Syrian Refugees as Victims of Fear and Danger Discourse in Social Media: A Youtube Analysis*

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Abstract

Hate speech in the new media has become an emerging topic in recent years, gaining the interest of researchers and policy-makers. However, the concept has been contested as too wide-ranging, and the terms of fear speech and dangerous speech were introduced in order to narrow conceptions. The aim of this paper is to reveal how the dangerous speech and fear speech towards Syrian refugees is disseminated from online debates in two different countries: Poland and Turkey. As the theoretical base, the works of Jeremy Waldron (2012), Susan Benesch (2012a, 2012b) and Antoine Buyse (2014) were used. Applying content analysis to the chosen YouTube comments, the research shows how users motivate calls for violence and build the atmosphere of fear around refugees.

The content analysis reveals that 604 out of 12367 Turkish comments (4,88 per cent) and 126 out of 6190 Polish comments (2,03 per cent) contain fear speech. Refugees are mostly presented as a threat in general, a threat to culture or nation, and on individual level – as terrorists, rapist, thieves, etc. 82 Turkish (0,66 per cent) and 112 Polish (1,8 per cent) comments contain dangerous speech, also in form of open calls to violence or praising the Nazi death camps or the terrorist attack of Anders Breivik in Norway.

The research is important as it analyses the dimensions of hate speech which can actually increase the risk of violence against the members of another group.

Key Words: Dangerous discourse, Fear speech, Hate speech, Refugees, YouTube

· This paper is a part of a wider research on hate speech on YouTube in Poland and Turkey. The first part of the research results were presented during the International Conference on Social Sciences and Humanities, Humboldt University in Berlin (18-21 May, 2017). However, results presented in this paper focus especially on fear speech and dangerous speech and were not published or presented anywhere else

Yeni Medya'da Korku ve Tehlike Söylemlerinin Kurbanları Suriyeli Mülteciler: Bir Youtube Analizi

Özet

Yeni medyadaki nefret söylemi son yıllarda araştırmacıların ve kanun yapıcıların ilgisini çeken bir konu haline gelmiştir. Ancak çok geniş kapsamlı olması nedeniyle kavram, korku ve tehlike söylemleri olarak daha dar ölçeklerde de çalışılmaya başlanmıştır. Bu çalışmanın amacı, Suriyeli mültecilere yönelik korku ve tehlike söylemlerinin Polonya ve Türkiye gibi iki farklı ülkede çevrimiçi tartışmalarda nasıl dile getirildiğini ve yaygınlaştırıldığını ortaya koymaktır. Bunun için Youtube'daki videolar incelenmiştir. Araştırmada kuramsal olarak, Jeremy Waldron (2012), Susan Benesch (2012a, 2012b) ve Antoine Buyse'ın (2014) çalışmalarından yararlanılmıştır. Seçilen Youtube videolarına yapılan yorumları içerik analizi yöntemiyle inceleyen araştırmanın bulguları, kullanıcıların Suriyeli mültecilere yönelik bir şiddet motivasyonu ve korku atmosferi yarattıklarını göstermektedir.

Araştırma sonuçlarına göre 12367 Türkçe yorumun 604'ü ve 6190 Lehçe yorumun 126'sı korku yaratan söylem içermektedir. Mülteciler genel olarak kültüre ve ulusa yönelik tehdit unsuru ve ayrıca bireysel düzeyde terörist, tecavüzcü, hırsız vb. olarak sunulmaktadırlar. Bunların yanısıra 82 Türkçe ve 112 Lehçe yorumun şiddet çağrısı yaptıkları, Nazi ölüm kamplarını ve Anders Breivik'in Norveç'teki terörist saldırılarını öven tehlikeli konuşmalar içerdikleri görülmüştür.

Araştırma, bir gruba yönelik şiddet riskini arttırma potansiyeli taşıyan nefret söyleminin boyutlarını analiz ettiği için önemlidir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Tehlike söylemi, Korku söylemi, Nefret söylemi, Mülteciler, YouTube

Introduction

For decades, migration has been a constitutive element of European societies. However, in the last two years the scale of migration to Europe has been increasing. The conflicts and the poor economic situation in Middle East and Africa forced many people to leave their homelands and seek better life opportunities in Europe. The large number of arrivals to Europe and the subsequent asylum requests since 2015 has been called the refugee crisis – it has divided Europe into two camps – pro and against refugees – and in some countries has caused the rise of the radical right-wing movements.

