

MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF MIGRANT SEX WORKERS FROM FORMER
SOVIET UNION COUNTRIES IN TURKEY

A PhD dissertation

by
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Ankara
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To all women from former Soviet Union countries living in Turkey, with love and
hope



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The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

by

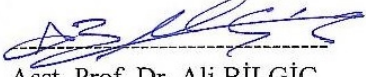
TATIANA ZHIDKOVA

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

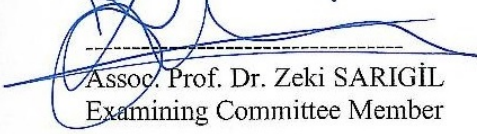
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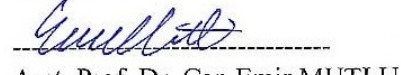
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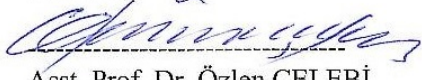
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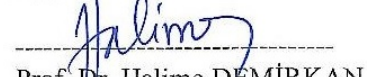
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ABSTRACT

MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF MIGRANT SEX WORKERS FROM FORMER SOVIET UNION COUNTRIES IN TURKEY

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This dissertation examines media representations of migrant sex labor of women former Soviet Union countries in Turkey. Treating mass media as an instrument of state hegemony and patriarchy, this study uses a Marxist feminist and historical materialist theoretical framework to examine media representations of migrant sex labor. The methodology applied in the study is conventional content analysis conducted with the help of NVivo 11 software and discourse analysis. In order to examine media representations of migrant sex labor in Turkey, a content analysis of 990 articles in five Turkish newspapers (*Cumhuriyet*, *Hürriyet*, *Milliyet*, *Sabah* and *Zaman*) is conducted for the period of 1992-2014. It is argued that the media as an ideological platform in which state hegemony is being reproduced was the most important factor shaping public opinion about the issue of migrant sex labor in Turkey starting from the 1990s. Discussing media representations of the issue and its key aspects such as supply and demand sides of migrant sex labor, the author examines the role of the media in facilitating exploitation of migrant women's sexual labor as a problem of both capitalist and patriarchal exploitation. Critical discussion of the literature on the topic of the interaction between the media and the state, and literature on irregular migration and human trafficking of migrant women in Turkey is also provided in this study.

Keywords: Human Trafficking, Marxist Feminism, Mass Media, Migration, Sex Work



ÖZET

ESKİ SOVYET ÜLKELERDEN GELEN TÜRKİYE’DEKİ GÖÇMEN SEKS İŞÇİLERİN MEDYADA GÖSTERİLİŞ BİÇİMİ

Zhidkova, Tatiana

Doktora, Uluslararası İlişkiler

Tez danışmanı: Yrd. Doç. Dr. Ali Bilgiç

Mayıs 2016

Bu tez, eski Sovyet ülkelerden gelen Türkiye’deki göçmen seks işçilerin medyada gösteriliş biçimini incelemektedir. Bu çalışma, medyayı devlet egemenliği ve ataerkillik aracı olarak görmekte ve göçmen seks emeğinin medyada gösteriliş biçimini incelemektedir. Bu çalışmada kullanılan yöntemler NVivo 11 yazılımı ile yapılmış geleneksel içerik analizi ve söylem analizidir. Göçmen seks emeğinin medyada gösteriliş biçimini incelemek için 1992 ile 2014 yılları arasında beş Türk gazetesi (Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet, Milliyet, Sabah ve Zaman) seçilmiş ve 990 haberin içerik analizi yapılmıştır. Bu çalışmada, 1990’lardan itibaren medyanın devlet egemenliğini yeniden üreten bir ideolojik platform olarak Türkiye’deki göçmen seks emeği konusunda kamuoyunu şekillendiren en önemli faktör olduğunu ileri sürülmektedir. Yazar, göçmen seks emeğinin medyada gösteriliş biçimini ve arz ve talep gibi kilit noktalarını tartışmakta ve medyanın hem kapitalist hem ataerkil istismar sorunu olarak görülen göçmen kadınların seks emeğinin istismarın kolaylaştırmak konusunda rolünü incelemektedir. Aynı zamanda bu çalışmada

medya ve devlet etkileşimi, düzensiz göç ve insan ticareti konusundaki literatürün eleştirel tartışması yapılmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Göç, İnsan Ticareti, Marksist Feminizm, Medya, Seks İşçiliği



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On one afternoon in December 2010, my sister Katya and I were stopped by civil police in the Taksim area of Istanbul that we were examining for touristic purposes with a Turkish friend. We were told to show our IDs and were questioned for 10 minutes about the reasons of our staying in Istanbul. When I told the policemen that our friend was just showing us the city, one of them replied “No one will show anything to anyone for free”.

Since then, I’ve been noticing some special interest that existed to migrant women from former Soviet Union (FSU) countries in Turkey. However, I had not understood its reasons until I found out about the stereotype against all migrant women from FSU as “sexually available” or “Natashas” created by the Turkish mass media in the 1990s. I devoted five years of my PhD studies at Bilkent University to investigating the reasons why this stereotype appeared and where it comes from. This dissertation is the result of this research.

Now, after a 5-year-long academic journey, I am happy to admit that I have finally defended my dissertation and was awarded with a Doctor of Philosophy degree in International Relations. However, this extraordinary achievement would not have been possible without the help of many people that I am deeply indebted to. First of all, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my thesis supervisor Ali Bilgiç who supported me throughout my project from its beginning to its end with his extensive knowledge and intellectual advice. His guidance helped me develop my critical thinking skills, as well as better understanding of IR theory. Most importantly, he taught me what it means to be a real academician.

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May 2016

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Do you know what it is like, to be a Russian woman in Istanbul? Imaging you are running in Taksim naked, that is what it's like!
Russian migrant Elena Chilyayeva, in a letter to Ayşe Arman, Hürriyet, April 1, 2002

The quotation provided above (see Arman, 2002) very well illustrates the stigmatization of all migrant women from former Soviet Union (FSU) countries that currently exists in Turkey. It can be argued that such stigmatization is a consequence of a particular image of all migrant women as “loose” and “unchaste” projected by the Turkish mass media since the 1990s because of involvement of some migrant women into sex work in Turkey (see Gülçür & İlkaracan, 2002; Erder & Kaşka, 2003; Agathangelou, 2004; Toksöz & Ünlütürk-Ulutaş, 2012). In the present dissertation it is argued that this attitude to migrant women from FSU is shaped by the Turkish mainstream media as an instrument of state hegemony and influenced by patriarchal attitudes to women in general that are prevailing in Turkey. It is believed that the underlying problem under this stigmatizing attitude of the state to migrant women is capitalist and patriarchal exploitation of their sexual labor.

This dissertation aims to answer the following research question: How do the Turkish media portray migrant sex labor of women from FSU? It is a Marxist feminist and historical materialist study of migrant sex labor in Turkey that sees mass media as an instrument of state hegemony and patriarchy. The present chapter provides introductory information about the subject of the study (media representations of migrant sex labor) and theoretical discussions regarding it. It also gives definitions of some key concepts and explains the choice of theoretical

framework. The chapter ends with providing an outline of the present dissertation, and is followed by a detailed literature review provided in Chapter 2 explaining how this study aims to contribute to the existing literature in the field.

The media representations of migrant sex labor in Turkey have not received much attention in the academic literature. The significance of the media as a factor shaping public opinion on the issue of migrant sex labor in Turkey was particularly acknowledged by such authors as Erder and Kaşka (2003), Ayata et al. (2008), Kalfa (2008), Demir (2010) and Demir and Erdal (2010). However, literature on the relationship between the media and the state, particularly the so-called “CNN effect” in communication and Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) studies in IR discussed the topic of the significance of media representations of particular issues in detail and can be considered relevant. According to Robinson (2000: 301), “the phrase ‘CNN effect’ encapsulated the idea that real-time communications technology could provoke major responses from domestic audiences and political elites to global events”. The concept of the ‘CNN effect’ found especially wide usage in theories of “humanitarian intervention” (see Livingston, 1997; Robinson, 2000; 2001), as well as in media and communication studies and IR in general (see Gilboa, 2005). However, there were also several other, alternative models of media-state relationship (see Robinson, 2000). This study utilizes one of such models called ‘media-policy interaction’ model (see Robinson, 2000; 2001; 2002) seeing the relationship between the media and the state as a two-way one, the use of which will be explained in detail in Chapter 3.

In this study, media representations of migrant sex labor of women from FSU in Turkey are examined, and the media is seen as an instrument of state hegemony and patriarchy. Migrant sex labor is seen here in Marxist feminist terms as reproductive labor. According to Agathangelou (2004: 3), reproductive labor means “an international sexual division of labor in which women’s social and economic contributions are exploited, commodified, and sold for cheap wages.” In this study, the sexual labor (sex labor) of migrant women from the former Soviet Union (FSU)¹ countries in Turkey is analyzed. The study only focuses on women from the FSU because they represent the majority of migrant sex workers in Turkey (see Sever et

¹ Former Soviet Union (FSU) countries include Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Estonia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine and Uzbekistan.

al., 2012; US Department of State, 2015).² For example, according to the annual Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Report issued by the United States Department of State (US Department of State, 2015: 340), migrant women identified as victims of human trafficking in Turkey in 2014 were mainly from countries of Central and South Asia, Eastern Europe, Syria, and Morocco. Migrant women from Central Asian countries were especially recognized in majority among the victims (see Özer, 2012). In 2013, the majority of women identified as victims of human trafficking in Turkey also came from such former Soviet republics as Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, Belarus, Bulgaria, Moldova, Ukraine, and Russia (see US Department of State, 2014: 383). However, today in Turkey there is also an increasing number of migrant sex workers and trafficked victims from Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, Bangladesh and Morocco, especially because of the recent political crisis in Syria resulting in the influx of displaced persons vulnerable to various kinds of exploitation (U.S. Department of State, 2014; 2015; also see UNHCR, 2015; Özden, 2013; Demir, 2015). However, since this is a very recent issue and a very complicated topic in itself, sex labor of Syrian displaced persons and other non-FSU migrant sex workers in Turkey is not included in the analysis in this dissertation.

The topic of female migrant sex labor is also of high significance to migration literature because the growing feminization of migration received inadequate attention in the discipline of International Relations (IR) (Elias, 2011: 103). According to Özer (2012), although in the contemporary world women migrate as often as men, their experiences are not emphasized enough in the existing studies on migration (also see Mahler and Pessar, 2003: 814). With regard to sex labor, nowadays “women are by far the majority group in prostitution and in trafficking for the sex industry, and they are becoming a majority group in migration for labor.” (Sassen, 2007: 23). Therefore, the present study is going to emphasize and bring to light the issue of female migrant sex labor in Turkey as an understudied subject.

The use of Marxist feminist and historical materialist theoretical framework for the analysis of sex labor is justified by two reasons. First of all, Marxist feminist theory allows us to situate gender discrimination and inequalities related to sex work

² There is a need to point out that migrant sex workers from Romania and Bulgaria are not included in the scope of this study. Despite the fact that Romania and Bulgaria are former socialist countries, they were never members of the Soviet Union.

emphasized by feminist IR scholars in a broader economic context of global relations of production with specific reference to the case of Turkey. And second, the use of historical materialist (neo-Gramscian) theory also allows us to examine ideological representations of migrant sex labor in the mainstream media seen as one of the platforms through which the hegemonic ideology of the state is produced. According to Noam Chomsky (1994: 1-6), “the mass media serve as a system for communicating messages to the general populace. It is their function to amuse, entertain, and inform, and to inculcate individuals with the values, beliefs, and the codes of behaviors that will integrate them into the institutional structures of the larger society. In a world of concentrated wealth and major conflicts of class interest, to fulfill this role requires systematic propaganda”. Therefore, the state-dominated media can be considered a powerful ideological instrument of state hegemony and patriarchy that creates particular representations of migrant sex labor through media “propaganda” (also see Doğan, 2013).

It should be noted here that four groups of sources are used for the purposes of analysis in this dissertation: theoretical literature on the relationship between the media and the state and the so-called ‘CNN effect’, Marxist feminism and historical materialism (Chapters 1, 2 and 3), the existing literature on migration, sex work and human trafficking of migrant women in Turkey (Chapters 2, 5 and 6), legal and policy documents (Chapter 6), and content analysis findings on the representations of migrant sex labor in the mainstream Turkish media (Chapter 7). The theoretical aim of this study is to identify the role of mass media as an instrument of the state hegemony in the neo-Gramscian sense of the term in creating particular portrayal or “representation” of migrant sex labor of women from FSU in Turkey within the framework of Marxist feminist and historical materialist analysis.

First of all, it is necessary to clarify theoretical terminology used in the dissertation. The conceptual difference between some significant terms traditionally used in feminist studies of sex labor such as patriarchy, oppression, domination and exploitation should be explained here. The term “exploitation” is used in this study for the analysis of the structures of capitalist and patriarchal exploitation facilitating victimization of migrant sex workers. What is under analysis in a Marxist feminist study of sex labor is the underlying patriarchy of the global division of labor and relations of production. Sheila Rowbotham (1974) defines patriarchy as “the system of male domination that predates capitalism and continues to oppress women into the

current period”. Thus, male domination over women is at the core of patriarchy, and it had always existed in human history even prior to the emergence of capitalism (Jónasdóttir, 1994). The concept of patriarchy is very useful for this study in the context of the analysis of gendered division of labor and social relations of production.

Another concept used in this study that is frequently used by feminist scholars is oppression. Oppression can be defined as “an ongoing manipulation of the senses that in turn forms people so as to accept being exploited” (Jónasdóttir, 1994: 84). Therefore, it can be seen as an emotional state of mind. Other frequently used concepts include discrimination, hierarchy, suppression and enslavement of women (Jónasdóttir, 1994: 79). However, the concept of exploitation seems to be more useful for the present analysis particularly because of its analytical ability to explain the dynamics of patriarchy in the contemporary society at a societal/systemic level (Jónasdóttir, 1994: 80).

According to Alvin Gouldner (1960: 166), exploitation refers to “certain transactions involving an exchange of things of unequal value”. Because of its emphasis on exchange of goods/value, some scholars argued that the use of the term “exploitation” should be only applicable to the study of economics. For example, John Elster (1980; 1982) argued that with regard to women’s question, “the concept of oppression” contains “all that needs to be said on the matter”, and “exploitation proper ... exists only within capitalist economy” (cited in Jónasdóttir, 1994: 83). Yet, “exchange of things of unequal value” and the absence of reciprocity that Gouldner (1960) is referring to can take place in sex work as well. For example, it has been argued that “prostitution is non-reciprocal sex” (Razack, 2000), and is therefore determined by exploitative nature.

In exploitative relationship, equal reciprocal exchange does not take place; instead, a certain product is “extracted” from the exploited person without exchanging this product or service for something of equal value. For example, in sex labor the “impresario” (a term used by Agathangelou, 2004 to refer to sex worker’s seller or “boss”) usually earns additional money on every sex worker extracting surplus value from her labor; the sex worker herself is paid only a small portion of it. Therefore, in the present dissertation sexual exploitation is defined as an unequal transaction in which the exploited party is forced to give sexual services to customers in exchange for money value, significant part (or all of which) is being withheld from

the exploited person and remains with the exploiter. Also, the key characteristic of sexual exploitation is inability of sex worker to escape this situation and find desirable employment in any other sector of the market. Thus, sexual exploitation is understood here as exploitation of the women's sex labor.

According to Agathangelou (2004: 5), "today, women comprise almost 50 percent of the world's 120 million migrants, seeking reproductive work in the nearest comparatively rich country." Many of these migrant women find themselves in sex work and other sex or "desire industries" in the nearest more affluent countries such as strip-tease or lap dance (Agathangelou, 2004). However, exploitation of migrant women's sex labor is a serious problem because it victimizes the women and forces many of them to "sell their bodies" in the market under the pressure of capitalist economy and patriarchal structures. Migrant sex workers are denied choice of other employment because of the restrictive market conditions and a day-to-day necessity to have "food on the table" (Rupert, 2013) facilitated by patriarchal demand for commercial sex. As one of its aims, present study is going to analyze the problem of exploitation of sex labor by uncovering the capitalist and patriarchal structures of exploitation deeply embedded in the society.

Sometimes in the literature it is argued that migrant women become "innocent victims" of human trafficking in the host country that need to be protected because they have not chosen sex work out of their own free will (see, for example, the European Commission, 2012; Hughes, 2014). However, in this study the distinction between "good girls" (victims of human trafficking coerced into sex work) and "bad girls" (women working in sex work "voluntarily") is considered unhelpful for the analysis of migrant sex labor because it makes these women vulnerable to labeling and discrimination (see Aradau, 2008; Coşkun, 2015a) and denies them conscious agency. Therefore, the concept of "victim" of exploitation human trafficking is deliberately not used in the study in order to emphasize the women's active agency as migrants (see Agustin, 2002).

In contrast, it is believed that this distinction between "voluntary" sex workers ("bad girls") and "forced" sex workers ("victims" or "good girls") is artificial in the sense that it is not possible or helpful to try and prove whether the woman becomes a sex worker by consent or by coercion (see Coşkun, 2015a; 2015b; Zhidkova & Demir, 2016). Moreover, the very attempt to prove the degree of consent only distracts attention from the real problems that migrant women are

experiencing (see Aradau, 2008: 31, 49; also Coşkun, 2015a; 2015b). Instead of being portrayed as “innocent victims” of human trafficking, in this study migrant women are considered as having active agency as migrants pursuing sex work as their chosen type of employment (Agustin, 2002). Sometimes in this active migration process the women may be “trafficked”; if it happens, such situation can be considered an example of exploitation and “forced labor” because payments for sexual labor are being withheld from women who are exploited (see Bindman, 1998; Doezenia, 1998). However, there should be no need to determine whether the women “consented” to become a sex worker at all or not (see Coşkun, 2014a; 2015a) because in general, being in sex work can never be an “expression of pure free will” (Agathangelou, 2004: 61). Therefore, instead of the focus on “victims” or “human trafficking”, in the present study the use of the concepts of “sex labor” and “sexual exploitation” is suggested and considered to be more useful for practical purposes.³

There is a need to point out that the topic of sex labor has its roots in the controversial debate on the possibility of accepting prostitution as “work” among the feminist scholars (see Miriam, 2005; Outshoorn, 2005). The prostitution/sex work debate in the feminist literature is essentially a disagreement between the two opposite positions: on the one side of the debate there are pro-“sex work” liberal and socialist feminists arguing that sex work should be accepted as a normal type of employment because such attitude would help protect women as workers and make their employment in sex work less risky (see Bindman, 1998; Doezenia, 2000; Kempadoo, 1999; 2003; Murray, 1998; Miriam, 2005). In this perspective, the women are considered as being active agents in the migration process who can freely choose sex work as their preferred type of employment (Kempadoo, 2005).

On the other side of the debate, there are radical feminists with an older “abolitionist” approach claiming that prostitution can never be a form of employment and it should be abolished because it is an act of “oppression of women” or “act of violence against women” (Farley, 2004a; 2004b; 2005; MacKinnon, 2011). Abolitionist feminists reject the term “sex work” because they believe that prostitution can never be considered as “work” because it is “forced by definition” (Outshoorn, 2005: 145) due to the gendered nature of violence against women

³ The terms “victim” and “human trafficking” are only used in this study when discussing the existing studies on the subject of migrant sex labor in Turkey, as well as laws and policies of the Turkish state, because these are the terms most frequently used in the literature (see Zhidkova and Demir, 2016).

inherent in it. For example, prostitution researcher Melissa Farley argues that prostitution is harmful for the women's body and soul even if it is conducted "indoors" and should always be considered as violence against women (see Farley, 2004a; 2004b; 2005). She points to the fact that "street or house, and however they get into the sex trade, prostituted women's measured level of post-traumatic stress [disorder] ("PTSD") is equivalent to that of combat veterans or victims of torture or raped women" (see Farley et al., 2004).

