

## Reflections of Human (In)security Concept in the World of Twitter: The #EuropeanUnion Hashtag

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**ABSTRACT** Security means the state of being free from danger, risk or threat. In social sciences, human security is an emerging paradigm shift concerning a person-centered, multi-disciplinary understanding of security involving a number of studies and human rights. According to Amartya Sen (2000), “human security” is a keyword referring comprehensively everything free of the menaces that threaten the survival, daily lives, and dignity of individuals and to strengthening the efforts to confront these threats. On the other hand, “human insecurity” as a term stands for defining various situations where conflicts lead to perception of deprivation of some-kind, among certain people, in a given context (Sirkeci, 2009). Human insecurity affects migration movements in a way with the connection of 3Ds: namely democratic, development and demographic deficits. Accordingly, it is claimed that recent developments, the attempted coup on July 15, 2016 and the aftermath have made Turkey as a seemingly insecure place in reference to these 3Ds facilitating migration movements in and/or from the country. (Sirkeci, 2017) According to the reports of Eurostat published in 2016, asylum applications filed by citizens of Turkey in European countries reached at 3779 in the third quarter comparing to the same quarter of 2015 at 985. After the attempted coup, this tendency seems on the rise, which actually signals us the fact that human insecurity perceptions among citizens. To evaluate this hypothesis, Twitter, as a public social media platform, based on the hashtags used by Turkish people, such as #avrupabirligi and #avrupabirligi (in English “european union”) was evaluated within the methodology content analysis.

**Keywords** : European Union, human (in)security, conflict, migration, social media

## Twitter’da İnsani Güven(siz)lik Yansımaları: #AvrupaBirliği Etiketleri

**ÖZ** Güvenlik, tehlikeden, riskten ya da tehditten uzak olma hali anlamına gelmektedir. Sosyal bilimlerde, insani güvenlik, multidisipliner ve birey merkezli bir yaklaşımla incelenmektedir. Amartya Sen’e (2000) göre, “insani güvenlik” hayatta kalma, gündelik yaşam, insanlık haysiyeti ve tehditlere karşı durma çabalarını güçlendirme ile ilişkilidir. Diğer bir yandan, insani güvensizlik ise çatışmaların insanlar arasında belirli grupları mahrumiyet algısına yönlendirdiği çeşitli durumları tanımlayan bir kavram olarak görülmektedir (Sirkeci, 2009). İnsani güvensizlik göç hareketlerini 3D ile etkilemektedir: diğer bir deyişle, demokrasi açığı, kalkınma açığı ve demografik açığı. Dolayısıyla, 15 Temmuz 2016’da gerçekleşen darbe girişimi ve sonrasında yaşanan gelişmeler ülke içerisinde ya da ülke dışına göç hareketlerini hızlandıran bu 3D’ye göre Türkiye’yi görece güvenli olmayan bir yer haline getirdiği iddia edilmektedir (Sirkeci, 2017). Eurostat’ın 2016 yılında yayınladığı rapora göre, 2015’in üçüncü dönemindeki 985 başvuru ile kıyaslandığında Temmuz 2016 sonrasında aynı dönemde iltica başvurusu 3779’a yükselmiştir. Darbe girişimi ardından, Türkiye’de yaşayan insanlar

*arasındaki insani güvensizlik algısı bu durumun yükselişte olabileceği izlenimini sağlamaktadır. Bu öngörüğü değerlendirmek için, #avrupabirligi ve #avrupabirligi etiketlerini incelemek üzere yarı-kamusal bir alan olarak kabul edilen Twitter’da Türkiye’deki üyelerin paylaştıkları içerikler analiz edilmiştir.*

