

Public Service Announcements About Migrants: Strategic Constructions to Reduce Prejudice

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Abstract

In countries with large refugee and migrant populations, it is crucial to build good relations between the newcomers and the host communities. One method of increasing social acceptance and reducing prejudice is using media-based information and awareness-raising activities. This study examines five public service announcement (PSA) films prepared by the Turkish Presidency of Migration Management between the years 2017-2021 to increase the social acceptance of migrants, and discusses their potential to reduce prejudice. The PSAs are examined using a visual content analysis method focusing on the migrant profile, narrative structure, language and tone, emphasis on difference or similarity, representation of stereotypes, and narrator. Three main findings emerged from the study: Firstly, the PSAs feature a theme of “Great Türkiye”, which emphasizes the greatness of Turkish history and assigns a responsibility to Turkish people to protect those in need, ultimately constructing a superiority over migrants. Secondly, PSAs present migrants in an ambivalent way as capable people contributing to the Turkish economy (visual) and as people in need of help (narrative). Thirdly, PSAs use emotional language to deliver messages of understanding and benevolence. Overall, the study argues that PSAs strategically construct Turks as superior and portray migrants as ambivalent to reduce the perception of migrants as a competitive threat to Turks and with an emotional language they make the didactic messages seem less oppressive and patronizing. While these strategies may promote acceptance, their long-term impact is questionable if they are not supported by the teaching of values such as equality and respect.

Keywords: *Living together, Migrants, Prejudice, Public service announcements, Representation, Social acceptance, Social cohesion*

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Göçmenlerle İlgili Kamu Spotları: Önyargı Azaltmak İçin Stratejik Kurgular

Öz

Mülteci ve göçmen nüfusunun yoğun olduğu ülkelerde, yeni gelenlerle ev sahibi topluluklar arasında iyi ilişkiler kurmak elzemdir. Sosyal kabulü artırmanın ve önyargıyı azaltmanın bir yöntemi, medya tabanlı bilgilendirme ve farkındalık yaratma faaliyetleri kullanmaktır. Bu çalışmada, Türkiye Göç İdaresi Başkanlığı tarafından göçmenlerin sosyal kabulünü artırmak amacıyla 2017-2021 yılları arasında hazırlanan beş kamu spotu filmi incelenmiş ve önyargıyı azaltma potansiyelleri tartışılmıştır. Kamu spotları, görsel içerik analizi yöntemi ile incelenmiş ve analizde göçmen profili, anlatı yapısı, dil ve ton, farklılık veya benzerlik vurgusu, stereotiplerin temsili ve anlatıcı üzerine odaklanılmıştır. Çalışmada üç ana bulgu elde edilmiştir: İlk olarak, kamu spotlarında öne çıkan “Büyük Türkiye” teması ile Türk tarihinin büyüklüğü vurgulanmakta ve Türk halkına ihtiyaç sahiplerini koruma sorumluluğu yüklenmekte, nihayetinde göçmenler üzerinde bir üstünlük inşa edilmektedir. İkinci olarak, kamu spotlarında göçmenler Türk ekonomisine katkıda bulunan yetenekli insanlar (görsel) ve yardıma muhtaç insanlar (anlatı) olarak ikircikli bir şekilde sunulmaktadır. Üçüncü olarak, kamu spotları anlayış ve iyilikseverlik içerikli mesajları iletmek için duygusal bir dil kullanmaktadır. Genel olarak bu çalışma, kamu spotlarının, göçmenlerin Türkler tarafından rekabetçi bir tehdit olarak algılanmasını önlemek için stratejik olarak Türkleri üstün, göçmenleri ise ikircikli olarak kurguladığını, duygusal bir dil kullanarak da didaktik mesajların baskıcı ve tepeden inme görünmesini azalttığını savunmaktadır. Bu stratejiler sosyal kabulü teşvik etse de eşitlik ve saygı gibi değerlerin öğretilmesi ile desteklenmedikleri takdirde uzun vadeli etkileri tartışmalıdır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Birlikte yaşam, Göçmenler, Önyargı, Kamu spotları, Temsil, Sosyal kabul, Sosyal uyum

Introduction

Türkiye is the country with the largest refugee population in the world for the past seven years and the Syrian corridor to Türkiye is the world's second largest migration corridor (McAuliffe, Kitimbo, Dolling and Abel, 2024, pp. 23-44). Although repatriation is discussed as a part of Türkiye's migration policy, it is expected that a large portion of the Syrian population under temporary protection will remain in Türkiye (Erdoğan, 2022, p. 158). For the smooth running of society in peace, it is important that new members integrate into the host society and that host communities are willing to accept new members. In Türkiye, the Presidency of Migration Management (Göç İdaresi Başkanlığı, henceforth GİB) is the authorized public institution in the planning and implementation of cohesion and integration activities. This study examines GİB's social cohesion activities, particularly the public service announcements (henceforth PSAs) designed to raise awareness about migration and migrants and increase social acceptance among the Turkish hosting communities. In particular, it analyzes the content of the PSAs and examines their narrative and representational constructions in terms of their potential to increase social acceptance and reduce prejudice towards migrants.²

It is argued that ethnically different groups with some common historical background and cultural similarities are advantageous in forming social cohesion (Liu, Volčič and Gallois, 2023). However, despite a common historical past and cultural affinities, since 2019, Turks have been socially distancing themselves from Syrians under temporary protection, which means that they share fewer common areas and establish fewer relationships with them (Eser and Uygur, 2019; Yetkin Aker and Erdoğan, 2023; Yıldırım, 2019). The social distance is increasing every year along with the increasing negative public opinion towards Syrians (Erdoğan, 2022). Social distance, negative opinions and prejudice between communities are challenges to social peace as they prevent good relations between communities and increase the risk of conflict.

Addressing the issue of negative opinions towards migrants, the 11th Development Plan of the Turkish Presidency for 2018-2023 has set one of its goals as to increase the number of information and awareness-raising programs aimed at reducing prejudices against foreigners. Accordingly, GİB has carried out cohesion programs and information and awareness raising activities for the Turkish communities. According to the information shared on the website of GİB, these activities are carried out in the form of one-time or repeated meetings, talks, and educational programs in which authorities or volunteers trained in social cohesion meet with local people or opinion leaders (muhtars, teachers, imams, reporters) in places where migrant populations are concentrated, and inform them about migration and the culture of living together.³ GİB (2022) also prepared PSA films about migration and presented them in the cohesion meetings with local people. The films aim to reduce prejudice towards migrants by sharing messages of living together with differences.

This study analyzes the content of these PSAs for their potential to reduce prejudice and facilitate social acceptance towards migrants, drawing on prejudice-reduction literature in the fields of sociology, social psychology, and communication studies. It asks the following research questions: How are migrants and migration portrayed in the PSAs? What do the contents of the films say about migrants, Turks, and their relationship to each other? How do the films challenge or reinforce migrant stereotypes? What is their potential to reduce prejudice towards migrants?

2 In the official migration documents, GİB uses the definition of migrant broadly to include foreigners with legal stay in the country, persons with international protection applications or status, and Syrians under temporary protection (Göç İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü, 2020, p. 10). Following this, in the study, the term migrant will be used as a general term that refers to migrants, foreigners, refugees, asylum seekers, and Syrians under temporary protection.