This abolitionist feminist argument has led to a frequent conceptualization of migrant sex workers as "victims of human trafficking" that have been coerced, lured or beaten into submission (Aradau, 2008). Consequently, the states in their national policies or "anti-trafficking plans" usually deal with the issue of trafficking through repatriation and reintegration programs where the "victim" is deported unless she agrees to cooperate with authorities in order to help locate her traffickers and seek justice (see U.S. Department of State, 2015; Coşkun, 2015b). However, it has been argued that such anti-trafficking policies "create the 'problem' to be the very presence of 'foreign' sex workers. Other options and wishes of the victims, e.g. staying in the receiving country, are silenced" (Spanger, 2011: 527). Moreover, the women's interests are neglected in the process and subordinated to the interests of the state or the ruling elite. Such securitization discourse is problematic because it leads to the portrayal of sex trafficking as an "illegal" border crossing issue rather than a human rights issue, and emphasis in policy-making is thus placed on the security of states rather than the security of individuals (see Dauvergne, 2008; Lobasz, 2009; Anderson, 2013). The very presence of migrant sex workers in a country is considered these women's "mistake" or the consequence of a criminal group's plan. It is argued that these women are simply not supposed to be there; they themselves are not expected to wish to be sex workers in a foreign country. It is argued that if a woman is engaged in sex work in a foreign country, then it means that she has been "tricked by criminal organizations" and is a "victim of human trafficking" (Spanger, 2011). However, this simplification of analysis often leads to the fact that women are made "invisible" and refused agency in their migration decisions and choice of employment (see Miriam, 2005; Coşkun, 2015a).

With regard to particularly the issue of trafficking, the "abolitionist" approach to prostitution shared by radical feminists "analyzes trafficking for prostitution as a problem of patriarchy and a form of sex slavery/exploitation" (Limoncelli, 2009:

261), therefore, the distinction between prostitution and trafficking is “blurred” (Outshoorn, 2005: 145). In contrast, the “sex work” approach of socialist, liberal, and post-modern feminists (such as Lacsamana, 2004; Miriam, 2005) delinks trafficking from prostitution and attempts “to posit the agency and empowerment of women in prostitution, and deconstruct radical feminists’ representations of trafficking” (Limoncelli, 2009: 261).

In the present dissertation, the Marxist feminist and historical materialist theoretical framework chosen by the author is closer to pro-sex work feminist approach because it recognizes women as being active agents of migratory process (Agustin, 2002) who can choose to be a sex worker in they wish to. However, sex labor is not accepted as “normal” or recommendable employment for women because of exploitative and violent conditions and inherent patriarchal and gendered violence that it entails. It is, though, accepted as *labor* per se because it represents an activity of sexual or reproductive labor (Agathangelou, 2004) identified as a process of labor by Karl Marx (see Marx, 1995). However, *labor power* in this particular case is the sexual service that is being sold for money as a commodity. In this sense, the theoretical approach adopted in the present dissertation attempts to bridge the two feminist positions and considers it appropriate to use the concept of “sex labor” rather than “prostitution” or “sex work” in order to emphasize the labor aspect of the phenomenon. However, at the same time the author deems it appropriate to acknowledge that sex labor is explained by gendered violence and patriarchal exploitation of the women’s sexuality “for the purpose of men’s sexual gratification (Outshoorn, 2005: 147). The term “sex worker” is used in this study to signify any person engaging in sex labor. Any occasional uses of the terms “prostitution” or “prostitute” are only for the purposes of theoretical discussion in the context of Turkey’s literature on the subject and its migration laws. In line with Anderson and O’Connell Davidson (2003: 15), the occasional usage of the term “prostitute” in this study “does not imply any disrespect for persons working in this area, and the term “sex worker” is not intended to imply that the authors rejoice in the existence of a market for commercial sex, or recommend prostitution as a fulfilling and life-enhancing career choice.”

As in any other kind of labor, it is considered logical that the workers’ rights should be protected by the state. However, the paradox is that although the state benefits economically from migrant sex labor (in the case of Turkey, through the

migrants' simultaneous involvement in small-scale or "suitcase trade", see Yüksek, 2003), the state (seen here as government or the ruling elite) often criminalizes and negatively labels migrant sex workers as a threat to public morality and health and sees them as a security issue. For example, Turkey is a state which benefits from migrant reproductive labor because of its own subordinate position on the periphery of the global division of labor (Agathangelou, 2004). Economic benefits of "suitcase trade" that migrant sex workers from FSU were engaged in were confirmed by previous research (see Yüksek, 2003). However, despite cash infusions into the economy, the current policy of the Turkish state on migrant sex labor is paradoxically very restrictive (see Chapter 6 for discussion).

In Turkey, migrant women are not allowed to legally engage in sex work (Küntay and Çokar, 2007; Coşkun, 2015; Zhidkova & Demir, 2016), although they can be legally employed in brothels if they obtain Turkish citizenship. However, the number of legal brothels in Turkey is very limited. According to Balseven-Odabaşı et al. (2012: 153), "there are 56 licensed brothels with about 3,000 sex workers in these brothels in Turkey." However, "it has been reported that there are about 100,000 female and transgender sex workers in Turkey" (Balseven-Odabaşı et al., 2012: 153), and this number does not even include migrant women, which raises questions about the effectiveness of Turkey's policy on sex labor in general (see Coşkun, 2015a; 2015b; Zhidkova & Demir, 2016). Because of these restrictive market conditions and state policies, there is no option for migrant sex workers other than work in Turkey illegally, where they are often prone to labor exploitation and stigmatizing attitudes.

In the case of Turkey, there is a particular need to warn against the conceptualization of migrant sex labor as a "security threat" to the state and society. In Turkey, migrant women engaged in sex work are often perceived as a security threat to the state and its citizens (see Narlı, 2006; Işığışık, 2010). They were considered a threat to public morality because of their "looseness", a threat to public health because they carried contagious sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), and even a threat to the national security because of their possible connections with the intelligence services of their home countries (see Erder & Kaşka, 2003; Agathangelou, 2004). Migrant sex workers (in Turkey often referred to as '*Rus orospular*' – Russian whores, because most of migrant sex workers come from

Russia or other FSU countries and are thus Russian-speaking⁴) are labeled as “dirty, immoral, and/or deviant” as it is claimed that they pollute the Turkish society (Agathangelou, 2004: 70). It is argued that these blue or green-eyed blondes or “Russian sex queens” corrupt the society with their “indecent” and “lead astray” the Turkish men (Agathangelou, 2002: 150; 11; Erder & Kaşka, 2003).

Migrant sex workers are seen as a security threat to the national state and society⁵, and the state’s policy on sex labor and human trafficking in the case of Turkey mainly leads to deportation of migrant women caught during so-called “prostitution raids” conducted by the police. These women are perceived as “foreigners” and are “simultaneously ... “desirable” and “undesirable” (Agathangelou, 2004: 15). They are desirable by the Turkish men because their “otherness” is sexually attractive, but they are undesirable by the public and especially by Turkish women who reportedly claim that migrant sex workers “steal” their husbands or “destroy” their families (Atauz et al., 2009). Migrant women are also undesirable by the state in general because it is argued that presence of migrant sex workers leads to the demoralization and corruption of the society (Agathangelou, 2004). Such conceptualization of migrant sex workers as “undesirable” migrants has led to “increased social control of women” such as health inspections and police surveillance (Limoncelli, 2010). However, because of important incomes that Turkey receives from migrant women’s involvement into “suitcase” or other small-scale trade, the arrival of these women is not “stopped” at the border gates.

The fact that migrant women come to Turkey because of extreme poverty in their home countries and that they are compelled to pursue employment in sex labor by the neoliberal capitalist order and patriarchal structures that facilitate the demand for migrant sex labor is obscured from the analysis. The women are portrayed as “willing” sex workers and “loose” or “fallen” women (see Agathangelou, 2004). Moreover, the perception of migrant sex labor as a security threat to the state or the Turkish citizens often leads to discrimination and victimization of these women (see Toksöz & Ünlütürk-Ulutaş, 2012). It is often considered acceptable that migrant sex workers “should not be protected by the state or the authorities ... if they are sexually

⁴ According to a well-known historian Norman Stone (2012: 40), the modern Turkish word “*orospu*” (whore, prostitute) comes from medieval Persian and even contains the word “*Rus*” (Russian) as its second syllable. The reason for the appearance of the term is developed slave trade with Russia in the 15th century (Stone, 2012: 40).

⁵ The portrayal of migrant sex workers as a security threat to the state and its citizens in Turkey is discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

harassed or assaulted. Their indecency leads to the problems they experience” (see discussion in Agathangelou, 2004: 29). Therefore, the conceptualization of sex labor as a security threat is a serious problem that leaves migrant sex workers without any protection from the state (see Toksöz & Ünlütürk-Ulutaş, 2012; Coşkun, 2015a; 2015b). The women’s unclear and vulnerable status as “illegal” migrants leads to their victimization by the state authorities and the society in general and prevents them from getting any help from the police (see Coşkun, 2015a; 2015b; Zhidkova & Demir, 2016). However, actually the “illegal” status of these women “does not suggest that they do not need protection or that their human rights can be violated because they are considered “illegal” (Bilgiç, 2013: 3). Human rights of migrant sex workers should be protected by the state similarly to the rights of the Turkish citizens.

Case selection for this study is also justified by the fact that there is a significant gap in the literature on migrant sex workers in Turkey in general. In the Turkey-based literature, migrant sex workers and their labor were analyzed from traditional theoretical perspectives holding the state as a security referent. For example, migration perspective saw migrant sex workers as a security threat to the state and its citizens (see Erder & Kaşka, 2003; Kirişçi, 2007; İçduygu, 2003; 2009; 2014; Kaya, 2008; Işığışok, 2010; Sever et al., 2012). Similarly, criminological perspective also held the state as security referent and focused on the analysis of human trafficking of migrant women as a transnational organized criminal activity (see Arslan et al., 2006; Öztürk & Ardor, 2007; Beşpınar & Çelik, 2009; Demir, 2010; Demir & Finckenauer, 2010). However, in contrast, a growing feminist literature on migrant sex workers in Turkey holds the women themselves as security referents and focuses on their individual experiences in sex work or human trafficking. Most of these studies include extensive fieldwork and interviews with migrant sex workers (such as Gülçür & İlkaracan, 2002; Kalfa, 2008; Çokar & Yılmaz-Kayar, 2011; Özer, 2012; Açıkalın, 2013), or stakeholders related to the field of human trafficking prevention (Atauz et al., 2009; Coşkun, 2015a; 2015b). However, feminist analysis of particularly the media representations of migrant sex labor was not conducted, despite the fact that media was considered as the most important factor creating public opinion on the issue (see Erder & Kaşka, 2003; Demir, 2010).

The literature source standing separately is Anna Agathangelou's book *The Global Political Economy of Sex* (2004) which represents a politico-economic analysis of the workers of "desire industry" (sex and domestic work) in Turkey, Greece and Cyprus which is closest to the focus of the present dissertation. However, Agathangelou's (2004) theoretical framework is slightly different, and she does not focus on the media representations, although does conduct some media analysis on the topic. Agathangelou (2004) focuses her work on female migrant reproductive (both sex and domestic) labor in the Mediterranean states (Cyprus, Turkey and Greece) focusing more on race and gender inequalities informing the existing relations of exploitation than on the class conflict and capitalist exploitation or the media representations aspects of it.

The present study aims to fill these gaps identified in the literature and, for this purpose, utilizes Marxist feminist and historical materialist theoretical framework for the analysis of media representations of migrant sex labor of women from FSU in Turkey. It uses such methods as content and discourse analysis (Chapters 4 and 7) and analysis of available literature and legal documents (Chapters 5 and 6) in order to address its research question. Content analysis and discourse analysis are particularly useful methods in the analysis of media representations of sex labor in Turkey because it allows to see the media as an instrument of the hegemony of the state and patriarchy.

This study is organized in the following way. Following this chapter, Chapter 2 represents a literature review of the existing studies on media representations of migrant sex labor in Turkey. It analyzes both state-centric approaches to sex labor such as migration and criminological studies, as well as "victim-centered" feminist approaches to the subject (see Lobasz, 2009). The aim of the chapter is to critically engage with different theoretical perspectives.

Chapter 3 builds up a theoretical framework of this study. It elaborates upon the way media representations were covered in the literature on the 'CNN effect' in communication studies, and on the ways the supply and demand sides of migrant sex labor can be discussed from a Marxist feminist and historical materialist theoretical perspective. The key concepts of the Marxist feminist analysis such as capital, relations of production, patriarchy and historical structures are also explained because they need separate clarification. The chapter also discusses the mass media

as one of the platforms for the reproduction of the hegemony of the state in neo-Gramscian sense of the term.

Chapter 4 provides methodological framework of the present study by explaining the method of content analysis used to examine the media representations of migrant sex labor in Turkey. It elaborates on the choice of media sources for this study, data gathering and data processing stages of research, as well as methodological limitations of the present study. Content analysis for this dissertation was conducted with the help of NVivo 11 software. 990 articles from mainstream Turkish newspapers were used (see Appendix C for complete list). Chapter 4 is the last introductory chapter of this dissertation explaining its foundations, which is followed by empirical ones.

As the first empirical chapter, Chapter 5 provides a general context of migrant sex labor in Turkey because it is a very significant yet understudied issue. It examines the supply and demand sides of migrant sex labor through a Marxist feminist and historical materialist theoretical perspective with a particular focus of the women's exploitation experiences presented through excerpts from interviews with women provided by previous studies. The problem of exploitation of migrant sex workers' labor is thus examined in this chapter through the analysis of the women's sex labor experiences. The chapter draws its empirical findings from the existing literature on the subject.

Chapter 6 elaborates upon Turkey's policy on migrant sex labor and provides a critique of it, because it is impossible to talk about media representations of migrant sex labor without discussing state (government) policies on this issue. It represents an analysis of the state response to supply and demand aspects of migrant sex labor. The chapter examines the legal framework affecting migrant sex labor in Turkey, the activity of the state institutions and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and also provides a detailed critical analysis of the problematic areas of the Turkish policy on migrant sex labor. Such problematic areas as the portrayal of migrant sex workers as a "security threat" to the state and discrimination and stigmatization of migrant sex workers are discussed in greater detail before proceeding to the detailed discussion of media representations and content analysis findings.

Chapter 7 relies on the content analysis data collected from five major Turkish newspapers on the subject of migrant sex labor in Turkey for the period from

1992 to 2014 (the selected newspapers are *Cumhuriyet*, *Hürriyet*, *Milliyet*, *Sabah* and *Zaman*). It provides detailed discussion of the media representations of migrant sex labor of women from FSU in Turkey. The content analysis starts in 1992 because this was the year when migrant women started to arrive in Turkey following the collapse of the Soviet Union (see Erder & Kaşka, 2003) and ends in 2014 because data for content analysis was collected in the year of 2015 rather than the current year of 2016 and a full calendar year had to be included. The chapter also utilizes the method of discourse analysis as qualitative interpretation of newspaper articles and their content.

Finally, Chapter 8 provides concluding remarks on the results of this study and the answer it provides to its research question of how do the Turkish media portray migrant sex labor. It also discusses theoretical significance of this study in the way it contributes to feminist literature, as well as the discipline of IR in general.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Although the topic of media representations of migrant sex labor in Turkey has received some attention in the academia, there are still significant gaps in the literature on the subject. This chapter aims to provide a literature review of the existing academic sources on the subject of media representations of migrant sex labor particularly in Turkey. However, the theoretical literature on the relationship between the media and the state, media representations of particular issues and the ‘CNN effect’ theory in general, without particular focus on Turkey, will be discussed in Chapter 3.

This chapter discusses two groups of sources: studies adopting “state-centric” theoretical approaches (migration and criminological studies), and studies with a “victim-centered” theoretical perspective (feminist studies). Apart from this classification borrowed from Lobasz (2009), several studies adopting a medical (health) perspective to the subject, as well as influential investigative journalism works on the topic are also discussed as examples of alternative approaches to the subject.

There is a need to point out that the coverage or any mentioning of particularly media representations of migrant sex labor in Turkey was limited to only a few studies (these are Erder & Kaşka, 2003; Ayata et al., 2008; Kalfa, 2008; Atauz et al., 2009; Demir & Erdal, 2010; Gülsoy, 2010; Çokar & Yılmaz-Kayar, 2011). Therefore, it is considered necessary to discuss here not only these sources, but also all the available literature published on the subject of migrant sex labor in Turkey

since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1992, since this sensitive topic is so understudied and deserves special attention.

In the Turkey-centered literature, the topic of migrant sex labor was covered in general in three different aspects: in the context of human trafficking (*insan ticareti*), prostitution (*fuhuş*), and sex workers (*seks işçileri*). These topics were covered mostly by Turkish scholars, with only a few non-Turkish scholars contributing to the research of this subject (see, for example, Hughes, 2000; 2001; Agathangelou, 2004). It can be argued that the topic of migrant sex labor in Turkey is very important as a research subject because since the middle of the 2000s, Turkey has turned into a country of *immigration* instead a country of *emigration* and now attracts great numbers of both regular and irregular migrants (see Kirişçi, 2007; İçduygu, 2009). For example, according to the newly established Directorate General of Migration Management of the Turkish Ministry of Interior (DGMM), in the year of 2014 58.647 irregular migrants were apprehended in Turkey (Ministry of the Interior, 2014). The recent Syrian crisis has also contributed to the increase in the number of displaced Syrians fleeing violence and arriving to Turkey (Özden, 2013; Demir, 2015; UNHCR, 2015).⁶ Therefore, it is vital to develop new policies aimed at protecting all migrants living in Turkey and preventing their exploitation. However, as it was mentioned earlier, this study only focuses on migrant sex workers from FSU because they represent the majority group.

As an introductory note to literature review, there is a need to state that migrant sex workers usually means *irregular* migrants in the case of Turkey, since the involvement of migrant women in sex work is prohibited by the Turkish law (see Passport Law No. 5682, article 8). According to Sever et al. (2012: 27) and Toksöz and Ünlütürk-Ulutaş (2012), migrant women “illegally” residing on the territory of Turkey are exploited in much higher numbers than “legal” migrants having residence permits for various purposes. Therefore, this study and the literature review both focus on the particularly irregular migrant sex workers from the FSU as the most exploited social group. It is also relevant to mention that it is impossible to gain detailed official statistics on such a sensitive subject as the engagement of migrant

⁶ Although Turkey is a signatory of the 1951 Convention on the Status of Refugees, it accepted the Convention with a “geographical limitation” meaning that Turkey only grants asylum and refugee status to “persons who have become refugees as a result of events occurring in Europe.” (Özden, 2013: 5). Therefore, Syrians who have fled to Turkey are considered as “guests” and not as “refugees”, and are only offered “temporary protection” from the Turkish state, which makes them vulnerable to exploitation because of their unclear status (Özden, 2013).

women in sex work in Turkey (Erder & Kaşka, 2003), therefore, no exact numbers on the cases of sexual exploitation can be expected to be provided.

If one discusses the academic sources published on migrant sex labor in Turkey in general, one significant problem with the literature is a persistent lack of mutual citation and communication among the sources. Many Turkish sources do not always refer to previous works done on the subject (as, for example, Demir, 2010; Demir & Finckenauer, 2010). If there is a literature review section of the article, the literature review is usually limited to the analysis of sources on human trafficking/sex work published in general on the cases *other* than Turkey. Very often the authors obtain their data directly from their connections at the Turkish NGOs, DGMM, or cite various International Organization for Migration (IOM) reports on the subject. However, many of them do not cite previously conducted academic research or attempt to conduct a literature review. Only Agathangelou (2004), Baykotan (2014) and Coşkun (2014a; 2015a; 2015b) can be acknowledged for having good literature review sections. However, since academic exchange and consistency in the literature is very important for social sciences and academia in general, such lack of academic exchange should be pointed out as a significant drawback. For the purposes of increasing communication and consistency among these scholarly works, the existing studies on the subject and their theoretical and methodological frameworks are discussed in this chapter. In addition to that, the details about these studies' methodological frameworks such as the number of interviews conducted can also be found in Appendix A which represents a list of all academic sources on the subject of migrant sex labor in Turkey, created for reference purposes. This chapter is the first attempt ever known to conduct a comprehensive literature review of all sources related to the subject of migrant sex labor in Turkey, and it is believed to be a significant contribution to academic knowledge on the topic.⁷

In general, it can be argued that there is insufficient attention paid to critical IR theory in the literature on migrant sex labor in Turkey. Although feminist literature does analyze gender inequalities and patriarchal structures of society as reasons behind the existing demand for migrant sex labor in Turkey, it fails to address these inequalities within a broad context of global relations of production

⁷ Some points discussed in this chapter are also elaborated upon in Zhidkova and Demir (2016).

and gendered division of labor. The only exceptions are Agathangelou (2004) utilizing a postcolonial feminist historical materialist framework, and Özer (2012) with her Marxist feminist framework of analysis. However, it is very important to locate gender inequalities within the broader inequalities related to race and class (Elias, 2011). Therefore, there is a need to conduct more Marxist feminist studies of migrant sex labor in Turkey that would allow us to point out social contradictions related to this phenomenon.

