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THE MULTI-DIMENSIONAL CONTROVERSY: MAPPING INSTAGRAM'S RESPONSE TO TURKEY'S STRAY ANIMALS POLICY

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Abstract

On July 30, the General Assembly of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (TBMM) adopted a law proposal consisting of 17 articles, which came into effect after being published in the Official Gazette on August 2. The new regulation mandates that all stray dogs must be collected and kept in shelters until they are adopted. After the law proposal was accepted in the TBMM General Assembly, President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan made a post on his Instagram account. However, the regulation has led to various public reactions due to uncertainties regarding its implementation. In this study, 2,021 user comments on President

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Erdoğan's Instagram post were analyzed to understand public perceptions of the law and the impact of political discourse. The comments were classified based on whether the law was supported or opposed, gender breakdown, types of discourse, and thematic content. The results show that reactions to the stray animals law reflect not only legal but also social, ethical, religious, and gender-based dimensions. Women were found to oppose the law more strongly, reflecting higher sensitivity toward animal rights. Additionally, most of the anti-law comments focused on "Compassion & Animal Rights" and "Governance Failure & Political Criticism". These findings suggest that policies on animal welfare require a multidimensional approach.

Keywords: stray animals, animal rights, Instagram, public opinion, public discourse, public policy

ÇOK BOYUTLU TARTIŞMA: TÜRKİYE'NİN SOKAK HAYVANLARI POLİTİKASINA INSTAGRAM TEPKİLERİNİN HARİTALANDIRILMASI

Öz

Türkiye’de, 30 Temmuz tarihinde Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi (TBMM) Genel Kurulu’nda yapılan oylama sonucunda kabul edilerek yasalaşan ve 17 maddeden oluşan kanun teklifi, 2 Ağustos’ta Resmi Gazete’de yayımlanarak yürürlüğe girmiştir. Yeni düzenleme ile sokaktaki tüm köpeklerin toplanarak sahiplendirilene kadar barınaklarda bakılması gerektiği düzenlemesi getirilmiştir. Cumhurbaşkanı Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, kanun teklifinin TBMM Genel Kurulu’nda kabul edilmesinin ardından Instagram hesabı üzerinden bir paylaşımda bulunmuştur. Ancak, söz konusu düzenleme, nasıl uygulanacağına ilişkin belirsizlikler barındırdığı için kamuoyunda çeşitli tepkilere yol açmıştır. Bu çalışmada, Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan’ın Instagram paylaşımına yapılan 2,021 kullanıcı yorumu incelenmiştir. Çalışmada, yasaya yönelik kamuoyu algısı, siyasi söylemin etkisi bağlamında analiz edilmiştir. Yorumlar, yasayı destekleyip desteklemediği, cinsiyet kırılımı, söylem ve tematik içerik açısından sınıflandırılmıştır. Sonuçlar, sokak hayvanları yasasına yönelik tepkilerin sadece yasal değil, toplumsal, etik, dini ve cinsiyet temelli boyutlar taşıdığını göstermektedir. Kadınların yasaya karşı daha güçlü karşı çıktığı ve hayvan haklarına karşı daha yüksek bir

duyarlılık yansıttığı görüldü. Ayrıca, yasa karşıtı yorumların çoğu “Merhamet & Hayvan Hakları” ve “Yönetim Başarısızlığı ve Politik Eleştiri” üzerine odaklanmıştır. Bu bulgular, hayvan refahı politikalarının çok boyutlu bir yaklaşım gerektirdiğini ortaya koymaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: sokak hayvanları, hayvan hakları, Instagram, kamuoyu, kamusal söylem, kamu politikası

Introduction

The most recent legal regulation concerning animal rights in Turkey is the "Law on Amendments to the Animal Protection Law," which was published in the Official Gazette on August 2, 2024, and subsequently entered into force. This legislation mandates that stray animals be collected by local authorities and placed in shelters, with provisions for euthanasia under certain conditions. However, the law has been subject to significant criticism from animal rights advocates and civil society organizations. The primary concerns raised by critics focus on the claim that the regulation violates the right to life of animals and paves the way for ethically controversial practices.

Stray cats and dogs are recognized as homeless animals not only in our country but also worldwide. Their population increases due to factors such as uncontrolled breeding, the abandonment of owned animals, and the release of owned animals' offspring into the environment. As a result, there is a coexistence between humans and these animals. Considering this situation, their health and well-being are directly related to human interests (Bilgili, 2021, p. 33).

Animal rights have secured a significant place in the ethical and legal agenda of contemporary societies. Advocates for animal rights emphasize that animals are not merely beings existing for human benefit but are entitled to fundamental rights. However, particularly concerning stray animals, there are legal and societal deficiencies. Despite various regulations implemented in Turkey and worldwide, substantial challenges persist in practice.

The issue of animal rights has gained increasing importance in recent years. The protection of stray animals, in particular, has become a major concern from both ethical and public health perspectives. The rapid increase in the stray animal population is attributed to factors such as uncontrolled reproduction, abandonment, and urbanization (Bedir, 2024, p. 1782).

The concept of animal rights fundamentally encompasses elements such as the right to life, protection against torture and mistreatment, and the right to live in their natural habitats. However, the enforceability of these rights remains insufficient in both international and national legal frameworks. Documents such as the *Universal Declaration on Animal Rights* and the *Universal Declaration on Animal Welfare* are significant in

terms of protecting animal rights; however, due to their lack of legal binding force, they fail to yield effective results (Duru & Özdan, 2023, pp. 170-171). Similarly, Turkey's Animal Protection Law No. 5199 remains inadequate due to deficiencies in its implementation (Yiğit et al., 2019, p. 18).

National and international regulations concerning animal rights aim to ensure the right to life and well-being of animals. In Turkey, Law No. 5199 governs the protection and rehabilitation of stray animals. However, due to insufficient oversight by local administrations, the law is not fully enforced (Acar, 2024, p. 3). In contrast, within the European Union, systematic efforts regarding animal welfare have facilitated more comprehensive protection of stray animals (Bilgili, 2021, p. 34).

The protection of stray animals constitutes a crucial aspect of animal rights. In Turkey, shelters established for the care and rehabilitation of stray animals struggle to function effectively due to inadequate resources and staff shortages. Research indicates that there are approximately 200 animal shelters in Turkey, with a total capacity to accommodate 65,000 animals. However, the population of stray animals significantly exceeds this capacity, and shelter conditions are often deemed insufficient (Yiğit et al., 2019, p. 19). Several methods have been proposed to control the population of stray animals. Veterinarians suggest that if 70% of stray animals are sterilized within six months, population growth could be effectively managed (Bedir, 2024: 1783). Additionally, ensuring access to food and shelter for stray animals constitutes a critical step in enhancing their welfare (Bilgili, 2021, p. 35).

Civil society organizations (CSOs) play a crucial role in the protection of animal rights. In Turkey, organizations such as HAÇİKO, HAYKOD, and HAYTAP aim to raise awareness, particularly through social media platforms like Instagram. A study revealed that HAYTAP utilizes social media more actively compared to other organizations, while HAÇİKO primarily focuses on activist initiatives, and HAYKOD leverages social media for fundraising purposes (Çetin, 2024, pp. 162-163). This indicates that CSOs adopt different strategies in the struggle for animal rights.

Despite significant efforts toward protecting animal rights and stray animals, legal and practical deficiencies persist. The protection of animal rights and stray animals should not rely solely on legal regulations but must also be supported by societal awareness and the effective engagement of civil society organizations. In Turkey, to improve the welfare of stray animals and prevent uncontrolled reproduction, sterilization programs, the enhancement of shelter conditions, and educational campaigns must be effectively implemented.

A review of the literature suggests that academic studies on stray animals are predominantly conducted in developing countries (Ahmad et al., 2021; Anisimov & Ryzhenkov, 2019; Chou & Tang, 2023; Dias et al., 2015; Ishanvi, 2023; Yim, 2023). In contrast, developed countries have implemented stricter legal measures,

including severe penalties for animal cruelty, widespread sterilization programs, regulated shelters, microchipping initiatives, and educational campaigns, reflecting a more structured and proactive approach to animal welfare.

Beyond legal and policy-based discussions, animal rights have also been critically examined through various philosophical (Narveson, 1977), and religious (Tahir et al., 2024) perspectives. In the case of Hong Kong, where stray cats and dogs often face abandonment or euthanasia, research highlights the ethical dilemmas surrounding urban policies that prioritize human health and safety over the rights of non-human animals (Yim, 2023). These studies emphasize the need for a balanced approach that integrates both human and animal welfare in urban planning and policy decisions.

On July 30, 2024, President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan shared a post³ on his Instagram account regarding the stray animal law regulations approved by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (TBMM). The post received numerous comments from users both supporting and opposing the law. The new law, consisting of 17 articles, primarily focuses on the collection of stray animals and their placement in shelters for care. However, the law has faced significant criticism due to the inadequate conditions of the shelters for the proper care of stray animals. In this study, 2,500 user comments were collected and analyzed to understand public perception of the proposal and measure the impact of political discourse on the public.