The paper presents the results of a wider research, dedicated to the problem of hate speech against Syrian refugees in Poland and in Turkey. The choice of these countries were not only driven by the fact the researchers can easily access the data from Turkey and Poland. What is more important, the research focused on the discourses in two extremely different countries. Poland is a member of the European Union and is a very homogeneous country – both ethnically and religiously. According to the last census, 96.10 per cent of the Polish population self-declare to be Catholics. Only about one per million (0,01) of the inhabitants are Muslims. 97,09 per cent of the inhabitants self-declare the Polish ethnicity and nationality. The biggest ethnic and national minorities are: Silesians, Kashubians, Germans, Ukrainians, Belarusians, Romani, and Russians. (Główny Urząd Statystyczny [Central Statistical Office of Poland], 2015). The country hosts no refugees at all and refuses to implement the relocating programme, according to which the country would accept 6182 refugees (Poland's commitment legally foreseen in the Council Decisions) (European Commission, 2017). Until April 2017, Poland have not brought over any refugees from the relocation programme (European Commission, 2017b). A report of the Centre for Public Opinion Research (Centrum Badania Opinii Społecznej, 2015), prepared shortly after the European Commission proposition for Poland to host initially 2500 refugees, reveals the attitudes of Poles towards refugees. According to the data, most of the Poles declare that they would help war refugees – 76% of the interviewees support the statement that refugees should have the right to come and stay in Poland at least until the conflict in their country is over. However only 33% of the interviewees accept this statement, when it comes to refugees from the Middle East and the North Africa, and 53% of the interviewees do not want Muslim refugees to be hosted in Poland.

Despite the fact there is a very small number of immigrants in Poland, racism and hate crimes are on the rise since the parliamentary elections in Autumn 2015. In the campaign, the refugee and anti-Islam debate played an important role (Sieradzka, 2016), especially in the discourse of traditional Catholic and conservative Law and Justice party (Prawo i

Sprawiedliwosc, PiS) and the Kukiz Movement. PiS has won 234 seats in the parliament (Sejm) and 64 in Senate, establishing the government.

Turkey, on the other hand, hosts 3,2 million refugees, mostly from Syria. In the official discourse, refugees are named as "guests," and the common religion and references to the Muslim Ummah is emphasized in many speeches.[2] However, the possibility to confer the Turkish citizenship upon Syrians caused extreme reactions many of which can be classified as hate speech.

There is no official statistics about ethnic and religious minorities in Turkey. According to a Minority Rights Group International's report (Uluslararası Azınlık Hakları Grubu, 2007), the main ethnic minority groups in Turkey are: Caucasians (about three million people, according to the data of the Federation of Caucasian Organisations - *Kafkas Dernekleri Federasyonu*); Kurds (between 10 and 23 per cent of the population according to various statistics), Laz people (between 750 thousand and 1,5 million people); Romanies (some studies estimate the population as five million). As to religious minorities, in Turkey there are Alevi Muslims (between 10 and 40 per cent of the population), the Orthodox Armenian Church (about 60 thousand people), Shia Muslims (up to 3 million people according to the data from the Ministry of Culture), Syrian Orthodox Christians (about 15 thousand people according to the statistics before the civil war in and the refugee migration from Syria), Jewish, Reformed Christians, Greek Orthodox, and Yazidis. It is important to stress that this data comes from the period before the conflict in Syria. The number of refugees in Turkey has reached more than 3.2 million, making Turkey the host country with the largest refugee population in the world. There are 26 refugee camps, in which 260 000 refugees are currently hosted (European Commission, 2017).

The aim of this paper is to reveal how the dangerous speech and fear speech is disseminated from online debates in two different cultures. As the theoretical base, the works of Jeremy Waldron (2012), Susan Benesch (2012a, 2012b), and Antoine Buyse (2014) were used. The research shows how users motivate calls for violence and build the atmosphere of fear around refugees. The research is important as it analyses the deeper, more dangerous, and less investigated dimensions of hate speech, which can actually increase the risk of violence

[2] In an interview with TRT Haber, Head Official of Suruç District said: "The same as throughout history our nation has protected the oppressed ones, in this period also we are trying to protect our guests with compassion and affection". TRT Haber, 2015. In his speech from 06.01.2017, President Turkish President Mr. Recep Tayyip Erdogan said: *"We said "Everything for a human. We said "Everything for Turkey". We did not say: "Everything for a Turk", "Everything for a Kurd", "Everything for an Arab, for a Laz, for this, for that". Because we love the created ones [people] as we love the Creator [God].* CNN Türk (2017)

against the members of another group. It also shows the factors of these phenomena in two countries.

Definitions

There is still no consensus about the definition of hate speech; however, it usually describes the acts of speech which targets individuals "based on ethnicity and nationality, but incitements to hatred focusing on religion and class have also been on the rise*"* (Gagliardone, Gal, Alves, & Martinez, 2015, p.14). The controversy around the question whether the notion of hate speech violates the freedom of speech is very vivid. The concept was also contested as too wide-ranging and open to manipulations (Gagliardone, Gal, Alves, & Martinez, 2015); therefore, there was a need for narrow conceptions. In this context, the notions of dangerous speech and fear speech are an especially useful framework to research the harm caused within hate speech.