Similarly, a comprehensive analysis of media representations of migrant sex labor in Turkey has not been conducted. In fact, the studies on this particular topic were very limited in general. There have been only accounts using limited media analysis of human trafficking conducted from migration perspective by Erder and Kaşka (2003), Ayata et al. (2008) and Demir and Erdal (2010), from the feminist perspective by Küntay and Çokar (2010) and also from a media ethics perspective by Gülsoy (2010). None of these scholars examined mass media in a broader theoretical context, seeing it as an instrument of state hegemony or patriarchy. The discussion of the role of the media in creating public opinion on the subject in all these studies is limited to a few sentences or pages that will be discussed below. Moreover, no retrospective analysis of the media representations of migrant sex labor was conducted, with most accounts limited only to the use of newspapers only from the recent years.

Taking these gaps into account, the aim of the present study is to use Marxist feminist and historical materialist theoretical framework for the analysis of media representations of migrant sex labor. Therefore, this dissertation will represent a contribution to both migration literature in Turkey, as well as the critical theoretical approaches to sex labor in general. Now let us examine the existing theoretical approaches to the subject of migrant sex labor in Turkey and their contributions and problematic areas, paying special attention to whenever media representations or media impact are mentioned in these works.

2.1 Theoretical Perspectives in the Analysis of Migrant Sex Labor in Turkey

Migrant sex labor in Turkey is most often analyzed in the context of human trafficking and security nexus. Lobasz (2009: 321) identifies traditional and feminist security approaches to international human trafficking (see Table 1 below). Whereas

“traditional” theoretical approaches to human trafficking take the states as the referent of the security analysis (the actor whose security is under threat), feminist approaches take people, most often women, as the referent of their analysis. Consequently, for traditional theoretical perspectives the security threat for the states is represented by irregular migrants themselves, or their traffickers as criminal perpetrators. According to this perspective, the security of both the state and its society is threatened by the presence of migrant sex workers (for the discussion of the concept of “societal security”, see Wæver, 1993). The policy focus in traditional approaches is thus on the maintenance of border security, migration control and international cooperation of law enforcement.

In contrast, for feminist approaches to human trafficking the source of insecurity for migrants is the state itself, with its abusive law enforcement, strict migration policies, migration officials and border guards (see Dauvergne, 2008; Lobasz, 2009). Another source of insecurity for the trafficked women is their traffickers, employers (sellers) and customers. Therefore, the policy focus in feminist analysis is on the protection of the women’s human rights, social services, worker rights, safe migration and better management of sex industry in general.

Table 1. Traditional and Feminist Security Approaches to International Human Trafficking.⁸

Approach	Security Referent	Security Threat	Policy Focus
Traditional	States	Traffickers, undocumented migrants	Border security, migration controls, international law enforcement cooperation
Feminist	People	Traffickers, border patrol and law enforcement officials, abusive employers and clients	Social services, human rights, safe migration, worker protections, attention to status of prostitution

In the literature on migrant sex labor in Turkey, it is equally possible to identify traditional and feminist approaches to the subject according to Lobasz’s

⁸Source: Lobasz (2009: 321).

(2009) classification. Among traditional state-centric approaches to migrant sex labor there are migration and criminological perspectives. Consequently, the feminist perspective stands separately as victim-centered. This classification (migration – criminological – feminist approaches) is also borrowed from Kalfa (2008), although she uses it for a completely different set of literature. The following subsections will examine each of these theoretical perspectives.

2.1.1 Traditional Perspectives

2.1.1.1 Migration Perspective

The migration perspective analyzes migrant sex workers in Turkey only in the context of human trafficking as a problem of irregular migration.⁹ In Turkey, research on human trafficking as a problem of migration was mostly conducted under the auspices of IOM, which opened an office in Ankara in 2004. A research center on migration was also established in 2004 at Koç University in Istanbul under the name of MiReKoç (Migration Research Center at Koç University). Although this center does not specialize on human trafficking, it has published a number of works on different aspects of irregular migration in Turkey over the years.¹⁰

A pioneer study on the trafficking of migrant women in Turkey was conducted by Erder and Kaşka (2003), and it still remains the most cited source on human trafficking and irregular migration in Turkey. The aim of their study was “to provide a comprehensive view of the mechanisms and institutions involved in the trafficking in women to gain a better understanding of the issue and to be able to propose necessary remedies and policy measures to effectively address this phenomenon” (Erder & Kaşka, 2003: 7). To this end, the authors conducted interviews on attitudes to human trafficking with government officials, consular and embassy staff, hotel owners, businessmen, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and aid agencies, academics and journalists. Migrant women exploited in the sex sector were not interviewed by the authors, which was explained as a “conscious choice” to focus on public perceptions of trafficking rather than women’s own experiences (Erder & Kaşka, 2003: 7). Erder and Kaşka (2003: 70) also found that instances of human trafficking “are not part of the major characteristics of irregular

⁹ For migration perspective applied to human trafficking without a particular focus on Turkey, please see Laczko and Gozdzia (2005), McCreight (2006), and Bales (2007).

¹⁰ See the center’s website <http://mirekoc.ku.edu.tr/bookseries> for a full list of MiReKoç publications.

migration movements to Turkey”, and are therefore analyzed as an exceptional case of human rights abuse in the process of migration.

A separate two-page section in Erder and Kaşka (2003: 28-29) is devoted to the discussion of the role of the media in influencing public opinion about irregular migrant women in Turkey. The authors systematically reviewed newspaper articles in *Sabah* and *Hürriyet* published between 1999 and 2002, as well as different web sites and related TV programs in order to reach conclusions about the impact of the media. It is noted that “although cases of trafficking were already reported <in Turkey >in the mid-90s, it became an important news item only after 1999, when the fight against the infiltration of foreign prostitutes began to be recognized as an important public issue and to be treated as such by the police” (Erder & Kaşka, 2003: 28). The authors also argue that media representations of the issue lacked sensitivity, were mostly “sensational” in nature and almost only focused on the statistics related to venereal diseases and other public health issues:

Our research showed that, although such media reports dwell on irregular migration and prostitution, generally they rarely report on the deception, dire working conditions and other hardships suffered by the women involved. There is a total lack of sensitivity and sympathy for the women as victims rather than as guilty parties, nor is there any feeling of responsibility to raise public awareness of this issue. While they dwell on the risks of the spread of STDs as a public health issue, and warn men to be “careful in their affairs”, such reporting is merely sensational, instead of recognizing and informing on the seriousness and legitimate concerns of the issue in a responsible manner (Erder & Kaşka, 2003: 29).

Following Erder and Kaşka (2003), a number of studies also seeing human trafficking as an exceptional case in migration were published by such authors as Kirişçi (2007), Kaya (2008), İçduygu (2003; 2009; 2014), Işığcok (2010) and İçduygu and Aksel (2012). These works mainly rely on the analysis and interpretation of statistical data on irregular migrants and deportations of foreigners obtained from Foreigners’ Department of the General Directorate of Security in Istanbul, the Ministry of Labor and Social Security (MLSS), or the Turkish Statistical Institute (TurkStat). Furthermore, they contain extensive analysis of the Turkish legislature concerning irregular migration and human trafficking, and occasional media analysis. The studies mostly draw on the interviews with officials from the Turkish National Police, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as representatives of the Turkish NGOs (such as in Kirişçi, 2007).

An interesting IOM-funded study of this kind was conducted by Sever et al. (2012), and it focuses on trafficking victim identification process in Turkey. For the purpose of the study, Sever et al (2012) conducted interviews on attitudes to human trafficking with government officials, police officers, judicial staff, international organizations (IOs) such as IOM Turkey and NGO representatives in Antalya, Istanbul, Trabzon, Rize, Artvin and Ankara. Victims of human trafficking were not interviewed in the study. It has been found by the study that “the most common form of human trafficking in Turkey is forced prostitution and some cases of forced labor, where Turkish nationals may become victims as well” (Sever et al., 2012: 7).

However, three studies stand separately from the other ones utilizing migration perspective for the analysis of human trafficking in Turkey. One of them is a very interesting study on the demand side of human trafficking in Turkey, including interviews with clients, conducted by Ayata et al. (2008) and commissioned by the Turkish Ministry of Interior. Ayata et al. (2008) also conducted media analysis as part of their research and describe their findings related to the media representations of human trafficking in Turkey (pp. 59-62). From their analysis of newspapers *Hürriyet*, *Posta* and *Zaman* published in 2001-2008, Ayata et al. (2008) make a number of interesting conclusions. First of all, they point to the fact that it is quite common for the media to discuss migrant sex workers in the context of money or foreign currency, thus underlining the lucrative character of this industry (see Ayata et al., 2008: 59), which is a very interesting finding. Second, they notice that whenever local Turkish sex workers are discussed in the newspapers, the reporters tend to portray them as “victims of fate” and usually include their life stories, mentioning reasons for being in sex work such as experiences of childhood or family abuse (see Ayata et al., 2008: 60). However, when mentioning migrant sex workers the reporters do not include such stories and do not provide any justifications. In contrast, news about migrant sex workers tend to focus on the criminal aspect of this activity, aiming to emphasize the successes of the police forces in “fighting prostitution” (see Ayata et al., 2008: 60). Third, it has also been noticed that particular attention in the media is paid to the fact that many if not most migrant sex workers actually have very high education and professional occupation in their home countries such as doctors, lawyers or teachers. Ayata et al. (2008: 60) notice that the media tend to deliberately include this kind of information to increase the sensational character of the news. Similarly, they also always include information

if any high-positioned Turkish national is involved in a “prostitution scandal” for the same reasons of increasing possible sensationality of the news (see Ayata et al., 2008: 60). Fourth, it was found that in a very interesting way, media accounts of migrant sex workers always include information about the numbers of weapons, drugs, money or other substances apprehended during police “prostitution raids”, but they never explain how such listing is connected to the topic of the article, there is only an unexplained listing of apprehended items (see Ayata et al., 2008: 60-61). The authors explain that such listing might mean that the reporters want to attract public attention to the lucrative character of sex industry (Ayata et al., 2008: 61). Fifth, very often in the media migrant sex workers are referred to as “blond”, “slim” or “beautiful” Russian women who are a threat to public order because they can “seduce” innocent Turkish men (Ayata et al., 2008: 61). These women are contrasted to more “honorable, self-sacrificing and responsible” Turkish wives in the media accounts (see Ayata et al., 2008: 61), which can be considered a very interesting evidence of the role of the media in reproducing patriarchal structures of society. In general, the authors conclude that the role of the media in creating public opinion about human trafficking in Turkey is two-fold: the media can have a negative impact because it creates and reproduces stereotypes related to migrant women (such as the portrayal of all migrant women as sexually available), but at the same time it can have a positive impact as a powerful instrument for increasing public awareness and sensitivity about human trafficking in Turkey (Ayata et al., 2008: 62).

The second very interesting study within migration perspective is Atauz et al. (2009), which is an IOM-funded research paper on human trafficking in North-Eastern Anatolia region of Turkey. The authors conducted semi-structured interviews with different stakeholders (city governors, police, gendarmerie, judiciary staff, state hospital staff, NGOs, local press) on their attitudes to human trafficking in four border cities in the Turkish North-East: Ardahan, Artvin, Iğdir and Trabzon. The research focused on the public perceptions of human trafficking similarly to Erder and Kaşka (2003), but the number of interviews done (142) is higher than in other studies on the subject, therefore the sample may be more representative (almost equal numbers of interviews were conducted in each city). The authors explain that Iğdir, Ardahan and Artvin were selected for the study as the “main borders to cities in Georgia and Azerbaijan” which are major source countries of the victims of human trafficking in Turkey, whereas Trabzon was included in the study because it is an

important seaport as well as airport receiving women from the post-Soviet countries every day (Atauz et al., 2009: 421). No interviews with victims of human trafficking were conducted by the authors, which is explained by the fact that there are legal brothels in the region of North-Eastern Anatolia employing registered sex workers rather than irregular migrants (Atauz et al., 2009: 421). Atauz et al. (2009: 421) also argue that interviews with migrant sex workers were not conducted because “it was not possible to interview witnesses of ongoing cases” due to judicial restrictions “and women’s shelters do not allow interviews with residents to protect them from the possibility of trauma recurrence.” However, it is possible to assume that interviews with women were not included in the study because of its particular focus on migration policy of the state, rather than individual experiences of women.

Significantly for the present study, Atauz et al. (2009: 431-432) also discuss the findings of their interviews with members of the local press in Trabzon, Igdir, Ardahan and Artvin on a few pages. They conclude that there were two dominant views shared by the interviewed journalists. One tends to view all migrant women from FSU in Turkey as “voluntary sex workers” and denies any possibility for the existence of coercion in sex work or human trafficking *per se* (see Atauz et al., 2009: 432). Some of the interviewed journalists also refused to openly talk about such a sensitive subject: “I cannot talk to you as the way a journalist would do. I need to censor what I say, because I cannot defame my beautiful city. Male journalist, Trabzon” (Atauz et al., 2009: 432). The second view was reportedly shared by members of “conservative” local press (it is not specified journalists from which newspapers the authors talked to). According to this view, migrant sex workers and sex industry in general were “having a negative impact on moral values and on the local economy” (Atauz et al., 2009: 432). Therefore, the attitude of members of local press to migrant sex workers was stigmatizing.

Another interesting study was conducted by Demir and Erdal (2010) who conducted the analysis of the terms related to human trafficking and irregular migration in the Turkish newspapers *Hürriyet*, *Star*, *Radikal*, *Sabah*, *Taraf*, *Cumhuriyet*, *Milliyet* and *Vatan*. The aim of the study was to find out whether the terms related to human trafficking and irregular migration were correctly used by the reporters. After conducting content analysis of the news related to human trafficking and migration in the above-mentioned newspapers for the year of 2008, the authors found that these terms were not very well understood by the media. “It has been

common on the news media that related terms such as illegal immigration, migrant smuggling, human trafficking, and asylum are usually intermixed or intertwined” (Demir & Erdal, 2010: 30), and that information circulars on these issues for the law enforcement staff had to be issued by the government to prevent confusion.¹¹

It is possible to analyze the contributions and problematic areas of the migration perspective in the coverage of migrant sex labor in Turkey in general (which only includes the analysis of irregular migration and human trafficking). The most significant contribution of these studies is extensive analysis of the Turkish legislature on human trafficking (especially in Kirişçi, 2007; and İçduygu, 2009), as well as comprehensive analysis of Turkey’s policies on human trafficking and irregular migration.

Among the problems with migration perspective to human trafficking is the “illegal migrants” perception of the trafficked victims shared by many authors (such as Erder & Kaşka, 2003; Kirişçi, 2007). The emphasis on illegal status of these migrants turns them into a security threat to the state and society. When represented as a security threat to the state, “irregular migration becomes a source of insecurity not only for the migrants, but also for the members of the receiving communities by increasing fear and anxiety about this type of human mobility” (Bilgiç, 2013: 2). Especially migrant sex workers (analyzed as victims of human trafficking in this perspective) are seen as a threat to public morality, public health and even national security of Turkey (see Erder & Kaşka, 2003; Agathangelou, 2004). Such portrayal deprives migrant sex workers of their rights as citizens and gives a pretext for the state to neglect their human rights and interests.

Another problem with migration perspective is the “invisibility” of migrant women themselves and their experiences that could be shared if interviews with them were conducted. The absence of such interviews makes the analysis of human trafficking in Turkey one-sided because of its focus on state (government) policy. Within the migration perspective, interviews with victims of human trafficking were only conducted by Ayata et al. (2008) in their analysis of the demand side of human trafficking in Turkey (see Appendix A). When the state is held as the security referent, migrant women’s daily problems and interests are overlooked and subordinated to the general logic that these women should be deported as “illegal”

¹¹ The findings of Demir and Erdal (2010)’s study will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 7.

migrants since they represent a threat to the state. However, the inclusion of the women's own experiences in the analysis allows the researcher to give a "human face" to the issue of irregular migration in Turkey (Bilgiç, 2013: 33), thus resulting in better protection of the women's human rights and interests.

Finally, the authors writing within the migration perspective tend to simply praise Turkey's efforts in combating human trafficking without any criticism. Especially Kirişçi (2007) and İçduygu (2003; 2009; 2014) underline the significance of the fact that Turkey was upgraded to Tier 2 in the United States Department of State Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Report 2005, and that its efforts in combating human trafficking were noticed and appreciated by the European Union (EU). The prevailing view is characterized by an overwhelming praise of the Turkey's efforts: "Turkey has demonstrated strong political will to tackle asylum, irregular migration, and human trafficking and smuggling, as well as their labor consequences" (İçduygu, 2009: 11). Despite the fact that significant efforts have been made, it is possible to argue that the above-mentioned studies lack constructive criticism of Turkey's policy on human trafficking that would allow more attention to be paid to the migrant women themselves, as well as their real-life problems and experiences.

Consequently, the theoretical perspective of the present dissertation is different from migration perspective adopted by the above-mentioned scholars. It aims to address its gaps and problematic areas by proposing a non-state-centric ("victim-oriented") approach to migrant sex labor in the sense that the state is not considered as a referent of security. Instead, the security of migrant sex workers is discussed. Although it was not possible to conduct interviews with migrant sex workers for this feminist study because of difficulties of access to them and personal security concerns, this study draws extensively on interviews with migrant sex workers conducted by other feminist scholars such as Kalfa (2008), Özer (2012) and Açıkalın (2013). Because of this study's particular focus on the media representations of migrant sex labor in Turkey, the priority was also given to content analysis and discourse analysis of Turkish mainstream newspapers as methods and discussing content analysis findings. However, in Chapter 6, a critical analysis of Turkey's policy on migrant sex labor and its legislature is provided with emphasis on the necessity to protect the migrant sex workers' rights and interests in order to enrich the one-dimensional state-centric analysis of migrant sex labor at the

migration and security nexus offered by the traditional migration perspective (also see Zhidkova & Demir, 2016).

2.1.1.2 Criminological Perspective

Similar to migration perspective, criminological perspective also examines migrant sex workers in Turkey only in the context of human trafficking.¹² Criminological perspective sees human trafficking of migrant women in Turkey as a problem of transnational organized crime.¹³ This perspective focuses especially on the profits generated by human trafficking as an illegal business activity (that is why Kalfa, 2008 calls this approach “market-oriented”). In Turkey, important research on human trafficking as a transnational crime has been conducted by the Turkish National Police Academy and its International Center for Terrorism and Transnational Crime (UTSAM) (see, for example, Demir 2010; Demir & Finckenauer, 2010).

The first study of human trafficking as a transnational criminal activity in Turkey was conducted by Arslan et al. (2006) and focused on the training methods for the law enforcement personnel on the subject of human trafficking. The study’s methodology included legal analysis of court decisions on human trafficking, interviews and correspondence with government officials, as well as the questionnaire among the members of the Turkish National Police. It was followed by several studies on the criminal aspect of human trafficking relying only on the research of available literature such as Kızılsümer (2007) and Öztürk and Ardor (2007).

Interestingly, many criminological studies on human trafficking actually conducted interviews with migrant sex workers (Narlı, 2006), as well as victims of human trafficking identified by the police (Demir, 2010; Demir & Finckenauer, 2010), despite their focus on the state policy. For example, Narlı (2006) during her

¹² Migrant sex workers are not discussed in the literature in the criminal context of “prostitution”, because prostitution in Turkey is legal and is not considered a crime; however, it is only accessible as a type of legal employment for the Turkish nationals. Migrant women are forbidden to engage in prostitution and are immediately deported once apprehended by the police for violation of the Passport Law (see Küntay and Çokar, 2007; Demir, 2010; Sever et al., 2012; Coşkun, 2015a; 2015b; Zhidkova & Demir, 2016).

