

# Global Media Journal

German Edition

Peer-reviewed Original Article

## Online humor targeting women on Turkish digital media platforms: An intersectional approach to digital violence

Nazlı Bülay Doğan

**Abstract:** This article examines online violence disguised as humor on Turkish digital media platforms. Online conversations from *Sour Dictionary*, a pioneer dictionary-platform, reveal how class, politics and gender inequalities intersect to reproduce power relations in digital media against non-paid domestic workers (housewives) being visible in *Facebook*. Drawing from the theoretical framework of intersectionality, the study shows that women are exposed to violence not just through the category of gender, while at the same time, the criticism and the violence interchange dynamically through the instrument of humor.

**Keywords:** digital media, online humor, intersectionality, Facebook, Sour Dictionary

### Author information:

Nazlı Bülay Doğan is interested in digital sociology and Science and Technology Studies. A graduate of Galatasaray University, she received her MA from Bogazici University. In addition, she holds a PhD in Design, Technology and Society from the Graduate School of Social Sciences and Humanities at Koç University. In her doctoral studies, she examined crime frames about hacktivism in Turkey within critical criminology. A Fulbright alumna, a former research fellow at the Annenberg School for Communication, a member of IAMCR and the Union for Democratic Communications, Dr. Doğan worked as a lecturer at Istanbul Bilgi University Department of Sociology. Currently, she works as a lecturer at Isik University.

Email: bulaydogan@yahoo.fr

**To cite this article:** Doğan, N. B. (2021). Online humor targeting women on Turkish digital media platforms: An intersectional approach to digital violence. *Global Media Journal – German Edition*, 11(2), DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22032/dbt.51027>

## Introduction

Violence targeting women is a critical issue in Turkey. The high number of femicides turns the attention of women's struggle – in practice and theory – in that direction. Compared to the struggle for survival, online violence is, then, in turn, easily viewed as a negligible type of violence. This view is also extended to subtler ways of online violence, such as online humor, as this article aims to explore. However, the feeding mechanism of violence – the legitimization of violence – hides itself within the discourse of oppression of women. In that sense, digital platforms are important vehicles of oppression. For that reason, this article analyzes classist and sexist power relations of digital media platforms with a focus on online humor targeting women in Turkey. Drawing from the theoretical framework on online humor, the humor produced in the online forum-dictionary *Ekşi Sözlük* [*Sour Dictionary*] about the *Facebook* page entitled *Gelinlerin Tath Telaşı* [*Sweet Rush of Brides*] will be examined with an intersectional approach. This happens through the qualitative analysis of 142 entries written by *susers* (*Sour Dictionary* users) for the title *Sweet Rush of Brides*. The question of “how is online harassment disguised as humor on online media platforms in Turkey?” will be explored during the examination of the case study of humor targeting non-paid domestic workers (*housewives*) through the themes of critique of consumerism, disdain and abjection, and delegated motherhood.

## Theoretical framework

### *Humor from Bakhtinian carnival*

Humor belonging to unofficial folk culture has an immense capacity to subvert official and authoritarian culture. Mikhail Bakhtin (1984) explains this capacity through carnivals of the Middle Age. During these carnivals, the culture of the Church and the feudal system is overthrown within a temporary release, and all hierarchy – with its privileges, prohibitions, and rules – is suspended. The liberation of the unofficial folk humor grounds on its reaffirmation to the “lower bodily stratum, in defiance of the morbid gravity of official culture” with the parody that Bakhtin names “grotesque degradation” (Perfetti, 1992, p. 179). This theory of Bakhtin is still relevant for contemporary social events. In his work on online humor, Weitz (2017) emphasizes how internet users express their senses of humor in online activity and how in some cases, such humor takes the form of parody and pranking to be used as a useful tool to criticize power (2017, p. 512). Such humor is described by Kenny (2009) who describes how pranks were used to criticize the *World Trade Organization* as dominant force of the global trade when their representatives were impersonated in absurd but at the same time believable scenarios at world conferences. A practice of media protest, “culture jamming,” is another example in which the users define their fun in freedom and protest in parallel with the utopian laughter of the Bakhtinian carnival – shaped by the criticized regime,

as well as reaching beyond it (Wettergren, 2009) - against the commodification of feelings and the fun of consumption. To link humor with the power relations of society and to understand the humorous aspect of social uprisings, researchers use Bakhtin's theory to interpret humor as a site of resistance, similar to the carnival culture of the Medieval Ages. For example, according to Morva (2016), the humorous discourse of the Gezi uprising in 2013 in Istanbul "created a subjective and unconventional identity and sovereignty that the power did not know how to handle" and "the power/government lost its control over public discourse" (p. 29). In that sense, laughter is an element of victory against the upper classes, those who oppress and restrict (p. 26).

However, humor that challenges the upper classes is not the only type of humor that folk culture can produce. Humor reinforcing the hegemony of the upper classes is also part of the folk culture. Researchers indeed criticize the work of Bakhtin for not acknowledging the limits of carnivals. In that critique, the temporal release during carnivals does not mean an essential challenge of the official structure (Perfetti, 1992, p. 179). It is not the inversion nor the affirmation of social norms, but the tension – the dialectic between civilized respectability and vagabondage (Riggio, 2004, p. 19). In that sense, even when online humor possesses elements of victory against oppressors, as seen so often within the examples of the online humor created with the Gezi uprising, this humor can also be the site of the oppression itself – as the violence disguised as humor.

### ***Violence disguised as humor***

Research studies on hate speech show that humor can be used as a subtle form of discrimination, for example, when tense racial relations are laid bare between those who make the jokes at the expense of those targeted by these jokes. Stereotypes feed such jokes, and these jokes reinforce racism, especially by their repetition. In the end, they produce adverse effects for targeted groups (Fortuna & Nunes, 2018, p. 5). In their article about anti-Asian online hate speech during the Covid-19 pandemic, Yu et al. (2021) include mocking and sarcasm in their research because:

repeating sarcastic comments and even seemingly harmless jokes can intrigue racist attitudes, reinforce stereotypes, create an othering discourse of social groups, and thus give justifications to negative bias and discrimination directed towards these groups. (p. 13)

Sexist humor is a widespread phenomenon in which hate speech targets often women and LGBTI+. Demeaning, insulting, stereotyping, victimizing, and objectifying a person based on their gender is how sexist humor can be defined (LaFrance & Woodzicka, 1998). Even in early studies, it is exhibited that women are targeted more often by aggressive humor and sexual humor compared to men (Zillmann & Cantor, 1976/1996).

In their study on sexist online jokes, Bemiller and Schneider (2010) explain how sexist online humor objectifies women, devaluates their personal and professional abilities, and supports violence against women. As Woodzicka and Ford (2010) indicate, even though sexist humor is older than the widespread use of the Internet, as it was present in mass media, workplaces, and informal social interactions, the Internet facilitated access to and the distribution of such humor. They also emphasize the alarming prevalence of sexist humor in popular media and “its disguise as benign amusement” (p. 174) while such humor has actually broader social consequences, “indirect effects” (p. 181), as the tolerance of sexism and the promotion of discriminatory behavior among men.

