News Frames as Islamophobic Narratives: Radicalized Concepts

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Abstract

Media meets individuals' information/news needs, entertains them, and influences their political preferences through the content it produces. In addition to these fundamental functions, media, which also has many functions that can shape everyday life, plays an important role in constructing/determining meaning in an individual's mental world. The increase in Islamophobia, which has become a global problem, has also been influenced by the problematic nature/editorial policies of international and national media outlets. The media, which produces content with a form that dictates how individuals should think about Islam and Muslims, and what meanings should form in their minds, shapes the mental world of individuals with the meaning frames it creates. This study aims to understand in what frames news about elements known as Islamic clothing/appearance, such as headscarves, hijab, veiling, turban, thobe, taqiyah, and beard are presented in the Turkish media. Therefore, news articles on the websites of media organizations named Sözcü, Cumhuriyet, and Halk TV, which were selected through purposive sampling, were analyzed using the framing technique. The research findings indicate that concepts related to Islam and Muslims are presented in a radicalized manner, framed with negative narratives and that Islamophobic thinking patterns are conveyed to individuals.

Keywords: Framing Theory, Islamophobia, Anti-Islamism, Islamophobia in Türkiye

İslamofobik Anlatılar Olarak Haber Çerçeveleri: Radikalize Edilen Kavramlar

Öz

Medya, üretmiş olduğu içerikler ile bireylerin bilgi/haber ihtiyacını gidermekte, onları eğlendirmekte ve siyasal tercihlerini belirlemede etkili olmaktadır. Bu temel işlevlerin yanı sıra, gündelik hayatı şekillendirebilecek pek çok işleve de sahip olan medya, aynı zamanda bireyin zihin dünyasında oluşacak anlamı inşa etmede/belirlemede de önemli rol oynamaktadır. Küresel bir problem haline gelen İslamofobinin artış göstermesine de uluslararası ve ulusal medya araçlarının bu sorunlu doğası/yayın politikası etkili olmuştur. İslam ve Müslümanlar ile ilgili bireylerin nasıl düşünmesi gerektiğini, zihinlerinde oluşması gereken anlamları belirleyici bir form ile içerik üreten medya, oluşturduğu anlam çerçeveleri ile bireylerin zihinsel dünyasını şekillendirmektedir. Bu çalışma da Türkiye medyasında, İslami giyim/görünüm unsurları olarak bilinen, başörtüsü, türban, çarşaf, örtünme, sarık, cüppe, takke ve sakal ile ilgili haberlerin hangi çerçevelerle sunulduğunu anlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu sebeple, amaçlı örneklem ile seçilen Sözcü, Cumhuriyet ve Halk TV isimli medya kuruluşlarının web sitelerinde yer alan haberler çerçeveleme tekniği ile incelenmiştir. Yapılan araştırma sonucunda, İslam ve Müslümanlar ile ilgili kavramların radikalize edilerek sunulduğu, olumsuz anlatımlarla çerçevelendiği ve İslamofobik düşünme pratiğinin bireylere aktarıldığı belirlenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Çerçeveleme Kuramı, İslamofobi, İslam Karşıtlığı, Türkiye'de İslamofobi

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1. Introduction: Reflections of Anti-Islamism in Türkiye

Islamophobia refers to prejudice-based discrimination and fear towards Islam and Muslims. Additionally, the term Islamophobia is associated with xenophobia, which denotes hostility towards foreigners, and shares similarities with feelings of exclusion and hostility towards outsiders.

Islamophobia, which becomes more apparent through negative definitions/descriptions/depictions constructed around the fear of the Other, also encompasses attitudes/behaviors of avoidance, evasion, and fear towards the Islamic religion and Muslims. The Islamophobic perspective and attitudes, which involve a violation of the basic rights of Muslims, lead to elements of crime such as discrimination, exclusion, violence, marginalization, and hate speech in social, political, economic, and cultural domains directed towards Muslims.

Islamophobia, primarily shaped by the historical political, social, economic, and theological relations between Western and Eastern countries, has evolved into a global issue, particularly in Western countries, posing a threat to social life. The processes of defining, describing, and shaping the East by the West in the historical context have recently progressed in a more institutionalized manner, and after September 11, 2001, Islamophobia re-emerged with new forms expressed in explicit terms. The Islamic religion and Muslims have been homogenized and made explicit targets. Negative content, hostility, and hatred-based intellectual products have been produced in theological, political, and cultural spheres directed towards Islam and Muslims, using political language and media content.

Especially in recent times, the influence of the media cannot be denied. In fact, the media, which has a role in shaping everyday life and becoming a fundamental source of information/reference, reaches a level where its content about Islam and Muslims triggers Islamophobia (Rehman and Hanley, 2023, p. 139; Nasiri and Eken, 2023, pp. 186-187). Television programs, magazine and newspaper articles that consistently associate acts of terrorism and violence with the Islamic religion and Muslims; cinema productions that depict Muslims as lustful, reactionary, conservative, and barbaric, creating various stereotypes; productions focusing on Muslims that are brought to the forefront during times of crisis and framed with clichéd judgments; computer games that radicalize and associate Islamic words and concepts, as well as Muslims with Islamic clothing and appearance, with terrorism; satirical publications producing content contrary to basic human rights clearly demonstrate the functional character of the media in the production of Islamophobia. Especially, the frequent encounters with Islamophobic content in international media and the national/international scientific studies conducted on this issue are the most significant indicators of this situation.

