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A MORAL PANIC SKETCH: (RE)PRESENTING THE CONTOURS OF A
MORAL PANIC AND PARTAKING OF MEDIA

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A Moral Panic Sketch: (Re)presenting the Contours of a Moral Panic and Partaking of Media
Ahlaki Panik Çalışması: Bir Ahlaki Paniğin Genel Hatlarının Temsili ve Medyanın Katılımı

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Abstract

The following study is dwelling on the concept of moral panic on the basis of how throughout time a case that triggers society and covers up a great deal of the media platforms may well steer back and so do not get attention from the public at all. To put simply, this study elaborates on, to some extent, interchangeability of the term moral panic. To get how this concept first cited by Jock Young takes place, I will provide a detail analysis of data primarily conducted by four mainstream newspapers in Turkey. As widely appreciated from time to time moral panic revolves around different concepts, cases, incidents, etc. And so to be more precise, this study presents an analysis of the refugee crisis through a detailed analysis of four mainstream newspapers. Discourse analysis of the framing processes of the refugee crisis will be used in this study. It is the outcome of the study that illustrates how universal values like human rights in the framework of refugee crisis can be violated but also encourages officials to take steps accordingly thanks to new media platforms. How the refugee crisis was framed in four mainstream national newspapers and how their way of covering the issue differs in terms of their stands are studied. The newspapers are *Hürriyet*, *Posta*, *Cumhuriyet*, and *Yeni Şafak*. These newspapers are known for their political and ideological stands that are contradictory to one another. The case of refugee crisis and the social process following it resulted in a haunted times that triggers public concerns. During the time, the mentioned concerns even go up to reaching a paranoia. The media's participation in creating this moral panic that disappeared to a great extent today, is to be analyzed.

Key terms: Moral panic, New media, Public sphere

Özet

Bu çalışma zaman zaman medya araçlarının çoğunun ilgisini çeken ve toplumu tetikleyip bu platformlarda kendisine hatırı sayılır yer edinen Ahlaki Panik kavramın bu ilgiyi zamanla nasıl kaybedip kendisine bu platformlarda artık yer edinemediği üzerine odaklanmıştır. Netleştirmek gerekirse, bu çalışma ahlaki paniğin bu değişkenliğini ayrıntılı bir biçimde ortaya koymuştur. İlk olarak Jock Young tarafından ele alınan bu kavramın anlaşılması için Türkiye'deki dört büyük gazete analiz edilmiştir. Bilindiği üzere, ahlaki panik zaman zaman farklı konseptler, durumlar, olaylar etrafında gelişir. Daha net olmak adına, bu çalışma sığınmacı krizinin dört ana akım gazetenin analizlerine dayandırılmıştır. Bu çalışmada sığınmacı krizinin söylem analizi yöntemiyle ele alınma biçimi çalışılmıştır. Bu çalışmanın sonucunda insan hakları gibi evrensel değerlerin sığınmacı krizi perspektifinden nasıl ihlal edilebildiğini ancak aynı zamanda yetkilileri adım atmaları konusunda nasıl cesaretlendirildiği gösterilmiştir. Mülteci krizinin ulusal ana akım dört gazete tarafından nasıl ele alındığı ve ele alış biçimleri açısından gazetelerin duruşları çalışılmıştır. Bu gazeteler *Hürriyet*, *Posta*, *Yeni Şafak* ve *Cumhuriyet* tir. Bu gazeteler birbiriyle çelişen politik ve ideolojik duruşlarıyla bilinirler. Sığınmacı krizi ve onu takip eden sosyal süreç toplumda endişeye neden olmuştur. Bu süreçte bahsi geçen endişe paranoyaya varmıştır. Çoğunlukla günümüzde azalan bu ahlaki paniğin oluşumunda medyanın rolü/katılımı analiz edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ahlaki Panik, Yeni Medya, Kamusal alan

Foreword

Beyond question, I will always be grateful to my supervisors Associate Professors Itir Erhart and Erkan Saka who have trusted in my intellectual capacity and so supervised my dissertation from the outset to the very end. I definitely admire Itir Erhart's intellectual discipline and mentorship through this time. There is a particular person who deserves a special mention: Gizem Algül. A dear friend, a colleague. She has always been there whenever I need her. I am grateful to her for her ever-lasting encouragement and trust in me.

Finally, this dissertation is dedicated to the one and only, my precious, my mum. Love you from the bottom of my heart.

INTRODUCTION

The media, whose power is sealed through its title, “the Fourth Estate” can be defined as a web that touches almost any human being living on this planet. Since it gathers its power from the human beings, its attachment to us is infinite. On the other hand, let it be digital, press or broadcast, the mass media is also the only way for us to get to know what is going on all around the World. Consequently, there is a bilateral relationship between the human beings forming societies and the media itself. Moreover, the news media plays a crucial role in forming the societies. With the power it has, the media can determine the societal threats and then distinguish, otherize some parts of the society. Whether the media participated or not, a similar process went on in Turkey during the late ‘90s and early 2000’s. Just like each decade, the society had its “the other” to be feared and protected from: The Satanists. The Satanist groups and their violent acts created a great chaos and moral panic in Turkey during the period. Each day, there were many news items about their latest crimes. How the media handled the process and framed these news are critical, though. Because since not so many people face a Satanist each day, how the media portrayed these deviants will be their definite characteristic.

What is to be analysed are the approaches of the newspapers and the way they frame the same criminal act. Discovering whether their styles differ according to the ideological, religious, capitalist stands or their ownership structures play a crucial role in this process. The use of adjectives, words, photographs, visuals in general, headlines; selection of the news sources, the tone of the news are going to be considered throughout the research. The newspapers to be studied are *Hürriyet*, *Posta*, *Cumhuriyet* and *Yeni Şafak*.

According to the Lacanian theory, throughout a life span, a human being tries to achieve the God-like figure seen in the face of the parents during childhood. Considering the pitiful inadequacy of a human born -especially when compared to a new-born chimpanzee-, it is not surprising to realize that leaving out achieving to have one, such God-like figures are never to get close no matter how successful one becomes in life. That is why, according to the same theory, each human being constructs their own fictive identities, upheld by mirror images that they face during a lifetime. The mirror images elevate and may also hinder the

process of the compensation. Since each human being craves for a real or fictive type of figure to feel superior upon, to uphold his or her own fictive, self-made identity; the binary oppositions consisting of social categories such as “normals versus others” are seen in each and every culture ruled by the humankind. For example, such binary oppositions in the Turkish culture are; Muslim-Non Muslim, Male-Female, Sunnite-Alaoite, Heterosexual-Homosexual, etc.

That is to say, including Turkish community, each society has its own folk devils, deviants, immorals and dropouts. Aforesaid distinctions are so engraved in our culture that they have a room in each culture. Considering its key values like audience, ethnocentrism, ideology, moral majority, populism, public appeal and social appeal; it is quite normal for the media to consider and base itself on the majority’s norms while framing the events. The media gives what the majority would like to see. That is why, we are continuously faced with the deviants in the news agendas, especially with various degrading adjectives which are quite normal when an onlooker observes them with an uncritical view. However, it should not be forgotten that the media is a vast industry with a financial purpose. Thus, over exaggerated and sensationalist framing of the events are not rarely seen. Moreover, while presenting the folk devils threatening the social structure with “little” exaggeration, the media is also capable of creating widespread moral panics in society. While moral panics boost the sells, they also enable the press to gain affinity through widespread campaigns against the “evil” deviant. Sometimes, even presenting them with such an objective approach is enough for creating one. Nevertheless, exaggeration through stressing the role of the folk devil and thus fuelling the panic is not an unusual act for the media.

On the other hand, the media also uses its power to map the events and frame them in such a way that they want to be placed in the public opinion. It can easily relead the public opinion with sometimes none, sometimes slight manipulations and put forward what it wants to be a big case or even a scandal. It has the power to reflect the ordinary as out of the line. Nevertheless, it is also seen that such selections varies from channel to channel; newspaper to newspaper. Dealing with the dailies, one can put forward the idea that their reactions to events differ according to their ideologies and their owner’s political and/or religious views. While one daily is handling a criminal event in a serious manner; the other may turn it into a piece of entertainment gossip news. While one newspaper is criticizing the state through an event, the other may easily cover it by giving as small place as possible.

Before dwelling on the concept of moral panic and how the media has been handling the concept through this time, It is vital to elaborate on some of the first instances of moral panic in Turkey. As I have stated above one of the first case of the moral panic has triggered Turkish society during the '90s was the fear and the panic about the Satanists that haunted the society mentally (check the case of Şehriban Çoskunfirat reportedly missing girl, ending up as the first murder of the Satanists), so before talking about the '90s, one must at first analyse the political and economical atmosphere of the previous decade. The 1980 Turkish coup d'état and Turgut Özal's neo-liberalist, Friedmanist, kind of Turkish laissez-faire regulations are noticable. The period after the new legislation enabling the private media organs, the "new" media in the late '80s are described as a business field mostly concerned about the sales and financial gain under the neoliberal market economy.¹

This vital change resulted in the media companies with great financial power, seeking for more. So, moving forth to the '90s, we find newspapers in the middle of financial and free press thoughts. The promotions boom especially during the first half of the decade is one of the reasons for that, nevertheless, there are contradictory studies about the results of this urge to boost sells. While some studies assert that the promotions accelerated the sells², the others claim that the amount of sales did not decrease or increase considering the growing population of the country.³ The time period we will be covering is just before this frenzy, but it is by all means obvious that accelerating the sales were still one of the main concerns of these media companies.

¹ Murat Özgen, "1980 Sonrası Türk Medyasında Gelişmeler ve Magazinleşme Olgusu," 467. Last accessed: 25 April, 2018.

² Mustafa Şeker, "Tiraj Sorunu," Tablo 1: 4.

³ Özgen, "1980 Sonrası Türk Medyasında Gelişmeler..." 472,476, Last accessed: 25 April, 2018.

In order to analyse moral panic by framing the coverage of refugee crisis, the mainstream newspapers to be covered throughout this study are: *Hürriyet*, *Posta*, *Cumhuriyet* and *Yeni Şafak*.

In 1999, *Hürriyet* and *Milliyet* newspapers belonged to the same company; Doğan Media Group (DMG). During the '90s, DMG head newspapers *Hürriyet* and *Milliyet* were known for their news centered approach and their owner Aydın Doğan's relationship full of ups and downs with the Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit at the time. In the last months of 2015, Bülent Ecevit's security guard made statements about their conflicts especially after 2001.⁴ Doğan Media Group has owned the newspapers *Hürriyet*, *Posta*, *Fanatik* and *Hürriyet Daily News*. While *Hürriyet* is known for its objective approach and attitude centering around the factual news stories, *Posta* is known for its lighter content of celebrity news and daily readings. *Fanatik* is one of the most popular sports newspaper and *Hürriyet Daily News* is the English daily newspaper. Doğan Media Group sold *Milliyet* to a consortium of Demirören and Karacan groups. Today, the newspaper belongs to the Demirören family. According to the BİAK Newspaper Readership Survey in 2014, 48 percent of the whole readers prefer newspapers of DMG; *Posta*, *Hürriyet* and *Fanatik*. They are consisting the top 3.⁵

Cumhuriyet is known for its politically leftist tendency, republican view and secularist advocacy. On the other hand, it is also known for its straightforward style of press reporting, mostly without any visual image. Coming from the Kemalist ideal, it is a strong commentator against anti-secularist, religion oriented, anti-AKP views and this stand did not change ever since then. Even though the newspaper never reaches great amount of sales, it is quite popular among a certain faction of nationalist people, mostly born during the '50s and '60s.

Standing on the counter side, *Yeni Şafak* embodies all representing the religious ties and traditional views of the culture. During '90s, *Yeni Şafak* was harshly criticizing the government, especially the Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit. The newspaper is also known for its linking criminal events with the government's left-wing politics. Along with its not very modernist and quite Islamist approach that has never changed since its founding in 1994, *Yeni Şafak* is worldwide known for their Noam Chomsky interview and Hrant Dink Foundation's

⁴ "Ecevit's right hand told about Aydın Doğan's secret operations," *Memleket*, 1 October 2015, last accessed 25 April 2018.

⁵ "Doğan Holding Annual Report, 2014," *Doğan Holding*, 2014, last accessed 25 April 2018.

report. After the mentioned interview, Noam Chomsky declared that the reporters translated his statements incorrectly and he did not say a great deal of these at all.⁶ Nevertheless, the newspaper apologized for the interview later on.⁷ Moreover, in the Hrant Dink Foundation's report, it was stated that *Yeni Şafak* was one of the national newspapers that gives room to the racist content the most.⁸ Just like *Cumhuriyet*, *Yeni Şafak* too does not hit the sales lists but it is very popular among the conservative part of the society.

Since *Yeni Şafak* and *Cumhuriyet* symbolizes the two distinct edges of the Turkish community, it is not surprising to see that they handle the same criminal events in totally different perspectives. On the other hand, while *Posta* and *Hürriyet* belongs to the same group (DMG) in 1999, even their way of framing an issue differs from one another, too.

As can be understood from the statements above, Doğan Media Group was once a Turkish media conglomerate, holding a great part of the Doğan Holding, and so operated a great deal of media practices in Turkey. To my surprise, on 22 March 2018 the pioneer Doğan Media Group with all of its assets was sold to Demirören Media Group for 1.1 billion dollar price. With this purchase Demirören Media Group now holds the biggest pie of the mass media in Turkey.

As claimed beforehand, it is crucial to focus on the very first examples of moral panic in Turkey to get a broad understanding of the term. Hence, to be more precise, one of the moral panic case that haunted a generation in Turkish society to be illustrated briefly. During the last months of the 20th century, the Turkish community were introduced with a brand new deviant group: the Satanists. The Satanic murder that took place on the 13th of September changed the cultural norms and common fears thoroughly. The naked body of a girl was

⁶ "Chomsky: '*Yeni Şafak* wrote things I didn't say,'" *T24*, 30 August 2013, last accessed 25 April 2018.

⁷ "Correction and Apology," *Yeni Şafak*, 1 September 2013, last accessed 25 April 2018.

⁸ "Yeni Şafak gave room to racist content out of Gezi the most," *Hrantdink.org* 5 December 2013, last accessed 25 April 2018, <http://goo.gl/MwkTyz>.

found in Ortaköy Graveyard on the 20th of September. The police investigation led to a reportedly missing girl, Şehriban Coşkunfırat. According to the family's statements, she left her home in Avcılar on the 13th of September and never came back. The 21-year-old girl was raped and half buried in soil after being murdered. The police reached the information that she was seen with Ömer Çelik at that night. Ömer Çelik was arrested in a short time. In his first declaration he stated that he was not alone; Engin Arslan and Zinnur Gülşah Dinçer were also guilty of the crime. Three of the suspects were arrested and they confessed what they did: They killed Şehriban Coşkunfırat for the sake of Satan. Following the mentioned confession, all the flashes turned to the case and public interest about the murder increased incredibly. Even though some other minor Satanist criminal cases like suicides happened before, it was the first murder ever happened in Turkey. It was a landmark for the first years of 2000s during which the society was mentally haunted by the fear and panic of Satanists.

To be more precise about the criminal event; Ömer Çelik, Engin Arslan and Zinnur Gülşah Dinçer were Satanists and according to them, they were able to talk to Satan from time to time. Şehriban, Ömer and Engin were spending time at Ortaköy seaside and drinking wine. They got hungry but since they were broke, they called Zinnur and told her to bring food to them from home. Just after Zinnur arrived at the park, an earthquake of magnitude 5.2 happened. Hundreds of people rushed to the the seaside and the police forces warned the group not to drink wine in public. So the group headed to Ortaköy Graveyard. After they ate and drank, one of them spoke to Satan and Satan demanded a human sacrifice. It was the 13th of the month. Considering the earthquake and Şehriban's being the 6th children of the family -6 is the number of Satan-, it was just the right time and person to sacrifice to Satan. They choked, hit, stabbed, raped and buried her.

Since the act itself was full of terror and violence, even the most objective and straightforward framing of the event would be enough to create a great moral panic among the people. That is why I focused on the newspapers' framing differentiations, rather than pure exaggeration. It is for sure that the Satanic murder horrified the whole community and presented them a brand new evil to be feared of: the Satanists.

Since the case illustrated above caused a great amount of panic in the society, the case also started to gain a big amount of attention of the media platforms. In this point framing of the case by the media differed from each media platform. While some of the media groups

headlined an objective, accurate version of the case, the other platforms could claim an exaggerated, pure manipulated version of the case.

And so the pushing point of writing this thesis is that of the interchangeability of framing of some certain issues by different mass media platforms. As widely known that media platforms in Turkey have boomed up in the last decade and the change that they have initiated could be easily seen in society. So this thesis worked on establishment of the moral panic framework in the society and to be more precise the framing of refugee crisis by four national mainstream newspapers to create moral panic in the society is to be analysed. While mainly providing the moral panic by dwelling on the four national mainstream newspapers, this study also illustrated how some international media platforms have handled the refugee crisis in the case of moral panic, that's why, a brief comparative framing of moral panic has been tickled in this thesis as well.

Even though it is widely accepted that Stanley Cohen is the person who holds the development of the term moral panic, it is Jock Young who first used the term moral panic. In this case, it can be appreciated that moral panic was first cited by Jock Young (1971) but it is thanks to Stanley Cohen (1972) that the term gained a great recognition. In his widely quoted book *Folk Devils and Moral Panics* which first was published in 1972, Stanley Cohen elaborated on the term moral panic and illustrated moral panics focusing on some of the case studies, events, incidents... etc. in society and while doing this Cohen permanently mirrored the participation of media platforms, audiences and public in creating moral panic and so called deviant groups.

As an internationally acclaimed fact that moral panic has started to take place in our lives for a long time. That's why, the term has been usually used specially in the media spectrums, cultural studies and social sciences. In this case, it is necessary to focus on some of the first definitions and perception of moral panic. Having stated above Young and Cohen were the first scholars that have used the term and directed their studies accordingly, but there have been plenty of scholars, academics, researchers also dwelling on moral panic. Human beings and political and/or social groups can be emerged and labelled by their behaviours and activities in the society as a starting point for outrage exposed in the society and so these activities are being perceived as seriously bottoming up the mores and the interests of the dominant culture (Watson and Hill 2003: 196). It is this mores and social codes in a society that label these behaviours as something wrong to outbreak and so cause moral panic

accordingly. In Cohen's version of moral panic, he elaborates on processing mode of moral panic that emerges as the threat outbreaks. Cohen also works on how this process of the moral panic is taken, distorted and circulated by the mass media, based upon by moralists, anatomized by experts and finally settle down through the acquiring of specific measures. And so on, we come across with a circulated and mediated version of the term that resulted in the construction of differentiated and marginalized individuals and/or social groups in the society and creating of the folk devils, deviant groups by the media.

One of the other most quoted versions of moral panic is that of stated by Goode and Ben – Yehuda. In this version, Goode and Ben – Yehuda have been stressing out five carefully defined criteria that are attributed to moral panics and so recognized by these criteria. These criteria attributing to moral panics are consensus, concern, hostility, volatility and disproportionality that is said to be the key term of the moral panics. To put simply, by the very first definition, moral panics are thought to be disproportionate reaction to perceived threats. To go further, Erich Goode has also dwelled on and underlined that moral panics are to be recognized as a concept not a theory and so Goode emphasized that:

There is no moral panics 'theory'. The moral panic is a sociological phenomenon, an analytic concept much like stratification, interaction, deviance and social movements. Examining the moral panic no more makes one the advocate of moral panics 'theory' than studying gender makes one the advocate of gender 'theory'. Among students of the moral panic, there are advocates of a diversity of 'theories'. And all sociological concepts are social constructs. (Goode 2000: 551).

As one can get from the excerpt taken from Goode, moral panics are highly studied and relatively theorized in the framework of sociology. While Goode has been constantly emphasizing this feature of moral panics, another feature attributing to moral panics is that of explaining the term as a form of hegemony. As widely known that Stuart Hall has been studying mugging using Marxist theory to express moral panics in the framework of hegemony. Apart from this attribution, Goode and Ben – Yehuda also has been using different theoretical frameworks like collective behaviour to explain moral panics in a more explicit way. Because of all of these features emphasizing moral panics, the term has been used by a great amount of social scientists and so each has worked on the term according to their own theoretical perspectives. It is known that each time a problem is taken, distorted and

marginalized , hence, get attention of the mass media and other interest groups and so all of this process end up in creating deviant group in the society that is giving way to moral panic. As a result of this process, some certain measures are to be adopted against these actual threats. In this ever-expanding world, each day there has been a new issue that takes place in the moral panic trajectory. The list of these issues are substantial – immigrants, asylum seekers, terrorists – and all against constructed, adopted moral codes of the society. As for the studying moral panics as a form of hegemony, in each society there are some certain groups that hold the power to define a social problem and so recommend remedies to these problems, and it should be taken into consideration that these groups who hold this power in their hands emerge as a pushing factor when pulling their power together over an issue. As stated, when these power groups form an alliance with each other, their power is beyond explanation. These power groups are as follow:

- The press and broadcasting
- Pressure groups and claim makers
- Politicians and government
- Police and law enforcement agencies
- Public opinion.

These power groups are called the five powerful Ps of moral panics (Critcher, 2005.)⁹ Thanks to their substantial power, whatever against them would be easily wiped out, and sudden, definite measures to be adopted immediately. However, this is not the case all the time. When a new social problem has been emerged or new folk devils have been labelled, it is quite common that conflict between these power groups can rise easily and as a result what should be done against these problems and/or the deviant groups to be postponed accordingly. Such a conflict can be easily seen especially between the press and the government. Back to definition of moral panics, it is also stated new forms of disturbing behaviours that are unable to control by the society and so causes terror and fear in society. These disturbing behaviours can be newly-emerged or ever-lasting ones as well. Moral panics also may well be defined as a reaction of the society against this sudden change. And a common perception in the society

⁹ For further information, see Chas Critcher (2005)

is that of terror emerging with the change would trigger settled concepts in the society and so resulted in labelling them as folk devils.

One of the origin point of writing this thesis about moral panics and their inevitable, direct relation with the mass media is that moral panics need us, as members of the society and also audiences and users of the media, to see and deal with bizarre questions related to the truth in the context of social problems. As provided within the sociological discourses, any form of knowledge even facts and statistics, if not correlated in a social construction, are considered and assessed as a representation. To be much more precise, take postmodernism, as well known in postmodernist view, this representation takes place as follows; first of all, there is an old idea usually constructed within the sociological context and then this idea is taken and with a twist gets a new advent and gains fresh representations in modern society. Through all of this process, then boosts so much that anything in society become meaningless, obscure. Such a relation between moral panics and postmodernism can be easily observed in the case of paedophilia that has triggered specifically Western societies and so created a common sense.

Throughout this thesis, the relationship between moral panics and its social context, and social change was highly worked and challenges that has been created against settled central moral codes and values of mainstream society were studied as well. Additionally, I have directed my attention to multiple sources of moral panics and fragile relationship between them. As a prominent characteristic of late modern societies, these kind of societies are prone to rapid and uncontrolled social changes and so these swift and inevitable shifts in the society creates good conditions to moral panics. Some of the features of life mainly claimed as old like relationship with neighbours, work, family life, neighbourhood have been swept away in today modern societies. Members of the society, groups and individuals have been alienated, disoriented and faced with social anxiety. Because of such a sudden and constant shift in the society, a different psychological process starts to take place in the society. Claim makers or power holders are beginning to project this anxiety on some target groups like immigrants, drug takers...etc. Such campaigns trying to take back the society to their settled roots, to get the power and restore the society were clearly observed in the case of outbreaks of AIDS and Homosexuality. Started with the advent of AIDS, inflated attacks upon homosexuality which were supposed to preserve the main, core values and moral codes of the society were initiated to keep the family unit and heterosexuality. One of the other attacks that were initiated was

against drug taking, in this case, the drug takers were accused of being hedonist, following extreme pleasures. As seen in this case, in the traditional point of view, pleasure is seen as something to be enjoyed in a modest way and as a reward of hardworking. Another example of such a projection can be seen in the reaction of the society against gypsies, also known as travelling people. It is clearly illustrated above, this projection over 'the other' in the society decreases multicultural societies into one single homogenous group and then overstating the dissimilarity between 'them' and 'us' (Acton 1994; Campbell and Clark 2000). Social alienation and disorientation is gone up because of such a projection over 'them'. Whereas moral panics are evolved and circulated almost within each society, each moral panic case bears its own distinctive pattern culturally and socially shaped. Yet it should be kept in mind that whatever the case is, every moral panic incident is finally reconfirming moral values within the society.

Alienated figures like drug takers, gypsies, sex offenders, homosexuals or immigrants are very different target groups in each society, but all of them ultimately bear the same function for the social order. They contribute the society to define and reconfirm its own values. Each society feels the same way when individuals are in the opinion of that settled moral values are no longer existed within the society.

When a society's moral boundaries are sharp, clear, and secure, and the central norms and values are strongly held by nearly everyone, moral panics rarely grip its members – nor do they need to. However, when the moral boundaries are fuzzy and shifting and often seem to be contested, moral panics are far more likely to seize its members of society. (Goode and Ben – Yehuda 1994 p.52).

As stated above Goode and Ben – Yehuda have stressed the vulnerability of the societies. The more a society is fragile and has unsettled, unestablished moral codes, the more it is prone to sudden changes resulting in moral panics and so one can observe such shifts in the society clearly.

So the organization of this thesis has mirrored my interest in moral panics. As accepted the study of moral panics has always gained a great amount of attention in social sciences especially Media Studies, Sociology, Cultural Studies. Yet it does not belong to the core of

these studies, rather belongs to the edge of the sociological universe. Firstly, mentioned in the late 1960s and early 1970s, moral panics have also settled and left great marks specially in three distinctive areas of social study: media studies, social policy and criminology. Central to this thesis is the role of the mass media, upon attending of making moral panics and labelling deviant group and/or behaviour. As a source of spreading information in modern societies, of creation of deviant and folk devils, media participation in promoting and directing public awareness is undeniable. Whether actively involved in this process of constructing moral panics in the society or simply reporting the activities of others, the media have palpable role in creating, identifying, naming and assessing deviance of all kinds. And such tangible effect upon society follows by creation of collective behaviour within members of the society.

CHAPTER 1: MEDIA

1.1 MASS MEDIA IN BRIEF

To put simply, it can be stated that media is a message that is constructed and conveyed between at least two spectrums, and so it had been initiated with participation of modern human beings. As whose power has been sealed through its title, the media “the Fourth Estate” may well be defined as web that converges with almost every human being living on this planet. It is known that first of all there were paintings and figures craved out of rocks in caves to seal things and then transmit information, and after this process of conveying messages, languages have been shown up. Right after the showing of languages human beings became as storytellers and so transmitted messages. As an inevitable progress, then, writing occurred and so it contributed to development of writing process and as a result creation of newspapers and writers. Because of the fact that it gathers its power from the human beings, its connection to us is infinite. Thanks to this advance through media, people began to feel necessity to transmit what happened and so they contributed and developed the media. On the basis of this ancient process the media had been initiated and touched any living on this planet. On one hand, whether it is digital, press or broadcast, the mass media is also the only way for us to get to know what is going on all around the world. As a consequence, it can be said that there is an inevitable bilateral relationship between the human

beings forming societies and the media itself. Additionally, the news media has a vital role in forming the societies. With the the power it holds, the media can shape and determine the societal threats and then distinguish, otherize some parts of the society.

Marshall McLuhan states that “the medium is the message”. Yet, although McLuhan has focused on the technological perspective of the media, in today’s modern world, it can be stated that the message is the medium since the media is connected and shared values to form several modes of hypertexts. Because of these interrelated aspects of the media, there are a great deal of possibilities for us to process the message to a medium. The very core organization of communication forms the ways the message to be received. As it can be understood, it is the content of the message that shapes the process of the communication.

With the advent and the expansion of the media, a communication process has started between communities and civilizations and thanks to this interaction, civilizations had been created and so mass media has boosted up globalization since then. In his mostly quoted saying “global village” McLuhan has focused on the importance of the digital media on shaping and creating interrelated societies. It is the idea that wherever you are in this universe, a message can be submitted and distributed to any part of the world and so received by individuals accordingly (Giddens, 2009).

Another historic event in the history of communication revolution is that of creation and development of printing machines. This development changed direction of the wind and caused and pushed multiple changes in media spaces. Developments and inventions that followed the epic invention of the printing machines can be positioned as; arrival of radio and broadcasting, television and after these mobile phones and other technological gadgets called iPad and tablet. With the introduction of iPad and tablets, digital age in the media has initiated. Shared values and staying in contact are milestones aspects of what we call communities. Because of the fact that, internet has boosted up a new era and created new spaces to keep these communities online, this resulted in creation of “virtual communities” (Giddens, 2009). As Manuel Castell has stated this process of online communication to be continued and expanded to a degree that new means of networks will show up and result in new type of organizations.

Again to Castell, we as globally integrated communities have been living under sovereign power of a new communication era, and indeed in a new medium, that its character is on the basis of computer networks, language is digital and ultimately its senders are internationally distributed and globally interactive (Castells, 2007). Castell also has been elaborating on the issue, he dwelled on the the fact that no matter how revolutionary a medium is, it will not determine the content and effect of its messages on its own, rather it is the multiple spectrums of communication flows that establish the production of meaning in public mind both locally and globally.

To put in a nutshell, mass media is to be defined as diverse ways of communicating to a great degree, integrating majority of the society. In this perspective, there have been many means of communication tools like radio and television broadcasting, films, journals, newspapers, internet ...etc. As illustrated beforehand, the mass media institutions stated above play a crucial role in the society and so form and shape what we call public opinion. As for this bilateral relationship between the mass media and the society, both have a vital role on influencing each other. The power of the media, to a great degree, results from its potential to reach a population and so causes communication flows among different layers of the society, and due to such a capacity and potential, the media shapes the process of communication and integrates societies and communities all over the world.

1.2 MEDIA AND MASS SOCIETY THEORY

One of the prominent term to be mentioned in this chapter of the thesis is media “effects”. As always been argued in academia, specifically, communication studies, this effect of the media has constantly been studied. And so to what extent the media has such a potential to form, change and direct public opinion is to be mentioned here. First of all, as a mostly applied term, “effects research” which has evolved mainly around two different points: mass society and behaviourism have brought two different disciplines together; sociology and psychology. With the integration of these two different social sciences, unstable and susceptible features of human nature against external influences once more have been stressed. According to mass society theory and psychological term behaviourism, it is the

media image that causes declining of moral values, turning upside down settled codes of behaviour and manipulating young minds in the society. I think, it is an accepted notion that societies and communities all over the world have become more fragile and violent because of constant exposure to ever developing modern media industry. The advent and fast paced development of media industries have accelerated and shaped anxiety among members of any society. Due to this exposure to this development in the media, “common sense” has occurred as a reaction within the society. Despite numerous contributions to the modern society, all these advancements in communication industry, especially developments in cinema, internet, social media, television, mobile communication technologies, have been labelled as a paramount reason of declining of literate culture. Critical thinking, and rational interpretation have been replaced by common popular culture having assets like accepting mediated inputs without making sense of them at all. Such a tendency especially among young minds results in a fixed, irrational, mediated sense of knowledge.

Coming out at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century, the term “mass society” firstly emerged as a sociological term towards the end of the Second World War. With such an advent in the sociology, the term firstly was studied and criticized by its negative implications like dwelling on human beings who were lack of character and individuality. Stressing out people who lacks of a unique, personal sense of perception, instead sharing mass, common sense with a great part of the society. In most of studies on this term, human beings are labelled as illiterate, not open minded and bear a potential to cause violence in the society any time. In such a society, two different features of thought can be gained. One of them is focusing on idea of perceiving societies as fragmented and so common shared values were tormented and due to such an alienation and disconnectedness within the society, individuals in the society became disoriented and a common, organic tie could not be achieved. Because of this negative attribution, the society became lack of a shared, settled moral values as well. Again as a result of this disoriented, alienated feature of the society, all values labelled as core in the society are prone to be tormented. The other aspect attributed to term mass society is that of importance of the media on showing up as a tool to help people under hard situations and also crucial force of the media for having control on people’s thoughts and so somehow directing them (Jewkes, 2015).