In this study, research questions were formulated to examine whether attitudes toward the animal rights law differ by gender, how frequently used word combinations in user comments frame the discourse surrounding the law, the extent to which user-generated frames align with the official narrative or produce alternative counter-frames, and which framing strategies are most prominently featured. The data collected were thoroughly analyzed in accordance with these research questions.

RQ1. How does support or opposition to the animal rights law differ by gender?

RQ2. How do the most frequently used word combinations (n-gram, bigram) frame the discussion about the law?

RQ3. Do user comments align with the government's framing of the stray animal law, or do they produce alternative counter-frames?

RQ4. Which framing strategies are more common? (For example, do supportive comments emphasize "security, public health," while opposing comments use an "ethical" or "religious" framework?)

³ <https://www.instagram.com/p/C-DhR5tl-Y4/>

Public Opinion & Gender

Public opinion refers to the collective attitudes and views of the public on societal issues communicated through the media. In the digital age, the widespread use of the internet and mobile technologies has expanded individuals' opportunities to express themselves, and online public opinion has grown significantly, influencing governance, oversight, and public authority (Liu et al., 2017). In his work *Public Opinion* (Lippmann, 2004), Walter Lippmann discussed the decisive role of public opinion in democratic politics and emphasized the complexity of its formation under modern conditions (Arnold-Forster 2023). In this context, public opinion refers to the collective thoughts, beliefs, values, and preferences of communities that influence political and administrative processes (West, 2014). Especially online public opinion stands out as a digital phenomenon that shapes society's views on social issues and plays a guiding role in certain current topics (Han, 2022).

The interaction between public opinion and educational processes is particularly notable in issues of high societal sensitivity, such as animal rights. For example, a study conducted in Greece examined the views of 4th-, 5th-, and 6th-grade students on stray animals and their thoughts on including this topic in the school curriculum. The study found that students revealed a lack of knowledge about animal care and expressed a desire to receive education on the matter (Ioannidou et al., 2022). This finding demonstrates that public opinion not only reflects existing perceptions but can also be shaped through education and awareness efforts.

In addition, it is stated that social media data is an important resource for understanding the formation of public opinion and guiding public policies in the digital age. Social media platforms can reflect public sensitivities and trends, thereby contributing to policy development processes, especially on issues like animal rights and management (Xu & Jiang, 2023). In this context, the relationship between public opinion and public policy is of great importance, particularly in representative democracies. While elected officials are expected to be sensitive to the views of voters, the reflection of demands driven by public opinion in political and governance processes is one of the cornerstones of democratic governance (Wlezien & Soroka, 2021).

In conclusion, as public opinion becomes an increasingly digital phenomenon in modern societies, dynamics such as social media and education shape the formation of public opinion and guide public policies. Raising awareness about societal issues like animal rights and integrating this awareness into educational processes play a crucial role in ensuring the effective functioning of democratic governance. In the digital age, where public opinion is shaped through social media, demographic characteristics such as gender are seen to influence individuals' views on animal rights. Therefore, the differing attitudes of men

and women towards animal rights emerge as an important variable that should be considered when analyzing social media data.

At this point, the findings on how gender, one of the social dynamics influencing the formation of public opinion, plays a decisive role, especially in value-based issues like animal rights, are noteworthy. In a study addressing gender differences in attitudes towards animal research, it was noted that women tend to support the principles of the animal protection movement more than men. Additionally, women support more restrictions on the use of animals and are more concerned about the suffering of research animals. These findings suggest that women generally exhibit greater compassion towards animals, are more willing to make personal sacrifices, such as forgoing meat and medical benefits, to protect animals, and are more likely to question the use of animals for scientific purposes with scientific justifications (Eldridge & Gluck, 1996). The study by Galvin and Herzog (1992) shows that men tend to approve of animal research more than women, and women generally find these research practices more ethically problematic. Another study examining the relationship between gender role orientation and attitudes toward animals revealed that women generally place more importance on animal welfare and are less tolerant of the use of animals (Herzog et al., 1991). In a separate study examining the relationship between empathy for animals and empathy for humans, women scored significantly higher than men in both human-focused and animal-focused empathy measurements (Paul, 2000).

Public Discourse

The emergence of social media has transformed the public sphere by changing the way discussions on societal issues are organized (Judina & Riazantseva, 2024). In democratic societies, public discourse is based on free discussion, transparency, and consensus. The free discussion of public policies is one of the cornerstones of democracy (Scollon, 2008). Public discourse on social media encompasses ideas, discussions, and narratives that are shaped and spread within the framework of public interactions occurring on digital platforms (Kou et al., 2017).

Public discourse, in addition to helping determine the right policies, functions as a mechanism of resistance against power. Democratic dialogue is used to challenge decision-makers, demand public justification, and hold leaders accountable (Hannon, 2023). In democratic societies, public discourse is based on three fundamental assumptions: (1) public discourse is inherently political, (2) actors involved in the political process can either act from positions of power or from a minority perspective, (3) individuals participating in public discourse must strike a balance between the desire to win and the necessity of maintaining open, free, and pressure-free negotiations to ensure the democratic process works (Scollon, 2008). Debates about stray animals provide an important example of how public discourse is shaped in democratic societies.

First, the issue of stray animals is inherently political because it is discussed within the framework of both legal regulations and ethical and religious values. Second, the actors involved in this process (animal rights advocates, lawmakers, municipalities, and the public) have different power dynamics. While public authorities act from strong positions, activists and dissenting citizens try to make their voices heard from a minority perspective. Third, all parties participating in these discussions must balance the desire to assert their own views with the necessity of maintaining a healthy democratic negotiation process. Public discourse, particularly on social media, offers an important data source for understanding how these dynamics are shaped, which arguments emerge, and which actors drive the discussion.

Framing, Public Policy and Stray Animals

Gregory Bateson first introduced the concept of framing in 1972, defining psychological frames as mechanisms that establish spatial and temporal boundaries for interactive messages (Bateson, 2000; Olasunkanmi Arowolo, 2017). At its core, framing involves interpreting news content and narratives within a recognizable context. According to framing theory, the way information is structured and presented—often referred to as the “frame”—influences how individuals perceive and process that information. Frames function as conceptual tools that shape and organize the meaning embedded in messages (Olasunkanmi Arowolo, 2017).

A core aspect of framing theory is that a single issue can be examined from multiple perspectives and interpreted in ways that align with different values or relevant factors. Framing is a cognitive process that explains how individuals perceive a topic in a particular way or how they reassess their perspectives (Chong & Druckman, 2007). This is also applicable to addressing social issues such as stray animals. Stray animals represent a significant issue worldwide that needs to be addressed both socially and legally.

Framing theory can be particularly useful in examining social and legal issues such as stray animal policies. This is because framing helps us understand how a topic is perceived, which values it is associated with, and from which perspectives it is approached. Complex social issues like stray animals can be framed in different ways by various groups and stakeholders. For example, one group may approach the issue from an animal rights perspective, while another may prioritize concerns such as public safety or health.

Stray animals, particularly dogs and cats, are regarded as a significant social issue worldwide, and various approaches and strategies have been developed to address this problem. Stray animals represent an important policy domain that must be considered both socially and legally across the globe. In his article *“The Politics of Animal Rights”*, Garner (2008) documents and analyzes the key developments in animal

protection policy in Britain. He notes that animal rights philosophy has had a significant impact on the revitalization of the animal protection movement.

The application of framing theory can thus offer a valuable lens through which to analyze how different societies construct and respond to the issue of stray animals. By examining not only the policies themselves but also the discursive and institutional contexts in which they are formed, we gain a deeper understanding of how the problem is perceived, prioritized, and addressed across cultural and political settings. The following examples from various countries illustrate the diversity of policy approaches and highlight how underlying frames influence both the formulation and effectiveness of stray animal management strategies.

A study examining stray animal policies in Georgia and practices in the EU revealed that Georgia's stray animal policy is implemented through policy tools such as the establishment of agencies, introduction of regulations, cooperation between state institutions, private clinics and international NGOs, funding, service delivery, and public awareness campaigns. These tools resemble the practices found in EU countries. However, regulations such as collaboration with local NGOs, financial support mechanisms, pet ownership taxes, and the licensing of breeders and veterinarians are absent in Georgia. Additionally, tools aimed at raising public awareness—such as advertisements, educational curricula, and large-scale public meetings—are limited. The legal framework in Georgia is fragmented, and the regulations are more relaxed compared to EU countries (Ninua, 2024). In a study on the stray dog issue in Taiwan, a service ecosystem and system dynamics approach was used to analyze interactions among stakeholders and to evaluate the impact of public policies (Chou & Tang, 2023). A study in Brazil analyzed various sterilization scenarios through mathematical modeling to control the population of owned dogs and cats, revealing that annual sterilization campaigns are the most effective and cost-efficient long-term strategy (Dias et al., 2015). Another study addressing new legal regulations on stray animals in Russia argued for the necessity of reducing the stray animal population through multifaceted measures such as registration, legal accountability, transition to circular economy standards, and education (Anisimov & Ryzhenkov, 2019).