**Anahtar Kelimeler** : Avrupa Birliği, insani güven(siz)lik, kargaşa, göç, sosyal medya

## **Introduction – Security but what for?**

The concept “security” became a field of study generated based on politics and discussed in different angles by force of migration movement. At this point, on the one hand *personal security* and *human security* have come into prominence in relation to transnational forced migration: on the other hand, *state security* has become more of an issue. State security is defined with national unity and its protection: moreover, human security stands for people being safe from and taking action against threatening factors according to the definition put by the European Union in 2003 (Şimşek and İçduygu, 2017)<sup>1</sup>. Human security defined firstly in 1994’s United Nations Development Program consists of “people feeling insecure in such cases like poverty in daily lives, job loss fear, being exposed to discrimination because of their ethnic identities, religious or genders, oppression or violence by the state” (Şimşek, 2017)<sup>2</sup>. The concept from this aspect has held a close relation with human development in “Millennium Development Goals”. Thus, these goals were decided to be revised in 2005 United Nations Summit, especially after 9/11 having switching global terror discourse and the phenomenon “control” having gained importance in migration policies, and the concept “human security” became one of the basic principles in 2005 Summit. Thereafter, the consideration of the concept which has been gradually gained importance in the field of international relations is based on switching security aspect from the state to persons and consisting of factors which are military and outside the areas of prosperity (Sönmez and Kırık, 2017). In general, the concept of “human security” is apt to be emphasized on two aspects. The first one stands for getting protected from continuous threats such as hunger, disease and oppression: the second one consists of getting protected from sudden and hurtful chaos in daily life (Paris, 2001). When it comes to human mobility, human security is evaluated in the context of migration, factors threatening it are revealed such as discriminative policies against immigrants on migration, border security practices putting their lives in danger, economic inequality they are faced with, deployment policies causing the social life as isolated, racism and discrimination the immigrants have experienced (Şimşek, 2017). Today all the security threats are frequently seen in the asylum seeker, refugee and integration policies of nation states as global actors and international organizations during the process of migration.

Population movements from Syria to the neighbouring countries and Europe since the outbreak of Syrian Crisis brought about re-making decisions on international migration policies and re-approaching the concept “security” in the process of migration policies generation (Şimşek and İçduygu, 2017). A growing security sector has been originated with readmission centers, passport clerks, electronic security systems, border security teams: on the other hand, “refugees”

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1 These definitions were discussed in detailed in the UN Report titled with “An Overview of the Human Security Concept and the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security” in 2009.

2 The concept was discussed in detailed in the report titled with “A Human Security Doctrine for Europe: The Barcelona Report for the Study Group on Europe’s Security Capabilities” in 2004.

are perceived as a major threat, thoughts on refugees, as they are welfare hunters, disease carrying and potential criminal, increase (Rumelili and Karadağ, 2017).

The practices to protect state security used by global actors, notably European nation states and European Union (EU), consist of some tools like border protection practices, visa policies, bilateral or plurilateral migration agreements, or “safe source country”. To set an example among these tools, the least known “safe source country” and “protection against forced migration” consist of the countries which are considered as safe for refugees in European Union. The concept “safe” stands for the absence of oppression, torture, inhuman treatment and indignity; and also, nonthreatening situations including violence caused by national or international conflicts. Accordingly, a country under these circumstances is not normally considered as a refugee-producing country, and the application from these countries is supposed as baseless. Thus, the concept “safe source country” takes a new significance because of both decrease in evaluating personal situations and allowance of holistic decision-making within the scope of decreasing refugee applications (Hunt, 2014). Irregular migrants from Turkey to Greek Islands since 20 March 2016 were started to send back to Turkey within the agreement on immigration control between EU and Turkey on 18 March 2016 as the most current example of this practice. This agreement accepts Turkey as a safe country. However, after this agreement signed, the number of refugees who passed away in the Mediterranean Sea increased %18 when compared to the same season in the previous year. Taking into consideration that the agreement is still valid, state security is claimed to be given particular importance (Şimşek, 2017). The factors discussed above shows that state security is pointed in the dilemma of human security and state security which becomes clear with forced migration experienced nowadays (Şimşek and İçduygu, 2017). Thus, European countries are deeply occupied with the border protection in order to control the flow of migration just after the Syrian War: for instance, the border of Serbia in Hungary was enclosed with wire, Croatia close its border and Slovenia deployed military troops at the border in addition to other security forces (Şimşek, 2017).

The examples mentioned above put the relationship between migration and state security into a frame that forced immigrants are thought to be politicized at the first stage. Being politicized is regarded to deal with in such an agenda, based on both taking a subject matter into consideration as one of the vital issues to be discussed by political agents and generating different thoughts and conflict zones by different agents. In this context, security and threat are essential subject matters contributing to politicization (İçduygu, 2017). Starting from this point of view, refugees are transferred to security zones just after getting politicized. Thereafter, remanding securitized refugees as threats by force, taking them into custody or replacing them are legal due to the fact that security is about survival as stated by Buzan, Waever and Wilde who are representers of Copenhagen School based on securitization (Rumelili ve Karadağ, 2017). The legitimacy of the increase in discriminative policies inconsistent with the concept “human security” holds a potential to cause exclusion and integration problems, and at the same time the level of human insecurity is increased by setting off direct or indirect conflict zones. This article aims to determine how the concept “human insecurity” is shaped after the attempted coup experienced on 15 July 2016 in Turkey by applying content analysis on the hashtags #avrupabirligi and #avrupabirliği (in English “europeanunion”) in Twitter as a public social media platform. In this way, the purpose of the article is to reveal the perception of people on migration dynamics in terms of Europe, European Union and Turkey. For this purpose, the article consists of 4 parts. In the first part of the article, conflict and international migration terms and their relationships between each other will be evaluated as two terms contributing to human insecurity. The second part presents the migration-based relationship between Turkey and Europe within 3D as human