In her more recent study, Hackworth (2018) stresses how online platforms like *Facebook* and *Twitter* increase online harassment. Even though the amount of online harassment towards men and women are statistically similar, the gendered trends become more visible in the various forms of harassment – such as cyberstalking – and in their severity, especially when the targeted women are those with a high public profile or those raising issues about feminism and sexism, and those having “additional marginalized identities” (p. 52). This expression is essential to understand how online harassment cannot be fully understood with a “just gendered” perspective, as Hackworth names it. Instead, an intersectional approach can offer a better understanding. By the following, I will first give background on intersectionality and second, look at online harassment through the intersectional lens.

### ***Intersectionality: The Origins***

When Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw (1989) coined the concept of intersectionality, the multidimensionality of Black women’s experiences (Crenshaw, 1989, p. 139) and how Black women suffered from an accentuated inequality in their employment experiences was the departure point of this term. It was coined to denote this interaction between race and gender. As Crenshaw claimed in her later work, looking separately to the race and gender dimensions of Black women’s lives could not capture the intersection of racism and sexism that influenced Black women’s lives, especially the structural, political and representational aspects of violence that they are exposed to (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1244). In that sense, intersectionality began as the critique by Black feminists towards white, bourgeois feminism of ignoring “the needs and the reality of the lives of all other women – including black women.” Against this, the aim of those advocating for intersectionality was to “capture analytically the multidimensional nature and complexity of women’s own experience” (Lutz, Vivar, & Supik, 2011, pp. 2-3). This could be possible, by addressing and redressing the exclusions of contemporary feminism through making visible the multiple positioning of the differences among women (Davis, 2008, p. 70). In the light of these discussions, the definition by Hackworth (2018) of intersectionality as the emphasis on “how specific intersections between categories of dif-

ference (such as gender, race, and class) shape people's subject positions and experiences in particular ways" (p. 54) becomes more contextualized.

Intersectionality is an indispensable tool for many other researchers and activists who want to understand diverse inequalities and problems faced by women worldwide. How intersecting power relations influence social relations in diverse societies and how these relations reflect in everyday life through individual experiences became a critical investigation focus of the term intersectionality. Collins and Bilge (2020) emphasize this inclusive usage of the term by describing the term:

As an analytical tool [that] views categories of race, class, gender, sexuality, class, nation, ability, ethnicity, and age – among others – as interrelated and mutually shaping one another. Intersectionality is a way of understanding and explaining complexity in the world, in people, and in human experiences.

After 30 years of the initial usage of the term, intersectionality remains still valuable thanks to its inclusivity. In the 2020s, as digital media influence our lives more thoroughly, diverse aspects of digital media and more specifically social media platforms constitute critical places to understand social relations, and power relations. Lumsden and Harmer (2019) shed light on digital violence's patriarchal and intersectional features in their edited work on online othering. For them, "online othering is an extension of traditional patriarchal power relations" and it "manifests in intersectional ways, with social characteristics and locations such as class, gender, age, race, ethnicity, religion, nationality, disability and sexuality" (Lumsden & Harmer, 2019, pp. 384–385).

Another crucial analytical tool they use in their analysis is "the matrix of domination," coined by Patricia Hill Collins in 1990. Collins differs the matrix of domination from intersectionality, as the former focuses more on "the interpersonal domains of power across quite different forms of oppression" (Collins, 2000, p. 18). To understand digital violence, intersectionality is indeed useful for understanding how different social categories are entangled in diverse forms of online harassment and symbolic violence (Lumsden & Harmer, 2019, p. 385). However, the matrix of domination emphasizes how intersecting oppressions are organized (Collins, 2000, p. 18). Following that theory, in the issue of digital violence, the gendered nature of society is quite often mirrored on social media platforms. Moreover, "technological power accrues disproportionately to men and boys" (Lumsden & Harmer, 2019, p. 384), not just in Western culture but also in many other contexts worldwide. In addition to traditional patriarchal power inequalities, the matrix of domination functions in online media mainly to the detriment of women<sup>1</sup> who do not possess class or race privileges. Structural affordances and constraints, togeth-

---

<sup>1</sup> This article is limited to the discussion about the digital violence against cis-women. However, it does not intend to minimize the violence that LGBTI+ are exposed to in digital media. Here, and in many other places during the article, LGBTI+ should be added, in the scope of a larger examination. "Women" in this case does not focus just on gender, as it was criticized by Hackworth (2018, p. 60) but is not an all-inclusive approach, either.

er with interpersonal domination, result in online othering, reflecting the various domains of power – structural, disciplinary, hegemonic and interpersonal – from the matrix of domination of Collins (Lumsden & Harmer, 2019, p. 386).

### ***Reframing online harassment within an intersectional approach***

Research on sexist humor shows that, especially since the 1990s, there is a growing consensus that this kind of humor is seen as a form of sexual harassment, especially in workplaces (Woodzicka & Ford, 2010, p. 182). However, this emphasis is a necessary but insufficient perspective to understand the multilayered harassment that women experience.

Hackworth (2018) calls for an intersectional approach to analyze harassment that women endure concerning their additional marginalized identities, especially in the Internet, to enlarge this perspective. In that sense, Hackworth acknowledges the need to discuss gender in online sexual harassment to understand how the gender gap is intensified and the polarization between the sexes is increased in cyberspace, as accentuated by Braidotti (2003, p. 255). Nevertheless, she warns about the dangers to fall into the same mistakes of *white* feminist scholarship – with the homogenizing tendency for diverse women’s experiences (Hackworth, 2018, p. 53). Cross (2015) explains this intersection in online harassment through the example of trolling: The abuse of a Black trans woman is gendertrolling, race-trolling and transtrolling at the same time, instead of being just gendertrolling. Racism, transphobia and gendered abuse can be combined in online harassment. Another researcher who advocates for reading race and gender together in the study of online harassment is Nakamura (2008), who considers “race and gender as part of mutually constitutive formations” within digital visual critique (p. 18). Following this approach, Hackworth (2018) concludes that “experiencing gendered harassment in isolation is really only possible for white, middle-class, heterosexual, cisgender, able-bodied women” (p. 58) and neglecting intersectionality is just possible in a perspective that takes women “prescribed as white, straight and cisgender” as the only reference point (p. 60).

### **Methodology**

The research question of “how is online harassment disguised as humor on online media platforms in Turkey?” will be examined through the 142 entries by the writers of the forum-dictionary *Sour Dictionary* for the title or heading *Sweet Rush of Brides*, a popular *Facebook* page used heavily by non-paid domestic workers. In the case of online harassment against non-paid workers, there is a translation from *Facebook* to personal blogs, from *Twitter* to *Sour Dictionary*, which exposes a dynamic relation across diverse digital platforms described in the following parts.