Susan Benesch, Director of the World Policy Institute's Dangerous Speech, proposed a theoretical framework on dangerous speech, defining it as:

> act of speech [which] has a reasonable chance of catalyzing or amplifying violence by one group against another (...) Dangerous Speech can also be understood, therefore, as incitement to mass violence, which is reasonably likely to be successful. We do not limit "mass violence" to genocide (...) (Benesch, 2012a, p.2)

Benesch (2012a) also provides five variables to measure the dangerousness of a speech act: the speaker, the audience, the speech act itself, the social and historical context, and the mode of dissemination. A powerful speaker, an audience which has grievances and fear of other groups, an understandable call to violence, a historical context of rivalry or war between the related groups, and some influential means of dissemination make a hate speech act more dangerous. In the context of online hate and dangerous speech, especially the last variable is important, as Internet is a very powerful medium of dissemination, making it easier to access wider audiences. Benesch (2012b) illustrates the theory with many examples: like African youth leader Julius Malema calling to "shoot the Boer (white Afrikaners)" and certain ethnic violence acts in Kenya in 2007, in which more than 1,000 people were killed.

Another term used in the paper, fear speech, introduced by Buyse (2014) refers to "expressions aimed at instilling (existential) fear of another group" (p. 785). Fear speech will be closely analyzed in the next sections of the paper, but to better understand this notion, two exemplary comments can be given:

> You will understand when you regret that you had loved them [refugees]
>
> (Turkish user, comment ID z12kgttxjnjzd1ywx04cehjrcvi0h1uxxiw)
>
> There had been peace until this German idiot has sold her ass to black rapists and

murderers of women!!!!
(Polish user, comment ID z12bvzogwrmcx1ww404cg1vhzrrgznihias)

Why is hate speech especially dangerous online? The characteristics of the new media, given e.g. by Binark & Çomu (2013) – its digital and virtual format, interactivity, hypertextuality, and networkability - make it easier to disseminate hate speech, fear speech and dangerous speech from online debates. Lister, Dovey, Giddings, Grant, and Kelly (2009) point at the similar characteristics of the new media: They are digital, interactive, hypertextual, virtual, networked, and simulated. The new media enable creating virtual communities – a term introduced by Howard Rheingold (1993) in the book under the same title – that is, online social networks in which geographic boundaries have no place: "social aggregations that emerge from the Net when enough people carry on those public discussions long enough, with sufficient human feeling, to form webs of personal relationships in cyberspace" (Rheingold, 1993, p. 5). While Rheingold (1993) focuses on the positive aspects of such virtual communities – describing them as decentralized, informal, and self-governing – it cannot be overlooked that some communities are bound by negative feelings – fear, hate, or violence. It is difficult to remove any content once posted online, and it is extremely easy to spread it, on the other hand. Andre Oboler, CEO of the Online Hate Prevention Institute, also notes that content is more dangerous when it stays available for longer: "The longer the content stays available, the more damage it can inflict on the victims and empower the perpetrators. If you remove the content at an early stage, you can limit the exposure" (qtd. by Gagliardone, Gal, Alves, & Martinez, 2015, p. 13). Despite the fact some social media sites such as Facebook allow their users to choose their targeted audiences, the users can be confused when it comes to distinguish between the private and the public, and the possibility to publish anonymously or semi-anonymously encourages hate speech (Gagliardone, Gal, Alves, & Martinez, 2015). However, as the previous research has shown, many users feel so comfortable publishing hateful comments that they do not hide behind their usernames or avatars. They often use their actual names and surnames, company or professional social media profiles, and photographs of their own avatars, or publish a vlog from the same account. Therefore, despite many research and publications arguing that being anonymous on the Internet encourages hate speech, it needs to be said that users spread fear speech, dangerous speech, and hate speech without the need to hide their identity.

Research method

The paper analyses the data obtained in a wider research focused on hate speech. It

analyses Polish and Turkish comments on YouTube, posted to videos on refugees. The videos have been found by the tags "refugees" and "Syrians" (in Polish version: "*uchodźcy*" and "*Syryjczycy*," and in Turkish: "*mülteci*" ve "*Suriyeli*"), and sorted by the view count. In the research, comments to the videos which had been viewed more than 10 000 times were analyzedIn total, comments to ten Polish and ten Turkish videos were analyzed. The sample covered the comments published between December the 25th, 2015 to December the 25th, 2016 (in total 18,563 comments – 6190 comments from the Polish and 12,373 comments from the Turkish videos).

The comments were analyzed applying the content analysis method. To reassure research ethics, short Comment IDs are given instead of the authors' username.

The videos analyzed

The chart below shows the analysed videos (according to the criteria listed above). The view and comments count were calculated on February the 20th, 2017.