In Denmark, an analysis of 14 years of animal shelter data showed that placing stray animals in shelters does not always provide a permanent solution (Sandøe et al., 2019). Other studies examining the current status of stray animals and the laws concerning them emphasize the inadequacy of current legislation in the legal protection of animals, the need for reforms, and the importance of proper implementation (Ishanvi, 2023). During the G20 Summit in India, incidents involving the illegal capture of stray dogs and rising cases of violence against animals led to an analysis of current laws and the presentation of recommendations (Bagwe, 2023). In Malaysia, it has been highlighted that existing legal frameworks are insufficient to ensure the welfare of stray animals, and it has been emphasized that references to animals' emotional capacities

and improvements in law enforcement processes are necessary to strengthen their protection (Ahmad et al., 2021).

These global examples highlight that the issue of stray animals extends beyond legal mechanisms and should be addressed in its broader societal context. In this regard, framing theory offers a valuable conceptual and analytical tool to examine how different countries approach the issue. By analyzing the policy responses, discourse, and institutional practices surrounding stray animals, framing theory sheds light on how societies construct, interpret, and prioritize this matter according to their distinct cultural and political settings. This perspective helps reveal which values are emphasized and how solutions are socially and politically framed on both national and international levels.

Methodology

This study employs a mixed-methods approach that incorporates both qualitative and quantitative features to analyze user comments on social media platforms, aiming to understand public attitudes toward the stray animal laws in Turkey. Comments were classified into support, opposition, and neutrality to identify key public trends and analyze discursive frameworks. Additionally, the study assessed the impact of gender differences on public reactions and examined the thematic distribution of comments.

Data Collection

Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's post was chosen for this study for several important reasons. First, as a figure with the highest political authority in Turkey, Erdoğan has the power to directly shape the social and political agenda. Therefore, his statements are carefully followed by large masses and have a strong impact on public opinion. Secondly, this post focuses on an issue that resonates strongly with society, such as the adoption of the proposed law on stray animals. Such controversial and emotional issues have the potential to create widespread interaction and polarization among different segments of the public. In this context, 2,500 user comments under the social media post in question were collected on 30 July 2024. Duplicate users were removed from the data, resulting in a final dataset of 2,021 observations. The collection of comments was carried out to better understand the public's perception of the proposal and to measure the impact of political discourse on the public. Data was collected using the *Instaloader*⁴ package. The comments were manually coded to identify the comments in favor of and against the law. In addition, they were categorized into four main categories through the identified keywords, and both word-based filtering and manual coding were used in the classification process.

⁴ <https://instaloader.github.io/>

Research Design

This study uses a text-data approach to extract important insights from extensive sets of text data. The focus of the study is on the comments and opinions of users on Instagram in relation to the stray animal law. The preferred approaches for making sense of user comments include text-mining techniques. The N-gram text analysis technique reveals frequently used words and multi-word phrases. Whether users support or oppose the law, genders are categorized according to the usernames of the commenters. Finally, rule-based classification was used to identify salient themes in user comments. Figure 1 outlines the core framework of the study.

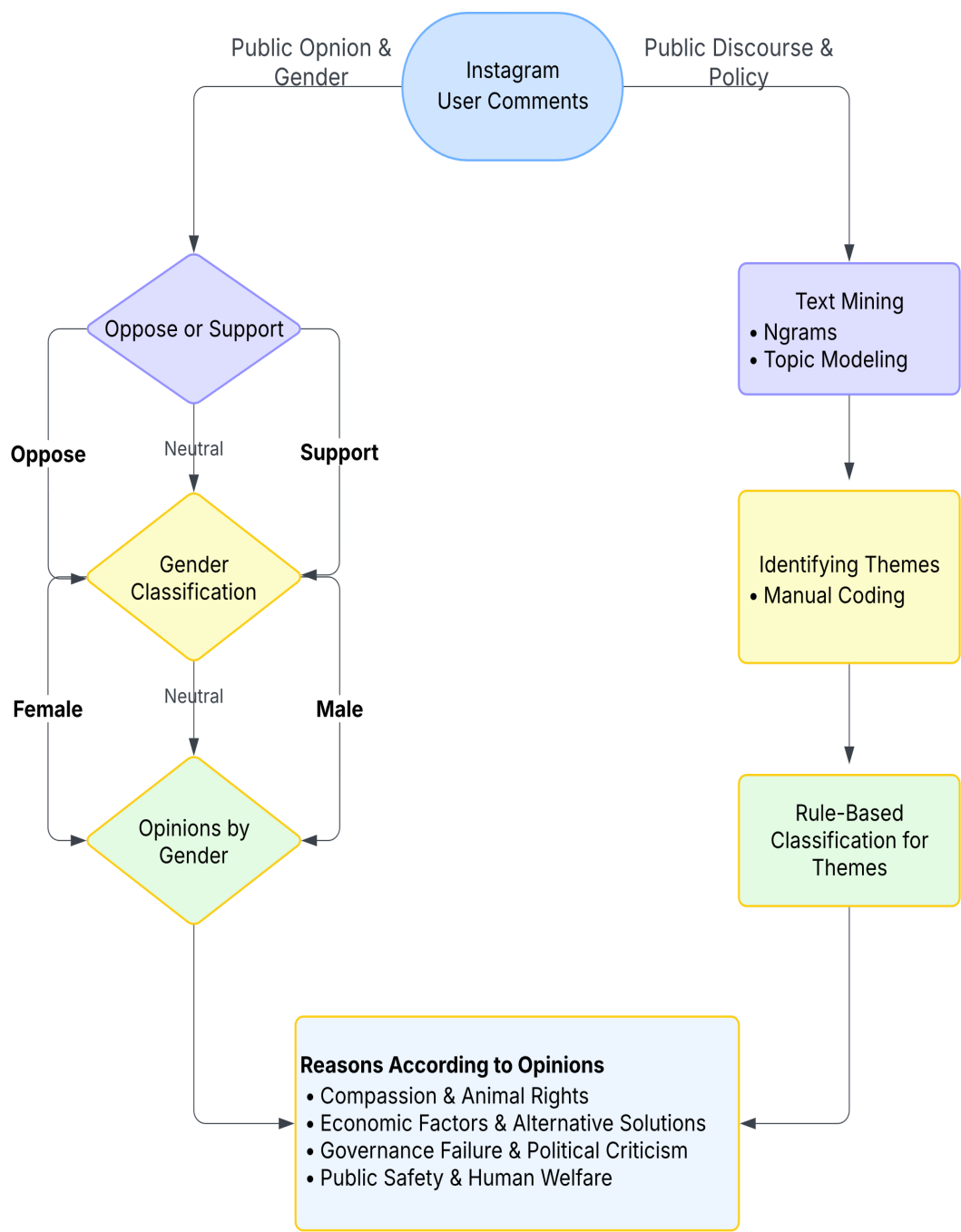


Figure 1: Research Framework

The codebook of themes was created by combining N-gram, LDA (Latent Dirichlet Allocation) topic modelling, manual coding, and rule-based filtering methods.

1. **N-grams** is a language modelling technique used in text mining and refers to groups of consecutive words in a text. A unigram is a group of individual words; a bigram is a group of two adjacent words.
2. **Thematic Identification with LDA:** Topic modelling results from the comments were used to identify dominant themes in the content.
3. **Manual Coding:** Randomly selected samples were analyzed to verify the accuracy of category definitions.
4. **Rule-Based Classification:** Distinguishing words for each category were identified and word lists were created for automatic classification.

In our process of building the codebook, N-grams are a language modelling technique used in text mining and refer to groups of consecutive words in a text. Unigram, individual words; bigram, two words next to each other. This approach helps to identify word patterns in text. For example, the bigram “stray animals” shows how often these two words occur together and provides clues to the content of the topic.

Additionally, we grouped together words with the same or similar meanings to reduce redundancy and ensure semantic clarity in the analysis. We also removed Turkish stopwords to eliminate frequently occurring but semantically insignificant words, thereby improving the quality of the extracted terms.

LDA can be used to identify and describe hidden thematic structures within collections of text documents (Blei, 2012). Based on the LDA outputs, we conducted manual coding to identify the distinctive features of each theme and to more clearly classify the types of comments. By conducting qualitative analysis on a randomly selected subset, we identified the key concepts, defining words and phrases of the categories. At this stage, we refined the category definitions, taking into account different perspectives and possible overlaps.

Manual Coding: We coded which users supported or opposed the law and identified their genders. For this process, comments were read and manually coded. Prior to this, various large language models (LLMs - Llama 3.1, Llama 3.2, DeepSeek-R1) were used for classification. However, since the accuracy scores (F1 accuracy score between 51 and 56) were not sufficiently high, manual coding was preferred.