All the entries (i.e. posts by users) under this heading are collected for the analysis. These include a timeline from 15 September 2015 to 15 December 2020.<sup>2</sup> The algorithm of the platform allows seeing articles sorted according to their popularity.<sup>3</sup> Collected entries will be subjected to qualitative content analysis through which specific keywords, sub-themes and themes would emerge about online harassment of women sharing posts on the *Facebook* page *Sweet Rush of Brides*.

## Case study: The heading *Sweet Rush of Brides* in *Sour Dictionary*

### *Site of Humor, Site of Oppression: Sour Dictionary*

*Sour Dictionary* is a “digital forum-like platform and one of the most influential social media platforms” in the 2010’s Turkey (Ökten, 2018, p. 123). Founded in 1999 by the *Microsoft Corporation* employee Sedat Kapanoğlu, it is “a collaborative hypertext dictionary” giving users a sense of a blog diary and a web forum. In this online dictionary, titles are listed in the format of item type. Authors, called users, write about titles in “loose dictionary form”. The first entry starts as a description and gives information. Then, other entries can be added in the form of anecdotes, essays, memories, with total freedom of speech, including slang and swearing. The absence of avatars and images creates a “very similar experience as the traditional practices of authorship.” However, with the ironic motto of being a “sacred source of information,” *Sour Dictionary* does not guarantee the reliability of entries (Dogu, Ziraman, & Ziraman, 2009, pp. 119–121).

*Sour Dictionary* is still a popular virtual place for both users and visitors. It is Turkey’s 17th most popular website (Alexa, 2021). In the age of social media platform giants like *Facebook*, *Twitter*, and *Instagram*, this is indeed success. As Saka (2017) defines it, it is a “public agenda setter with thousands of users” (p. 3) to such a degree to be considered as a public sphere (Akca, 2010). In 2019, the total user number reached almost 600,000, while the number of writers was around 120,000 (Ekşisözlük 20. Yıl belgeseli, 2019).<sup>4</sup> *Sour Dictionary* also has the function of a web community, as being a writer became a prestigious position by the increasing popularity of the dictionary. Open membership of the website changed

<sup>2</sup> *Sour Dictionary* is an active dictionary. Different from other social media platforms in which the ephemerality is dominant in their content, in *Sour Dictionary*, new entries can appear under a very old title. For that reason, the end date for analyzing posts under this heading is 9 December 2021 to ensure an up-to-date sample for the collection of data for this article. A similar warning should be given about the popularity sorting of entries, as during the analysis of this data, the sorting has changed even in the short time span of one week.

<sup>3</sup> Called as the “şükela” mode, sorting according to popularity is based upon the positive and negative reactions that the entries receive from other users. Yet, this is based upon a totally opaque algorithm. Even though everyone can use popularity sorting, neither followers nor users can see the rating of entries.

<sup>4</sup> Not all users are writers, as there is a hierarchy between users depending on their contribution to the dictionary. “Under limited membership periods that are announced sporadically, users can register as newcomers waiting for approval and are expected to enter ten successful entries on the format, legal, and grammatical grounds in order to be promoted to “author” status by Eksi Sozluk moderators” (Oguz, 2011, p. 25).

to a closed-door one with changeable acceptance criteria, as it is recognized in the Turkish digital media, which increased the prestige of being a writer in the dictionary (Dogu, Ziraman, & Ziraman, 2009, pp. 120–123). According to the period's statistics, Oguz (2011) concludes that 18–24 years old males from Turkey having middle and high-income constitute the majority of *Sour Dictionary* users (p. 25).

In parallel with its popularity as a pioneer and popular social media platform in Turkey, *Sour Dictionary* has also received negative reactions. The dictionary itself, its contributors, and its founder were often harassed by authorities and pro-government circles (Saka, 2017, p. 3). During the Gezi uprising, *Sour Dictionary* was quite popular to follow the opinions and news collections about the uprising, even though it was not the first choice of immediate news reporting (p. 5). In that sense, it became a Bakhtinian carnival. However, the dictionary is also infamous for the discriminatory discourse that many entries possess and has received scholarly attention. Here, we can see the concretization of the critique about Bakhtin's theory with the limits of carnivals. Oguz's work on "Narratives over Arabs" (2011) investigates "Occidental fantasy" produced towards Arab tourists in *Sour Dictionary* with "a discursive practice of power and a claim of sovereignty" (p. 44). In his work on "the Reproduction of Hate Speech against Gypsies" (2016), Alp examines how the writers of *Sour Dictionary* express intolerance and austerity towards Gypsies in their entries. In another study, Ünür (2018) works on "the Perception of Syrian Refugees" about nationalism in Turkey through the example of *Sour Dictionary*. In more recent research, Söğüt (2020) examines the "Spatial Othering in Online Dictionaries," based upon the title Esenyurt<sup>5</sup> in *Sour Dictionary*. Sexist discourse and practices in *Sour Dictionary* are also studied (Furman & Süngü, 2021).

### ***Sweet Rush of Brides Facebook Group***

As its title and its cover picture reveal, *Sweet Rush of Brides* is a *Facebook* interest page for women aspiring to get married or those who recently got married. In the "About" section, its content is defined as "marriage and engagement memories, alongside comments about thousands of marriage memories" ([Facebook.com/Gelinlerin.Tatli.Telasi/](https://www.facebook.com/Gelinlerin.Tatli.Telasi/)). The page created on 10 April 2014 had 405,681 followers on 19 August 2021 (@Gelinlerin.Tatli.Telasi, n.d.).

---

<sup>5</sup> A district in Istanbul known for its migrant and poor population.

Image 1 Facebook interest page *Sweet Rush of Brides*

The image shows a screenshot of a Facebook page titled "Gelinlerin Tatlı Telaşı" (Sweet Rush of Brides). The page has a profile picture with the "GTT" logo and a "Send Message" button. The main content area is divided into sections: "About", "Photos", and "Videos". The "About" section shows 366,586 likes and 405,671 followers. The "Photos" section displays several images, including wedding-related items. The "Videos" section shows a video of a woman and a child. Two posts are visible in the main feed, both from the "GTT" page. The first post, from 55m ago, has 122 comments and 1 share. The second post, from 1h ago, has 77 comments and 3 shares. The page also features a "Create Post" section at the top right.

This page belongs to a trend of similar *Facebook* pages like *Yeni Gelin Evleri* [New Brides' Houses], *Gelin Evleri ve Çeyizleri* [Brides' Home and Trousseau], and a more accentuated conservative version, *Ahiretime Duamsın* [Wishing You For Afterlife]. One of the most recent examples of this trend, *Sweet Rush of Brides* follows this perspective with its capacity to become a virtual place for women to “express their desire for a happy marriage and their judgement for the possibility of this happiness through the medium of a Facebook group’s wall,” as Akınerdem

(2019, p. 2) defines for *Brides' Home and Trousseau Facebook* group page. These pages can be considered as “a constellation of visual and written expressions of fantasies and judgements and which dialogically reinstate the norms of marriage” (p. 2).

