2nd June newspaper published different news about Mavi Marmara raid with using the title of "Purpose of Flotilla. For this news, newspaper claimed that main purpose of flotilla is to save Hamas from Israel strict blockade. News used visual items, titles and subtitles in order to product news discourse on the basis of hate speech. For example, word forms used for news generally include negative meanings and hate discourse against IHH and Turkish government directly. News includes a lot of negative claims about Turkish Government and IHH but readers can not find any official or non-official source for his or her claims in terms of critical point of view. Furthermore, meaning in this news was wanted to close on the basis of hate speech and explanations which can support hate speech in the news generally are used without any hesitation.

On 3rd June Jerusalem Post published news with using the title of "Turning Point For Turkey" for its news about Mavi Marmara. The journal used a general news discourse which includes opposition of Turkey and İnsani Yardım Vakfı (İHH) in its news about Mavi Marmara raid. Also discourse for this news generally consists of blame, hate and antagonism and news were edited in terms of including hate speech. The structure of discourse which was used by the newspaper played such a fundamental role in the reproduction of hate and hate speech against Turks and Muslims. Beside this, used words forms for news like enemy, terrorist, weapon and guilty were chosen professionally to support and strengthen discourse structure of news. Although IHH is a charity organization, news frame was formed to identify IHH as a terrorist organization. Moreover, newspaper also used some specific news stereotypes which include negative feelings against Erdogan. For example, newspaper charged Erdogan with causing Mavi Marmara event and also according to newspaper responsibility of the raid belongs only to Erdogan. In addition to this, newspaper also used an Erdogan's photo which shows him so frustrated because of supporting news discourse. Also using this photo, newspaper wanted to emphasize that Erdogan has hate and antagonism against Israel and its citizens.

On 3rd June newspaper published a news with using the title of "Israel needs to keep Turkey in the West" in newspaper headline. News discourse was framed up hate and antagonism against Turkey and its Prime Minister Erdogan. News highlighted Erdogan's negative sentences and

implies in the text and subtitles were selected among Erdogan's sentences. With using this method, newspaper wanted to prove that Turkish Prime Minister has negative perception and hate against Israel and its citizens in news discourse. In this context, it is clear that news was formed according to hate speech and meaning in text was closed on the basis of hate and antagonism. Moreover, news also charged Erdogan with awakening hate against Israel with supporting Muslim world in every international platform.

On 4th June newspaper published news with using the title of "Global Jihad links on flotilla" about Mavi Marmara raid. As seen from its title, this news includes an opposition and a negative approach to Gaza Flotilla. Journalist writing the news wanted to highlight that flotilla has no peaceful purposes and main purpose of flotilla is to support jihad and jihadist groups. Title and subtitles were formed according to this ideological approach and news frame also was formed to support this approach. Therefore, nobody who reads news can find a humanitarian side of event and news discourse was farmed up this point of view. For example, news does not give any information about people who were killed by Israel soldiers on the ship in its discourse. Moreover, nearly all passengers of Mavi Marmara were identified as supporters of jihadist groups in news discourse. In news discourse also Turkey and its government were identified as supporters of jihadist groups which are active against Israel. To sum up, news was written a biased point of view for legitimizing Israel politics and its discourse was formed according to hate speech against IHH and locally Turkish government.

On 4th June newspaper published news about Mavi Marmara raid with using the title of "Offspring of mentor of bin Laden were on 'Mavi Marmari'". News discourse was framed on the basis of hate speech and antagonism against Muslim world. In this context, word forms of news were selected to support and strengthen its discourse. For example, people on the ships especially Muslims were reflected as sons of Usame Bin Laden and newspaper did not have any hesitation for using its title which includes aspersion directly to Muslims in order to reflect its discourse. Also newspaper wanted to reconcile terrorism and Islam in its news discourse in order to support its opposition to Gaza flotilla.

On 5th June newspaper published news about Mavi Marmara raid with using the title of "Sailing into history". News tells the raid and its situation with comparing changes of Turkish foreign policy to Israel. News frame was formed according to struggle between Turkish and Israel governments but generally Israel side was supported by some word forms and news discourse. Although Israel killed 9 Turkish citizens on international waters with an illegal raid, Turkey was charged with not obeying international rules and supporting Hamas. In addition to this, subtitles and news photos generally contains negative meanings and hate speech implies against Turkey with not showing any reliable reason. In this context, general discourse of this news was formed and framed according to hate speech against Turkish side of the event.