Finally, we employed a rule-based classification approach to categorize textual data into predefined themes. This method involves matching specific words or phrases within the text to a set of predefined categories, assigning each text to the most relevant classification. This approach is commonly used in qualitative content analysis, text mining, and computational social science to systematically categorize discourse

based on semantic patterns (Kpianbaareh et al., 2020; Neuendorf, 2017). While this rule-based approach provides interpretable and domain-specific classification, it may be complemented with machine learning techniques to enhance accuracy and adaptability in large-scale datasets (Grimmer & Stewart, 2013). The keywords defined for each category were systematically searched within the data, and comments were assigned to appropriate categories based on the words they contained. When creating dictionaries, N-grams (unigram, bigram) and prominent expressions related to the topic in topic modelling were used. A comment can be classified into multiple categories. For example, a comment criticizing a policymaker in a public health context may be classified under multiple categories: “Public Safety & Human Welfare,” “Compassion & Animal Rights,” “Governance Failure & Political Criticism”, and “Economic Factors & Alternative Solutions”. The following is an example of a comment that falls into multiple categories.

Comment 1: Rule-based classification example (multiple categories assigned)

*"It is being portrayed as if all the collected dogs will be euthanized. Have you read the law? They will be taken to shelters, monitored, and the healthy ones will be cared for and given to those who want them. A separate **budget (Economic Factors)** has also been allocated for this. Those that cannot be saved, are rabid, or aggressive will be handled under the supervision of veterinarians. There is also a hefty fine for those who take animals and abandon them on the **streets (Public Safety)**. Have some empathy—imagine being attacked and torn apart by a dog while walking down the **street (Public Safety)**. It's not that simple. The reason we've reached this point is irresponsible **municipalities (Governance Failure)**." (translated to English)*

Table 1: Thematic Classification in Political Discourse

Category	Description	Example Keywords
Public Safety & Human Welfare	This category includes statements expressing concerns about public order and individual safety. Such comments typically focus on public health, security threats, and risk factors.	"danger", "attack", "security", "child", "disease", "street", "bite", "threat", "risk", "precaution", "substance addict", "aggressive", "death", "life safety", "thank you"
Compassion & Animal Rights	Statements emphasizing animal welfare, ethical responsibilities, and compassion fall under this category. This discourse refers to animal rights advocacy and humanitarian values.	"compassion", "conscience", "protection", "right", "life", "sensitivity", "pain", "love", "massacre", "shelter", "to kill", "inhumane", "nature", "right to live", "humanity", "I condemn", "God would not approve", "Shame on you"

Category	Description	Example Keywords
Governance Failure & Political Criticism	This category includes comments criticizing the shortcomings of political governance and policies. Criticism of government failures, profiteering, and legal inadequacies are addressed under this heading.	"insufficiency", "negligence", "municipality", "law", "rent-seeking", "not a solution", "wrong decision", "incompetence", "interest", "responsibility", "lack of oversight", "transparency", "deceiving the public", "stop it"
Economic Factors & Alternative Solutions	Economic concerns and alternative solutions related to animal population and public policies are included in this category.	"cost", "tax", "shelter", "budget", "chip", "money", "sterilization", "control", "rehabilitation", "adoption", "euthanasia"

Note: Turkish version is in Appendix 2

This codebook aims to ensure the systematic classification of texts while enhancing both the validity of the analysis and the reliability of automated analysis processes on large-scale data.

Findings

Public Sensitivity and Gender: Oppose or Support

First, user comments supporting or opposing the law were analyzed. Comments that did not express a clear opinion on the law or were off-topic were classified as neutral. To illustrate the user comments belonging to the categories of opposition, support, and neutral, six Instagram comments are provided below, with usernames and links anonymized.

Support:

- *"It turned out very well, thank you for your effort and hard work."*
- *"I think those who oppose the law are illiterate. They might not be able to understand what they read either."*

Oppose:

- *"Did you give them life? Then you will be the one to take it?"*
- *"Don't touch the animals on the streets – how will you repay the burden of this sin?"*

Neutral:

- *"I don't want refugees in my country."*
- *"At least listen to the inflation, economy, minimum wage earners, tenants, retirees – they've been suffering for years, why have you been ignoring them?"*

Note: See Appendix 3 for the Turkish version of comments.

According to the data in Figure 2, the proportion of those supporting the law is 30.1%, while the proportion of those expressing opposing views constitutes a significant majority at 63.1%. This indicates that the general trend regarding the law is negative and that it has been met with considerable public backlash. Meanwhile, the proportion of those remaining neutral is low, at 6.7%, suggesting that most users have taken a clear stance on the law. The particularly high proportion of opposing views implies that the law has faced widespread public criticism and has sparked significant discussion. According to the research conducted by KONDA, 63% of people believe that the government and local authorities should find solutions without resorting to harsh methods such as euthanizing animals (Konda Araştırma & Danışmanlık, 2024). This proportion is identical to the percentage of those opposing the law in Figure 2. This may indicate that animal lovers who commented anticipate that the government might take harsher measures.

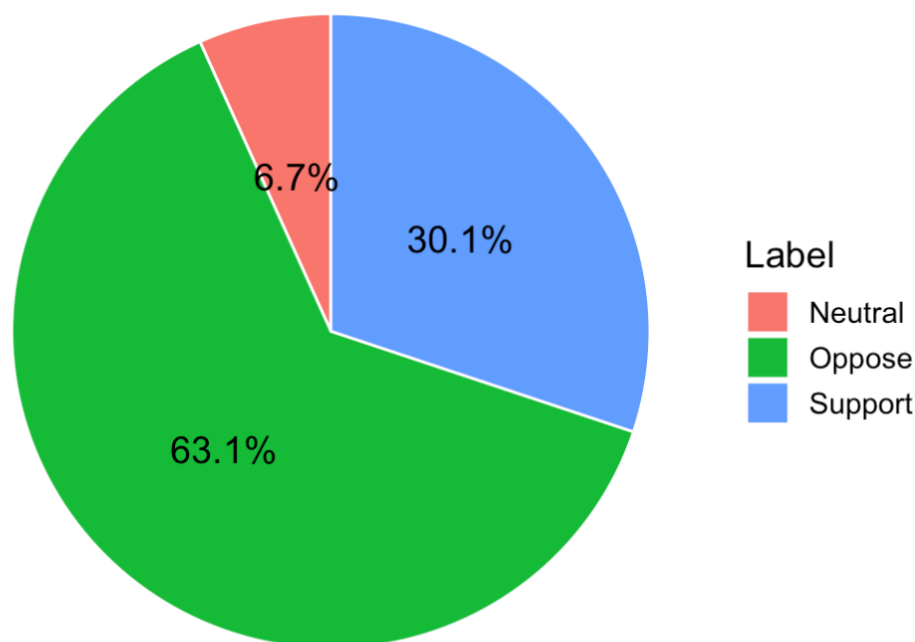


Figure 2: Distribution of Support (S), Oppose (O), and Neutral (N) in Public Reactions to the Proposed Stray Dog Policy

When examining Figure 3, it is evident that opposition to the law is dominant in every gender group. Among men, the opposition rate is lower (10.3%), but the proportions of neutral and supportive individuals are close to each other. It can also be said that the opposition to the law is relatively high among individuals whose gender is unspecified. Overall, these data indicate that the public reaction to the law is more prominently expressed by women. Among women, opposition to the law is at its highest level (35.5%), and the proportion of supporters is also higher compared to men (13.3%). This suggests that women may respond more emotionally and reactively to the law. The opposition rate among men is lower (10.3%) compared to women, and the proportion of supporters (9.3%) is also less than in other groups. This implies that men may be less reactive to the law and may generally adopt a more neutral stance. Among individuals whose gender is unspecified, opposition to the law is quite high (17.3%). However, the proportion of supportive comments is lower than in the other two gender groups (7.6%).

Table 2: Gender and Opinion Distribution

Gender	Support	Oppose	Neutral
Female	268 (13,3%)	717 (35,5%)	36 (1,8%)
Male	187 (9,3%)	209 (10,3%)	53 (2,6%)
Unspecified	154 (7,6%)	350 (17,3%)	47 (2,3%)

Note: “Unspecified” refers to cases where gender could not be inferred or was not provided.