In *Sweet Rush of Brides*, all posts are anonymous. Followers of the page send their content – especially pictures or narratives of extravagant marriage rituals and requests for advice on relationship problems (with the partner and with the partner's family) – to the admins, who later on post these messages to the page. According to the narrative of the posts, we can assume that this group can bring together Turkish-speaking women from different cities, different socioeconomic backgrounds and different ages, as is the case for older pages from the same trend (Akınerdem, 2019, p. 2). In *Sweet Rush of Brides*, not only women but – even it is a small percentage – men also share their questions about marriage and “open themselves to public judgement,” as other women do on these pages (Akınerdem, 2019, p. 2). Unlike the posts, the comments are not anonymous, and everyone uses their profile to comment on a post. This non-anonymity is due to the design choice of *Facebook*, which is not one of the social media platforms that leverage anonymity or allow people to disclose themselves to a chosen audience (Ma, Hancock, & Naaman, 2016, p. 3857). Still, hundreds of comments can be often written by non-anonymous followers of the page. As Akınerdem emphasizes, this is due to the ability of many other social media platforms – including *Facebook* – to establish intimate talk among strangers through a set of technologies and forms (2019, p. 3). Ma et al. (2016) explain this intimacy through a reference to Simmel: “Such ‘openness’ to strangers compared to ‘a more closely related person’ could potentially have two explanations: the difference in identification (anonymous), or the difference in the relationship to the audience (based on physical proximity)” (Ma, Hancock, & Naaman, 2016, p. 3858).

Mainly focusing on the marriage event – as its content announces, many women share pictures from their weddings and other related ceremonies, mostly to be praised or criticized by other followers. For example, pictures showing golden jewelry, a tradition supposed to exhibit the bride's value, are favorite posts. Besides sharing these memories, this page provides an illuminating examination of problems of married life, including housework, romantic relations and sex life between partners, and relations with relatives are interpreted by followers.

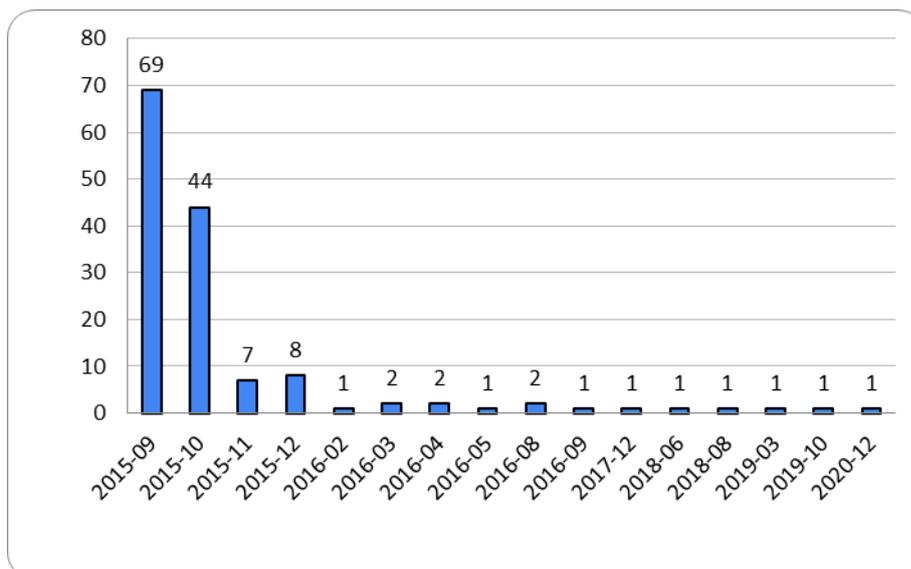
### ***The Title Sweet Rush of Brides***

The milestone for *Sweet Rush of Brides* is its sudden popularization as a humor object, one year after the creation of the page, on 4 September 2015 through the intervention of a famous *Twitter* troll (@snalcakar). In the post written on his blog about his acts of trolling, he defined his motivation of trolling the *Facebook* page *Sweet Rush of Brides* as follows:

It is horrific to see the extent of the *brainless* usage of our *unnecessary* traditions in social media. All brides think of themselves as *superstars*. They do not see any problem getting loans for an extravagancy of 2-3 hours (and they make their husbands pay this), and they fight over their sofas to conclude whose living room is more beautiful. With this, interesting Facebook pages like NEW BRIDES' HOUSES, SWEET RUSH OF BRIDES came into existence. I visited one of these pages [Sweet Rush of Brides] for one day as Seda Nalçakar [a fake female name derived from his name Serdar Nalçakar]. I remembered my old university visits [older trolling acts], and also, I made sociological analyses. Just kidding, no analyses at all (Nalçakar, 2015).<sup>6</sup>

The humor platform *Onedio* picked up this trolling story and made it news for larger populations on the same date (Odenli, 2015). Approximately one week later, *Onedio* would report about the *Facebook* page *Sweet Rush of Brides* once again (AbSurDMaN, 2015), after the title *Sweet Rush of Brides* would be opened in *Sour Dictionary* on the same day. Following the first entry on 15 September 2015, 142 other entries were written by 134 unique writers in total. In general, writers preferred to write just one entry, except for one writer posting four entries, another one posting three entries, and four writers posting two entries. *Onedio* editors would write another post in 2016 (Aytekin, 2016), while in *Sour Dictionary*, posts would continue until the end of 2020. The last entry was written on 15 December 2020. However, it does not mean a balanced distribution of entries during this period of more than five years. Most entries were written in the first months after the creation of the entry. After 2015, few new entries signal a decline of interest in this topic among *Sour Dictionary* writers. However, as mentioned in the methodology section, the sorting changes of the *şükela* mode during very short time spans show an ongoing interest for the users of *Sour Dictionary*. Even though new entries are not written about the page that much, users still read existing entries.

**Image 2: Total number of entries over the years per month**



<sup>6</sup> This post is translated by the author from Turkish. Emphases are added by the author, too.

It is challenging to categorize the content of the entries as positive or negative towards the *Facebook* page. Since the humor is very dominant in almost all entries, it becomes complicated to judge from the first reading of most entries whether the humor is sometimes plain humorous without degrading women or whether the humor used is intended to degrade women. Moreover, many posts are multi-layered: Humor is used to degrade women or degrade people making fun of these women, sometimes even to criticize people for giving these women that they look down on more visibility. For that reason, all the entries are subjected to an intensive examination to look more closely at the content to understand better how this humor is targeting women.