Instances of Islamophobia, characterized by attitudes contrary to human rights such as xenophobia and cultural racism, have become commonplace in societies outside the West, such as Türkiye, where the majority of the population is Muslim (Rashid, Iqbal, and Tanvir, 2023, p. 608). In these countries, the Western perspective towards Islam/Muslims has also been internalized, and the visibility of Islam/Muslims has come to be defined from a threatening perspective.

In Türkiye's history, the cultural and political developments that began with the final modernization efforts of the Ottoman Empire and continued after the modernization process of the Republic of Türkiye are the most significant indicators of this situation. The Islamic religion, interpreted through a lens of opposition, has been framed within the context of conservatism/reactionism. In line with this, the visibility of Muslims, Islamic rituals, and worship has been positioned as a threatening element to social, political, and economic life, and attempts have been made to restrict them, leading to practical decisions (Karpat, 2011, p. 245; Kara, 2016, pp. 35, 41-44; Bayraklı and Yerlikaya, 2007, p. 52; Temel, 2020; Temel, 2023). While these political developments also have a guiding influence in social life, the fact that this political discourse has a

media dimension opens up a discussion about the role of the Turkish media in generating an Islamophobic discourse. Therefore, the language used by the media in Türkiye, which has a significant impact on the construction of the perception of Islam, holds a separate importance in relation to Islam and Muslims. However, it is worth noting the scarcity of texts and academic studies that examine, question, and discuss this problematic area in the literature.

This study aims to discuss the ways in which the media in Türkiye represents Islam and Muslims, using the example of Islamic clothing/appearance elements. Specifically, opening a discussion on how Islamic clothing/appearance elements are narrated/framed in media content will reveal how the Turkish media portrays Islam and Muslims. In this context, prominent media outlets in Türkiye, such as Sözcü, Cumhuriyet, and Halk TV, which play a significant role in the Turkish media and have come to the forefront, especially with their controversial publications on Islamic topics and issues, will be examined. Due to the shift from traditional media to new media in the process of news and information acquisition, the publications on the websites of these relevant outlets will be evaluated using the framing method.

2. The Design of the Study

2.1. The Aim and Significance of the Study

Islamophobia, which has become a global issue, has garnered the interest of many disciplines in recent years. It continues to be a subject that is extensively researched and generates academic publications. Its relationship with the media also attracts the attention of disciplines such as communication and theology.

This study aims to open a discussion on how Islamic clothing/appearance elements find a discursive space in the Turkish media within the context of Islamophobia and its relationship with the media. Revealing the ways in which Islamic clothing/appearance elements are represented/interpreted and the frames presented in the news holds significant importance in shedding light on the portrayal of Islamophobia in the Turkish media, especially with an example from new media.

2.2. Research Questions

The study aims to address the following research questions:

1: In what framework are Islamic clothing/appearance elements presented in the media?

2: How is the transmission of news headlines conducted?

3: How are news introductions structured?

4: What emotions/attitudes are highlighted/framed in the news?

5: What frames/main themes are presented to the audience in the news?

2.3. The Methodology of the Study: Framing Theory

The concept of framing holds significant validity for both descriptive and analytical purposes in social sciences, and it is utilized in fields such as psychology, cognitive psychology, discourse analysis, communication studies, and political science. The framing method has been analytically researched and empirically applied in the field of sociology (Benford and Snow, 2000, p. 611). Frame analysis has been developed as a way to depict and interact with a series of arguments and counterarguments surrounding complex social issues in sociology and political analysis. Later, this method was further developed by different disciplines within the context of social movements (Creed, Langstraat, and Scully, 2002, pp. 35-36).

In the field of sociology, Erving Goffman's book "Frame Analysis," published in 1974, demonstrated that the theory of framing can also serve as a reference in mass communication studies (1974). According to Goffman (1974), definitions about a situation are constructed in harmony with the governing principles of events (at least social events) and our subjective interest in these events. From a sociological perspective, frames assist individuals in "finding, understanding, defining, and labeling" the information flowing in their surroundings. In this regard, the theory of framing has been defined as "an interpretive pattern" that allows individuals to determine, understand, define, and label events in their living space and the world they are part of (Özarslan and Güran, 2015, p. 34).

In Goffman's (1974) work, the roots of frame analysis are emphasized, highlighting how frames in everyday life organize and arrange complex stimuli. Goffman presents framing as a technique of everyday interpretation; individuals create and rely on them. Frames are used to interpret everyday interactions, traditional rituals, discourse, advertisements, and other elements of social experience. Virtually every aspect of the ordinary can be dissected through frames (Goffman, 1974; Creed, Langstraat, and Scully, 2002, p. 36).

The concept of framing, which began to appear in the literature from the 1970s onwards, has now become a frequently used text analysis model in political communication studies (Akdoğan, Uğuş, and Yılmaz, 2021, pp. 78-79). Subsequent researchers, inspired by Goffman's approaches (e.g., Tuchman in 1978 and Gitlin in 1980), applied framing to American communication studies in line with these main principles (Özarslan and Güran, 2015, p. 34).

In the field of communication, framing is generally used to denote one of the ways in which the media reconstruct social reality and guide public opinion. The framing technique applied to news texts is the process of consciously presenting events and issues that occur in everyday life to the public from a specific perspective, thereby directing public opinion on social reality (Akdoğan, Uğuş, and Yılmaz, 2021, pp. 78-79). In this context, frames highlight certain aspects of reality, diverting attention from others. Frames serve an important function by not only including but also excluding interpretations (Özarslan and Güran, 2015, p. 36).