3 The cohesion activities aimed at the Turkish population are listed in the website of GİB (<https://www.goc.gov.tr/uyum-faaliyetleri>). The titles of these activities are Yerelde Uyum Buluşmaları, Biz Bize Sohbetler, Uyum Mahalle Buluşmaları, Sosyal Uyum Çalıştay, Yerelde Kadın Buluşmaları, Ekonomide Uyum ve İş Dünyası ile Buluşmalar, Yerelde Basın Buluşmaları, Akran Zorbalığı Yabancı Düşmanlığı ve Duygusal Güvenlik Alanı Eğitimi, Çocuklara Yönelik Okullarda Sosyal Uyum Faaliyetleri, Çocuklara Yönelik Bilgilendirme Toplantıları, Muhtarlara Yönelik Bilgilendirme Toplantıları, and Kırılmaçlar Projesi.

The study first explains the causes of prejudice, the information and media-based studies to reduce prejudice, and the recent studies on Turkish PSAs that aim to reduce prejudice towards migrants. The methodology section details the data, data collection and the use of visual content analysis methods. The findings section presents the narrative and representational constructions in each of the PSAs which are evaluated together in the discussion section, before the conclusion.

Explaining Prejudice

Prejudice is a negative thought and attitude that people are exposed to due to their group membership (Aboud et al., 2012). It targets a particular group and its members because of perceived differences based on race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, religion, or disability. Prejudice can manifest itself in ways such as humiliation, stigmatization, harassment, exclusion, and even violence. When prejudice turns into behavior and group members cannot benefit from equal rights and opportunities with other society members, it is called discrimination (Schaefer, 2012, p. 241).

Different disciplines have varying explanations for the causes of prejudice. In sociology literature, one common view explains prejudice through socialization. According to this view, individuals learn negative thoughts and attitudes targeting a group not based on concrete evidence, but through their families, peers, social environments, and social institutions (Aronson, 2008; Giddens and Sutton, 2013, p. 280; Schaefer, 2012, p. 76). A second view explains prejudice through the concept of scapegoating (Giddens and Sutton, 2013, p. 680), group threat theory (Quillian, 2006) or ethnic competition theory (Olzak, 1992). According to these views, prejudice arises due to competition, conflict, and disagreement between groups. To protect their own interests, groups denigrate the other group or target the other group as being responsible for the social problems experienced. Social psychology studies, on the other hand, link the development of prejudice to authoritarian personality traits (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson and Sanford, 1950). According to this view, children who grow up with strict disciplinary rules develop authoritarian personality traits, and so they emphasize obedience to authority and strict adherence to rules and tend not to accept people who are different (out-groups) and may hold strong racial and ethnic prejudices against out-groups (Sibley and Duckitt, 2008).

These theories demonstrate that the causes of prejudice are complex and understanding its development requires an interdisciplinary approach. Accordingly, prejudice-reduction studies have proposed approaches which can be divided into two groups: those based on intergroup contact (see Allport, 1954; Devine, 1989; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006) and those based on information and awareness-raising (see Haaland and Roth, 2020; Lergetporer, Piopiunik and Simon, 2021; Sutton, Perry, Parke and John-Baptiste, 2007). PSAs, which are the focus of this study, aim to reduce prejudice through raising information about groups and issues, thus the following focuses on information-based approaches to reduce prejudice.

Information and Media-Based Prejudice-Reduction Studies

Government institutions, public institutions and NGOs widely use information-based approaches to raise awareness, reduce prejudice, and foster good relations between groups. Several studies have examined if and how providing information about migrants and refugees is effective in changing people's attitudes toward them. Lergetporer, Piopiunik and Simon (2021) found that providing Germans with information about the educational level of refugees not only increased their view that refugees were well-educated, but also reduced concerns about the financial burden of hosting refugees and positively affected general attitudes toward refugees. They also showed that some non-economic factors (such as refugees' desire to integrate, and humanitarian issues) were more important to participants than economic issues. Haaland and Roth

(2020) found that support for migration increased when participants were presented with evidence-based information that migration does not have a negative impact on local wages. Similarly, Grigorieff, Roth and Ubfal (2020) found that sharing information about migrants, such as the proportion of migrants in the population and the unemployment or crime rates of migrants, led to more positive attitudes toward migrants. It should be noted, however, the actual level of migration is mostly lower than what is perceived by the public (Gorodzeisky and Semyonov, 2019) and in such cases sharing the accurate information can have a positive outcome. In places where the migrant and refugee population are dense, such as Türkiye, sharing this information may not produce the same positive result.

Thus, providing the public with accurate information about migrants or any other ethnic minority group is not always sufficient to change attitudes and reduce prejudice. Vrij and Smith (1999) warn that initiatives aimed at reducing prejudice must be carefully organized and designed because they may be perceived as patronizing or favoring some ethnic groups over others, causing adverse reactions and reinforcing hatred. Therefore, awareness-raising initiatives should not only aim to reduce prejudice, but also teach the value of cultural differences among and within groups (Valentine and McDonald, 2004, p. 22).

Teaching of values and good behavior to the public is one of the roles of social institutions, such as the media. Previous studies have shown the importance of media in decreasing the levels of prejudice towards ethnic minority groups including migrants (Aboud et al., 2012; Bobba, Thijs and Crocetti, 2024; Pate, 1981), thus media tools such as films, advertisements, discussion programs on television and radio, articles and posters in newspapers, magazines, on the Internet and billboards are among the main channels for disseminating information about social groups. These media-based prejudice-reduction initiatives may be organized as public campaigns over a period of time, or as stand-alone independent projects and programs (Sutton et al., 2007).

Many studies focus on how media messages should be designed and presented to reduce prejudice successfully. They address specific qualities which can be grouped as relating to message content, representation and stereotyping, the language and tone of the message, and the narrator of the message. In a comprehensive study, Sutton et al. (2007) examine three British media campaigns, and regarding the message structure and content they suggest that the message should be striking and impressive to get the recipient's attention, to do this it must contain contrast. Each message should focus on one ethnic or religious group, should emphasize the group's similarity to the in-group rather than highlighting difference, and it should not reinforce stereotypes but contradict them (Sutton et al., 2007). It was also suggested by Mullen (2001) that emphasizing foreignness leads to more negative reactions from the viewer, thus messages should not feature different traditions and habits, but similarities with the in-group (such as working, raising families, going to the park etc.). The sense of similarity also increases the persuasiveness of the message (Vrij and Smith, 1999). Regarding the language and tone of the message, it is suggested that the message must be direct, jargon-free and not too emotional, and if the narrator is perceived as credible, reliable, attractive, and powerful, the persuasiveness of the message is more likely to be increased (Sutton et al., 2007, pp. 7–8).