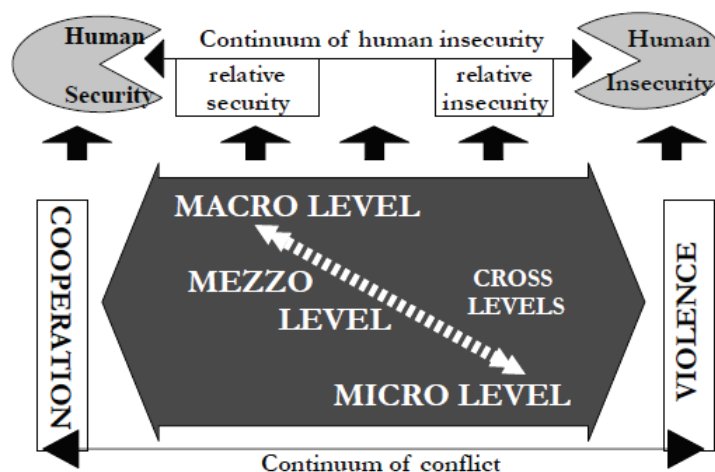
insecurity affects the flow of migration. The third part of the article is a methodology part of the research based on the issues discussed in the previous parts and lastly, the findings are depicted by evaluating with the background literature.

## 1. Relationship of Conflict, Human Insecurity and International Migration

The best question to clarify the relationship of these three terms is what the basic and background motivation of international migration is. Sirkeci, who explains the relationship between human insecurity and conflict in a favorable way, answers this question with “seeking to ward off human insecurity” (Sirkeci, 2009). Under the circumstances, what does human insecurity stand for? How does that close connection between human insecurity and conflict show up?

First of all, human insecurity is a term defined as conflicts directing a score of people into the perceptions of the deprivation (Sirkeci, 2009). This definition consists of the word perception which is the most important one, because human insecurity is perceived subjectively by people, communities and households. Because of this reason, human insecurity is assumed relatively, subjectively and may be derived from civil conflicts, wars and secret tension. While Sirkeci defines this term, he states that environmental issues for Indonesian islanders or civil conflicts for Sudanese people are perceived as human insecurity because the points in question are life-threatening for these communities (Sirkeci, 2009).

Conflict is placed with a wide range from secret tensions to brutal conflicts by using Ralf Dusseldorf's suggestion on this term, and they are asserted as they have connected to each other based on persons or households and communities or state. Thus, human insecurity is added into the connection between conflict and national/international mobility. Under these circumstances, transnational mobility may be considered as a mobility from human insecurity to human security (Sirkeci, 2009). This explanation reveals a new definition and shows a positive model directed with the term “conflict” on the contrary to classical power theories defending people’s migration based on better economic situations, more freedom, intellectual needs and always defining human mobility in a positive way (Sirkeci and Cohen, 2016). Sirkeci has formed a circle in order to explain the relationship between conflict and human insecurity, and has presented that mobility is done to the environment of trust by having an expectation of this mobility generated within insecure zones. This diagram depicts cooperation on x-axis connecting to human security; on the other end, violence on x-axis connecting to human insecurity (Sirkeci, 2009).





**Table 1: Circle of Human Insecurity and Conflict Zone**

From this point of view, transnational fields are defined as the conflict zones specified by conflict potentials, and this field of zone is always transformed by conflicts and migrations. According to Sirkeci (2009), this is a reciprocal process. On the one hand, structures, actors, policies and processes are affected: on the other hand, all these factors change the conflicts. Sirkeci and Cohen elaborates the relationship between conflict and migration by structuring a conflict model. This model is based on two different hypothesis. The first one is that conflict is the most basic driving force of human mobility: the second one is that conflicts direct mobilities and takes it to the perception of insecurity. For example, Turkey during its modern history experienced these kinds of conflicts even inside and at the border of the country. Turkish War of Independence between 1918 and 1922; Cyprus Dispute between 1964 and 1974; Iran and Iraq Wars between 1980 and 1988 and Syrian Way kicking off in 2011 are among the examples of subjected conflicts. While major conflicts and tensions generally cause a wide mobility, minor ones take more time to trigger population movements. Ongoing conflicts and its ongoing perception cause the continuum of human insecurity collaterally, and the determining of migration tendency as a result (Sirkeci and Cohen, 2016). Hence, the ongoing process started with Syrian Way in 2011 causes out-migration by maintaining the perception of human insecurity: on the other hand, millions of asylum seekers and refugees creates a potential for other conflicts in the countries they have moved to because of being seen as a threat for the power of nation states.