POLISH VIDEOS AND COMMENTS					
	Link to video	Video title	Upload Date	View count	Comments count
1	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F8Qu9DkL7v8	Commenter #376: Syrians shoot Russian humanitarian aid chopper in Aleppo	Aug 1, 2016	33495	495
2	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8BdBz9oDGSo	Cejrowski: Gun in every House! Syrians and Putin are dangerous! | Part 851 - 18.06.2016 HD	Jun 20, 2016	26424	42
3	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uoyGCIgNMvc	In Poland „refugees" are always welcomed :) #RefugeesNotWelcome	Jan 9, 2016	512337	1282
4	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DKlHwl5rjzg	Refugees vs. truck driver from Chelm - Calais 13.09.2016	Sep 12, 2016	455328	270
5	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LZo9KxPe5p8	Refugees in Poland: „We want to go to Germany. Poland is poor"	Feb 16, 2016	449321	1300
6	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5wrEK2vWPKI	THOUGH TRUE: this is how refugees in Germany have fun (translating: Jolanta Walczak)	Oct 6, 2015	360229	261
7	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=23XtoujJbjM	„REFUGEES" Drunk and on drugs in Paris! Shock! Immigrants „enrichens culturally" the capital of France! STRONG!	Apr 16, 2016	319428	802
8	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=De4YDcHsCqY	Multikulti France video forbidden in France, immigrants, refugees	Jul 16, 2016	305750	255
9	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dsYbm6igOFo	They pull our legs: refugees, immigrants, migrant crisis and Islam invasion on Europe #141	Feb 3, 2016	286399	1407

10	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=diJCFSpVtfA	Refugees training before invading Europe. Drastic scenes! Parody	Feb 13, 2016	247427	76
Total number of Polish comments			**6190**		
TURKISH VIDEOS AND COMMENTS					
1	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8ns0aWcFRCQ	Why we must not love Syrians	Jun 14, 2016	488843	10060
2	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=50eZFTaHbqI	Temel ve Suriyeli Hikayesi Temel and the story of a Syrian	Jul 15, 2016	375130	548
3	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Lcg2nlOH_NA	Scream of a Syrian child	Jun 4, 2016	199894	128
4	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2_7OG-oq8Fk	Our idealist/nationalist brother beating scumbag Syrian perv	Apr 25, 2016	172490	598
5	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yWtTNjiJf4o	Answer from Germany to Erdoğan's stake: refugees agreement must be followed	Nov 25, 2016	98992	146
6	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EZVTtvTlbaU	Istanbul refugee social experiment that will make you cry	Mar 1, 2016	55484	149
7	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N4Vz_thA2Kc	Do people from Trabzon want Syrian refugees to be granted the citizenship?	Jul 8, 2016	43926	475
8	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5MdzYyWcwcU	WITNESS 9. part. Refugee camp, presented by Mete Yarar	Dec 26, 2015	22387	10
9	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oTuDwej-W7s	FANS OF PSV HAD FUN THROWING MONEY TO REFUGEE WOMEN!!!	Mar 16, 2016	22093	43
10	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2T_NigC7ay0	Refugee experiment that will make you cry Turks' reaction – Social Experiment	Feb 21, 2016	18348	216
Total number of Turkish comments			**12373**		

As the videos were sorted by the view count, it is notable that the most popular Polish videos are directly aimed at refugees and contain hate speech, especially prepared to disseminate an anti-refugee message. Among the Turkish videos, there are mostly those calling to help refugees or measuring the people's attitude towards refugees (as social experiments).

Findings

In total, 6190 Polish and 12,373 Turkish comments were analyzed. Hate speech was identified in 855 Polish and 1705 Turkish comments, which, in both data sets, established exactly the same proportion of hate speech – 13.8 per cent.

As Waldron (2012, p.59) notices, the very essence of hate speech (in Waldron's study called group libeling as a term used in the judicial doctrine) is the association of a denigration to a person based on the affiliation to a group. This association can: 1) take form of a factual

claim (such as "Not all Muslims are terrorist, but all terrorists are Muslim!"); 2) involve a characterization that denigrates people (a claim in the form of an opinion but not a "fact,") and damage the social and cultural reputation of a group; 3) dehumanize individuals, ascribing them such characteristics of insect, animals etc.; and 4) embodying slogans intended implicitly to degrade the labeled group (such as "Refugees not welcome").

The factual claims and denigrating characteristics often take the form of fear speech. Fear speech rationalizes and legitimizes racism, playing a significant role in escalating the violence against the members of the related group. As Buyse (2014) stresses:

> The instigation of fear among one's own group, rather than hatred against the other, has been found to be a key mechanism in such processes leading to violence. This may lead to accepting state violence against the group one fears or, if the state fails to do so, violence by extremists or even mere thugs. Thus "fear speech," expressions aimed at instilling (existential) fear of another group, rather than "hate speech"—aimed at engendering hatred—may be more relevant when assessing violent conflict escalation. (p. 785)