Abrams (2010)"number":56,"publisher":"Equality and Human Rights Commission","publisher-place":"Manchester","title":"Processes of prejudice: Theory, evidence and intervention","URL":"https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/sites/default/files/research-report-56-processes-of-prejudice-theory-evidence-and-intervention.pdf","author":[{"family":"Abrams","given":"Dominic"}],"accessed":{"date-parts":[[2024,10,21]]},"issued":{"date-parts":[[2010]]},"label":"page","suppress-author":true},"schema":"https://github.com/citation-style-language/schema/raw/master/csl-citation.json"} suggested that sometimes social pressure and social norms are more effective in influencing people's opinions than the messages we receive from the media. He argued that messages coming from the group we identify with are more persuasive than those coming from the out-group. For example, the exclusion of prejudice within a group may be a more effective way of not accepting discriminatory behavior. This argument may also indicate that self-expression of migrants may reduce the impact of the message on local

people. However, self-expression is important for embracing agency (Blomfield and Lenette, 2018) and raising empathy towards migrants among local people (Chibici-Revneanu and Dong, 2020). Therefore, it can be suggested that in addition to providing opportunities for migrants to communicate their perspectives in their own voices, the message of valuing migrant perspectives and living together should also be supported by in-group members for a more positive impact. Certainly, there is no guarantee that every media message with the above qualities will have a positive effect on reducing prejudice, since its effectiveness is also a result of historical and cultural conditions. To avoid unwanted consequences, it is suggested that media initiatives should be tested with a smaller group of target audience before their launch (Sutton et al., 2007, p. 8).

In this study, GİB's cohesion-focused PSAs and their contents are analyzed in reference to prejudice-reduction literature, in terms of if and how they meet the qualities to reinforce social acceptance and reduce prejudice. The next section focuses on the recent studies particularly on Turkish PSAs addressing migrants.

PSAs on Migrants, Cohesion and Prejudice-Reduction in Türkiye

PSAs are media-based communication tools that aim to raise awareness and influence attitudes on issues of public interest (Sivakumaran, R.M., Nandakumar and Srivastava, 2023), so they follow the aforementioned strategies suggested for media messages to be effective and persuasive. There are analyses of the Turkish PSAs that address social issues in various areas;⁴ however, those related to migrants are very few. Among these studies, some examine GİB's PSAs on human trafficking (Tuğ, 2020; Yılmaz, 2020), while others focus on the ones about migrants and integration/cohesion (Danış, 2024; Karaduman, 2022; Öztürk Terzi, 2023).

Öztürk Terzi (2023) examines GİB's PSA titled "Misafirimsin", which means "you are my guest" in Turkish. The study argues that defining migrants through vague terms such as guest is problematic because they imply temporality and that defining them in terms of universal human rights helps to avoid potential misunderstandings and reduce prejudice among the public. A shortcoming of the study is that it does not provide information on when and where this PSA was released. At the time of conducting this research, no information about this video was found in GİB's or other resources, therefore this PSA was not included in the current study sample.

Karaduman (2022) presents a semiotic analysis of GİB's PSA titled "Büyüksün Türkiye", which is also examined in this study, and investigates the themes and the representation of migrants in the film. Karaduman explains that the film portrays migrants from different cultures and professions, shows their contributions to the Turkish economy and culture, gives the message to Turkish citizens to be tolerant and helpful towards migrants, and uses emotional themes such as love, helpfulness, brotherhood, patriotism, and faith to increase the impact of the message. Karaduman provides an uncritical analysis of the PSA, however, in the analysis below I will show and discuss that a significant element in the narration of this PSA is the production of meaning based on a hierarchical "us" and "them" difference, which should be questioned when the aim is to reduce prejudice.

In another study, Danış (2024) examines the content, titles and descriptions of GİB's videos on migrant integration and monitors the changes in the channel's broadcasting policy since its establishment. He finds that integration-related content, which was initially intended to be educational, has diminished over time. Danış notes that the videos mostly see integration as a one-way road and do not sufficiently address the responsibilities of the host society, they do not explain the state's integration policies, there is insufficient information about the contributions of migrants, and the videos mostly cover anti-migration issues such as combating irregular migration, human trafficking and border security. He concludes that the issue of integration is treated superficially in the PSAs. In fact, as I will explain in the methodology section, PSAs

4 For the analyses of the Turkish PSAs on gender inequality see Akyl and Gencer (2022), Aydın and Gülerarslan Özdengül (2023), Aydınnoğlu and Çelik (2024), on health see Alptekin, Kucun, Kurt and Yalin Ozkara (2024), Aydın and Yıldırım (2020), on the environment see Bozdemir Yüzbaşıoğlu (2020), Kükrer Aydın (2016).

focusing on integration or cohesion were removed from GİB's YouTube channel as of 2024, after cohesion was no longer the focus of state's migration policy (Morgül, 2023). As a result, the cohesion films that are the subject of my study, are no longer listed on the YouTube channel and thus they are not noted in Daniş's study. Therefore, it would be more accurate to say that, compared to the past, integration or cohesion is no longer on GİB's agenda today.

Overall, the number of studies about Turkish PSAs on migration and cohesion is limited and the existing ones are not based on sufficient datasets, so a systematic and comprehensive approach needs to be developed to fill this gap. This study provides an analysis of GİB's PSAs on migration and cohesion, that were once available on its YouTube channel. It differs from the existing studies in that it focuses on the narrative and representational constructions of the migrants and Turks in the PSAs and evaluates them according to their potential to increase social acceptance and reduce prejudice, drawing on prejudice-reduction literature. The data collection and analysis processes are explained below.

Methodology

Using a visual content analysis method, this study examines five Turkish PSAs designed in the format of short films, to inform Turkish society about migrants and living together. The PSAs span from 2017 to 2021, some of them were supported by the European Union (EU) and the United Nations' International Organization for Migration (IOM).

Data collection

GİB shares information about its completed and ongoing cohesion activities on its official website.⁵ The media-based cohesion activities for Turkish people are limited to informative PSA films. These PSAs are shared with the public on GİB's official YouTube page.⁶ Until 2024, GİB shared all its films and videos under four playlists titled "Ahıska Turks", "Fighting Human Trafficking", "Migration TV", and finally "Film/Public Service Announcement". The cohesion PSAs were added to the last playlist; however, during 2024, the playlist was made unavailable to the public and a new playlist titled "Fighting Irregular Migration" was added to the page. The new playlist includes videos featuring information about border security measures and the fight against irregular migration and migrant smugglers. The replacement of cohesion films with illegal migration videos indicates a change in the country's migration management approach in recent years (Morgül, 2023) identifying the central themes and metaphors in top officials' refugee-related messages. However, since they tend to rely on qualitative analyses based on convenience or purposive samples, prior studies have failed to assess the relative frequency of these themes and fall short of reliably gauging the shifts and continuities in the official discourse on refugees. Moreover, while several studies have noted the growing emphasis on the repatriation of Syrian refugees in recent years, no research has yet explored how the Turkish government has sought to reconcile this with its pro-refugee posturing. This paper addresses these limitations via a mixed methods analysis of 382 speeches President Erdoğan gave from September 2014 through December 2022. Quantitative findings show that Islamist and neo-Ottomanist themes have played a major role in Erdoğan's refugee discourse throughout his presidency. However, since 2018, there has been a sharp increase in Erdoğan's remarks about repatriating Syrian refugees. A critical discourse analysis of these remarks indicates that Erdoğan has appropriated the language of international law and standards on refugee returns so that he can continue to claim the moral high ground while simultaneously advocating mass repatriation of the Syrians.”;container-title”:”New Perspectives on Turkey”;DOI”:”10.1017/npt.2023.23”;ISSN”:”0896-6346, 1305-3299”;journalAbbreviation”:”New Perspect. Turk.”;language”:”en”;page”:”30-51”;source”:”DOI.org (Crossref.