As Yvonne Jewkes has been firmly focusing on in her highly praised book *Media and Crime*, besides the mass society theory, media effect is one of the other key term that Jewkes

has attributed a great importance. According to Jewkes, the relationship between the media and its audiences as receivers is one of a kind, dwelling on this relationship Jewkes elaborates on power of the media to inject some certain values, ideas, information to its receivers and initiates an effect accordingly. Like claimed beforehand, this media effects could possibly boost up anxiety within society, too. Again to Jewkes, the anxieties produced as a result of media effects are to take one of three forms: One of them is the anxiety related to moral and religious structure within the society. Exposure to popular media could deteriorate this settled structure and so corrupt values and norms in the society. The other anxiety is a critical approach to the media because of ignoring the influence of high culture (literature, art) by it. As for this anxiety, the media is blamed for not appreciate the intellectual level of the society. The third anxiety is that once again the media is criticized for representing the ruling elite and so shape mass consciousness accordingly. Taking advantage of the media for propaganda in history by authorities in power can be instances of such a concern. Since the media has a capacity to affect mass society and reach mass communities, it has been seen as the most powerful tool by totalitarian regimes to get the power, guarantee it and so win the hearts and minds of the individuals in the society. The influence and power of the media over people and popularity of it among authorities in power have highly studied by the Frankfurt School (Jewkes, 2015).

All in all, it should be kept in mind that, as Jewkes has worked on, in addition to all assets attributing to the media, its capacity to form a mass society, giving birth to the mass society theory, and thanks to this feature shifting, deteriorating, corrupting shared values in the society is to be taken seriously and concentrated on.

Another two theoretical frameworks that I have dwelled on in the context of the mass society and social theory are concepts of *risk society* taken from Ulrich Beck and *discourses and discursive practices* studied and elaborated mainly by Michel Foucault and Stuart Hall.

1.2.1 Risk Society

Most of the moral panics occurring in the society come up with a great social change. And these social changes can be interpreted on the basis of various context. As for Beck, with

the arrival of the modernization and through its phases, societies are getting more modernized in every step of it and this results in creating a great amount of risk for their members and individuals are well aware of these risks. As Beck has elaborated on the issue, he put forwards that whereas human beings have been gaining a great power thanks to techno – economic progress, the risks attributing to this progress have been underestimated. In the beginning, these risks have been appreciated as simple, trivial side effects. However, as these risks started to get attention globally, criticized by the public and took a place in social and political debates, they came out of the closet, so became more visible. On the basis of the idea, there was the idea of modernization and its production: the risks. It was also stressed that these risks have been bearing a great threat to the life of human beings, plants and animals on the universe. Beck also illustrated that unlike threats occurred before modernization, these ones could not just be attributed to a sole small, local group, rather they would have global effects (Beck, 1992).

One of the points to be stressed here is that with the advent and development of modernization, risks have also been boosted up in the society and individuals in the society become less conscious about these risks. And evaluation of the risk along with the consciousness of the risk in modern societies by Beck have pointed out how these risks have resulted in production of anxiety ending up in moral panics within the society. It is partly due to such a concern, resulting from the risks, among public initiates fear and terror in the society that becomes a vital reason in production of moral panics. Here mass media's role in developing and boosting up the fear and terror can be seen. As a reaction to the risks and threats in the society, deviant behaviours have also been occurred. Since one of the feature attributed to the mass media is that of its interest in dramatic stories, risks and threats in the society, in case of a dramatic event or risk, terrors in the society, the media tries to get public awareness on the issue and so manipulates, directs public opinion. It could be easily stated that the mass media adopts a prominent role in directing public awareness at the time of terror and risks as claimed above within the context of risk society.

1.2.2 Discourses and Discursive Practices

One of the striking approaches that has been stated and evaluated in the framework of social and mass society theory is that of Michel Foucault's discourse and discursive practices. As a highly praised philosopher and figure in academia, Foucault in his early works has concentrated on production of discourse and statement practices in different periods and social states. Discourse is a conceptual generalization of conversation within each modality and context of communication.¹⁰ As of the definition of the discourse by Foucault, it means "a group of statements which provide a language for talking about - a way of representing - the knowledge about a particular topic at a particular historical moment" (Hall, 1992). As stated above by both definitions, the paramount feature of the discourse is that of gathering statements together to initiate, form and represent a type of communication. Discourses cannot be limited to a single, deserted text, source or statement, instead it is a mix of them. Again it can be seen in numerous texts and domains in the society holding different features of thinking and domains of the knowledge. This means that the discourse could be moulded into any form in the society and hold different attributions and representations. One of the other term cited by Foucault is *discursive formation*. *Discursive formation* takes place by the time different statements mentioning the same object, bearing the same motif, in the favour of the same social or political strategy (Hall, 1992). Later in his works, Foucault has directed his attention on how this knowledge was initiated and put into practice in the framework of *discursive practices*. In this perspective, he held on the relationship between knowledge and power. According to him, these terms are strictly related and connected to each other and elaborated on the power as how it was steered by its equipment and its technologies. In this sense, power has been studied by what Foucault called *apparatus* and all means relating to it. And he named this process of exercising power by apparatus and all its practices as "genealogical". According to him, genealogy focuses on the relationship between the power, knowledge and the body in the society. Knowledge has always been studied in the context of power as it was usually applied to practices in social spectrum. Foucault has stressed out the power of the discourses through numerous instances, one of these is attempts to have control over sexuality resulting in a discourse based on sex. The other examples to be illustrated are discourses over the media and its tools like television, magazines, newspaper ...etc. Focused on above, as Foucault dwelled on the body has always been at the very core of power and knowledge struggle. Various discursive formations have applied to the body by different authorities at different levels.

¹⁰ Conversation?lang=en&signature=com.apple.DictionaryApp.Wikipedia

In order to get a broad understanding and contribution of Foucault to the term moral panics, one should concentrate on the terms that I have stressed out. As claimed above, Foucault's attention on sex and sexuality bears a great importance. Again to him, struggles over sexuality throughout time resulted in a rivalry ending up as various discourses and practices. He went further claiming that by denying the discourses and practices applied to the sexuality, a society would never go further. Instead, the society should direct its attention on the discourses attributed to the term by different societies in different times, and so get a broad understanding of the term and then using this knowledge while characterizing a modern, freer one. He once more dwelled on the subject as:

Why has sexuality been so widely discussed, and what has been said about it? What were the effects of power generated by what was said? What are the links between these discourses, these effects of power, and the pleasures that were invested by them? (Foucault, 1976).

As can be seen from the excerpt by Foucault and statements mentioned above, all of these explanations take us to the term moral panics especially one evolved around sexuality. Throughout history, one of the most applied subjects attributed to moral panics is sex and sexuality. This kind of moral panic can be easily seen at the time of AIDS outbreak, in discourses on homosexuality, in cases of paedophilia...etc. And here, thanks to Foucault and his discourse and discursive practices terms, we change our direction and focus on the power struggle that has always been over sexuality and its connection to moral values in the society. By understanding discourses about sexuality, we get a broad knowledge over moral panics related to the sexuality. As in modern societies, there are always different discourses over sexuality and these discourses have been in conflict with each other. And at this point we come across with the participation of the mass media, as the mass media has regulated its discourse around this conflict, pushed it to have a great influence over members of the society, and so resulted in moral panic. Ultimately, with the mass media participation, the term has been linked to fear, terror and deviant behaviour in the society that triggers settled codes in the society.

1.3 MASS MEDIA AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE

Public sphere was first coined by German philosopher Jürgen Habermas. Habermas mentioned the term as “as a virtual or imaginary community which does not necessarily exist in any identifiable space.” (Habermas, 1991). Another definition is that of Gerard A. Hauser. He defines the term as “a discursive space in which individuals and groups associate to discuss matters of mutual interest and where possible to reach a common judgement about them.” (Hauser, 1999). As it can be understood from the definitions above, the public sphere is a space where groups, members, individuals in a society come together and discuss social, political problems. And the discussion taking place among individuals is called public debate. Since these discussions take place in the public domain not in the private domain, the contribution of the mass media to the public debate is inevitable and can be seen to a great degree. As opposed to the term private, public as Habermas defined is what we state cases and situations that are open to all members of the society, all are included. Turkey holds great sources for cases evolving around moral panic as the mass media here is relatively connected. As an asset of the mass media in Turkey, connectedness can be seen thoroughly. Since national newspapers are mainly based in Istanbul, Istanbul is a hub for the mass media practices. If a story gets a great attention locally, then immediately the story will be taken by national newspapers and conducted accordingly. And that is how a story gets a broader news value. Again to broadcasting, there are numerous channels in Turkey, some of them have broadcasted under the license of international channels like CNN, BBC and FOX. Like newspapers, all of the national channels are based in Istanbul, and yet all of them have offices in Ankara as well. Additionally, as a fact, the mass media has a pioneer role in creating and circulating moral issues within the society. So, printing media are following a moral agenda and going through a process called tabloidization, helping them to personalize and sensationalize social problems in the society.

As for the press, they are bound to give a higher tone of moral values when covered moral panics, doing this to somehow justify its adoption of the moral panics. As for Jenkins, the mass media and press to be stated as an “arena” of the public opinion where we get a collective conscious and behaviour about social problems. Because of this feature attached to the press, as individuals in the society we could get a collective definition of the term. Again to Habermas, public sphere needs settled ways to transfer information and effects those who

take it. He elaborates on the term to illustrate the importance and participation of the media on creating and maintaining the public sphere. It is because of this role of the media that the mass media influence on the public sphere has always been studied. In the framework of the role of the media on the public sphere, the media take a role in accounting social problems and so this participation of the media enables a suitable space for claim makers who are trying to shape the public opinion on a perceived social problem and direct their behaviours. With the attendance of the claim makers, media and campaigners, moral panics have been accelerated. Again to this gathering, a social problem is taken and evaluated within the social context, then this problem is adopted by the media and claim makers, and so at this step the problem is moulded into moral panics. It is a fact that the media and claim makers have been feeding each other to a great degree.

Again referring to the term coined by Foucault, the connection among claim makers, the mass media and moral entrepreneurs generates development of a discourse in which moral panics are stated and some people in the society are labelled as deviant and caused fear and terror within the society. As for the public sphere, all of these discourses take place in the public domain which is open to all not a specific, private group. Generating and transmitting of these discourses are happening thanks to participation of the mass media.

1.3.1 Internet

Originally dating back to 60's, internet has been an inevitable part of our lives since then. Although it was first used by the government of the United States, its effectively and widely usage by academia began around three decades ago. Because of this usage firstly done by a government, it is an undeniable fact that the power and the internet have always been linked to each other. Having the power, governments all over the world try to get a dominance over the media and the internet, and so control its spreading and manipulate it accordingly.

While first attempts to use of the internet had been around 60's, its actively usage dated back to time of Cold War. During this period, governments around the globe had been

trying to conduct new forms of communication and sharing information. This period made nations and governments worldwide operate new means of transmitting information and keep the communication. As a result of this pushing effect, the internet was born as a means of communication. Again to the time of Cold War, the internet was born to military of the United States. Ministry of defence, Pentagon, started to make use of the internet to operate its projects. Due to one of its prominent feature, sending messages and communication between various places, no matter how far and close, came into practice and this asset gave the military a vital power.

As for the usage of the internet by people, we became familiar to the internet with the introduction of World Wide Web that was originated by Tim Berners-Lee in 1990. As a result of this invention, people tried to use the internet to get information and learn what they want to know. Again thanks to the arrival of the World Wide Web, businesses around the globe began to e-commercialized, and people could reach to diverse businesses around the world (Giddens, 2009).

One of the milestones of the invention of the internet took place in our daily practices. Almost all of the traditional communication mediums like television, radio, newspapers, mail ...etc. have turned into new services like online music platforms, email, internet/online television broadcasting, digital newspapers, video sharing and streaming websites and so on. Another game changing shifts happening in our life are that the internet has provided us new ways of interactions via social networking, blogging, internet messaging, ecommerce ...etc.

In addition to all these paramount features of the internet and changes happening in our daily life. New platforms of creating fear and terror within the society has occurred. Even though there had been traditional based moral panics in our communities, with the advent of the internet and new ways of interaction, fresh moral panics started to take place especially through online platforms like blogs, social networking sites, cyberspaces. And so these platforms have been accelerating spread of the moral panics, terror and fear over the society easily. Again as a drawback of the fast development of new means of communication, new forms of violence take place like cyberbullying.

Unlike traditional ways of communication, new platforms that we call cyberspaces have occurred. Cyberspace can be defined as a platform that supplied by the internet and so keep the communication between people universally. Through this area, people can state their opinions, ideas freely and there is no need for providing their private information like identity. This is not the case in the context of the cyberspaces. Important thing is sharing information and expressing yourself freely (Giddens, 2009).

Due to its anonymous feature, people may well freely express themselves without fear of any surveillance by any authority. This gives birth to a new kind of interaction and relation among people.

1.3.2 Social Media

Social media are based on computer structure technology that initiates and transmits information. Producing and sharing of the information are happening through virtual communities and networks. Now we have various social media services thanks to fast advancements in technology. Social media can be defined as interactive Web 2.0 Internet based applications that took place of the so called old media Web 1.0. Social media consists of user-generated contents like photos, videos, texts, posts generating via online interactions. These users have virtual, online profiles for their social media accounts. And featuring these accounts, the social media initiates online social networks among these users via interacting them with other users (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010).

Social media comprises various websites such as Instagram, Twitter, Facebook, etc. It differs from the initial form of the internet usage, it is interactive. Claimed beforehand, with the replacement of the Web 2.0, there has been a widely usage of the social media via mobile devices. Since it is hard to define what the social media exactly is, it might be called as “user generated platforms in Web 2.0” (Ellison & Hardy, 2014).

Stating above, this new introduction of the Web 2.0 provides new platforms called cyberspace. Thanks to these platform, spreading of information has changed. While at the time of the old media, people were mostly receiver of the information, with the arrival of the new media, they have become producers. And this shift happening in the society is called as

“participatory culture” (Jenkins, 2006). As for Turkey, Sour times Dictionary is a prominent example of cyberspace. Through this platform, people can anonymously share, comment and express themselves without being monitored by any authorities. Using this platform also gets people to contribute the participatory culture and so enable circulation of information among people and groups.

Since moral panics are the core point of my thesis, one can easily get outcomes of fear and terror based on moral panics through platforms like Sour Times Dictionary. Because the users of the platform may freely express themselves without sharing their identity, a meaningful, biased free research on moral panics can be conducted. But as I direct my focus on the framework of the moral panics through newspapers, this research on cyberspace platforms may shape another study.

1.3.2.1 Virtual Culture

Based on the internet, daily life has evolved into a new direction, and this results in some shifts in culture. These kind of changes on basis of the internet give birth to virtual culture and so initiate a new culture. As Jones and Kucker have suggested “Who are we when we are online?” (2001). There has been a discussion on seeing virtual culture as a reflection of reality or something beyond it. Yet, some studies conducting on virtual culture and cyberspaces have provided us that what we do when we are online contains the reflections of who we are indeed.

Again to David Nye, as transferred by Jones and Kucker, interaction over internet has been blamed as lack of cultural signs, expressions and sense, etc. Yet, virtual interaction and culture have shifted the case and advanced it to another level. As outcomes of voice messages and emotion signs, stating emotions and opinions have been taking another perspective.

In moral panic and cultural theory parts, interaction of the virtual culture has been elaborated in details. However, it should be pointed out that moral panics might mirror public anxieties through cyberspaces and virtual culture area and so studying reflections of the moral panics via these platforms may provide us different dimensions of the term.

1.4 MEDIA AND CULTURAL THEORY

Within media studies and cultural, social theory context, relation between power and the media is always concentrated on. Having this relation in numerous ways, both rely on each other strongly. So as to get through this related interaction, and make sense of the connection, it is important to dwell on the cultural and social theory.

Stressed out formerly, culture and social spaces are not spheres that are beyond the power. Instead, the power reliance is, to a great degree, at the centre of these spaces. And how power is constructed within these social contexts becomes crucial. Through power and knowledge, reality is aimed to be constructed via the media.

As been highly studied, Habermas's "habitus" and the concept of "hegemony" put a great influence on cultural and social theory. Again as being stressed out by the term to "habitus", basically there have three sorts of capitals that help us to define social reality and inequality; social, cultural and economic (Smith, 2007). One of the other points that should be focused on is that of Althusser's ISA¹¹, to Althusser these apparatuses steers and form societies into what direction the power likes to direct. As a well-known fact that the media is one of these apparatuses (Slattery, 2011). Concluding from this perspective, the media as one of the paramount state apparatuses, helps to create the power in the society.

Based on its implications specially in sociology and cultural studies, the terms "culture", "high culture" or "popular culture" have been worked so often that they are mostly taken for granted. In academia, there is an ongoing argument over distinctions, definitions and limitations between these terms. Yet, no matter what are outcomes of these discussion, connotations related to the society are undeniable and inevitable.

Through sociology and cultural studies, "high culture" is also at times stated as "mass culture". As claimed within the sociological and cultural context, high culture is expressed

¹¹ Ideological State Apparatus

with its connotations with the elites and high status groups in the society. Thus, high culture is accused of being related just a specific group within the society not all of them (Sternheimer, 2015). However, today the term mass culture is highly related to popular culture. As understanding from the name of it, popular culture can be defined as concept that includes many forms of entertainment aimed at many groups within the society, not eliminating any specific group as in high culture. Popular culture aims a great number of audiences.

Being a part of popular culture, video games are to be defined as one of the first cultural item that are blamed for spreading violence among young minds and so creating fear, terror causing moral panic in the society. In this context, media coverage of the video games and violence they cause in the society play a crucial role. Since the video games are accused of encouraging young minds as players to shoot and kill just like characters in games, there is a question rises in social and cultural spaces; would these teach young minds that it is all right to shoot others? (Sternheimer, 2015). Due to such dangerous implications attached to the popular culture, there is an everlasting discussion over dangers of the popular culture and whether it should be disoriented, terminated or even abolished to protect the young minds.

Considering video game players, mainly young minds, are easy targets to be disoriented and manipulated by the games, they are thought as threats to social norms within the society. In spite of all of these negative implications related to the video games as part of the culture, there is not a considerable decline in the number of incidents bound to the video games. Instead, the popular culture has been providing explicit framing of violence, sexuality and most of controversial issues within the society (Sternheimer, 2015).

All advances and changes about technology in modern world has started to bring about new issues onto culture. As an apparatus, the media has changed its direction from the public sphere to becoming more private and fragmented, making it difficult to control and monitor (Sternheimer, 2015).

Being a prominent part of the culture and one of the vital state apparatuses, the media needs to be studied thoroughly. In the following part of the thesis, the media and its coverage of specific issues within the society have been covered in detail.

1.4.1 Postmodernism and Late-modernity in brief

Speaking of postmodernism, without doubt, it has an influence over all of social sciences, and thus, changed and impacted them to a great degree. Due to this feature attached to it, its effects within the society is inevitable and undeniable. Postmodernism is a paradigm that impacts many parts of the society like social, cultural, political and economic life. By postmodernism, getting information and its limitations, along with the media focusing on its outputs and style and contents of it came into ground as a turning point. As a term stated widely, “hyper reality” has been stressed often (Jewkes, 2005). As of the term, media coverages have been claimed as not illustrating changes between reality and image any more, and also it is stated that such a distinction no longer exist (Baudrillard, 1983).

Mass media and as stated above no longer existence of the meaning have created a kind of culture that focuses on rapid consumption and presentation effect, yet not emphasize its meaning and also is lack of a deep analysis (Osborne, 1995).

Among features attached to the media, its responsibility to entertain people is claimed to be the only one to be aspired. Critical, parody and irony are also dwelled on as paramount features of the postmodern media outputs. (Jewkes, 2005). However, discussions on these features attributed to the postmodern definition of the mass media are to be continued and criticized in social sciences.

As for late modernity, it can be defined as the carrying on the term modernity. And as a continuation of the term modernity, it emphasizes the characterization of societies in today’s world. Late modernity is also known with shifts in information. According to Giddens, carrying on modernization in today’s world is perceived as a radical asset of late modernity. Giddens also pays attention to the constantly examination of the social practices that occur as outcomes of the incoming information, and hence, results in changing their characters. As being one of the primer figure in academia, especially in social theory, Giddens uses the term late modernity to describe contemporary societies.

1.4.1.1 Media and Postmodernism

Since societies are based on various cultures, that's why, their social, economic, cultural assets are seen as the foremost points of media and public sphere. In this perspective, parks, cafes, entertainment areas and streets are some of the cultural places consisting of the main features of the media and public sphere. Statements above pays attention to saying of David Harvey's definition of postmodernism. To him, postmodernism is a combination of time and space, but he also dwells on the changeability of the term space. As he stated, time is independent, but space is changeable as an instance of cultural and social combination.

In this point, this thesis also stressed out the postmodern situation of the media and dwelled on the concept of the media as a postmodern public sphere. In postmodern situation, there has been a shift on replacement of pluralism, individualism, social movements and social discourses over mass production, discourse, etc. (Harvey, 2010). According to the statements above, formerly, there were mainly newspapers and TVs that could spread information and inform people as media. And so doing this in an authoritarian way. However, now these old fashioned, authoritarian ways of spreading things have been distorted and new discursive opinions have been appeared. In this thesis, such power related, authoritarian discourses on moral panics have been chosen and studied to see how the media in this post-modern situation handled the term and framed.

Last but not least, space has been defined by Christopher Tilley as "socially produced, and different societies, groups and individuals act out their lives in different spaces" (Roberts, 2001). Again to him, there are spaces not just space. In this context, this thesis has concentrated on the mass media's framework of narratives of moral panics on basis of different social and cultural discourses stated by them in different time and spaces.

CHAPTER 2: MEDIA AND CRIME

Without doubt, there has been an ongoing discussion over the connection between media and crime for a long time. In this technology age, we have witnessed numerous advances in

discourse of the media and so come across with various crime relatively. As in nature of the media, news is claimed and so a circulation in the media is initiated, and then news is being created and, if needed, detail and extra information is to be gathered. While in classic news production, circulation and information gathering, we as human beings were limited to definite means of communication, nowadays since means of communication has been developing day by day, our perception of news has been evolving accordingly.

In the first place, there were limited news production agents like local and national newspapers, some radio stations, etc. Yet, in this age, we have numerous media platforms like social and mobile media. Social media platforms have boosted up, firstly, there have been platforms like Myspace, bebo, etc. However, these platforms have been replaced by Facebook and Twitter. Even these platforms have started to lose their popularity with arrival of sites like Instagram, Tumblr, Snapchat, WhatsApp, Flickr, etc. Thanks to these image/message sharing, fast, limitless, instant and personal sites, the production and circulation of the news have also been shifted and gotten a new perspective. But, as new means of communication occur, “message” does not change at all, it is same (Jewkes, 2005).

To understand media influence, newsworthiness, and news values, it is crucial to pay attention to all of these everlasting developments in realm of communication. With the advent and ascending of the mobile and social media, media influence is felt in everyday life and so production and circulation of the news have accelerated accordingly. Because of such advancements in the media, constant, image based news production has been occurred. But in this case, credibility of the news should be stresses out. In this sense, such a critical approach is really important when evaluating the news.

In this chapter of the thesis, I have paid attention to news production in this contemporary era. Within the chapter, newsworthiness, news values, mediated frameworks of some issues have been highlighted. Besides, the media’s handling of news, choosing and illustrating news containing crime, folk devils, deviant groups have been also illustrated.

As “chaos” needs “order” to define itself and so creating a perception in minds. In news production, we need such oppositions, too. Since focusing point of this thesis is moral panics in a broad sense, the media coverages of “self” against “other”, “insider” against “outsider”, “familiar” against “stranger” have been focused as well. With addressing such oppositions

within the society, the media gains a great attention from public and this affects their circulation within the society, too.

Studying and elaborating on the moral panics have been handled much, but it has also been problematized. Young minds and youth within almost every society have been at the centre of the moral panics works. Because of negative connotations attributing to the youth, the society has seen them as threat to their settled codes within the society. In this perspective, young minds have also claimed as folk devils and victims of folk devils as well (Jewkes, 2005). In this sense, construction of crime news bears a great importance. Again as a part in this chapter, production and circulation of some crime news have been studied. This study has elaborated on paedophilia, offenders, homosexuals, sex abusers, etc. The media handling of the issues and how some binary oppositions have been constructed to create a public awareness over cases have been worked out.

Terms like other/otherness, cybercrime/cyberbullying, demonization/demonized, deviance/deviant have been cornerstone of this chapter. A focal point to be kept in mind and emphasized, without binary oppositions like other/outsider/stranger/enemy/insider/outsider, the media could not be successful in creating a common, shared moral consensus needed to boost its numbers of selling newspapers, having public awareness within the society (Jewkes, 2005).

2.1 THE CONSTRUCTION OF CRIME

In ever-developing media industry, numerous of different theoretical methods have been emphasized and discussed over influence and effect of the media platforms. In this point of view, the media participation on creating and spreading news within the society cannot be avoided. Since media's attendance in producing news triggering the society both in a positive and negative way is inevitable, understanding and absorbing of in what ways the media creates a platform of "new values" and how this construction of this set of news values will be discussed in this chapter.

Even though media effect is so clear and inevitable, the media's role in producing and spreading reality is negotiable and open to interpretations. Media participation in creating crime news should not be limited to a single platform, instead there is a combination of different platforms that contribute this presentation. Crime news are produced and circulated on platforms like TVs, newspapers, radio stations, websites and also on diverse cyberspaces like Instagram, Tumblr, Twitter, etc. Representing of crime news holds a great importance since it is not only a picture of facts about crime but it is also an interpretation and representing of the crime by authorities in the society. That's why, crime news is subject to evaluate in these perspectives. As for construction of crime news, Yvonne Jewkes has elaborated on the topic as:

In spite of described as a window open to the world, and let's say, it is a picture of representing of real life, the media platforms may be seen as a prism, subtly twisting and distorting the perspective of the world it projects.

As it can be understood from the point of Jewkes, the media influence and hegemonic values attached to it help us to have an understanding of the media power. The notion of pluralist of the media platforms, along with the idea of open media marketplace and also thought of postmodern media spaces lead us to idea of media representations of images, according to this idea, these media images cannot be labelled as "reality", instead they are different versions of reality, both culturally and socially represented. And so this mediated version of images are outcomes of reality produced and shaped by different news organizations and determinants of news production (Jewkes, 2005). Factors are to be stressed out in production of crime news are as follows:

- framing and influencing of *audience*
- agenda-setting
- framing and producing of a case
- newsworthiness

Sure production and circulation of crime news are not limited to the terms stated above, but steps above play a crucial role in creating crime news. As of *audience*, the media initiates and produces its stories around others and sometimes prioritizes around a specific group in the society. That's why, effect group, "audience", has a primer role on the other steps following.

Agenda-setting is the process in which news selection and target group/s have been decided. Again in this step, adoption of a story and storyline accompanying it takes place. After making up audience and adoption of the agenda, framing of the case is presented. In this part of the construction of news, decision over story, representation of the story like selection of tone of language, if there is, a choice of visuals will accompany the framing of the storyline. In this step of news making, the media chooses a story within numerous stories, in these possibilities selects one incident and turns it into a news. In addition of the selection of the story, the media then associates a target group, represents meanings and so shows a mediated version of the news to the world (Jewkes, 2005).

Apart from all of these steps illustrated above, process known as *newsworthiness* holds a great importance on making news. It is in this process that journalists, columnists, editors determine a case's newsworthiness. Along with different interpretations, a story not containing at least some of the features of newsworthy cannot show up on a news agenda. Newsworthiness involves news values that help journalist, editors to choose a story to be presented. In this step, we come across with various concerns like public interest, figures and ratings of sales, public appeal, etc. A lack of one of these can result in unwanted conditions and so encounter with many limitations in the media. Besides pragmatist approaches to news making, we also come across with ideological processes as well.

For sure there have been numerous values over choosing and representing cases by various news media. So different media platforms, to some extent, are bound to each other about selection and adoption of an event. Not surprisingly, framing of a storyline can differ from one media platform to another one. Even in media platforms that are stated as sharing same interests and values, news production and interpretation may differ respectively. While some of the media platforms hold a more "human interest" perspective of a story, others might hold a more scandalized, exaggerated version of the story (Jewkes, 2005).

One of important point to be emphasized is that news values are prone to change from culture to culture, time to time. Features attributed to news values may not be case for another culture at all. Hence, all criteria concentrated on above are basic ones to be kept in mind. Throughout time, these criteria have also changed and so along with these values, new ones have also been adopted, and thus new features about news values in postmodern era are credited.

In *Media and Crime*, Yvonne Jewkes claims these new values for this new era as:

- Threshold
- Predictability
- Simplification
- Individualism
- Risk
- Sex
- Celebrity and high-status persons
- Proximity
- Violence or conflict
- Visual spectacle or graphic imagery
- Children
- Conservative ideology and political diversion

According to Jewkes, in order to represent a story, it should meet the criterion of newsworthiness. Threshold of a story lies in tickling the story whether the story is presented in local, national or global perspective. In this sense, simple crimes are to be presented locally. But once a story passes local borders and gains a great importance globally, it also goes beyond the threshold level. To her, if a story goes beyond threshold criterion, a news agenda to keep the story fresh is really important, so the media should keep the story alive by adopting new thresholds. In the other value, Jewkes elaborates on importance of predictability of the story. As for this asset, once the media suppose something to occur, it may well happen and so news agenda is going to be settled accordingly.

As of the other value “simplification”, Johann Galtung and Meri Ruge put forward that the simpler a story, the easier it is. Even though they have stated this simplification helps, incidents should not be simple so as to make news. In this sense, they have put a great importance on news discourse, and so defines it as not open to interpretations and thus audiences are called to have a consensus over the story (Galtung and Ruge, 1973). As an example, found of body or a robbery including shootings are to be adopted immediately and so “meaning” is to be created quickly accordingly, but in other crimes that are open to

interpretations, this process takes time. In other word, a catch is required to associate such stories with so as to provide news value.

In addition to the statements above, production and circulation of news both hold conciseness, simplicity and not open to various interpretations in its nature, also it takes audiences (readers, listeners, etc.) to get a common, shared rhythm. This happens immediately after a terrorist attack or mass killing within the society, whole society comes together under same umbrella and so a common notion has been adopted in the society.

In tabloid press, a potential of “risk” has been adopted and absorbed within all spheres of the society. Because of this, immigrants are labelled as potential terrorist, youth is seen as having potential to distort moral codes in the society, etc. As I have stated in previous chapters, the mass media has a tendency to use binary oppositions. Especially stories that contain crime and criminals are to be illustrated within such a context. In this perspective, the mass media portrays binary oppositions like “us” versus “them”, good and bad, insider and outsider, folk heroes and folk devils, white against black, and so on. This framework of polarization in the society contributes the process of mediated crime (Jewkes, 2005).

Media also has a tendency to personalize story to simplify the story and so get a “human interest” perspective. Such an individualistic framework of news can be seen in story of Anders Breivik, he was stated as “lone wolf” in the mass media. In spite of his terrorist attack, both offender and offended are being presented within the same individualist framework.

Since I have elaborated on the term “risk” in the chapter Risk Society, this feature attributed to news making is to be mentioned here briefly. In today’s postmodern risk obsessed societies, crime stories have been centred around victims. Also the media boosts up such concerns to a degree that exaggerating of such risks plays a crucial role in triggering and creating fear and concerns among people. Aftermath of the September 11th, the terrorist attacks in America, the media has fuelled fear in the society and presented numerous news around potential risks. Again to this tendency of the media, obsession of “stranger danger” goes to a degree that the media portrays public sphere as unsafe, private sphere as safe. This tendency also influences governments to take some measures against potential risk groups, in this sense; refugees. Founding of street lighting and CCTV cameras are outcomes of this effect and obsession of the media (Naylor, 2001).