Violence coined as "self-defense" seems more acceptable. In this analysis, it is clearly visible that refugees are presented as dangerous; the factual claims and moral characteristics expressed in the comments create the images of foreigners, refugees or Muslims as criminals, terrorists, rapists, that is, people who would not assimilate. Using fear speech, the authors of the hateful comments create an atmosphere of fear at two levels. At the micro level, refugees and individuals are presented as dangerous: in Poland, mostly as rapists or molesters, criminals, thieves, gang members, or terrorists. At the macro level, their migration is presented as a plan to invade Europe, as in the following:

> People! Read sources straight from the horse's mouth. In the TV and Internet there is just propaganda. There is no Germany any more; this country does not exist any more. Watch CCTV from Munich when they are still here, not stolen. There are groups of dozens and hundreds refugees and immigrants, prowling the cities, entering the shopping malls and markets, stealing what they want, eating straight from the shelves, raping cashiers and going out praising Allah. They also rob houses, they take what they want. Polizei [Police] do not react! (...) We cannot let groups of hundreds refugees and nigg*s prowling our cities, stealing and raping everything they can! (...)
>
> (Polish User, Comment ID z120d3hy5kedxp1me23szhdbczqnuf0vn)
>
> (...) We will welcome them, maybe not to Auschwitz (not to dishonour these who have died there) but maybe we could build new camps to kill them as insects which they are? Just a proposition? These b*tches kill all "unbelievers" which means "everybody who is not an islamist", so maybe we should do the same with them? (...) personally, I am not a racist… But I will not tolerate anybody who does not tolerate me and if somebody tries to kill me, I kill first… This is why islamist should be killed… Before they kill us… God, Honour, Motherland!
>
> (Polish User, Comment ID

z13cvtjagsywzbv5104civspamrqwpt5e1k.1477941353288330)

In Turkey, Syrians were presented as criminals, thieves or gang members, terrorists, molesters, or rapists. However, a more significant number of the comments regarding refugees defined them as a threat to the Turkish culture or religion, therefore on a social (macro) level. In some comments, only short warnings were noticed (such as "You will regret if you host them"). However, refugees seen as an abstract threat to the Turkish culture were a target of hate and fear speech. Turkish users warned about them outnumbering the Turkish population, making calls for independence in the future or threatening the nation's homogeneity. Also certain historical events were being recalled as a proof of the "spoiled character" of Syrians – especially the First World War (like the Arab Revolt and the Arabs' cooperation with the British Army).

> (...) Money spent on refugees will come back somehow; but what will happen to our lost genetics?
>
> (Turkish User, Comment ID z12ufrqwqsi0urwl522wwlshuu3gwt3sl)
>
> (...) Destroying the ethnic roots of the country you have made it Middle East (cannibal) country. In the minibus two Syrians sat next to me, because of the smell I needed to hold my breath (...) A bear is more polite than them (...) It is the lurker nation that blocked Ottoman's march to Yemen. A Turkish son knows his enemies very well (...) GET OUT of here, finally they made this country similar to theirs.
>
> (Turkish User, Comment ID z12uy5k5gxjzy3ygo04cerobrmmjg5oor2g)
>
> Syrians are cowards; they are not real Muslims. Because in our religion escaping the war is a sin (...) Even if there is a few educated professionals amongst them, there is much more rapistss, thieves etc. Their own Arab brothers have not accepted them, why shall we? Now you can spot 7 Syrians out of 10 people met on the street and they pull out a knife wanting money. Any women outside gets raped by Syrians. We are getting Arabized day by day. They are two-faced (...) I do not want to hear Arab language every time I go out! If we were them, they would not help us (...) *this is my personal opinion
>
> (Turkish User, Comment ID z13ftpijeznve1wyf04cerqxplvpef1xdp40k)

In the Polish comments, Islam was presented as a dangerous religion (or, as some comments stress, as a political ideology). In order to support this thesis, the authors often gave the examples of the terrorist attacks or crimes committed by refugees – from media or referred to by "experts" living in countries where Muslim communities are larger than in Poland (e.g. Sweden or the United Kingdom). Also some quotes from the Quran or the examples from the life of Prophet Muhammad were given when trying to prove that in Islam, killing a Christian brings a blessing, dying in the Holy War guarantees salvation, or raping non-Muslim women is being encouraged. To emphasize the position of an "expert," the authors of the comments tried

to explain some Islamic terms, such as hijra, shariah, caliphate, haram/helal etc. The authors of hateful comments try to gain audience by using these terms in order to seem logical and well-informed. However, using emotional language suggests that they are not led by logic, but rather fear. They are visibly terrified by the vision of a multicultural society.