5 <https://www.goc.gov.tr/uyum-faaliyetleri>

6 <https://www.youtube.com/@gocidaresibaskanlg8338>

Currently, the cohesion PSAs are accessible on other social media platforms, such as GİB's Facebook page, film producers' Vimeo pages, and other YouTube pages. The details of the PSAs included in the data are shown in Table 1. Due to the nature of the study, informed consent or ethics committee approval was not required during data collection.

Table 1

GİB's short films about migration and cohesion

Film	Name	Release date	Length
PSA 1	Göç kamu spotu (<i>Migration public service announcement</i>)	26.11.2017	00' 45"
PSA 2	Büyüksün Türkiye (<i>You are great Türkiye</i>)	17.12.2018	01' 33"
PSA 3	Mahalle (<i>Neighborhood</i>)	21.05.2019	01' 00"
PSA 4	Suriyeliler Hakkında Doğru Bilinen Yanlışlar (<i>Misconceptions about Syrians</i>)	03.02.2020	05' 15"
PSA 5	Tanısın Sen de Seversin (<i>If you know, you'll love [them] too</i>)	14.11.2021	02' 04"

To determine the PSAs to study, a purposeful sampling technique was followed, which is used in qualitative research to sort and select those cases that contain information about the subject under study (Patton, 2002, p. 46). Accordingly, only the films that contain content about migrants and living together were included in the sample. All the PSAs in the sample, except one (PSA 1), took place in GİB's local cohesion meetings and they were shown to local people with the aim of raising awareness on living together and reducing negative perceptions towards migrants (Göç İdaresi Başkanlığı, 2021, 2022). Therefore, it is important to explore and analyze their content.

Data analysis

PSAs are analyzed using a visual content analysis method, following Gillian Rose (2001) and Philip Bell (2001). Content analysis was developed to analyze written or spoken texts, but later used to analyze visual images too (Rose, 2001, p. 54). Content analysis reveals how a group or event is represented in texts or visuals, what meanings are produced through the representational features, by asking questions about the narrative and visual features in the image (Bell, 2001). For example, it may ask questions such as through which themes migrants are represented (e.g. humanitarian aid or human rights), what messages are conveyed, what emotions are evoked in the narrative, and so on. Content analysis is generally used for quantification, but it also allows for qualitative analysis because its findings allow for an understanding of the symbolic qualities of images, because the visual and narrative content of images is always related to the broader cultural context in which they are produced (Rose, 2001, p. 55).

Content analysis is also preferred because it is an explicit method that is applied with specific rules and procedures. It involves dividing the text or image into a set of objective parts (categories), coding their contents (values) on a coding table, and discussing the meanings produced through these representational relations (Rose, 2001, p. 59). This requires a technical procedure to be followed. In this study, a coding table is prepared using the Excel program, the categories of analysis are added on the coding table, they are examined in the PSAs and their descriptive values are coded manually on the coding table. So, the data on how groups are represented are obtained.

In the study, the coding framework and categories of analysis are determined according to the research questions, and in reference to the study of Sutton et al. (2007) to interpret the contents' potential to reduce prejudice. The visual content analysis is conducted focusing on the following categories of analysis (Table 2) and asking the following questions to the PSAs:

- Migrant profile: Who are represented in the films?
- Narrative structure: What information, message, and theme are prominent in the narrative content?
- Language and tone: Is the message clear, does it explicitly promote respect and inclusivity? Is the language fact-based, terminological, or emotional? If there is an emotional appeal, does it evoke pity, or a sense of connection and empathy?
- Emphasis: Does the film feature similarity and/or difference between groups?
- Representation: Do the representation of people reinforce or challenge stereotypes?
- Narrator: Who is speaking to the viewer?

Table 2

The coding categories in content analysis

Main categories	Subcategories			
Migrant profile	Age	Gender	Ethnicity	Condition
Narrative structure	Information	Message	Subject/theme	
Language and tone	Clarity	Jargons	Emotional appeal	
Emphasis	Similarity	Difference		
Representation	Stereotyping			
Narrator	Gender	Ethnicity		

The findings of the coding procedure may be interpreted quantitatively and/or qualitatively, depending on the size of the data and purpose of the research (Rose, 2001, p. 64). For this study, the findings are qualitatively interpreted based on the theoretical and empirical literature that this study draws on. In the next section, the findings of the content analysis of each PSA are first presented individually focusing on their narration and portrayal of migrants, migration and living together; the findings are later interpreted in the discussion section.

Findings: The Narrative and Representational Constructions in the PSAs

The oldest PSA, *Migration Public Service Announcement* (2017, PSA 1) begins with a mother and daughter playing in a park. Suddenly bombs are heard, and a war starts. No information is given about their nationality or location, but the shouts of “Yallah” in the background indicate that it is Syria. The camera focuses on the face of the helpless child and the voice-over addresses the Turkish viewer, saying, “You are the one who taught mercy to three continents, seventy-two nations, who conquered hearts. Do not ignore her”.⁷ The message revokes the historical conquests of the Ottoman Empire and emphasizes greatness as a nation. This is the first implication of greatness as a theme; in subsequent videos this theme is explicitly called “Great Türkiye”. The video adopts an emotive language calling for mercy and compassion for war victims. There are relationships of similarity and difference between the viewer (us) and those in the video (them). At the beginning of the film the child says, “The sky was once blue for me too”,⁸ implying that they were ordinary people with ordinary lives like everyone else but with the start of the war, they became in need of others’ help. Thus, the similarity is established on the basis of ordinary human conditions, while the difference between us and them is established on the basis of “our” greatness and capability to help. The representation

7 Translated by the author from Turkish: “Sen, merhameti üç kıta, yetmiş iki millete öğreten, gönülleri fethedensin. Onu görmezden gelme”.

8 Translated by the author from Turkish: “Bir zamanlar gökyüzü benim için de maviydi”.

of the host society as a superior and compassionate nation is a stereotypical representation in migrant representations (Lutz and Collins, 1993) and the film reproduces this stereotype of the host people. The PSA uses a Turkish male voice-over that encourages the audience to “see” and acknowledge “her” (the child / war victim) without giving any specific message other than accepting them.

You are Great Türkiye (2018, PSA 2) is set in a Turkish bakery and the main character is the baker, Mr. İrfan. The bakery is a place where foreigners living in the neighborhood can easily come, ask the baker their simple everyday questions (such as, how to get from one place to another) and receive answers from Mr. İrfan, who is portrayed as a fatherly and generous character. The foreigners are of different nationalities, different skin colors, genders and ages. They are all well integrated into the host society; they all speak Turkish with accents, have jobs as football players, teachers and students. After getting answers to their questions, they all say “You are great”⁹ to the baker and leave the bakery with a smile. The video ends with the message of the Turkish male narrator: “Is it just brother İrfan? In these lands, every person has a big heart, a warm heart. That is why, for centuries, we have been the meeting place of sharing, of unconditional kindness, of brotherhood, and of migrants from 190 different nations today. That is why we are all Great Türkiye. You are great Türkiye”.¹⁰ The title of the video, the repetition of the word “great” and the reference to an imperial past in which different nations lived together, all underline the dominant theme of Great Türkiye, which emphasizes the greatness of the Turkish nation. The video revokes the old saying that with great power comes the responsibility to help others. The baker, with his fatherly attitude, acts as a role model for the viewer and shows the importance of benevolence towards people from different backgrounds. The video’s message appeals to the emotions with an emphasis on sharing, unconditional kindness and brotherhood.¹¹ Cultural differences and similarities are emphasized together: we recognize that the migrants are foreigners by their names and physical appearance (different skin color, eye shape etc.), but their cultural practices are not shown, and they all speak Turkish, thus forming a sense of similarity through their adaptation to Turkish society. There is stereotyping in that the migrants are portrayed as beneficiaries of Turkish benevolence. They are all working and skilled people, but the narrative emphasizes Turkish “unrequited benevolence” without making any reference to the contribution of migrants to the economy and society, as if there is a one-sided receiving relationship. The audience is asked to be understanding, kind, and helpful towards migrants.