According to Sirkeci and Cohen (2016), conflict develops “migration culture” as a new discourse as a relationship between human insecurity and migration. A migration culture is developed just after the population movement generated with the conflict, and this type of culture partially protects the flow the mobile ones. Therefore, the conflicts happening in the target or transit country are a part of development of migration culture. Naturally, a culture shaped with the flow of migration does not end shortly and conflicts and related flow of migration are necessary to take years in order for this type of culture to be developed.

If needed to examine Turkish migration culture as an example presented by Sirkeci and Cohen in order to define the migration culture as a term, it is seen that two different conflicts, one of which is based on ethnicity (Kurdish people) and the other is based on religion (Alevi), make its case on the movements outside the country. In the years of 1980s and 90s, migration movements were experienced by millions of Kurdish people who migrated to Europe and beyond to escape political oppression as distinct from an external migration model based on labor. The story of people, who are seen as having settled in Germany as workers by courtesy of bilateral Interstate Labor Agreements between Turkey and Germany (Gastarbeiter) in the years of 1960s and 70s, demonstrates that they have been affected to migrate with the ethnic discrimination at that time (Sirkeci and Cohen, 2016). In the continuum of the process, the violence acts and movements to Germany between 1991 and 2002 were analyzed in terms of Germany being one of the target countries for Turkey, and a meaningful correlation was determined. More simple to explain this situation, the movements to Germany increased in the time of Turkey’s increase in violence acts. Because Germany had been a target country for Turkish people since 1960s, a migration culture was developed in this corridor (Sirkeci and Cohen, 2016). It is needed to point out that this situation may not always be experienced with the decisions or guidance of the political parties and authorities who develop migration culture, or the will to generate the flow of migration among the parties may not be continuous. At this point, the continuum of migration culture is based on such a developed connection, not the attitudes political authorities develop.

## 2. “3D” and Migration Relationship between Turkey and EU

Sirkeci indicates that international migration is shaped with 3 different Ds gap as a continuum of the relationship between human insecurity and conflict: namely, democratic deficit, demographic and development gaps. Development gap means that economic conditions cause inequalities specific to the community and geography. Democratic deficit refers to the representation of minorities, and demographic gap is defined with high rate of birth and growth. Improvements in inter and intra- country communication, transportation or rights paves the way for learning outside opportunities, travels and living abroad (Sirkeci, 2017). According to Sirkeci (2017), the demand for migration shows that EU countries are mostly preferred by the ones who live in regions having 3Ds. On the other hand, Sirkeci indicated that 3Ds were put a spotlight on because the attempted coup was experienced in Turkey on July 15, 2016. As a reason to this, citizens in Turkey attempt to leave the country because of the latest attempted coup and increasing terrorist incidents, and Turkey cannot be marked as a safe country anymore.

Since July 2016 and as a part of state of emergency, more than 80.000 people have been dismissed from the office, more than 2.600 organization and 15 university have been closed off, 39.378 people have been arrested by thinking they are related to the attempted coup. According to Sirkeci (2017; within Keeley, 2015), development and demographic gaps are also essential factors of migration though not yet clear like democratic deficit. Development gap is composed with 20% of the whole population being below the poverty line, being one of the four lowermost countries according to Gini coefficient in OECD, 15 times income distribution difference between 10% of the richest and the poorest. The rate of birth as demographic deficit was measured 2.17 in Turkey and 1.57 in EU countries (Sirkeci,2017 within; Scherbov et. al., 2016). On the other hand, the differences between the regions in a country and the migration experienced between the east and the west regions (Sirkeci, 2017 within; Ediev and Yüceşahin, 2016) are examples of demographic deficit.

When foreign citizens in Turkey and Syrian citizens coming after Syrian War considered, it is seen that the perception of safe country has been changed with the help of Syrian citizens' politicization. Syrian citizens' politicization in Turkey happened with spiking number of refugees to European countries through Turkey in the summer of 2015 (İçduygu, 2017). There are two reasons of this issue becoming politicized in Turkey. One of the reasons is that unanticipated numbers of Syrian refugees rush outside, and the other is that Turkey cannot take control of the transitions to Europe under these circumstances. When these two reasons thought, it can be inferred that there is a directional relationship between the politicization of Syrian refugees and the perception of insecure country.