Another significant work related to framing theory is Entman's "Framing as a Fractured Paradigm," published in 1993. This work focuses on framing and media issues. According to Entman, frames consist of four dimensions: 1) they portray events in terms of benefit or harm, 2) they establish cause-and-effect relationships, indicating the source of the problem, 3) they make moral judgments, and 4) they propose solutions to the problem. Therefore, frames make accusations, victimize, and pass moral judgments on others' behavior (Entman, 1993; as cited in Güran and Özarslan, 2022, p. 1233).

According to Entman (1993, p. 52), framing essentially involves choices and salience. Framing is the act of selecting certain aspects of a perceived reality and making them more prominent in a communication text: to clarify the definition of a specific issue, provide a causal interpretation, make a moral evaluation, and/or support a proposed solution. Frames diagnose, evaluate, and prescribe. When preparing communication texts, conscious or unconscious framing judgments are made. Texts contain frames that ensure the presence of specific keywords, template expressions, standardized images, information sources, and thematically reinforcing facts or judgment sentences.

The process of framing takes place within the continuous interaction between journalists and elites, as well as social movements. The frames in the news can influence the learning, interpretation, and evaluation of topics and events (Vreese, 2005, pp. 51-52). The framing model in the media field can be expressed as follows (Vreese, 2005, p. 52):
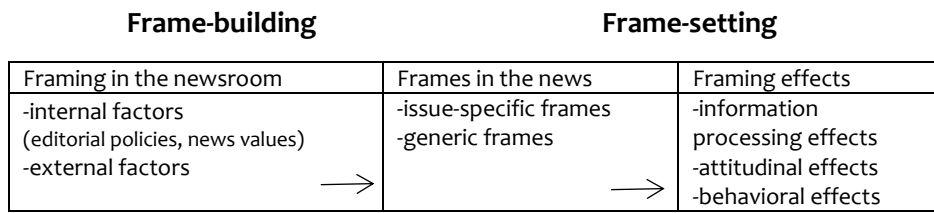
Frame-building   **Frame-setting**

Framing in the newsroom	Frames in the news	Framing effects
-internal factors (editorial policies, news values) -external factors $\longrightarrow$	-issue-specific frames -generic frames $\longrightarrow$	-information processing effects -attitudinal effects -behavioral effects

Figure 1. An integrated process model of framing

There are four criteria that a frame must meet: First, a news frame should have identifiable conceptual and linguistic features. Second, a news frame should be commonly observed in journalistic practice. Third, a news frame should be reliably distinguishable from other frames. Fourth, a frame should have representational validity (e.g., being noticed by others) and should not be purely speculative on the part of a researcher. Aspects such as headlines/subheadings, photographs/captions, headlines, source selection, quote selection, introductions, logos, statistics, diagrams, final sentences, and paragraphs can be used to define and measure news frames (Vreese, 2005, pp. 53-54).

The essence of framing can be described as presenting information to the public in a way that attracts their attention and ensures that the public notices this information. Each frame is consciously used to ensure that the given news is noticed according to established references. How news is framed or presented within which frames is related to how the audience should perceive that issue. Frames, in a way, serve as references that determine how viewers should approach the issue, how they should view it, and how they should react to it. When frames are discussed in the context of television news, the feature of using both image and sound together, unlike other mass media, necessitates the evaluation of the visual element within the dimensions of framing. It is observed that in television news, the visual and auditory elements used in framing play a decisive role in reinforcing these ideas and shaping perspectives (Akmeşe, 2020, p. 48). A news frame is the general context that is created to make news about an event or issue meaningful; it determines what the news will include and what will be excluded (Atabek and Uztuğ, 1998, p. 100).

The framing theory is often expressed in parallel with the agenda-setting model. In some studies, it is presented as the continuation or second stage of the agenda-setting model. However, the agenda-setting model concerns itself with how much information or data the public needs to know. On the other hand, framing theory establishes how the message presented through a communication medium should be perceived and constructs meaning.

A frame is an emphasis placed on different aspects of a topic to capture attention. While the agenda-setting theory is concerned with drawing attention to topics, framing deals with the presentation of those topics. This brief definition is typically applied to studies focused on news frames and encompasses a more intuitive understanding compared to the narrow definition of frames as the 'writing style of the issue' (Vreese, 2005, p. 53).

In the framing approach, it is essential to select and highlight certain aspects of a specific topic. It focuses on how viewers should perceive a certain topic, rather than how frequently that topic appears in the media agenda. This means that it is crucial how the media determines the perspective on the topic, which features of the topic are emphasized in the content produced, and how it is presented. It is based on the idea that the media guides individuals and, consequently, societal perspectives on how to view and think about a particular issue through the frame it constructs (Akmeşe, 2020, p. 41).

Frames, much like in the expressions "picture frame" or "window frame," establish boundaries and direct our attention towards which events and texts are relevant to our understanding of a subject. Just like a window, we view the world and thus shape our perspective,

through frames that define and limit our perception of the complex world around us (Creed, Langstraat, and Scully, 2002, p. 36-37).

Framing, briefly:

a)It serves a cognitive function by reducing the burden of analytical thinking through recurring patterns (Güran and Özarslan, 2022, p. 1226).

b) Frames that guide the recipient's thoughts and conclusions can also reflect their intentions (Entman, 1993, p. 52).

c) By placing or repeating texts or by associating them with culturally familiar symbols, it makes them more prominent (Entman, 1993, p. 53).

d) It can be stated that framing possesses characteristics such as shaping the way media texts are conveyed to the reader and the public, guiding and directing them on how to think, and constructing meaning (Güran and Özarslan, 2022, p. 1226).