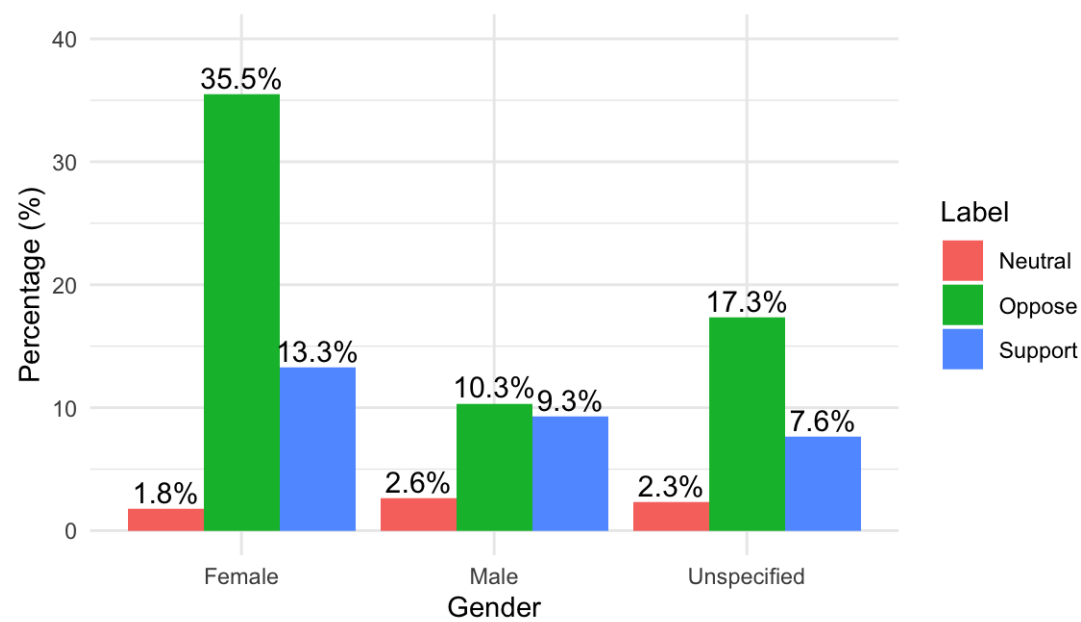


Figure 3: Gender distribution represented as a percentage of the total population.

In figure 4, we also evaluated women and men within their respective groups to better understand gender-specific tendencies. While the majority of women (70.2%) oppose the law, this rate is lower among men (46.5%). The rate of support is higher among men (41.6%) than women (26.2%), and the rate of neutrality is higher among men (11.8%) than women (3.5%). These findings suggest that women are more sensitive to the law and men are more likely to support it, but the rate of those who do not take a clear stance is higher among men.

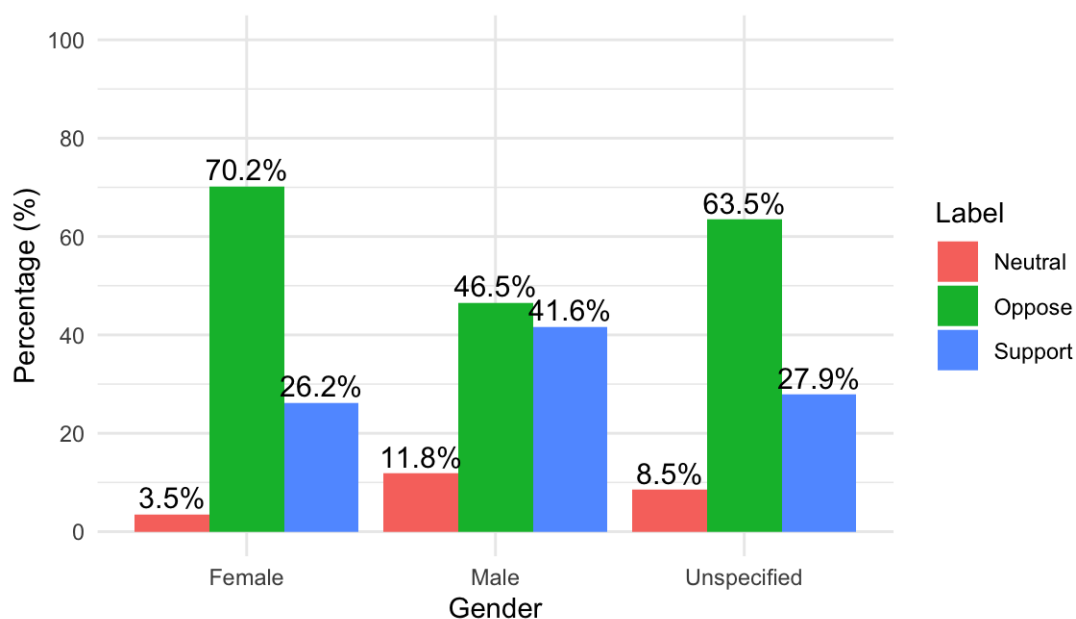


Figure 4: Gender distribution shown as a proportion within each specific gender group.

Public Discourse: Animal Rights Law Discussions on Social Media

The analysis of the discourses shaped within the framework of the law (Figure 5) reveals that the issue provides a complex, multi-layered discussion space involving various actors. The frequent repetition of terms such as "Allah," "yasayı" (law), "köpekler" (dogs), and "insan" (human) in the unigram analysis suggests that the discourse contains religious, legal, zoological, and anthropocentric dimensions. The prominent frequency of the term "Allah" suggests that the issue of animal rights and responsibilities is being addressed from a theological perspective, and the moral legitimacy of the law is being questioned through religious arguments. In the bigram analysis, the expression "sayın cumhurbaşkanım" (mr. president) stands out, reflecting expectations for the resolution of the discussion by political and institutional actors. The bigram "yasayı geri" (revoke the law) indicates that the law is not accepted by a large segment of the population, signaling the intensity of demands for revision. The combinations "verdiği canı" (the life it gave) and "canı Allah" (its life is God's) emphasize the sanctity of animals' right to life, questioning the ethical and religious foundations of the law. The expression "20 yıldır" (for 20 years) reflects the frustration over the long-standing nature of the problem and the lack of a solution. The phrase "acil çözüm" (urgent solution)

underscores the need for sustainable solutions, concretizing public expectations. Finally, the expression "10 20 katı" (10 to 20 times) points to speculations that the budgets allocated for this issue are being used for unnecessary expenditures. In this context, the way the law is addressed is shaped by the interaction of factors such as religious beliefs, ethical values, political expectations, and the search for urgent solutions, warranting an interdisciplinary approach for its examination.

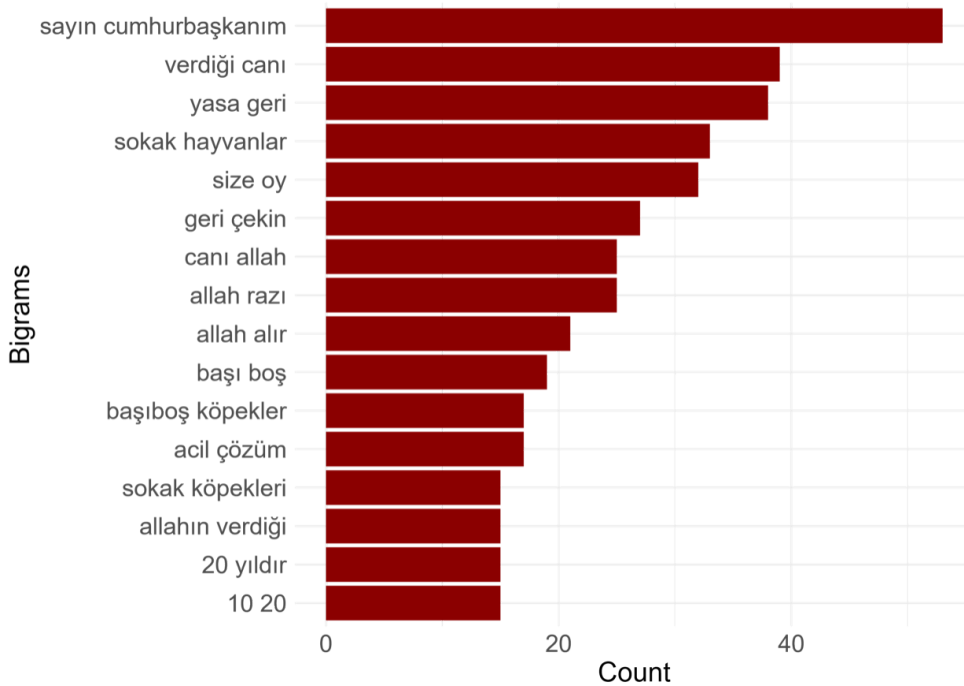
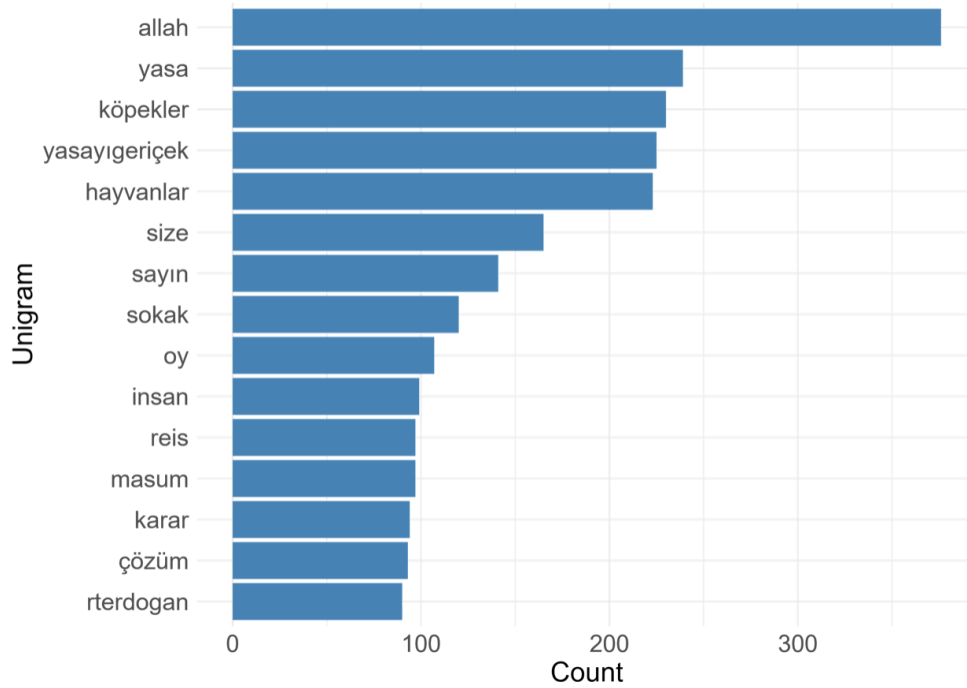