As stated in the Introduction part of this article, politicization towards the refugees is followed by the securitization. From this point of view, more than 3 million Syrian citizen living in Turkey is associated with political and social issues such as unemployment, terrorist attacks, epidemics, beggary as a result of Syrian War by using securitization tool (Rumelili and Karadağ, 2017). These circumstances, on the contrary, may cause Syrian citizens living in Turkey feel about Turkey as an insecure country. On the other hand, one of the important factors getting Syrian citizens in Turkey to migrate more and more and mark the country as insecure in their perceptions is because Turkey's educational facilities does not appeal to their needs of their kids. According to the statistics, only 15% of all the school-age children were enrolled in July 2016. Approximately 40.000 new classrooms and 80.000 teachers are needed to have in order that all these children have

the same educational standards with the ones living in Turkey, and Turkey does not reach at this capacity (Sirkeci, 2017).

As a result of recent developments, Sirkeci (2017) claimed that Turkish citizens were also diverged from the perception of safe country, when the statistics regarding Turkish citizens' asylum request to EU countries. According to Eurostat data in 2016, Turkish citizens' asylum request to EU countries increased 48% in the first quarter, and 100% in the second quarter. In the third quarter, the number of asylum request reached at 3.779, interestingly enough this number was 985 in the same quarter in 2015. Especially just after the attempted coup, Turkish citizens' asylum request quadrupled and reached at 5.161 between July and October in 2016 when compared to the same period in 2015. When the same data as a part of requests done for Germany evaluated, the results are all over bar the shouting. The numbers show that the requests to Germany are 3.5 times more than compared to 2015; 7 times more in the period between July and October.

### 3. Data and Method

In the next part of the article tweets including #europeanunion (in Turkish) hashtag are analyzed by using content analysis methods. With this, by referring to 3Ds the perception of Turkish citizens on insecurity and migration was evaluated by comparing before and after July 15 when the attempted coup was experienced.

The present analysis leverages data collected from the Twitter Extensive Search between 15 July 2015 and 15 July 2017 - the run-up to 15 July 2016 when the attempted coup happened / experienced. During these two years of data collection we observed approximately 3000 tweets consisting of #avrupabirligi, #avrupabirligi and #europeanunion in Turkish.

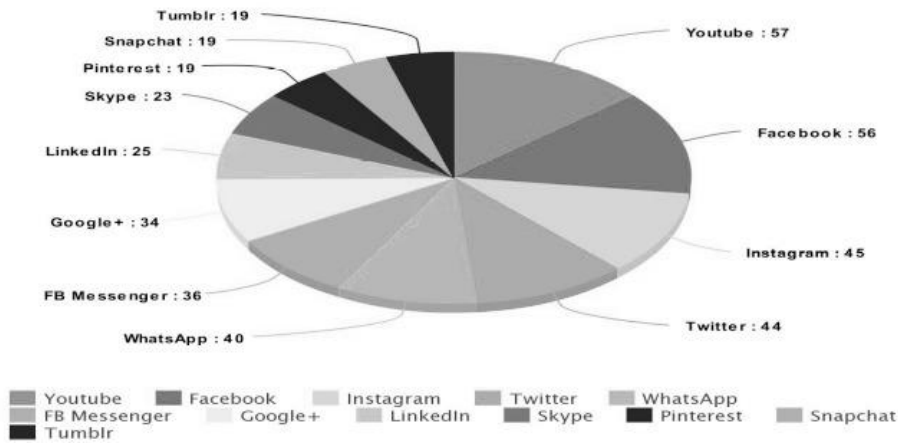
Quantitative content analysis refers to "a research methodology providing a systematic categorization defined previously in order to show the content of the communication" (Geray, 2004). According to Merten (cited by Gökçe, 2006), it is a method to reveal a social reality by using unspecified features. According to Geray (2004), the basic features of content analysis is to analyze the content, a method to analyze systematically, and consists of quantitative representation and objectivity.

A sample of 3000 tweets was drawn from the #avrupabirligi, #avrupabirligi and #europeanunion in Turkish using stratification to ensure the generation of a representative sample consisting of 3Ds mention in this part of the article. This sample was analyzed using a mode of computer-assisted network-based text analysis that represents the content of large sets of texts by identifying the most important words that link other words in the network (Corman and Dooley, 2006; Corman, Kuhn, McPhee, and Dooley, 2002). Qualitative textual analysis techniques were employed to verify, expand, and illuminate the quantitative findings of the content analysis. The goal of this article was to understand how the medium of Twitter was employed in turning events into real life stories. In analyzing the text, we referred back to this definition and prior categorizations of hashtags, identified in detailed in the previous section.