In this context, the focus is on the 'frames of meaning' presented in media texts regarding Islamic clothing/appearance in order to question the traces of Islamophobia in Türkiye. Within this scope, the framing analysis method has been preferred to reveal the meaning of the hidden texts in media texts related to Islamic clothing/appearance, to interpret the drawn roadmap on how it should be perceived, to question the existence of judgmental hate speech, and to explore the judgment produced regarding a societal issue.

The choice of the framing analysis method was influenced by reasons such as the technique being used to approach a text by paying attention to its characteristics (Creed, Langstraat, and Scully, 2002, p. 37), its key role in understanding how specific issues are framed and presented to the public, and its contribution to knowing how problems have developed/ emerged over time (Atabek and Uztuğ, 1998, p. 100).

When conducting frame analysis, as in any research, research questions that are suitable for the research purpose are formulated, followed by a preliminary research on the data to be examined. Categories are established, and the selected content is examined as a sample.

In this context, after conducting a literature review/evaluation on the research topic, a preliminary investigation was carried out. A categorization related to the mentioned words and concepts was made on the news websites to be examined. After determining the headline selection, the way news articles were introduced, the highlighted meanings, and thematic inquiries of the identified news, the news related to the concepts such as headscarf, veil, veiling, turban, robe, taqiyah, and beard, known as Islamic clothing/appearance, published on the websites of the selected media outlets, namely Sözcü, Cumhuriyet, and Halk TV, between January 1, 2023, and September 30, 2023, was examined.

2.4. Sample, Scope, and Limitations of the Study

The purposeful sampling method[1] (Etikan et al., 2016, pp. 1-3; Campbell et al., 2020, pp. 652-653) was employed to measure the Islamophobic attitude of the Turkish media. The websites of Sözcü, Cumhuriyet, and Halk TV, which operate in the news and media sector, were identified for the study. In order to scrutinize the representation of issues related to Islam and Muslims by means of current examples, the news articles on the respective websites were examined for the period between January 1, 2023, and September 30, 2023.

In determining the news, the concepts of "headscarves, hijab, veiling[2], turban, thobe[3], taqiyah and beard[4]" were influential. News related to Islam and Muslims, which is relevant to the research topic, were included in the scope of the evaluation.

2.5. Research Findings

Table 1. The Quarterly Traffic Data of Websites[5]

The Examined Websites	Monthly Average	Total
Sözcü	92.67	278.0 Million
Cumhuriyet	47.62	142.8 Million
Halk TV	16.16	48.48 Million
Total	**156.45**	**469.25 Million**

Access to the traffic data of the websites for the period between July 1, 2023, and September 30, 2023, has been provided. According to the obtained data, it can be stated that media organizations, through their presentation and narrative style regarding Islamic attire/appearance, have the potential to shape public opinion and potentially alter perceptions in the minds of their audience.

Table 2. Number of Examined News and Categories

Examined Websites	Categories			
	Headscarves/Hijab Veiling	Beard	Thobe/Turban/ Taqiyah	Total
Sözcü	26	1	9	**36**
Cumhuriyet	60	5	36	**101**
Halk TV	13	1	12	**26**
Total	**99**	**7**	**57**	**163**

The number of news articles on the mentioned concepts by websites is quite substantial. However, within the scope of this research, only content directly related to the topic was taken into consideration. In this context, news articles containing the mentioned words and concepts were individually evaluated, and a total of 163 unique news articles were included in the analysis.

As seen in Table 2, all three news organizations have published a considerable number of news articles related to Islamic clothing/appearance on their websites. It has been determined that there are notably more news articles specifically related to headscarves, turban, veiling and hijab.

Within the scope of the research, a total of 163 news articles were examined, with 99 related to headscarves/turban/veiling, 7 related to beards, and 57 related to thobe/turban/taqiyah.

Table 3. Transfer of News Headlines

Examined Websites: / Transfer Formats	Headscarves/Hijab Veiling			Beard			Thobe/Turban/ Taqiyah			
	Sözcü	Cumhuriyet	Halk TV	Sözcü	Cumhuriyet	Halk TV	Sözcü	Cumhuriyet	Halk TV	Total
Negative Word Usage	8	8	3	-	1	-	2	4	2	**28**
Exaggeration	4	14	1	-	-	-	-	2	2	**23**
Misrepresentation	6	20	6	1	2	1	5	21	4	**66**
Criticism	2	7	2	-	1	-	1	5	2	**20**
Neutral	3	4	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	**11**
Other	3	7	1	-	1	-	-	3	-	**15**
Total	**26**	**60**	**13**	**1**	**5**	**1**	**9**	**36**	**12**	**163**

Out of the examined 163 news articles, it was determined that 66 articles contained a distorted narrative within their headlines, 28 articles used negative language in their headlines, 23 headlines were exaggerated in their description, and 20 headlines carried a critical tone.

Considering that headlines are the first attention-grabbing part of a news article, the presence of distortions, exaggerations, and negative language in headlines related to Islamic clothing/appearance elements creates an Islamophobic perception.