> Muhammad married Aisha when she was 6 and started to f*ck her when she was 9. He commanded to murder 800 000 Jews. Jesus has thought about love to everyone and has forgiven even his enemies. There are many schools of Islam: Alevi, Sunni, Shia, and more backward Salafis and Wahhabism. These last two see the whole world as an enemy (...) Quran finishes with a sentence that jihad is the highest state of Islam. It is an expansive religion and has nothing to do with peace. From our point of view it is a fake religion. (...) Even if some small part of Muslims is civilized somehow, in case of war they will have to choose a side: Muslims or, as they understand, non-believers. It is a rhetoric question which side will they choose.
>
> (Polish User, Comment z13fi5pw2lvodlbpn04chzxxvyitedaqyls0k.1461868358457251)
>
> What you see in Europe is a regular invasion called HIJRA in Islam – conquest of an enemy's land by settlement, usually without fight. I am more afraid of this than most of you because I know how will it finish (...) I am afraid, because in couple of years they will force us to accept their feudal, middle-aged, antidemocratic rules and those who will not fall into line will be persecuted (...) I have no delusions: it is a planned, huge action of colonizing Europe (...) Do you know what is Taqiyya (self-defense deception) in Islam? Do you know that there are 3 stages of jihad? Have you ever read Quran, Hadis, Sunnah? This is what they are doing now – the holy deception, lies of Islam... In Poland we have first stage of Islam, in France second, third in the Middle East... Read and get informed. I have just read Quran – I am terrified... (...) Islam is a political regime, not a religion. Why do they go to get benefits to the EU, and not to Arab countries? It is written in Quran – it is a sin to live off another Muslim. But live off a non-believer! They have already considered Europe as part of their land... And they see social benefits that European countries pay them as jizyah – non-believers tax... Copy and paste this where you can
>
> (Polish User, Comment ID z12ti5rolob3vhpxu04ci30z2kiixdzisc0)

Categories of fear speech and their proportion to comments containing hate speech are presented in Table 1.

Table 1 : Number of comments containing fear speech.

	PL - All Videos		TR - All Videos	
	Number	%	Number	%
Comments containing hate speech	855	13,8[3]	1705	13,8
Fear Speech				

[3] The proportion of all the comments

Total number of comments containing fear speech (proportion to hate speech comments)	126	14,7[4]	604	35,4
Refugees as terrorists or terrorism supporters	27	3,2	89	5,2
Refugees as rapists or molesters	37	4,3	80	4,7
Refugees as criminals, thieves etc.	34	4,0	143	8,4
Refugees as a threat to the culture, European values or nation	36	4,2	213	12,5
Refugees not to be trusted because of the history (especially the World War I)	2	0,2	75	4,4
Refugees as a threat in general	10	1,2	377	22,1

Comments categorized as fear speech often presented refugees as rapists or molesters, and the need to "protect our women" is often given as an argument against refugees:

> Let us protect our beautiful Polish women!!!
>
> (Polish User, Comment ID z120dzxqnv3cejxf322zcl2r2xbgjnxyo04.1453664263923064)

The previous paper of the researchers reveal that women themselves, especially those having relationships outside their own groups are the victims of hate speech. Women in relationships with foreigners were being called vulgar names, body-shamed, and reduced to their sexual dimension. They were objectified, and their personal choices were judged in the context of nationalism (Sayımer & Rabenda Derman, 2017).

Together with attacking women verbaly, the authors of hateful comments expressed the need to protect women from refugees.

In many comments, the users directly show the enemised group as rapists, pedophiles, and Islam as a religion supporting violence against women. The sexual assaults in Cologne and Munich were often given as an argument for a country's situation after accepting refugees. On the other hand, the authors of hateful comments, claiming "protect our women," themselves use the language reproducing sexual violence. In Turkey, 8,4 per cent of the hateful comment contain sexual violence against women. Authors of these comments try to degrade Syrians or people wanting to help refugees by humiliating female members of their families – mothers, wives, sisters. They often describe a sexual act or giving birth in a vulgar, humiliating way.

> F*ck you then, if you love them [Syrians] so much take one home and feed him (...) Go on, take one, let him sleep in one bed with your mother.

[4] The proportion of the comments containing hate speech

(Turkish User, Comment ID z133gnvruqnugvofb22bgrehbmzyfrp5e04)

Look gentlemen. I am an Arab from Mersin. In the beginning I was thinking "eee, let them come, we are brothers", but then I get to know them and I have changed my mind. They do not want freedom nor any idea different from theirs. (...) They see modernity as blasphemousness. I have never seen motherf*cker society like this before Syrians (...) Before having a child, we think 40 times, and they sh*t a child in a free time. (...) They go crazy when they see a bareheaded girl [without a hijab]. Look, not so long ago, one week ago one molested a girl in Mersin, Yenişehir (...) There are 4 millions of them in our country.

(Turkish User, Comment ID z13byz3irpzwvna1y231jb4ogum4wtkhb04)

In Poland, the proportion is smaller (2,1 per cent of the hateful comments), but the comments usually contain threats to other users (or their female members of family) of rape. Users also wish feminists, female politicians or refugee supporters to be raped by refugees.

They were commanded to "Go conquer Europe through the womb of their women."

(Polish user, comment ID z13cd30hwx31cvxbj04ccfazypukhrn4x2c)

(...) I think some Polish women dream about gangbang and 400 men is quite a achievement (...)