## Results

One important cross-cutting finding is women reproducing gender inequality. Women replicating gender inequality on online platforms is controversial in internet studies. Even though views celebrate the increasing presence of women on social media platforms, researchers warn about the reproduction of patriarchal pressure by female users of social media platforms. Not just through comments explicitly defending patriarchal rules but also through more subtle ways, even taking selfies empowering subordinated gender roles can serve as a function to legitimize gender inequality. However, in the case of *Sweet Rush of Brides*, without going to subtle and unconscious ways of legitimization, the explicit reaffirmation of patriarchy by many followers of the page reminds on Patricia Hill Collins' "matrix of domination" concept (2000). Following Collins (2000), due to the hegemonic domain power, subordinated groups – such as the women of *Sweet Rush of Brides* – follow the prevalent system of "commonsense" that support the right to rule by dominant groups – men, unseen husbands mentioned in the posts. The results from *Sour Dictionary* exhibits that not just the women from the community of *Sweet Rush of Brides* but even the female writers of *Sour Dictionary* fall into that targeting of women through online humor, to differentiate themselves from these women that they consider inferior to themselves.

Additionally, three primary themes are found within the entries of the title *Sweet Rush of Brides*: 1) critique of consumerism – as the source of offensive humor against women showing an "over-performance" through exaggerated consumption habits, 2) disdain and abjection – as formulating these women as an "other" that one should be careful not to be "contaminated," and 3) delegated motherhood – as the reaffirmation of patriarchal codes even when criticizing these women harshly. They will be explained in more detail.

### ***Critique of consumerism***

Since the 1980s, there is a growing discussion about the significance of consumption for identity construction. In that sense, the feeling of identity is increasingly

invested in material objects (Beek, 1988, p. 144). We define family, group, subculture, nation, and people more and more via consumption objects (Beek, 1988, p. 152). Earlier, in 1970, Baudrillard (2016) had emphasized the importance of consumption in our society as:

Consumption is an active, collective behaviour: it is something enforced, a morality, an institution. It is a whole system of values, with all that expression implies in terms of group integration and social control functions. The consumer society is also the society of learning to consume, of social training in consumption. (p. 98)

Even though these studies belong to the pre-digital era, the commercialization of the Internet, the proliferation of social media and digital marketing, all increased the characteristics of earlier consumption in the sense defined by Baudrillard (Smart, 2017, p. 3). It is in this perspective that Akgül (2020) examines how newlywed women create their ideal selves through the “new bride” identity and position consumerism as a phenomenon that grabs attention in the new brides’ unique identity creation process with the example of the hashtags of #pembegelin [pink-bride], #sunumönemlidir [presentationmatters], and #yenigelin [newbride]. Through these hashtags, Akgül follows the concept that overconsumption tendencies are essential for “the process of self-extension of new brides” with the motivation of gaining social approval (pp. 41–42).

For the case of *Sweet Rush of Brides*, we can see similar patterns of extravagant consumerism in the posts sent to the admins by the followers of the page. This aspect of the page is one of the most criticized through becoming an object of humor. Similar to the humor of the troll @snalcakar, writers of *Sour Dictionary* react against women’s consumerism with disdain. In that sense, the common criticism of the page that fueled the humor in *Sour Dictionary* is unmannerliness.

The page where the most important rush is whether “should I let my fiancée touch me [nişanlıma elletmeli miyim?]” or “my mother-in-law does not spend enough money for me! [kaynanamlar bana yeterince para harcamıyor off!]” You can find stupid teenagers trying to get married at the age of 17, those who want to break up with their fiancées because their family did not buy holiday clothes for their 7-generation family, shameless women who share their arms to show off their jewelry, piremşesler [deformed form of princesses, fake princess-like] who break down because their fiancées put a card limit of 1000 tl [Turkish lira] for their holiday shopping. (isolde, 2015)<sup>7</sup>

This entry is the second most popular entry under the title *Sweet Rush of Brides* in *Sour Dictionary*. It is written by a self-declared woman the day after the entry was first created. Isolde is one of the senior writers with 3447 entries (Eksisozluk.com/biri/Isolde, 2021). As an explicit women’s rights defender, according to her other most popular entries in *Sour Dictionary*,<sup>8</sup> it is interesting that her entry

<sup>7</sup> This post is translated by the author from Turkish. Emphases are added by the author, too.

<sup>8</sup> A highly patriarchal community, it is very difficult for a woman writer to declare her gender openly. In this way, she becomes open to harassment via direct messages, as she describes in her posts.

is one of the online humor examples that despises the women of *Sweet Rush of Brides*.

Humor is often resistant to becoming universal because it is firmly attached to the immediate context. However, the context of the humor and the despidal of this entry is relatively more inclined to be translated. Here, two patterns of humor can be identified: The first one is lighter humor towards conservative women, and the second one is dominant humor towards women blamed for extravagant consumerism and overtly capitalist practices. With the slang formulation of the phrase “should I let my fiancée touch me” that none of the women in *Sweet Rush of Brides* would use and emphasizing that there are “stupid teenagers trying to get married at the age of 17,” the writer humorizes conservative women who idealize the institution of marriage. With this humor, the echoes of *white* feminism that prioritizes one type of woman emerge. Even though this reaction can be derived from a critique of religion and family, as the profile of the writer suggests, the targeting of women instead of targeting neo-liberal and patriarchal structures and perpetrators strengthen online violence disguised as humor towards these women.

As the second pattern, the writer makes fun of the consumer expectations of the women from the rituals of marriage. Faking once again a phrase from the women from *Sweet Rush of Brides*, the writer says “my mother-in-law does not spend enough money on me! [kaynanamlar bana yeterince para harcamıyor off!]” and gives hypothetical examples of extravagant consumption that these women would be able to perform, according to the writer. She finds these hypothetical women of her scenarios shameless and behaving fake princess-like.

In many other entries in *Sour Dictionary*, this characteristic of women sharing their pictures or narratives about their marriage rituals would be harshly ridiculed. Sometimes this is done with scenarios. Other times, with links to the *Facebook* page, they would write small joking notes and comments about them like “various unmannerliness” (polly jean, 2015).

Being exaggerative is a common label often used against women being present in public spaces, including social media platforms. As Butkowski et al. (2020) assert, in general, women feel obliged to balance between the risks of being neglected and over-performance for the aim of conforming to “a desirable and normative identity category” (p. 15). Judith Butler interprets this restraint from public appearances with heightened risk for harassment and violence strictly bound to gender norms (Butler, 2009, p. ii). In the example of *Sweet Rush of Brides*, there is an open transgression of the understated manner expected from women. This alone could be the reason for negative reactions towards followers of the page. Similar to the reactions of *Sour Dictionary* writers, followers of the page can also become harshly critical against other women having exaggerated presentations of themselves in their posts. In that sense, similar to how a woman writer can strengthen online violence disguised as humor towards these women, women of the *Facebook* page

can also reproduce the acceptance that a woman's role is to balance her presentation and avoid exaggeration. Two different communities – the community of *Sour Dictionary* and the community of *Sweet Rush of Brides* – can both be critical of consumerism. The diverging point between the negative reaction from the followers of *Sweet Rush of Brides* and the one coming from the community of *Sour Dictionary* is another theme, which is the abjection born from disdain among *Sour Dictionary* writers.