¹³ For the analysis of human trafficking as a problem of transnational organized crime without a particular focus on Turkey, please see Aronowitz (2001; 2009), Brucket and Parent (2002), Finckenauer (2005), Renshaw (2008) and Zhidkova (2011; 2015).

fieldwork in Istanbul conducted interviews with migrant sex workers, other irregular labor migrants, human smugglers, lawyers and male customers; and additional research data was provided by some media analysis, and analysis of statistics obtained from Istanbul and Ankara security departments. According to Narlı (2006: 9), “the smuggling and trafficking of human beings has increased throughout the world, owing to this globalization process and other factors. The problem is exacerbated in size and seriousness by the growing involvement of organized crime groups”. Beşpınar and Çelik (2009) in their study conducted in-depth interviews with different related stake-holders such as police officers, a former Turkish brothel sex worker, health care personnel, NGOs and other community members in Ankara, Istanbul, Izmir, Adana and Antalya. Their study is particularly valuable because of its discussion of the patriarchal features of the Turkish culture influencing the demand for migrant sex labor, and attitude to clients of migrant sex workers in the Turkish society. Some findings of this study are discussed in Chapter 5 in the context of the general “picture” of migrant sex labor in Turkey. Yet, there is only one interview with a former brothel sex worker included, and the study mostly draws on the interviews with the Turkish police officers.

Very interesting are the criminological studies conducted by Demir (2008; 2010) and Demir and Finckenauer (2010) which all utilize the same dataset: 430 police-recorded interviews with migrant women identified as victims of human trafficking in Turkey. Police-recorded interviews are supplemented by interviews with judicial personnel, police officials, representatives of NGOs and IOs (see Appendix A for the details). Demir (2010: 314) argues that “the underground sex industry in Turkey has increasingly become dependent on the foreign women, predominantly coming from the FSU [former Soviet Union].” While using the same data set, Demir (2010) focuses on methods of recruitment and control of the traffickers, while Demir and Finckenauer (2010)’s study concentrates on the characteristics and motivations of the victims of human trafficking. Media analysis is also stated as a method of data collection in Demir (2010).

Finally, the most recent criminological study of human trafficking in Turkey was conducted by Karakuş and McGarrell (2012) who utilize Rengert’s (1996) framework that he used for the analysis of the diffusion of illegal drug markets, adapted by the authors for the analysis of human trafficking. The authors also use Negative Binomial Regression Models to examine patterns of human trafficking

across 81 cities in Turkey, supplemented by media analysis. Some findings of this study are discussed in Chapter 6 in the context of the general context of migrant sex labor in Turkey.

The successes of criminological perspective include development of successful training schemes for the Turkish law enforcement that might increase awareness of the problem of human trafficking; however, the problems with this state-centric approach remain the same as with migration perspective: inadequate attention paid to migrant women themselves, as well as portraying them mostly as a security threat to the state and society, resulting in lack of empathy for the women and further stigmatization (see Toksöz & Ünlütürk-Ulutaş, 2012).

2.1.2 Feminist Perspective

Feminist perspective on migrant sex workers in Turkey is of a particular significance to this study as a Marxist feminist and historical materialist contribution to the literature in IR and will be, therefore, examined here in greater detail. The feminist perspective looks at both human trafficking and sex labor of migrant women in Turkey, usually making no distinction between “voluntary” and “forced” prostitution. The shared argument of feminist scholars is that being in sex work is never an “expression of pure free will” (Agathangelou, 2004). Feminist perspective looks at human trafficking particularly in the context of human rights abuses affecting the women. It places migrant women at the center of analysis making them the security referent instead of the state, engages with them in their daily experiences, and also claims that prostitution and human trafficking both result from patriarchal subordination of women to men.¹⁴

Feminist scholars studying migrant sex labor particularly argue that it is the responsibility of the state to protect human rights of these women (Lobasz, 2009). In their critique of “traditional” or state-centric approaches to human trafficking, feminists argue that these approaches

compound rather than solve the problem of trafficking. First, repressive border control policies make migration more difficult and dangerous and increase migrants’ vulnerability to traffickers. Second, trafficked persons who are deported are themselves prone to re-trafficking (Lobasz, 2009: 322).

¹⁴ For the feminist perspective applied to the study of sex workers without a particular focus on Turkey, see Barry (1995), Farley (2004a; 2004b; 2005), Farley and Butler (2012), and Kempadoo (1999; 2003); for the feminist analysis of particularly human trafficking outside Turkey, see Lobasz (2009), MacKinnon (2011), and Spanger (2011).

Therefore, feminist scholars suggest “victim-centered” approach instead of border/state-centered approaches adopted by scholars in “traditional” perspectives (Lobasz, 2009: 330). Victim-centered approach to human trafficking would, in their view, promote better protection of human rights for the women. This perspective is very much in line with the “human security” approach suggested by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in its 1994 Human Development Report. According to UNDP (1994), a human security approach would mean a “shift in focus” in the analysis “from the security of the state to the security of the people” (cited in Lobasz, 2009: 322). In this sense, feminist approaches to human trafficking and sex work allow us to “give a human face” (Bilgiç, 2013: 33) to the issue of irregular migrant labor in general, rather than talking only about such statistical facts as the number of women apprehended for “illegal” sex work or the numbers of deported women that traditional state-centric approaches mainly focus on. This study also adopts a feminist perspective to migrant sex labor making the women themselves the security referent and focusing on their individual experiences and problems, even though it was not possible to conduct interviews with migrant women themselves.

In the case of Turkey, there is also an internal division between feminist scholars on the subject of the sex work debate mentioned in Chapter 1. Among the feminist scholars of sex labor in Turkey, we can identify pro-sex work feminists such as Gülçür and İlkaracan (2002), Agathangelou (2004), Toksöz et al. (2012) and “anti”-sex work (radical/abolitionist) feminists such as Hughes (2000), Okutan (2012), Özer (2012), Açıkalın (2013) and Coşkun (2014a; 2015a; 2015b). The theoretical argument of pro-sex work feminists is well summarized by Gülçür and İlkaracan (2002: 419): “instead of focusing on whether the women were forced or not, we believe it is more important to look at the living and working conditions of the women, to identify where violations of their rights are occurring, and to find ways to ameliorate these.” Protecting both migrant and local sex workers and ameliorating their working conditions is a priority for pro-sex work feminists.

On the contrary, abolitionist feminists such as Açıkalın (2013) or Coşkun (2014a; 2015a; 2015b) in Turkey argue that “in the prostitution market, efforts to ameliorate working conditions also bring about implicit recognition of the fact that a woman is a usable commodity” (Açıkalın, 2013: 279). Therefore, they argue that

prostitution in all its forms is violence against women, and that the only solution to sexual exploitation of women as subordinate sex is abolition of prostitution and criminalization of the clients' purchase of commercial sex. Some Turkish feminists do not believe that the two perspectives are mutually excluding and try to bridge the two perspectives. For example, Çokar and Yılmaz (2011: 9) accept that sex work is violence against women but they do not argue in favor of its abolition; instead, they think that the rights of sex workers need to be protected and that abolition of prostitution would only push it to the underground sector, making the employment more risky for the women.

The first feminist study on sex trafficking of migrant women in Turkey was conducted by Hughes (2000; 2001). Her study actually focuses on Ukrainian women exploited in the transnational sex industry, and Turkey is only one of the criminal markets that she discusses and not the major focus of her study. It is possible to describe Hughes's (2000) theoretical perspective as both feminist and criminological because although she puts women at the center of analysis by discussing the conditions of their exploitation, she mainly analyzes criminal components of human trafficking as transnational crime. Hughes's (2000) methods include newspaper analysis and personal communication with NGO representatives. Hughes (2000) was the first scholar to attract attention to the fact that "in some parts of the world, such as Israel and Turkey, women from Russia and other republics of the former Soviet Union are so prevalent, that prostitutes are called 'Natashas'". She also pointed to the instances of violence against migrant sex workers in Turkey citing the case when "in Istanbul, Turkey, two Ukrainian women were thrown off a balcony and killed, while six of their Russian friends watched" (Hughes, 2000).

Another pioneer feminist study on migrant sex workers in Turkey is a well-cited article by Gülçür and İlkkaracan (2002). For their article, Gülçür and İlkkaracan (2002) conducted interviews with migrant sex workers in Turkey, interviews with key informants, supplemented with participant observation and newspaper analysis. The authors' argument is explicitly in favor of sex work as independent type of female employment: "from the migrant woman's perspective, sex work—compared to the alternative of unemployment in her home country—can offer her the freedom to control her own resources" (Gülçür & İlkkaracan, 2002: 418). The conclusion that Gülçür and İlkkaracan (2002: 418) arrive at is that "although they are vulnerable to violence and discrimination, some migrant sex workers are paradoxically in control

of their bodies and create their own survival mechanisms in a patriarchal world, utilizing prevalent ideologies to their economic advantage.” They also cite migrant women claiming that they had chosen sex work because it is more flexible than other types of employment (Gülçür & İlkaracan, 2002: 418).

A unique example of utilizing postcolonial feminist historical materialist theoretical framework for the analysis of the Turkish case is Agathangelou (2004). She conducted interviews with sex and domestic workers, also interviews with “impresarios” (sellers) of sex workers in Cyprus, Greece and Turkey, and media analysis. Agathangelou’s (2004) main argument is that peripheral economic states such as Turkey, Cyprus and Greece are motivated to import reproductive labor of less affluent states because of their desire to integrate themselves in the global economy on equal basis with economically strong countries of the EU.

Interesting feminist works on both migrant and local sex workers in Turkey were conducted under the auspices of a Turkish NGO *İnsan Kaynağını Geliştirme Vakfı (İKGV)* (Human Resources’ Development Foundation) by Küntay and Çokar (2007) and Çokar and Yılmaz-Kayar (2011). Both studies implement media analysis, analysis of legislation, and research of available literature. Çokar and Yılmaz-Kayar’s (2011) study is particularly valuable because of its comprehensive assessment of Turkey’s “prostitution regime” (*fuhuş rejimi* – the way state policy on sex work is referred to in the Turkish literature, see Williams, 2010), and also because it includes interviews with migrant sex workers conducted by a minor NGO *Kadın Kapısı* (Women’s Gate) in Turkey. Many findings of Çokar and Yılmaz-Kayar (2011) are analyzed in Chapter 5 when discussing the general picture of migrant sex workers in Turkey, and some examples of media representations of migrant sex labor identified by the authors are provided in Chapters 5 and 6.

The feminist study of Kalfa (2008) deserves special attention here because of high quality of the research undertaken by the author and well-built theoretical framework seeing migrant sex workers in Turkey at the intersection of feminism/migration nexus. The author’s methodology includes in-depth interviews with a Moldovan sex worker in Turkey conducted via Skype, semi-structured interviews with migrant sex workers awaiting their trial and deportation at Ankara Sincan Female Closed Punishment and Detention Center and Istanbul Bakırköy Female Closed Punishment and Detention Center, one interview with a lawyer who had experience of consulting a migrant sex worker, two interviews with an NGO

Kadın Dayanışma Vakfı (Women's Solidarity Foundation) staff, and one interview with an officer from the General Directorate of Security. The purpose of Kalfa's (2008: 125) study was to provide criticism of the prostitution regime protecting male customers in Turkey, and also to provide insights into the working conditions and reasons for entering sex trade of migrant sex workers and identified victims of human trafficking. Addressing future scholars, she also points to the urgent need to conduct research criticizing "patriarchal demand for foreign sex workers" in Turkey (Kalfa, 2008: 125). It is possible to argue that the present study is to some extent inspired and influenced by Kalfa (2008) and aims to fill the gap in the literature identified by her by analyzing in detail the patriarchal demand for migrant sex labor within a Marxist feminist and historical materialist theoretical framework.

There is a need to point out that on two pages, Kalfa (2008: 186-187) comments on the role of the media in influencing public opinion on migrant sex labor in Turkey. She concludes that despite the fact that in the Turkish media (it is not specified which newspapers were analyzed) migrant sex labor was mostly covered as a "dirty" or "sensational" issue, and migrant sex workers were portrayed as "voluntary" sex workers engaging in sex labor because of its profitability, in reality migrant women arrived to Turkey under very difficult personal conditions (see Kalfa, 2008: 186-187). Furthermore, Kalfa (2008: 187) rightfully attracts attention to the fact that following deportation to their home countries, many migrant women from FSU actually face stigmatization, social isolation and discrimination of the local community because of their involvement in sex labor in Turkey, which is a very interesting finding in terms of proving the existence of different patriarchal structures regulating sex labor and gender relations in general.

Another influential feminist study on migrant sex workers in Turkey identified by the police as victims of human trafficking was conducted by Özer (2012). It is also the only Turkish-language study on human trafficking published as a book outside of academia, which makes it valuable in terms of informing the general public about the problem of human trafficking and raising public awareness on the issue. For her study, Özer (2012) conducted in-depth interviews with migrant sex workers granted the status of victims of human trafficking in Turkey conducted via the NGO *İKGV* (Human Resources Development Foundation). As a feminist scholar, Özer (2012: 17) criticizes migration perspective to human trafficking for seeing irregular migrants as a "security threat" to the state. She believes that

restrictive migration policies and visa/work permit regimes create an obstacle for free international travel of women wishing to migrate in search of a better life (Özer, 2012: 46). According to Özer (2012), all prostitution (voluntary or forced) is violence against women. However, for her the source of women's exploitation is not simply patriarchal male demand for sex work, but a much deeper notion of the global capitalist system (Özer, 2012: 14). For Özer (2012: 148), the source of women's exploitation is their subordinate position in the global division of labor which favors men and makes women's reproductive labor invisible and "worthless". Therefore, the aim of Özer's (2012) study is to make women "visible" and their voices "heard". Because of the author's emphasis on global capitalist system as the source of women's exploitation, it may be possible to consider the Özer's theoretical framework as Marxist feminist, although there are no explicit references pointing to that in the text. This study has much benefited from the interviews with migrant sex workers from the FSU conducted by Özer (2012) and her theoretical remarks on the subject.

Two other interesting studies were conducted by feminist scholars Toksöz and Ünlütürk-Ulutaş (2012) and Toksöz et al. (2012). While the former provides a gender- and ethnicity-based review of the literature on irregular migration in Turkey, the latter focuses on the position of migrant workers in Turkey's labor market. The information about the methodology applied by these studies can be found in Appendix A. Although Toksöz et al. (2012) is an IOM-based study, it is significant that the authors conducted 47 interviews with migrants in the neighborhood of Kumkapı in Istanbul and incorporated migrant perspectives in their feminist analysis.

Among the most recent feminist studies on migrant sex workers in Turkey there are Okutan (2012), Açıkalın (2013), Baykötan (2014), and Coşkun (2014a; 2015a; 2015b). In addition, Zengin (2011) is an interesting sociological analysis of female sex labor in Istanbul studied from the feminist perspective of "sexual margins" and ethnography of the state (see Das & Poole, 2004). However, it only focuses on local (Turkish) sex workers. Furthermore, Okutan (2012) conducted a comprehensive study on human trafficking from a feminist abolitionist perspective with a particular focus on Turkey. It argues in favor of abolition of prostitution in Turkey using Sweden's criminalization policy as an example and advises the government to tackle the patriarchal demand side for both prostitution and human

trafficking that is explained by underlying gender inequality (Okutan, 2012: 120-127).

Açıkalın (2013) is also a very interesting study based on in-depth interviews with Turkish sex workers working in brothels and in street prostitution in Mersin. The purpose of Açıkalın's (2013: 244) study is to show why prostitution can never be accepted as a "legitimate" type of employment. Relying on the abolitionist feminist perspective in the line with Farley (2004a; 2004b; 2005), Açıkalın (2013) accepts all prostitution as violence against women. According to Açıkalın (2013: 245), "women in prostitution are seen by their customers as a group deserving all kinds of humiliation including sexual, emotional, economic and physical violence and exploitation, as well as being seen as a sexual object" because patriarchal society allows women to be viewed as sexual objects and considers such attitude as normal and acceptable. The present study has benefited from Açıkalın (2013)'s discussions of the impact of patriarchy on the demand for migrant sex labor, as it can be witnessed in Chapter 5.

Another study with a feminist theoretical framework is Baykotan (2014). Although it only relies on the research of available literature and some media analysis, the author's feminist analysis and theoretical discussions are very deep. Finally, the most recent feminist abolitionist sources on human trafficking in Turkey are Coşkun (2014a; 2015a; 2015b). For her studies, Coşkun (2014a; 2015a; 2015b) conducted semi-structured interviews with government officials, police officers, NGO representatives, doctors and lawyers in Ankara and Istanbul, as well as media analysis and analysis of legislation. These studies can be particularly praised for an extensive literature review and substantial criticism of the government's policy on human trafficking of migrant women, as well as the theoretically valuable discussion of the consent issue in trafficking from a feminist abolitionist perspective (see Coşkun, 2014a; 2015a). Some of her arguments were incorporated in the present study, as it will be seen especially in Chapter 6.

It is possible to argue then that the main contribution of feminist approaches to the analysis of migrant sex labor in Turkey is the attention paid by them to women's experiences and working conditions and utilization of a "human security" approach to sex labor (UNDP, 1994). It is a very important development that the most recent feminist studies of sex labor in Turkey such as Okutan (2012), Özer (2012), Toksöz and Ünlütürk-Ulutaş (2012), Coşkun (2014a; 2015a; 2015b) and

Baykotan (2014) provide extensive criticism of state-centric approaches to this subject and the policy on sex work of the Turkish state in general. Another significant contribution is conducting interviews with migrant sex workers themselves (especially in Kalfa, 2008 and Özer, 2012). Absence of such original interviews can be considered a methodological limitation of the current study despite its feminist lens.

2.1.3 Other Perspectives

There are also some perspectives that do not fit the above-mentioned classification because they are neither migration-based, nor criminological or feminist. These are the medical (health) perspective and the journalistic perspective that are examined as alternative perspectives to the subject. Although these perspectives are not strictly theoretical, they are included in this study because they are cited by other theoretical sources, and thus also represent an influential contribution to the literature on the subject.

2.1.3.1 Medical (Health) Perspective

Medical perspective is represented by studies on sex workers in Turkey conducted by academics with a healthcare education background. Contrary to the possible expectation that these studies would treat migrant sex workers as a threat to public health in Turkey responsible for the spread of sexually-transmitted diseases (STDs) and especially HIV/AIDS (see Erder & Kaşka, 2003), these studies actually criticize the stigmatizing approach to sex workers adopted by the Turkish state. Instead, they aim to investigate sex workers' working and health conditions in order to improve them and protect sex workers from exploitation.

For that purpose, Şimşek et al. (2003) conducted interviews with registered sex workers at the Skin and Sexually Transmitted Diseases Hospital in Ankara. Although it might seem that this research only covers Turkish sex workers, actually migrant sex workers can also work in registered brothels if they obtain Turkish citizenship by marriage (see the interesting example in Genç, 2012). Therefore, the study covers both migrant and local sex workers. Similar research was conducted by Balseven-Odabaşı et al. (2012) who conducted questionnaire at face-to-face meetings with registered sex workers at Ankara Skin and Sexually Transmitted Diseases Hospital. The contributions of these studies lie in the fact that they draw public and

academic attention to the exploitative conditions of sex labor in brothels, which are generally considered safer for the women than street prostitution, as well as provide information about the social profile of women joining registered sex work in Turkey. Although the present study does not use medical perspective to migrant sex labor, still some of these studies' findings, especially on the subject of framing migrant sex workers as a security threat to the state and its citizens, are discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

2.1.3.2 Investigative Journalism

A number of journalistic works on the subject of migrant sex workers were also conducted by Turkish journalists and writers¹⁵. Although the obvious drawback is lack of credibility as well as academic references, these works are included in the analysis here because they are cited by many academic works on migrant sex labor in Turkey and are therefore considered influential. These are Günçikan (1995) and Yıldırım (2001). Günçikan' (1995) book was the first attempt to draw public attention to the sensational issue of “Natashas” arriving to the Black Sea region of Turkey in the 1990s. The author compares them to the so-called “Harashos” (from the Russian “*horosho*” meaning “OK”), migrant women from imperial Russia who reportedly engaged in sex work in Istanbul in Turkey in the 1920s after the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 in Russia and the demise of the Russian Empire. Günçikan (1995) conducted in-depth interviews with migrant sex workers, consulate staff and other community members on their attitudes to migrant women who engaged in sex work in Turkey. The study does not mention human trafficking since the discourse on human trafficking in Turkey did not appear until the beginning of the 2000s (see Erder & Kaşka, 2003; also Chapter 7). Similarly, Yıldırım (2001) conducted in-depth interviews with sex workers in Turkey particularly on the reasons why they joined sex sector. However, her study mainly concerns Turkish sex workers.