Figure 5: Top 15 most frequent unigrams and bigrams

Public Opinion and the Stray Animal Law: Key Themes in the Debate

When examining the general discussions on the Stray Animal Law (Figure 6), it is evident that public opinion is shaped around specific themes. The highest proportion, 34.2%, is categorized under "Compassion & Animal Rights", indicating that the largest portion of public discussion evaluates the law from the perspective that it contradicts animal rights and reflects a lack of compassion for animals. Following closely at 33.9%, discussions fall under "Governance Failure & Political Criticism," suggesting that a significant portion of the criticism regarding the law focuses on the government's policy-making processes and governance approach rather than the content of the regulation itself. Additionally, 28.6% of the discussions are categorized under "Public Safety & Human Welfare," reflecting a major concern regarding the law. However, the discussions under "Economic Factors & Alternative Solutions" only account for 3.3%, indicating that economic costs and alternative solutions have limited representation in public debates.

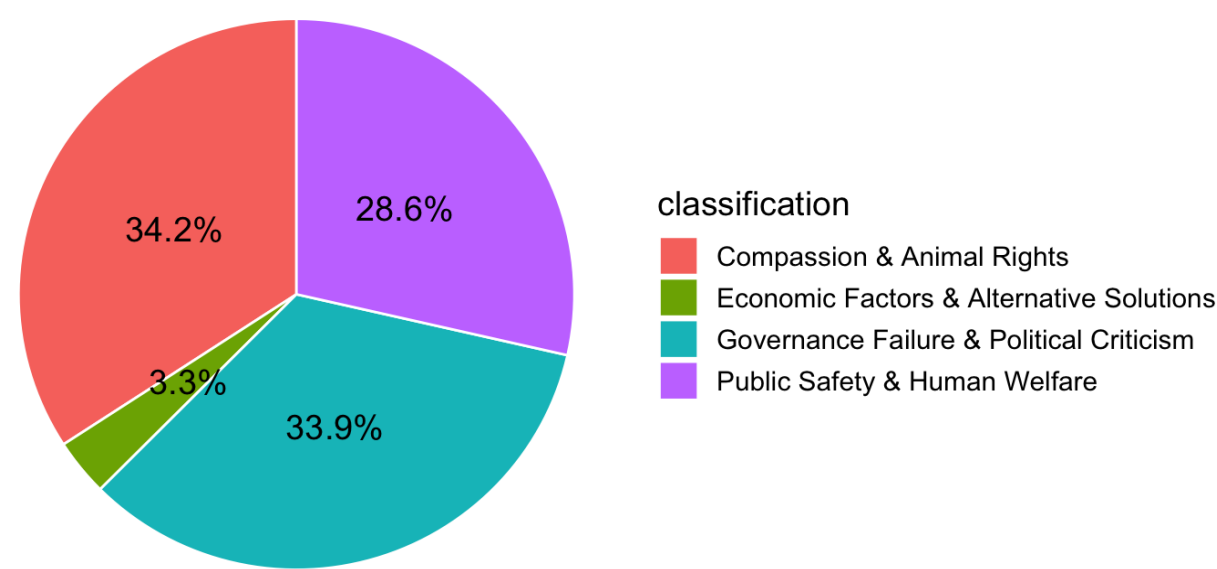


Figure 6: Analysis of Public Discourse on Animal Welfare

Note. See Appendix 4 for sample user comments.

The issue of stray animals in Turkey and the related legal discussions require a multidimensional analysis. The data in Figure 7 reveal the underlying motivations behind the approaches to the topic. Notably, the largest portion of the "Opposing" views (39.3%) stems from ethical concerns, particularly among animal rights advocates, who are likely reacting to practices perceived as harmful to animal welfare. This highlights that moral considerations are a decisive factor in public opposition. A similarly significant share (39.1%) focuses on administrative shortcomings and political criticism, reflecting serious concerns about the effectiveness and transparency of current practices. On the other hand, the primary motivation for the

"Supporting" group is the emphasis on public safety and human welfare (55.3%), reflecting widespread concerns about the potential risks posed by stray animals. A significant portion (22.4%) also frames their support through criticism of governance failures and political inefficiency. Compassion and animal rights awareness emerge as another key component of supporting views (20.4%). This group expresses affection for animals but prefers that they be removed from the streets and placed in shelters or adopted. These charts emphasize that the discussion around the rights of stray animals and the related legislation in Turkey is complex and multifaceted. It encompasses various issues, from animal welfare and ethical principles to governance effectiveness and public safety concerns. The data suggest that a successful approach to addressing this issue must take into account these diverse perspectives and include solutions that are both ethically sound and practically effective.

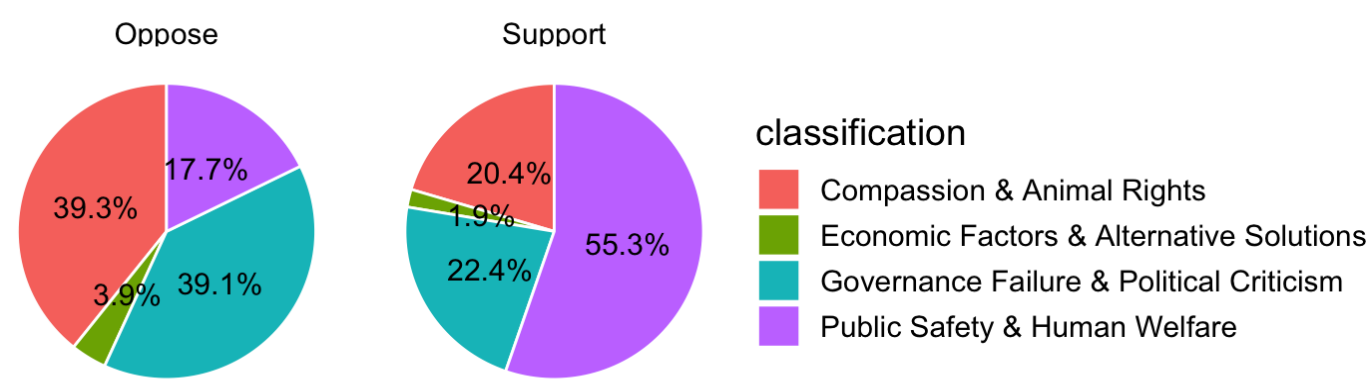


Figure 7: Comparative Analysis of Issue Classifications by Stance (Oppose vs. Support)

The figure 8 presents the distribution of Instagram users' comments on Turkey's stray dog policy across four thematic categories, disaggregated by gender. Among female users, comments were predominantly classified under Governance Failure & Political Criticism (34.2%) and Compassion & Animal Rights (34%). Public Safety & Human Welfare accounted for 28.2% of the comments, whereas only 3.6% pertained to Economic Factors & Alternative Solutions. This distribution suggests that female users were more likely to frame their reactions in terms of political criticism and animal rights advocacy, while economic considerations were relatively marginal.

Male users exhibited a somewhat different distribution. While Compassion & Animal Rights remained prominent at 33.5%, Governance Failure & Political Criticism (31.5%) and Public Safety & Human Welfare (31.2%) were almost equally represented. Economic concerns were slightly more pronounced among male users (3.8%) compared to female users.