Another value to be focused is the media's obsession of celebrity or high status persons. As it can be concluded, if a story attaches to a celebrity, it is more likely to bear the potential of news. The more the story has been attached to a high status person, the more likely it is to hold values of news and so gets attention within the society accordingly. Examples of this value of the news making can be seen in almost every coverages of the mass media. Proximity can be defined as "closeness/nearness". This value about news making focuses on nearness of an event that refers to effects of a news happening around. Another asset about this term is that of relevance of this event to listeners, viewers, etc. within a society. Ethnocentrism is another word to describe this tendency of the mass media. Not all but a great deal of media platforms in different countries prefer to look inward when cover a story.

It can be said that conflict or violence is the most preferred news value to all media platforms. Since they contain dramatic stories to be told, the mass media desires to cover these stories respectively. In this value of news making, the media points out a distinction between ones who are a part of the society and ones labelled as "outsiders".

As for the value visual spectacle and graphic imagery, mediated images play a vital role in this feature of news making. Due to increasing of visual/image based broadcasting of events, a great increase in production and circulation of news making also takes place in the society. With advent and improvements in new means of communication like Instagram, Facebook, Tumblr, image based presenting of news have boosted up. For Chris Greer, towards the end of the 21st century, stories are to make news with a combination of words and images. This occurrence and presentation of visual can also help a victim or an offender to get an iconic level (Greer, 2009; Hayward and Presdee, 2010). As an important value, usage of images may also contribute a society to have a collective consciousness. Illustrating of crime news with images has gotten an unforgettable memory in minds in the society.

In the other striking features of news in postmodern world is that of associated with children. Once Stuart Hall has told that any story related with a crime can be thought as news, but now it can be claimed that any crime associated with children can be lifted into news. Besides, any violence against moral codes within the society and also associates with the children are clearly more newsworthy (Jenkins, 1992). This is eminent whether the children are victims or at the core point of the story. As for Jenkins, events involve children could

guarantee the newsworthiness of the news and also it helps the media to initiate “moral campaigns”. Jenkins explains this as “politics of substitution”. In this sense, Jenkins elaborates on the issue by giving examples about campaigns directed “not against homosexuality but at a paedophilia, not pornography but child pornography” (Jenkins, 1992). Since it can be clearly understood from statements by Jenkins, children involvement in crimes could guarantee media’s coverage of the story. Again as an example to this value of news, when a body of a three-year old child was found on a touristic beach of Turkey, almost all of the mass media in Europe has adopted the news and used it on their headlines. But, before that heart breaking news, the media’s coverage of the refugee crisis was limited to third pages.

Lastly, since the media has also held cultural and social values of the related societies, they illustrate these values in their coverages of the stories as well. While conveying such cultural and social features of the society, the mass media may create distinctions within the society too. As ideological medium, the mass media could label some individuals within the society as outsiders and so attaches negatives assets to them. In this point, the media’s participation of using binary oppositions to label, distort, demonize certain groups within the society is a result of political diversion and conservative ideology of the media platforms.

2.1.1 Understanding the relation between media and crime

Since the relation between media and crime is an inevitable one, this integration between them is highly studied. Again the likely relationship between reactions of individuals and media consumption is also stressed out fairly. The mass media platforms and those who have a career in one of these communication medium hold an amount of power over selection of potential stories and how to present them. Defining, selecting, organizing and presenting some issues over other ones is crucial because the amount of time and space sparing for the news is definite. Any story defined as news are to be judged and evaluated according to beliefs and values of people who are reading them. As been highly focused on this chapter, news values are results of combining of different factors that play a paramount role in defining, choosing and presenting the news. One of them is that news values are formed by a

various political, economic and technological factors that shape the form and content of the news gathering together. One of the other factor is that these news values serve for the interests of the audience and so they get a public awareness (Jewkes, 2005).

Along with news values focused above, crime is also stated as highly newsworthy and so its presentations by the mass media is often taken for granted. News values both form creation of the crime and also shape our perception of the crime. With arrival of numerous digital communication platforms and rapid spreading of internet sites and cyberspaces, a term “citizen journalism” has come off the ground. Thanks to these changes, a more democratic news production and spreading can be achieved to a degree. Yet, it should be kept in mind that most of the news are still generated by traditional media platforms that are mainly using traditional forms of reporting. However, in this millennium this approach towards traditional forms of reporting are to be shifted.

Speaking of the relation between media and crime, the media helps the society to draw a safety line between the folk devils, dangerous deviants and themselves. But it at the same time exaggerates the fear by stressing the the role of the deviant and thus attaches the community to itself even more. The preference of the visual items and the way in which these items are selected play a very crucial role in framing the news. The photographs or pictures have the power to fuel moral panics. Especially visual images containing nudity or violence can convey straightforward, horrifying or disturbing messages to the audience.

For example, there are many news items that does not go beyond giving a brief information about crimes and frames the whole life span of the deviants/victims during the whole page. Of course this is again due to the impact of the public appeal and pressure out of interest upon the media. The media gives the people what they demand. The framing any criminal event like a movie or a story not only helps the mapping process and gathering more interest, but also distinguishing the common people and those folk devils. Because, throughout the news items, we are told that these deviants were “different” from just the beginning. It is even more influential when these “facts” are transferred through the interviews of their family members.

Since there have been numerous advancements in communication technology, ranging from classic printing to various cyberspaces, the media’s influence is spreading to a great

area. This influence is so influential that people's worldwide exposure to these micro and mass communication technologies shape discourses within the society and so help to generate a common sense about ongoing crimes, moral panics, etc.

Considering this paramount effect of the communication technology, it is vital to stress out James Lull's and Stephen Hinerman's comments on this feature of the communication tools, here to say the media. To Lull and Hinermann, after the state and the church, the mass media is the third primer player in the history of modern social influence. They elaborate on this feature of the media as the media has a great power on society in creating moral discourses within the society. As a point to add this influence of the media, it can be said that any society where the mass media has a paramount influence on shaping discourses in the society, it is impossible to not expose to this influence whether in a positive or negative way.

As a concluding point on understanding the relation between the media and crime, production and circulation of news are happening in a dazzling way, every day we wake up into a new event, story, crime, etc. This asset of the mass media accelerates the circulation of news among different cultures across universe. Just like Beck said we live in an enormously dangerous "risk oriented" society. Because of this, every minute cultural and social based values in a society are to be challenged and so settled ideology and cultural hegemony within the society may face with a new media generated fear, threat or terror that ends up in a moral panic.

2.2 THE SURVEILLANCE CULTURE, CRIME AND POSTMODERN SITUATION

Since the new "individual" is injected back into the new postmodern world, which has certain characteristics that might make it considerably a dystopia, it suffers from alienation, suffocation and paranoia from time to time or for all the time. The surveillance that prevails all over the world is one of the causes of it. The miracle of the snowflake is never more! The idea of the so-called unique individual in the Renaissance period then as a counter strike in the modern times (a big "Oh" after the Victorian Era) is now, being questioned. Just like the book *The Miracle of the Snowflake*, in the postmodern cult *A Clockwork Orange* being ripped

out and fly as if real snowflakes, the idea of uniqueness is in fragments. What makes us “us”, such as our DNA, fingerprints, voice, signature, mimics, social accounts are now being used as a tool to distinguish us if we were deviants, or the “others”. That’s why, what is the point of being unique, since it is being used to peep you through the camera, leap you out, track you down and then catch you if you cross the yellow line in metro station?

In “Crime and the Surveillance Culture” article by Yvonne Jewkes, we are faced with quite an objective approach to the suffocating atmosphere of surveillance created for the many, by the few. The place surveillance has in our culture is explained with its roots linked with Edward Snowden the whistle blower, the Vodafone scandal of secret wires for the government and of course the biggest metaphor of the Big Brother’s realm, Jeremy Bentham design: Panopticon.

Most people make comments stating that the whole world is a gigantic panopticon and we are forced to live according to the system it has. Especially Foucault’s view on panopticon, seeing it as an ideological form of the whole world rather than an archeological design was influential in it. Considering especially the UK, where there is one CCTV for each 11 people, it is not very likely to be a science-fiction theory. Since Edward Snowden was the 5th name on the list of “The World’s Most Influential Voices of 2015” by *Huffington Post*, the issue of surveillance and human rights abuses once again became an issue being widely discussed. Actually, as stated throughout the article, the surveillance culture is nothing new, but especially through its use upon the social media made a wider impact. To give an example, once, I was trying to match my modem with my Digiturk decoder in order to access my social accounts via TV, as if crucial, I was seriously horrified when I saw the extent of information Digiturk requires in order to complete the process. For example, my friend list, relationships, check-ins, every status I write, religious belief, political views, videos, photographs and every other thing I share with Facebook were demanded. However, especially after reading the article, now I think I should also be thankful because Digiturk at least seeks for approval, unlike the other authorities accessing the private information.

Nevertheless, as discussed in the article, some people think that many CCTV or surveillance cameras sustain a more stable environment and thus a secure society. But such cameras have many lacks, like their deficiency in matching the visual image of a person with collected data including ID and whereabouts or their broken tie with the police forces that can

interfere with any criminal event in a very short time. Moreover, such cameras also stress the borders of private lives since you never know if you are being watched while walking in streets just like in panopticon. Also as stated by Jewkes, the number of criminal cases solved through their records are comparatively low. Considering all these and moving from the idea I grasped from the article, the more we feel we are under surveillance, the more so-called “security” items we demand, almost addictively. I also believe that the drive is not only to look, but also to be looked at. Maybe this is also why so many people are just craving for staring on TV. Even beyond being seen, seeing yourself on a video recording is interestingly satisfying. But if there is a criminal act in case, many people would like to be the onlooker and that’s probably the reason why Müge Anlı’s programme (Crime watch UK alike) always gets high ratings. Anlı uses not only the police’s but also the society’s surveillance forces. The programme receives many incriminating information. However, just like a tourist who would prefer viewing a strange culture through the lens of a camera, many people prefer to be in a completely secure area and to place a glass between the evil and enjoy watching it being solved.

On the other hand, the chapter covering the surveillance on the workplaces, made me think of Vodafone’ service “CoPartner” (*İş Ortağım*). The service is perfect for employers who would like to know where their employees exactly are, what they are doing, who they are calling and what cost they are making. All is through the sim card they offer. The service promises faster and cheaper process and more financial gain. Actually, many surveillance forces rely on financial gain, for example the digital marketing is so improved that they can see how many minutes we spend on a website, whether we clicked on the banners or not, if so how many minutes we spent in the opening site, etc.

However, the online network is not the only area we are being stalked and coded. A couple of years ago, the Turkish government made a new legislation for the hospitals that they should only accept patients through their fingerprints. All hospitals purchased these precious fingerprints readers but then the Council of State reversed the judgement declaring that the new legislation was against human rights.

High-tech surveillance systems, the rise of the digital realm and social media not only changed the identity constructions of individuals in the eyes of the state, but also in the eyes of themselves too! For instance, many people cannot define themselves apart from their social

accounts; they do not eat or enter a club without posting it online. On the other hand, whenever I am watching a news channel, I –of course- come across to a murder case and I sometimes check the criminal's or victim's name on social networking sites, I easily access the photograph the broadcasting team used. I read almost the similar discussion in the article and even this shows how virtual identities that we make up on the Internet turns into realistic and real ones.

Consequently, we can say that there is a clash of two ideals and their payoffs. Being a unique human being just like a snowflake is a miracle, but on the other hand it enables the authorities to distinguish and to oppress you. Having the wire of the Internet can make you anyone, can take you anywhere and bring any information you want. Nevertheless, these wires are also the clues to follow for the officials. At that point, the wires bringing about freedom might wrap around our necks and suffocate us with enormous pressure, metaphorically though.

CHAPTER 3: MORAL PANIC

The purpose of this thesis is to portray a detailed analysis of understanding the relation between the media and moral panics. In master's degree, I have directed my focus on the term moral panic and since then it has become a subject that I am very into it. Thanks to lectures that I have attended during master's degree, I gained a broad understanding on communication studies, here to say, as core of this thesis, the relation between the media and moral panics. In this chapter of the thesis, there are more widely selections of important extracts on moral panics. Since the term moral panic has been widely studied and focused on, there are diverse explanations, definitions and studies on the term. Here, I will try to provide numerous definitions on moral panic.

One of key questions that comes to mind is; what is a moral panic? First of all, let's look at the moral panic definition in *Dictionary of Media and Cultural Studies*. According to

it, moral panic is; “Individuals and social groups can by their very activities emerge as a basis for outrage expressed by influential members of society who perceive these activities as seriously subverting the mores and interests of the dominant culture.” (Watson and Hill, 2003). Again to the same source, that “mores” are settled, commonly shared and accepted social and cultural values within the society that are thought to be preserved. Any attempts to break these values are considered to be wrong, unacceptable. That’s why breaking of these mores and values in the society may trigger fear and terror within the society.

Emphasizing and elaborating on the term moral panic, it is Jock Young who first used the term, but development of the term belongs to Stanley Cohen. There has been a discussion over describing moral panic as a term or a concept. While Young and Cohen have referred it as term to be analysed, Goode and Ben-Yehuda preferred to call it a concept. Whether it is accepted as a term or concept, it is a common opinion that it is a massive phenomenon widely focused on in cultural and social discourses. As basis of this thesis, participation of the media in creating and spreading moral panic is vital and to be analysed in detail. Goode and Ben-Yehuda approach moral panic as a concept not a theory. As for them, there are five carefully stated criteria of moral panic, and thanks to these criteria moral panics would be perceived and absorbed in a society. These criteria are claimed as; *consensus*, *concern*, *hostility*, *volatility* and *disproportionality*. Again to them, the key criteria is *disproportionality* since moral panics are defined as disproportionate reaction to threats in the society. These five criteria are mentioned in the following chapters in detail.

Highly studied, moral panics are significantly theorized in many social and cultural studies. Thus, it has a great value in social discourses. When studying moral panics, many theoretical frameworks have been used. Some of these frameworks are that of Marxist theory to define moral panic as a form of hegemony, Goode and Ben-Yehuda’s usage of collective behaviour to express moral panics, etc. Because of these attributions to the term, most of scientists use the moral panics to describe their own theoretical points of view (Critcher, 2005).

Another question to be emphasized is that why one should study moral panic. It can be claimed numerous reasons on why studying of moral panics is so important. To begin, it is clear that moral panics are on every corner of the society, wherever you go, it is likely to come across with one. Most of them, of course, depend on social and cultural spectrums.

Thinking about today's world, immigrants, asylum seekers, terrorists, child abusers and drug dealers are all subjects of ongoing moral panics. Another reason can be political. In each society, there are some pressure groups and claim makers. Politicians and governments use their power to initiate or end moral panic in a society. Because of power they hold, their effect can be seen in a great part of the society. Helping individuals to understand and face up some social problems within the society may be stated one of the other reason to study moral panics. To illustrate some examples on this asset of moral panics, an awareness about sexual abuse of children and paedophilia are now common within most communities. Whatever reasons are, studying of moral panics, without doubt, contributes to many spectrums of a society and so its level of effect can be felt accordingly.

By all means, moral panics are apparently about new forms of troubling behaviours that cannot be controlled easily (Crichton, 2005). These uncontrollable, reason of fear and terror in the society, behaviours may well come from a familiar group or can be associated with a specific object like drug, gun, etc. In this context, moral panics can be claimed as reactions to social and cultural shifts within the society.

Thinking about the relationships between moral panics and social changes, Goode and Ben-Yehuda focus on questions about "the target, timing and content of the moral panics". Because of an apparent relationship between reasons of moral panics and their focuses, it is easy to recognize them within the society. An instance to be illustrate, moral panic about drug taking among young minds. When a new illegal drug is showed up, it is likely to cause a rise of drug taking in youth. Underlying reasons for moral panics can be seen in rapid changing, uncontrollable nature of social shifts in the society. With new millennium and in postmodern situation, societies are prone to these social changes. Like most aspects of traditional societies, family life, neighbourhood, manner in work place have swept away. Instead, now people in the society are more widely feeling concerns and anxieties and so disoriented. Due to this disorientation among people and groups, labels like "outsider", "deviant", "stranger", etc. are projected on some people or groups in the society. And so these result in fear and terror in the community. As an object of moral panics, certain things are selected and stated as threats to challenge certain values within the society. In most societies, for instance, with arrival of AIDS, homosexuals became target claiming that they have subverted settled values in the society. Another example is that of negative connotations attributing to gypsies or

travelling people. Again as seen in the case of homosexuals, these group of people were also demonized as possible threats to all values within the society.

Focusing on connection between moral panic and its social context, whatever the reason is, in final phase, all moral panics contribute to approve moral values in the society. It is not important who is labelled as outsider. It is whether sex abusers, immigrants, drug takers, all are target of different hostility, yet each contribute in affirming social order. Labelling, demonizing, and punishing them help us to define who we are and what are settled values in the society. (Cricher, 2005).

Goode and Ben-Yehuda emphasize this feature of moral panics and their social context as:

When a society's moral boundaries are sharp, clear, and secure, and the central norms and values are strongly held by nearly everyone, moral panics rarely grip its members – nor do they need to. However, when the moral boundaries are fuzzy and shifting and often seem to be contested, moral panics are far more likely to seize the members of society. (Goode and Ben-Yehuda, 1994).

As Goode and Ben-Yehuda have claimed the more a society is purposeless about moral codes, the more one can anticipate to see moral panics in it. These moral panics help to restore their settled, common moral codes in the society. In order to achieve this restoration of moral boundaries and values within the society, the outsiders, strangers, deviants, etc. should be defined accurately. These outcast groups play a crucial part for this role (Burns and Crawford, 1999).

Is every issue likely to become moral panic? Or are there any issues that are more likely to become moral panic? These are just a few questions that come to mind when analysing moral panics. Of course there is a process, once an idea, event, or a case are thought to be moral panic, then we come across with some steps. First of all, criteria for moral panic will be analysed in detail and then questions rises over how this panic is constructed and mobilized for or against any moral values within the society, and lastly, whether moral crusaders are going to be successful in generating moral panic in the society (Adam, 2003).

As have been stated above, there is a complex assessment of moral panic. Decisions over panic to be, what criteria this panic contains and to what degree the society feel it, etc. are just some steps of panic assessment. In the following chapters of this there is an elaborate analysis of criteria and steps about moral panic. However, here are some conditions that trigger moral panic to happen in the society:

- A persuasive level of a new fear, threat, or terror with a highly powerful level;
- The media's participation on taking these issues seriously and so come up with some suitable solutions;
- A powerful ally among powerful Ps¹² of moral panic.
- Moral crusaders or claim makers that have a power to be credited in the media as specialist.
- A common understanding about the panic and a consensus in the society related to the panic.
- A bunch of solutions to be perceived as effective against the panic.

These steps illustrated above can be attached to most moral panic issues. In the issues like immigrants, gypsies, sex abuse against children, paedophilia, we can see presence of such steps.

Even though there are some conditions to be presented as stimulating effect to trigger moral panic within the society, there are some conditions that obstruct moral panic and so divert it. In this sense moral panic is likely to leave the tracks and there will not be any association of the issue with moral panic. Here are some conditions in which moral panic is likely to be obstructed, diverted and so left the tracks;

- An unsuccessful attempt to to present an issue as have potential to trigger a threat or a fear within the society;

¹² The five powerful Ps (the press and broadcasting, pressure groups and claim makers, politicians and government, police and law enforcement agencies, and public opinion) of moral panics (Chas Critcher, 2005).

- Absence of media's interest in accepting legitimacy of the issue;
- A failure to create a consensus or an alliance among powerful Ps of moral panic;
- Lack of achieving a common perspective over issue and so providing some solutions to the issue;
- Not understanding seriousness of the issue and as a result causing divisions in the society.

Steps claimed above are some of negative conditions in which legitimacy and validity of moral panics are seen suspicious. Diseases labelled as sexually transmitted can be showed as examples to these conditions. Take AIDS for instance, since it is mostly associated with homosexuals, no threat is seen against other groups in the society. Again as perceived in the communities of America, black people are ghettoized and so drug using is seen limited to this community.

As Chas Critcher has stressed out there is no guarantee for outcomes of moral panics as they are unpredictable by their own nature. There is only a perceived of underlying potential threat to be clear. Implied by Critcher, it is quite difficult to get a unique pattern of each moral panic.

How long does a moral panic continue?, Is there any specific time to start or end moral panic? Here we have another two questions rising about moral panic. A moral panic may be initiated by an outbreak of an illness or a boost up in technology, etc. A fresh, new condition occurring in the society can also start moral panic. Most importantly, media' participation and gathering together of powerful Ps of moral panic may well initiate a moral panic, too. These panics are likely to initiate within or outside of state apparatus. The mass media can influence pressure groups and public opinion about moral panic. While some moral panics can be clearly recognized, some can be under the surface. How does it end? Usually when conditions that start moral panic go away or perceiving it as an illusion cause its end. There can be also some serial moral panics in a society. This means that a specific moral panic begins and ends more than once (Critcher, 2005).

As for influence of moral panics, such influence changes significantly. To Cohen, while some of them needs serious law enforcement within the society, some just need a minor, simple changes in law enforcement. Whether the society is in need of a serious or

minor adjustments of law, these shifts in law can serve a great purpose and might be used effectively against deviant groups.

Since it is the case for almost any moral panics, there is a perception of that values and codes in the society are under attack. Hence, there is a threat, fear, or terror within the society. In order to cope with such threats, authorities along with other powerful groups need coming together and dealing with the terror. Such threats are occurring in public sphere not in private sphere. Due to that, discourses starting moral panics should be detected and acted against accordingly. Undoubtedly, these threats boost up public anxiety which has a significant role in making moral panics effective. For sure moral panics vary geographically and historically. Once pointed out “shifting the analysis of moral panics towards comparative research” (Baerveldt et al. 1998). A comparative research on major with minor, or successful with failed ones may well be an enormous analysis of moral panics. This kind of study on moral panics can contribute to the field in a significant way. Comparative study of moral panics, to great degree, resolves idea that moral panics are universal feature of societies.

Holding power to affirm the settled, common values and boundaries of a society, moral panics are having an undeniable feature to be concentrated on. Moral panics may well occur in most societies across the globe. Participation of public sphere, state apparatus, most spectrums in the society (church, government, etc.) have a significant role in developing of moral panics. Stated above moral panics are unpredictable. That’s why, they can occur any time in any society. Additionally, moral panics cannot be fully directed by any one, but for a moment they can be steered.

Surprisingly, moral panics are prone to effect each other and sometimes a moral panic can be transferred to another culture as well. In our globalized world, countries may not be independent from each other to a great degree. Their effect over each other can be perceived in many spectrums of the society. Because of such bound, they often transfer moral panics to each other. By this transfer, they also export their cultural assets with them. In this sense, moral panics may also happen at the same time in different countries as same problem can occur in each society independently.

Moral panics are accelerated by conservative forces as a reaction to social change to support settled moral values in the society (Critcher, 2005). Critcher has also suggested that most moral panics are to be conservative in the context of their functions and concerns. To show some examples to this perspective of moral panics, we can analyse moral panics around sexually abuse of children and discussions over gun control. In the former one, there is a consensus within the society, all parts of the society agree to take actions against the problem. But when handling the problem, there has been a problematic part of it specially according to some feminist writers for instance; (Kitzinger, 2004 and Atmore, 1999). In most of their studies, they have been focusing on any act sexual male violence against any group in the society. A common anxiety has aroused in the society about sex abusers. However, there has been an ongoing discussion over who the real sexual abusers are. The problematic part is that the focus about “stranger danger” misdirect attention and little attention is around “the home” where it is thought to be “the most likely location of abuse and the male relatives as the most likely perpetrator.” (Critcher, 2005). The dilemma above illustrates the problematic representations of sex abusers, and thus it is vital to handle any parts of the moral panics to not ignore any parts while focusing on one. Such misdirection can be avoided by taking into consideration of every spectrums of public discourses in the society.

In Goode’ and Ben-Yehuda’s handling the issue moral panic, they have also pointed distinction between moral crusaders and moral panics. According to them, in moral crusaders, there is a concern over a real issue, and crusades are produced by social movements and moral entrepreneurs. In contrast, moral panic is stated as a broad sense of fear or threat. And also to them, moral panics need an ally among formerly split groups in the society. To be more precise, they have illustrated pornography issue. To them, if campaigners are really interested in pornography and stand for its effect then it is called a moral crusade. Yet, if their interest is based on politically opportunistic style and they are tend to mispresent the facts then there is a moral panic.

Like presentations and discussions of moral panic by Goode and Ben-Yehuda, there are different analysis of the issue by diverse figures. In each model, we come across with new features attributed to moral panic and so contribute to its development. Since the core point of this thesis is moral panic, these different considerations of the issue will be discussed in following chapters in detail. Mirroring my approach towards moral panics and their framing by the mass media is by all means at the centre of this thesis. At that point, establishment,

development and fading away of moral panics are to be dwelled on respectively. On the basis of this thesis, the media and its coverage of moral panic has a crucial role. As a well-known fact that in modern societies communication tools make a great part of information production and its circulation process among groups. The media's participation in labelling binary oppositions is also a point to be focused on. Trying to get the basic the role of the media and its influence within the society, it's contribution to presenting, naming and assessing all kinds of deviance in the society is also to be mentioned.

When studying moral panic, it is inevitable and also crucial to refer to Doran's "Decoding 'encoding'" . Here I want to discuss the term in details by referring to the media effects and dwelling on its connection with policing the crisis and analysing panics within the societies as well. Just like Shakespeare is accused of writing *The Tempest* with a colonial attitude or Freud who is almost blamed for being a sexist, writers and theoreticians may sometimes happen to be the main topics of discussions suggesting they are putting forth such ideas with negative connotations, unintentionally. Sometimes, through comprehensive studies, such assertions may also be verified and considered. For example, the University of New Brunswick Professor Dr. Christopher John 'Nob' Doran, after a critical reading, set forth quite a distinctive study over *Policing the Crisis* which was produced by the collaborative work of Cultural Studies Theorists Stuart Hall and other theorists.

Still, it must not be forgotten that aforesaid work is quite influential for reading the 70'ies and especially in order to see the "difference between the current time and 70'ies. However, since some critical criminologists especially from North America begin importing and utilizing Hall et al.'s works in the 21st century, even without a critical investigation, Doran feels the urge to produce a deconstructive study also functioning as a warning to them, throughout *Policing the Crisis*.

The main problem Nob Doran sees is that, even though Hall et al. move with quite a critical attitude against the encoding process in culture, especially in the media; they also do the same encoding, though, into a different area and towards a different audience. The authors of *Policing the Crisis*, state that in 70'ies the British media coded events, especially in the mugging case, in an ideological fashion. Doran claims that by stating these, they introduce the same concept of "moral panic" and "mugging" to a new frame. Marxist frame and to their

own audience especially from the Cultural Studies field. However it is also debatable if Nob Doran as a reputable sociologist who use the same words especially in the title of his work does the same encoding into his own field and to his own audience or not. Also, according to some scholars, Marxism and Cultural Studies are considered as the fields already integrated.

Moreover, Doran also suggests that just like the media relies on accredited representative, like politicians, trade union leaders and so on, Hall et al, rely on the same source by beginning their study with a reference to the same group. Furthermore, Doran mentions a very crucial issue by saying that Hall et al's work's coverage is also taken from newspapers, whose source is again accredited representatives. So indirectly, the authors of *Policing the Crisis* is rewriting and enlarging the ideological encoding process over mugging, moral panic brought into the British culture by such figures. While enlarging the ideology, Doran claims that Hall et al, stay within the narrow limits of traditional social scientific concerns. They not only include only the press and expertises and new alternative counter definers but also exclude the multifunctioning official statistics which do not support the rising crime rate equation. Doran assumes that, by doing this, Hall et al, miss the chance of unearthing the same coding process in these statistics.

The choice of the imported word “mugging” and “the map” created by the media, made me think of the communication instruments in Turkey. Especially in the 90'ies but also during the following decade , it was almost forbidden for the journalists, reporters to write or say “Abdullah Öcalan”. Instead, they had chose “Bebek Katili” or “Bölücübaşı”, not just the “the Leader of PKK” or even “Terrorist”. Considering the power of such words to trigger fear, it is almost obvious that such choices are not very innocent. Moreover, it is also made me think of the success of Fox Main News Bulletin and Fatih Portakal. When I interviewed Portakal, he said that his sincerity was the source of his success. He said: “I report the news as if they were stories, with specific examples from the past. I report as if I was talking to my friends.” I cannot say that this is a construction on purpose to manipulate people or not, though I do not think so, considering the ratings, it is for sure that he is very good at making people really “understand” mundane issues.

Consequently, we can say that Doran criticizes the way Hall et al, approach the issue and the way they put it on paper. Excluding the alternatives, especially the alternatives counter definers, indicates the risks of rewriting the source taken from the media, whose main

source is again, the social authorities. Thus, indirectly doing the same thing you criticize. Moreover, as the media establishes a map of the signifiers, Doran suggests that Hall et al, put forth a similar construction. In *Policing the Crisis*, Hall et al, claim that the media translates and mediates the primary definers' sources into the news, consisting of the internationally chosen words. On the other hand, Hall et al, translate such "criminal" events, though in order to criticize, through the same words which are the product of accredited ideologies into his work, in a theoretical frame.

Because of the matters mentioned above, Doran feels the urge to warn the critical criminalists not to import *Policing the Crisis* without an intensive critical reading. This study and what it claims are quite important because the imports without any investigation affects the whole culture in a negative way, just like seen in the mugging case. However, Hall et al, himself clearly declared in 2012 that his and his friends' work *Policing the Crisis* is beneficial for understanding the decade it was written and comprehending the difference between the 70's and the decade you live in. Nevertheless, a number of topics Doran mentions deserves to be drawing attention. However, it should also be said that even though he states that this was only the first part of his studies, the fact that Doran's work's being quite a short one, leaves blank spaces behind.

3.1 UNDERSTANDING MEDIA AND MORAL PANIC

Once Kenneth Thompson has elaborated on the importance of studying moral panic by saying that "this by all means is the age of the moral panic." In her highly acclaimed book *Moral Panics* (1998), Thompson illustrates and makes comparison among diverse different approaches that have been studied in the context of moral panics. While doing this, Thompson also points out and mirrors increasing number of moral panics in recent years and that's why calls the period we live in as the age of moral panic.

With almost all of its assets the mass media has continually showed up new moral panic cases. To name some of them, radio broadcasting of the issue, television mirroring moral panic, newspapers' headlines focusing on moral panics are just tip of the iceberg. Although it has gained a substantial popularity lately, moral panic is not something new. Almost more

than over a century, more and more moral panics over crime, diseases, outsiders, young minds, etc. have been illustrated and seen as bearing potential threats, terror or fear to settled, core values within the society.

To illustrate some examples of the first moral panics in history, Kenneth Thompson in her book gives examples of jazz and rock n roll music. To her, first of all, jazz and rock n roll music were stated as causing antisocial behaviours among the youth. After that, in 1950s hanging out and chilling youth in coffee bars were presented as having potential to cause moral panic in community. In the years of 1960s, the “sexual permissiveness” was presented as bearing a subverting effect and so having a threat on established, core family values in the society, because of this approach towards feminists, they were seen as being bra-burners who could subvert family life values. In 70s, there was the frame of young black mugger that was at the centre of moral panic (Thompson, 1998).