Table 4. The Nature of News Introductions

Examined Websites: The Nature of News Introductions	Categories									
	Headscarves/Hijab Veiling			Beard			Thobe/Turban/ Taqiyah			
	Sözcü	Cumhuriye t	Halk TV	Sözcü	Cumhuriye	Halk TV	Sözcü	Cumhuriye	Halk TV	Total
Explanatory / Informative	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3
Critical	2	7	1	1	2	-	1	3	-	17
Exaggerated	2	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	8
Anxiety/Intriguing	3	5	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	11
Scary	5	12	2	-	-	-	2	5	2	28
Provocative	-	4	2	-	-	-	1	3	-	10
Sensational / Tabloid	5	6	3	-	2	1	2	12	2	33
Stimulating	1	6	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	9
Judgmental	2	5	-	-	-	-	1	6	2	16
Comparative Statements	2	7	4	-	-	-	1	4	3	21
Neutral	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Other	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	4
Total	**26**	**60**	**13**	**1**	**5**	**1**	**9**	**36**	**12**	**163**

The news introductions are the section of the news article that provide essential information about the news and ensure its readability. Table 4 illustrates the nature of the introductions of news articles related to Islamic clothing/appearance elements.

In this context, it has been determined that the news articles are presented with sensational/tabloid-like (33), fear-inducing (28), comparative (21), critical (17), and judgmental (16) characteristics. It was particularly observed that the introductions of the articles are made in a manner that mocks Islamic clothing/appearance, presents them as a tabloid-like issue, portrays them as something to be feared or worried about, compares them with other styles of clothing, and uses a critical and judgmental tone.

This Islamophobic tone in the news language also poses a danger in terms of guiding the readers on how to interpret the news with a particular frame/perspective.

Table 5. Emotions/Attitudes Emphasized in the News

Examined Websites: Emotions Attitudes	Headscarves/Hijab Veiling			Beard			Thobe/Turban/Taqiyah			Total
	Sözcü	Cumhuriyet	Halk TV	Sözcü	Cumhuriyet	Halk TV	Sözcü	Cumhuriyet	Halk TV	
Fear	7	7	1	-	-	-	1	3	-	19
Hatred	2	13	4	-	-	1	4	8	2	34
Exclusion Othering	6	24	6	-	2	-	3	15	5	61
Discrimination	2	6	-	-	-	-	-	7	4	19
Other	5	5	1	-	1	-	-	2	-	14
Neutral	4	5	1	1	2	-	1	1	1	16
Total	**26**	**60**	**13**	**1**	**5**	**1**	**9**	**36**	**12**	**163**

It is evident that news articles convey a message or emotion, and it is clear that not only the subject matter but also the journalist/editor and other news production/distribution professionals have an influence on the content of the news. In this context, when the content related to Islamic clothing/appearance of the examined news organizations was subjected to preliminary analysis, it was observed that categories such as fear, hatred, exclusion/othering, discrimination, other, and neutral exist.

As a result of the coding conducted in this context, it has been determined that an exclusionary/othering tone (61) prevails in the news articles related to Islamic clothing/appearance on the websites of Sözcü, Cumhuriyet, and Halk TV organizations. Additionally, the presence of a discourse characterized by explicit feelings of hatred, fear-inducing language, and encouragement of discrimination is noteworthy.

Table 6. Frames/Main Themes Presented to the Audience in the News

Examined Websites: Prominent Themes in the News News Frames	Sözcü	Cumhuriyet	Halk TV	Total
The political discourse asserting that individuals dressed in Islamic attire/appearance are reactionary/conservative and that the elements of Islamic attire/appearance are incompatible with secularism/modernity exists.	11	45	9	**65**
The elements of Islamic attire/appearance are being narrated by associating them with specific individuals, groups, and events, and are being generalized.	8	25	4	**37**
Individuals with Islamic attire/appearance are being associated with acts of violence and terrorism.	4	4	2	**10**

When examining the subject of a news article along with the way it is presented and the carefully selected words and concepts used throughout the text, one can discover the intended meanings emphasized in the texts. This aspect also carries the quality of revealing the integrity of the news and the frame presented in the news.

From this perspective, when the news articles published by Sözcü, Cumhuriyet, and Halk TV organizations regarding Islamic clothing/appearance were examined, it was determined that the

majority positioned Islamic clothing/appearance elements as reactionary/fundamentalist activities. Additionally, individuals with this appearance (wearing headscarves, hijab, veiling, turban, thobe, taqiyah and beard) were often portrayed as conservative, non-modern, and incompatible with secularism and modernity. This framing was identified in 65 of the examined news articles.

The number of news articles depicting Islamic attire/appearance by associating them with specific individuals, groups, and events, and generalizing them is also 37. Particularly, the presence of news articles attempting to portray Islamic attire/appearance, especially in countries like Iran and Afghanistan, and trying to depict the internal issues of these countries as Islamic situations, as well as the existence of news articles that seek to create perceptions by generalizing negative situations and individuals, demonstrates the increasing state of Islamophobia.

Furthermore, in the news, there are accusatory statements implying that individuals with Islamic attire/appearance are supporters of violence or potential perpetrators of terrorist activities. 10 news articles with such a worldview have been identified.

(Cumhuriyet, 2023a)	(Sözcü, 2023)
(Cumhuriyet, 2023b)	(Cumhuriyet, 2023c)
(Halk TV, 2023)	(Cumhuriyet, 2023d)

Photos: Examples of Visual Frames in the News

The images obtained from the websites of Sözcü, Cumhuriyet, and Halk TV, and used in the study, provide significant examples of how the headscarf/turban/veil is represented. The use of the term "black headscarves/hijab" in many news articles alongside these photos in a threatening/fear-inducing frame can lead the reader to construct a frame through an Islamophobic lens, shaping their understanding of events in an Islamophobic manner.