Neighborhood (2019, PSA 3) shows children happily living and playing together in the same neighborhood, with Turkish shopkeepers watching them with love. All the children speak Turkish as their mother tongue, but their names make it clear that they come from different ethnic groups. By showing integrated minorities in a loving Turkish neighborhood, the video conveys the message of living together with cultural differences in “great Türkiye”. The narrator reads: “We are all companions, existing with love under the same sky. On this path that we advance with love, differences cannot hinder us, because love grows and multiplies even more with differences. On these lands, there are millions of great hearts full of love. We are beautiful together. Together, we are Great Türkiye”.¹² The video has an emotional appeal that focuses on the sense of love and togetherness among cultural differences in great Türkiye. Except for names with different origins, it does not show different cultural practices, but the narrator emphasizes cultural differences more than once. The message says, “differences cannot hinder us”, reminding that cultural differences can be an obstacle to living together. There is no cultural stereotyping in the portrayal of minority group children, but again the Turkish community is stereotyped as “great”, nurturing, caring and compassionate. A Turkish male voice-over calls for understanding, kindness and help.

9 Translated by the author from Turkish: “Büyüksün”.

10 Translated by the author from Turkish: “Sadece İrfan Abi mi? Bu topraklarda, her insanın yüreği büyük, yüreği sıcacık. Yüzyıllardır, paylaşmanın, karşılıksız iyiliğin, kardeşliğin ve bugün yüz doksan farklı milletten göçmenin buluşma noktası olmamızın nedeni işte bu. Bu yüzden hepimiz Türkiye’yiz. Büyüksün Türkiye”.

11 In Turkish, the word for “brotherhood” is “kardeşlik”, which is a gender-neutral word.

12 Translated by the author from Turkish: “Hepimiz aynı gökyüzünün altında, sevgiyle var olan yol arkadaşlarıyız. Sevgiyle ilerlediğimiz bu yolda, farklılıklar bize engel olamaz; çünkü sevgi, farklılıklarla birlikte daha da büyür, çoğalır. Bu topraklarda sevgi dolu, milyonlarca büyük kalp var. Biz, birlikte güzeliz. Birlikte, Büyük Türkiye’yiz”.

Misconceptions about Syrians (2020, PSA 4) is an animated, information-focused film. In a question-and-answer format, it addresses specific misconceptions of Turkish society about Syrians and replaces them with the correct information, aiming to reduce the negative perceptions. The shared information covers the issues of the status of temporary protection, the rights of Syrians, and the regulation and practice of the responsibilities and services towards Syrians under temporary protection. The language of the video is factual, simple and clear. The emphasis on difference is prominent in the video. Each question begins with “Syrians...”, separating Syrians not only from the we-group but also from other migrant groups, ensuring that they do not have the same rights and status as “us” and other groups, thus positioning them as an external group. The narrative aims to inform but produces stereotypes as it only lists the services provided to Syrians and does not mention the contributions of Syrians in society. The film is made in 2020, nine years after the first Syrians arrived, so it would have been possible to include information or statistics about Syrians who have settled, worked and contributed. The content could also include information about the challenges they face(d) and real-life stories to give the full picture. In the video, false information and perceptions are voiced by a Turkish male narrator, while correct explanations are voiced by a Turkish female narrator. In this way, false perceptions are given in a harsher voice tone (excluding), and truths are given with a softer voice tone (including). The video aims to reduce prejudice by providing accurate information.

If You Know, You’ll Love [Them] Too (2021, PSA 5) is a short film that focuses on prejudice, discrimination and exclusion against migrants. It portrays migrants of different nationalities, ages and genders (an African-looking girl, a Middle Eastern looking boy, an Asian-looking man). They are portrayed as qualified and willing to adapt, but the locals are portrayed as distant and exclusionary towards them. In the film, the problems experienced in different social environments (school, work, neighborhood) are solved with the knowledge and skills of the excluded migrants, which is followed by the beginning of communication and better relations between the groups. The film uses emotive language, and its message promotes the themes of equality and humanity, urging the audience to overcome prejudices and recognize the common humanity and potential of migrants. The narrator reads:

Each of us is human first. No matter our color or nationality, we live for equality. We all have the right to smile anywhere, under all circumstances. As we purify ourselves from prejudices, we become one, we become life. The more we see, the more we know; the more we know, the more we change the world. If you know, you will love it too.¹³

The migrants’ physical appearance is indicative of cultural differences too, but different cultural practices are not seen, and the film portrays them as having similar skills and talents. In this way, the film counters migrant stereotypes by presenting them as skilled, competent and problem-solving individuals. The Turkish male voice advocates overcoming prejudices and engaging with migrants in schools and workplaces to build better relationships.

Discussion

The findings concerning the narration and representation of migrants, migration and living together in the PSAs are discussed around three arguments: 1) the theme of Great Türkiye constructs Turkish superiority over migrants, which serves to protect social hierarchies and promote social acceptance at the same time; 2) the migrants are strategically constructed in ambivalence to reduce the risk of competitive threat perception, 3) an emotional language is used to deliver didactic messages to the public without appearing patronizing or oppressive.

¹³ Translated by the author from Turkish: “Her birimiz önce insanız. Rengimiz veya uyruğumuz ne olursa olsun, eşitlik için yaşarız. Her yerde, her koşulda gülümsemek hepimizin hakkı. Önyargılardan arındıkça bir olur, hayat oluruz. Gördükçe tanır, tanıdıkça değiştiririz dünyayı. Tanısan sen de seversin”.

Construction of Turkish superiority through the theme of “Great Türkiye”

It is suggested that prejudice reduction initiatives should focus on a single ethnic group (Sutton et al., 2007), but this is not the case in most of GİB’s films. One film is explicitly (PSA 4) and one is implicitly (PSA 1) about Syrians, others portray people of mixed origin and do not use any term revealing ethnic or national identity, and all emphasize their foreignness in the narrative. However, since Syrians are the largest foreign group in Türkiye, and since migration from Syria has been one of the most discussed social issues since the war in Syria, Syrians are the first group of people who come to mind when foreignness is emphasized. The migrants in the films are speaking Turkish, working, well-intentioned and in good health (except PSA 1). This well-integrated migrant profile is a positive feature to facilitate their acceptance among the hosting community (Lergetporer et al., 2021), it also helps to portray them as similar. When they are integrated and well-intentioned, their exclusion in society is grounded on unjustified prejudice, so the films deliver the messages of getting rid of prejudices and accepting and living together with differences.