As a matter of fact, it would be wrong to associate all moral panics with old ones. Since they are prone to change, in each decade, every moral panic has its own distinctive pattern along with some common accepted features. One of the reason of this rapid change of moral panic is that once a moral panic is over, another one can flourish and take place in the society. And most importantly anything can be a reason for moral panic in a community. Unlike former moral panics mainly attached with a single group in the society, here to name; the youth, in this new era any social group in the society can be associated with moral panic. In modern world, any even can cause a moral panic in the society and so many people may be at the centre of it. For instance, moral panic rises around sexually abusing of children rises questions about the family institution, family values, relationship between children and fathers, masculinity and the role of father in the family. As an asset seen more and more in this millennium, societies and communities are prone to outbreaks of moral panics.

To understand and absorb the term moral panic phenomenon, it is important to concentrate on some numbers of points related to them. To begin with, moral panics are formed as campaigns (crusades) that are initiated in time no matter in a short or a long time. Next, people who are more fragile to social and cultural breakdowns can be affected by them easily, and this puts them in a higher risk. That moral guidelines are not supposed to be clear all the time (Thompson, 1998). Additionally, the media’s and powerful groups’ participation in starting campaigns over ending that coming threat is also another point to be stressed.

Actual reasons of these threats and breakdowns within the society are also to be subverted and disoriented by some groups in the society. A detailed outline of the long history of moral panics and some of the most famous, classic examples of moral panics will be illustrated in the following chapters.

While framing some of the first cases of moral panics, I have encountered with one that evolved around sexual immorality within the society. As I have stated in the previous parts of the thesis, sex oriented moral panics are among the most used ones. Unlike other moral panics, sex based one causes rising of many questions in the society and most of them are controversial. Again back to moral panic based on sexually abuse, such a sexual immorality is seen as a primary threat to family value in the society. As a feature attached with private sphere, sexual immorality in the society has occasionally associated with the youth and they are labelled as a threat to settled family institution and its values. Claimed in *The Observer* on October 27th, 1996:

The moral panic about sex existed in tandem with an equally powerful fear of the “hooligan” or “yob” lurking on every street corner.

...

each generation has found a common theme of “moral and physical deterioration”, blamed on the breakdown of traditional bonds within the family.

Getting from the statements above, it has once more pointed out that in each culture, every generation has experienced a shared common sense over moral and physical breakdown in the context of family values in the society. It has also claimed that a threat, terror or fear can be lurked at every corner of the society. Young minds have always been at the centre of most of these social breakdowns.

Media’s naming, presenting moral panics is a significant point to be dwelled on. As seen above, the mass media has a tendency to name and show one moral issue after another one. Since moral panics are discourses presented in public sphere, their level of effect has a great power as well. Being a part of culture within the society, the media’ influence over spreading moral panics one to be elaborated in details. In that sense, the mass media with all sections of it are open to market pressure, and so shaping and diverting their discourses and contents accordingly. To boost up their figures of sale, they have a tendency to form their publishing

according to political, social, economic, etc. concerns. In this perspective, framing of moral panics by the mass media has an enormous role in understanding relation between the media and moral panics.

Speaking of the concept of moral panic and its first usage, it was Jock Young, a prominent British sociologist in his time, who first used the term while studying drug taking and its effects in the society (Thompson, 1998). It would not be wrong to state that thanks to Young we have introduced with the concept of moral panic. Yet, it should be emphasized that it is Stanley Cohen who has a significant role in developing and spreading of the moral panic. Since its first usage in 1971 by Young, the concept “moral panic” has proved its vital position in many fields especially in social sciences. To illustrate some of them; media studies, cultural studies, sociology, criminology, etc. However, moral panics should not be limited to just these fields, its effect over diverse spectrums of life can be detected easily.

Emphasizing Young’s reference to the term moral panic. While he was focusing on anxieties and concerns based on drug taking, he observed such concerns has reached to an alarming level in the society. As a result of this study, he came up with a reference to the term “moral panic”. According to him, establishment of a department mainly dealing with drug using/taking was off the ground because of these concerns in the society. As a result of the establishment of a department and anxieties over drug taking, many were being arrested (Young, 1971).

As a comment stated by Thompson over Young’s handling the problem and introducing the concept “moral panic”;

The interesting point about this statement is that it highlights the “spiral effect” produced by the interaction of the media, public opinion, interest groups and the authorities, which gives rise to the phenomenon which has become known as a moral panic. (Thompson, 1998).

In the comment claimed above, there is a significant point attached to moral panic. It is “spiral effect”. This term will be introduced and discussed in detail in the following chapters of the thesis, but basically, spiral effect is a combination of different spectrums coming together and in a sense participate in creation of the moral panics. Diverse groups would help

to rise the phenomenon, moral panic. Some of them are communication tools especially the media, the public, authorities within a society, interest groups, etc. With gathering of these groups, moral panics may gain a great power and seal their influence over various parts of the society.

Using of the concept for the first time was by Jock Young, but as I have stated above, its credibility as a concept, development and commonly usage of the concept was introduced by Young's colleague Stanley Cohen. In one of the first classic example of moral panic, Mods and Rockers, Cohen has emphasized that:

Societies appear to be subject, every now and then, to periods of moral panic. A condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media; the moral barricades are manned by editors, bishops, politicians and other right thinking people.

...

(Cohen, 2011).

Cohen has emphasized the effects of the media, the public and other authorities within the society on the concept, moral panic. As a classic example of moral panic disturbing Britain, Mods and Rockers has been studied in detail in the chapter called "Framing of the classic moral panic: Mods and Rockers".

Cohen has elaborated on the issue as; any society, at any time, can be on the centre of social and cultural changes resulting from moral panics. In this sense, he also claimed that any condition, episode, a group of people can be seen as a threat to settled values and codes within the society. The mass media's naming and presented the issue was also being stressed. According to Cohen, it is the mass media that takes the subject and presents it in a way to triggers core values within the society. However, other figures in the society contribute to spreading of the moral panic as well.

Groups in the society along with their help to present moral panic, may come up with solutions to the problem. Subject of moral panic can be something new or something that

already existed in the society. Again, some moral panics can be forgotten totally except in collective memory, yet in some cases, the moral panic may be a serious one and so lasts for a long of time. That's why, this kind of moral panic might cause significant changes in the society.

When studying Stanley Cohen's version of the moral panic, I have come across with some key elements in moral panic in Cohen's statements on the issue. These key elements can be pointed out as:

- Any time, any where a person or a thing can be seen as a threat to core values in a society.
- The mass media portrays this threat in an easily detectable way
- There is an incredible rise of public awareness over issue
- Some solutions or a great deal of reaction is expressed by the public, claim makers and authorities in the society.
- The so-called panic can steer back or cause social changes, instead.

As mentioned above, moral panic is a term suggesting a threat, fear to settled, fundamental values in the society. Why we call it "moral" is because its indication of the threat is not a mundane one, instead it is a threat or a fear to the social order or settled core values in the society. This kind of threat and its perpetrators are defined as "folk devils" by Stanley Cohen.

Societies that are in turbulence or in crisis are more likely to experience such threats in their societies. Because of such crisis or turbulence in the society, moral panics give rise changes in th society and so these are resulting in extreme stress, anxiety and concern within the society. At the time of moral panics, societies may demand some social regulations or legislations to control these panics, and in most cases they also demand to have their traditional, settled values. What about those who demand such regulations in the society, these are the mass media, authorities, claim makers, politicians, pressure groups, police, etc. Tolerance against such social changes varies significantly from persons to social groups. Drives of these pressure groups in generating and spreading moral panics are also an important point to be stressed out. One of the basic drive is that, especially in a sense of

newspapers and journalism, they believe that what they know is true and so try to manipulate the rest accordingly. Thompson put a great attention on this by explaining that when trying to research about a moral panic, one first should get perceptions of those involved along with their motives and values. The second one is to understand why and how such moral panic is initiated and improved.

Many different features of moral panics have been expressed by different figures especially in social sciences. Amongst these numerous characteristics of moral panics, two of them are widely recognized and an agreement about them have been achieved. These are *concern* and *hostility*. There should be a great level of *concern* on behaviour of many social groups or people in the society, and also it is supposed to be a high level of *hostility* against a group or person perceived as a threat in the society. Despite of the fact that *hostility* and *concern* have been highly stressed out, the other characteristics of moral panic should be emphasized as well. These are *volatility* and *disproportionality*. “Volatility” can be defined as moral panics are possible to be seen suddenly and presumably short-lived. In this sense, it looks like some forms of collective behaviours such as trends, fears, etc. (Thompson, 1998)

As Thompson has concentrated on “the level of feverish concern characteristic of the moral panic phase is not likely to last, even if the problem itself is of long standing.” Again to this feature of the moral panics, specifically reference to *volatility*. Even if the problem has lasted for a long time, its acute phase is not supposed to be at the same level, increases and decreases accordingly.

Reference to another characteristic of the moral panics, *disproportionality* has also been referred much. According to Goode and Ben-Yehuda;

“Disproportionality” refers to an implicit assumption on the part of some who use the term moral panic that the threat or danger is more substantial than is warranted by a realistic appraisal. (Goode and Ben-Yehuda, 1994).

There is an ongoing discussion over this criterion of moral panics. Some criticize the term as being ideological stated or loaded language, this criticism is mainly against Stuart Hall and his co-workers when they studied the moral panic about mugging in Britain. It is seen as a moral panic initiated by the elites to subvert attention from the problem with British

capitalism (Hall *et al.* 1978). Of course, we cannot be sure about the extent of the fear of threat. There is just a possibility about the threat. This is also the case in some future threats like the risk of artificial intelligence, of global warming, nuclear warfare, etc. Such threats or fears may not be fully calculated. In this perspective, exaggeration of figures, invention of statistics, posing a substantial fear or threat to a problem while it is not different from others at all, and also stating that a problem holds a great fear or threat at a specific time whereas it does hold the same level of threat any time can be suggested as some of the indicators of the criterion *disproportionality* (Goode and Ben-Yehuda, 1994). In spite of all these indicators, of course we cannot talk about a clear-cut of indicators of moral panics. There has been various judgements over the term.

All in all, there is a justly accepted sense over what initiates moral panic. Seen in almost any moral panic cases, anxiety in public has been created and accelerated by the mass media, the media's attendance in promoting anxiety, fear in the society is undeniable. In this sense, the media takes events and portrays them as bearing a great moral malaise and so results in moral disintegration within the society.

In this globally changing and developing universe, diverse outbreaks of moral panics take place within different societies at different times across universe. This swift winds of social and cultural changes help increasing of pluralism in the society. This cultural and social pluralism result in numerous value debates between various social groups that turns into a moral enterprise to make use of their social groups values and defend their values over other social groups within the society. Such debates and enterprises are taking place in the public sphere and so the media's role in articulating and evaluating these threats or fears of groups holds a great importance. Thanks to contributions of the media, these social groups get a chance to influence great number of people in the society and thus initiate a moral enterprise to demand social change. Besides, there are a number of claim makers and interest groups who have roles in holding up these demands.

Public concern has a paramount role in this sense. The level of public concern about a claimed moral panic in a society may increase or decrease level of so-called anxiety over fears and threats. Known as a feature of modern societies, public concern is stated as "politics of social problems" or as "socially constructed". To elaborate on the issue, sociologists have claimed distinctions between "objectivist" and "constructionist" perspectives of social

problems. As for the objectivist perspective, it is accepted there is a problem that may cause distortion and harm to a great part of the society. In case of such possible threats and harm to the society, investigation of the problems and suggestion of solutions is crucial. In other hand, in constructionist perspective, focus is on why and how these situations are stated as a problem. There is a discussion over the reality of a problem in this view.

Another point to be focused in the context of the media and moral panics is role of moral crusaders/entrepreneurs. Moral entrepreneurs define individuals, social groups or some behaviours as deviant and criminal acts. To sociologist, Howard Becker, the public is occasionally provoked via the media by attempts of these moral crusaders or entrepreneurs who are trying to increase public awareness through the mass media and by guiding social movements to put a pressure on the authorities to settle down moral and social regulations in the society. Taking of the usage of the mass media by moral entrepreneurs is one of the key point to be stressed out here. Participation of the media brings pressures on organizations, governments and authorities to make efforts to regulate social and moral control in a community.

Since moral panics can be seen in almost every culture across the globe, their influence over each other is also inevitable. While some cultures import moral panics from another culture with exactly same features, some have their own distinctive panics. Some cultures are also much more associated with moral panics, they face with them regularly. Britain is one of these countries. On influence of moral panics theory in Britain, a lot has been said. Jenkins has elaborated on this side of Britain by focusing on some contextual factors like socio-economic and political trends in Britain. To him, some of these trends are gay rights/politics, feminism, immigration, decline of the family values, etc. Along with these trends in Britain, the overwhelming readership of national tabloid press is also holding a vital role in growth of moral panics there.

On the whole, the mass media has a tendency to “reproduce the definitions of the powerful” (Hall *et al.* 1978); he goes on claiming the media “faithfully and impartially... reproduce symbolically the existing structure of power in society’s institutional order”. The media initiates moral panics by boosting up fears about breakdowns in social, cultural and economic order. In such cases, the media tend to define a group as deviant and so directs its attention on it by excluding everything beyond it.

In her widely known book, *Media and Crime*, Yvonne Jenkins presents relationship between media and moral panic by stating as “an understanding of moral panic counts on a working knowledge of the production practices of the media”. With regard to this interaction of the media and moral panic, the media plays a vital role. It has a crucial role in naming, reporting, reflecting and orchestrating issues. The mass media is regularly taking place in the society, yet having a role at the time of crisis is especially very critical. When considering the inevitable relationship between the media and moral panic, this thesis has been devoted to getting a broad understanding of the role of the mass media in naming, presenting and spreading moral panics, deviants and folk devils.

3.1.1 MEDIA EFFECTS

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a picture of persistent discussion over the mass media and its influence over diverse spectrums in a society. Since the mass media’s participation in creating and spreading moral panics is widely accepted and studied relatively, the relationship between the media and its production and framing of deviant behaviours, labelling “outsiders” is also being concentrated in this chapter. On the whole, to what extent does the media frame come up with mainly negative effects in the society? And so effect audience. There is an academic study field mainly dealing with this feature of the media, it is called “*effect research*”. As for effect research, there are two key points: *behaviourism* and *mass society theory*. Even though these two key points of media effects belong to different disciplines, psychology and sociology, there is a common belief that pays attention to unsteady and susceptible features of human nature against outer impacts. In this sense, in this chapter, briefly I paid attention on how behaviourism and mass society theory bring about the idea that media frames/images are seen in charge of deteriorate moral codes and values, bringing down common values and subverting young minds.

With the arrival and development of the modern communication technologies and media industry, the society is becoming more and more vulnerable to the media industry’s outputs. Yvonne Jewkes directs her attention on this effect of the media industry by saying that:

The arrival and growth of film, television, computer technologies and social media, have served to intensify public anxieties but there are few crime waves which are genuinely new phenomena, despite the media's efforts to present them as such.

(Jewkes,
2005).

In this point of view, the term "common sense" is also emphasized. It is said that because of "common sense" in a society, the society has become to a great degree characterized by violence, crimes and deviance. This "common sense" is an output of arrival and development of the mass media. (Jewkes, 2005).

As negative attributions related to this ever-growing media industry and communication technologies, literate culture is slowing down replacing with popular culture. Qualities like critical thinking, sense of evaluating issues have been replaced by a visual popular culture that directly affects the youth and put mediated frames into their minds without critical thinking or evaluation.

A theory that emerged towards at the end of the last phase of the 19th century, mass society theory refers to a group of people who are labelled as "masses" or "common people". They have been criticized by being irrational and lack of critical thinking. Referring to them as being lack of individuality, these people have been claimed as not possessing moral and ethical values as well. In this sense, when talking about the role of the media in the mass society, we come to conclusion that emphasizing the media's participation in both helping people to sustain their well-being under hard situations and also its powerful force for taking control over individuals' minds and diverting them accordingly. (Jewkes, 2005).

As an psychologist approach stated by J.B.Watson, behaviourism is the other term that has been studied in the context of media effects. In this perspective, there is a relationship between the media and receivers, individuals. The mass media using most of its tools to inject information, opinions and values into receivers' minds, and so initiates an effect in their minds and directs them accordingly. Using its power for control minds, the media makes use of its "effect" to divert individuals' ideas, values, etc.

On power of the media and again as a concluding point to the “media effects”, Stuart Hall points out that:

If the media can be said to shape the public debate, to mould popular consciousness about issues, it is not only because they have become the major and most credible source of literal information about the world. It is because they also exercise the function of connecting discrete events with one another: they build or map events into larger, wider frameworks of meaning so that viewers come, not simply to know what is happening, but to construct from that knowledge picture of the world, scenarios of action.

Understanding from the excerpt taken from *Policing the Crisis* by Stuart all, the media effect on individuals, social groups and even to a wider degree, the world is substantial. Moulding public consciousness, connecting events with each other no matter how far these events are, constructing a wider picture of the world, creating a dominance over societies are just some enormous assets of the media.

3.2 THEORIZING MORAL PANIC

This thesis has focused on the media’s role in producing, naming and spreading threats, fears and concerns of the public on the basis of moral panic. The social and political implications of the phenomenon and how the media play a central role will be also discussed by focusing on media coverage of refugee crisis in details. Yet, to understand and get a broad meaning of the phenomenon, first of all, I will provide a particular analysis of the moral panic.

Moral panics are stated as “a condition, episode, person, or group of persons who become defined as a threat to societal values and interests.” As a widely studied term, moral panics has become as a central term in academic studies of the mass media, threats, deviance, crime, etc. Moral panics are also defined as political and public reactions to minorities or demonized

persons or groups who are seen as having potential threats to settled values and codes of the society. In this point, the media has a central role in defining a group or an act as bearing potential threat and so need to be excluded from anything in the society. Even though the phenomenon “moral panic” was first used in British sociology in the 1970s by Stanley Cohen with the printing of *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers*, it was Jock Young who first used the term. The very first usage of the concept was by Young, but it is Stanley Cohen who has popularized the term and provided a systematic study of the term. Popularity of the term is achieved thanks to the empirical studies of Cohen and his colleagues based on the concept. Since the phenomenon was introduced, the concept of moral panics have been studied, improved and criticized to a great degree accordingly. While there have been numerous studies on the concept of moral panics and their interactions with the media, the concept has also widely studied in criminology. A general review of the moral panics will be provided in this chapter as well. In spite of the fact that studying of moral panics counts on working knowledge of the media practices and their productions, some university degree studies are also paying attention to the mass media’s power in defining and spreading deviance behaviours that may cause a collective panic within the society. As I have stated above, the phenomenon was first used by Young, however, its conceptualization and popularization has happened thanks to efforts by Stanley Cohen, Stuart Hall and of course Jock Young.

Background and traditional features attached to moral panics will also be mentioned in this chapter of the thesis. Mentioned in the previous parts, moral panics about young minds and the youth have always been paid a great attention. The youth is seen as a possible threat to established core values in the society. While there has been an ongoing moral panic model attributed to the young minds in many societies, there are also many paradoxes and confusions in the case of the youth and young minds in the communities.

Referencing to Stanley Cohen, in his widely-known book, he drives his attention on the concept of moral panic opening his book by his much-quoted passage on the term:

Societies appear to be subject, every now and then, to periods of moral panic. A condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to be defined as a threat societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylised and stereotypical

fashion by the mass media; the moral barricades are manned by editors, bishops, politicians and other right-thinking people; socially accredited experts pronounce their diagnoses and solutions; ways of coping are evolved or (more often) resorted to; the condition then disappears, submerges or deteriorates and becomes more visible. Sometimes the object of the panic is quite novel and at other times it is something which has been in existence long enough, but suddenly appears in the limelight. Sometimes the panic passes over and is forgotten, except in folkrole and collective memory; at other times it has more serious and long-lasting repercussions and might produce such changes as those in legal and social policy or even in the way the society conceives itself.

(Cohen, 2002).

Mentioned by Cohen in the excerpt above, any society can be a subject to moral panics anytime, anywhere. Moral panics are initiated when an event, situation, group of persons or a person are thought to hold a threat against settled core values of the society. As Cohen stated this threat may not be always personalized like in cases of diseases, environmental concerns, etc.

In *Media and Crime*, Jewkes has pointed out five sorts of people who might be target of moral fury as;

- People that commit any anti-social and criminal acts (especially the youth, women)
- Those who commit significant sexual offences against children, violence against outsiders, etc.
- Individuals who do not follow up procedures in the workplace and so break these traditional codes of conduct, and as a result take part in strikes and actions.
- People who marginalize themselves by the way they are dressing. Defining themselves by dressing, these people are seen as go beyond traditional norms of the society. These people can be exemplified as rockers, punks, gothics, hippies, etc.
- Various groups of people who are defining and presenting themselves as not to adopt conservative, traditional values of the society. Those kind of people are also seen as unable to preserve settled core family values in the society. In history,

people with AIDS, homosexuals, lone mothers, those who are addicted to pornography and so keep downloading pornography from the internet are seen as instances to these groups of people.

Stated above, despite the fact that these groups of people are various, some different but connected elements have usually been dwelled on in the case of moral panics. These five defining elements of most moral panics will be mentioned in the following parts. Sealed in the title of this chapter, diverse but somehow interconnected theories are to be mentioned in detail to get a broad understanding of theorized moral panic. In spite of the fact that there have been many academics, scholars who have defined, theorized and studied moral panics in their studies to a great degree, there have been some of them who has stated that the concept of the moral panics should be abandoned as well. They problematized the concept and so suggested that this phenomenon should be quitted. In this perspective, I will try to focus on the cons and pros of the concept to a degree.

Defining elements of moral panics are to be stated as:

- Moral panics take place when the media get a simply typical event and mould, and show it as an extraordinary case.
- The media situate a scheme “deviancy amplification spiral”¹³ in which a moral discourse is adopted by newspapers, journalists, authorities, moral crusaders and moral entrepreneurs, etc. who portray deviant behaviours as threatening and as a origin of moral and social collapse.
- Then moral panics define the moral parameters of the society in that moral panics take place, originating agreement and anxiety.
- Moral panics have a tendency to take place at times of swift social and cultural changes, and this results in a great level of concerns and anxieties about risk.
- Being mentioned beforehand, it is usually the youth and young minds who are seen as possessing threats to society. In this sense, they have been targeted. Since

¹³ *The Deviancy Amplification Spiral* was originally formulated and developed by Leslie Wilkins in 1964. It is used for reporting of deviance in the framework of anticipation, symbolization, manipulation and exaggeration situates in a scheme of series of connected replies.

they are thought to be future of the society, a great importance is posed on their acts.

(Jewkes, 2015).

Dwelling on each of these defining parameters of moral panics, firstly, let's pay attention to how the media take an ordinary event and turn it into an extraordinary one. Before exemplifying this asset of the mass media, it is important to keep in mind that level of ordinary/extraordinariness of events affects the media coverage of the events, in this sense the mass media hold power to mould these events and present them accordingly. As an example to this feature of the mass media, in his book Cohen illustrates how some simple events occurring in the town of Clacton took media attention and so the media turned these mundane events into a level that gave rise to moral panic in the town. Cohen portrays this situation like:

Easter 1964 was worse than usual. It was cold and wet, and in fact Easter Sunday was the coldest for 80 years. The shopkeepers and stall owners were irritated by the lack of business and the young people had their own boredom and irritation tanned by rumours of cafe owners barmen refusing to serve some of them. A few groups started scuffling on the pavements and throwing Stones at each other. The Mods and Rockers factions – a division initially based on clothing and life styles, later rigidified, but at that time not fully established – started separating out. Those on bikes and scooters roared up and down, windows were broken, some beach huts were wrecked and one boy fired a starting pistol in the air. (Cohen, 2002).

Portrayed in detail by Cohen, in the beginning pleasant, British town Clacton was presented as a lovely, peaceful place at the time of Easter. However, then Cohen claims that few days after Easter were “unpleasant, oppressive and sometimes frightening”. As one of the classic moral panics, The Mods and Rockers will be stressed out in the following chapters. In this sense, the media's portrayal of the event is really important. Jewkes illustrates of these portrayals as: *Daily Telegraph* used a headline stated that “Day of Terror by Scooter Gangs”. In headline of *Daily Express*, we come across with “Youngsters Beat Up Town”. Seen in these examples of headlines, the media constantly have a tendency to use terms like “battle”, “riot”, “orgy of destruction”, “siege”, etc. to pay attention on innocent holiday makers who come to the town to spend a peaceful break, but instead they were showed as running from

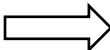
terror, fear initiated by the youngsters in the town. Since then the term “riot” has been often used by the media especially print media to cover any events including the young minds. (Jewkes, 2015).

In this perspective, we come across with term “newsworthy/iness” once again. In any case that the media see as a newsworthy case, the mass media produce moral panics according to their criteria of news values. Misinterpretation and dramatization of the events are primary elements in the context of meeting the criterion of turning a news event into a story. In the case of moral panics, predictability is also important for enabling the media a sense of what has happened will probably happen again. Even if that is not the case, the mass media use the story and take it to that level and so manufacture that effect by describing the story. Simplification is another process in that the media take a name and present it as bearing a much more complex ideas and emotions. For instance, in the case of Mods and Rockers, the vocabulary “mod” or “young minds” turns out to be symbolic of “deviant” and in this perspective the objects associated with them (especially hairstyle, ways of clothing, etc.) are stated as negative features attached to them. Because of such associations, the young minds are to be attached with any negative manner and emotion within the society. Cohen puts forward public and political responses to process as claiming that whereas the media have a tendency to associate deviance with mainly minority groups in the society and so condemn their behaviours and use of violence, the mass media also take that violence is a way for the police to deal with the deviance, problems in the society.

In history there have been diverse moral panics and it should be pointed out that each moral panic has its own moral entrepreneur/crusader. To illustrate, as Goode and Ben – Yehuda suggest the witch hunt in Europe in the 16th and 17th century is an example of moral entrepreneurs. In our contemporary, modern societies moral crusaders are pressure groups, the police, editors, journalists, etc. They come together to produce a “spiral of events” in that they pay attention to the deviance and deviants guides them to their criminal and marginal acts. In one version of the moral panics, there are some people who use the mass media to make moral statements about a group or a particular individual, act in the society and label them as bearing violence, threat, fear to the settled values in the society. In other words, in each society, there are some in power and these present minority groups as oppressive and so distort core values within the society. Those in power then come up with a “solution” to the problems and claim a punishment accordingly (Jewkes, 2015). In this time, such a labelling is

occurring mainly against refugee and asylum seekers. They have been labelled as holding a great threat to values of the society and if those in power do not take an action against them, fear, terror and distortion will be initiated in community. Using communication tools especially the media, target groups – in this example, immigrants- feel much more alienated, isolated within the society. In other words, besides actions of those in power, the media, pressure groups, politicians, etc. start to take part in labelling the deviants and so provide some actions to take against them. With the participation of different power groups in the society, these deviant acts take much more police attention and so result in arresting and more media coverage. That’s why, exactly at such a time, *the deviancy amplification spiral* by Wilkins takes place:

A person or a group of people become involved in acts presented as deviant. These behaviours labelled as deviant are to be controlled by power groups within the society.



The media take the event, name and present it according to journalistic “news values”.



Once the story takes the readers’ attention, there will be a competition among the media on creating the most striking story. In this sense, exaggeration, stereotyping and distortion might be initiated as doorstep to keep the attention and story alive.



And now a process called deviancy amplification is achieved. Rises in predicted or real deviance in the society result in a new status called “folk devils”, and these groups are seen as more like monsters the media have named, produced and presented.



Diverse replies are coming from numerous sources:

- Individuals in the society are calling for safe keeping elimination of the deviants. (levels of terror, fear, intolerance among the public are increased because of the media’ exaggerating and overblowing of the story.)
- As one of the power groups in the society, politicians dwell on the problem to gain a political advantage. In this perspective, they may initiate some legislations as well.
- The police answer to upcoming public and political calls by adopting policy of “zero tolerance” and so act accordingly.

The Deviancy Amplification Spiral model illustrated above was taken and developed from Wilkins. As stated in the spiral model, the media's coverage of the events could reach to a degree which may result in hysteria and paranoia within the society. Confronting with such a level of fear, terror, threat in their communities, people with a process mainly generated by power groups like governments, politicians, organization, the media etc. try to bound to and absorb their traditional values.

Focusing on the model above, the deviancy amplification spiral points out what will happen when a group within the society is outlawed. Just as negative responses increase and hence deviant groups are being much more excluded and so they get a tendency to be more criminally oriented. The deviancy spiral could last for weeks even months, yet the spiral never goes out of control because of several reasons. The media steer back from the event and pay attention to another story, after a period of time the folk devils may become familiar to the society and therefore they are no more perceived as a threat. In other ways, legislations and law enforcements taken against these threats may minimize or eliminate problems and so people are not severely affected. On the whole, while deviancy is mostly associated with the youth, in following weeks, years the deviant youth might stop, grow up and so keep going (Jewkes, 2015).

When elaborating on moral panics, defining moral boundaries and getting a consensus within the society are two of the key elements of the concept. In the case of naming, presenting an individual or a group of people labelling them as sources of the fear, threat, immediately after that process we come across with some divisions in the society; "us" – reasonable, moral, decent - against "them" – deviant, outsider, unwanted. Identifying the threat as a real one and the source of the threat is also obvious namely attached to a minority group does not always result in a common belief in the society, these kind of threats can be local as well. At this time, the role of the media is crucial as mainly printing media takes the case and presents it in a way that ends up in a consensus along with a condemnation of threatening acts of the minority groups.

In identification and addressing a community, especially national newspapers have a tendency to show a nostalgic, traditional way of presenting the issue, to a degree that implies "common sense should prevail". However, it should be kept in mind that things are much more different than they were used to be. Thus, new ways of handling situations are adopted

by different spectrums of the society. As communities and societies are keep changing and corrupting because of swift changes in conservative, traditional ways of living like a go-down in religious morality, declining of nuclear family, disintegration within the different layers of the society, etc. in this sense the media can be seen as enabling a role model for individuals in the society. Because of these changes and distortions in the society, pressure groups within the communities may come along with severe solutions to be granted against threats in the society. Mindblowing advancements in communication bring about a notion, feeling and reality that a deviant, pervert who is waiting to find someone prey on is behind every keyboard. Again back to a mostly used association, demonization, isolation and criminalization of the young minds give rise to a notion called “troublesome youth”.

At the time of moral panics, as I have mentioned in the deviancy amplification spiral above, there are some of the pressure groups like politicians and opinion leaders who are taking advantage of this time of terror and fear to gain a political favour. These pressure groups gain such a favour with the help of the media within the society. Taking a political place against this minority group/s and affecting media coverages of the events may ensure their political gain. Yvonne Jewkes draws attention on moral panics in this context by pointing out that:

“not only do moral panics draw together communities in a sense of collective outrage, but they actually make the core feel more complacent in the affirmation of their own morality”

(Jewkes, 2015).

That is to say, as I have dwelled on in the previous chapters, by defining what is “evil”, we affirm term “good”. With implication of “us”, we define what is “them, outsider”. One of the prominent figure emphasizing on moral panics, Durkheim states that conservative, traditional portrayals of moral panics draw attention to that they show limits to how much variety can be accepted in a community, and also they verify the authority of those who are making such statements.

As I have stated in the chapter called Risk Society, today’s modern communities are presented as “risk” societies where potential dangers against values of the society and also individuals and groups within the society have great effects in many spectrums within the

society. Goode and Ben-Yehuda have been emphasizing this feature of the societies by pointing out that events, problems that are holding a possible threat to communities become subject of moral panics when they directly influence lives of people in the society, however, problems that are thought to occur in future like possible nuclear war, shrinking of ozone layer, meteorite hitting the world, etc are not possible to be subjects of moral panics.

In today's postmodern societies, "media-inspired" and "consumer-driven" aspirations have begun to appear and crash into conservative, settled core values within the societies. This complex and full of paradoxical essence of today's world has been pointed out by Marshall Berman as:

To be modern is to find ourselves in an environment that promises us adventure, power, joy, growth, transformation of ourselves and the world – and, at the same time, that threatens to destroy everything we have, everything we know, everything we are ... modernity can be said to unite all mankind. But it is a paradoxical unity, a unity of disunity: it pours us all into a maelstrom of perpetual disintegration and renewal, of struggle and contradiction, of ambiguity and anguish. To be modern is to be a part of a universe in which, as Marx said, "all that is solid melts into air."