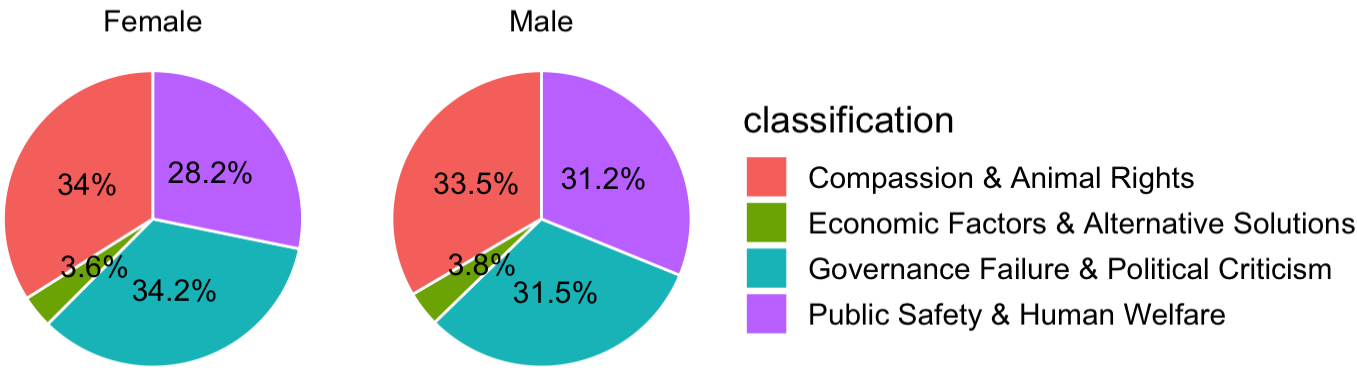


Figure 8: Gender-Based Distribution of Thematic Classifications

Overall, the results indicate that compassion for animals constitutes a significant frame for both genders. However, female users demonstrated a greater emphasis on both political governance failures and animal rights, while male users showed a more balanced distribution between compassion, public safety, and political criticism. Public safety and human welfare concerns were relatively more emphasized by male users compared to female users.

Discussion

Debates about laws regarding stray animals provide an important example of how public discourse is shaped in democratic societies. The issue of stray animals is inherently political because it is debated within the framework of legal regulations, as well as ethical (Eldridge & Gluck, 1996; Garner, 2008; Paul, 2000) and religious values (Linzey, 2009; Tahir et al., 2024; Waldau, 2013). This study examines public opinions on stray animal laws, gender-based distributions, discourse analyses, and policy debates in detail. The findings show that animal rights discussions go beyond being merely a legal and political matter, intertwining with ethical, religious, and societal values.

The high proportion of those opposing the law (63.1%) suggests an increase in animal rights activism and societal sensitivity. Nowadays, animal rights are increasingly being addressed as a moral issue (Garner, 2008). Indeed, according to KONDA's (2024) findings, 63% of the public believes that the state should find solutions without resorting to harsh methods such as euthanizing animals. This proportion largely overlaps with the opponents of the law found in our study. In fact, the proportion of those who consider that 'they may be euthanized when necessary' is only 15%.

Gender emerges as a critical variable in determining these attitudes. The significantly higher rate of opposition to the law among female participants (70.2%) compared to males aligns with findings in the literature that women place greater importance on animal protection principles and develop more sensitive

attitudes toward preventing harm to animals (Eldridge & Gluck, 1996; Galvin & Herzog, 1992). Women's more protective approaches may be related to ethical perspectives that subjectivize animals and are based on emotional connections. In contrast, the support for the law among male participants is higher at 41.6%, which supports studies suggesting that men are generally more inclined toward the instrumental use of animals (Herzog et al., 1991; Paul, 2000). Additionally, the 11.8% neutrality rate among men may indicate that they tend to adopt a more indecisive or distanced stance on issues involving value conflicts. The reflection of gender in discursive preferences is particularly observable on platforms like social media, highlighting how political communication intersects with societal structures. The study *"Gender, Sex Role Orientation, and Attitudes Toward Animals"* indicates that women tend to express greater concern for animal welfare, while men are more likely to evaluate animals from a utilitarian perspective. It was also found that a feminine sex role orientation—characterized by nurturance, warmth, and expressiveness—is positively associated with concern for animal welfare (Herzog et al., 1991). These findings suggest that differences in gender roles and personality traits may lead to divergent attitudes in public debates concerning stray animal policies.

Discourse analysis reveals that the debates shaped within the legal framework are characterized by a complex and multi-layered structure, a finding that is further substantiated by our source material. Discourse analyses show that discussions on the stray animal law are not limited to legal or ethical contexts but are also influenced by religious and political references. The frequent appearance of the word "Allah" (God) in unigram and bigram analyses highlights the central role of religious discourse in this issue. In societies like Turkey, where religious values strongly influence political and social agendas, public attitudes toward animals are often shaped through references to religious texts and belief systems (Linzey, 2009; Tahir et al., 2024; Waldau, 2013). This indicates that religious discourse is not only influential in the realm of individual beliefs but also plays a significant role in policy-making and public decision-making processes. The frequency of terms like "verdiği canı" (the life it gave), "Allah'ın verdiği" (God-given) indicates that religious and ethical values play an important role in approaches to the issue, and that the moral and religious foundations of the law are being questioned, as it is stated that the Turkish society approaches oppressed living beings with compassion (Bedir, 2024). The proposed law, which has come to the agenda in response to the increasing population of stray animals in Turkey and includes harsh measures such as "euthanasia," has drawn strong reactions from the vast majority of the public. Public opinion demands that the issue be addressed by the state and local governments (Konda Araştırma & Danışmanlık, 2024), through more humane and lasting solutions such as neutering, adoption, and rehabilitation.

The debates surrounding the Stray Animals Law revolve around four main themes, reflecting a multi-layered public perception where governance, ethics, security, and practical dimensions are intertwined. In the theme of Compassion and Animal Rights (34.2%), the law is criticized for contradicting animal welfare as well as

religious and ethical values. Public reactions are shaped by moral obligations, religious beliefs, and emotional sensitivities. Under the theme of Governance Failures and Political Criticism (33.9%), critiques focus not only on the inability to provide effective solutions over the years but also on concerns regarding transparency, accountability, and the effectiveness of local and central authorities. Rather than targeting the content of the law, participants often direct their criticism toward the practices and capacities of implementing institutions. This indicates that animal welfare policies are assessed through a broader lens that includes institutional trust and democratic participation. While the central government emphasizes control and legal measures in its regulations, the public discourse often highlights ethical and humane concerns. This underscores the importance of addressing the issue through religious, ethical, gender, and governance dimensions together. In the category of Public Safety and Human Welfare (28.6%), the risks posed by stray animals to public health and safety are emphasized, and interventions toward animals are often morally justified in terms of human benefit, a view also supported by the sources. The theme of Economic Factors and Alternative Solutions (3.3%) receives relatively limited attention in public discourse, yet the sources underline the importance of practices such as neutering, adoption, and veterinary services, suggesting that cost-benefit analyses should also be considered in ethical decision-making. Overall, these findings demonstrate the importance of developing holistic approaches that incorporate diverse perspectives in order to achieve success in policymaking regarding stray animals.

These findings not only highlight the multifaceted nature of public discourse on stray animal policies in Turkey—spanning ethics, governance, safety, and economics—but also align with global patterns where public trust, institutional effectiveness, and ethical considerations shape the legitimacy and reception of animal-related legislation.

The findings of this study indicate that it is not only a public sensitivity specific to Turkey but also part of global discussions on stray animal policies. Research conducted in countries such as Georgia (Ninua, 2024), Taiwan (Chou & Tang, 2023), Brazil (Dias et al., 2015), Russia (Anisimov & Ryzhenkov, 2019), and Denmark (Sandøe et al., 2019) show that policies towards stray animals are shaped not only by legal regulations but also by public involvement, ethical sensitivities, governance capacity, and implementation processes. Similar themes are evident in the discourse against the law on social media in Turkey; concerns about distrust in the law-making process, lack of institutional capacity, violence, and the dysfunctionality of shelters are clearly expressed. The study titled *“The Ethical Judgment of Animal Research”* highlights significant individual differences in people's ethical judgments regarding animals (Galvin & Herzog, 1992). This suggests that similar variations in ethical priorities and concerns for animal welfare may also influence public debates on stray animal policies. Another study draws attention to the philosophical distinction between concerns for animal welfare and the abolition of animal exploitation (Garner, 2008). In this context, the criticisms expressed in social media discussions in Turkey, such as distrust in institutional capacity and

the perceived dysfunctionality of shelters—may parallel the critiques voiced by animal rights advocates regarding the inadequacy of current welfare-oriented approaches.

In this context, the discussions in Turkey are not independent of international trends. On the contrary, the anti-law reactions parallel global discourses that recognize the emotional capacity of animals and demand more holistic, participatory, and long-term solutions. Therefore, the social media-based findings presented in this study can be interpreted not only as an emotional response from the local public but also as an expression of a normative and governance transformation that could shape the future of policies towards stray animals. This study demonstrates that an issue like animal rights, which may appear as a technical regulatory area, actually harbors complex social, cultural, and political tensions. The intersection of religion, ethics, gender, and governance in this matter provides a valuable analytical foundation for understanding how representative democracy functions and how citizens respond to political participation channels (Wlezien & Soroka, 2021). Additionally, this analysis based on social media data makes a significant contribution by going beyond traditional survey data, capturing the dynamic nature of public debates and their emotional/ discursive dimensions. In this context, it is clear that future policy designs should be shaped not only by technical solutions but also by holistic approaches that consider societal values.