General Evaluation and Discussion

The media plays a significant role in constructing Islamophobic language and creating a discourse space for itself in political, social, and economic domains. In Western countries and in Türkiye, communication tools play an influential role in promoting Islamophobic language, which results in a discriminatory, exclusionary, negative, and hateful perspective towards Islamic

clothing/appearance elements such as headscarves, hijab, veiling, turban, thobe, taqiyah, beard in social, political, and economic life.

This inquiry involved the examination of news articles related to "headscarves, hijab, veiling, turban, thobe, taqiyah, beard" published on the websites of the Turkish media organizations Sözcü, Cumhuriyet, and Halk TV between January 1, 2023 and September 30, 2023, using the framing technique.

The research findings indicate that:

a-It was found that media outlets found content related to headscarves, hijab, veiling, turban, thobe, taqiyah, beard, particularly engaging, and produced news articles specifically about these topics and concepts,

b-It was observed that news headlines were predominantly presented in a distorted, exaggerated, and negative manner.

c-The introductions of the news articles were particularly characterized by a sensational/tabloid-like, fear-inducing, comparative, critical, and judgmental tone.

d-The news articles related to Islamic clothing/appearance elements contained exclusionary/othering language, with a clear presence of feelings of hatred, fear-inducing language, and the promotion of discrimination.

e-Particularly, it was identified that there are news articles that exaggerate developments related to the use of headscarves in countries like Iran, presenting events in these countries with an alarming tone. These articles attempt to construct the notion that Türkiye is starting to resemble countries presented negatively in terms of Islamic clothing/appearance. They also link individuals' fundamental preferences, clothing styles, or religious practices with politics, serving political concerns. Furthermore, there are news articles that portray individuals wearing headscarves, hijab, veiling, turban, thobe, taqiyah, beard, as reactionary and primitive, associating them with terrorism or violence.

This research opens up a discussion on the Islamophobic language used by media outlets. Considering that the news frames created by these media outlets provide a pattern of interpretation for the public to understand, recognize, label events/concepts, and determine how to position them in their own lives and mental worlds, the significance of this inquiry becomes even clearer. However;

These statements describe various aspects of Islamophobia occurring through the media:

1-By emphasizing specific aspects, they selectively highlight events/developments related to Islam and Muslims, and tell viewers how to perceive the issue.

2-By consistently using repetitive patterns and narratives, they create a particular typology/profile of Muslims and shape the perception of Islam.

3-Media content adorned with negative narratives contributes to the construction of hostility and antagonism towards the Islamic religion and Muslims, especially with the use/replication of selected/repeated concepts. It should be remembered that this has a cognitive function in generating Islamophobia and producing an Islamophobic language.

Additionally, the traces of Islamophobia that become visible in the words, sentences, and between the lines of news articles may indicate an internalized Islamophobic perspective/intention in media professionals.

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İslamofobik Anlatılar Olarak Haber Çerçeveleri: Radikalize Edilen Kavramlar

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Genişletilmiş Özet

İslamofobi, İslam'a ve Müslümanlara karşı ön yargı dayalı ayrımcılığı ve korkuyu ifade etmektedir. Bununla birlikte İslamofobi kelimesi, yabancı düşmanlığı olan xenophobia kelimesi ile ilişkilendirilmekte ve yabancılara karşı duyulan dışlama, düşmanlık gibi anlamlarla benzerlik taşımaktadır.

Yabancı düşmanlığı, kültürel ırkçılık gibi insan haklarına aykırı tutumlarla görünür olan İslam karşıtlığının/İslamofobinin (Rashid, Iqbal ve Tanvir, 2023, s. 608) benzer tonlarına Batı dışındaki, nüfusunun büyük çoğunluğunu Müslümanların oluşturduğu Türkiye gibi toplumlarda da rastlamak olağan hale gelmiştir. Bu ülkelerde de İslam'a/Müslümanlara yönelik Batı bakış açısı içselleştirilmiş ve İslam'ın/Müslümanların görünürlükleri tehdit edici bir perspektifle tanımlanır hale gelmiştir.

Türkiye tarihinde de Osmanlı Devleti'nin son modernleşme çalışmalarından başlayan ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti modernleşme süreci sonrası devam eden kültürel ve politik gelişmeler bu durumun en önemli göstergesidir. Bir karşıtlık ilişkisi ile yorumlanan İslam dini, gericilik/yobazlık ile çerçevelenmiş, bu doğrultuda Müslümanların görünürlükleri, İslami ritüeller ve ibadetler sosyal, siyasal ve ekonomik hayatı tehdit eden bir unsur olarak konumlandırılmış, kısıtlanmaya çalışılmış ve bu doğrultuda pratik kararlar alınmıştır (Karpat, 2011, s. 245; Kara, 2016, s. 35, 41-44; Bayraklı ve Yerlikaya, 2007, s. 52; Temel, 2020). Bu siyasal gelişmeler sosyal hayatta da yönlendirici etkiye sahip bir görünüm taşımakla birlikte, bu siyasal dilin medyatik bir boyut taşıması da Türkiye medyasının İslamofobik bir dil üretimindeki rolünü tartışmaya açmaktadır. Dolayısıyla Türkiye'deki İslam algısının inşasında önemli bir etkisi olan medyanın İslam'a ve Müslümanlar yönelik kullanmış olduğu dil ayrı bir önem taşımaktadır. Fakat literatürde, söz konusu problem alanını inceleyen, sorgulayan ve tartışan metinlerin, akademik çalışmaların azlığı dikkat çekicidir.