(Berman, 1983).

Emphasized above, changes and transformations within the world that we live in hold potential threats to almost every phases of our lives. We are to live in a world full with paradoxes, integration, disintegrations, contradictions, etc.

As one of the prominent figure in the society that moral panics are highly associated with, young minds, the youth have been blamed for initiating moral panics within the societies. As a distinctive group in the society, they are seen as the future, yet in this sense there are some concerns about this value associated with them. Within the society, there have been concerns about them as they are seen as unpredictable and unconventional. On the whole, in today's world, the youth are presented as symbolizing complexity and paradoxes of societies' swift changes and transformations. In this perspective, they have a role as a "catalyst" for alteration and protector of future morality. Jewkes emphasizes on this point by expressing that "at one

and the same time they represented all that was new, shiny and modern, and everything that was transitory, disposable and tacky.”

Are there any limitations of moral panics? If yes, what are they? Since communities we live in are prone to changes, theories, concepts, studies evolving around them are also open to change. Moral panics have been widely studied and criticized especially in academia, criminology and many social sciences. One of the limitations of the concept is that of its way of embracing and interpretation by generations of journalists, writers, scholars, etc. The concept itself is not problematized instead studying of the concept, handling of it have been criticized. The concept nature of holding different interpretations is one of the key point about it. Another shortcoming related to the concept can be about the deviancy amplification spiral. In this sense, everytime we cannot talk about a universal agreement about how long a public fury is to be stated to qualify panic. One problematic point about the deviance amplification spiral is that many times it is very fixed and deterministic and so make the term “deviancy” simpler, yet it should be noted that there are different levels of deviancy.

To be more precise, the concept moral panics present moral elements for societies in which acceptable behaviours and settled values are stated. Those who are going beyond these elements are to be called marginal and, as they are bearing possible threats to these moral elements, to be punished accordingly. On deviancy, Stuart Hall expresses that:

“the tendency is to deal with any problem, first by simplifying its causes, second by stigmatizing those involved, third by whipping up public feeling and fourth by stamping hard on it from above.”

(Hall, 1978).

Moral panics describe limits of how much diversity can be accepted within the communities. The way some people dress up and so define themselves by clothing may be seen as symbols of class distinctions and social disintegration within the societies. Those who are defining themselves through clothing and adopting a subculture style may not be accepted within the society and so labelled as having intentions of subverting core values of the society. In other words, there is an ongoing discussion over this aspect of each community. Some argue that in today’s postmodern, technology oriented, culturally disintegrated, blended

culture, diversity is both accepted and celebrated within culture. To illustrate, as an asset associated with subculture, street style is adopted by fashion industry and becomes a part of mainstream fashion industry. In this point, a “deviant” behaviour may be absorbed by mainstream parts of the society and then become a part of it, so lose negative connotations attached to it.

When studying moral panics, it is vital to concentrate on hegemony of the media and the essence of its relationship with diverse parameters in the society especiall those of power groups in it. As I have stated beforehand, those power groups within the society take advantages of moral panics, hence use this time of fear, threat, terror to gain an authority. On this aspect of moral panics and participation of different power groups, Jewkes has stressed out that:

Moral panics are essentially smokescreens put up by governments to cynically manipulate the media and public agendas. Some critics hang on to the belief that moral panics originate at a macro level and are engineered by a political and cultural elite as a deliberate and conscious effort to generate concern or fear which is actually misplaced.

(Jewkes, 2015).

While in excerpt above it is stated that moral panics begin at a macro level, there are others who state that moral panics originate at micro level. They hang on to belief that after initiation of moral panics at micro level, then these anxieties and concerns are explained by the media, pressure groups, politicians, etc. Lastly, with participation of these groups, a wider manifestation or explanation of moral panics are being initiated. (Jewkes, 2015).

As for the media attendance in initiating and presenting moral panics, there may be some unlucky consequences as well. For Jewkes and Wykes, one of these unlucky outcomes of the media’s emphasis on “cyber-paeds”¹⁴ is that it has contributed to make real world sexual

¹⁴ Yvonne Jewkes, Maggie Wykes, “Reconstructing the sexual abuse of children: ‘cyber-paeds’, panic and power, last accessed 25 May, 2018.

crimes invisible, chiefly those that take place in private sphere and family settings. In other hand, cyberspaces allow us to get new manners and represent old ones as holding new, substantial threats. (2012). Numerous cases have been broadcasted lately including the youth and sexting, cyber-bullying, revenge porn, etc. All these reported stories do have devastating outcomes for the people included.

Stuart Hall once has expressed that moral panics do cause a sudden and considerable effect not implying political and economic trends and their interactions to ideology and discourse. Yet, it should be noted that the media that have a substantial role in presenting moral panics do embrace political and sociological issues and reflect them in their spectrums. In this sense, we can say that Hall's study of moral panics especially in the case of mugging includes "dilemma" when comparing with his sayings above. With no doubt, moral panic studies are media-centric along with many other parameters involved.

On the whole, it can be stated that today's modern studies and researches evolving around the media are audience- centred rather than media-centred. That's why, the emphasis is on what people are going to do with the media, not on what the media are going to do with people. No matter how close or far sources of social problems are, if we just focus on the symptoms not the real reasons or long term effects of the problems, we will get just a superficial not detailed analysis of threats, deviance, so cannot come up with a solution. Again undoubtedly, creation of threats, deviance, moral panics is initiated to boost up newspapers sell. In this perspective, the media coverages of some issues are adopted accordingly. The media design their frameworks to shift the audience attention respectively. In Cohen's description of this aspect of the media, it has emphasized as "we are manipulated into taking some things too seriously and other things not seriously enough" (Jewkes, 2015).

When studying moral panics within a society, it is also important to concentrate on in what ways risk and morality are recognized within postmodern communities.

3.2.1 THE HISTORY AND MEANING OF THE CONCEPT "MORAL PANIC"

Firstly cited by Jock Young, the concept “moral panic” has been studied and elaborated on in detail by many academics, scholars, writers, etc. since then. To name some of them, Stanley Cohen has popularized the concept, Stuart Hall has directed many of his researches on the term respectively. Yvonne Jewkes makes a substantial contribution to understanding of the relationship between crime, media and moral panics, Goode and Ben-Yehuda provide us a fresh presentation of the concept and show us new ways of studying the term, etc. It was during the 1960s that the concept first came into ground. At this time of political and social turbulence, many dramatic changes have occurred within the social and political context. The concept of moral panic has emerged in such a atmosphere. One of the key feature attributed to the term is that it emerges out of essential shifts in social construction and culture. Due to such sudden and dramatic shifts occurring within the communities, we come across with the term moral disturbance. Conflicts and turbulences bring up issues of moral disturbance into practice. As well-known, moral panics emerge out of significant moral disturbances occurring in settled core values within the society. That moral disturbances trigger social and cultural changes in the communities and in some cases tough law enforcements and new ways of legislation are to be adopted. Young has elaborated on cultural conflicts and moral disturbances as:

“ ... on the one side, there is resistance, innovation and sometimes provocation; on the other, there is indignation and outrage. That, consequent on the notion of moral disturbance, there is a great deal of emotional energy involved on both sides.”

(Young, 2009).

He keeps elaborating on the phenomenon by expressing what takes place at times of moral disturbance and conflicts. According to him, at times of such cultural conflicts, the pressure groups, here it is the police, go after the deviant with a great enthusiasm, the media grow vigorously on the disagreement and so take the advantage of the conflicts, the public come behind the fury with zeal and the deviants are startled and time to time changed by the response initiated in the society.

Young emphasizes public anxieties and concerns about rising drug using in the society, these concerns have reached to an alarming level, because of this alarming condition occurring in the society, Young dwells on this point by saying that “the moral panic over drug-taking results in the setting-up of drug squads” (Young, 1971). In this perspective, many have been arrested due to increasing of drug users within the society. Here we come across with the participation of different pressure groups pointing out this problem. Focusing on Young’s saying above, we encounter with spiral effect initiated by the connectedness of the power groups like the media, the public, interest groups and authorities. Because of this interaction between these groups, they contribute to increasing of the concept known as moral panic. As stated above “spiral effect” is initiated by participation of diverse spectrums within the society, and so they give rise to social events to an upper level. First cited by Young, the phenomenon “moral panic” owns its popularity to Stanley Cohen who has systematically used and studied the concept in his works. Cohen makes use of the concept by focusing on the turbulences and disturbances initiated by the youth in Britain. In this sense, he has showed the reactions of the media, the public and other power groups that have a role in promoting these concerns in the society.

“... a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media; the moral barricades are manned by editors, bishops, politicians and other right-thinking people... Sometimes the subject of the panic is quite novel and other times it is something which has been in existence long enough, but suddenly appears in the limelight.”

(Cohen, 2002).

Expressed by Cohen, in the excerpt above interaction between the media and other pressure groups in the society has been illustrated. To be more precise, Cohen stresses out the role of the media as a prominent one since the media chiefly give rise to panics within the societies by using their diverse spectrums. He also pays attention to the subjects of the panics. According to him, moral panics can be about new cases within the society or situations that have existed in the society for a long time. Yet, these dormant situations may outbreak and produce panics in communities. On key parameters of moral panics, Cohen has paid attention to:

- Anyone or anything can be defined as holding threats to settled values and interests in the society.
- These threats are taken and presented by the media in an easily noticeable way.
- As a result of depiction of these threats by the media, there is a swift creation of public concern within the society.
- After interaction of the media and the public, we come across with the participation of authorities and claim-makers.
- Lastly, the panic initiated within the society would move back or cause social and cultural changes.

Another point to be dwelled on in this chapter is that why we call the concept “moral” panic. Thompson expresses this situation by saying that we call it moral because it is not showing the perceived threats as something earthly, instead these threats are against social order or some of idealized “ideological” forms of it. (Thompson, 1998). In further comments on this part of the concept, Cohen defines these perceived threats and those who are carrying out these acts as “folk devils”. A broad analysis of the term “folk devils” has been focused on in the following chapters.

Diverse writers, scholars, theorists have explained different characteristics of the phenomenon, moral panics. Each one has directed his/her attention on specific elements of the concept. Yet, in this thesis, I have directed my attention on understanding of the concept thoroughly and so studying it accordingly. Some of the elements of moral panics that have been adopted by many theorists are *consensus*, *volatility*, *hostility concern* and *disproportionality*. In the following parts of the thesis, there is a chapter specifically dwelling on these characteristics of moral panics.

Karen Sternheimer defined moral panic as:

“a widespread fear that arises which is dramatically out of proportion with the actual threat. The fear is often accompanied by emotional demands that something be done to stop it in order to preserve the basic morals of a society.”

(Sternheimer, 2015).

By its definition, It can be said that Sternheimer is on the same track with many other figures focusing on the concept. Specifically, she pays attention to outbreak of emotions at the time of widespread fear within the society. She also explains that it is necessary to do something for stopping it and so protect settled core values in the society. As two of primary figures emphasizing on the concept, Goode and Ben-Yehuda explain a moral panic as:

“a strong, widespread (although not necessarily universal) fear or concern that evil doings are afoot, that certain enemies of society are trying to harm some or all of the rest of us.”

Again as can be seen in excerpt above by Goode and Ben-Yehuda, there are some common points in defining of moral panic. First of all, there is a widespread threat or fear within the society and this threat or fear is to distort established, core values and interests in the society. Unless any efforts to stop these threats and enemies within the society, they will try to harm basic morals of the society along with individuals in it. As a figure that has popularized and developed the concept, Stanley Cohen expresses anxieties and concerns about moral panic as “spreading social disease”.

Whereas a panic is particularly an emotional reaction, *moral* panic has elements of righteousness, covering cases like a clockwork going between good and evil. For instance, as common in America, massive school shootings where the young minds are killed are definitely seen as bad, immoral acts, and as a cause of these shootings, video games are blamed for harming and distorting moral judgements of the youth. Moral panics dwell on individuals, groups of people, or things that appear to harm and distort “the very moral fibre of society.” (Sternheimer, 2015).

Moral panics are highly related to pop culture. But there are some instances that do not fit in. Moral panics about immigrants can be seen as an exception. That’s why, panics should not be limited to pop culture. Some of the widespread fears and threats that took place in history were; Goode and Ben-Yehuda’s framing of witchcraft in Europe, drug taking and scares in America; other moral panics can be stated about pornography, AIDS, sexual abuse, satanic rituals, violence, etc. As seen in the examples, moral panics are not always made-up situations. (Sternheimer, 2015).

Again for Goode and Ben-Yehuda, moral panics “arise in troubled times, during which a serious threat is sensed to the interests or values of the society.” As a common belief shared by most of the academics, scholars, writers, theorists that are studying the concept, panics take place at times of social and cultural changes. Since individuals and the societies are more vulnerable at the time of these shifts, moral panics are more likely to happen within the society. When these threats and fears in the society are occurring, it is getting much easier to have a consensus among different spectrums of the society.

It is also important to note that over time moral panics have a tendency to change, flow back and move along. Along with swift social and cultural changes happening in the society, period of moral panics can be defined by a number of components. One of them is that communities experience a swift increase of participation of the media and pressure groups. Handling of the issues by the media and other power groups within the society then results in taking some measurements against possible threats and fears and this gives birth to what Cohen calls “folk devils”. Since folk devils are seen as holding a great amount of harm against settled core values of the societies, demands that request something to be done against them and so to protect basic morals of the society are highly stated by people and groups within societies.

Analyses dwelling on moral panics and the media’s participation in presenting them have gained new perspectives in this postmodern era. When comparing with traditional, classic forms of panics occurring in previous societies, new values are added to the concept “moral panics”. These new values attached to the concept and new perspectives on the phenomenon have been focused on in detail in previous chapters. We live in such a world that “the circulation of symbolic forms” and so “construction of cultural identities” has moved faster at a level that can be said “postmodern” pace. Once Beck has stated that we live in an extremely risk oriented society, thus the societies see themselves in a dilemma that brings up uncertainties, complexities of postmodernism. Because of these challenges occurring as a part of postmodernity, settled core values of the societies are determined by the notable forms of “ideological and cultural hegemony.” (Lull, 1997).

When talking or elaborating on moral panics, it is vital to concentrate on the media narrative since a great deal of moral panics is done through it. As a well-known fact that it is the media with all of their forms contribute to spreading of the panics. The media add a

popularity to some issues within the society and so these issues gain a wider attention and hence escalate their influence in the society. In this perspective we come along with a mediated public sphere within the community. When accepted morals and values within the public sphere are distorted and threatened, then we encounter with moral panics that are aimed to take a position against these deviant groups trying to subvert core values in the community and so, if necessary, calling for law enforcements and legislation in the culture.

James Lull and Stephen Hinerman express moral panic as “a reaction to an apparent social movement which generally and permanently threatens the stability of the dominant morality.” The power and hegemony of the established, common morality in the society are menaced by a reaction against settled social and cultural practices within the community. Another point about dominant morality of the society is that if the public believes that the settled, dominant moral codes of the community are to be distorted and violated by an individual or a group, a media scandal can be delivered out of this situation. And if such a violation is occurring because of a famous person or a group, the media scandal is inevitable. The media start to pay attention on the situation and cover it accordingly. The moral panics are seen to violate and subvert core moral structure of the society. The more people are participating in escalation of the panic, the more moral panics evolve and affect wider parts of the communities. As a result of such violation and distortion of dominant morality in the society and increasing levels of threats and fears within the societies, persons are to label people who are causing these threats and fears “deviants” and acts of them “deviancy”. When looking back in history, deviant trends have been achieved in the cases of pornography, AIDS, homosexuality, sex abuse, random violence especially against women, hatred against immigrants, etc. If any action seen as holding adequately deviancy and deviant is widespread within the society, then moral panics are likely to take place in these communities. Additionally, when thinking about moral panics, discourses of them point out that the moral baseline of the society is to be challenged. Throughout time, the media tendency to cover moral panics has also prone to change. In previous decades, the media has illustrated mainly common ideological and conventional forms of deviancy happening in the communities, however in the age of multimedia and contemporary postmodern societies, the media have gained new perspectives and dimensions. Ever-developing communication technologies varying from printing media to megabytes in cyberspaces hence form the media narrative, provide it to achieve a wider influence that is to be available across the globe and thus perceived by a great number of people thanks to multitude mass and micro technologies. As Lull and Hinerman have pointed out:

“following the church and the state, the media have become the third major player in the history of modern social influence, including the construction of moral discourses resulting from the intentional production” of moral panics.

(Lull and Hinerman, 1997).

3.2.1.1 Framing the Classic Moral Panic: MODS AND ROCKERS

One of the first examples of moral panics that has been systematically studied is *The Mods and Rockers*. In his debut book *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: Creation of Mods and Rockers* (2002), Stanley Cohen has studied a panic that has stunned the British in 1960s. The so-called moral panic occurred in Britain and it was attached to the youth in Britain during the time. In his book, Cohen has given us a sociological analysis of moral panics and so provided us a wide understanding of the panic. This moral panic about the youth is substantial in many ways since it combines many aspects of moral panics that have been focused on so far. In this study on The Mods and Rockers, we come across with a great social concern about the risk within the society. Besides, we get an exceptional example of the spiral by which the interaction among the mass media, claim makers and moral entrepreneurs have been illustrated perfectly. As an outcome of this spiral, the interaction between these groups have resulted in the construction of a discourse in that specific groups within the society are portrayed as threatening and as a source of moral decline in the society. The moral panic about the youth in Britain has gained a wide attention from different spectrums of the society, and especially the mass media have had headlines chiefly evolving around the case. Demonization and isolation of certain groups gave rise to threats and risks within the culture and this has elevated the British youth to the status of “folk devils”. As I have quoted in the previous chapters, Cohen has captured the elevation of the youth to folk devils level by describing events occurring in the small town Clacton.

Firstly, The Mods and Rockers have caused the public to get a consciousness about themselves not as an arrival of a new social type, instead as players in collective behaviour in

the culture. Turbulances and disturbances following the arrival of the youth have initiated in the seaside of the Britain. The demonized and isolated appearance of them has explained by the public as; “youths chasing across the beach, brandishing deckchairs over their heads, running along the pavements, riding on scooters or bikes down the streets, sleeping on the beaches and so on.” (Cohen, 2002).

In his “value added approach”, (As cited in (Cohen, 2002)). Neil Smelser have dwelled on the collective behaviour by suggesting determinants of it as follow:

- Structural conductiveness
- Structural strain
- Growth and spread of a generalized belief
- Precipitating factors
- Mobilization of the participants for action
- Operation of social control.

To elaborate on Smelser’s approach, structural conductiveness produces situations of freedom of behaviours in which collective behaviour is seen as authorized. Gathering together first two approaches gives rise to many instances of collective behaviour like violence, riots and panics. In the condition of the Mods and Rockers, gathering of these approaches has given rise to a panic influencing most of the spectrums within the culture. Growth and generalization of the beliefs has achieved thanks to the mass media. Without doubt, the media images and frames of certain events hold a great importance in studying of deviance and moral panics. The mass media is the key parameter in creating, presenting and spreading panics throughout the communities. After achieving and adopting of each approaches stated above, Smelser has concentrated on “operation of social control”. Once a situation has arrived and caused a collective behaviour, its extremity and duration has decided by the participation of power groups in social control. (Cohen, 2002).

While studying the Mods and Rockers, Cohen has suggested some phases in which incidents and events take place, he claims these phases as:

Warning: in this phase, there are some assumptions over conditions in which threat might rise from.

Threat: starting with the belief that some changes are going to occur within the society, this phase also stresses out the interactions between different groups in the culture.

Impact: in this episode, we come across with the effects of the events and replies from different figures in the society.

Inventory: here we get a picture of aftermath of the events, incidents and situations of people.

Rescue: this episode is stated especially for times of tough disasters. If a disaster occurs, power groups within the community take over the problem and try to provide solutions accordingly.

Remedy: after events affected diverse spectrums within the culture, a policy over providing solutions to these events are initiated in this phase.

Recovery: the culture along with all spectrums in it try to get used to the changes taking place as outcomes of social and cultural shifts. (Cohen, 2002).

It is clear that not all of these episodes are eligible for the Mods and Rockers, yet these are involving parameters that describes sequence of events at the times of incidents, especially disasters. In his book, Cohen portrays beginning, evolving and developing of moral panics by associating them with the Mods and Rockers phenomenon.

To be more precise, I want to provide a wide portrayal of the Mods and Rockers. From 1964 to 1965, in the seaside of the Britain, the young people came together and splitted into two different groups. At this time, we got labels stating “we-groups” and “they-groups”. Suggested in previous chapters, the media have a substantial role in creating and developing deviancy and crime within the communities. The media do this by labelling. Again as illustrated beforehand, moral entrepreneurs who are trying to preserve settled core values of the society use the mass media to put pressure on power groups in the culture to take some steps against these deviant behaviours. When they succeed in putting pressure on authorities and using the media, then they start to associate negative labels to these acts and in some cases call for legislation or law enforcements. Taking into consideration of all these steps of the moral entrepreneurs and usage of the media result in what we call “moral panic”. This exaggeration of reactions in the society to the problems is mainly accelerated by the media. Participation of the media, moral entrepreneurs, people elevates the panic to a more serious

level. Back to the Mods and Rockers, in the beginning of 1960s, printing media in Britain has portrayed this situation by claiming that two rival groups, Mods and Rockers, have taken part in puzzling turbulences and disturbances in a holiday area in Britain. The Mods have been portrayed by fashion and music, and also many of them were claimed riding scooters, the Mods were known by their cleancut outfits as well. Besides, they were stated with their taste in diverse music genres, too. As for the Rockers were portrayed as long-haired with black leather jackets motorbike gangs. Newspapers have portrayed them in their headlines claiming ; “Battle of Brighton”, “Wild Ones Beat Up Margate”. On the following days, the printing media went further and illustrated big stories pointing out importance of the situation. Some headlines were like: “Day of Terror by Scooter Groups” (*Daily Telegraph*)¹⁵, “Youngsters Beat Up Town- 97 Leather Jackets Arrests” (*Daily Express*)¹⁶, “Wild Ones Invade Seaside- 97 Arrests” (*Daily Mirror*).¹⁷

In his book, Cohen pays attention on the public reactions against the Mods and Rockers turbulences and disturbances by pointing out fury that the national media have illustrated. In newspapers, Mods and Rockers were portrayed with discourses like ; terror, tribe wars, wild ones, battlefield, rival gangs, clashes, etc. In the case of the Mods and Rockers, once more we come across with some distinctive parameters of the media while reporting incidents: *Distortion and exaggeration*; in Mods and Rockers the media constantly showed numbers, violence and damaged caused by acts of them, another parameter is *prediction* in which the media paid attention on coming threats, conflicts by stating they were on the horizon. *Symbolization* is another one in which the media took the symbols of the youth and portrayed them with negative labels, and so associated them with deviant behaviours. With the substantial interest of the media, the public concern has also arised and these two resulted in a number of responses. Surveillance culture has been accelerated by the pressure groups within the society, monitoring the youth by the police gave rise to more arrests. Since polarization among the young people was getting wider and wider, the youth started to pick out a group and so defined themselves in this perspective. As in the context of the Mods and Rockers, the

¹⁵ <http://www.bbc.com/culture/story/20140515-when-two-tribes-went-to-war>, last accessed May 31, 2018.

¹⁶ See <http://www.bbc.com/culture/story/20140515-when-two-tribes-went-to-war>

¹⁷ See <http://www.bbc.com/culture/story/20140515-when-two-tribes-went-to-war>

youth used labels like “we-group” and “they-group”. By this, they isolated and demonized the “other”.

Defining themselves with their distinctive style, the Mods and Rockers immediately gained interest and attention from different layers of the British society. As sensational disturbances caused by the young ones in the society, the mass media especially printing media and tabloid newspapers arranged their headlines around the case that stunned the country. BBC broadcasted the situation as “two tribes go to war”. The media all over the country started to dwell on this changing face of the youth subculture: The Mods and Rockers. Due to puzzling effects they initiated within the society, the culture that they have lived within stunned with diverse layers of it. “the tribe wars” between Mods and Rockers faded away through time but their styles had affected the youth since then. The patterns they had set within the culture would keep affecting the following generations. These patterns of turbulences caused by the young ones are: “in 1960s Skinheads versus Hippies, in 1970s Punks vs. Teds, in 1980s frightening look of a Mohawk punk.”¹⁸

The riots, incidents happening at the beginning of 1960s were a good example of what Jock Young called “moral panic”. These events, to some extent, gave rise to the presentation and development of the term. Young took instances of these turbulences caused by the Mods and Rockers and as a prominent sociologist of his time used them to cite moral panics. In the following years, Young’s colleague Stanley Cohen has taken the concept and elevated it to another level. As for Cohen, all these threats and turbulences by The Mods and Rockers gave a way to him to write down a ground-breaking work mainly focusing on the phenomenon. Cohen has written *Folk Devils and Moral Panics* in this perspective. Referring to the concept, he has given a broad explanation of the term, Cohen summarizes the concept simply as ; a situation, a person, a group, an occasion come out to bear a threat to established, core values and interests of the community, its essence is illustrated in diverse ways by the mass media. Moral barriers are operated, solutions are formulated by authorities, and the occasion goes away or is successfully cope with.

Cohen has expressed that “one of the most recurrent types of moral panic in Britain since the war has been associated with the emergence of various forms of youth culture.” (Cohen,

¹⁸ <http://www.bbc.com/culture/story/20140515-when-two-tribes-went-to-war>

2002). Like Cohen's perception of the youth, in many communities across the globe young minds are seen as threatening and as reasons for distorting and subverting core moral barriers within the culture. That's why, we encounter with many moral panics focusing on the youth. In a sense, people in the society project their fears onto "other" group, chiefly young people, and so demonize them accordingly. In the case of the Mods and Rockers, we once more come across with the projections of diverse fears, threats and terror onto the youth by different pressure groups within the British society. Being one of the first examples of moral panic, The Mods and Rockers have been widely studied and focused on.

3.2.2 The Background to the Moral Panic

Referring to *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: Creation of Mods and Rockers* (2002), Cohen starts his debut book with a much-quoted paragraph by dwelling on conditions, episodes in which moral panics are likely to take place. According to him, throughout time communities can be subject to episodes of moral panic. He emphasizes moral panic as a situation, a person, a group of people, an occasion appear to hold a threat to settled, moral barriers and interests of the society. These threats are to be illustrated by the mass media and authorities in many ways. The media may adopt a stylised or a stereotypical approach for portraying it. The core moral barriers are operated and so solutions are formulated by the pressure groups within the culture. Right after presentation of diverse solutions by authorities, the occasion may fade away and then vanish or turn out to be more visible. From time to time, objects of moral panics can be original, fresh one or something that already existed within the community, and then all of a sudden comes out under spotlights. Occasionally, moral panics are to be forgotten, yet in some cases they have so long-lasting effects in the society that diverse law enforcements and legislation need to be adopted against them. Whether they are short-termed or long, moral panics stay in our collective memory. (Cohen, 2002). Cohen has also emphasized that disturbances and threats may not be always personalized like cases of natural disasters, illnesses, etc.

Jewkes has dwelled on five sorts of people who might be target of moral fury and so taking part in creation of moral panics as;

- People that carry out any anti-social and criminal acts (especially the youth, immigrants, women)
- Those who engage in substantial sexual offences against children, violence against outsiders, etc.
- Individuals who do not stick to parameters and procedures in the workplace and so break these traditional codes of conduct, and as a result engage in strikes and actions.
- People who are defining themselves by adopting a different way of dressing. Marginalizing themselves by dressing, these people are depicted as go beyond traditional norms of the society. These people can be exemplified as rockers, punks, gothics, hippies, etc.
- Diverse groups of people who are labelling and showing themselves as not to adopt conservative, traditional values of the society. Those kind of people are also seen as unable to adopt settled core family values in the society. In history, people with AIDS, homosexuals, lone mothers, those who are addicted to pornography and so keep downloading pornography from the internet are seen as examples to these groups of people. (Jewkes, 2015).

Pointed out by Jewkes, even though there are numerous groups of people, ranging from each other substantially, some dissimilar yet connected parameters have always been emphasized in the case of moral panics. To concentrate on the background of moral panics, it is crucial to describe five defining parameters of moral panics. Sealed in the title of subheading, there must be some conditions to initiate and spread moral panics, yet in some cases even if these conditions are available, moral panics may not occur. In this perspective, defining elements of moral panics should be stressed out clearly.

Again in her widely acclaimed book, *Media and Crime*, Jewkes has manifested these parameters as:

- Moral panics come about when the media hold a merely typical condition and mould, and illustrate it as an extraordinary case.

- The media hold a scheme “deviancy amplification spiral”¹⁹ in which a moral debate is embraced by pressure groups like newspapers, journalists, authorities, moral crusaders and moral entrepreneurs, etc. and these power groups depict deviant acts as threatening and as a core of moral, social and cultural collapse.
- After that moral panics illustrate the moral barriers of the community in that they happen, producing agreement and anxiety.
- Moral panics are likely to take place at times of swift cultural and social changes, giving rise to a great amount of concerns and anxieties about risk.
- Young people have always been at the centre of moral panics, defined as holding threats to settled core values of the society. Besides, they are seen as unable to adopt these core parameters of the culture. Because they are depicted as the future of the community, a great importance is attributed to their acts. (Jewkes, 2015)

By illustrating key defining parameters of moral panics and targeted person, groups or condition that are seen as sources of moral concerns within the society, I want to depict a picture of background of moral panics. It should be noted that neither existence of these targeted groups within the society nor absence of them guarantee a moral panic. Any episode called moral panic requires interactions and participation of diverse spectrums in the culture

CHAPTER 4: MORAL PANIC AND ITS TERMS

Emphasized many times by various figures in academia, many scholars and writers, communities, from time to time, every now and then are grasped tightly by moral panics. During these times, the acts and discourses of some of the representatives of a society are considered to be so troublesome to the others, the terror, fear and disturbances they cause, or are considered to do, is thought to be so damaging to the essence and structure of the body culture and social, that significant measures will have to be adopted to take the control of the acts, penalize those who carry out a harmful or immoral act, and fix up the harm. The terror, disturbance and threat the evil acts seemingly lead to is seen to constitute a crisis fort hat

¹⁹ See Leslie Wilkins (1964)

community: something have to be initiated to stop these evil acts, and these steps must be taken now without any delay; if these measurements are not adopted as soon as possible, or in a short time in future, the community along with all components of it will be afflicted by much more serious outcomes. The attitude initiated or boosted up by these threats and disturbances may be made a reference to as a sort of turmoil; “it can be characterized by heightened emotion, fear, dread, anxiety, hostility and a strong feeling of righteousness.” A person, a group, an episode or a category generate, or is thought to initiate, an inappropriate, immoral act, seemingly gives rise to or is considered to be in charge of substantial damaging outcomes, and that’s why is thought as posing serious threats and terror to the welfare, core morals, and values of the community apparently terrorized by them. Those who commit serious harmful acts against core morals of the society, “perpetrators”, or assumed ones are to be evaluated as enemy of the community. “Folk devils” (Cohen, 2002), “deviants, outsiders, legitimate and deserving targets of self-righteous anger, hostility, and punishment.” (Goode and Ben-Yehuda, 1994).