### ***Disdain and abjection***

here are exhibited the precious examples of *the rabble's* worst, silliest ceremonies and shittiest traditions. You would like to puke on these posts (...) [Emphasis added]. (mavi istiridye, 2015)<sup>9</sup>

As the eighth most popular entry under the heading *Sweet Rush of Brides*, this entry presents very explicit abjection towards the women using the *Facebook* page *Sweet Rush of Brides*. Using “the rabble,” the imagined social class of women following, sharing and commenting on this page emerges as the hidden target of humiliation. This entry is written by another senior writer, mavi istiridye having 2423 entries in *Sour Dictionary* (Eksisozluk.com/biri/mavi-istiridye, 2021). Similar to the earlier example of isolde, the entries of mavi istiridye exhibit that the self-declared gender of the writer is woman. Moreover, this writer also feels disturbed about violence against women, as her other popular entries present. However, when it is about practices of women supposedly coming from lower classes, mavi istiridye's reaction becomes aggressive.

As Akgül (2020) claims, there is no strong relationship between extravagant consumption and income (p. 45). In that sense, women with extravagant consumption habits can belong to the lower classes. On the other hand, as Aknerdem (2019) shows in her detailed study about *Brides' Home and Trousseau*, women from different socioeconomic classes can be part of these *Facebook* pages. A superficial observation about *Sweet Rush of Brides* confirms the findings of Aknerdem. In any case, what matters here is not the absolute accuracy but the perception of *Sour Dictionary* authors when writing these entries. This perception reflects abjection felt by users about women belonging to lower socioeconomic classes in the representation of women of *Sweet Rush of Brides*.

A concept primarily discussed by Kristeva (1982), the abject has only one quality of the object – that of being opposed to I (p. 1). This object is considered the total opposite of the subject in constructing of the self. Oguz (2011) already uses this concept to examine the discriminatory discourse against Arabs in *Sour Dictionary*. Arab, as the abject one for the writers of *Sour Dictionary*, is the one who “disturbs identity, system, order” and the one who “does not respect borders, positions,

---

<sup>9</sup> This post is translated by the author from Turkish. Emphases are added by the author, too.

rules” with its threat of undermining the integrity of the subject (p.30). With the definition of Kristeva (1982):

There looms, within abjection, one of those violent, dark revolts of being, directed against a threat that seems to emanate from an exorbitant outside or inside, ejected beyond the scope of the possible, the tolerable, the thinkable. It lies there, quite close, but it cannot be assimilated. (Kristeva, 1982, p. 1)

In the case of *Sweet Rush of Brides*, these women become disturbing for the writers of *Sour Dictionary* because they transgress the borders of what can be called the first generation of an idealized Internet community, something they cherish, and they see endangered by the followers of *Sweet Rush of Brides*. *Sour Dictionary* is a symbolic place representing Turkey’s first large-scale generation of internet users. As Oguz (2011) claims for the 2010s, these are mostly young men with middle and high income. Against this profile, conservative non-paid domestic workers – housewives, as a more commonly used name – are among the newest groups migrating to the digital sphere. As Kristeva describes, because of this threat perception for their identity, *Sour Dictionary* writers react against these women. The fact that the most explicit entry showing this abjection is written by a woman sensitive for violence against women is critical. As emphasized in the theoretical framework, intersectionality becomes a useful tool to understand how the violence against women is not a homogenous issue and that one actor defending specific rights can become the facilitator of another violence.

### ***Delegated motherhood***

The last theme found from the entries of the title *Sweet Rush of Brides* in *Sour Dictionary* is the responsibility delegated to the women posting in the *Facebook* group about becoming good mothers. In this way, the humorous and the non-humorous criticism of *Sour Dictionary* writers fall into the reaffirmation of the reproductive duties of women.

Even before examining the humor and the criticism in *Sour Dictionary*, the reproduction of male dominance is observable on the *Facebook* page itself. İslamoğlu (2019) emphasizes the patriarchal feature of the page through a discourse analysis of posts about the virginity taboo, household, earning a living for the family and cheating and finds out that the followers of the page, primarily women, follow accepted gender roles of society. They criticize women who share their problems through the lens of these gender roles, thus reinforcing them instead of fighting for overturning traditional gender roles.

In *Sour Dictionary*, this reproduction of gender roles takes another format, as it intersects with the political context of the time of the entries.

Unfortunately, the fauna of those who are about to discover to make love with their husbands [*kociş* – a deformed version of husband used by some women in the trend of new brides] and those who have the risk of reproducing as a result of this lovemaking. Think of

it; these people will reproduce and raise dutiful children for this country, for this world, right? (ardilla, 2015)<sup>10</sup>

The importance of this entry is the date of it. It was written the day after the deadliest terror attack in Turkey when two ISIS militants killed 103 people during the HDP party's "Labor, Peace and Democracy" rally in front of the Ankara train station. This attack on civilians was a tragedy for many people in the country. At the same time, it also revealed social and political divisions in Turkish society because another part of Turkish society kept their distance, and even expressed their hostility towards those who participated in the rally. In the polarized political atmosphere of 2015, people felt free to express their hostility and hate for people who had been killed in this terror attack. From state officers to football supporter groups, this hostile attitude towards the participants of this rally made news on national and social media. In this context, the admins of *Sweet Rush of Brides* posted three photos of dead people lying on the ground after the explosion with a hostile statement against the murdered people.

Muslims would not go to HDP's meeting. Rest assured. I would not say rest in peace. All dead are the supporters of HDP. May God forgive their sins. You who betrayed the country. You had soldiers' blood on your hands. Those who were around, without having any relation with the meeting, rest in peace. [The rest of the post cannot be read because it is the screenshot of a deleted post] (Anonymous, 2015)<sup>11</sup>

This resulted in a huge negative reaction in *Sour Dictionary* with entries similar to ardilla's, but with graver tones. The last phrase of the most popular entry by the writer venusteki limon agaci is powerful to reflect this reaction: "Society is now full of 'mothers' who do not pity scattered bodies" (venusteki limon agaci, 2015). This entry is also significant to observe how the humor is abandoned to obtain a darker mode containing pure insults and pure abjection ("I have the feeling of vomiting, my heart cannot take this" (venusteki limon agaci, 2015)) without any fragment of humor. The entry even possesses self-criticism about making this humor in the first place, instead of understanding the risk these women carry for "our future" through the children they will raise. So, through their irritating reaction about a very tragic event or just through their ordinary posts, either way, targeted women are humiliated to remain restricted in patriarchal terms – as to fantasize about being good wives and good mothers. At the same time, they are criticized in a sarcastic way that they cannot be good mothers acting in the way they post on *Sweet Rush of Brides*. While the writers of *Sour Dictionary* weaponize motherhood to criticize these women, indirectly, they attribute importance to motherhood and judge these women to be not motherly enough with their hate – an attribute that should not be associated with the perfect motherhood. However, this hatred is actually a quite common political feeling in the polarized society in Turkey, which is fueled by the current government's official rhetoric. Nevertheless, within the entries of *Sour Dictionary*, women writers of these posts form an unwitting alliance

<sup>10</sup> This post is translated by the author from Turkish. Emphases are added by the author, too.