(Polish User, Comment ID z125yv4jwn3cdrek522njr3ivvriid02w)

They [refugees] should rape Merkel, all of them one by one.

(Polish user, Comment ID z12pcvcrapqojtd1x22sclcynq2rdpqlp)

Table 2**.** Number of comments containing sexual violence.

	TR - All Videos		**PL - All Videos**	
	Number	%	Number	%
Comments containing hate speech	1779	13,8	855	13,8
Sexual violence				
Total number of comments containing sexual violence	150	8,4	18	2,1

Fear speech often leads to the escalation of violence. In the analyzed comments, it took the form of a dangerous discourse and open calls for committing hate crimes. Dangerous speech is a very problematic term, as the border between the free speech and legal responsibility for the possible effects of speech (Buyse, 2014). Amongst comments containing dangerous speech, two groups of expressions can be identified. First, more general wishes of death for enemised groups (usually shorter, such as "Death to all refugees"; "They should fight and die"); second,

detailed instructions and calls to bully or hurt physically or psychologically refugees or Muslims (such as destroying mosques, "not leaving them in peace" on the street etc).

> Instead of living here like dogs, they should die there [in Syria] with honour.Out ancestors did not escape the war and we follow their steps... These motherf*cker Arabs have more money and rights than us, just saying "f*ck this system" I cannot f*ck it, so it is more logic to f*ck Syrians. If everybody f*ck Syrians in their neighbourhood problem will be over in one week.
>
> (Turkish user, Comment ID z13tejcziyqxz5wn323wv5vadynmfrkz504)

> (...) I call all Syrians! If you come to a country as guests behave like men or you will have a beat-up.
>
> (Turkish User, Comment ID z134ztrrhoa5y3adj22eyryaqxe1fvnxo04)

> Do not feel sorry for these bastards, beat all of these bastards, long live Turkishness!
>
> (Turkish User, Comment ID z13sghhgfxu1jpo2f23vw1lrjounjdh12)

> Really do not feel sorry for these motherf*ckers, I beat one of these pervs for taking photos of our girls, ours [Turks] did not know the topic and attacked me, we cannot let them be comfortable, we need to beat them in public.
>
> (Turkish User, Comment ID z12sxxgoyvvddz3az04cirzxukbicfnrya0)

> Destroy mosques and beat slobs. It should be a natural civil initiative.
>
> (Polish User, Comment ID z13wjtnyzsabwpujd04cj1fjewrmwfjps3c)

What is important, the videos praising violence or calling for violence themselves were more often commented using a dangerous discourse. For example, a Turkish video titled "Our idealist brother beating scumbag Syrian perv" had 598 comments, in which 77 were identified as hate speech, and 55 as dangerous speech. Also a video with a Polish title "In Poland refugees are always welcome," tagged #RefugeesNotWelcome", showing a fight between some Polish hooligans and Mexican sailors (wrongly identified as refugees in the movie), encouraged a dangerous discourse – from 202 hate speech comments on the vidoe, 58 contained a dangerous discourse. It clearly demonstrates how violence escalates online. In these comments, the violators are praised and commended often with statements such as "I wish more people were like you" or "I would do the same if I was there".

> LEADER I wish everybody was like you I hope your hands will never see any trouble cCc ❤ [cCc - three crescents, symbol of Turkish nationalist movement]
>
> (Turkish User, Comment ID z12xtlnzykzyhfsfl22pufio3p3btx35i04)

> When I see a slob in my village I promise his tent will be burned (...)
>
> (Polish User, Comment ID z122d5dyutnjwjcfy225glmjrkfcippsi.1483725572795547)

> There are tears in my eyes... These are real fathers of the nation, ready to fight for their daughters, wives and brother withour f*cking about egalitarianism (...) Bravo, gentlemen!
>
> (Polish User, Comment ID z12rix4wyk3wfnfq004cjvwoctfpy3nicgw)

Probably because using an English tag #refugeesnotwelcome, there are also a number of comments in other languages than Polish onto the video titled: "In Poland „refugees" are always welcomed :) #RefugeesNotWelcome and Refugees vs. truck driver from Chelm - Calais 13.09.2016". These comments also contain dangerous discourse:

> Hail! Thank God there are still some REAL white men left in Europe! Solidarity to my brothers in Poland!
>
> (Comment written in English, Comment ID z13kcblger3chjxkg22sjvrwwnqxybfeh)

> Hail to Poland! Keep up the good work!
>
> (Comment written in English, Comment ID z13dsfszkxn1jbalw22jsllg3p2cerrie04)

> All civilized nations must unite against the filthy invaders
>
> (Comment written in English, Comment ID z13ogxxwzwfnidms422gfvjiuqmldhdru04)

> Congratulations !!! And I hope that two or three of these men have passed under the wheels! This is self-defense!
>
> (Comment written in French, Comment ID z12hvjzzimurfrwfr23kj1zp3z2tsxuca)

> Black wh*res, he should run over them, Muslim beasts!
>
> (Comment written in Czech, Comment ID z12gutw4qozcj35gj04cedm4jpjsfpd4vk40k)

> What is the British Government waiting to happen? Someone to be KILLED? The army should have taken over a while ago but as we know our Government is taken by Muslims
>
> (Comment written in English, Comment ID z13utxr44mfqenz0y23nwfu4vnzmyvqnw)

Table 3 presents number of comments containing dangerous speech and their proportion to all hate speech comments.