So, in this perspective, moral panics are distinguished by the perception, shared by a great number of the members of the culture, which deviants, folk devils hold a great amount of threats to the basics of the society and to the moral barrier of the culture. Thus, something immediately should be done against these perceived terror and turbulences caused by the deviants. Their acts must be taken under control to not generate any other deviant act again. In this sense, that “something” particularly necessitates reinforcing “the social control apparatus of the community”, stronger or modernized regulations, much more public aggressiveness and disapproval, tougher law enforcement and legislation, control of more pressure groups like the police, over the society and much more arrestments, etc. When the communities are becoming more and more careless about the morals of the community they live in, re-establishment of conventional moral standards might be compulsory. Hence, at times of victimization and segregation of the innocent may provide opportunities for the offenders to manipulate them and so possessing an ultimate power over the components of the society. In addition to this point of view, the societies should be careful about their members, particularly the young ones, who are morally weak and not eager to following up moral standards of the culture may well be target of the folk devils, deviants, by taking advantage of their weakness, the evil try to capture fragments of the culture and so pose a sovereign. Thus, much more attention should be paid on outcomes of the young ones’ acts and if necessary take measurements accordingly. One of the reasons of the society’s weakness to take control of such problems can be stated as

its feeble and inadequate endeavours to have authority over crimes. One solution to fix these problems is to intensify these attempts. It should be noted that not all that are effected by these moral panics are in the opinion of adopting new legislation and law enforcements, instead they consider that these measurements cannot be stated as solutions to the problems solely. In the case of widespread turmoil and disturbances caused by moral panics, sometimes it is not easy to get an agreement over what should be done to control these acts. Long discussions over adopting genuine solutions to these threats are to be argued and so one way or another some solutions, law enforcements, legislations, reinforcing the social control apparatuses, etc., will be gained, and so an engagement between these different components of the society can be achieved as well. Nevertheless, discussions over taking suitable social, cultural and legitimate control of the superintended groups nearly unavoidably goes along with moral panics. And so law enforcement and legislation are thought to be just one step to be taken up, other steps that can be adopted against these threats; suggesting changes in social and cultural context, improvement in education, creation of diverse layers of socialization, etc.

4.1 INDICATORS OF MORAL PANIC

Besides pointing out different perspectives and debates over the concept of moral panics, there are some parameters in which we get a broad understanding of characteristics of moral panics. In this sense, how can we understand when a moral panic takes place in a community? Emphasized by Goode and Ben – Yehuda, here we have five significant indicators and criteria by which the concept of the moral panic is defined. These are pointed out as; *concern*, *hostility*, *consensus*, *disproportionality* and *volatility*. It is crucial to stress out each criteria in detail to understand the concept thoroughly.

Additionally, in spite of the fact that there have been numerous theories and discussions over the characteristics of the concept of moral panic, there is a consensus about five indicators of moral panic stated above. On the whole, there must be a great amount of *concern* over the acts of a certain group, an episode or an occasion in which there is escalating level of *hostility* against these acts labelled as possessing threats. With arrival of such threats and

increasing level fear and terros within the society, a *consensus* is to be achieved over what kind of measurements should be adopted. As for *volatility*, it emphasizes the longevity of moral panics, moral panics can be short ones and appear suddenly. In the case of *disproportionality*, there is a perception over the level of danger or threat stated by different groups within the communities. In *disproportionality*, this level of danger or threat can be much more substantial than the stated one.

4.1.1 CONCERN

In the beginning, there should be a great amount of *concern* over the acts and manners of a person, an episode, an occasion or a group of people and this level of *concern* is to be increased step by step; and so outcomes of these acts, for sure, affect the community with its diverse components. This concern ought to be demonstrated or noticeable in definitive ways, by, for instance, “public opinion” ballots, public analysis in the method of media observation, demanded law formulations, social and cultural motion, action, etc. (Best, 1990). *Concern* and *fear* should not be mixed, they must be differentiated from each other obviously. Even though they have some parameters in common, *concern* is perceived through the public demand that not demonstrate itself in the form of *fear*. Not only *concern* but also *fear* is perceived by those who sense them to be sensible reply to what is contemplated as a genuine and concrete danger. For instance, panics about mass shootings, terrorist attacks, the case of the Mods and Rockers, random violence, arrival of outsiders like gypsies, reffugees, asylum seekers, immigrants, etc cause widespread *concern* within the respective societies. Soon after definition and presentation of a category, episode, an act as posing certain threats against core values of the societies and so give rise to a moral panic in the culture, a high level of concern is to be occurred in the culture. Because of concerns and anxieties over moral panic initiated in the community, discussions over what steps should be taken against them spread in a quick pace. Each panic results in a significant level of concern within the society.

On the whole, in order to define a condition, a category, an episode or a group as a moral panic in a society, firstly, behaviours labelled as deviants should generate concern over the society or at least a great segment of it. This concern can be easily seen in the public ballots, interest of the mass media, law making of power groups, pressure groups or in diverse public

movements and so on. Considering media and its ever-growing power, along with all spectrums of it, media has a prominent role in generating and spreading concern among numerous segments of the societies.

4.1.2 *HOSTILITY*

First, there is an increased level of *concern* over possible threats of certain acts within the society. Then, secondly, there is an increased level of *hostility* against the group of people, a category, an episode, etc. thought to hold certain threats to moral barriers of the society. People that are members of these groups, categories are named as “enemy”, opponent of decent community. Their acts and manners are considered as damaging or possessing a high level of threats to the settled core moral standards and the essence of the society, or posing threats to a big part of the community. Goode and Ben – Yehuda has emphasized this point as:

“that is, not only must the condition, phenomenon, or behaviour be seen as threatening, but a clearly identifiable group in or segment of the society must be seen as responsible for the threat. (1994).

Because of this, a cutting up is occurred between “us – good, decent, respectable folk” and “them – deviants, bad guys, undesirables, outsiders, criminals, the underworld, disreputable folk”. (Goode and Ben – Yehuda, 1994). As I have stated in the case of the Mods and Rockers, a division between “we-group” and “they-group” has been made. Creation of such binary oppositions and divisions involves *stereotyping* that leads to folk devils or criminals and “folk heroes in ethics game of “evil versus good” (Cohen, 2002). In the process of stereotyping we can see a parallel between panics and situation of finding criminally suspected persons as well. Seen as holding a high level of threat against core morals of the societies, creation of folk devils is an inevitable part of generation of moral panics. In examples like immigrants, satanist acts, the youth that define themselves by adopting a different code of dressing, we come across with a great level of *hostility* against them and this gives rise to divisions in the society. As an outcome of *hostility* and demonization of such groups, creation of folk devils is initiated within the culture. Increasing level of *concern* in the

society gives rise to a high level of *hostility* against those who are regarded as possessing great amount of threat against moral fabrics of the culture.

4.1.3 *CONSENSUS*

One of the other indicators that characterize moral panic is creating *consensus* in the society. *Consensus* is achieved when there is a common sense over possible threats to core standards of the society, *consensus* can be achieved in all layers of the society or at least some parts of it. In the case of drug taking and recently problem of immigrants, we encounter with generation of *consensus* over the public, they have a high level of *concerns* over possible disturbances these incidents could cause in the society. As pointed out above, there should be significant or extensive *agreement* or *consensus* in the society or at least in certain segments of the community. That means perceived threats are likely to damage moral standards of the culture and those whose behaviours are labelled as deviants should be taken under control to prevent any possible damages that their acts may cause. To add *consensus*, the perceived threats are seen as real, dangerous and resulted from the wrongdoing group representatives and their acts. On proportion of consensus:

“moral panics come in different sizes, some gripping the vast majority of the members of a given society at a given time, others creating concern only among certain of its groups or categories. At no exact point are we able to say that a panic exists; however, if the number is insubstantial, clearly, one does not.”

(Goode and Ben-Yehuda, 1994).

Dwelled on above, there are moral panics with different sizes, while some of them cause fear and terror across the society along with all members of it, some just affect a segment of the society and so generate concern, terror and fear respectively. As for time of moral panics, there is no exact time in that we can point out arrival of a panic, but if a situation does not affect a great number of the members of the community, not a significant number, we cannot talk about a moral panic, it does not exist in such condition. Yet, it should be noted that the point that I have focused on above is correct in the study of society-wide moral panics, we also have some local based, regional moral panics as well; these kind of moral panics are

limited to a certain part of the society and so their influence does not necessarily have a great impact across the whole community. Sometimes, *consensus* over acceptance of some problems in the culture and over adopting measurements to take up against them may terrorize inhabitants of a certain community not the whole society. Nonetheless, this does not mean that moral panics do not exist, instead it draws attention on “regional” difference in the outbreak of moral panics. In addition to this point of view, there are some debates over importance of public concern in moral panics, to Stuart Hall, public concern is just “a little more than an expression of elite interests.” (Goode and Ben-Yehuda, 1994).

Besides, it must be emphasized that the public or segments of the public have concerns of their own and so they may interest in conditions that are being ignored by other segments of the society or vice versa. To ignore significance of public concern in the sense of moral panics may result in lack of understanding of panics and their dynamics thoroughly.

Another point to be stressed out at times of *consensus* is insufficiency of opposing parties in a part or whole society. In many societies, there is an absence of opposing segments when evaluating threats, fear or terror at times of crisis. That’s why, questions about whether a society is seriously menaced by stated problem/s are to be discussed, quarreled and talked about. To be more precise, whereas there is a powerful and integrated opposing voice in some moral panics, there is not such a consolidated and strong opposing voice in others, instead there is poor and disintegrated one.

4.1.4 DISPROPORTIONALITY

One of the most discussed parameters of moral panics is *disproportionality*. There is a substantial imbalance between concerns of the public over a clear or a perceived threat and the real threat that is considered to be caused by a behaviour within the culture. What the public think about the threat to core moral codes within the culture differ from the real threat that possess a great danger to the society. In this perspective, the media have a crucial role. Just as the media take over a significant role in spreading and exaggerating threat, at the same time they cause a *disproportionality* between threat and concern. Figures or discourses related to the event are invented or exaggerated to a great degree. Besides, there is a denial of events

that have equal or much more dangerous outcomes (Critcher, 2006). Goode and Ben-Yehuda paid attention on this element of moral panics by saying:

“there is a sense on the part of many members of the society that a more sizeable number of individuals are engaged in the behaviour in question than actually are, and the threat, danger, or damage said to be caused by the behaviour is far more substantial.”

(Goode and Ben-Yehuda, 1994).

The public perception of the acts, the trouble they lead to, or situation they constitute is much more greater than is true. The public concern over moral panics could reach to extreme level. Additionally, in most of moral panics events, the production and circulation of numbers or figures is exceptionally significant; junkies, deaths, money, damages, crimes, diseases and so on, most of the statistics referred by moral panics “claim-makers” are extremely overstated. On deciding and evaluating of “the objective” measurement of what is real and true about incidents, Goode and Ben-Yehuda has stated that:

“though we must be cautious, modest and tentative about making statements concerning what is real and true about events in the material world, we nonetheless can be fairly confident that some statements are true and others are false.”

For sure, it is only by having knowledge of the empirical essence of a perceived threat that we will be able to decide the level of *disproportionality*. The phenomenon, moral panic, is based on the parameter, *disproportionality*. Unless we are able to decide the level of *disproportionality*, we cannot reach a conclusion pointing out that the perceived concern or fear stands for a moral panic. I feel that it is vital to point out once more that we can only determine the level of *disproportionality* only by getting empirical information over given threats, fear or concerns. In addition to what stated above, as human beings, our comprehension of the material world is at no time absolute, never definitely conclusive. (Goode and Ben-Yehuda, 1994). Since it is impossible to decide the essence of the objective threats in the community, there are some conditions in which we can, to a degree, calculate the proportions of *disproportionality*. Here are some parameters of *disproportionality*:

Exaggeration of numbers and figures, counterfeiting and falsifying of numbers and figures and also shifts that changes over time, etc.

4.1.5 VOLATILITY

Moral panics can be about a new, fresh, novel condition or about one that is already existed within the society but somehow is not recognized so far. Besides, moral panics can be short- termed, having a weak influence over the society, do not last for a long time, but also they can be long- termed, posing a substantial influence over diverse layers of the society and so make it necessary to adopt new legislation and law enforcements in the community. In this sense, they are volatile, they can outbreak suddenly or might appear step by step within the culture. Even though conditions that are the source of moral panics may lose their effects over the public in the society, the media constantly take these situations and present them in a way that highlights these conditions and so keep them fresh in collective memory and behaviour. In the following years, when the same situation cause a panic in the society, the media have a tendency to present it with the first example of the situation. Terrorist attacks in the USA can be shown as examples to this tendency of the media. Whenever a terrorist attack take place in America, the media have a tendency to show it with reference to attacks on September 11th, 2001.

Back to core values, by their very own essence, moral panics are prone to change, they not only break out unexpectedly but also might appear slowly over time and may immediately calm down as well. While some moral panics might come to be “routinized” or “institutionalized”, that is, moral anxiety and concern about the deviant acts cause social and cultural reforms, in some cases law enforcements and legislations and many other practices to punish those who commit these deviant behaviours in the society, punishment of transgressors is happening in this phase of the moral panics, in others they suddenly disappear and do not cause any harm to basic moral barriers of the society, no new social or cultural practices, adoption of legislation is needed as they are short-termed and so do not cause any serious

changes within the culture. Again on this perspective of moral panics Goode and Ben-Yehuda have paid attention on:

“Whether it has a long-term impact or not, the degree of hostility generated during a moral panic tends to be fairly limited temporally; the fever pitch that characterizes a society during the moral panic during its course is not typically sustainable over a long stretch of time. In that respect, it is similar to fashion, the fad, and the craze; the moral panic is, therefore, as we saw, a form of collective behaviour.” (1994).

On the whole, all these indicators give rise to comprehension of the concept of moral panic, and thanks to these criteria we can get a scientific evaluation of the concept. One of the key point in the phenomenon moral panic is generation of “folk devil”. As a well-known fact that concern and anxiety in the society get such a serious level that they generate and locate “folk devils” within the culture, these may become weaker or stronger over time. Provided with the ubiquity and power of the moral panic, it needs to be paid attention on.

CHAPTER 5: MORAL PANIC AND FOLK DEVILS

In each society gripped by moral panics, then we encounter with some groups called moral entrepreneurs or moral crusaders who initiate a process against those who label them as deviant. In this respect, people that terrorize the community with their behaviours come across with moral crusaders, moral crusaders require something or someone to struggle against. Calling themselves as a prominent force to protect core moral fabric of the society, moral entrepreneurs or moral crusaders take responsibility, to a degree, to prevent those deviant acts within the society, without deviancy in the community, these groups cannot find something or someone to battle against. With arrival of terror, fear and threats to the culture, they take a role in preventing and punishing such deviancy.

Stated beforehand, in every moral panic situation, there is an episode, a person or a group of person who are seen as the source of wrong-doings, evil behaviours. Cohen’s term for those who start such evil acts to shake moral boundaries of the societies is “folk devils”. Folk devils can be defined as: people, a category, an episode or a person that come to be defined as

possessing significant threats to settled moral standards of the culture. These group hold such a substantial power that they can distort and terrorize the community to a great degree. Cohen has paid attention on the term “folk devils” by claiming: “the successful creation of folk devils rests on their stereotypical portrayal as atypical actors against a background that is overtypical.” (Cohen, 2002). In this respect, as a target group within many cultures across the globe, the young minds are seen as morally suspected persons and so moral crusaders may take actions against them to prevent their behaviours that they think to distort established values in the culture. During moral panics we have diverse persons, groups, categories that are labelled as evil-doers and so “folk devils”. For instance, at times of AIDS outbreak, homosexuality and homosexuals, in this age immigrants, asylum seekers, those who have addicts, etc. are seen as threatening and thus any discourse about them is defined wrong and pressure groups within the societies label them as folk devils, evil-doers. These power groups in the society like the media, moral entrepreneurs, claim-makers, etc position themselves on the side of good doers, the others on the side of evil doers. Folk devils are seen as causing significant and lasting damage the core fabrics of the society, whether on purpose or not.

By casting an episode, a category, a person or a group as posing serious threats to society lead to strengthen the boundaries and basic fabric of the society and thus confirm the validity of a moral base. In other words, describing outsiders, here evil-doers, assist to reaffirm or even generate characters of those whose acts are in tune with such boundaries. With no others that we can demonize or label as possessing serious threats to the culture, we may not understand who we are as a community, defining some as folk devils confirms that the rest of the society share the same moral values and that’s why this situation assists to describe who we are as a community. (Erikson, 2004). In this sense, we get a binary opposition once more, folk devils help the society to define “us – decent, respectful, on the good side” and those who are threatening against values of the culture as “them – outsiders, evil-doers, immoral”. By creating folk devils, pressure groups lead to an attempt to generate new meanings of deviants and deviancy, and these people are constantly trying to convince us what behaviour is acceptable and what is not. In this perspective, the power of these pressure groups should not be underestimated especially that of the media, they have such a substantial power that they can easily shape public sphere and effectively work on it. Their power may also form the creation of laws and policies in the society. Those labelled as outsiders, evil-doers, here to say folk devils, are portrayed as threatening, posing serious threats to the welfare of community, and thus might even cause a decrease in social standing.

5.1 DEVIANCE AND MORAL PANIC

Those who are defined as folk devils can initiate serious social changes in the culture, and they start such social and cultural changes with their behaviours that are posing a great amount of deviance. In this respect, moral panics and deviance rely upon behaviours of those that are demonized and labelled as conducting serious damages to moral boundaries of the society. In sociology, deviance is described as an action or act that violates cultural and social norms.

Emile Durkheim²⁰ has portrayed deviance as an unavoidable “part of how society functions.” He also claimed that “deviance is a basis for change and innovation, and it is also a way of defining or clarifying important social norms.”²¹ Besides, he has dwelled on why deviance takes place within cultures by stating numerous causes and arguments. Among reasons why people do participate in deviant acts, state of anomie²² has a big pie. Anomie can be stated as cultural and social uncertainty rising from a lack of core social and ethical values and norms. Those who are going beyond these social norms and values within the society are to be labelled as posing deviant behaviour and thus cause deviance in the culture. Additionally, persons that take part in such deviant acts and so cause instability and turbulences within the community are likely to be labelled, demonized and isolated by society as well.

As I have stated in previous chapters, behaviours that cause deviance in the society and so generating moral panics can be long-termed or short-termed ones, over time reasons for moral panics and deviant acts and deviance may disappear from the culture and public consciousness, yet continuing to exist in collective memory as deviants and as Cohen expressed folk devils of the past. Sexually abusing of children and women, drug-users,

²⁰ Prominent French sociologist and also regarded as the founder of French school of sociology.

²¹ <https://www.britannica.com/topic/deviance>

²² Anomie is a state of absence of common cultural, social or ethical boundaries in a group or individual.

random violence, asylum seekers, immigrants, etc. These all cause a high level of deviance and disturbances within diverse communities across the globe, and each of them contains elements of moral panics in which labelling of folk devils and demonized groups also take place. Causing deviance in the culture and so generating moral panics vary from culture to culture. Each one has its own deviance, folk devils and moral panics. It must be noted that in some cases states can transfer panics from a different culture or may Project its own panics onto another one, too. One of the key point of studying of deviance and on the whole moral panic is “collective memory” and “collective behaviour.” In the long run, moral panics that have gripped the societies have remained in collective memory and behaviour even if they do not exist any more. Due to such resistance of panics in collective memory and behaviour, mass hysteria, paranoia and delusion may occur in the culture. These problems can be explained as ruins of moral panics in the long run. On essence of deviance Howard Becker has pointed out:

“Deviance is created by society. I do not mean this in the way that it is ordinarily understood, in which the causes of deviance are located in the social situation of the deviant or in “social factors” which prompt his action. I mean, rather, that social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance and by applying those rules to particular persons and labelling them as outsiders... the deviant is one to whom the label has successfully been applied; deviant behaviour is behaviour that people so label.” (Becker, 1964).

Considering and dwelling on the excerpt above, Becker has paid attention on the generation of the deviant behaviour and deviance within the society. According to him, social groups in the community create deviance by presenting regulations and rules that construct deviance and thus by attaching these rules to those who are labelled and demonized by them as “outsiders”. He goes further by stating that the deviant is one that the label of “outsider, evil-doer, etc.” is successfully attached to. In this respect, it is the culture along with its moral fabric that constitutes and highlights what is deviant behaviour and deviance and that’s why persons who go beyond this moral standards of the society are to be labelled as deviant and their acts as causing deviance in the society. Deviance is troublesome behaviours that try to distort established core values and norms in a community.

In this sense, focus on the relation between the mass media and deviance must be emphasized as the mass media is a significant carrier and producer of moral panics. Each society points out various ideas over what causes deviance and comes up with diverse sets of information, images, anecdotes, etc to draw attention on things labelled as reasons for deviance within the society. After evaluation and presentation of various causes of deviation and deviant behaviours, all this information is taken by the communication industry, namely the media. In this point of view, the information is taken and processed by the media and so “the information has been subject to alternative definitions of what constitutes ‘news’ and how it should be gathered and presented.” (Cohen, 2002). After that, the information gathered and gained alternative definitions is designed by diverse commercial and political controls that the printing media, newspapers, television and radio manages. As an undeniable asset of the mass media, its participation in presenting and forming social and cultural problems must be significantly emphasized especially in the case of defining and prompting deviance in the society. The media take most of the agents within the culture and operate them according to their own right. To elaborate on this aspect of the media, Cohen stated:

“the mass media devote a great deal of space to deviance: sensational crimes, scandals, bizarre happenings and strange goings on. The more dramatic confrontations between deviance and control in manhunts, trials and punishments are recurring objects of attention.” (2002).

Erikson also dwells on the mass media’s tendency to deviance by expressing that a substantial amount of news is allocated to accounts of deviance, deviant acts and their outcomes. (Erikson, 2004).

To put in a nutshell, deviance is defined as any attempt to violate social and cultural norms within the society. Behaviours that cause such deviance are called deviant acts and in this respect the media’s participation in defining, presenting and spreading these behaviours in the culture is undeniable. Since the mass media devote a great deal of their space to deviance and deviant behaviours, the role of them in generating folk devils and moral panics is crucial.

5.1.1 Moral Crusaders and Moral Entrepreneurs

Each moral panic needs people that will try to persuade others that a problem prevails and something should be done about it, in this respect not all people within a society are able to take over such a responsibility as they all do not have enough capacity to influence the community. Persons who are really successful in persuading others about the possible threats that are to grip moral fabric of the society are called ‘moral crusaders’ and they take up an activist role to inform the society about likely threats to values and norms of the culture. Moral crusaders struggle to draw attention on possible threats to the welfare of the society. To catch the public attention, they constantly appear on the mass media and so with the overwhelming power of the media attempting to persuade the public and stating that if nothing is done immediately, more and more persons are likely to be damaged as a result of threats seen in the society. They take a role against evil-doers, folk devils and fight against them. To add the role of moral crusaders within the society, they also try to underline values and norms of the society and thus those trying to violate them will be punished accordingly. For instance, in the case of spreading popularity of video games among young minds, moral crusaders draw attention on possible threats that those video games may impose to the young minds and so they locate the youth at the centre of the problem and take a role in informing the public about possible damages that the youth may face with. In this respect, moral crusaders also fight against outsiders like immigrants, asylum seekers and people of colour, etc. They project threats in the society onto these people and label them as evil-doers, folk devils.

French sociologist Howard Becker defines all these activists trying to affect the public and to some extent give rise to awareness about problems as moral entrepreneurs. To him moral entrepreneurs might promote their status within the society due to their ‘leadership role’. Moral entrepreneurs are constantly trying to affect the media, attempting to get the public attention as often as possible. They are usually described as good-looking, charming, possessing power to become representative of people. On concepts of moral crusaders and moral entrepreneurs, Karen Sternheimer states that moral entrepreneurs focus on having more and more personal gains when compared with moral crusaders. (Sternheimer, 2015).

“moral crusaders typically feel passionately that their cause is one of moral necessity, and although they might experience personal gain by bringing it to light, this is not only about bolstering their ego or bank accounts as much as it is solving what they consider to be a problem.” (Sternheimer, 2015).

Just like Sternheimer has pointed out, moral crusaders may get personal gains by taking over such a responsibility to draw attention of the public onto problems within the society, yet their primary role is not to make a living rather to focus on real threats and problems in the culture and if possible offer measurements to take against disturbances within the culture. Both of these groups may get the media’s attention and see themselves on the news coverages, however their causes differ from each other. While moral crusaders, in the case of threats and problems within the society, attempt to draw attention on these problems and if needed help to make new legislation and law enforcements, moral entrepreneurs take advantage of the public and the media to promote their status and so get personal gains. No matter what are their motives, both moral crusaders and moral entrepreneurs try to affect the public and get their attention on some serious problems within the community, unlike moral crusaders who are fighting against threats occurring at times of moral panics by using of different tools, moral entrepreneurs are also attempting to take a position against such problems and draw the public’s attention, yet their motive is often about getting personal gains, though.

CHAPTER 6: RESEARCH

6.1 RESEARCH SIGNIFICANCE

Moral panics are inevitable, especially in this hyper-mediated age where the media along with all of their spectrums have a substantial power over communities. As a pushing power in creating, presenting and spreading moral panics in cultures, it should be noted that the media do not generate panics by merely sticking to their news making values and journalistic standards. Together with news, printing media, online media platforms, television, radio,

cyberspaces, and so on we have diverse platforms in which different discourses are generated and thus, thanks to this overwhelming sovereignty of the mass media, we have a great breeding ground for moral panics. In this respect, their power has probably never been greater than this mediated age. Amplifying the technological and communication elements to an already-existing concept, moral panic, sensationalizes the phenomenon, displaying concern and anxiety during a time of flux. In this sense, as a problem that has gripped many countries across the globe, especially Europe and Turkey, immigration is to be analyzed in the context of moral panic. Since moral panics give rise to significant social and cultural changes and even cause law enforcements and legislation in societies, framing processes of immigration problem, starting with namely a three-year-old boy ending up on a holiday beach in Turkey, is to be studied in this respect. So, this study has discovered how a body of three-year-old boy found in a holiday beach changed the perceptions of the moral panic and the tragedy that the world can no longer ignore and also pushed authorities to take some steps in sense of universal human rights.

6.2 RESEARCH PURPOSE

This research dwelled on how the mass media coverages and frames are boosting up moral panics within the society. In this perspective, discourse analysis of refugee crisis by four mainstream national newspapers are focused on. Additionally, in this hyper-mediated age, the new media's role was differentiated from the traditional media. It is a fact that human beings are no longer just passive receivers, audiences, instead they are actively participate in and direct debates and so their role in influencing the society is undeniable. Adding to this active role of people in affecting the society, the media whose power is sealed through its title, 'the fourth estate', can touch almost any human beings within the culture. Since it gathers its power from the human beings, its attachment to us and the society is infinite. In this respect, with the power it has, the media can determine the societal threats and then distinguish, otherize some parts of the society. Undeniable role of the media in generating and spreading moral panics in the societies is studied in this respect. Therefore, the primary purpose here is to analyze how the media participate in construction of a moral panic about immigrants and over time how a body of three-year-old immigrant boy has triggered the societies and had such a substantial influence touching almost every spectrums within the culture.

6.3 RESEARCH METHOD

This research's method is based on discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is a common technique used for analyzing diverse kinds of written materials and researches in media studies. It is one of the most applied methods especially in social sciences. Much has been said about discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is the most genuine method because discourse touches on the remarks of the system (Giddens, 2009).

The discourses which were analyzed had been selected from top four national mainstream newspapers, these were *Cumhuriyet*, *Hürriyet*, *Posta* and *Yeni Şafak*. The core point of this research is the moment when the three-year-old immigrant boy, Aylan, washed up on a holiday place in Turkey. Until this heartbreaking moment, there had been severe debates over refugee crisis across the globe, especially in Europe and Turkey. While most of the European countries have ignored this human catastrophe and even practiced tough regulations against immigrants, the death of a tiny victim of human catastrophe, namely baby Aylan, has changed the atmosphere and then more mild discourses had been stated by the authorities. In this respect, the moral panic that were mainly based on refugee crisis and so gripped the society were analyzed in this research and thus how the media took the problem and in what ways the mass media framed the issue and significantly what kind of discourses the media had adopted and so presented the issue with were analyzed in details. While studying moral panics and the media coverages of the issue, the political stands of each newspaper had also been concentrated on.

The problem gripped the society so that almost every media spectrums had framed the issue on their front-page headlines. Not only printing media but also radio, television and online platforms had presented the issue. As a game-changing, whistleblowing moment in the context of moral panic about immigrants, the framing of a three-year-old baby washed on the holiday beach of Turkey started to cover up both national and international media's front-page headlines. It is because of this shaking moment, I have chosen it as a core point of this research. Chosen front-page headlines were discursive that reflected the newspapers stand on the basis of moral panic about immigrants. To be more precise, along with discourses of each

newspaper, motives of them in presenting the concept of moral panic have also been dwelled on. In the research, covering of the problem by different newspapers also reflected their own political and ideological motives. So, in what respect the media has presented the issue became much more important. Additionally, discovering whether their styles differ according to the ideological, religious, capitalist stands or their ownership structures has played a crucial role in this process. The use of adjectives, words, photographs, visuals in general, headlines; selection of the news sources, the tone of the news were to be considered throughout the research. Before dwelling on the discourses of the concept of moral panics by four national mainstream newspapers in Turkey, framing of immigrants in the context of moral panic by top European printing media were also analyzed in short. Since the front-page headlines and discourses were in Turkish, the English version of them was placed as footnote.

CHAPTER 7: ANALYSIS FINDINGS

7.1 MEDIA'S FRAMING OF REFUGEE CRISIS

Think about being forced to leave your motherland, across the globe millions of people have been forced to leave their countries because of numerous reasons like civil war, famine, religious causes, xenophobia, etc. According to UNHCR²³, The United Nation Refugee Agency, there are over 65.6 million forcibly displaced people worldwide, 22.5 million of them are refugees, around 10 million of them are stateless persons and 189,300 are refugees resettled worldwide. Elaborating on displacement in the world, the UNHCR provides us substantial statistics, numbers, graphics and figures. In details of the annual report on displaced people worldwide, we get heartbreaking data; among more or less 22.5 million

²³ For detailed statistics and figures see <http://www.unhcr.org/figures-at-a-glance.html>

refugees, those who are under the age of 18 comprises half of them. Besides, there are around 10 million people stateless persons that have been turned down a nationality and so access to basic human rights like healthcare, education, freedom of movement and employment and so on. While searching the data on the website of the United Nation Refugee Agency, I have encountered with puzzling figures as well, according to the UNHCR, approximately 28,300 persons are forcibly displaced every day because of diverse reasons like persecution, conflict, wars, etc. As providing reports, data, statistics and other information, the UNHCR makes operations on people of concern like stateless persons, asylum seekers, returned refugees, the internally displaced people and on broad scale refugees.

On global trend of displacement, it provides detail analysis of forcibly displaced persons by illustrating this analysis under diverse figures. As for where these forcibly displaced people are to be hosted, we see that with 30% Africa is on the top, after it by hosting 26% of these people Middle East and North Africa come, in the third place, there is Europe by hosting 17% of these individuals and after that Americas come with 16% and lastly by hosting 11% of these people of concern Asia and Pacific countries come. In another data that provides in what countries that refugees came from, we get Syria with 5.5 million people in the first place, after it Afghanistan took the second place with 2.5 million people and lastly South Sudan came with around 1.4 million people. On the whole, 55% of refugees across the globe came from these three countries and thus they comprise the biggest pie in terms of people that are forced to leave their own homelands. Not surprisingly, when we check the top hosting countries, we come across with Turkey at the top with hosting around 2.9 million refugees and most of them are Syrian. After Turkey, Pakistan comes with hosting around 1.4 million people, in the third place there is Lebanon with 1 million refugees and then we have Islamic Republic of Iran with 979,400 displaced persons, Uganda with 940,800 and lastly Ethiopia with 791,600 refugees.