Bu çalışma da Türkiye'deki medyanın İslam'ı ve Müslümanları temsil etme biçimlerini, İslami giyim/görünüm unsurları örnekliğinde tartışmaya açmaktadır. Özellikle İslami giyim/görünüm unsurlarının medya içeriklerinde nasıl anlatıldığını/çerçevelendiğini tartışmaya açılması, Türkiye'deki medya araçlarının İslam'ı ve Müslümanları temsil etme biçimini ortaya çıkaracaktır. Bu kapsamda, Türkiye medyası içerisinde önemli bir role sahip olan ve özellikle İslami konu ve meselelerle ilgili aykırı yayınlarıyla gündeme gelen Sözcü, Cumhuriyet ve Halk TV gibi yayın organları incelenecektir. Haber ve bilgi edinmenin, geleneksel medyadan yeni medyaya doğru bir evrilme yaşanması sebebiyle de ilgili yayın organlarının internet sitelerindeki yayınları haber çerçeveleme yöntemiyle değerlendirilmiştir.

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Çerçeve, bir konunun farklı yönlerinin dikkati çekmesi için yapılan bir vurgudur. Gündem belirleme kuramı, konuların dikkati çekmesi ile ilgilenirken, çerçeveleme, konuların sunumu ile ilgilenmektedir. Bu kısa tanım, genellikle haber çerçeveleri üzerine yapılan çalışmalara uygulanmakta ve çerçevelerin 'meselenin yazılış tarzı' şeklindeki dar tanımına nazaran daha fazla sezgisel anlam içermektedir (Vreese, 2005, s. 53)

Yine çerçeveleme yaklaşımında belirli bir konunun bazı yönlerinin seçilerek ön plana çıkarılması esastır. Belli bir konunun veya nesnenin medya gündemindeki sıklığından ziyade izleyicilerin konuya nasıl bakması gerektiği üzerinde odaklanır. Yani medyanın konuya nasıl bakılması gerektiği konusunda belirleyici olduğu, üretilen içerikte konunun hangi özelliklerinin ön plana çıkarıldığı ve sunumu önem taşımaktadır. Bireylerin o konuya nasıl bakması gerektiğini, o konu ile ilgili nasıl düşünmesi gerektiği ve medyanın kurduğu çerçeve ile bireyleri dolayısıyla toplumsal bakışı yönlendirdiği görüşüne dayanmaktadır (Akmeşe, 2020, s. 41).

Çerçeveler, "resim çerçevesi" veya "pencere çerçevesi" ifadelerinde olduğu gibi sınırları tanımlar ve dikkatimizi hangi olayların ve metinlerin bir konuyu anlamamızla ilgili olduğuna yöneltir. Tıpkı bir pencere gibi, dünyayı, yaşamımızı belirleyen çerçeveler aracılığıyla görür, bakış açımızı çevremizdeki karmaşık dünyanın yalnızca bir parçasıyla sınırlandırırız (Creed, Langstraat ve Scully, 2002, s. 36-37).

Kısaca çerçevelemenin;

a) Bilişsel bir işlev göstererek tekrar kalıpları sayesinde analitik düşünme yükünü azaltması (Güran ve Özarslan, 2022, s. 1226);

b) Mesajı alan kişinin/alıcının düşüncesine ve vardığı sonuca rehberlik eden çerçevelerin, niyetleri de yansıtabilmesi (Entman, 1993, s. 52);

c) Metinleri yerleştirme veya tekrarlama yoluyla ya da kültürel olarak tanıdık sembollerle ilişkilendirilerek belirgin hale getirmesi (Entman, 1993, s. 53);

d) Medya metinlerinin aktarılış biçimi ile okura, kamuoyuna bir alan çizilmesi, yol gösterilmesi ve bu şekilde de nasıl düşünmesi gerektiği ile ilgili bakış açısı sunması, anlam inşa etmesi gibi özelliklere sahip olduğu ifade edilebilir.

Bu bağlamda, İslam karşıtlığının Türkiye'deki izlerini sorgulayabilmek amacıyla, medya metinlerindeki İslami giyim/görünüm unsurları ile ilgili sunulan 'anlam çerçevelerine' odaklanılmıştır. Bu kapsamda İslami giyim/görünüm ile ilgili medya metinlerindeki, görünmez hale getirilen metinlerin anlamını ortaya çıkarmak, nasıl düşünülmesi gerektiği ile ilgili çizilen yol haritasını anlamlandırmak, yargılayıcı nefret dilinin varlığını sorgulamak, toplumsal bir meseleye ilişkin üretilen yargıyı keşfedebilmek amacıyla çerçeveleme analizi yöntemi tercih edilmiştir.

Çalışma kapsamında aşağıdaki araştırma sorularına cevap aranacaktır:

S. 1. İslami giyim/görünüm unsurları medyada hangi çerçeve içerisinde sunulmaktadır?

S. 2. Haber başlıklarının aktarımı nasıldır?

S. 3. Haber girişleri nasıl yapılmaktadır?

S. 4. Haberde öne çıkartılan/çerçevelenen duygular/tutumlar nelerdir?

S. 5. Haberlerde izleyiciye sunulan çerçeveler/ana temalar nelerdir?

Türkiye medyasının İslamofobik tutumunu ölçebilmek amacıyla, amaçlı örneklem yöntemiyle haber ve medya sektöründe faaliyet gösteren Sözcü, Cumhuriyet ve Halk TV yayın organlarının internet siteleri belirlenmiştir. Medyanın İslam ve Müslümanlar ile ilişkili meseleleri temsil biçimini

güncel örnekler üzerinden sorgulayabilmek amacıyla, ilgili internet sitelerinin 1 Ocak 2023-30 Eylül 2023 tarihleri arasındaki haberleri incelenmiştir.