<sup>11</sup> This post is translated by the author from Turkish. Emphases are added by the author, too.

with the current official ideology to consider women from *Sweet Rush of Brides* just as good or bad mothers/mother candidates.

## Conclusion

To understand how online harassment is disguised as humor faced by non-paid domestic workers, I begin with the theoretical framework of Bakhtin to analyze online humor. When discovering the limitations of Bakhtin's theory for analyzing online harassment disguised as humor, I searched for gendered perspectives of online harassment studies. However, this search ended to find its own inefficiencies in intersectional harassment. Women are harassed not only because of their gender, as this case of non-paid domestic workers shows but also for classist reasons. In the end, I adopted an intersectional approach for the case study of the *Sweet Rush of Brides* Facebook page in *Sour Dictionary*. The themes from the case study showed that criticism and humor about women of *Sweet Rush of Brides* could easily turn to disdain and discriminatory discourse. From the criticism about consumerism to the criticism about the disregard of human rights, this article does not aim to angelize the women posting in *Sweet Rush of Brides*. However, its motivation is to understand how these critiques take the form of discriminatory practices, which would feed violence against women with indirect effects, as Woodzicka and Ford warn against. Another interesting result was that women usually pushing feminist ideas could become actors of this violence themselves – then disguised as humor against the women of *Sweet Rush of Brides*. In that they become complicit in reinforcing stereotypes about class and gender and keeping the status quo. Hackworth's call for an intersectional approach was reciprocated with the need to understand this humor as not to think of gender as the only valid category in cases of online violence. This study followed the imperative mentioned by Hackworth (2018) about publishing work that would broaden the scope of the harassment and the range of experiences included (p. 62).

This case study contributed to the growing literature on *Sour Dictionary* as a pioneer digital platform that has been framed as an online public space in Turkey. In addition, it became one of the few works on the presence of non-paid domestic workers on social media platforms. Last, it can be seen as a symbolic example for further studies, especially for studies focusing on recent technologies like *TikTok*. This social media platform possesses very rich original material for future studies with its popularity among users who until recently have felt like strangers to other social media platforms dominated by the usual internet users. For that reason, users of *TikTok*, alongside the application, often become objects of humor by other internet users. In which aspects the online violence disguised as humor is changing and in which aspects it keeps the same patterns can be an important contribution for future studies about online harassment of women. However, due to the several limitations of this study (such as my own extrinsic positioning to the community of *Sweet Rush of Brides* and my earlier familiarity with online humor circles degrad-

ing these women), one should rethink concepts like *white* cyberfeminism in the context of Turkey and develop a more reflexive methodology to position herself in respect of the *research object*.

## References

- @Gelinlerin.Tatli.Telasi. (n.d.). Gelinlerin Tatlı Telaşı. *Facebook*.  
<https://www.facebook.com/Gelinlerin.Tatli.Telasi/>
- AbSurDMaN (2015, September 15). Gelinlerin Baş Döndüren Dünyasına Aralanan Mistik Kapı: Gelinlerin Tatlı Telaşı Sayfası. *Onedio*. <https://onedio.com/haber/gelinlerin-bas-donduren-dunyasina-aralanan-mistik-kapi-gelinlerin-tatli-telasi-sayfasi-587675>
- Akca, H. (2010). *The Internet As a Participatory Medium: An Analysis of the Eksi Sozluk Website as a Public Sphere*. Master's Thesis, University of South Carolina.
- Akgül, D. (2020). Gösterişçi tüketim ile benlik genişleten #pembegelinler: Netnografi uygulaması. *Nitel Sosyal Bilimler*, 2(1), 40–59.
- Aknerdem, F. (2019). Fantasy and Judgement: Brides' Intimate Talk on Facebook. *European Journal of Turkish Studies Social Sciences on Contemporary Turkey*, (28). <https://doi.org/10.4000/ejts.6262>
- Alexa. (2021). The top 500 sites on the web. <https://www.alexa.com/topsites/countries/>
- Alp, H. (2016). Çingenelere Yönelik Nefret Söyleminin Ekşi Sözlük'te Yeniden Üretilmesi. *Ankara Üniversitesi İlefl Dergisi*, 3(2), 143–172. doi:10.24955/ilef.305520
- Anonymous (2015). [Screenshot of Facebook page *Gelinlerin Tatlı Telaşı*]  
<https://pbs.twimg.com/media/CQ9erMGWwAAwN8d.jpg>
- ardilla (2015, October 11). gelinlerin tatlı telaşı. [Online forum post]. *Ekşisözlük*.  
<https://eksisozluk.com/entry/55436277>
- Aytekin, E. (2016, September 20). Coştular, Durduramıyoruz! Yeni Gelinlerden Gözleri Acıtan 15 İlginç Sunum. *Onedio*. <https://onedio.com/haber/costular-durduramiyoruz-yeni-gelinlerden-gozleri-acitan-15-ilginc-sunum-731304>
- Bakhtin, M. M. (1984). *Rabelais and His World*. Indiana University Press.
- Baudrillard, J. (2016). *The consumer society: Myths and structures*. Sage.
- Beek, R. W. (1988). Processing and extended self. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 15, 139–162.
- Bemiller, M. L., & Schneider, R. Z. (2010). It's not just a joke. *Sociological Spectrum*, 30(4), 459–479.
- Braidotti, R. (2003). Cyberfeminism with a difference. In M. Peters, M. Olssen, & C. Lankshear (Eds.), *Futures of critical theory: Dreams of difference* (pp. 239-260). Rowman & Littlefield.
- Butkowski, C. P., Dixon, T. L., Weeks, K. R., & Smith, M. A. (2020). Quantifying the feminine self(ie): Gender display and social media feedback in young women's Instagram selfies. *New Media & Society*, 22(5), 817–837.
- Butler, J. (2009). Performativity, Precarity and Sexual Politics. *AIBR. Revista de Antropología Iberoamericana*, 4(3).
- Collins, P. H. (2000). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment* (2nd ed.). Routledge.
- Collins, P. H., & Bilge, S. (2020). *Intersectionality*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. *U. Chi. Legal F.*, 139.
- Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stan. L. Rev.*, 43(6), 1241.
- Cross, K. (2015, November 27). *Online harassment isn't only about misogyny, regardless of what 'Gendertrolling' implies*. Rewire.  
<https://rewire.news/article/2015/11/27/online-harassment-isnt-misogynyregardless-gendertrolling-implies/>