In addition to all these overwhelming and heartbreaking data and istatistics provided by the United Nation Refugee Agency, there have been substantial shifts in terms of coverages of the mass media especially in Europe. While most of the media platforms once ignored the problem and so did not provide a great amount of their daily practices to cover the issue, with the outbreak of civil war in Syria and so millions of people that are seeking shelters for themselves, thus trying to flee their countries to arrive Europe and have a new life, the mass media have directed their attention on the dazzling problem and so started to issue the

problem in their media platforms. When millions of refugees arrived at the borders of Europe, chaos has broken out within countries there. However, there has been a common sense in Europe, that is rejecting of these refugees to a great number. Over time European countries started to adopt a mild policy over the refugees and asylum seekers. As a result of such demographic changes, the media also began to frame the issue by illustrating it on their front-page headlines. One of the prominent points that has changed this tendency of the mass media was the moment when the body of the three-year-old boy washed up on a holiday beach in Turkey, after that heartbreaking images of the baby, the media both in Europe and Turkey have covered the problem on their front-page headlines. In this respect, in this part of the thesis, I have dwelled on a number of the media coverages of refugee crisis across Europe and so provided a picture of how the media in Europe have shifted their policy and framed a panic about people that have forcibly been displaced from their native countries and thus caused a ‘moral panic’ within different countries. While studying refugee crisis in Europe, I have directed my attention on some countries that have to cope with the problem in the first place, thus I focused on country specifics.

To understand refugee crisis in the European context, it is vital to make a distinction among ‘first contact countries’, mainly South-Eastern European countries that have to face with the problem severely when compared with Western Europe. So, let’s dwell on each country and its policy about immigrants in brief.

Hungary, especially the press in this country, is probably among the ones that has severely reacted to the outbreak of refugee problem and so demanded strict precautions to prevent immigrants entering their countries. One of the turning point about reaction of the media in Hungary is the moment when a ‘journalist’, Petra Laszlo, reported as being fired later, has kicked off one of the migrants, this image has been framed by numerous media platforms and thus to some extent portrays the media’s reaction the the immigrants.

Greece is the top country in Europe that has been affected most by the refugee crisis. Because of its geographical proximity to Syria and islands, the country has to deal with the problem in the first place. Across the country, the media has also emphasized these geographical reasons behind the refugee crisis. When compared with other countries across Europe, Greece can be stated as possessing a milder attitude toward the immigrants and this is probably because of “familiarity, extended understanding of context and journalist research

on the events. Greece was also the only country where the number of citizen emotions reported was roughly equal to refugee emotions reported.”²⁴ Greece is among the first contact countries across Europe, hence its struggles over the crisis is among toughest ones.

As for France, there is a historical bond between Syria and France since Syria was the former colony of it. Along with the United Kingdom and Czech Republic, these trio is among countries that have talked about adopting severe defensive measures like increasing police and army presence, closing borders, etc. While checking the media coverages of the immigrants in France, there have been great differences. Being among top newspapers in France *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* adopted different perspectives when framed the crisis. Whereas *Le Monde* had dwelled on the conditions of the immigrants and adopted a more sensitive manner, stressing out empathy towards them and also described the immigrants as victims, *Le Figaro*, on the contrary, has adopted a more severe manner by depicting refugees as folk devils, perpetrators and thus pointing out fear and terror they would cause within the country. (Georgiou and Zaborowski, 2017).

As the biggest economy in Europe, Germany is among top three countries that provides shelters to immigrants as well. While checking the mass media in this country, one can also come across with the media’s depiction of severe measures like closing borders, deporting refugees, adopting more severe cautions against them and so on.

The media coverage of refugee crisis across Europe has enabled us to get a broad understanding of ‘other’ in the perspective of European countries. As a well-known fact, the pressure groups like the media, elites, moral entrepreneurs, etc use communication tools to generate moral panic discourses and so construct divisions, distinctions about lines of gender, ethnicity, race, religion, sexual orientation, nationality and so on. In this perspective, in history, we can easily observe diverse examples of moral panics across different cultures over numerous people, episodes, conditions, etc. So, panics about migration, refugees are not new phenomenon, rather critics like Stuart Hall has been dwelled on concerns and anxieties about the increasing number of migrants since 1960s and 70s. He mainly concentrated on former British colonies and huge number of migrants hoping to have a fresh start in the United

²⁴ <https://rm.coe.int/1680706b00>, Media coverage of the ‘refugee crisis’: A cross-European perspective. Last accessed June 9, 2018.

Kingdom. In this respect, while focusing on the media's coverage of refugee crisis, I have encountered with binary oppositions like 'us- the decent, educated, reasonable' versus 'them- undecent, immoral, literate', also there have been discourses about dehumanizing, marginalizing and silencing 'other- refugees'. On migrants, refugee crisis and asylum seekers, each European country has adopted distinctive patterns while covering the issues. Mainstream media coverages have paid attention on stereotypes and frames that portrayed refugees as a 'collective' other differing from us. On this trends of the media in Europe, a lecturer from Centre for Media Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), London, Dina Matar has claimed that:

What is worrying are the ways in which mainstream media coverage of the refugees or migrants in Europe and in the Middle East and North Africa have tended to repeat stereotypes and frames that construct the refugees as a collective "other" that is different from "us," and as a humanitarian or security problem, and in the process silencing, dehumanizing and marginalizing those represented and talked about. (Matar, 2017).

Without doubt, discourses about migration and refugee crisis in Europe have reflected the public and the media discourses and framed the issues within this context. Again, for sure, all these discourses and frames by the media and public over refugee crisis and migrants have been defining 'phenomenon of the second decade of the 21st century' in Europe. In this sense, the mass media have been paying much more attention on the issue since the Syrian uprising in March, 2011. Continuing mass movement of people fleeing from violence and wars in the Middle East and trying to find shelters for themselves has caused a great act of mass movement mainly towards Europe through countries like Turkey, Jordan, Lebanon, Egypt, etc. As explained beforehand, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees has declared that about 70 million people had been forced out of their countries in 2015, and these people had been started to cross into Europe and other states nearby. Due to such a mass movement of people leaving their homes, each country nearby has struggled to cope with the crisis, yet every country has adopted different policies against this crisis. The vast majority of refugees tried to arrive to Europe by sea, others used Turkey and Albania to reach Europe through overland. Whatever reasons are, all these people escaping from their homes have been looking for new lives elsewhere. While trying to have new lives in a new place, mostly

the ones that have been trying to arrive Europe by the sea have to face with serious dangers over the sea as they risk their lives by not having enough equipments to cross the sea unharmed. However, hundreds of refugees died while trying to cross the Mediterranean. In 2015, this crisis has reached its peak, but since then the number of refugees leaving their homes to have new lives in Europe has fallen down.

Facing with such a crisis, the media in Europe has also paid too much attention to the problem. The media coverages of the crisis differ from each other, yet there have been mainly polarized, demonized, dehumanized labels attributed to the refugees. In this sense, especially politicians and political parties that on the far right in Europe have been using the migrants and refugee crisis to form ‘moral panics’ to stoke up support from different layers of the society and so validate their nationalist policies. Because of such discourses by the nationalist political parties, the media began to adopt such discourses as well and presented moral panics by paying attention on the so-called ‘relationship between the refugees and terrorism in Europe’. Adding to this tendency of the mainstream media in Europe, it is significant to remember what Stuart Hall has stated about the concept of moral panic. According to him, moral panics generates different ways to cope with concerns, fears, terror and anxiety occurring during moral panics, however by not dwelling on the real problems, conditions underlying them, we just project such fears, concerns, etc onto an episode, a condition, a person or a group, etc. Figuring out the real reasons underlying is the most significant one according to Hall. In this respect, the discourses stated by the nationalist political parties and some media platforms, to a great extent, reflects projections of their concerns and fears onto different social groups within the community.

‘Crude xenophobia’, ‘migrants versus refugees’, ‘worthy’, ‘unworthy’, ‘those who qualify’, ‘fail to qualify’, ‘swarms of people’, etc are some of the terms used by the mass media and politicians to describe the refugee crisis and refugees. Having concerns and fears about the massive movements of refugees, European countries have been afraid of them as they are thought to subvert their settled values. Frames and coverages of the media stating chiefly negative discourses about refugees and migration have been so powerful that even countries which have milder policies about the crisis have begun to adopt policies just like nationalist far right politicians’. Broadly speaking, in a recently conducted report, financed by the UNHCR²⁵, by Cardiff University has illustrated a detailed analysis of how the mainstream

²⁵ For further information see <http://www.unhcr.org/56bb369c9.html>.

media in five European countries reacted to the refugee crisis and asylum seekers. According to the researches at Cardiff University, the country that has adopted the most positive attitude towards refugees and asylum seekers is Sweden, so media coverages of the crisis have been constructive as well. On the contrary, the United Kingdom is stated as having ‘the most negative coverage and the most polarized’ style in presenting the crisis. In the report, the UK has been reported as possessing wildly aggressive campaigns towards refugees and the mass media in the country, especially the British right wing press, adopted the same negative and aggressive attitudes against the refugees as well. Since there have been diverse media in each country studied in this research, both positive and negative frames and coverages have been conducted. Again in the report, Italy is declared as using much more humanitarian frames to depict refugees than Germany, Spain and the UK even though Italy is one of the first contact countries in Europe. Frames emphasized ‘securitization’ and depicted refugees as posing threats to the well-being of the system, cultural values and core morals of the society have been much more widespread in countries like Spain and the UK. In the report we also get how the media coverage and frames have changed over time. (Matar, 2017). The research has illustrated such shifts by claiming:

“the media coverage tended at first to reflect empathy, solidarity and goodwill towards migrants fleeing war zones or those who are victims of tragic events, but in time, the tone has changed to become more concerned and even hostile towards migrant communities as the media used stereotypes or focused on crime, threats of terrorism, radicalization and anti-social behaviour.” (as cited in (Matar, 2017)).

Additionally, as stressed out in the excerpt above, the media have used negative connotations against refugees and migrants by making use of stereotypes. During the crisis, we have encountered with such tendency of the media platforms respectively. While during first days of the outbreak of the crisis, the mass media have adopted a respectively mild attitude, over time they have begun to use a much more polarized, hostile attitude towards the crisis. In *Media Coverage of the Migration Crisis in Europe: a Confused and Polarized Narrative* lecturer Dina Matar has suggested that the media across Europe stated these refugees and migrants as ‘uncontrolled’ and ‘as a security threat to the labour market, to border security and to welfare’. That’s why, the mass media along with other pressure groups in the community have demanded tougher measures against those ‘outsiders’. Not only

printing media but also broadcasted media has paid a great attention the crisis and so constructed the problem accordingly. Across Europe, there have been rising xenophobia against refugees and migrants. No matter which country they have been trying to arrive, there have been a common sense in Europe against them, they have been labelled as security threats towards nationalism and European values.

All of a sudden everything has fallen apart when the body of a three-year-old boy, Aylan Kurdi, found on a Turkish beach. With this tragic news, the refugee crisis has started to dominate almost every media platform. The papers both national and international used their front-page headlines for drawing attention to this overwhelming picture of a young victim of the refugee crisis. The pictures of the drowned boy, Aylan, has changed the atmosphere for once and all. In the UK, the media used the tragic image of Aylan to get attention on this dramatic tragedy;

The Independent (September 3, 2015) used the picture in the front-page headline stating ‘somebody’s child’. In the detail of the news it has been stated “The tide of desperate humanity seeking safety in Europe is rising. Yesterday’s victims include this Syrian boy, drowned in his family’s attempt to reach Greece from Turkey. The EU is deadlocked; our prime minister is in denial. A vast human catastrophe is unfolding. Do we really believe that this is not our problem?” As a newspaper used its almost full front-page to draw attention to the crisis, in an article in *The Independent*, it was explained why the image was used as; “*The Independent* has taken the decision to publish these images because, among the often glib words about the “ongoing migrant crisis”, it is all too easy to forget the reality of the desoerate situation facing many refugees.”



SOMEBODY'S CHILD

The tide of desperate humanity seeking safety in Europe is rising. Yesterday's victims include this Syrian boy, drowned in his family's attempt to reach Greece from Turkey. The EU is deadlocked; our Prime Minister is in denial. A vast human catastrophe is unfolding. Do we really believe that this is not our problem?

REPORTS & ANALYSIS P.6-9; EDITORIAL P.4

Figure 1. The image of a three-year-old boy washed up on a holiday beach in Turkey.

There is a reference to the Prime Minister, David Cameron, as he calls refugees as 'swarms on the streets'. Through this crisis, he has adopted a policy based on denial of the problem. The front pages of many national British newspapers has used the image of the death of Aylan and so to some extent called for the UK to accept more refugees.

Daily Mail (September 3, 2015) covers its front-page with the same picture above with the heading expressing; 'Tiny victim of a human catastrophe'. Again on the headline, it has been stated that 'cradled in the arms of a Turkish policeman, this little boy was drowned during his refugee family's desperate bid to reach Greece. The image could not be more harrowing – but must be seen to comprehend the gravity of the migrant crisis engulfing Europe.' In the news

there are an important point to emphasize, this harrowing picture is used to draw attention of the Europe to understand the gravity of the refugee crisis waiting ahead.

Again on September 3, 2015, *The Sun*, Britain's best-selling paper, used a heading stating 'MR CAMERON, SUMMER IS OVER... NOW DEAL WITH THE BIGGEST CRISIS FACING EUROPE SINCE WW2'. It used this heading along with two pictures of refugees, one of them is a picture of a newly-born baby in a Hungarian station and the other one is that of dramatic picture of Aylan. Besides the title calling the Prime Minister to back to work, there is another heading stated as 'IT'S LIFE & DEATH'.

Metro has paid attention on this tragedy by using a picture of Aylan smiling in it along with the heading 'The little boy who shamed the world' and 'Europe could not save him'.

The Guardian has adopted the headline uttering 'The shocking, cruel reality of Europe's refugee crisis' with the picture of Aylan again. The newspaper reveals sayings of Cameron about the refugees as he tells that the UK cannot take any more people escaping from war. In details of the news there have been mainly critics over the policy of EU about refugees, the picture of Aylan has raised questions over Europe's response. The image of drowned refugee had shocked almost the whole world and so the picture had gone viral across the mass media and headlined by almost every communication tools.

The Times covered the picture of Aylan by adopting a headline called 'Europe divided'

Not just across Europe, in many other parts of the globe we came across with the media coverage of heartbreaking catastrophe of refugee crisis. To illustrate, *Los Angeles Times* had covered this human catastrophe by using the image of Aylan headlining 'Drowned Syrian toddler embodies heartbreak of migrant crisis'. *The Wall Street Journal* also paid attention to the crisis framing it by expressing 'Image of Drowned Syrian Boy Echoes Around World'. Unlike many other UK national papers and newspapers around world, *The Daily Telegraph* did not use the picture of drowned three-year-old boy, instead used a picture of a soldier holding up a refugee child in a crowd and adopted a heading highlighted the crisis as 'Plight of migrant children stirs Europe's conscience.'

Along with national newspapers, local papers have also portrayed the picture of Aylan in their headlines and called for taking some steps to help refugees fleeing from war. The has been used in such a puzzling way that politicians and celebrities in the UK and also across

Europe have been fuelling the fire by illustrating pictures of themselves holding the #RefugeesWelcome hashtag. This post has gained worldwide recognition and became one of the top trends in cyberspaces like twitter, facebook, etc.

Being the best-selling newspaper of Germany, *Bild* right after using pictures of Aylan has removed all pictures by stating that there have been diverse concerns over the choice of the images of the drowned young refugee. This decision was taken after dedicated its whole back page to the harrowing image of Aylan lying face down on a beach in Turkey. When dedicated its whole back page to the tragic death of Aylan, *Bild* has provided a text²⁶, since the text was in German, translation of the text was placed as footnote, pointing out the overwhelming tragic death of a three-year-old refugee. There has been a significant difference in terms of media framing of the refugee crisis across Europe. For instance, while German best-selling title, *Bild*, used its front page to portray a picture of refugees mainly children, *Bild* adopted a headline called ‘WIR HELFEN’²⁷, a prominent British tabloid, *Daily Express*, had adopted a headline stating ‘MIGRANTS SWARM TO BRITAIN’. Just in these two examples of media coverage of the refugee crisis we could get how Europe divided within.

Forced to leave his hometown along with his family, three-year-old boy, Aylan had puzzled the globe with his tragic death. There had been numerous news and posts about this shocking picture of Syrian boy across the universe. In terms of framing the news, Europe ‘divided’ within. Some coverages of this harrowing picture of Aylan are as stated below:

²⁶ “A Syrian child lying dead on the beach in Bodrum, drowned trying to escape the war in his native country, died on the way to Europe. Images like this have become shamefully commonplace. We cannot bear them any longer, but we want, we must show them, because they document the historic failure of our civilization in this fugitive crisis. Europe, this immensely rich continent, will be guilty if we continue to allow children to drown at our coasts. We have too many ships, too many helicopters, too many reconnaissance planes to continue watching this disaster. This photo is a message to the whole world, to finally unite and ensure that not a single child dies again on the run. After all, who are we, what are our values really worth, if we continue to allow this to happen?”

²⁷ ‘WE ARE HELPING’.

The Independent has covered the story by directing and so criticizing the policies of European Union providing a full-page picture of Aylan lying on the beach. Along with *the Independent*, *the Guardian* has also adopted the story by drawing attention to cruel and harsh refugee policies of the Europe. Additionally, *Daily Mail* and *Times* framed the story dwelling on the tragic death of Aylan and also stated that ‘Europe divided’. As four of the best-selling tabloids in Italy, *II Manifesto*, *La Stampa*, *La Reppublicca* and *Corriere della Sera* have provided picture of Aylan by paying attention on harrowing refugee policies within Europe as well. In Spain, *El Periodico*, *El Pais*, *El Mundo* and *El Correo* have also used the image of Aylan lying on the beach along with criticizing norms and values across Europe harshly.

To put in a nutshell, at first the media in Europe had a tendency to issue and spread solidarity, goodwill and empathy towards people forced to leave war zones or those who are victims of diverse tragic events, however within time this good and welcoming-all with open arms attitude has shifted to more concerned and even cruel, harsh and hostile towards those migrant communities since the media dwelled on stereotypes and paid attention to crimes, threats and anti-social behaviour of this ‘other’ group within the society.

7.1.1 Analysis of Refugee Crisis by the Media in Turkey

Cumhuriyet is known for its politically leftist tendency, republican view and secularist advocacy. On the other hand, it is also known for its straightforward style of press reporting, mostly without any visual image. Coming from the Kemalist ideal, it is a strong commentator against anti-secularist, religion oriented views and this stand did not change ever since then. Even though the newspaper never reaches great amount of sales, it is quite popular among a certain faction of nationalist people, mostly born during the ‘50s and ‘60s.

The refugee crisis, to be more precise, the tragic death of Aylan, draw public interest not only locally but across the globe. This interest has been so vigorous that there have been many news on all media platforms about this heartbreaking story of Aylan, especially across Turkey and Europe. Not only the ones that are directly framing the exact solid case, but also there are 5-6 items on each paper, each day. Which are like, other stories about the refugee crisis, how to draw public attention to the tragic issue and how to ‘help’ children from

suffering these toxicating outcomes of wars around the world, etc. Keeping the track of the four mainstream print media in Turkey which are *Hürriyet*, *Posta*, *Cumhuriyet* and *Yeni Şafak*, it is *Cumhuriyet* that shows less interest to this tragic event at the beginning. While the former ones have issued this tragedy immediately by providing their front page to the mindblowing picture of Aylan sweeping on one of well-known beaches in Turkey, *Cumhuriyet* has framed the issue in the inner pages respectively, instead there has been much attribution to the local political and sociological issues at the time. When this heartbreaking pictures of Aylan have covered the front pages of both national and international media platforms continuously, *Cumhuriyet* has started to frame the picture of Aylan on its front page on September 4 along with a heading stated ‘the whole world has repeatedly dwelled on the tragic death of him, Aylan.’ Apart from the heading provided on the front page, there has been a subheading drawing attention to the devastating side of the story by pointing out ‘Aylan who swept away on the coastline of Bodrum has devastated our hearts’. In the details of the news, there are also a discussion over whether the media should frame these dreadful pictures of Aylan or not. While some are in favour of the idea of sharing the pictures, some are totally against as they have been claiming that these pictures could result in a panic in the communities. The discussion has also paid attention to the ‘ethics of journalism’ as well. There have been opposing opinions over this, too. Just as some academics are strictly against covering of these catastrophic images by stating that these kinds of actions are solidly against ethics of journalism, some have supported these actions by dwelling on purposes of the media tools, to them, the media is supposed to provide information and so spread it across all layers of communities. On the following days, just after the breaking out of these disastrous pictures of Aylan lying on the beach on almost all media tools globally, the discussions over the refugee crisis has shifted towards the attitude of Europe adopted about the issue. Escaping their homelands due to ever lasting wars in the region, those who are forced to leave their hometowns have been seeking to find ways to move forward across Europe, and this has caused substantial tragedies that result in hundreds of deads. On the way to Europe, the refugees have forced to find out illegal ways, that have put their lives in extreme danger, to arrive Europe in hope of adopting a better life. As referred previously, Marshall McLuhan points out that “the medium is the message”. To further on, yet, although McLuhan has focused on the technological perspective of the media, in today’s modern world, it can be stated the message is the medium since the media is connected and shared values to form several modes of hypertexts. Because of this interrelated aspects of the media, there are a great deal of possibilities for us to process the message to a medium. The very core

organization of communication forms the ways the message to be received. As it can be understood, it is the content of the message that shapes the process of the communication. In this perspective, it will be able to help us to understand different approaches claimed by power groups in the society, to be more precise, in the case of adopting and framing the devastating images of Aylan lying on the beach. As McLuhan states ‘it is the content of the message that shapes the process of communication’, and here all discussions over framing of the pictures of two-year-old baby on the beach have been posted as a means of moulding the very core process of communication.

One of the other well-known sayings of McLuhan is that of ‘global village’, he elaborates on it by drawing attention to the advent and the expansion of the media, a communication process has started between communities and civilizations and thanks to this interaction, civilizations had been created and so mass media has boosted up globalization since then. In his mostly quoted saying “global village” McLuhan has focused on the importance of the digital media on shaping and creating interrelated societies. It is the idea that wherever you are in this universe, a message can be submitted and distributed to any part of the world and so received by individuals accordingly (Giddens, 2009). The distribution and framing of the pictures Aylan may well be associated with this perspective of the mass media, thanks to the media spectrums, all world has unfortunately made familiar with the disturbing death of Aylan.

As mentioned above, when the refugee crisis has broken out, *Cumhuriyet* has adopted a different attitude comparing with the three other newspapers dwelled on; *Posta*, *Hürriyet* and *Yeni Şafak*. Instead of covering the first pages with the dreadful death of Aylan, and toxicating outcomes of Syrian war, *Cumhuriyet* has studied the issue in the inner pages in very first days of the tragedy, though. The acute outcomes of war in Syria and rushing of people towards Europe have pushed countries in Europe especially European Union to hold an emergency meeting in Luxembourg, the head of the European Union at the time. In the details of the news, it has been highlighted that European Union has agreed to take immediate cautions all over Europe especially along the countries on the route of refugees like Greece, Cyprus, Macedonia, Serbia, Hungary, etc. There is a specific reference to the prime minister of Hungary, Victor Orbán, since he has been known with his right-wing political views and severely against accepting refugees to his country, Hungary, he is started to be called as ‘D/V-ictator’. As one of the right-wing political leader, Victor Orbán is strictly against the idea of

concenting to receive refugees to Europe specifically to Hungary. While briefing about the crisis to the media, Orban has constantly pointed out that ‘the crisis with all of its assets is Germany’s, not ours, Hungarians’, he also ordered to the refugees by saying that they should stay in countries like Serbia and Turkey instead of entering Europe.

The day *Cumhuriyet* has framed the picture of two-year-old Aylan on its front page was September 4, 2015. The title that has been chosen is ‘the whole world has talked about him’²⁸. Along with the ongoing polemics against ‘ethics of journalism’ and ‘rollercoaster’ of diverse opinions of scholars, academics, and power groups within the society, it has stated that images of Aylan have been circulated all over the world, and so this made him symbol of the refugee crisis. To further on the tragic death of Aylan, *Cumhuriyet* has provided a wide range of headlines of European tabloids and newspaper to its readers to dwell on the political and sociological irony of Europe within. Besides images and headlines of the newspapers, *Cumhuriyet* has adopted a title called ‘World Press: It is not the beach where Aylan has died, it is the place where Europe has died, instead.’²⁹ In addition to everlasting polemics against refugee crisis within Europe, division in Europe has been emphasized through this piece of news. Moreover, in the following inner pages, one of the pictures of Aylan’s father has been shared with readers underlining the title as ‘heartbreaking return’³⁰, in the details of the news, it has been stated that this was the third time that Aylan’s family has tried to arrive Europe through Greece, and this last one has caused Aylan’s life. With the picture of Aylan, and his father’s picture, an image of Nilüfer Demir, one of the correspondents of Doğan Media Group, who has taken this dreadful picture of Aylan, has been shared along with Demir’s comments while taking the picture. Demir states that ‘I had petrified when seeing the death body of Aylan lying on the beach, there was nothing I could do for him but make the whole world hear his scream, and I did this just click on the release button of the camera. About one-hundred meters away his brother Galip has been lying on the beach as well, there was nothing over them to put them over the water.’ At the same page, there has been a reference to Canada as well, in details it is stated that after this tragic events Canada has offered citizenship to Aylan’s family, yet it was declined by Aylan’s father.

²⁸ “Dünya onu konuştu”, Bodrum’da boğulan 2 yaşındaki Aylan yürekleri sızlattı.

²⁹ “Dünya Basını: Aylan’ın değil Avrupa’nın öldüğü sahil.”

³⁰ “acıtan dönüş!”

The tragic death of Aylan was analysed on four different newspapers: *Hürriyet*, *Posta*, *Cumhuriyet* and *Yeni Şafak*. The same coding sheet was used for all the dailies and the questions are the ones mainly examining the newspapers' way of framing such a dreadful event. The comments especially on the conclusion part was written considering these newspapers' ideologies, political stands, owner's relations and audience's appeals. The hardcopies of the newspapers were found through archives and brought together for a comparative, chronological study. The four coders with different perspectives including me coded the sheet. Only 16 questions were used considering their compliance with the provoking case. 11 tables of statistics were prepared and analysed for full comprehension.

The alarming tragedy of Aylan was coded between the 1st and 7th of September, 2015. 26 news items that are directly handling, covering the horrifying death of Aylan Kurdi on print media were found. On the other hand, the case is vastly effective over the Turkish society and thus over the media's choices of framing. That is why there are many side-news that are used in the conclusion part for enriching the study and showing the atmosphere of the moral panic. To be precise, these side news are the statements of power groups within the society or other busts by the communities on the refugees " references " like other(s), threats against settled codes within the society, demons, troublemakers, etc. The coding ends on the 7th of September because after that point, the news items change their direction into a more generalistic view covering refugee crisis problem as a whole, not just as the heartbreaking tragedy of two-year-old-baby, Aylan. However, it is by all means for sure that the press media framed many probable death of a refugee child events alongside the case. Which are like emphasizing the terrible outcomes of wars and criticizing the policies of countries towards those who have been forced to leave their homelands respectively. Moreover, everlasting discussions across Europe about current refugee crisis are crucial as well. Since these ongoing polemics has reached to an undeniable level with the dreadful death of Aylan, These polemics and discourses about refugee crisis, more specifically on death of Aylan, has been dwelled on in details and covered on the conclusion part accordingly as well.

The harrowing displacement of 'others', sources of moral panic for many societies, politicians, power groups, etc, that is to say refugees, and in this sense, precisely shocking

death of Aylan, images of his death body lying on the beach, circulation of this images not only locally but also globally draw public interest so much that there have been a lot of news on the press media about his terrific death, along with heartbreaking tragedies of refugees while being forced to run away from their countries.. Not only the ones that are directly framing the exact gruesome story behind the story of Aylan and the journey that has caused his death, but also there are 3-4 news items on each paper, each day. Which are like, refugees in Turkey, how to feel empathy and understand them, and also some are about how to minimize the possible threats that these ‘evils’ hold against core layers of the society, etc.. Keeping the track of the former ones only which are 26 in total, the Table 1 shows the general distribution of the number of the news items (n=26) from the aforesaid four newspapers, on print media.

Table 1. the Distribution of Total News Items to Newspapers				
Newspapers	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative
Percent				
<i>Hürriyet</i>	8	31	3	31
<i>Posta</i>	8	31	31	62
<i>Cumhuriyet</i>	5	19	19	81
<i>Yeni Şafak</i>	5	19	19	100,0
Total	26	100,0	100,0	

As seen above in Table 1, in first three days just after the tragic death of Aylan which is as of 2nd of September, 2015, the tragic death of Aylan along with the horrifying items on refugee crisis hits the tabloids 26 times. *Hürriyet* and *Posta* prefer to frame the tragedy more regularly while *Cumhuriyet* and *Yeni Şafak* cover the issue with 5 news items. *Hürriyet* and *Posta* are known for their tactics to boost sells and they sometimes turn the issues that draw public attention into magazine news by using many elements stated in “The Construction of

Crime News”³¹ such as public appeal, audience, folk devils and ideology. For the refugee crisis and more precisely the petrifying death of Aylan, the same goes. It would be correct to say that *Posta* and *Hürriyet* frame the disaster in a wellrounded way, on the other hand, the interviews with the family members of the two-year-old baby, Aylan, the fathers’ sorrows, etc sometimes overshadow the actual disaster itself. The same two also make news that are trying to draw attention on the terrible outcomes of wars and linking it with tragedies that especially children have to cope with accordingly. There have been numerous discussions over politics and power groups in the societies who are labelled as one of the main reasons behind these tragedies.

On the first day the tragedy exploded, *Hürriyet* and *Posta* frames it on their headlines. The heartbreaking story of Aylan and his harrowing images lying on the beach have played a significant role in that decision. On the other hand, *Cumhuriyet* settles with giving a small space on the front page and again a small piece on the inner pages. What is more interesting is *Yeni Şafak*’s stand on this. The newspaper does not seem to be interested in the issue considering their framing it on the 1st of September. Instead of covering the tragedy on its headline, there has been a side news along with other politic issues of the time. In details of the news *Yeni Şafak* hold a title stated that ‘Europe has sunk the ships carrying refugees to Europe’. In the inner pages at the same day, there has been one more reference to this attitude of Europe against refugees, this time Europe has been framed as ‘murderer of refugees’. Even when almost all print media both locally and globally has framed the terrific pictures of Aylan lying on the beach on 3rd of September, *Yeni Şafak* covers the case as a side news, just giving a little space holding picture of Aylan stating that ‘humanity ashore’. Nevertheless, all of a sudden, on the following days, they press several side news about this tragedy and refugee in inner pages, but not a headline, though. What is more, they also behave very generously among the inner pages too. However, the ideological stand of a newspaper is also significant while deconstructing their way of framing news. As for *Yeni Şafak*’s framing of the refugee crisis and more precisely tragic death of Aylan, it is seen that they do not actually cover the issue itself, but they rather criticize the politics and strategies of the governments in Europe and their ‘dehumanized’ regulations through the tragedy. They strongly believe that these moral panics haunting societies and Europe and so have caused hundreds of deaths, and the immoral politics and polemics they face at the current days are

³¹ Yvonne Jewkes, “The Construction of Crime News,” *Media and Crime*, 44.

the end results of the ongoing anti-refugees, terrorizing and demonizing movements and politics against ‘other(s)’ within Europe. The detachment from the human-oriented system is shown as the reason for the moral panic that the Turkish and Europe communities faces, according to the daily *Yeni Şafak*. On the following days, they keep giving striking information about the ongoing panics oriented around refugees. The last news item from *Yeni Şafak* is again fueling the panic, the heading of the inner page states: “Say goodbye to the angels”, “Here are the other Aylan(s)”, “The moment that mouth(s) wide shut”. The reason for that is explained as the harsh politics of Europe against refugees and preventions including custodies, arrestments of anyone crossing the borders in Europe illegally. This reminds us of the British government’s decision about not pushing the Pedophiles underground, seizing that this only results in losing them, not being able to find “the other” again. Thus, the feeling of inefficiency and fear for anyone who reads this heading is obvious.