Conclusion

This study reveals that the debate over the proposed law concerning stray animals in Turkey is shaped not only by legal and political considerations but also by ethical, religious, social, and gender-based values. The overwhelming opposition to the draft law among participants indicates a growing societal sensitivity toward animal rights and an adoption of an ethics-based approach. In particular, the higher rate of opposition among female participants suggests that gender is a significant factor in shaping attitudes toward animal welfare.

Discourse analysis shows that religious references and moral concepts frequently appear in the discussions, indicating that public opinion is often shaped by religious texts. In this context, the public evaluates the draft law not merely as a practical regulation but also through the lens of religious and ethical values. Furthermore, the prominence of criticisms regarding governance reveals that public discourse questions the trust in implementing institutions more than the law's content itself.

The anti-law discourse centers around four main themes—Compassion and Animal Rights, Governance Failures and Political Criticism, Public Safety and Human Welfare, and Economic Factors and Alternative Solutions—each reflecting the multi-layered nature of public perception. Criticisms rooted in compassion and animal rights emphasize ethical and religious values, portraying the law as incompatible with humane

treatment and moral obligations. Meanwhile, critiques of governance focus less on the law's content and more on distrust toward implementing institutions, highlighting concerns about transparency, effectiveness, and democratic accountability. Public safety concerns frame stray animals as threats to human welfare, often justifying interventions on utilitarian grounds. Although economic factors receive relatively limited public attention, expert sources underline the importance of cost-effective, humane alternatives such as neutering, adoption, and veterinary services. Together, these themes demonstrate how societal values—including ethics, religion, gender, and governance—intertwine in shaping legislative debates, reinforcing the need for participatory and holistic policy approaches.

In conclusion, the reactions to the stray animal laws in Turkey reflect not only national concerns but also align with global discussions on animal welfare and governance. Therefore, the findings of this study serve as an important guide for lawmakers and policymakers, clearly demonstrating the need for more participatory, holistic, and ethically grounded solutions.

Limitations

While this study offers meaningful insights into public opinion and gendered framings surrounding Turkey's proposed stray dog policy, several limitations must be acknowledged. First, the analysis is based solely on Instagram comments, which may not be representative of the broader population or public discourse occurring on other platforms or offline. Instagram users tend to be younger and more urban, potentially skewing the sentiment and thematic patterns observed. Second, gender was inferred from usernames or profile features, which introduces the risk of misclassification and binary gender assumptions, excluding non-binary perspectives. Third, the classification of sentiment and thematic frames relied on automated or human-coded interpretation of text, which, despite efforts to ensure accuracy, is inherently subjective and may oversimplify complex discursive positions.

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Appendices

APPENDIX 1:

Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's Instagram Post about The Stray Animal Laws



"Dün gece yoğun ve yorucu bir mesainin ardından sahipsiz hayvanlara yönelik kanun teklifini Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Genel Kurulunda kabul eden tüm milletvekillerimizi tebrik ediyorum.

Muhalefetin tüm kışkırtmalarına, tamamı yalan ve çarpıtma üzerine kurulu kampanyalarına rağmen milletin meclisi bir kez daha milletin sözünü dinlemiş, sessiz çoğunluğun çığlıklarına kulak tıkamamış, çocuklarımızın feryatlarına bigâne kalmamış, son derece kritik bir sınavı alınının akıyla vermiştir.

Gerek yasa teklifinin hazırlık aşamasında gerekse komisyon ve genel kurul safahatında emeği geçen tüm arkadaşlarımıza, AK Parti grubuyla birlikte Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi grubuna, sivil toplum kuruluşlarımıza, ailelerimize ve medya mensuplarımıza teşekkür ediyorum.

Milletimizin acil çözüm beklediği konuların başında gelen başıboş köpek meselesini hükûmet, yerel yönetimler ve hayvanseverler el ele vermek suretiyle inşallah kısa sürede hal yoluna koyacağız."

Translated into English:

"After an intense and exhausting session last night, I congratulate all our members of parliament who approved the bill concerning stray animals in the General Assembly of the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye.

Despite all the provocations by the opposition and their campaigns built entirely on lies and distortions, the nation's assembly once again listened to the voice of the nation, did not turn a deaf ear to the cries of the silent majority, did not remain indifferent to the pleas of our children, and successfully passed a highly critical test.

I thank all our colleagues who contributed during the preparation of the bill as well as during the committee and general assembly phases, the AK Party group along with the Nationalist Movement Party group, our non-governmental organizations, our families, and members of the media.

Together with the government, local administrations, and animal lovers, we will, God willing, soon resolve the issue of stray dogs, which is among the most urgent problems awaiting a solution for our nation."

Link: <https://www.instagram.com/p/C-DhR5tI-Y4/>

APPENDIX 2

Table 1: Thematic Classification in Political Discourse (Turkish Version)

Category	Description	Example Keywords
Public Safety & Human Welfare	This category includes statements expressing concerns about public order and individual safety. Such comments typically focus on public health, security threats, and risk factors.	"tehlike", "saldırı", "güvenlik", "çocuk", "hastalık", "sokak", "ısıрма", "tehdit", "risk", "önlem", "madde bağımlısı", "saldırgan", "ölüm", "can güvenliği", "teşekkür"
Compassion & Animal Rights	Statements emphasizing animal welfare, ethical responsibilities, and compassion fall under this category. This discourse refers to animal rights advocacy and humanitarian values.	"merhamet", "vicdan", "koruma", "hak", "can", "duyarlılık", "acı", "sevgi", "katliam", "barınak", "öldürmek", "insanlık dışı", "doğa", "yaşama hakkı", "insanlık", "havale ediyorum", "Allah razı gelmez", "Yazıklar olsun", "Allah'ın", "masum", "vicdan", "dilsiz"
Governance Failure & Political Criticism	This category includes comments criticizing the shortcomings of political governance and policies. Criticism of government failures, profiteering, and legal inadequacies are addressed under this heading.	"yetersizlik", "ihmal", "belediye", "yasa", "rant", "çözüm değil", "yanlış karar", "beceriksizlik", "çıkar", "sorumluluk", "denetimsizlik", "şeffaflık", "halkı kandırmak", "yazıklar", "durdurun", "Köpekler değil", "geri çekin", "yasayigeriçek", "sahipsiz değil", "cinayet", "kanlı yasaya hayır", "kanlıyasayahayır", "yasadeğilcinayet", "çekin"

Category	Description	Example Keywords
Economic Factors & Alternative Solutions	Economic concerns and alternative solutions related to animal population and public policies are included in this category.	"maliyet", "vergi", "barınak", "bütçesi", "çip", "para", "kısırlaştırma", "kontrol", "rehabilitasyon", "sahiplendirme", "uyutma"

APPENDIX 3: Example Support, Oppose or Neutral Comments

Support: Çok iyi oldu emeğinize elinize sağlık.

Support: Yasaya karşı çıkanların okuma yazması olmadığını düşünüyorum. okuduğunu anlamıyor da olabilir.

Oppose: Siz mi verdiniz onları canını siz alacaksınız.

Oppose: Sokaktaki hayvanlara dokunmayın bunun vebalini nasıl ödeyeceksiniz

Neutral: Ülkemde mülteci istemiyorum.

Neutral: Bari enflasyona ekonomiye asgari ücretli kiracı emekli perişan bunlara neden kulak tikiyorsunuz yıllardır.

APPENDIX 4: Theme Sample Comments

Economic Factors & Alternative Solutions

Comment 2: Şimdi sahiplenme zamanı #sahiplen #sahiplendirme

Comment 3: Bazıları okumadan yorum yapmış ,sanki tüm köpekler öldürülecek gibi algı yapıyorlar . Toplanıp daha iyi şartlarda bakılacak uyutmak için belli şartlar var . Üstelik insanlara zarar veriyorsa gereken yapılmalı zaten

Governance Failure & Political Criticism

Comment 4: #yasayıgeriçek

Comment 5: Keşke kendinize de bi yasa cikartsanız

Public Safety & Human Welfare

Comment 6: Yasayı tüm saptırma çabalarına karşılık, sessiz ÇOĞUNLUĞA kulak verdiğiniz için Allah razı olsun.. Ortada bir katliam varsa o da çalışmayan belediyelerin sebep olduğu başıboşluktan yitip giden bebelerdir.. İyi ki varsınız 🙌

Comment 7: 🙌🙌🙌🙌 çok teşekkürler . Sokakta oğlumla özgürce yuruyecğimiz günleri sabırsızlıkla bekliyorum

Compassion & Animal Rights

Comment 8: Sn cumhurbaşkanım masum canların yanındayız lütfen yasayı geri çekin, yapmayın günahıdır!

Comment 9: Allah razı gelmez, o hayvanların ahı tutar. Allah'tan korkun.