The question is how they disseminate these messages of acceptance and inclusion, and what strategies they use to persuade the public. At this point, the films (except PSA 5) effectively use the theme of “Great Türkiye”. In a clear and direct language, and with an emotional appeal (except PSA 4), the common message of the films is to live together in peace by accepting the culturally different people among us. This message is founded on the Great Türkiye theme, which is used in reference to the historical achievements of the Ottoman Empire, particularly to the coexistence of many peoples under the same imperial rule. The narratives highlight that the Turkish state, throughout its long history, has accepted foreigners, shown mercy and extended a helping hand to them unconditionally. Helping and including foreigners is narrated as an essential characteristic of the Turkish people. This narrative constructs the Turkish state and Turkish people (“us”) as great, merciful and protective, which emphasizes Turkish superiority over migrants (“them”). The construction of superiority and protectiveness eventually establishes domination and hierarchy between Turks and migrants. Establishing hierarchical power relations is also a strategy to reduce the hosting communities’ fear of competition with the newcomers. In this way, the Great Türkiye theme functions to promote the acceptance of migrants and protect the existing social hierarchies at the same time.

In representation, the construction of “us” involves marking our difference from “others” and determining who are outside, the others, or the excluded (Hall, 1997, p. 236). What is particular about the PSAs, however, is that this construction of the superior “us” does not completely exclude the migrant who is inside. The films establish a relationship with the migrants; they acknowledge their cultural difference, and they desire to live with differences. Although the voice-over narration cites one-sided “unconditional help” to migrants, the visual portrayals depict reciprocal relationships, in which Turks and migrants work together and play together, which signifies that they deserve our friendly and good attitudes, not prejudice and exclusion. Therefore, films, in a pragmatic way, depict how we should and should not treat migrants within.

Then, the second function of the Great Türkiye theme is to instill moral values in Turkish people and motivate them to behave correctly towards migrants. In order not to appear oppressive or patronizing while doing this and not to offend the public – in a way that fits with the prejudice-reduction literature (Vrij and Smith, 1999) – films first mark and honor Turkish people’s greatness, then share didactic messages about how to approach migrants.

The strategic ambivalent migrant constructions

Research suggests that prejudice-reduction initiatives should not emphasize differences and reinforce stereotypes, but rather contradict them (Mullen, 2001; Sutton et al., 2007). GİB’s PSAs do not particularly follow these principles and highlight both similarities and differences between migrants and Turks. The foreignness of migrants is identifiable by their names, appearance, and accents, but their cultural practices are not displayed. They are seen as speaking the Turkish language, working together with Turks, and playing

in the neighborhood with Turkish children, indicating their successful adaptation to Turkish society. The sense of similarity between migrants and Turks is enabled through their integration. Migrants are like us because they are integrated.

In contrast to these images of similarity, the narrative read by the voice-over emphasizes cultural difference. Although the messages to the viewer are characterized by acceptance and coexistence, sentences such as “differences cannot hinder us” underline differences and marks them as negative. It creates a connotation such that similarity is required to live together, but despite the differences we will live together. To avoid negative connotations, the term “diversity” should have been used instead of “difference” to emphasize that cultural diversity enriches social life as it enables learning from each other and becoming better together. The term cultural diversity also includes in it the meaning that societies are diverse and never uniform (Ab-ercrombie, Hill and Turner, 2006, p. 114), thus it marks the inclusion of differences as a common situation, not a problem or an obstacle in front of living together.

The contrasting constructions of migrants in visual portrayals and the narration is also manifested through stereotypes in the PSAs. The visual migrant images of the PSAs counter the stereotypical images of needy and desperate migrants: we see the migrants as qualified, contributing to their environment, problem-solving and ultimately receiving acceptance; so, there is a mutual give-and-take situation. However, the voice-over narratives do not mention the contributions of the migrants and underline Turkish generosity, suggesting that migrants are the beneficiaries of Turkish benevolence, as if the relationship is one-sided. Thus, the narratives reproduce the helpless migrant stereotype.

The above examples show that there is an ambivalence in the visualization and narration of migrants in the films, and there is a reason for this. The ambivalent construction of migrants is strategic. The visual representation of migrants as well-integrated people is meant to indicate that they are not a burden, and they do not pose a risk to society, thus they do not deserve to be the subject of prejudice. However, the images of working migrants can also produce the view of migrants taking over local people’s jobs and enforce threat perception. When migrants are defined as in need, it is easier to appeal to people’s sense of compassion and spread the message of acceptance. Ambivalence is thus used pragmatically in the films: to support social acceptance and reduce the risk of competitive threat perception.

Foregrounding the feeling of compassion

The use of emotional language is not recommended in prejudice reduction initiatives (Sutton et al., 2007); however, in the post-truth era, it is argued that appealing to emotions and personal beliefs is more influential than objective facts in shaping public opinion (Lilleker, 2018). According to this view, to reduce prejudice against migrants it is not sufficient to correct misconceptions about them, but it is important to mobilize emotions using representational elements and strategies.

Moreover, although the use of emotional language in the films contradicts the literature on prejudice-reduction, emotional appeal seems to be an appropriate narrative element when it comes to people living together. The most important ingredient that enables people to want or accept living together in the same neighborhood with those who are different, are positive emotions such as love and respect for each other, even if at a minimal level. Therefore, it seems helpful to use an emotional language, without dramatizing the events, to evoke empathy and kindness towards the migrants. In addition, for the positive feelings between the groups to last, there must be a reciprocal relationship, a mutual benefit.

GiB’s films follow these paths and use emotive language, except for PSA 4, which aims to correct misconceptions about Syrians by replacing them with objective facts. The narrative of PSA 4 progresses through questions and answers about Syrians. In doing so, it separates and isolates Syrians from other migrant groups and portrays them as a passive group who only receive services without contributing to society and building

relationships with their environment. The lack of emotional appeal also dehumanizes and objectifies them. However, the use of emotional language in the other four PSAs seems to have a different effect, with positive and negative aspects.

The films foreground the feelings of compassion and mercy and give the Turkish public the responsibility to include and accept migrants. This use of emotional language seems to have a positive effect in terms of humanizing the relationship between Turks and migrants and finding a reason for living together. The use of emotion also helps the films deliver their didactic messages of accepting migrants without appearing patronizing or oppressive. However, there is also a downside of emphasizing compassion and mercy, because these are feelings that base the relationship on a sense of superiority. For groups living together, it would be more appropriate to cultivate feelings of empathy and respect to establish egalitarian relationships between groups. However, as discussed above, the sense of superiority in the films is preferred to protect the social hierarchies between Turks and migrants. Thus, the emotional language is used to gain the consent of the host society to accept the migrants.

Conclusion

This study examined GİB's five public service announcements on migrants and cohesion, using a visual content analysis method and drawing on prejudice-reduction literature. Focusing on their narration and representation of migrants and living together, the contents of the PSAs are discussed in terms of their potential to reduce prejudice and reinforce social acceptance. The main argument drawn from the findings of the analysis is that while the PSA films contain positive messages about living together with migrants, they also maintain an "us" and "them" distinction between Turks and migrants, and reproduce the social hierarchies by positioning Turks as "great" and as the protectors of migrants. I argue that this notion of a "superior us" is employed as a strategy to calm public concerns about migrants, thus facilitating their acceptance and reducing prejudice. The study revealed the ways in which the distinction between "us" and "them" is constructed through the narration and visual representation of Turks, migrants and other elements.