The problems with journalistic perspective are their sensational portrayal of events related to migrant sex workers in Turkey and possible manipulation of data and women's stories, both contributing to further stigmatization of these women. The successes of the perspective are limited to drawing the attention of the public to the

¹⁵ For the influential journalistic analysis on migrant sex workers with no particular focus on Turkey, please see Malarek (2004; 2011).

issue of migrant sex labor in Turkey and increasing public awareness. The findings of journalistic studies will be mostly utilized in this dissertation in Chapters 5 and 6 when discussing stigmatization of migrant sex workers and discrimination towards them by the state and the society.

2.2 Conclusion

This chapter presented us with different theoretical perspectives in the analysis of migrant sex labor in Turkey. Although the focus of this study is particularly media representations of migrant sex labor, it was considered necessary to provide a detailed literature review of all the existing sources on the subject of migrant sex labor in Turkey in general because this issue can be considered understudied, and no comprehensive literature review was done before (also see Appendix A).

Two groups of theoretical approaches were identified in the analysis of migrant sex labor in Turkey: traditional or “state-centric” approaches and feminist or “victim-centered” approaches. Within the traditional group of approaches, migration and criminological perspectives on migrant sex labor were discussed. Apart from that, medical (health) perspective and works of investigative journalism were also discussed as examples of alternative approaches to the subject. The chapter also discussed the gaps in the existing literature on migrant sex labor in Turkey, identifying lack of consistency and communication among the sources, the absence of Marxist feminist analysis of gendered social inequalities inherent in migrant sex labor, as well as lack of detailed analysis of media representations of the issue in Turkey seeing the media as an instrument of state hegemony as the main problems with the existing literature. Consequently, this study aims to fill the gaps identified in the literature and to conduct a Marxist feminist and historical materialist analysis of the media representations of migrant sex labor in Turkey. The patriarchal gender inequalities in the social relations governing migrant sex labor are also analyzed here in a broader context of the global relations of production contrary to the existing feminist studies on the subject that usually focus only on the gender inequality aspect of migrant sex labor. A critique of the state policies on migrant sex labor is also provided in this study as a counterweight to traditional state-centric approaches to the subject framing the migrant women as a security threat to the state and society. The

next chapter will elaborate on the structure of this study's Marxist feminist and historical materialist theoretical framework.



CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Having examined the existing theoretical perspectives in the analysis of migrant sex labor in Turkey, there is a need to build up the particular theoretical framework of this dissertation. This chapter aims to build up the theoretical framework of this dissertation by discussing first, mass media as an instrument of state hegemony in the context of the literature on the media-policy relationship and particularly the ‘CNN effect’ theory in communication studies and second, the two sides of migrant sex labor, the supply and demand side in the Marxist feminist and historical materialist theoretical context. Whereas the supply side of migrant sex labor is argued to be mostly governed by capitalist relations and capitalist exploitation of the neoliberal economic order, the demand side of sex labor is to a greater extent determined by the impact of the patriarchal societal structures such as family, relations of production, and the state apparatus. However, both supply and demand sides are in fact governed by capitalist and patriarchal exploitation simultaneously because these two phenomena coexist and constantly interact with each other (see Hartmann, 1981). The chapter ends with a discussion of the state as a historical structure and the role of the mass media as an instrument through which the state reproduces its hegemony. It is followed by the methodological chapter explaining the use of the methods of content and discourse analysis in this dissertation.

The theoretical framework of this study is Marxist feminist and historical materialist. It is an innovative theoretical framework in the sense that it was not used by previous studies on sex labor in Turkey. The strength of using a Marxist feminist and historical materialist framework lies in its elaborate character including elements of Marxist, feminist and neo-Gramscian thought, which allows us to view sex labor not only as a matter of gender inequality and women's oppression familiar to Feminism in IR, but also as a matter of sex labor in a broader Marxist context of capitalist relations of production and neoliberal economy. In this dissertation, migrant sex labor in Turkey is analyzed both in the context of neoliberal capitalist economy and patriarchal gender inequalities, and migrant sex workers are discussed as the participants of global gendered relations of production. Therefore, sex labor of migrant women is analyzed at "the *intersection* between patriarchy and capitalism" (Messerschmidt, 2009: 85, emphasis original).

According to Michèle Barrett (1988: 60), "a central concern of any developing Marxist feminist approach must be with the material, historical structures and processes that delimit sexuality and gender at any given period." Therefore, the present dissertation will look at historical structures and processes defining sex labor of migrant women in Turkey in the context of both gender relations and global capitalist relations of production. The ideological and cultural aspect of sex labor will also be discussed using the literature on the 'CNN effect' in communication studies, as well as historical materialist (neo-Gramscian) conceptual framework in order to supplement classical Marxist and feminist dimensions of this theoretical analysis with analysis of cultural and ideological factors appropriate for the discussion of the role of the media in shaping public opinion on migrant sex labor. Thus, the present chapter forms a "particular theoretical paradigm – a body of assumptions reflecting a particular vision of human needs and interests" (Gramsci, 1975: 1457-1458; cited in Femia, 2009: 38), creating a Marxist feminist and historical materialist perspective on the problems and contradictions of media representations of sex labor.

3.1 Media-policy Relationship Models in Communication Studies

In the literature on the role of the media in shaping and influencing public opinion both in IR and in communication studies, it is possible to distinguish four distinct models of media-policy (or media-state) relationship (see Robinson, 2000; 2001). These are the 'CNN effect' model, the 'manufacturing consent' model,

Wolfsfeld's (1997) 'political contest' model, and 'media-policy interaction' model suggested by Robinson (2000; 2001; 2002). There is a need to explain each of these models here separately.

3.1.1 The 'CNN Effect' Model

Former UN Secretary Boutros Boutros-Ghali is reported to have said that "CNN is the sixteenth member of the Security Council" (Minear, Scott, & Weiss, 1996: 4). In a concise definition, the 'CNN effect' theory argues that the media is a powerful political actor that can provoke different responses to various issues from the state (seen government or political elites), and thus have a significant impact on state foreign and domestic policies (see Gowing, 1994; Strobel, 1997; Shaw, 1996; Minear et al., 1996; Robinson, 2000; 2001; 2002). This concept initially emerged in the literature with regard to the "Vietnam media myth": "despite evidence to the contrary (Hallin, 1986), many leaders still believe that critical television coverage caused the American defeat in Vietnam" (Gilboa, 2005: 37). The concept of 'the CNN effect' was suggested by US politicians who were "haunted by the Vietnam media myth, the confusion of the post-Cold War era, and the communications revolution" (Gilboa, 2005: 37). It was argued that since television and printed media coverage of particular events could have a potential impact on the state policies, it meant that "the news can make policy" (Robinson, 2000: 303), thus suddenly turning the mass media into one of the most powerful actors on the international arena. The concept of the 'CNN effect' also found particular usage in the literature on civil-military relations and "humanitarian intervention", and applied to such case studies as Kosovo, Somali, or the US intervention to Northern Iraq in 1991 (see Livingston, 1997; Robinson, 2000; 2001; 2002).

There is a need to clarify how the 'CNN effect' was explained to work in practice. According to Robinson (2000: 301), "the phrase 'CNN effect' encapsulated the idea that real-time communications technology could provoke major responses from domestic audiences and political elites to global events". For example, particular images of humanitarian disasters or sufferings of innocent people during military conflicts were reported to be emotionally very powerful images having a profound impact on public opinion on a certain issue (see Robinson, 2000: 301-305). According to Cook et al. (1983: 16), the change in state policy took place as a result of "collaboration between journalists and government staff members". For example,

government officials often received summaries of media coverage of a particular political issue before their public speeches. Thus, according to Cook et al. (1983: 22), state officials were “often exposed to the media even though the exposure [was] not direct”. Here, the so-called ‘CNN effect’ or the ‘media effect’ on state policies can be seen to serve three separate functions: as a “policy agenda-setting agent” (determining the rate of significance of particular news items), as “an impediment to the achievement of desired policy goals”, and also as “an accelerant to policy decision-making” (Livingston, 1997: 2). Therefore, there is a triple impact of media representations on state policies.

There is also a critique of the ‘CNN effect’ in the literature. For example, some scholars claim that media framing of particular issues can be such a powerful actor only because the citizens (the general public) themselves are “incompetent” about the issues on the agenda, and their opinion can thus easily be manipulated (see, for example, Bartels, 1998; Entman, 1993). For example, it is claimed that public opinion about a “Ku Klux Klan rally can depend on whether it is framed as a free speech or public safety issue” (Druckman, 2001: 225). However, Druckman (2001: 225) concludes his analysis by arguing that “although sometimes citizens can be incompetent, in general they interpret media framing “in a competent and well-reasoned manner”. In a similar line of argument, Gilboa (2005) also provides a detailed analysis and critique of the ‘CNN effect’ in an attempt to construct a “communication theory of IR” and argues that ‘the CNN effect’ has been mostly exaggerated, and does not have such a profound effect on state policies.

3.1.2 The ‘Manufacturing Consent’ Model

According to the alternative model of ‘manufacturing consent’, the media does not create or provoke particular state responses. Instead of that, the media is often manipulated into *supporting* the existing state (government) policy (see Bennett, 1990). There are two versions of the way this process is explained to work in practice: a) “the executive version”: this model “insists that news media reports conform to what might loosely be called the official agenda” and only supports the existing government ideology (Robinson, 2000: 303); b) “the elite version”: it is argued that particular media representations of certain issues correspond to the “interests of political elites, where elites are defined broadly as members of the executive, legislative or any other politically powerful group” (Robinson, 2000: 304).

The general masses are, therefore, actually subjected to “elite manipulation” rather than direct media impact (see Druckman, 2001).

In this line of argument, Bennett (1990) argues that “mass media news is indexed... to the dynamics of governmental debate”. It is argued that “even when media coverage is critical of executive policy, this simply reflects a ‘professional responsibility [for journalists] to highlight . . . struggles within the centers of power’ (see Bennett, 1990; cited in Robinson, 2000: 304). Thus, it is believed that mass media actually “serves elite interests” and is a powerful tool of manipulation (Robinson, 2001: 523).

3.1.3 Wolfsfeld’s ‘Political Contest’ Model

Gadi Wolfsfeld (1997) in his book *The Media and Political Conflict* proposes an alternative model of ‘political contest’. Attempting to provide a more detailed explanation and a better understanding of the relationship between the media and the state, Wolfsfeld (1997) argues that “while news media normally function to reflect, and even mobilize support for, dominant views in society, there are times when they serve the interests of marginalized groups” that he calls ‘challengers’ (cited in Robinson, 2001: 539). These marginalized groups or ‘challengers’ may struggle to influence state policy and policy outcomes on particular issues and use media channels as instruments of influence (Wolfsfeld, 1997). The degree of their success in influencing political decisions, according to Wolfsfeld (1997: 24), depends on “the authorities’ degree of control over the political environment”. Robinson (2001: 539) in his analysis also points out that Wolfsfeld (1997) also “employs the concept of framing in order to highlight how media coverage can effectively take the side of challengers by promoting their particular perception of the political issue at stake”.

3.1.4 Robinson’s ‘Media-policy Interaction’ Model

Piers Robinson (2000; 2001; 2002) also provides an alternative attempt to explain the relationship between the media and the state in his ‘media-policy interaction’ model. ‘Media-policy interaction’ model is based on previous work by Hallin (1986) and Bennett (1990) and “predicts media influence on government policy *only when* there exists policy that is uncertain and media coverage that is framed to advocate a particular course of action” (Robinson, 2000: 308, emphasis added). Robinson (2000: 302) claims that the strength of his innovative model lies in

the fact that it can surpass the ‘CNN effect’ and the ‘manufacturing consent’ models by providing a two-way explanation of the relationship between the media and government, seeing them as having a mutual impact on each other. According to Robinson (2000: 308),

When there exists uncertain policy vis-à-vis an issue the government is unable to feed a plausible and well rehearsed policy line to the media and therefore set the agenda. In this situation journalists are able to frame reports in a way that is critical of government inaction and pressures for a particular course of action. This is when the CNN effect occurs.

However, when there is no “uncertainty” in the policy, the ‘CNN effect’ does not occur, and the impact of the media on state policies is therefore not universal and should not be exaggerated (see Robinson, 2000; 2001).

This dissertation also employs Robinson’s ‘media-policy interaction’ model, seeing the relationship between the media and the state as a two-way one. The media as an instrument and an ideological platform through which the hegemony of the state and patriarchal structures are being reproduced does have an influence on state policy on migrant sex labor. For example, privately owned and independent media such as *Cumhuriyet* newspaper can create their own framings of particular events related to migrant sex labor that are not beneficial to the state (for example, by writing critical analytical articles uncovering the indirect profits made by the Turkish state (the ruling elite) from the involvement of migrant sex workers into “suitcase trade”, as it will be illustrated in Chapter 7). However, the state, in its turn, also attempts to frame particular events related to migrant sex labor as it sees fit. For example, it can be argued that media representations of migrant sex workers from FSU countries in Turkey as “threats” to public health and order can be considered as stemming from the official state ideology and apparatus that was transmitted to the media “from the top”. The state-owned media, in its turn, as an instrument of state hegemony, helped to broadcast these messages to the public opinion. These issues, however, will be covered in detail in Chapter 7.

It now also seems relevant to discuss the two sides of the production process in migrant women’s sex labor in strictly economic terms of “supply” and “demand”, since this research cannot explain media representations of migrant sex labor without first explaining what migrant sex labor itself is. The following sections will draw on

Marxist and feminist literature in IR and aim to examine the supply and demand sides of migrant sex labor as the issues of both capitalist and patriarchal exploitation.

3.2 The Supply Side of Migrant Sex Labor

The key characteristic of the supply side of migrant sex labor is exploitation of sexual labor by capital (Barrett, 1988: 85). Since migrant sex workers do not own means of production or possess a surplus product that they could sell in the capitalist market, they are only left with their own labor power (sexual service) to sell. Therefore, they can be classified as proletarian workers. According to Barrett (1988: 163), proletarian “workers do not sell products to capitalists, they sell their ability to labor for a certain amount of time, in return for a wage.” Unable to sell their labor power in the markets of their home countries because of structural problems such as unemployment, women migrate to more affluent countries in order to offer their labor power to other potential employers in foreign countries. Migrant women “are forced to come to the market with, in Marx’s words, ‘nothing to sell but their skins’” (Holmstrom & Smith, 2000: 6). However, very often in countries such as Turkey, which highly depend on services rather than heavy industry due to their position in the global division of labor (Agathangelou, 2004), the only market niche available to migrant women is sex and domestic work (reproductive labor). Therefore, these women are only able to sell their labor power in sex or domestic industry.

This phenomenon of migrant sex labor is related to the very nature of capital. According to Wood (1982: 300), “in the neo-classical economic framework... labor moves from places where capital is scarce and where labor is plentiful (hence remuneration to the worker is low) to areas where capital is abundant and where labor is scarce (hence remuneration is high).” Thus, migrant women from the FSU would want to move out of countries where there is no demand for their labor because “capital is scarce” and there are not enough work places, to countries where there is shortage of labor (created by unemployment) but “capital is abundant”.

However, two problems emerge when this seemingly beneficial-to-all process of labor migration takes place. First of all, labor is not as mobile as capital. “Capital, as self-valorizing value, should be understood as ‘movement’, as a circulatory process, not as a static thing or structure” (Marx, 1978: 185; cited in Burnham, 2002: 115). Capital can move throughout the globe seeking higher profits and value-maximization, but labor cannot freely move in a similar way. Contrary to capital,

labor is more static because it is tied to a particular place where the migrant worker has her family and other dependents to take care of. Being unable to instantly “beam” from their home countries to the desired countries of destination, migrant women have to consider different ways to travel and perform their intended act of migration. Sometimes they are able to get official work permits allowing them to legally reside and work in a foreign country. But more than often, it is very difficult for migrant workers to penetrate state borders in a legal way (see Toksöz & Ünlütürk-Ulutaş, 2012; Coşkun, 2015b; Zhidkova & Demir, 2016). Therefore, lesser mobility of labor compared to capital is the first significant problem with labor migration.

Agathangelou (2004) argues that “as capital wants to assure its competitive self-expansion through the achievement of a higher rate of surplus-value, it moves to access cheap labor the world over.” Therefore, “cheap labor” that allows maximization of profit for capital will always be inevitably underpaid and exploited, as in a “vicious cycle”. Inevitability of exploitation within the structure of capitalist production is the second problem with labor migration. “Exploitation, as the appropriation of part of the product of the labor of others, can take a number of forms. For instance, surplus can be extracted through the exploitation of wage labor, or it can be obtained from unfree labor (chattel slaves, serfs or debt bondsmen)” (Burnham, 2002: 117). The problem of exploitation in migrant sex labor is intrinsically connected to value-maximization: the extraction of surplus value from each migrant sex worker and her labor. Marx understood surplus value as “the surplus produced over and above what is required to survive which is translated into profit under capitalist production because it can be turned into a commodity that can be exchanged (e.g., sex).” (Agathangelou, 2004: 15). Therefore, the aim of exploitation of any labor including sex work is the extraction of surplus value and maximization of profit.

Marx saw exploitation as a natural and inevitable process within the capitalist mode of production because of the “unfreedom” of labor that it creates. In the Marxist view “capitalism leads inevitably to exploitation” (Sterling-Folker, 2013: 218). That is why in *Das Kapital* and his other works, Marx provided his critique of the capitalist economic order (see Marx, 1995). This critique is based on the claim that whereas capitalism provides workers with freedom of treating their labor “as their own property”, it also involves a certain degree of “unfreedom” as the same workers are exploited in the process of capitalist production (Rupert, 2013: 156-157).

This “unfreedom” or disempowerment of workers is explained by the fact that the bourgeoisie as the dominant class maintains control over the capitalist means of production and over the proletariat itself in order to profit from their labor (Linklater, 2005: 113). In this sense, the labor sold by sex workers is also “unfree”. As put by Agathangelou (2004: 6), “the freedom to consume “things” and “people” is central to the vision of the emerging, transnational neoliberal state, which is a mainstay for globalization.” However, migrant sex workers are not granted with a similar freedom to sell their labor power in the global capitalist market freely.

Capitalist exploitation of sex labor can also be conceptualized using Marxian term “reserve army of labor” (Marx, 1995). Marx believed that there is always a surplus-population of unemployed people in the capitalist production process that is ready to accept a job for lower wages. He argued that “independently of the limits of the actual increase of population, it [surplus-population] creates, for the changing needs of the self-expansion of capital, a mass of human material always ready for exploitation” (Marx, 1995: 352). Consequently, some scholars argued that women represent a “reserve labor force for capitalism” because they accept to work on lower wages than men (Rubin, 1990: 76). According to Barrett (1988: 158), “women workers have historically constituted a ‘pool’ of labor to be drawn on in times of need, notably, in this country, during major wars.” Therefore, poor countries (such as some countries of FSU) can draw on female migrants to seek employment abroad for lower wages when the local economy is no longer able to provide them with jobs because of structural changes. It has been argued that in times of recession and economic crises, women were the ones more heavily hit by these structural changes (Orlova, 2004). Structural economic changes may push especially female workers to accept low-paid jobs, thus making them prone to exploitation. Therefore, it is possible to agree with Beechey (1977) that women are the ‘preferred source’ of the industrial reserve army.

Migrant sex workers represent a reserve labor army because they accept to work on lower wages than “native” sex workers, and are therefore more easily subjected to economic exploitation; in the process of exploitation, they also create surplus value for their exploiters. Jennifer Cotter (2001) argues that in the neoliberal capitalist order, “even when the worker is legally free, to sell her labor in the capacity that she legally “chooses” under capitalism, she is not free from exploitation: from the forced extraction of her surplus-labor”. It is then possible to

agree with Cotter (2001) in thinking that sex work is “first and foremost, an economic relation and is best understood not as oppression but as exploitation”. It is a matter of both capitalist and patriarchal exploitation rather than only gender oppression.