#### 3.1. The Twitter Platform

Twitter is a popular social networking and microblogging site where users can post 140-character messages, or tweets. Apart from broadcasting tweets to an audience of followers, Twitter users can interact with one another in two primary public ways: retweets and mentions. Retweets

act as a form of endorsement, allowing individuals to rebroadcast content generated by other users, thereby raising the content’s visibility (Boyd, Golder, and Lotan, 2008). Mentions function differently, allowing someone to address a specific user directly through the public feed, or, to a lesser extent, refer to an individual in the third person (Honeycutt and Herring, 2008).



**Table 2: Most Active Social Media Platforms in Turkey**

According to the research titled with “Digital in 2017 Global Overview,” Twitter is the fourth of the most used social media tools in Turkey. In another research carried out in 2014 based on the users demographic of Twitter in Turkey, 60% of all the users are male, and the rest is female. Among all the users in Turkey, 64% is under the age of 34 and 50% graduated from a college. These numbers and demographic information depict that mostly young and educated users are active on Twitter in Turkey.

These user numbers and penetration rates of such social media tools make them a popular subject for research in various fields of studies. When Twitter considered as a medium to be analyzed for this article, most of the research are about influence, viral marketing and computer-mediated communication. Within this idea, the article focuses on the reflections on Twitter of the perception of a subject matter discussed in the previous parts. To lay an emphasis on the perception of a subject matter by the users of a social media tool, Romero et al (2010) portrayed influential users, refuting the hypothesis that users with many followers necessarily have bigger impact on the community. By taking this idea into consideration, we can infer that hashtags are another important feature of the Twitter platform. They allow users to annotate tweets with metadata specifying the topic or intended audience of a communication. For example, #avrupabirligi, #avrupabirligi and/or #europeanunion stands for a stream of content, with users’ tag choices denoting participation in different information channels.

Hashtags (Translation in English)	Popularity (in years)
#AvrupaBirliği (European Union)	26.3
#AB (EU)	63.2
#Türkiye (Turkey)	64.2
#MHP (Nationalist Movement Party)	59.1



#CHP (Republican People's Party)	61.2
#BaşkanlıkSistemiAnketi (Survey on Presidential Government)	35.1
#AKP (Justice and Development Party)	59.1
#ŞangayBeşlisi (The Shanghai Five)	8.5
#NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization)	64.5
#gündem (agenda)	55.7
<b>#mülteci (refugee)</b>	<b>35.0</b>

**Table 3: The Analysis of Tweet Consisting of #AvrupaBirliği Hashtag**

Table 3 shows that the hashtag used in Turkish as #avrupabirliği has several reasons to depict the users' understanding, meaning and messages on the issue of European Union based on the political parties in Turkish Parliament, the present and possible unions Turkey will be a part of, and immigration. While most are stabilized to use the users' intentions, AvrupaBirliği (European Union) and mülteci (immigrant) are on the other way around when compared. This means the Twitter users in Turkey sees European Union not as an issue to be discussed just for immigration, but for any other topics related to any possible connection. When the hashtag #mülteci (refugee) looked in detailed, Table 4 gives us an opinion about how and why the Twitter users make use of this hashtag while expressing their opinions about European Union. Without regarding the numbers of popularity of the hashtags used with #mülteci in years, this word is used with the current issues related to Syrian people who moves to Turkey as a transit country because the related hashtags refer to prominent name and country as Aylan Kurdi and Greece respectively. In addition to this mostly used citations in tweets, we can infer that the users do not intend to show negative feelings about the immigrants or refugees because they look at this issue for the sake of humanity.

<b>Hashtags (Translation in English)</b>	<b>Popularity (in years)</b>
<b>#mülteci (refugee)</b>	<b>35.0</b>
#Suriye (Syria)	57.5
#göçmen (immigrant)	28.9
#Türkiye (Turkey)	64.2
#RTHY (a hashtag used for fund drive for Muslims)	49.8
#Aylan (the name of a three-year-old Syrian boy lying dead on the beach)	44.7
#Avrupa (Europe)	44.7
#AB (EU)	63.3
#Yunanistan (Greece)	43.1
#Suriyeli (Syrian)	39.2
<b>#refugees (used in English)</b>	<b>66.1</b>

**Table 4: The Analysis of Tweet Consisting of #mülteci Hashtag**

In Table 5, the hashtag which does not content any Turkish letter (like ğ) depicts an international perception of the issue because the topics or mostly used words change to the other way based on European Union and its general discussion, not only based on Turkey’s side.