There are three main findings of the study. The first finding is that in GİB's PSAs, the common theme of Great Türkiye is used to construct Turks, the host society, as superior to migrants. The theme is narrated in such a way that it evokes the great past of the Ottoman Empire, under whose rule peoples lived together for centuries, and gives the message that we should continue this responsibility and protect the people who need our help. This is a responsibility carried from the past to the present and also it is a responsibility that comes with being "great". So, the narratives construct the Turkish state and Turkish people as great, and also position them as superior to migrants. This is a stereotypical construction of "superior us" vs. "inferior other", which also constructs a hierarchical relationship between the two; however, the difference is that the "other" in the PSAs is not a threat or an enemy, but a victim in need of protection. This hierarchical relationship between the Turks and migrants is constructed as a strategy to protect the existing social hierarchies and to calm down the Turkish community members' fear of competing with the migrants in their social environment. In this way, the theme of great Türkiye is used as a tool to promote the social acceptance of migrants.

The second finding of the study is that the PSAs represent migrants in an ambivalent way: migrants are visually presented as skilled and capable people who contribute to the Turkish economy and society, while at the same time they are narrated as people who need our help and protection. This is a strategic ambivalence, again used to facilitate the social acceptance of migrants. The purpose of portraying migrants as well-integrated and capable is to prevent the perception of migrants as a burden and a risk to the economy and society, thus to reduce prejudice against them. At the same time, however, to avoid the perception that migrants are taking the jobs of locals, PSAs narrate them as people in need, thus appealing to people's sense of compassion. In this way, ambivalent portrayals of migrants serve to facilitate social acceptance and reduce perceptions of threat, and hence prejudice.

The third finding of the study is that the PSAs mainly use emotional language to convey their messages and influence people. Although the use of an emotional language is not suggested in prejudice-reduction literature, I suggest that its use in the PSAs seems to be an appropriate element or strategy to humanize migrants and to evoke empathy, kindness, love and respect between communities living together. Also, by appealing to emotions, didactic messages of being inclusive towards migrants seem less oppressive and patronizing, thus helping to promote social acceptance. However, as compassion does not imply a relationship of equality between the parties, its long-term impact on living together is questionable.

Overall, the research reveals that PSAs do not fully comply with the recommendations offered by prejudice reduction studies, in that they emphasize differences, produce stereotypes and use emotional language. However, I discuss that the films do not comply with these points as a strategy, to gain host society's acceptance of migrants by portraying them not as a competitive threat to the local people.

A final suggestion for future work and for improving the potential of these PSAs (and other prejudice-reduction initiatives) concerns how they reach the public and how they are evaluated. GIB's PSAs are presented in face-to-face meetings with host groups. It can therefore be argued that their impact is limited both by the small number of people attending these meetings and by the fact that people are exposed to these messages in a single screening. However, it is suggested that for a lasting positive effect the positive messages should become social norms (Abrams, 2010)⁵⁶. Equality and Human Rights Commission, Manchester, "Processes of prejudice: Theory, evidence and intervention", URL: <https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/sites/default/files/research-report-56-processes-of-prejudice-theory-evidence-and-intervention.pdf>, author: [{"family": "Abrams", "given": "Dominic"}], -accessed: [{"date-parts": [{"2024", "10", "21"}]}, {"issued": [{"date-parts": [{"2010"}]}]}, {"schema": "https://github.com/citation-style-language/schema/raw/master/csl-citation.json"}]. For this to happen, the messages of inclusion and good behavior should be produced and distributed in society not only through the media but also through other social institutions such as the family, education, law, politics, religion etc. Discriminatory and derogatory behaviors should be widely excluded as inappropriate and unacceptable. Therefore, organizing public campaigns over a period of time, with the full support of social institutions, is likely to produce much more effective and positive results. Before these public campaigns or PSAs are launched nationally, their impact can be assessed through surveys and focus groups with smaller groups of audiences to test where they are effective and where they are not, and corrections can then be made accordingly for a positive impact of the prejudice-reduction initiatives on the public. Although the issue of integration/cohesion may not be on GIB's agenda today, a society with a culture of living together is essential for the peace and security of all.

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Genişletilmiş Özet

Amaç: Göçmenlere veya herhangi bir azınlık gruba yönelik önyargı, toplumsal barışın ve birlikte yaşama kültürünün inşasının önündeki en büyük engellerden biridir. Göç İdaresi Başkanlığı (GİB), Türk toplumunda göçmenlere yönelik önyargının azaltılması ve sosyal kabulün artırılması için kısa film formatında kamu spotları hazırlamıştır. Mevcut çalışma, bu filmlerdeki göç, göçmen ve birlikte yaşama anlatılarını ve temsili, özellikle sosyal kabulü artırma ve önyargıyı azaltma potansiyelleri açısından incelemektedir. Çalışma, şu sorulara cevap aramaktadır: GİB'in kamu spotu filmlerinde göç, göçmenler ve birlikte yaşam nasıl tasvir ve temsil ediliyor? Filmlerin içerikleri göçmenler, Türkler ve birbirleriyle ilişkileri hakkında neler söylüyor? Filmler, göçmen stereotiplerini güçlendiriyor mu yoksa ret mi ediyor, nasıl? Filmlerin göçmenlere yönelik önyargıyı azaltma potansiyelleri nedir?

Tasarım ve Yöntem: Bu çalışma nitel bir araştırma makalesidir. Çalışma kapsamında, Türk toplumunu göçmenlerle birlikte yaşam konusunda bilgilendirmek amacıyla hazırlanan kısa film formatında beş kamu spotu incelendi. Filmlere GİB'in resmi internet sayfaları üzerinden erişildi. Veri toplamada amaçlı örnekleme tekniği kullanıldı (Patton, 2002, s. 46) ve yalnızca göçmenler ve uyum konulu filmler örnekleme dahil edildi. Örnekleme yer alan filmlerin biri hariç hepsi, GİB'in Türk halkına yönelik düzenlediği yerel uyum toplantılarında, halk arasında göçmenlere yönelik olumsuz algıların azaltılması amacıyla gösterilen filmlerdir (Göç İdaresi Başkanlığı, 2021, 2022). Bu nedenle içeriklerinin incelenmesi ve analiz edilmesi önemlidir.

Filmlerin göçmenleri ve birlikte yaşam olgusunu nasıl temsil ve tasvir ettikleri, bu temsil özellikleri aracılığıyla göçmenler, Türkler ve iki grup arasındaki ilişkiye dair hangi anlamların üretildiği görsel içerik analiz yöntemi kullanılarak incelendi. Görsel içerik analizinin uygulanması için Gillian Rose (2001) ve Phillip Bell (2001) takip edildi. İçerik analizinin uygulanmasında, görsel, bir dizi nesnel parçaya (kategorilere) bölünür ve içerikleri (değerleri) bir kodlama tablosu üzerine kodlanır ve bu şekilde içerik özelliklerine dair veri toplanır (Rose, 2001, s. 59). Mevcut çalışma için kodlanacak analiz kategorileri, çalışmanın araştırma sorularına ve ayrıca Sutton, Perry, Barke ve John-Baptiste (2007) tarafından yapılan çalışmaya referansla belirlendi. Sutton ve diğerleri, medya tabanlı girişimlerin halk arasında önyargının azaltılmasına katkı sunabilmeleleri için ne gibi özelliklere sahip olması gerektiği üzerine çalışmışlardır. Bu çalışmalara referansla, mevcut çalışma kapsamında incelenen kamu spotu filmlerindeki anlatı ve temsil yapıları, şu analiz kategorilerine odaklanarak çalışıldı: göçmen profili (yaş, cinsiyet, etnisite, durum), anlatı yapısı (bilgi, mesaj, konu/tema), dil ve üslup (netlik, jargon, duygusallık), vurgu (benzerlik, farklılık), temsil (stereotipleştirme) ve anlatıcı (cinsiyet, etnisite).