Another significant element of exploitation is class struggle. According to Burnham (2002: 117), “class struggle is the inevitable process of domination and resistance which results from the exploitation of labor.” It is the social embodiment of exploitation of labor by capital because it represents exploitation of the proletariat (working class) by the bourgeoisie (privileged upper and middle class). “Class (essentially a relationship) is the collective social expression of the fact of exploitation, the way in which exploitation is embodied in a social structure” (De Ste. Croix, 1981: 43). For example, Agathangelou (2004) explains that in the case of Turkey, the local upper and middle class reproduces its hegemonic identity by paying a migrant domestic or sex worker from a lower, working class. The economic capability of “buying” migrant reproductive labor allows the Turkish upper and middle class to feel themselves members of the privileged hegemonic class. “The class relation between capital and labor is already present, already presupposed, the moment the possessor of money and the possessor of labor power confront each other as buyer and seller” (Marx, 1978: 114; cited in Burnham, 2002: 114). The ability to purchase migrant reproductive labor is a symbol of hegemonic power and high social status for the Turkish upper and middle class, thus concealing the fact of exploitation of labor by capital.

Having mentioned the social aspect of exploitation, it is relevant to argue here that classical Marxism is not sufficient enough to explain the phenomenon of sex labor because of its economic reductionism (Lacher, 2002: 151). Waltz (1959) refers to economic reductionism as a ‘central flaw of Marxism’. Economic reductionism means that classical Marxism aims to explain social relations only taking economic relations of production into account rather than political, social or cultural relations. According to Linklater (2005: 117), “Marx (1973: 109) argued that relations between states were important but ‘secondary’ or ‘tertiary’ forces in human affairs when compared with modes of production”. In an attempt to explain everything with purely economic terms, Marx paid inadequate attention to social relations of production. “In this ‘hard structural determinist’ reading, exemplified by one-dimensional Soviet Marxism-Leninism, the ‘economic base’ determines the ‘political

superstructure', thus rendering redundant any serious analysis" (Burnham, 2002: 115). However, social, political, ideological and cultural aspects of the production process are also very significant and should be analyzed, which can only be done through the use of Marxist feminist and historical materialist theoretical framework. Here, the feminist element would allow simultaneous focus on patriarchal exploitation supplementing capitalist exploitation, and historical materialist (neo-Gramscian) element would be beneficial for the analysis of cultural and ideological factors and media as the platform for production and reproduction of the hegemony of the state.

Speaking of the social dimension of the production process, the term "production relations" was used by Cox to signify "those social relations that govern the way work is done" (Cox, 1987: 13). Therefore, they add a social dimension to the purely economic capitalist relations. According to Cox (1987), production relations govern all work that is done; for example, it is suggested that they also govern the work of sex workers. These relations always include "those who are dominant" and "those who are subordinate", which are both considered equal participants of the production process (Cox, 1987: 14). In the analysis of sex work as a production process, it can be followed from Cox that the "impresarios" (sex workers' bosses or sellers) represent the dominant group, whereas sex workers represent the subordinate group because the impresarios exercise power on them (Cox, 1987: 17). However, in his comments on sex work, Cox (1987: 46) also noted that

Two kinds of relationships are characteristic of the primitive labor market. There is the relationship of the primitive-labor-market producer with someone outside the mode who purchases his or her services, and there is the relationship within the mode between the producer of the service and a boss who exploits, protects, and ensures access to income-earning opportunities to the producer. The prostitute serves as paradigm. On the one hand, there is the prostitute-client relationship, on the other, the prostitute-pimp relationship.

Therefore, according to Cox (1987), in sex work there exists a triple relationship of exploitation between the sex worker, her "impresario" and her client. As formulated by Agathangelou (2004: 12-13), the term "social relations of production here refers to the racialized and gendered class position of the subject of labor: some own the means of production and have command over the surplus labor of others, and many own only their labor power, and, thus, are exploited" (also see Ebert, 2001; Cotter, 2001; Aguilar, 2002).

Similarly, in defining social embodiment of capitalist exploitation, it is necessary to refer to Coxian concept of “structures.” Contrary to Marx, in his analysis Cox “focuses on the specific ‘historical structures’ of capitalism rather than on the mode of production” (Lacher, 2002: 150). Cox (1987: 269) argued that “the past can more clearly be grasped as structure”. A historical structure is then defined by Cox as “a particular combination of thought patterns, material conditions and human institutions which has a certain cohesion among its elements” (Cox, 1981: 135). Institutions, ideas and material capabilities represent the social forces interacting within the structure. Cox (1987: 395) argued that

Structures are in one sense prior to individuals. They are already present in the world into which individuals are born. People learn to behave within the framework of social and political structures before they can learn to criticize or oppose or try to change them... Structures are not “givens” (data), they are “mades” (facts) – made by collective human action and transformable by collective human action.

According to Barrett (1988: 62), there are three “major structures of women’s oppression under capitalism – production, the family and the state.” Key structures of women’s exploitation: patriarchy, production, the family and the state will be discussed in the next part of this chapter, which explains the demand side of migrant sex labor and relies on the feminist, feminist International Political Economy (IPE) and Marxist feminist literature in IR.

3.3 Demand Side of Sex Labor

The demand side of migrant sex labor can be explained using feminist, feminist IPE and especially Marxist feminist literature. Feminist IPE scholarship places “emphasis on the constructed and contestable nature of (gendered) social relations and the need for emancipatory social change” aiming the emancipation of women as participants of global relations of production (Elias, 2011: 99). Similarly, in Marxist feminism, “gender is not viewed as constitutive of global social relations, but is subsumed within a broader analysis of class relations” (Elias, 2011: 103). This means that gender hierarchies such as subordination of women to men are not analyzed as a separate phenomenon; rather, they are analyzed as a part of a broader context subordinated to other types of hierarchies such as those of social class or race/ethnicity (Elias, 2011). In this sense, Marxist feminists made an important contribution to classical Marxism that they criticized for “giving insufficient weight

to gender and related concerns” (see, for example, Ship, 1994; Spike Peterson, 1993). Rupert (2000) also refers to the feminist critique of Marxist approach, proponents of which argue that “a Marxian account of capitalism is radically incomplete without a critical analysis of gender relations and the structuration of the household” (see Sayer, 1991: 31-32, 36-37). Therefore, feminist IPE and Marxist feminist scholars have enriched feminist literature by placing gender in a broader structural economic context.

However, before explaining the key structures of patriarchal exploitation, it is necessary to elaborate on the origins of the term “patriarchy” itself first. According to Barrett (1988: 10), sociologist Max Weber was the first one to use the term “patriarchy” to “describe a particular form of household organization in which the father dominated other members of an extended kinship network and controlled the economic production of the household.” The term can be literally translated from Greek as the “rule of the father”. However, in feminist IR literature this term has come to mean not only the father’s control and domination over the family, but the more general men’s domination over women, “male supremacy as male control over women’s fertility” (Barrett, 1988: 12). According to McDonough and Harrison (1978: 11, 40, 36), there are two elements of patriarchy: “the control of women’s fertility and sexuality in monogamous marriage” and “the economic subordination of women through the sexual division of labor (and property).”

If one sees patriarchy as a Coxian structure, then it can be defined as “the long-term structure of the subordination of women” (Holter, 1997). This structure is comprised of three elements: institutions, ideas and material capabilities. For example, the state is an institution that strengthens both patriarchal and capitalist structures that have an impact on the exploitation of women. Ideas of the “moral” right of men to resort to paid sexual services with men or women and discriminate women as “weaker sex” and homosexuals as “less male” also facilitate the structure of patriarchy (see the works of R.W. Connell and her theory of ‘hegemonic masculinity’). Finally, patriarchal structure has its own material capabilities such as men’s physical muscle strength (which can be used as a tool to subordinate women in sexual act or domestic violence) and men’s economic capacity to buy sex work, thus completing the triangle of a Coxian structure.

Patriarchal societal structures force women to enter sex work because accepted social norms of male sexuality demand it. Sex work itself is an integral part

of patriarchal exploitation (Pateman, 1988). Men's patriarchal sense of "masculine" identity is reproduced through their exploitation of a female sex worker because female body is seen as men's property (MacKinnon, 2011). Also, "it is certainly patriarchy that produces men whose sense of identity is achieved through brutalizing a woman" in gendered violence (Razack, 2000: 126). In a commercial sexual act, patriarchy is being reproduced "through the institution of heterosexuality" itself (Demetriou, 2001: 344). By committing a commercial heterosexual or homosexual act, men are confirming their own perceived masculinity or "manhood". Referring to the structure of patriarchy, Carrigan et al. (1985: 590) argue that

The central fact about this structure in the contemporary capitalist world (like most other social orders, though not all) is the subordination of women. This fact is massively documented, and has enormous ramifications - physical, mental, interpersonal, cultural - whose effects on the lives of women have been the major concerns of feminism. One of the central facts about masculinity, then, is that men in general are advantaged through the subordination of women.

Caroline Pateman (1988: 194) also adds that "within the structure of the institution of prostitution, 'prostitutes' are subject to 'clients', just as 'wives' are subordinate to 'husbands' within the structure of marriage". The patriarchal exploitation of women is thus created and reproduced by these repeated social practices of subordination of women.

Another historical structure facilitating the patriarchal exploitation of women in sex labor is the gendered division of labor embedded in the social relations of production. The ideologies of masculinity and femininity, the so-called "heterosexual familialism" as a state-imposed ideology promoting the creation of heterosexual families as preferred units of capitalist production (Barrett, 1988: 61-62), are constantly produced and reproduced by the very nature of the capitalist relations of production. For example, according to Snyder (2007: 17), "women constitute 70 percent of the world's poor but are a miserable 2.2 percent of the IMF Board of Governors and 5.5 percent of that in the World Bank." Women are constantly being underpaid in contemporary world since their income is considered as the one "supplementing" the man's primary "breadwinner" wage that is considered central to the maintenance of a household (Snyder, 2007). Women also represent the majority of part-time workers in the world for similar reasons (Snyder, 2007). Women's domestic labor in the household such as cooking, cleaning and childcare is

undervalued by the capitalist system and thus serves the constant reproduction of capitalist exploitative division of labor and unequal relations of production (Secombe, 1974; Barrett, 1988). It is possible to see women's "unpaid domestic labor and insecure, low-paid wage labor as the twin mechanisms whereby capitalism exploits not only women, but also the entire working class" (Barrett, 1988: 22; see Adamson et al., 1976: 12, 42, 32). The capitalist division of labor is thus deeply gendered in nature.

Sex and domestic labor is seen by Marxist feminists as "reproductive labor" because it facilitates social reproduction by transmitting historical structures of inequality (such as patriarchy and division of labor) from one generation to the next, through the system of classes (social stratification) (Doob, 2012). According to Agathangelou (2004: 3), reproductive labor means "an international sexual division of labor in which women's social and economic contributions are exploited, commodified, and sold for cheap wages." Two processes need to be understood as elements of social reproduction here: "the biological reproduction of the species" and the economic "need of any social formation to reproduce its own conditions of production" (Barrett, 1988: 19-20). Reproducing conditions of production in the household may particularly involve reproductive labor of domestic and sex workers who provide different "care" services to the members of the household. This process is deeply embedded in the social structures of the society throughout the world. Therefore, any emancipation of reproductive workers as a subordinated social group is only possible through the international restructuring of social reproduction by changing its exploitative nature.

Probably the most significant historical structure facilitating patriarchal exploitation of women is the family. In the traditional family, women's sexuality is subordinated to men's control, whereas women's domestic labor is seen as a natural thing which does not require any financial remuneration. Women as members of the family are assigned traditional cultural roles such as wives, mothers or sisters, thus being deprived of their right to exert their own sexuality (Barrett, 1988). Women's *fidelity* to their husbands is strictly controlled by the family and the state (Barrett, 1988, emphasis added). However, the same cultural norms do not apply to men who often find it acceptable and normal to buy the services of sex workers in order to reproduce their masculine identity and social status. "Because men want to buy sex,

prostitution is assumed to be inevitable; therefore it's considered 'normal'" (Farley and Butler, 2012).

In the capitalist relations of production, the traditional nuclear family as an institution also facilitates the production process because women's domestic labor and her emotional and financial subordination to men serve to "comfort" the male worker after his *alienation* or feeling of homelessness created during his wage labor hours in the outside world (Barrett, 1988). The women's care services as wives and mothers such as responsibility for childcare, cooking, cleaning, emotional support and sexual pleasure of men serve to daily reproduce labor capacity of men and make them more productive workers. Moreover, women are also responsible for the socialization of new "laborers" in the capitalist economy as their children grow and start working themselves. "Stable, heterosexual, pair-bonded, parentally responsible individuals are what capitalism requires of its socialization procedures" (Barrett, 1988: 49) because they help to achieve maximization of profits for capitalism. And women are those who bear the heaviest burden in this process of capital accumulation.

Finally, another historical structure facilitating patriarchal exploitation of women is the institution of the state itself. Speaking of the role of the state, it is necessary to remind ourselves of Gramsci's concept of hegemony, since the state as a structure can be analyzed from a neo-Gramscian (historical materialist) perspective. Gramsci has made an important contribution to historical materialism by drawing attention to social and cultural factors that supplemented purely economic analysis of classical Marxism. He referred to classical Marxism as "historical economism" because of its "reduction of everything to technological and material interests" (Cox, 1981: 134) and suggested a theory of historical materialism that would emphasize the impact of ethical and cultural factors on international politics. "Gramsci's analysis of 'hegemony', his key concept, opened the way to a '*Marxism of the superstructure*' that rejected economic determinism or reductionism." (Schwarzmantel, 2009b: 3, emphasis added).

According to Gramsci, "a hegemonic order was one where consent, rather than coercion, primarily characterized the relations between classes" (Gill & Law, 1989: 476). Gramsci's understanding of hegemony differs from the traditional realist usage of the term. In the traditional discipline of IR, hegemony most often was used interchangeably with 'domination' or 'imperialism' (Cox, 1993: 60). Particularly in

the realist understanding, hegemony “refers to the dominance of one state over other states and is largely a case of what we call the direct exertion of ‘power over’, in a sense used by Max Weber” (Gill & Law, 1989: 476).

In contrast, Gramsci’s concept of hegemony meant “*fusion of consent and coercion* for the purpose of rule” (Gill, 1990: 43, emphasis added). It is opposed to ‘domination’ or ‘dominance’ which would imply “the exercise of power without the critical, reflective consent of the governed” (Augelli & Murphy, 1993: 127-128), and also different from ‘power’ which is understood by Gramsci as “a capacity for social action in a historically specific structural context” (Rupert, 1990: 432). A crucial aspect of Gramsci’s hegemony is its ethical dimension. For Gramsci, the most important part of hegemony is “intellectual and moral leadership” (Gramsci, 1971: 57). When hegemony does not have an ethical aspect, when “it is based upon fraud and deception” (Augelli & Murphy, 1993: 128), Gramsci considers it a form of domination.

As a hegemonic structure of patriarchal exploitation, the state often imposes its policies through social and cultural institutions such as education, the church, or the media. The state participates in reproducing the patriarchal division of labor and relations of production through introducing and promoting “certain norms and ideas of a ‘good way of life’” (Ludwig, 2009: 97). For example, the state might support the idea of a traditional nuclear family, praise the gender roles of women as wives and mothers, or label sex workers as “loose” through its cultural institutions responsible for “the rule by consent” such as the media and education. Gendered division of labor is daily reproduced through these institutions. “The media, the education system, architecture, the clothing industry, as well as medical discourses, initiate and repeat the ‘truth’ about the dichotomy and binary nature of sexes as ‘natural’ and reasonable, and individuals absorb this perception into their common sense.” (Ludwig, 2009: 101). It is interesting that although the state may support the rhetoric about the “privacy” of household and family life, in practice even such “private” matters as households and sexuality are strictly controlled by the state because of their significance for the maximization of profit in capitalist relations:

The state has played an important part in regulating sexual behavior: marriage, divorce, domestic violence, rape, prostitution, pornography, incest, homosexuality, adolescent female promiscuity and so on all fall ... within the operations of the state. Although the state is formally only interested in such ‘private’ matters as sexuality only in so far as they affect the ‘public’ good, it

is clear that the degree of state involvement in sexuality and procreation renders the public/private distinction untenable” (Barrett, 1988: 78).

The state control works to promote and reinforce the gendered nature of capitalist relations and division of labor in the household (Barrett, 1988: 158). In this sense, it is possible to argue that patriarchal exploitation of women is an ideological process (Barrett, 1988: 248) because of the cultural and ideological dominance of the state policies supporting gendered division of labor and inequality. In the case of migrant sex workers, the state and the capitalist class work in a coalition to facilitate the creation of systemic violence against migrant sex workers. Their subordinate position, “invisibility” and worthlessness of their labor are constantly being reproduced through the hegemonic institutions of the state. Through the control of sex work via laws and regulations “the state exerts its power by deciding where and how female sex workers are supposed to live, who they have sexual intercourse with” (Zengin, 2011: 31), as well as control over other aspects such as morality norms and “good” or “bad” family images. However, while blaming sex workers for their indecency, the state simultaneously profits from their clandestine economic activity such as involvement in small-scale trade. Thus, the interests of migrant sex workers are subordinated to the interests of the state and its privileged class. It is then possible to talk about “the complicity of the state ... in facilitating the exploitation of women’s reproductive labor by its propertied class, specifically, and for transnational bourgeois capitalist interests, generally” (Agathangelou, 2004: 2).

The state facilitates the exploitation of migrant sex workers through the activity of its instruments of cultural hegemony such as the mass media, education, or church which serve to reproduce particular values and practices of the hegemonic ideology. For example, the mass media is one of the platforms where the hegemony of the state is reproduced. However, the media in itself also creates particular framings of events that can challenge and alter state policies, as it was discussed in the explanation of Robinson’s (2000; 2001; 2002) ‘media-policy interaction’ model. The state-run media can be considered a “major political force” creating a particular framing of events beneficial to the state (Gitlin, 2003: xiv). But it is also a hegemonic “cultural system” which promotes the reproduction of structures and practices of hegemonic ideology within the society (Gitlin, 1979: 251). The images and narratives of events created by the state-supported mass media are manufactured with a particular aim to reproduce the dominant forms of hegemonic ideology of the state

(Gitlin, 1979: 252; 2003). For example, the media can include narratives and images of migrant sex workers framing them as a security threat to the state and its citizens and a threat to public morality. The purpose of this particular portrayal of migrant sex labor is two-fold: first, it helps render the economic benefits of using migrant sex labor invisible, and second, it protects and reinforces the dominant hegemonic ideology of the neoliberal state. Thus, “the mass media play a strategic role in reinforcing dominant social norms and values that legitimize the social system” (Curran et al., 2005: 9). However, the values and practices of the hegemonic ideology of the state (neoliberal capitalism) are not fixed; they are constantly changing and being reproduced through daily social practices. They can also be challenged by “counter-hegemonic” ideas projected by independent media acting as Wolfsfeld’s (1997) ‘challenger’. According to Gitlin (1979: 264),

One point should be clear: the hegemonic system is not cut-and-dried, not definitive. It has continually to be reproduced, continually superimposed, continually to be negotiated and managed, in order to override the alternative and, occasionally, the oppositional forms.

Thus, the hegemonic ideology of the state needs constant reproduction through cultural institutions of the state such as the media; if it fails to reproduce itself it can be threatened by “oppositional forms” of ideology or counterhegemonic social forces such as the oppositional media. According to Filc (2009: 119), “one of the strengths of the concept of hegemony is the way it throws light on the subordinated social groups and their counter-hegemonic practices and struggles.” In order for hegemony to function properly, the subordinated social forces or the public opinion “must somehow be truly convinced that the interests of the dominant group are those of society at large, that the hegemonic group stands for a proper social order in which all men ... are just looked after.” (Femia, 1981: 41; cited in Ludwig, 2009: 96). The hegemonic ideology of neoliberal capitalism must transcend all levels of society for it to provide its “consent” to be ruled. According to Williams (1960: 586), “a project becomes hegemonic when its view of reality pervades all the different layers of society, namely, its institutions, its private life, its morality, its customs, its religion and the different aspects of its culture”. Therefore, when Turkey is taken as a case study example, its society must be persuaded that the values of neo-liberalism are its own values, and this hegemonic ideology must well penetrate the state institutions such as the education system and the mass media controlled by the ruling elite.