Haberlerin belirlenmesinde ise "başörtüsü, türban, çarşaf, örtünme, sarık, cübbe, takke ve sakal" kavramları etkili olmuştur. İslam ve Müslümanlar ile ilgili olan ve araştırma konusuna uygun olacak haberler değerlendirme kapsamına alınmıştır.

Bu bağlamda, yapılan araştırma sonucunda, İslamofobik dilin inşa edilmesinde ve siyasal, toplumsal ve ekonomik alanlarda kendisine bir söylem alanı oluşturmasında medyanın önemli bir rolü bulunduğu belirlenmiştir. Başörtüsü, türban, çarşaf, örtünme, sarık, cübbe, takke ve sakal gibi İslami giyim/görünüm unsurlarına sosyal/siyasal/ekonomik hayatta ayrımcı, dışlayıcı, negatif ve nefret dili ile bakılmasında Batı ülkelerindeki ve Türkiye'deki iletişim araçlarının kullandıkları İslamofobik dilin etkin yeri vardır. Ayrıca:

a-Başörtüsü, türban, çarşaf, örtünme, sarık, cübbe, takke, sakal ile ilgili içeriklerin medya araçları tarafından ilgi çekici bulunduğu ve bu konularla/kavramlarla ilgili özellikle haberler ürettikleri,

b-Haber başlıklarının çoğunlukla çarpıtıcı, abartılı ve olumsuz kelime içeren bir şekilde sunulduğu;

c-Haberler girişlerinin özellikle sansasyonel/magazinsel, korkutucu, karşılaştırıcı, eleştirel ve yargılayıcı bir tonlama taşıdığı;

d-İslami giyim/görünüm unsurları ile ilgili haberlerinde dışlayıcı/ötekileştirici, nefret duygusunun belirgin olduğu, korku uyandırıcı ve ayrımcılığı teşvik edici bir duygu/anlam içerdiği;

e-Özellikle; İran vb. ülkelerdeki başörtüsü kullanımı ile ilgili yaşanan gelişmeleri abartarak sunan ve bu ülkedeki olayları uyarıcı bir tonlamayla sunan; İslami giyim görünüm unsurları üzerinden Türkiye'nin de negatif bir içerikle sunulan ülkelere benzemeye başladığı anlamını inşa etmeye çalışan; bireylerin temel tercihlerini, giyim tarzlarını veya ibadetlerini siyasetle ilişkilendirip politik kaygılara hizmet eden; başörtülü/türbanlı/çarşaflı, sakallı, takkeli/cüppeli kişileri terörist veya şiddet yanlısı gibi gerici ve ilkel gösteren haber içeriklerinin varlığı tespit edilmiştir.

Bu araştırma, medya araçlarının İslamofobik dilini sorgulamaya/tartışmaya açmaktadır. Medya araçlarının üretmiş oldukları haber çerçevelerinin, kamuoyunun olayları/kavramları anlamalarına, tanımalarına, etiketlemelerine ve kendi hayatlarında/zihin dünyalarında nasıl bir yere, ne şekilde konumlandırmaları gerektiğine ilişkin bir yorum kalıbı sunduğu düşünüldüğünde bu sorgulamanın önemi daha net anlaşılacaktır. Bunun birlikte;

1-İslam ve Müslümanlar ile ilgili olayların/gelişmelerin belirlenen yönlerini, istenildiği şekilde öne çıkararak, izleyicinin o meseleye nasıl bakması gerektiğini söyleyen,

2-Tekrar kalıplar ile sürekli aynı anlatımların kullanılarak belirli bir Müslüman tiplemesi/profili ve İslam algısı yaratan,

3-Negatif anlatımlarla süslenen İslam dini ve Müslümanlar ile ilgili özellikle seçilen/tekrarlanan kavramlar ile bir düşmanlığın/karşıtlığın inşa edilmesine katkı sunan medya içeriklerinin İslam karşıtlığı oluşturan, İslamofobik bir dil üreten bilişsel bir işlevi olduğu unutulmamalıdır.

Ayrıca, haber metinlerinin kelimelerinde, cümlelerinde, satır aralarında görünür hale gelen İslam karşıtlığının izleri, medya profesyonellerinde içselleştirilen bir İslamofobik bakış açısına/niyetine sahip olduğu izlenimini doğurabilecek bir niteliktedir.

Notes

[1] The purposive sampling method is a non-random form of sampling. The researcher conducts an investigation into what needs to be known and identifies the content that can provide relevant data. This sampling method is used as a way to select examples that have the highest likelihood of providing suitable and useful information. Purposive sampling strategies deviate from any form of random sampling and are strategies aimed at ensuring that cases of a specific type that can be included are part of the final sample in the research study (Etikan et al., 2016, pp. 1-3; Campbell et al., 2020, pp. 652-653).

[2] Dressing in accordance with the teachings of Islam.

[3] Traditionals gowns in Islamic societies.

[4] Beard that is socially accepted as the sign of one's piety or strict adherence to teachings of Islams.

[5] The web traffic data for the websites was obtained from the website www.similarweb.com, which utilizes Big Data technologies to collect, measure, and analyze user engagement statistics for websites and mobile applications on behalf of companies (https://pro.similarweb.com, September 2023).