Analiz için, Excel programı kullanılarak bir kodlama tablosu hazırlandı, analiz kategorileri kodlama tablosuna eklendi, kategorilerin tanımlayıcı içerik değerleri, filmler incelenerek kodlama tablosuna elle kodlandı. Böylece filmlerin temsil özelliklerine dair veriler elde edildi ve yorumlandı.

Bulgular: Çalışmada incelenen beş kamu spotunda göçmenler ve göç temsiline dair elde edilen en çarpıcı bulgu şu oldu: filmler birlikte yaşamayı ve göçmenlere karşı olumlu tutumları vurgularken, Türkler ve göç-

menler arasında “biz” ve “onlar” ayrımını da gözetiyorlar ve ilginç olan şu ki bunu önyargı azaltmada olumlu etkiler yaratmak için stratejik olarak yapıyorlar. Filmlerde stratejik olarak Türkler üstün, göçmenler ise muğlaklık içinde temsil ediliyor, hâkim duygu da şefkat olarak inşa ediliyor. Çalışmanın bulguları aşağıdaki üç argüman altında tartışılmıştır.

Birincisi, filmlerde göçmenler ve Türkler arasında hiyerarşik bir ilişki kurmak için “Büyük Türkiye” teması kullanılıyor. Bu tema, Türklere tarihsel bir üstünlük atfederken, bu üstünlüğe dayanarak Türklere göçmenleri kabul etme ve koruma sorumluluğunu da getiriyor. Böylece göçmenler, Türk üstünlüğü, cömertliği ve koruması altında konumlandırılıyor. Bu şekilde Büyük Türkiye teması, göçmenlerin kabulünü ve katılımını teşvik ederken, Türkler ve göçmenler arasında bir hiyerarşi kurarak mevcut güç dinamiklerini Türk halkının lehine korumayı amaçlıyor.

İkincisi, göçmenler stratejik olarak muğlak bir şekilde temsil ediliyorlar. Filmlerde uyum sağlamış, çalışan ve katkı sunan bireyler olarak görülüyorlar ve bu görsel göçmen profili, tipik muhtaç göçmen temsiline karşıt bir temsil sunuyor. Ancak seslendirmelerde, göçmenlerin topluma sunduğu katkılara değinmeden onlardan sadece Türk iyilikseverliğine muhtaç kişiler olarak bahsediliyor. Göçmen temsiliindeki bu çelişki, pragmatik bir işlev görüyor: topluma verilen sözel mesajlarda, toplum içinde rekabeti artıracak bir tehdit unsuru olarak görülmemeleri amaçlanıyor.

Üçüncüsü, incelenen kamu spotlarında, Türkler arasında göçmenlere karşı şefkat duygusunu uyandırmak için duygusal bir dil kullanılıyor ve bunun nedeni göçmeni insanileştirmek ve ev sahibi topluma birlikte yaşamak için bir neden sunmak. Şefkat çağrışımları, ev sahibi halka sunulan didaktik mesajların baskıcı bir şekilde algılanma riskini de azaltıyor. Ancak göçmenlere yönelik duyulan şefkat, taraflar arasında eşitlikçi olmayan bir ilişkiye işaret ettiğinden, yine Türkler ve göçmenler arasında hiyerarşik bir ilişki kuruyor.

Sonuç olarak incelenen kamu spotları, Türkler ve göçmenler arasında farklılıkları vurgulama, stereotipleri yinleme ve duygusal dil kullanma açısından önyargı azaltma çalışmalarının sunduğu önerilere tam olarak uymuyorlar. Filmlerdeki anlatı ve temsil yapıları, Türk halkı arasında göçmen kabulünü kolaylaştırmak ve önyargıları ve endişeleri azaltmak için taktiksel olarak Türkler lehine olan toplumsal hiyerarşileri koruyan bir temsil sunuyorlar.

Sınırlılıklar: Çalışmaya dair en önemli sınırlılık, filmlerin önyargı azaltma yönündeki potansiyellerinin izleyiciler üzerinde bıraktıkları etkiye göre kanıta dayalı bir şekilde araştırılmamış olmasıdır. Ancak bu durum, çalışmanın bulgularının geçerliliği önünde bir engel değildir. Çünkü görsel içerik analizi yöntemi ile sistematik bir şekilde elde edilen bulgular, önyargı azaltma üzerine yayınlanmış literatüre referansla değerlendirilmiş, filmlerin anlatı ve temsil özelliklerinin önyargı azaltma potansiyelleri tartışılmıştır.

Öneriler: Önyargı, toplum içinde sosyalleşme süreciyle öğrenilir. Doğru bilgi paylaşımının, görüşleri ve tutumları değiştirme üzerindeki olumlu etkileri bildirilmesine rağmen (Grigorieff vd. 2020; Haaland ve Roth, 2020), kalıcı olumlu bir etki için olumlu mesajların toplumsal normlar haline gelmesi gerektiği de savunulmaktadır (Abrams, 2010). Bunun için, kapsayıcı mesajlar yalnızca medya aracılığıyla değil aynı zamanda aile, eğitim, hukuk, siyaset, din gibi diğer toplumsal kurumlar aracılığıyla da desteklemeli ve topluma yayılmalıdır.

Ayrıca, incelenen kamu spotu filmleri, yerel halkla yüz yüze düzenlenen toplantılarda gösterilmektedir. Etki kapasiteleri, hem bu toplantılara katılım sağlayabilen kişi sayısı ile hem de katılımcıların bu mesajlara tek bir kez maruz kalmaları nedeniyle sınırlıdır. Toplumsal kurumların desteğiyle toplum geneline yayılacak şekilde belli bir süre devam eden kampanyalar düzenlemek, önyargı azaltıcı ve toplumsal kabulü artırıcı mesajların çok daha etkili ve olumlu sonuçlar doğurmasını sağlayacaktır.

Özgün Değer: Bu çalışma, Türk toplumunda göçmenlere yönelik önyargının ve olumsuz algıların azaltılmasını amaçlayan kamu spotlarının içerik özelliklerini inceleyerek etkilerini değerlendirmektedir. Çalışmanın sonuçları, kamu spotlarının Türkler ve göçmenler arasındaki ilişkiye dair ürettikleri anlamları tartışa-

rak, olumlu ve olumsuz etkilerini yorumlamaktadır. Bu anlamda çalışma, 1) sosyoloji ve kültürel çalışmalar alanlarında sosyal gruplar arasında ilişkilerin iyileştirilmesi konulu yapılan çalışmalara, 2) iletişim çalışmaları alanında medya tabanlı girişimlerin sosyal gruplar arasında ilişkilerin iyileştirilmesinde nasıl daha etkili kullanılabileceği konulu çalışmalara, 3) göç yönetimi ve uyum çalışmaları alanlarında görev alan karar vericilerin, uygulayıcıların ve sivil toplum kuruluşlarının çalışmalarına ve uygulamalarına katkı sunmaktadır.