It is also significant to discuss the implication of Gramsci's concept of hegemony for international politics. Although Gramsci himself did not develop a theory of how his concept of hegemony might work at the international level, focusing on the theory of the state instead (Worth, 2009: 19), Robert W. Cox (1993a) adjusted his theory for the study of IR. According to Cox (1993a: 61), in order to become an international hegemon, "a state would have to found and protect a world order which was universal in conception, i.e., not an order in which one state directly exploits others but an order which most other states ... could find compatible with their interests". Other states can be persuaded to be ruled by the "fusion of consent and coercion." It is possible to argue that currently the international hegemony is that of the neoliberal capitalist order, with the United States at its "top". Neo-liberalism is the "hegemonic ideology" (Schwarzmantel, 2009a: 82) in the world today that should be questioned by any emancipatory analysis pointing to the necessity to restructure it.

Thus, in this dissertation two hegemonies are discussed: the hegemony of the state (Turkey) together with its privileged (capitalist) class and state-run media as its ideological platform, and more broadly, the international hegemony of the neoliberal economic order. According to Worth (2009: 24), "for those who subscribe to the logic of the transnational capitalist class, international hegemony is processed through the consensual relationship forged between the transnational elites and their respective 'national subordinate' classes." Therefore, it is possible to argue that the hegemony of neoliberal capitalist order was inspired and reinforced by the US elites and its own bourgeoisie (Worth, 2009: 29). The privileged classes in different countries of the world, including those at the periphery, are united in a concept of a "transnational capitalist class" (van der Pijl, 1984; 1998) promoting the interests of global hegemony of neo-liberalism.

To sum it up, the state as a Coxian structure facilitates the reproduction of its hegemonic values through mass media as its main platform for establishing the "rule of consent". The domestic hegemony of the privileged capitalist class is also transported onto the global level by dissolving into the broader category of "transnational capitalist class" of the world bourgeoisie. Therefore, the hegemony of neoliberal capitalist order becomes global, and its values and practices are daily reproduced throughout the world. The subordinate social classes of global proletariat, such as migrant sex workers, are left at the bottom of this process and face double

exploitation: as women and as workers (Özer, 2012). And this makes their protection so important, and a Marxist feminist and historical analysis of the topic of media representations of migrant sex labor so timely and significant.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter built up the theoretical framework of the present dissertation, which rests on four “building blocs”: explanation of the media-state relationship through Robinson’s (2000; 2001) “media-policy interaction’ model seeing the relationship between the media and the state as a two-way one, explanation of migrant sex labor in Turkey through capitalist exploitation (Marxist element), patriarchal exploitation (feminist element) and hegemonic social struggle and ideological dimension of media representations (neo-Gramscian element). All of these elements are reflected in the supply and demand sides of migrant sex labor as two interconnected sides of the production process. It can be argued that Marxist feminist and historical materialist theoretical framework is a very useful analytical tool for the study of sex labor because it allows us to see sex labor not simply as a problem of gender inequality but place it in a broad context of capitalist economic relations. Neo-Gramscian analysis of cultural hegemony and social forces, in its turn, allows us to discuss cultural and ideological representations of sex labor in the media as instruments of state hegemony especially through the analysis of state-dominated mass media as a major platform for the reproduction of the state hegemony, and oppositional media as “counter-hegemonic” forces or ‘challengers’ (Wolfsfeld, 1997). The next chapter will now elaborate upon the methodology used by this dissertation to answer its research question.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

Having explained the theoretical framework of this dissertation, it is now necessary to elaborate upon its methodology. This chapter provides details about the methodological framework of this dissertation. The first research method applied in this study is conventional content analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005: 1286), in which “codes are derived from data” and are “defined during data analysis” rather than pre-defined by previous studies. Previous research on the subject is very limited and, therefore, there are no already existing coding categories that could be used by the researcher. Content analysis in this study is conducted with the help of NVivo 11 software for Windows in Starter edition (henceforth, NVivo). The chapter is organized in seven stages of content analysis according to Kaid (1989; cited in Hsieh & Shannon, 2005: 1285), which are: 1) “formulating the research questions”, 2) “selecting the sample to be analyzed”, 3) “defining the categories to be applied”, 4) “outlining the coding process and the coder training”, 5) “implementing the coding process”, 6) “determining trustworthiness”, and 7) “analyzing the results of the coding process”. In addition, research design is also explained in section 4.1, and methodological limitations in section 4.8. The second method used in this dissertation is qualitative discourse analysis as analysis of textual meanings of printed media.

4.1 Stage One: Formulating the Research Question and Research Design

The research question in the present study is: How do the Turkish media portray migrant sex labor of women from FSU in Turkey? Content analysis and discourse analysis were chosen as the most appropriate methods in the analysis of media representations of sex labor in Turkey because of their ability to reflect media representations of a particular issue through both quantitative and qualitative analyses of printed media. Content analysis and discourse analysis also allow us to emphasize the media as an instrument of neo-Gramscian hegemony of the state. Therefore, it is considered appropriate to conduct a neo-Gramscian analysis of the media representations of migrant sex labor in Turkey using the method of conventional content analysis and the method of discourse analysis.

Content analysis in this study was conducted with the help of NVivo software because of positive reviews of this software provided by other social scientists who conducted content analysis. Previous works in various social sciences disciplines such as Denton (2009), Doğan (2013), or Senem (2013) utilizing NVivo were found very useful. It can be argued that NVivo software is very beneficial in terms of providing the researcher with the opportunity to analyze data in both qualitative and quantitative ways. Qualitative data analysis (discourse analysis) is facilitated through the ability to organize and classify data by creating thematic “nodes”, which makes it easier for the researcher to reach certain part of the data and is especially useful when the amount of data is large. Second, NVivo is a very significant instrument for quantitative analysis (content analysis) because it allows the researcher to automatically count the number of times a certain word appears in all text of the data through the use of “text search queries” and save this statistical data in a node that can later be reached, and also generates different kinds of charts according to the researcher’s needs. However, it is necessary to keep in mind that no automatic program can replace the researcher’s own critical mind, and that the creative qualitative interpretation of the statistical results generated by the software remains solely with the researcher.

4.2 Stage Two: Selecting Research Sample

4.2.1 Newspaper Selection

Since this study focuses on the media representations, five mainstream Turkish newspapers were selected for content analysis: *Zaman*¹⁶, *Hürriyet*, *Sabah*, *Milliyet* and *Cumhuriyet*. Here *Zaman* represents conservative political ideology, *Hürriyet*, *Milliyet* and *Sabah* represent center-right political ideology, and *Cumhuriyet* represents a liberal oppositional newspaper with a center-left political ideology. The analysis was designed in this particular way aiming to include the representatives of different political ideologies in order to make sure the sample is representative in terms of its reflection of state hegemony and counter-hegemonic forces. The same newspapers are also all owned by different Turkish media holding companies¹⁷. However, it is necessary to point out that according to Doğan (2013), the ruling elite has significant shares in the capital owned by such giant media holdings as Doğan or Demirören. Therefore, all media owned by these holdings and all newspapers except for *Cumhuriyet* and *Zaman* is considered as indirectly run by the state or the ruling elite, and therefore, an instrument of state hegemony. *Cumhuriyet* as an oppositional newspaper is considered as a ‘challenger’ (see Wolfsfeld, 1997) and a counter-hegemonic force aiming to alter state policies, even though its impact is in decline, as it will be shown later.

The selected newspapers can also be considered as having a significant impact on public opinion on migrant sex labor in Turkey because they were the most highly-circulating newspapers in the period from 1 January 1992 to 1 January 2015, the dates that are used as start and finish point for content analysis in this dissertation. 1 January 1992 was selected as start date for content analysis because in 1992 the Soviet Union collapsed, and many migrant women from former Soviet Union countries started to arrive in Turkey and enter its sex market (see Gülçür & İlkaracan, 2002; Erder & Kaşka, 2003). Consequently, the media coverage of migrant sex labor from former Soviet Union in Turkey also started in 1992 (the date of 1 January is selected as start date for content analysis in order to include a full year rather than an incomplete one). As far as the end date for content analysis is concerned, 1 January 2015 was selected because data search for content analysis in

¹⁶ On 4 March 2016 *Zaman* was seized by the Turkish government in the aftermath of the government efforts to cut down on the conservative pro-Fethullah Gülen opposition in Turkey known as the “parallel state” (BBC News, 2016), and its ownership has changed. However, since this dissertation focuses only on the period prior to 1 January 2015, the news articles from *Zaman* are still used here because it is considered to have had a significant impact on public opinion in Turkey in the period under consideration (1992-2014).

¹⁷ Newspaper ownership by media holding companies is explained in section 4.4.1.2.3 and can also be found in Table 11.

this study was conducted in October-December 2015, and is again explained by the desire to include a full calendar year rather than only several months of it.

It can be argued that during the whole period under consideration (1992-2014), the above-mentioned five newspapers were the mainstream newspapers in Turkey as judged by their daily circulation among the population. For example, according to the media analytical service medyatava.com (Medyatava, 2015), in the week of 29 December 2014 - 4 January 2015 that includes the end date for content analysis which is 1 January 2015, the distribution statistics for the 20 most read newspapers issued in Turkey were the following:

**Table 2. Mainstream Newspapers' Weekly Circulation Rate in Turkey
(29 December 2014 – 4 January 2015).**

No	Newspaper	Sales
1	Zaman	1.017.757
2	<i>Posta</i>	442.852
3	Hürriyet	379.865
4	Sabah	345.943
5	<i>Sözcü</i>	345.126
6	<i>HaberTürk</i>	195.180
7	<i>Fotomaç</i> ¹⁸	182.227
8	<i>Türkiye</i>	164.383
9	Milliyet	160.978
10	<i>Fanatik</i> ¹⁹	148.956
11	<i>Bugün</i>	135.283
12	<i>Takvim</i>	121.206
13	<i>Yeni Şafak</i>	109.793
14	<i>Güneş</i>	109.347
15	<i>Akşam</i>	108.873
16	<i>Vatan</i>	103.792
17	<i>Star</i>	102.726
18	<i>Taraf</i>	54.225
19	<i>Millet</i>	52.452
20	Cumhuriyet	52.315

It is possible to see from the table that in January 2015, *Zaman* had the highest daily circulation among all newspapers of more than 1 million copies a day, which made it the most read newspaper in Turkey (Medyatava, 2015). *Hürriyet* was the third most-

¹⁸ *Fotomaç* is a sport newspaper not related to the topic under analysis.

¹⁹ *Fanatik* is a sport newspaper not related to the topic under analysis.

read newspaper with daily circulation of almost 400,000 copies a day²⁰. *Sabah* was the fourth most-read newspaper with circulation of almost 350,000 copies a day. *Milliyet* was the 9th most-read newspaper with daily circulation of more than 150,000 copies a day. Finally, *Cumhuriyet* was also a popular newspaper on the 20th place with daily circulation of more than 50,000 copies. The other popular newspapers with high circulation such as *Posta*, *Sözcü*, *HaberTürk*, *Türkiye*, *Bugün*, *Takvim*, *Yeni Şafak*, *Akşam*, *Vatan* or *Star* were not included in the content analysis because contrary to the five newspapers analyzed in this study, many of them did not exist for the whole period of 1992-2014.²¹ Furthermore, even if the newspaper was founded prior to 1992 as in the case of *Türkiye*, this newspaper was not included because it represented a similar ideological stance to *Zaman* (conservative) and therefore did not provide much variety to the sample. As far as *Akşam* is concerned, it was not included because it shared the same political view as *Sabah* (pro-government), and *Güneş* was dismissed because it was too sensational and superficial. Finally, newspapers owned by the same media holdings were not included either, in order to bring more variety to the sample.²²

However, it is more important to look at these newspapers' daily circulations within the whole period covered by the study (1992-2014). To this end, a graph was compiled using medyatava.com data for all five newspapers during the available period of years (the website archive goes back only to 2008, so the period from 2008 to 2014 is demonstrated as an example here). A random week (the last week of the year, which is around 29 December – 4 January but is floating in exact dates) is used for each year to provide consistency because when “the research weeks are random and routine, the natural and usual condition of newspaper can be recognized” (Doğan, 2013: 33). See Figure 1 below:

²⁰ Following the seizure of *Zaman* in March 2016, *Hürriyet* has become the current most-read newspaper in Turkey with daily circulation of 344,572 copies (see Medyatava, 2016a).

²¹ For example, *Posta* was founded in 1995; *Sözcü* in 2007; *HaberTürk* in 2009; *Bugün* in 2003; *Takvim* in 1994; *Yeni Şafak* in 1994; *Vatan* in 2002; *Star* in 1999; *Taraf* in 2007; and *Millet* only existed between 2014 and 2016 (see Medyatava, 2016b).

²² For instance, *Hürriyet* and *Posta* are both owned by Doğan Holding (see Doğan Holding, 2016), *Milliyet* and *Vatan* are both owned by Demirören Holding (see Demirören Holding, 2016), and *Sabah* and *Takvim* are both owned by Turkuvaz Media Group (see Turkuvaz Yayın, 2016). More information on the newspaper ownership by media holdings is provided in section 4.4.1.2.3 below.

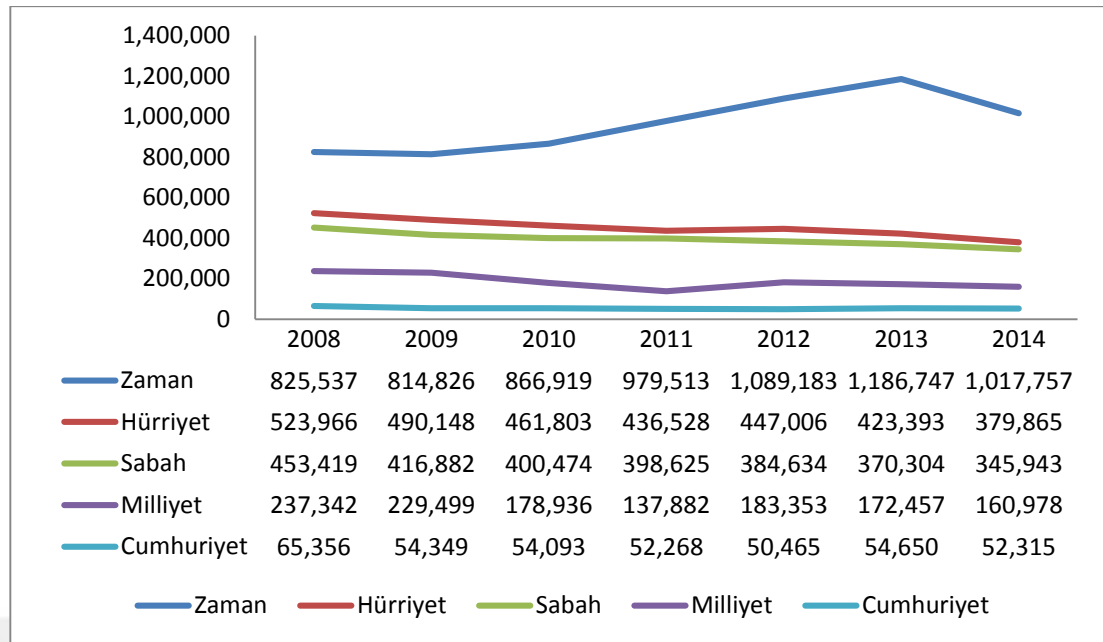


Figure 1. Newspapers' Weekly Circulation Rate over the Years (2008-2014).

It is possible to see from Figure 1 that daily circulation of the five newspapers under analysis has not fluctuated much in the 7-year period from 2008 to 2014, and has remained in general as roughly 1 million copies for *Zaman*, 500,000 copies for *Hürriyet*, 400,000 copies for *Sabah*, 200,000 for *Milliyet*, and 50,000 copies for *Cumhuriyet*. These are the rough values entered in NVivo as these newspapers' daily circulation.

4.2.2 Article Selection

The above-mentioned five newspapers (henceforth, the newspapers) were systematically searched during the period under analysis (1992-2014) in order to find articles related to the topic of migrant sex labor from former Soviet Union (FSU) in Turkey. Both news and commentary article types were included in the research. The criteria for the inclusion of a particular article into the sample were the following:

- The article had to deal with the topic of migrant sex workers in Turkey in general;
- The nationalities of migrant women had to point to the fact that they came from FSU countries (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Estonia, Georgia, Kazakhstan,

Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, the Russian Federation, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine or Uzbekistan);²³

c) If the exact nationalities of women were not mentioned in the article, some more general terms such as “women from the Commonwealth of Independent States - CIS countries” (*BDT* or *Bağımsız Devletler Topluluğu*), “former Soviet countries” (*eski Sovyet ülkeler*) or “Eastern bloc” (*Doğu Bloku*) were also used as indicators of the articles’ applicability;

d) In some exceptional cases, when there was no reference to nationality at all, a decision for inclusion was made based on the sex worker’ full name when in was provided. Because the author of this dissertation is Russian by nationality, it was possible to determine the applicability of certain articles judging only by sex workers’ names and deciding whether they were from FSU countries or not, although arbitrary decisions were attempted to be avoided;

e) Non-FSU nationalities of sex workers were not included in the sample; however, if migrant women from non-FSU countries were mentioned in the article together with women from FSU countries (for example, if they were all detained during the same “prostitution raid” conducted by the police), then statistics were kept for non-FSU women as well, but only for the purposes of future research on the subject;

f) The news about migrant sex workers from non-FSU countries were not searched specifically.

The English translation of a sample article for inclusion into content analysis taken from Zaman newspaper can be found below²⁴:

A prostitution operation in Fatih: 35 Detained

CIHAN News Agency

29 January 2011, Saturday 6 AM

The team forces of the Vice Squad of the Department for Law and Order in Fatih organized a prostitution raid on an entertainment spot in Aksaray after receiving an informing call. 35 people allegedly involved in prostitution or organization of prostitution were detained in the operation.

The team forces of the Vice Squad of the Department for Law and Order took an entertainment spot in Aksaray under close surveillance. The civil policemen who entered the above-mentioned address in a customer disguise negotiated a price for prostitution. The police forces raiding the entertainment

²³ There is a need to remind that migrant sex workers from Romania and Bulgaria were not included in the scope of this study. Despite the fact that Romania and Bulgaria are former socialist countries, they were never members of the Soviet Union. However, information about Bulgarian and Romanian sex workers was also taken notice of for statistical purposes.

²⁴ See Appendix B for the original Turkish text of the sample article.

spot detained 32 women allegedly involved in prostitution together with 3 people allegedly organizing prostitution. It was learned that the women of Moldavian, Ukrainian and Russian nationality.

The detained women were referred to the hospital in order to determine whether they carried any diseases. The women were later taken to the Department for Law and Order for interrogation. It was specified that women of foreign nationality who are being processed at the police station will be referred to the Department for Foreigners in order to be deported.

It is possible to see from the sample article that it was included into the sample for two reasons: because it is related to the topic of migrant sex labor in Turkey (see the references to “prostitution”), and because migrant sex workers mentioned in the article are from former Soviet Union countries (Moldova, Ukraine and Russia). The next sections will explain how data was collected for each of the newspapers.

4.2.2.1 *Cumhuriyet*

Cumhuriyet was selected for the sample as a representative of center-left political ideology particularly known for its support of officially oppositional Republican People’s Party (CHP or *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*; see Akkoç, 2015). Articles were searched using *Cumhuriyet* Digital Archive located on the link <http://www.cumhuriyetarsivi.com/monitor/index.xhtml> access to which is only available upon individual or institutional subscription. The login and password information for Bilkent University’s subscription for the archive were obtained from the faculty librarian. The “advanced search” option was used for articles search by keyword. Because it was not possible to download articles as MS Word or Pdf files, the texts of the articles were downloaded using a Google Chrome Extension called Awesome Screenshot as jpg files, and later manually decoded and transformed into Microsoft Word files while being translated into English. No English translations of the articles for this content analysis were available through LexisNexis or Factiva databases, so the *Cumhuriyet* Digital Archive was the only source used to find articles from *Cumhuriyet*. Articles were searched for the time period between 1.01.1992 to 1.01.2015. Only the original *Cumhuriyet* newspaper was searched, different weekend and thematic supplements (*ek*) were excluded from search in the “advanced search” options. The advanced search form allowed for the search of several words connected by “AND” (*ve*); therefore, unlike other newspapers, the *Cumhuriyet* archive allowed for search of articles by several keywords.