- Davis, K. (2008). Intersectionality as buzzword: A sociology of science perspective on what makes a feminist theory successful. *Feminist theory*, 9(1), 67–85.
- Dogu, B., Ziraman, Z., & Ziraman, D. E. (2009). Web Based Authorship in the Context of User Generated Content: An Analysis of a Turkish Web Site: Eksi Sozluk. In D. Riha, & A. Maj (Eds.), *The Real and the Virtual: Critical Issues in Cybercultures* (pp. 119-125). Brill.
- Ekşisözlük 20. Yıl belgeseli. (2019). Youtube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R5By7Dmyfwo>
- Fortuna, P., & Nunes, S. (2018). A survey on automatic detection of hate speech in text. *ACM Computing Surveys (CSUR)*, 51(4), 1–30.
- Furman, I., & Süngü, E. (2021). Kolaboratif Faaliyet Modelinin Çelişkileri: Eksi Sözlük Sanal Topluluğunda Cinsiyetçi Söylem ve Pratiklere Dair Bir İnceleme. *REFLEKTİF Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 2(1), 119–139.
- Hackworth, L. (2018). Limitations of “just gender”: The need for an intersectional reframing of online harassment discourse and research. In J. R. Vickery & T. Everbach (Eds.), *Mediating misogyny* (pp. 51–70). Palgrave Macmillan.
- İslamoğlu, H. (2019). *Gelinlerin Tatlı Telaşı Facebook Sayfası'ndaki kullanıcı Söylemlerinin Feminist Kuram Bağlamında Analizi*. İstanbul Arel Üniversitesi.
- isolde (2015, September 16-17). gelinlerin tatlı telaşı. [Online forum post]. *Ekşisözlük*. <https://eksisozluk.com/entry/54843841>
- Kenny, K. (2009). “The performative surprise”: parody, documentary and critique. *Culture and Organization*, 15(2), 221–235.
- Kristeva, J. (1982). *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*. Columbia University Press.
- LaFrance, M., & Woodzicka, J. A. (1998). No laughing matter: Women's verbal and nonverbal reactions to sexist humor. In J. K. Swim & C. Stangor (Eds.), *Prejudice: The target's perspective* (pp. 61–80). Academic Press.
- Lumsden, K., & Harmer, E. (2019). *Online othering: Exploring digital violence and discrimination on the web*. Springer.
- Lutz, H., Vivar, M. T., & Supik, L. (2011). Framing intersectionality: An introduction. In H. Lutz, M. T. Vivar, & L. Supik (Eds.), *Framing intersectionality: Debate* (pp. 15–36). Routledge.
- Ma, X., Hancock, J., & Naaman, M. (2016). Anonymity, Intimacy and Self-Disclosure in Social Media. *Proceedings of the 2016 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems (CHI'16)* (pp. 3857–3869). New York: ACM.
- mavi istiridyeye (2015, September 15). gelinlerin tatlı telaşı. [Online forum post]. *Ekşisözlük*. <https://eksisozluk.com/entry/54820575>
- Morva, O. (2016). The humorous language of street dissent: A discourse analysis of the graffiti of the Gezi Park protests. *The European Journal of Humour Research*, 4(2), 19–34.
- Nakamura, L. (2008). Introduction: Digital racial formations and networked images of the body. In L. Nakamura (Ed.), *Digitizing race: Visual cultures of the internet* (pp. 1–35). University of Minnesota Press.
- Nalçakar, S. (2015). [Gelinlerin Tatlı Telaşı Ziyaretim]. *Snalcakar Blog*. <http://snalcakar.blogspot.com/2015/>
- Odenli, H.. (2015, September 4). Facebook'taki Gelinlerin Tatlı Telaşı Sayfasına Yapılan Müthiş Troll Ziyaret. *Onedio*. <https://onedio.com/haber/facebook-taki-gelinlerin-tatli-telası-sayfasına-yapılan-muthis-troll-ziyaret-580040>
- Oguz, Z. (2011). Speaking of Invasion: Narratives over Arabs in Eksi Sozluk, a Virtual Community in Turkey. *CyberOrient*, 5(2), 24–49.
- Ökten, A. (2018). Social Movement Media and Affective Field: Construction of Activist Subjectivity as a ‘Spirit’ of Action. In M. Akser, & V. McCollum (Eds.), *Alternative Media in Contemporary Turkey: Sustainability, Activism, and Resistance* (pp. 123–136). Rowman & Littlefield.
- Perfetti, L. R. (1992). Dialogue of Laughter: Bakhtin's Theory of Carnival and the "Charroi de Nîmes". *Olifant*, 17(3/4), 177–195.
- polly jean (2015, September 15). gelinlerin tatlı telaşı [Online forum post]. *Ekşisözlük*. <https://eksisozluk.com/entry/54814363>
- Riggio, M. C. (2004). Time out or time in? The urban dialectic of carnival. In M.C. Riggio, *Carnival* (pp. 13–30). Routledge.

- Saka, E. (2017). Tracking digital emergences in the aftermath of Gezi Park protests. *Research and Policy on Turkey*, 2(1), 62–75.
- Smart, B. (2017). Consuming Baudrillard: Introduction to the revised edition of *The Consumer Society: Myths and Structures*. In J. Baudrillard (Ed.), *The Consumer Society: Myths and Structures: Revised Edition* (pp. 1–16). Sage.
- Söğüt, F. (2020). İnternet Sözlüklerinde Mekânsal Ötekileştirme Üzerine Bir Araştırma: Ekşi Sözlük'te Esenyurt Başlığı Örneği. *Gümüşhane Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Elektronik Dergisi*, 8(1), 45–68.
- Ünür, M. Z. (2018). *Suriyeli sığınmacı algısı ve Türkiye'de milliyetçilik: Ekşi sözlük örneği* [Master's thesis]. TOBB ETÜ Sosyal Bilimleri Enstitüsü.
- venusteki limon agaci (2015, October 11). gelinlerin tatlı telaşı [Online forum post]. *Ekşisözlük*. <https://sozlock.com/b/gelinlerin+tatl%C4%B1+tela%C5%9F%C4%B1?q=alt%C4%B1n>
- Weitz, E. (2017). Online and internet humor. In S. Attardo (ed.), *The Routledge handbook of language and humor* (pp. 504–518). Routledge.
- Wettergren, Å. (2009). Fun and Laughter: Culture Jamming and the Emotional Regime of Late Capitalism. *Social Movement Studies*, 8(1), 1–0. doi:10.1080/14742830802591119
- Woodzicka, J. A., & Ford, T. E. (2010). A framework for thinking about the (not-so-funny) effects of sexist humor. *Europe's Journal of Psychology*, 6(3), 174–195.
- Yu, Y., Noonark, C., & Chung, D. (2021). Do YouTubers Hate Asians?: An Analysis of YouTube Users' Anti-Asian Hatred on Major US News Channels during the COVID-19 Pandemic. *Global Media Journal-German Edition*, 11(1). DOI:10.22032/dbt.49166
- Zillmann, D., & Cantor, J. R. (1976/1996). A disposition theory of humor and mirth. In A. J. Chapman, & H. C. Foot (Eds.), *Humor and laughter: Theory, research and applications* (pp. 93–116). Wiley.