### **Haaretz**

On 1st June newspaper published news about Mavi Marmara raid with using the title of "Flotilla activists attacked Israel Navy commandos". Content of news was formed in order to prove innocence of Israel Navy commandos. Consequently, in the news attacks of activist was highlighted in the title and subtitles directly. Newspaper also used some word forms for strengthening its news discourse in term of misinformation and hate speech. Generally negativity of the event was attributed with activist directly and Navy commandos were identified as defenders of themselves. Also news discourse has included and reconciled hate

directly activist and Turkish side of the events. According to newspaper activists are seen armed with iron bars and batons which they readily use against the soldiers and responsibility of organization belongs to Erdogan. Moreover, news discourse includes some opposition and antagonism against Erdogan without any reason or explanation. Beside these ideological features of news, it can be seen clearly that news discourse was formed to form a connection which are between Turkey and IHH which was described as an terrorist organization.

On 1st June newspaper published news about Mavi Marmara raid. This time the title of news which is "Who's really under siege?" reflects a critical point of view at first glance in terms of illegal raid. However, when the news read carefully it can be seen that news was formed on the basis of hate speech. For example, news discourse charged Erdogan with attacking Israel and its politics on international organizations; however, newspaper does not show any official source which can prove newspaper's claims. Also news was formed according to biased explanations of Israel officials but there is no any explanation in news discourse for not only activist side of event but also Turkish side of event. Word forms of news were chosen in order to support news discourse and they include negativity which was reconciled with Erdogan's actions. Also news discourse includes unrealistic claims against Erdogan. For example, Erdogan was identified as a Semitist and news repeated this claim a lot of times in its discourse and structure. Other unrealistic claim in news is that Turkey has good relations with Iran because of destroying Israel politics and security all around the world.

On 2nd June newspaper published news with using the title of "Netanyahu: World hypocritical for condemning Gaza flotilla raid" about Mavi Marmara raid. News discuss the effects of the raid on Israel Government and that is why generally it includes and transfers explanation of Israel prime Minister Benyamin Netanyahu. Consequently, news discourse was formed and established on the basis of Netanyahu's explanations. However, his explanations were accepted as a main source of newspaper and this shaped news discourse in the context of Netanyahu's explanations. For example, Netanyahu charges Turkey, Erdogan and Iran with helping terrorist organizations and news highlighted these explanations in its discourse. Also news discourse has an opposition and dislike against Turkey because of not stopping IHH and its helps to Hamas. With thinking these structural features of news discourse, hate, dislike and antagonism were produced in news discourse with using biased news frames. News was written with using only one official source who is Israel Prime Minister Netanyahu and in this context, meaning of text were fixed in term of only one side of event.

On 3rd June newspaper published news about Mavi Marmara raid with using title of "Erdogan considering visiting Gaza to 'break blockade'". Especially news tells a story that Erdogan has a secret and dangerous plan to break Gaza blockade but this story is not supported any source or explanations of Erdogan. Also photo used for the news shows Prime Minister Erdogan as so frustrated in order to support news discourse in term of Turkey's dislike against Israel. Consequently, it can be said that the news was formed in order to support general broadcasting politics of Haaretz which includes hate and antagonism against Turkey and its government. Word forms like secret, dangerous, evil show the discourse structure of news and these words also proves that news frame was produced from a biased point of view.

On 4th June newspaper published news about Mavi Marmara raid. This time, news paper used "Netanyahu: Israel will not allow establishment of Iranian port in Gaza" as title of news. The news compares two types of activists one is Islamic activists and second is other activists. Although news discourse gives a right activists, it can try to identify that Islamic groups can not



be real activists because of their connection with terrorist organizations. Explanations of Netanyahu were used directly in the title of news and his explanations were used in order to strengthen news discourse. In this context, newspaper used biased and compatible explanations for supporting its general broadcasting politics and news frames. Unlike this, explanations of Turkish side of the event can not be taken in to account with an objective point of view. Generally negative and brutal explanations of Turkish side were turned into news and these types of explanations were reconciled with negativity and hate speech against Israel.

On 5th June newspaper published news about Mavi Marmara raid and it used "Erdogan knew Gaza flotilla would be violent" sentence as the title of its news. News claims that Erdogan who is prime minister of Turkey knew the attacks made by activist to Israel Navy commandos in advance and he did not do anything to prevent activists attack. Also newspaper claims that activists who attacked commandos with clubs and knives were supported by the Turkish government. This topic was formed as the main discourse of news and it was tried to be highlighted with supporting titles, subtitles and photos of event. Word forms used the news generally includes negativity and hate against Turkish and Muslim activists and beside this news discourse attacked Erdogan and Muslim activists violently as responsible of the raid. News frame was formed to connect Muslim identity with terrorism and hate against Jews. Sources which were generally officials from Israel government were not criticized by the writer of news in terms of reliability and news discourse was formed to convey biased information about the raid.