Table 3. Number of comments containing dangerous speech.

	PL – All videos		TR - All Videos	
	Number	%	Number	%
Comments containing hate speech	1705	13,8	855	104,3
Dangerous speech				
Total number of comments containing dangerous speech (proportion to all hate speech comments)	82	4,8	112	6,6

In the research, there was a number of comments praising Adolf Hitler, the Nazi methods, and Anders Breivik's terror attack in Norway; as seen above, some users also use the Nazi greeting "Heil." Also in this research, a small volume of this kind of content was found mostly in Polish comments. It must be stressed that in Poland, the Nazi propaganda is forbidden (Kodeks Karny, Art. 256), and education about the Second World War and the Holocaust is obligatory from primary school on. However, in some cases, such educational obligations and legal restrictions could not stop the authors from praising the death camps, the gas chambers or using a human's fat to produce soap.

> This is why Hitler is the leader I respect. Look, if we could collect all the refugees and make them work in one place, our industry would strengthen.
>
> (Turkish User, Comment ID z12ot12gvxzpxnsl323iglwjrwzuiple3.1465952501277777

> They made us miss Hitler. We could make soap from Syrians, soap which is 2 TL now would cost 25 or 10 krs, economy would refresh.
>
> (Turkish User, Comment ID z124hdsy3wm4dfunf23lstozqoaxsxdva)

> I am wondering who is responsible for their attack? Who let them do it? Now only one person would stand against them, Adolf Hitler!
>
> (Polish User, Comment ID z131zxwzwpbvxh15404chfno2nvpvdpjl3k)

> Two immigrants talking. – You know, Ahmed, there is 2 million of us in Germany. And then an old lady turn to them: - You know, tone day here used to be 2 millions Jews :D
>
> (Polish User, Comment ID z12auhyibpjrg3mvm22dg1njmpuqxbads

> Let them come to Poland and we will open stoves in Auschwitz, feel invited.
>
> (Polish User, Comment ID z12wylk54teodfbq504ccl5jnrfnflpwnlc0k)

Violence seems even more legitimized when its victim is given no dignity or rights. Therefore, in many comments, the use of dehumanization, that is, the calling enemised group "animals," "dirt," and "trash" or ascbring them animal-like characteristics (such as breeding or procreating)[5] is observed. This dehumanisation also significantly raises the risk of violence: "The more dehumanizing these stereotypes are, the more dangerous they can be, as they lower the threshold to use violence." (Buyse, 2014, p. 785).

Results

Looking at the numbers and the proportion of the comments containing fear speech and dangerous speech, one can say the problem is not very significant – only 604 out of 12,367 Turkish comments (4,88 per cent) and 126 out of 6190 Polish comments (2,03 per cent) contain fear speech. The proportion is slightly higher in the Turkish comments; the Turkish users more often made factual claims describing Syrians as a threat to the Turkish culture and the country's integrity, thieves or murderers, terrorists, rapists, or molesters. There was also a category which was not found in the Polish comments: the comments stating Syrians cannot be trusted for historical reasons. 82 Turkish (0,66 per cent) and 112 Polish (1,8 per cent) comments contain dangerous speech. This time, the Polish comments were more violent than the Turkish ones. Unfortunately, dangerous speech present in the online discourse goes hand in hand with the hate crimes in Poland in recent years. According to theNever Again Foundation ("Nigdy Więcej"), the number of racist attacks in Poland increased from 400 in 2009-2010 to 600 two years later, and again to 850 in 2013. This number had then doubled by 2015 (Sieradzka, 2016). Therefore, even a very small proportion of dangerous and fear speech in the online content – one or five per cent – must be considered as alarming and harmful, especially regarding such an impactful medium as the Internet.

However, a question how fear speech and dangerous speech can be countered and prevented remains prominent. There are several methods and strategies published in a guide *Defusing hate* (Brown, 2016), which can also be applied when countering fear speech – such as limiting the dissemination, undermining the credibility of the speaker, or inhibiting the speech. In the new media environment, such dissemination can be limited through moderating tools, reporting content and – in YouTube – "thumbing down" the videos and comments. However, as hate speech, dangerous speech and fear speech are not the phenomena that have

[5] Especially in Polish language there are verbs used exclusively when characterizing animals, e.g. żreć (to raven), zdychać (to croak).

begun with the new media, similar methods for countering them must also be applied also in the traditional media and on the policy-making level.

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