<b>Hashtags (Translation in English)</b>	<b>Popularity (in years)</b>
<b>#avrupabirligi (European Union)</b>	<b>15.7</b>
#AB (EU)	63.2
#ingiltere (The United Kingdom)	34.2
#Avrupa (Europe)	44.7
<b>#visa (visa)</b>	<b>38.5</b>
#TBMM (Turkish Grand National Assembly)	47.8
#MHP (Nationalist Movement Party)	59.1
#italya (Italy)	35.4
#ispanya (Spain)	32.7
#CHP (Republican People's Party)	61.2
#cebelitarık (Gibraltarian)	12.7

**Table 5: The Analysis of Tweet Consisting of #AvrupaBirligi Hashtag**

Table 5 shows that Turkey’s Twitter users discuss European Union issues by not mentioning Turkish letters in it in order to express their ideas regarding some in-house issues on political parties, but mostly based on international issues affecting the situation of Turkey’s membership in EU. On the nature of these expressions, visa issues are in the heart of discussions about the topic related to European Union for Turkish citizens. Turkish citizens’ intention to use the immigration ways to European countries are particularly related to the visa issues they have experienced for a while even if they would like to do it legally or illegally which is not a subject matter as seen in the analysis of the wordings of the Tweets. In this table the concept “visa” stood out, however it could not be tested because of the fact that all the users’ mentioning it in Turkish as the name of a village near to Istanbul.

<b>Hashtags (Translation in English)</b>	<b>Popularity (in years)</b>
<b>#EuropeanUnion</b>	<b>48.7</b>
#EU	74.2
#Europe	70.8
#Brexit	76.5
#UK	78.5
#Israel	76.0

#Ukraine	74.8
#Russia	76.5
#Greece	70.9
#news	91.1
#Britain	62.5

**Table 6: The Analysis of Tweet Consisting of #EuropeanUnion Hashtag in Tweets in Turkish**

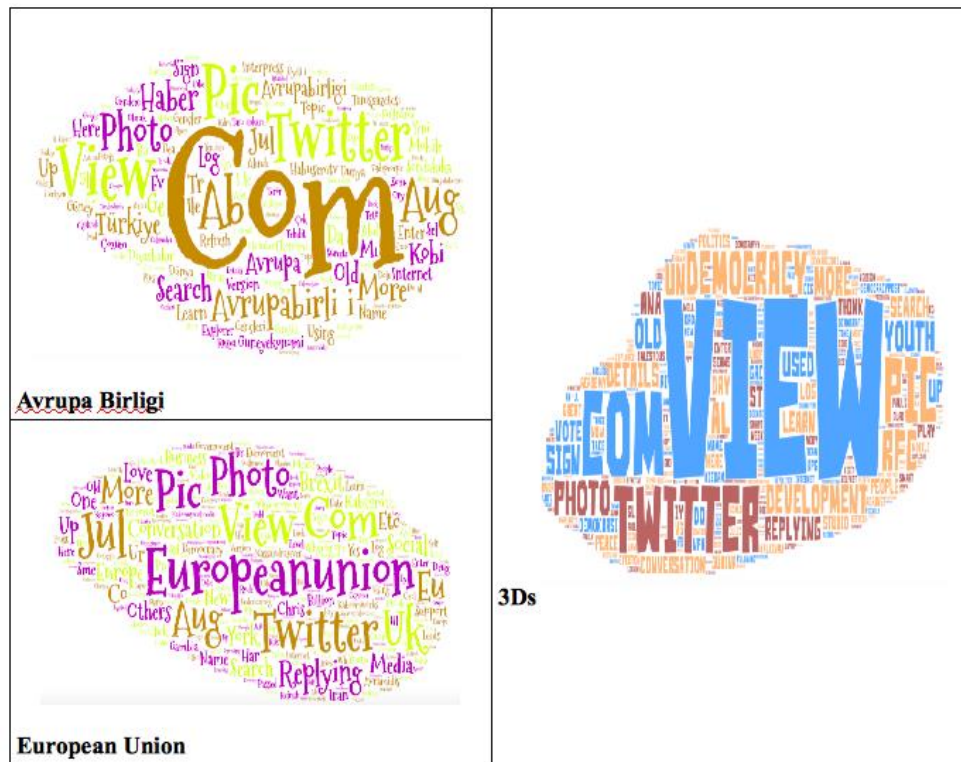
In Table 6, the results are more or less the same because the users use the hashtags which can be used on the international level and their English version. Based on the English version of the hashtags, the only different from the others is that the users just specify the topic and their contents related to more outside Turkey, like other countries reactions against the immigration issues even about the Syrian War or from Turkey. In this sense, the user profile is not clear to comment on as the ones living in Turkey.