## **CONCLUSION and DISCUSSION**

As a result, this study aimed to prove the thesis of media's formation of collective consciousness in social structure by using hate speeches as collective and discriminative discourses. Especially the reality of media's production of hate speech in its texts depends upon the power of definition which media has in social structures. Also the power of definition in social structures provides an opportunity for media to simplify the legitimization of hate speech in social consciousness. Because of this, Mavi Marmara raid is a perfect example of the presentation and legitimization of hate speech in the forms of media texts. In this context, it is said that hate speech displayed clearly itself as news discourse in the news structures of Turkish and Israeli Press. In the example of Turkish press, *Vakit* and *Yeni Şafak* which are accepted as Islamic and conservative press used hate speech specifically in their news structures. Also the ideological expectations of their readers and editorial policies of them have affected and determined the news discourses of the newspapers in terms of production and legitimization of hate speech in news texts. Newspapers tried to strengthen their news discourses in terms of social antagonism about Israel by publishing news about demonstrations made by anger masses. In addition to this, newspapers tried to product a news discourse that Turkish society has totally hated from Israel and its actions against Muslims. Hatred is an emotional reaction and with knowing this the newspapers also tried to awake and reinforce hatred and antagonism which the readers of these newspapers have already had them. Moreover, *Vakit* and *Yeni Şafak* have a biased and problematic usage of news sources. Generally these newspapers selected and used the news sources and their explanations in terms of strengthening and supporting their news discourses. Beside this, the newspapers always internalized the explanations of news sources in the forms of title and subtitle without quotation marks. This proved that the newspapers have a biased approach for the usage of news source in order to produce hatred and hate speech in their news frames. Furthermore, the newspapers also used their news discourse as a vehicle to supply ideological expectations of their readers. Finally, *Vakit* and *Yeni Şafak* give a lot of information

about background and context knowledge of the situation because they want to support their news discourses in terms of historical knowledge.

Similarly, Haaretz and Jerusalem Post used a biased editorial policy for conveying information about Mavi Marmara raid. In order to do this, newspapers tried to form and shape news discourses and news frames by producing hate speech and antagonism against Turkish side of the event. Also these newspapers showed dependency and acted as supporters of Israel government in terms of news sources. For example, explanations of officials who are from Israel government were used as the main sources of the news about Mavi Marmara raid and these explanations were used as titles or subtitles of news without quotation marks. However, explanations of Turkish side generally could be news source when they include negativity, hate speech or dislike against Israel. Therefore, these newspapers have a biased problematic usage of news sources in order to legitimize and strengthen their news discourses in terms of hatred and hate speech. Also Turkish side of the event was tried to reconcile with terrorism, Islamic terrorism in the news discourses of Haaretz and Jerusalem Post. By doing this, newspapers proved that their news discourses were formed according to expectations of Israel government and dominant ideological structure of Israel society. Moreover, these newspapers do not hesitate to define and reconcile acts of Turkish Government, Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan, IHH and Muslim activist with hatred and hate speech in their news discourses. Unlike the Turkish press, the Israeli newspapers do not give any information about the background and context knowledge of the event in their news discourse because of illegal and unfair historical situation of Israel.

All newspapers in the study used some news frames and news sources as title, subtitle and content in order to produce and support hate speech in their news discourses. Beside this, generally all published news from two side of the event includes the words and adjectives forms including negativity and othering because of their advantages of producing hate speech. Moreover, the newspapers generally give huge places the news about Mavi Marmara raid in their first pages in terms of drawing attentions of their readers. Also the news including hate speech was published on the same pages in order to support general news discourses of the newspapers. First three days after Mavi Marmara raid, all newspapers published a lot of news about the event almost every pages of them. Almost all news has titles, subtitles or photos including hatred and antagonism. Also news discourses include effectively the references of religion and nationalist ideologies and the news frames were formed according to the conflict of us-them.

In the continuing days, the numbers of news including hate speech has showed a decreasing level but hate speech has still protect its dominant place in news discourses. After that time, instead of producing hate speech newspapers have focused on directly international results of events and actions of governments. To sum up, Turkish and Israeli press could use hate speeches in their news frames and news discourse in order to legitimize their editorial policies and supply the ideological expectations of their readers. In this context, it is clearly said that hate speeches can be dominant news discourse when some special situations like Mavi Marmara raid are occurred in terms of producing social collectivity and nationalist ideology. Although Islam forbids the nationalist ideology, Vakit and Yeni Şafak are defined as Islamic press and they did not hesitate to use nationalist ideologies and references in order to legitimize their news discourses including hatred and antagonism. Beside this all of the newspapers analyzed in this study tried to form a powerful syntactic closure of their news texts in order to prevent critical readings of readers.

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