Table 2. News Covered on the Headline				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	3	11,5	11,5	11,5
No	23	88,5	88,5	100,0
Total	26	100,0	100,0	

The newspapers that covered the tragic death of a two-year-old-baby, Aylan on the headline are: *Hürriyet*, *Posta* and *Cumhuriyet*, as side news not headlines by *Yeni Şafak*, yet being very generous in the inner pages and drawing public attention, though. As mentioned above, *Yeni Şafak* prefers to draw public attention to the issue through criticizing the current European governments' legislations and politics about the issue, and also by dwelling on the humanitarian side of the tragedy by somehow attempting to affect the feelings of people, and so gather them to their basic, human fabrics back again and make them think over again over this crisis. *Hürriyet* and *Posta* on the other hand, maps the event and tells about it by adopting a very harsh attitude especially towards European countries and their severe policies against refugees. On 1st of September, *Hürriyet* holds a headline³² stated "Border of Shame" to pay attention on the heartbreaking conditions refugees have to cope with while crossing borders in Europe. Through the death of Aylan and all these tragedies that refugees have to face with we get to know about Aylan and "the murderers" of his life along with refugee stories while trying to run away from war zones and their homelands, how they are forced to escape from their countries, in the case of Aylan, how do his parents earn money, how "ordinary" the victim, Aylan, is, how "out of the line" the case is. The media offers us an underlying storyline of all actors of the tragic events. The ordinariness of the victim shows the onlooker that each one of us are potential victims. According to the common media theory, this is what the media tries to transfer.³³ On the other hand, by individualizing the folk devil, underlining the defendants' being against society even when they were teenagers show the simplification of the media, they directly link the social reasons and the result: Problematic, demonized people, here to say refugees, and this sense, Aylan Kurdi and the harrowing, tragic event, death of two-year-old baby, Aylan. The onlooker follows up the progress as if watching a movie on TV in a totally detached way. In this way, the media manages to personalize and

³² "Utanç Sınırı".

³³ Yvonne Jewkes, "Theorizing Media and Crime," *Media and Crime*, 34.

differentiate the folk devil from the portrayal of the John and Jane Doe. They give sensational and private details of their lives and in this way, they can add an human interest appeal too. In this way, the tragic event is viewed as actions and reactions of these “different” people. Moreover, the onlooker grabs the chance of satisfying their own normality, fitting the norms of society and then, upholding fictive identities against these deviants, refugees.

Table 3. News Covered on the Inner Pages				
Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent	
Yes	21	80,7	80,7	80,7
No	5	19,3	19,3	100,0
Total	26	100,0	100,0	

All three newspapers but *Yeni Şafak* sets the headline at least once. *Yeni Şafak*, on the other hand, prefers to write in a more straightforward way in reporting and comparatively smaller size of tabloids. The newspaper for the most part gives the details of the tragic death and ongoing polemics over the problems that refugees have been facing. While *Cumhuriyet* comes forward as the only newspaper writing about media’s exaggeration of the crime news; the reading between the lines of *Cumhuriyet* is also crucial. As said before, the ideological stands and their owner’s views, relationships play a crucial role in the mapping process. As mentioned beforehand, in the very first parts of this dissertation while I have been trying to analyse the first moral panic about first Satanist murder that haunted a generation in Turkey, that is to say the murder of Şehriban Çoşkunfirat by the Satanists, the ideological stands along with their owner’s perspectives and relationships, etc have a vital role in framing events specifically cases about moral panics. In this perspective, it is crucial to steer back to how different discourses of these four newspapers are while covering the same events. For instance, reminding the case of first criminal act of Satanists, while *Hürriyet* prefers to label

Satanists as “Terrorists”, *Posta* as “Perverts”, *Yeni Şafak* as “Immoral and Faithless People”, *Cumhuriyet* prefers to categorize them as “Tariqah members”. Not only the factors mentioned above, but also the social values of the majority of the audience is also effective in shaping the stand of the newspaper. The connotations of the word “Tariqah” in Turkish are quite obvious, however, *Cumhuriyet* more than once uses the word underlying Satanism’s actually being a religion and Satanists being a member of it, just like the members of other tariqahs in Turkey. On the other hand, *Yeni Şafak* also uses the same word, but with one addition they call Satanists, “*Pervert tariqah*’s members”. *Yeni Şafak* feels the urge to draw a line between the religious part of the country and the Satanists. This line is also the one mentioned at the beginning of the article, the one which is enabling the upholding of your fictive identity against the one which is lower than yours. The media helps the society to draw a safety line between the folk devils, dangerous deviants and themselves. But it at the same time exaggerates the fear by stressing the the role of the deviant and thus attaches the community to itself even more.

The preference of the visual items and the way in which these items are selected play a very crucial role in framing the news. The photographs or pictures have the power to fuel moral panics. It is well-known fact that provoking images especially visual images containing nudity or violence can convey straightforward, horrifying or disturbing messages to the audience. Throughout the scanning of the news items, many relative pictures of the refugees, as mentioned before, Aylan Kurdi is seen as symbol of the refugee crisis, so there have been numerous circulations of his images nationally and internationally and some other symbols that are used for the sake of informing the society about this great “tragedy”, and especially for European countries “danger, folk devils” are found. While framing the events related to refugee crisis, a great number of news items with pictures and their relevance to the tragedy have also been concentrated on. Most of the pictures covered by four newspapers stated above have illustrated the mindblowing journeys that the refugees have been forced to proceed. Along with the most striking and heartbreaking images of Aylan, refugees on boats, while trying to cross the borders in Europe, trains packed with refugees, etc have been constantly circulated by the mass media to convey how dreadful conditions of refugees are.

Table 4. News with Pictures				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	18	69,2	69,2	69,2
No	8	30,8	30,8	100,0
Total	26	100,0	100,0	

Table 5. News with Irrelevant Pictures				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	5	19,2	19,2	19,2
No	13	50	50	69,2
No picture	8	30,8	32	100,0
Total	26	100,0		

Even these preferences by the media seem harmless, the lack of deregulation especially throughout *Hürriyet* and *Posta*'s visual items is visible. Even though the “lack” of deregulation is something that is not very common in Turkey, the death body of Aylan Kurdi is obvious on *Hürriyet*'s tabloid. The reason is that the required mosaicing is only applied onto his face, not over his whole body. While *Hürriyet* and *Posta* prefers to mosaic this picture a little bit, *Yeni Şafak* does not do so and presses such a horrifying picture as it is. The acts by the society's new folk devil are by all means horrifying and to be protected from. While at times when the Syrian war first broke out and so many people left their countries and proceed to Turkey, the media's coverages of refugees were respectively negative and there have been harsh attitudes towards them both among public and on the mass media platforms, in this sense, the media's decisions especially in language and in photographs are in a way exaggerating the fear and thus, creating a moral panic among the society. Moreover, they also cause the criminalization of a certain group of people; distorting core fabrics of their societies,

causing panics within the society and holding serious threats against all spectrums of the society, etc.

As seen on the Table 6, 26,9 percent of the total news items' sources are not stated on tabloids. 26,9 percent is quite high, but most of these items belong to *Yeni Şafak*. Since the newspaper, referring to European countries, frames the refugee crisis like a social problem threatening the whole society, it is not surprising, though. Because the news items of *Yeni Şafak* mostly include professionals' comments about the new, ongoing and right-winged political system which is more dehumanized, xenophobic and detached from the basic human rights oriented one. *Yeni Şafak* prefers to quote from psychologists, professors and diverse power groups within the society, etc. Thus, the framing of *Yeni Şafak* is more like a political criticizing of the government, rather than the covering a serious social and humanitarian case by a reporter.

Table 6. News Items Without Source				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	7	26,9	26,9	26,9
No	19	73,1	73,1	100,0
Total	26	100,0	100,0	

Table 7. News Sources				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Agency	0	0	0	0
Reporter	14	54	54	54
Office	6	23	23	77
Unknown	6	23	23	100,0
Total	26	100,0	100,0	

The Table 7. shows the news sources of the newspapers. As seen above, most of the news items are prepared by reporters and few of them are gathered from the information departments of the media groups, press companies. While *Hürriyet* and *Posta*'s news items are mostly prepared by reporters and *Cumhuriyet* states "Istanbul News Center" as the source in each news item. Considering *Hürriyet* and *Posta*'s covering the issue and utilizing reporters in the event is not surprising at all. On the other hand, *Cumhuriyet* frames the issue in a very straightforward, case oriented way that is it not surprising that their source is the central newsroom. As mentioned above, 4 out of 6 news that are published without the declaration of the source is of *Yeni Şafak*'s.

Table 8. Coverage of Other Events (Family interviews, professional's reviews, etc.)				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	16	61,5	61,5	61,5
No	10	38,5	38,5	100,0
Total	26	100,0		

By many newspapers, the harrowing images of Aylan lying on the beach and the tragic death of him through the impact of journalistic ethics was turned into an interesting story to be followed and affected by the society. The story has many layers including interviews with family members, the comments by professionals, speeches by diverse power groups within the society, etc. To be precise, there is 5 indirect coverage of the event in *Posta*, 1 in *Cumhuriyet*, 6 in *Hürriyet* and 4 in *Yeni Şafak*. That is to say, there is even more coverage for side stories, then the actual tragic event itself. Especially *Posta* and *Hürriyet* frames the families cries with enormous space. *Hürriyet* even covers an interview with Aylan Kurid's family. The main point of the whole news item is, this. No matter what their political stands, their owners' views, etc. are. All newspapers stated here have gathered together alongside the terrific death of Aylan and monstrous, even they have been framing in different angles, though. There have been harsh criticts against overwhelming policies across Europe on every print media in Turkey and unfortunaltely with the circulation of the death body of Aylan, the

mass media in Europe has also steered back and started to cover the case in a more humanitarian point of view. The tone of the news items is also blaming the media, in the otherization process of the refugees blaming that as bearing probable threats to settled core fabrics and values within the society.

Table 9. Any Accusation of the Defendant on the News and/or Headline?				
Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent	
Yes	16	61,5	61,5	61,5
No	10	38,5	38,5	100,0
Total	26	100,0	100,0	

Through the media's wide coverage out of public appeal and interest, the tragic death of Aylan and refugee crisis turn into an act that is not only against a single person (Aylan) but also towards a whole society's peace of mind. Setting off from the same idea, the media does not hesitate to criticize, accuse, blame and even insult those who play crucial role in this tragedy, power groups, European countries, etc. The adjectives used for them are; devils, them, others, troublemakers, evil, immoralpervert, folk devils, immoral, etc. As said before, the selection of such adjectives differs according to the ideologies and the audiences of the newspapers.

The simplification through individualization is one of the methods of the media in framing the criminal events. While *Cumhuriyet* mainly puts the case forward, *Posta* and *Hürriyet* also prefer to integrate the personal lives of the family members and the harrowing event on tabloids. The Table 10. shows us which actor of the case is put forward.

Table 10. Which One is Put Forward: The Case or the Actors?				
Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent	
The case	10	38,5	38,5	38,5
The actors	13	50	50	88,5
Neither	3	11,5	11,5	100,0

Total	26	100,0	100,0
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For the mindblowing death of Aylan Kurdi, the personification of the young Aylan even goes beyond the troubles that the refugees experience itself. For example, there are many news items that does not go beyond giving a brief information about the grievous death of Aylan Kurdi and frames the whole life span of him during the whole page. Of course this is again due to the impact of the public appeal and pressure out of interest upon the media. The media gives the people what they demand. The framing any terrific event like a movie or a story not only helps the mapping process and gathering more interest, but also distinguishing the common people and those folk devils. Because, throughout the news items, we are told that these refugees were “different” from just the beginning. It is even more influential when these “facts” are transferred through the interviews of their family members and that is why there are many interviews of them. The three news items that put forward neither the case nor the actors are *Yeni Şafak*'s. As stated before, *Yeni Şafak* does not cover the case itself but turns it into a material to criticize the governments and politics across Europe.

Once belonged to Dogan Media Group, *Hürriyet* has framed the refugee problem on its frontpage headlining “Border of shame”³⁴ with a calamitous picture of children passing through barbed wire setted on the borderline of Hungary. In the details of the news, just like many other media platforms in Turkey, *Hürriyet* also has criticized Europe severely and accused them of being inconsiderate about this terrific humanitarian disaster the world has been facing. There are also a reference to French Minister of Foreign Affairs, likewise, he criticized the policies of the Hungarian government harshly by stating that as the French we even do not treat animals like that. In the inner pages there is an ongoing discussion over this barbed wire on the border of Hungary, it is being claimed that this border of shame has divide Europe within.

On 3rd of September, 2015, *Hürriyet* covered the terrific story of Aylan by sharing the picture of him lying on the beach dead on its headline stating “The World has been shaken by”³⁵. In details, the tragedy of the refugees and more specifically that of Aylan has been

³⁴ Utanç sınırı, 1st of September, 2015.

³⁵ Dünyayı sarstı, 3rd of September, 2015.

given substantially. One of the key point on this headline of *Hürriyet* is that of their explanation over why they share this picture of Aylan on their frontpage³⁶. As a current discussion over whether to share this terrific picture or not is going on, *Hürriyet* feels the urge to defend itself by referring to ethics of journalism and freedom of speech. Same day, in its inner pages, there has been a title called “Is there something beyond?” once again sharing details of the tragic death of Aylan along with news and pictures shared by Nilüfer Demir, one of the correspondents of the Dogan News Agency. On 6th of September, *Hürriyet* shares a picture of refugees once again on its frontpage, this time by using a more mild tone. On the headline, it is stated that “Aylan has opened the road” made reference to the outcomes of the dreadful story of Aylan as giving hope the rest of the refugees trying to arrive Europe.

Belongs to the same media group at the time of the tragedy, *Posta* has also shared the picture of Aylan on its frontpage referring to the disaster by stating that “Do not drop the newspaper and wide shut your eyes when seeing this picture! Let the world burn”. On the following days *Posta* does not share any kinds of news on its front page about the refugees, instead frames the current politics at the time. On 4th of September, 2015, there has been a picture of Aylan’s father on the headline of *Posta* along with the saying of him; “I do not want anymore” making a reference to his application to Canada and how Canada has rejected it first, yet after the circulation of the grievous images of Aylan, Canadian government has offered him citizenship and why he has denied this offer, etc.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Starting from the very beginning of 2011, the world has faced with a rush of refugees that have been forced to abandon their homes because of various reasons like hoping to have better life standards, ongoing civil wars in their countries, wishing to have better socio-

³⁶ “Avrupa İnsan Hakları Mahkemesi (AİHM), ‘İfade özgürlüğü yalnızca hükümetleri değil, toplumu da rahatsız edici, şoke edici, incitici haberlerin verilmesini kapsar’ diyor. Biz de dünyanın gözünü kapattığı mülteci dramına dikkat çekmenin bir gazetecilik görevi olduğu inancıyla bu sarsıcı fotoğrafı manşetten yayınlıyoruz.” 3rd of September, 2015.

economic conditions, etc. Yet, among these reasons, one of them is much more striking than others, that is being forced to leave their homes because of breaking out of wars in their homelands. While several parts of the globe have been affected by these humanitarian tragedies, Middle East is by far one of the worst parts of the world that terrific tragedies have kept on and on. Due to its geographic position, Turkey has been experiencing this tragedy to a great degree especially since 2011. With the broke-out of civil war in Syria, Turkey has been trying to manage one of the most serious migration movements in its history. Together with all migrants and refugees from different countries across the globe, almost 5 million people have come to Turkey, a great number of them have continued to Europe and many other countries, though. Because of such a great number refugees remaining in Turkey, the refugee issue is becoming as an apparent social phenomena and so bringing along the discourses of social acceptance and exclusion. In such an atmosphere, the role and interference of the media is inevitable, and so as mentioned and illustrated in this study all discussions about this social phenomena through the mass media have been shown in details.

At this point, I feel that it is crucial to have a look at the term “refugee” and so “refugeeism” as well. As the term “refugee” has been elaborated on in details through this study, I feel the urge to explain “refugeeism” in details as well. As can be understood from the term itself, it is an international organization chiefly linked to the very form of the nation-state. In any usual conditions, every person is kept safe by his/her hometown country, and those that cannot be kept safe by their countries because of war, or due to any kind of political, religious, ethnical, etc oppression turn to find out shelter from another country. In history, specially at the time of wars, there have been thousands of people seeking protection from different countries across the globe respectively.

Since the issue of refugeeism is an international phenomenon, there has been a legal backdrop of refugees and asylum seekers internationally. As known, the legal backdrops resort to the 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and also the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees³⁷. The status of refugees and the term refugees have been stated as follow:

³⁷ Details about the Convention: <http://www.unhrc.org>.

“Refugee is every person owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it”³⁸.

When referring to refugees and the legal foundation of their status, one cannot pass by without referring to 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, establishing chief human rights from an all-inclusive framework of principles. It is defined that “Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution”. All national and international adjustments have been explained in details. As I provided in the very first part of the study, there has been a great number of people seeking asylum from other countries and most of them have been defined as legal refugees, figures and numbers about asylum seekers and refugees have been explained in details by UNHRC, these figures have been stated beforehand as well.

Not surprising at all, Turkey is the country that shelters the highest number of refugees in the world, these figures have boomed up dramatically because of the Syrian war in the region. Likewise, almost all of the Syrians in Turkey now have taken temporary protection status, too. Since such big numbers of refugees in Turkey have caused major changes in the country, social, economic, political perspectives of the “problem” is inevitable as well. In this sense, the media coverages of this phenomena and all panics coming after it have been elaborated as well. How both the print and visual media have been tackling the refugees in Turkey turns to a significant area of research not only for comprehending the situation but also for directing and naming up next policies as well. On this aspect of the media it is stated that:

“Turkey’s to date high but fragile social acceptance level cannot be assessed independent of the attitudes of the media. Analysing the rhetoric towards refugees in the

³⁸ Convention Relating to the Status of the Refugees, Chapter 1, Article 1(2).

media can be an important way of developing a co-existence culture that is peaceful and respectful.”³⁹

Speaking of refugee crisis and how they have been framed on the coverage of the media in Turkey, there have been some primer elements in the beginning, yet, it must not be forgotten that the situation has changed to a great degree with the tragic death of Aylan Kurdi, and these are to be stated as follows:

- In the beginning, the problem of refugees do not draw the media attention in Turkey to a great degree even though Turkey has been hosting the highest number of refugees in the world.
- Since the politic atmosphere in Turkey has affected the mass media more than any country in the region, the common politic discourses like “The future of the Assad regime” are being adopted by the media more than the issue of refugees.
- Tweenes of the problem is tackled highly since it is related to very sentimental interpretations such as political, social, economic, etc impacts of the issue as well. However, these aspects are kept in a limited way, though.
- Reference to ideological stands of the problem has been kept fresh all the time, that’s why arguments over the Assad regime and the political atmosphere in Syria are much more common rather than refugees.
- “Sacrifice vs. Short-sightedness”: While the media groups that are close the government are choosing discourses like “generosity and kindness, sacrifice, and collaboration”, the opposite groups state it as “an act of short-sightedness”, though.
- The mass media in Turkey keeps a track of the cases occurring at the time rather than providing a detailed analysis of the problem.

³⁹ http://ozgurulukarastirmalari.com/pdf/rapor/OAD_xZCvzrc.pdf.

- Being closely related to the foreign policy of the government along with its humanitarian aspect, the issue of refugee and criticisms about it are against the foreign policy of the government.
- The media groups that have close ties with the government have been framing the images of refugee camps and keeping stating that how proud they are.
- “Exodus”, a great number of the media platforms in Turkey prefer to cover the attempts of refugees trying to arrive Turkey and incidents happened.

When all of the perspectives and attitudes of the media in Turkey are taken into consideration, it might be said that the very problematic issue of refugees is ignored by the media comparing with the media in Europe, yet the media coverages in Europe are mainly about the concerns and fears of the Europe as refugees are seen as holding serious threats to their settled values within their societies rather than the humanitarian side of the problem. The very first coverages and attitudes of the media in Turkey are as follows:

“After the arrival of Syrian refugees to Turkey since April 2011, some important breaking points in the media coverage can be observed. The period from 2011 until 2015 was characterized by covering the human tragedy and the future of the Assad regime. The most frequently used discourse on the topic of refugees until September 2015 was that of “illegal migrants,” a connotation that immigrants are illegal and a perception that they are guilty. An example is the event of January 19, 2015, when 333 immigrants were brought back to Turkey by the coastal guards as they were trying to go from Mersin, Turkey to Italy. Mainstream media used the following discourse to cover the event: “333 Illegal Immigrants Captured”, “Illegal Immigrant Operation”, “Raid on Illegal Immigrants”. News covering sinking refugee boats do not dwell much

on the term of “human traffickers” but rather focus repeatedly on “illegal immigrants”. This creates a perception of guilt in peoples’ minds.”⁴⁰

Dwelled on before, this attitude of the media has changed with the arrival of the tragic death of Aylan Kurdi. The mindblowing, harrowing images of Aylan lying dead on the beach off Bodrum have shifted the perspectives and also coverages of the media on refugees. When the dead body of Aylan has been found in Bodrum on 2nd of September, 2015, the media has turned its attention on the tragedies that the refugees has been suffering from then, not only the media in Turkey almost all media platforms across the globe has shown attention to the problem. Starting from this point, the Turkish media had begun to frame news of the tragedy and criticize the silence of the universe in this sense as well. The media started to use headlines stating that : “Global Media Finally Woke Up”, “Children Washing Up On Shores”, etc.

Whenever a tragedy occurred in the Mediterranean Sea, the media has started to use headlines like “Result of Lack of Conscience of Europeans”. The reason behind such headlines are sayings of the politicians in Turkey as they have been keeping blaming European countries all the time while kept showing off about everything that Turkey has done for the refugees so far. In this point of view, it is sensational that the media in Turkey has paid much more attention to the problems that refugees in Europe dealing with rather than the ones in Turkey.

This attitude of the media keeps going on and on until agreement between Europe and Turkey. Discourses and coverages of the media has changed accordingly. As agreement included a visa freedom to the EU, headlines about the tragedy of refugees have been replaced by the ones claiming visa freedom to European countries and so on. “Refugees are no longer the subject of the news after the headlines like “Delightful News”, “Dream Comes True”, etc.”.

Similarily, the issue of refugees has also become a hot topic of debate among politicians especially between the ruling party and the opposition parties, no wonder both have been using the problem to reach their political aspirations though.

⁴⁰ See http://ozgurlukarastirmalari.com/pdf/rapor/OAD_xZCvzrc.pdf.

After statements of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan on Syrians and especially after explaining “citizenship” in a refugee camp, the media has started to use the term “guest” for the Syrians, but this saying holds not only negative also positive implications. In one of the articles focusing on the issue of the refugees, J. Tolay states that when thinking about the Turkish peoples’ mind about the asylum seekers in the country, the terms that are mainly thought as positive such as “pity”, “hospitality” and “multiculturalism” are shaping the background of their minds. The terms that have been constantly stated about the Syrians like “refugees, guests, asylum seekers and those who are under temporary protection” have been used far beyond the context of legal, international and technical ones though. There have been ongoing discussions about the refugees and their status on diverse media platforms in Turkey.

One of the forefront issues that the media in Turkey has used is the crimes committed by the refugees. With the arrival of the refugees, news about mugging, theft and assaults have been going up from time to time. The rise of these kinds of news depends on the agenda of the mainstream media, and these types of news started to haunt fears and panics of the society:

“Prejudices of the society solidify as these news keep appearing in media and result in stereotypes about refugees. These kinds of news spark off huge reactions in Turkish society and lead to a perception of threat and feelings of panic.”

Framing of such news resulted in events like arsoning of shops of Syrians and tents, yet such incidents did not show in the mass media and any crimes committed by refugees has a reference to Syrians, the term Syrian is being constantly used by the media when frames crime news.

It is vital to think about the concept of “moral panic” first cited by Jock Young, yet developed by Stanley Cohen. In terms of the media effect, this term is gained much more importance since the media has a substantial impact on the public. Cohen dwells on the term as at the time the media regularly makes references to a specific segment of society primarily in a negative way, this may well result in feelings of panic, fear and threat. In this perspective, as Cohen has paid attention to, the media is constantly referring to refugees as main reasons behind incidents and conflicts in Turkey, and so this kind of discourses result in panic, fear and threats within Turkey.

“This facilitates the antagonism of “us” and “them” and leads to discrimination against refugees. A huge lack of knowledge and carelessness is observed in terms of accuracy and details in the preparation of especially this kind of news. Inaccuracy and insufficient information lead to an increased perception of threat.”⁴¹

Power groups that I have stated and elaborated on in details in the former parts of the study somehow take part in the media content and regulate the discourses accordingly as well. In this sense, with the participation of opposition, pro-government and the alternative media groups, there have been diverse news contents representing their own point of views. “Polarization and conflicting views in politics have repercussions in society and media; and antagonism is created on the topic of refugees and may even lead to hate speech.” On this formation of the participation of the politics and the media, Russell King and Nancy Wood point out that the time when the media in any country use the term refugees in line with the discourses and languages of the power groups specially political parties and groups that support government, “dissemination of perception of” “other”, “guilty” and “unwanted” is foregrounded. (King and Wood, 2002). King and Wood elaborate on this power of the media by indicating that the power that the media platforms hold is substantial as it may well give a voice to refugees and allow them express themselves and so letting us get an idea about what is in their minds, however they warn us by stating that “this power of the media might also pave the way for racist behavior by reversing the process and slowing down adaptation as well”⁴²

While analyzing these four mainstream newspapers in Turkey, Their political stands and owners’ points of views have also been taken into consideration. At the time of the study, when the refugee crisis broke out and so panics and threats afterwards, *Hürriyet* and *Posta* belonged to Dogan Media Group and is known for its political stands against current government. On the other hand, *Cumhuriyet* is known for its leftist and left-leaning news stand. Lastly, *Yeni Şafak* is known with its pro-government and conservative political stands.

⁴¹ http://ozgurlukarastirmalari.com/pdf/rapor/OAD_xZCvzrc.pdf.

⁴² For further details on this effect of the media tools, see King and Wood (2002).

When checked the media coverages of refugees due to political turmoils in the region, the media framing of the issue has been very low on numerous platforms in Turkey, there have been very limited media coverages of the refugees except for the news about those that are risking their lives in the Mediterranean and Aegean Seas. The dramatic rise of the media coverages about the refugees have boomed up upon arrival of the images of the tragic death of Aylan Kurdi and EU-Turkey Agreement periods. Limited representation of the refugees in the media platforms have both positive and negative aspects, negative side of it is that without adequate or low representation in the media, they may not have a way to express themselves and so get a chance to talk about all problems that they are forced to go through, etc, on the other hand, since the representation of the refugees and statements about them in the media might have a negative effect on the adaptation process by regulating prejudices. That's why, positive aspects in the media is turning aside incidents and conflicts that might spring up between refugees and Turkish society by not alluring attention to the refugees and so casting aside them in the background. If the media in Turkey kept constantly referring to the refugees with negative connotations and incidents, this might create a sense that they persistently bring into problems in the society. In conclusion, exclusion of the refugees by the media, except certain times like the death of Aylan Kurdi and agreement between EU and Turkey, rather than talking about them in the media with "incomplete" and "inaccurate" information and framing news which are fragile to be manipulated, has averted incidents arising on the context of social cohesion and acceptance.

What is by all means correct is to say that the media, especially the news media has the power to lead the public opinion about criminal cases and social phenomenons. The mentioned influence increases in the cases which are not widely acknowledged, like moral panics and different kinds of crimes. Since not the majority of the community is well-informed about moral panic and all its components, if it is necessary to talk about more specific cases that have been mentioned formerly like the so-called moral panic that prevails all over the world just after the circulation of the images of the dead body of Aylan Kurdi lying on the beach in Turkey, and an old local one about Satanism, the duty of the media gets heavier. Both cases, Turkey's first Satanic murder, Şehriban Çoşkunpınar murder, and panics about the dreadful death of Aylan which affect a majority of Turkey were widely covered by the press. However, it is seen that the newspapers' way of framing differ in terms of their political, religious ideologies; ownership structures, ties with the government, monetary purposes and public interest issues. While *Posta* and *Hürriyet* approaches the issue as a new

phenomenon, they directly frame it on the headline. The expectancy issue is vital in it, too. What is unexpected draws more interest from the society. This is also the reason why they cover Aylan Kurdi's life stories, his family's opinions as much as the case and turmoils that have seen almost in every country across the globe, and also the heartbreaking journey of Aylan Kurdi and those are not mentioned at all as well. This results in the actors' being the center of the whole public reaction. However, *Cumhuriyet* approaches the issue as a new medium and so a new field and covers it in a straightforward manner centering around "the problem", in private sense the case of Aylan Kurdi, in broad sense refugee problems, itself. On the other hand, their reporting is found dull and boring by many people. Among the four newspapers, *Yeni Şafak* is the one approaching it in a totally distinct perspective. The newspaper does not seem to be interested in the story itself. Besides, they see and reflect it as a great problem that the world is facing and so incidents that refugees included is seen as an important threat against the unity of the society. They directly link it with the lack of solidarity, empathy and humanity among the countries all over the world specially European ones. What is more striking is that they attach the so-called such dehumanized attitudes of countries against refugees with the alarming ongoing immorality in the societies and every aspects of system that they are within. *Yeni Şafak* heavily criticizes the governments through the terrific conditions that the refugees are going through and more precisely through the distressing story of Aylan Kurdi. However, apart from the gruesome story of Aylan Kurdi, what is the common point of these four newspaper about all incidents that refugees included is their locating the refugees as folk devils against the core fabrics of the society. Each of the dailies draw a line between the people fitting the norms of society and these "deviants". It is said that *Posta* and *Hürriyet* put the actors of the case forward. However, among the actors of the incidents those that have been caught committing any kind of crimes are always more interesting and appealing to the audience. The situation was the same at the time of the first moral panic evolving around Satanic groups within the community. When Şehriban Çoşkunpınar was murdered by the Satanist, among all the murderers, one of them, Zinnur Gülşah Dinçer, have caught much more attention from the media and audience as well. In many of the tabloids, her photographs are used with bigger sizes than others'. With a female, brutal, Satanist murderer, a Satanic crime would gain even more popularity.

Again, a sense of romanticizing the issue is obvious. It was the media to depict these people as marginal, dangerous deviants. Now, it is again the media to re-portray the same

individuals craving for acceptance from the society again. As a result, the harrowing death of Aylan, and the distressing problems of the refugees has been changing the society and generation of this time mentally. Whomever is asked about the dead body of Aylan lying on the beach, they remember those days clearly and express how tragic the atmosphere was. Many people have started to feel sympathy towards the refugees and looked at the problem in a more humanist point of view. The heartbreaking story of Aylan, and all panics coming after the big rush of the refugees to Turkey affected a whole generation. The media's impact on this is of course undeniable. Exaggeration is seen especially in the tabloids covering the negative incidents that the refugees committed. However, what is also striking is how media covers their stories after participation of diverse power groups within the society. Just like a begging off, the media tries to normalize the deviants which they depicted as "the others" just before the news circulations about the refugees distressing conditions while trying to reach Europe via the Mediterranean and Aegean Sea, and more precisely before the terrific death of Aylan. That is to say, the media is not only able to redirect our perception on about otherizing the refugees, but also to prepare the society to accept these "once" relentless folk devils as "normals" respectively.

As Thompson has pointed out "the level of feverish concern characteristic of the moral panic phase is not likely to last, even if the problem itself is of long standing." These can be easily seen in the case of Aylan and all panics rooted out at the time of breaking out of the refugee problems specially in Turkey and across Europe. Again to this feature of the moral panics, specifically reference to volatility. Even if the problem has lasted for a long time, its acute phase is not supposed to be at the same level, increases and decreases accordingly.

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