Hashtags (Translation in English)	Popularity (in years)
#Demokrasi (Democracy)	46.1
#Demografi (Demography) <sup>3</sup>	16.2
#Kalkınma (Development)	28.5

**Table 7: Tweets Mentioning 3Ds in Turkish**

Sirkeci (2017) indicated about 3Ds shape the international migration as a continuum of the relationship between human insecurity and conflict. Because of this, it is a need to analyze these hashtags to understand the background intention of the users who made use of these hashtags to express their opinions about the issues discussed in this article. As seen in Table 7, democracy (namely, democratic deficit) was mostly talked about when compared to the other 2Ds. The prevalence of tweeting in three different hashtags change in a way of increasing or decreasing according to the news disseminated on local and international media outlets and based on the topics discussed in the country according to their time schedule. The hashtag democracy was discussed by using the other hashtags such as Turkey, Republic and freedom. Demography hashtag was used with the explanation of working, wealth and welfare mostly. Development was put account to economy and peace hashtags. On this wise, Table 7 depict the tweets mentioning 3Ds in Turkish versions, and it can be clearly seen that democracy and development are decreasing their trends between the years mentioned in this article. This gives an insight about the users' perceptions on European Union like they do not use the words to show their interests or oppositions on being a member of the Union when the other hashtag analysis are taken into consideration for comparison and contrast.

<sup>3</sup> Demography is used with the definition of Sirkeci mentioned in the previous chapter, and the tweets not including the close or the same meanings with it were opted out.



**Table 8: Wordclouds**

The clustering described above was based only on the content properties of the Human (In)security concept. An interesting question, therefore, is whether it has any significance in terms of actual content of the discussions involved. To address the issue in this study, users placed in the same cluster are not likely to be much more similar to each other than users in different clusters. Further, we note that in all the hashtags mentioned in this study, one of the clusters is more cohesive than the other – meaning the tag usage within one community is homogeneous. As we have got many tweets in this study from different levels or corporations of the society, it is seen that all around Turkey are taking notice of the role that they play in shaping international issues.

As 3Ds are in a word cloud consisting of the words used in the tweets mentioned about them, democracy and development are mentioned to relate to rule of law initiatives, political party development, constitution building, public administration development, and civil society education programs to show the difference in organizing people for political change, creating economic opportunities for those in the developing world, facilitating disaster response, linking networks across national divides, and sharing information – like citizen reports from conflict zones. The definitions of 3Ds specified by Sirkeci (2017), the trends in these tweets paves a way to show us that Twitter users in Turkey between the dates mentioned above may not interested in being a member of European Union, and so this gives an insight and another possibility on whether they also think of the same fact that they do not approve of the countries in the Union as a migration-receiving country.

## Conclusion

This article tries to indicate and discuss the concept “security” in the widest sense. Accordingly, two basic types of “security” are discussed in terms of current global movement: namely, human security and state security - including a brand new topic of human insecurity as well. States' or state centered international organizations generally tend to favor state security as they are more concerned on controlling boundaries, than protecting refugees or asylum seekers' lives. However, based upon these concepts, “human security” comes into prominence as shown in Twitter users' perceptions and their tweet contents. In addition to this, the 3.2% difference between refugees and EU hashtags shows that the perception is more or less similar. With the help of this homogenous consideration, EU is seen as migration-receiving place for either themselves and other people holding different citizenship. This helps us understand that Twitter users in Turkey accepts EU countries as safe and secure.

On the other hand, the concept “democracy” is increasingly mentioned among 3Ds expressing human insecurity as defined by Sirkeci. As Rumelili and Karadağ said “politicization is followed by securitization,” this situation brings the thoughts on refugees in a negative way such as adjectives used in negative connotation in the public. These negative thoughts are regarding “terrorist attacks, epidemics, unemployment, etc.” However, Twitter users in Turkey does not show any attitude as such. The most significant content is based on the sake of humanity such as Aylan Kurdi and some funding platforms to raise the financial support for refugees.

Since Twitter as semi-public sphere was used as a tool to analyze and get fell of the perception of users as the ones living in Turkey, and the hypothesis of this article was just tested with the contents shared in Twitter, there is no way to be sure about whether the users have bigger impact on the community or not. Under these circumstances, it is suggested that the non-anonymous accounts could be grouped and analyzed in detailed with other tools like in-depth interviews in order to be able to carry out a cross-check for the general results. While discussing human security and state security, there is not a bilateral direction between two of them: however, there is a person-centered content basically referring to human security. As Mary Jodi Rell, an American former Republican politician, said “At the end of the day, the goals are simple: safety and security.”

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