Search terms were selected individually for each newspaper by trying different combinations and seeing which ones allowed to access more articles on the topic. For example, in the case of *Cumhuriyet*, the search term “*fuhuş*” (prostitution) did not produce any results, but it was the best-working search term for the other four newspapers. The search term “*genelev*” (brothel) was not used because although it produced results on the topic of sex work in general, the articles only covered local (Turkish) sex workers. The list of search terms that were finally used for article search in *Cumhuriyet* can be found in Table 3 below. “AND” button is shown as a “+” sign:

Table 3. Articles Found under Different Search Terms in *Cumhuriyet* electronic archive²⁵

Search terms (in Turkish)	English translation	Number of articles found	Percentage share ²⁶
<i>AIDS + Rus</i>	AIDS + Russian	18	36,7%
<i>insan ticareti</i>	human trafficking	9	18,4%
<i>Laleli + Rus</i>	Laleli + Russian	8	16,3%
<i>para + cinsel + Rus</i>	money + sexual + Russian	4	8,2%
<i>orospu + Rus</i>	whore + Russian	3	6,1%
<i>frengi + Rus</i>	syphilis + Russian	3	6,1%
<i>Natasha + fuhuş</i>	Natasha + prostitution	2	4,1%
<i>kondom + Rus</i>	condom + Russian	1	2,0%
<i>randevu + Rus</i>	meeting + Russian	1	2,0%
TOTAL:		49	100,0%

It is possible to see from the table that the majority of the articles (36.7%) were found under the search term “AIDS” + “Russian”, which confirms previous research on the subject arguing that the portrayal of migrant women from FSU in Turkey is mainly centered on the public health aspects of the issue (Erder and Kaşka, 2003). Interestingly, 18.4% of the articles were found under the search term “human trafficking”, which is much higher in comparison to other newspapers that will be examined later. Finally, some other interesting remark is that *Cumhuriyet* is the only

²⁵ Duplicate articles found under different but overlapping search terms are not included in order to prevent counting them twice.

²⁶ All percentage shares in the dissertation are counted automatically either by NVivo or by Microsoft Excel (using the “percentage” formula).

newspaper using the term “whore” (*orospu*) in the context of migrant sex workers, which is not at all present in the other newspapers. However, the detailed discussion of the findings of content analysis will be provided in Chapter 7. A diagram showing the way articles from *Cumhuriyet* are spread by years can be seen in Figure 2 below:

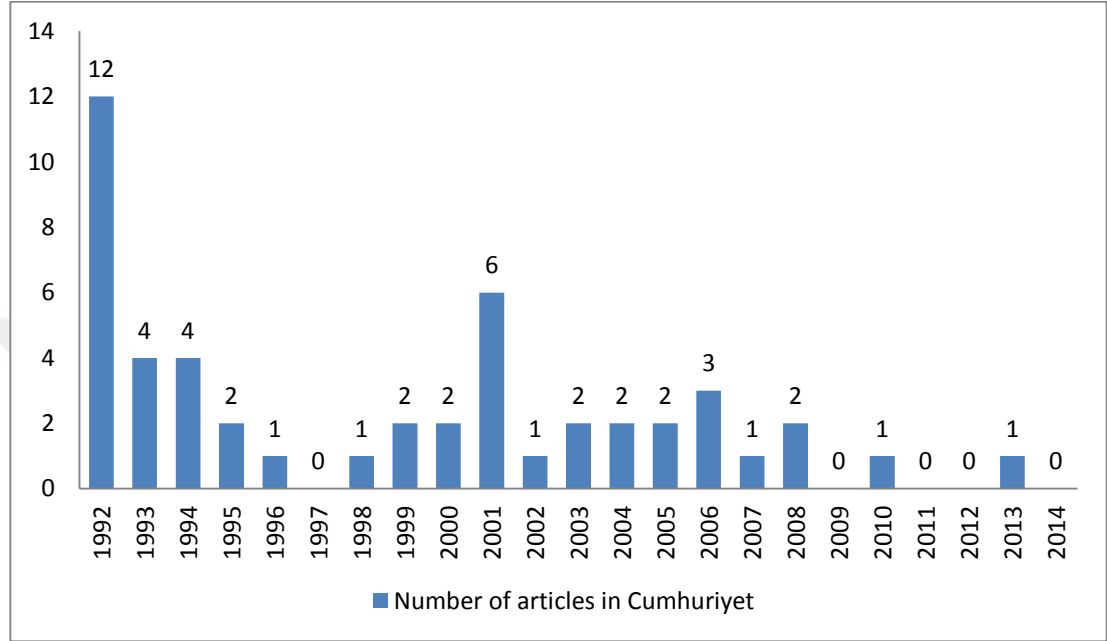


Figure 2. Number of Articles in *Cumhuriyet* by Year (1992-2014).

4.2.2.2 *Hürriyet*

Hürriyet was included in the sample as a representative of a popular liberal newspaper with center-right political ideology. For data collection, *Hürriyet* electronic archive was used that is available on the link <http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/arsiv/>. The problem with the archive is that it only goes back to 1997, so the data for the five-year period between 1992 and 1997 is missing. However, because of high diversity and significant size of the total article sample (total N=990), this problem did not diminish the representative quality of the study as it was compensated by other newspapers. The list of search terms used for the internet archive can be found below in Table 4. *Hürriyet* archive only allows for search by a single word rather than several search terms, so there is no way to specify your search by using “AND” or “OR” buttons.

Table 4. Articles Found Under Different Search Terms in *Hürriyet* electronic archive.²⁷

Search terms (in Turkish)	English translation	Number of articles found	Percentage share
<i>fuhuş</i>	prostitution	326	84,2%
<i>Nataşa</i>	Natasha	20	5,2%
<i>AIDS</i>	AIDS	16	4,1%
<i>Nataşalar</i>	Natashas	10	2,6%
<i>Laleli</i>	Laleli	6	1,6%
<i>frengi</i>	syphilis	5	1,3%
<i>insan ticareti</i>	human trafficking	1	0,3%
<i>insan tacirleri</i>	human traffickers	1	0,3%
<i>fahişe</i>	prostitute	1	0,3%
<i>prezervatif</i>	condom	1	0,3%
TOTAL:		387	100,0%

It is possible to see from the table that the majority (84.2%) of all articles were accessed by the search term “prostitution”, which is very similar to the situation with the other newspapers (except for *Cumhuriyet*). Therefore, it is possible to conclude that “*fuhuş*” (prostitution) is the most encompassing search term for the topic of migrant sex labor in Turkey, which can be used as guidance for future studies. A diagram showing the way articles from *Hürriyet* are spread by years can be seen in Figure 3 below:

²⁷ Duplicate articles found under different but overlapping search terms are not included.

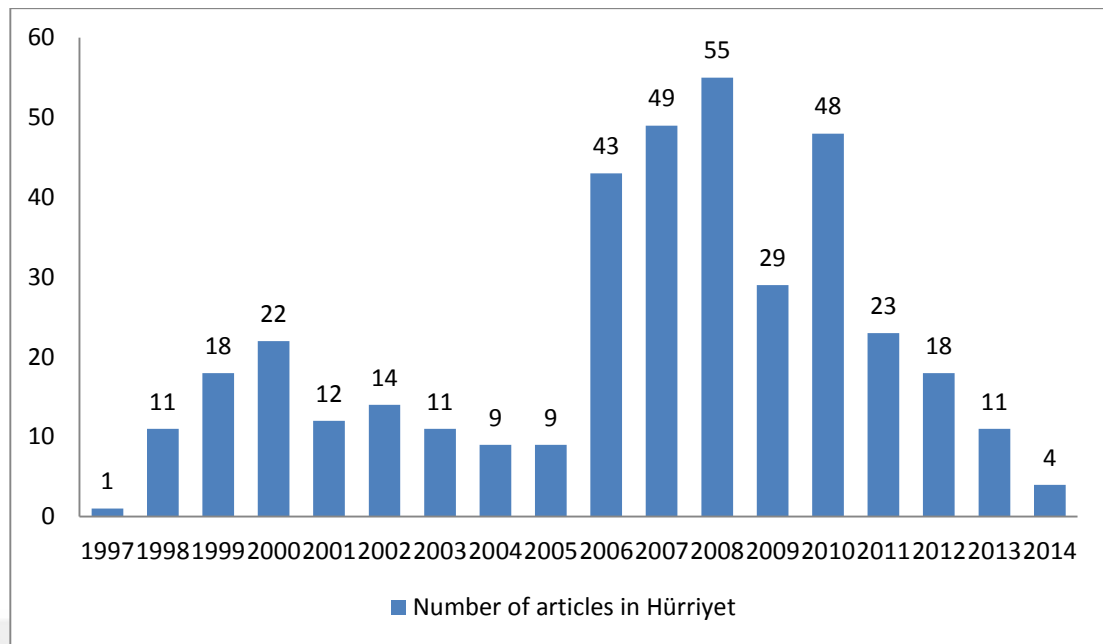


Figure 3. Number of Articles in *Hürriyet* by Year (1997-2014).

4.2.2.3 *Milliyet*

Milliyet was included into the sample as another popular secularist newspaper with a center-right political ideology. In order to search for articles, *Milliyet* electronic archive was used that is available on the link <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/arama.htm>. However, the archive only goes back to 2001, therefore, the missing articles were compensated by articles from other newspapers in order to maintain the representativeness of the sample. It was also noticed that many news articles in *Hürriyet* and *Milliyet*. This is possibly because prior to 2011, both newspapers belonged to Doğan Media Holding, and in 2011 *Milliyet* was sold to Demirören Holding (see Doğan Holding, 2011: 18; also see Doğan, 2013). Duplicate articles were not included because NVivo does not allow for duplicates. The particular search terms used for the electronic archive can be seen in Table 5 below:

Table 5. Articles Found Under Different Search Terms in *Milliyet* electronic archive.²⁸

²⁸ Duplicate articles found under different but overlapping search terms were not included.

Search terms (in Turkish)	English translation	Number of articles found	Percentage share
<i>fuhuş</i>	prostitution	271	93,1%
<i>Nataşa</i>	Natasha	17	5,8%
<i>Nataşalar</i>	Natashas	1	0,3%
<i>insan ticareti</i>	human trafficking	1	0,3%
<i>hayat kadını</i>	prostitute	1	0,3%
TOTAL:		291	100,0%

It is possible to see from the table that 93% of all articles are accessible through the search term “*fuhuş*” (prostitution), which is very similar for all newspapers apart from *Cumhuriyet*. A diagram showing the way articles from *Milliyet* are spread by years can be seen in Figure 4 below:

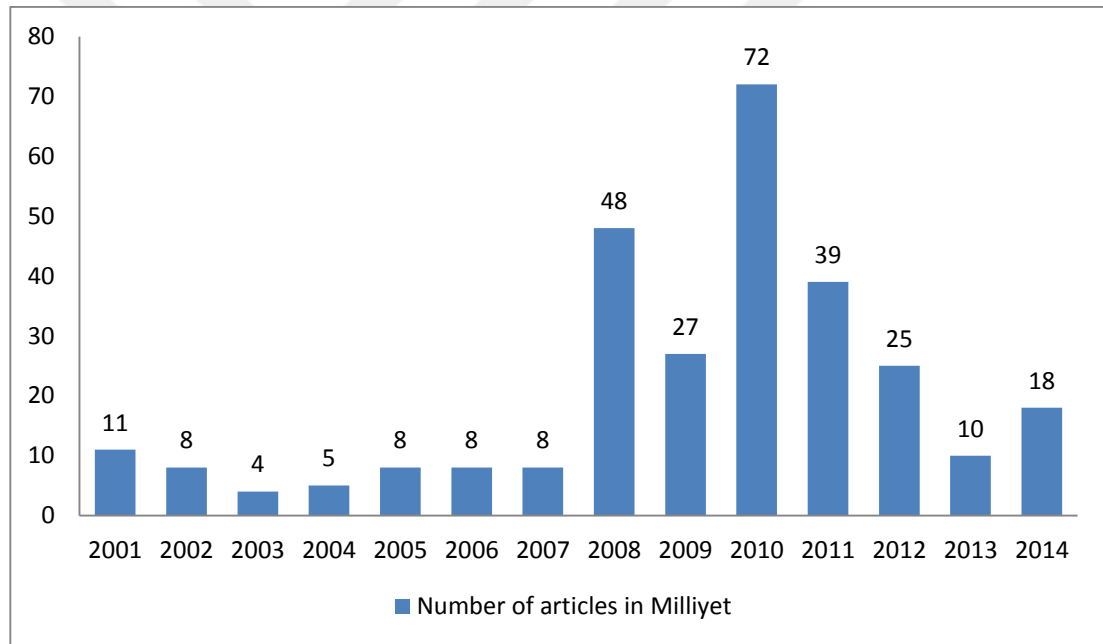


Figure 4. Number of Articles in *Milliyet* by Year (2001-2014).

4.2.2.4 *Sabah*

Sabah was chosen for the sample as a representative of pro-government, center-right political ideology known for its close ties with the AKP (Justice and Development Party; see Arango & Yeginsu, 2015). The articles were searched using *Sabah* electronic archive located on the link <http://www.sabah.com.tr/arsiv>. However, this archive was especially problematic because it only goes back to as far

as 2010, and no previous news articles are available. Two articles, one from 2002 and one from 2004, were accessed using the website <http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr/> but it was not possible to download any other articles because the link was later disabled and is no longer active. The list of the search terms used for article search is provided in the Table 6 below.

Table 6. Articles Found Under Different Search Terms in *Sabah* electronic archive.

Search terms (in Turkish)	English translation	Number of articles found	Percentage share
<i>fuhuş</i>	prostitution	121	88,3%
<i>Nataşa</i>	Natasha	8	5,8%
<i>Laleli</i>	Laleli	4	2,9%
<i>escort kız</i>	escort girl	2	1,5%
<i>Nataşalar</i>	Natashas	1	0,7%
<i>frengi</i>	syphilis	1	0,7%
TOTAL:		137	100,0%

It is possible to see from the table that the majority of the news (88.3%) was accessed by the search term “prostitution”, as with the other newspapers. A diagram showing the way articles from *Sabah* are spread by years can be seen in Figure 5 below:

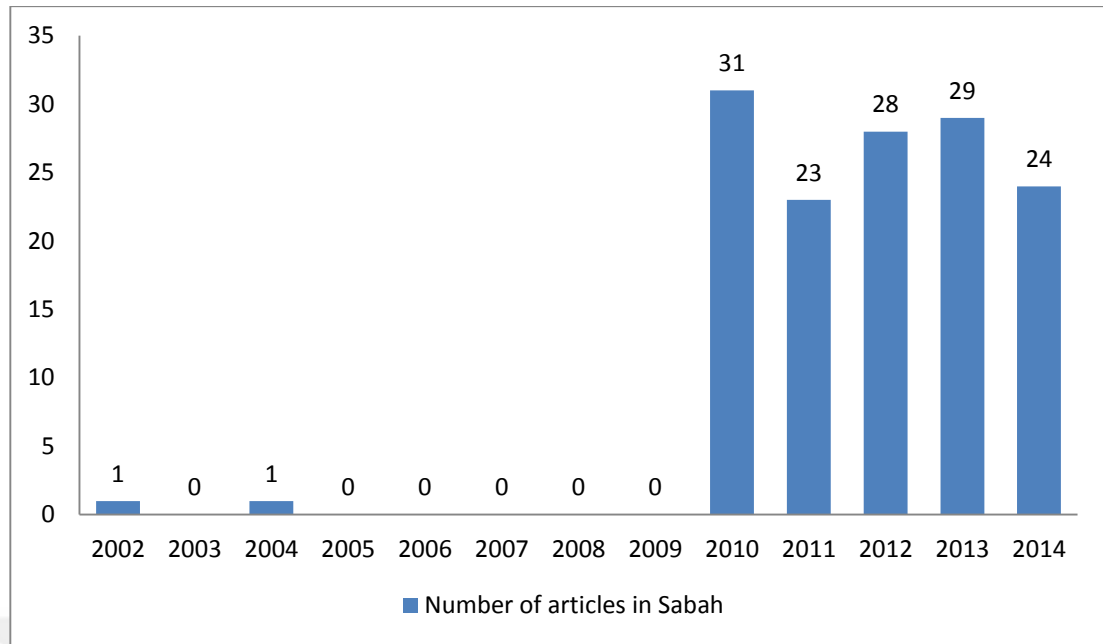


Figure 5. Number of Articles in *Sabah* by Year (2002-2014).

4.2.2.5 *Zaman*

Zaman was added to the sample as the most-read newspaper in Turkey in 2010-2015, representing conservative political ideology. However, as it was mentioned earlier, the newspaper was seized by the government in March 2016 in an attempt to cut down on all the institutions related to the Gulen movement known as the “parallel state”, and can be considered as another blow to the freedom of the press in Turkey (BBC News, 2016). The articles were downloaded from *Zaman* electronic archive located on the link <http://www.zaman.com.tr/haber>. However, following the seizure, the archive has been removed from the Internet, and the link is no longer active. Therefore, it can be argued that the data from *Zaman* used in this dissertation is unique. The archive used for articles search only goes back to 1994, and the articles for 1998-2003 are missing from the archive for some technical reason. The list of the search terms used can be found below in Table 7:

Table 7. The Number of Related Articles Found Under Different Search Terms in *Zaman* electronic archive.

Search terms (in Turkish)	English translation	Number of articles found	Percentage share
fuhuş	prostitution	110	87,3%
Nataşalar	Natashas	7	5,6%
Nataşa	Natasha	4	3,2%
AIDS	AIDS	5	4,0%
TOTAL:		126	100,0%

In this case, again similar to other newspapers, the majority (87.3%) of the articles have been accessed under the search term “prostitution”. A diagram showing the way articles from *Zaman* are spread by years can be seen in Figure 6 below:

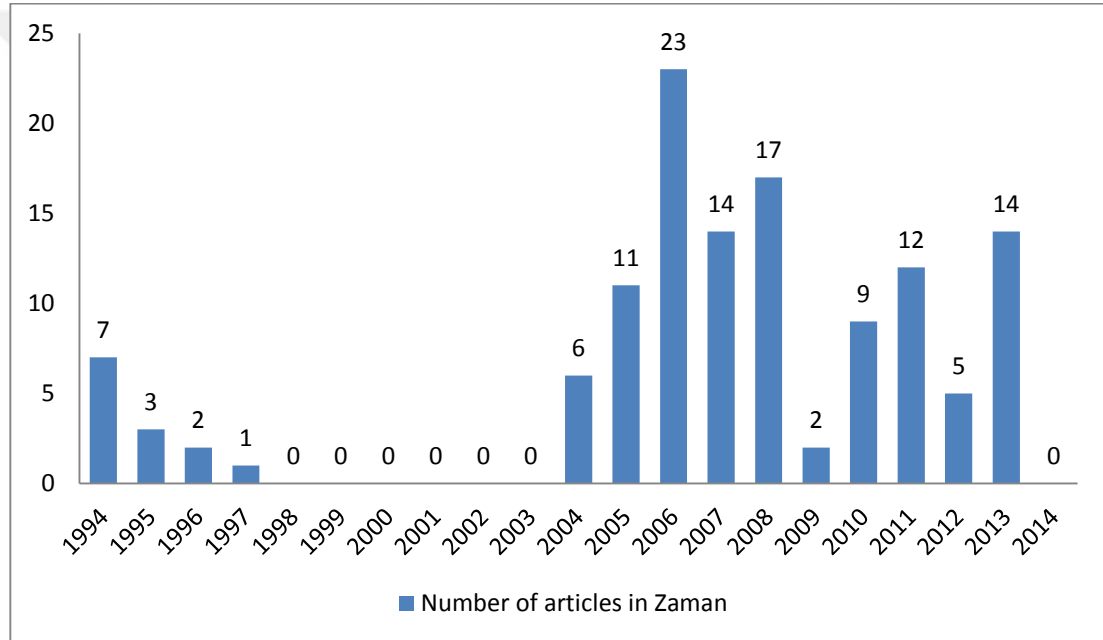


Figure 6. Number of Articles in *Zaman* by Year (1994-2014).

4.2.3 Total Number of Articles

The total number of articles from all five newspapers can be seen in Figure 7 below.

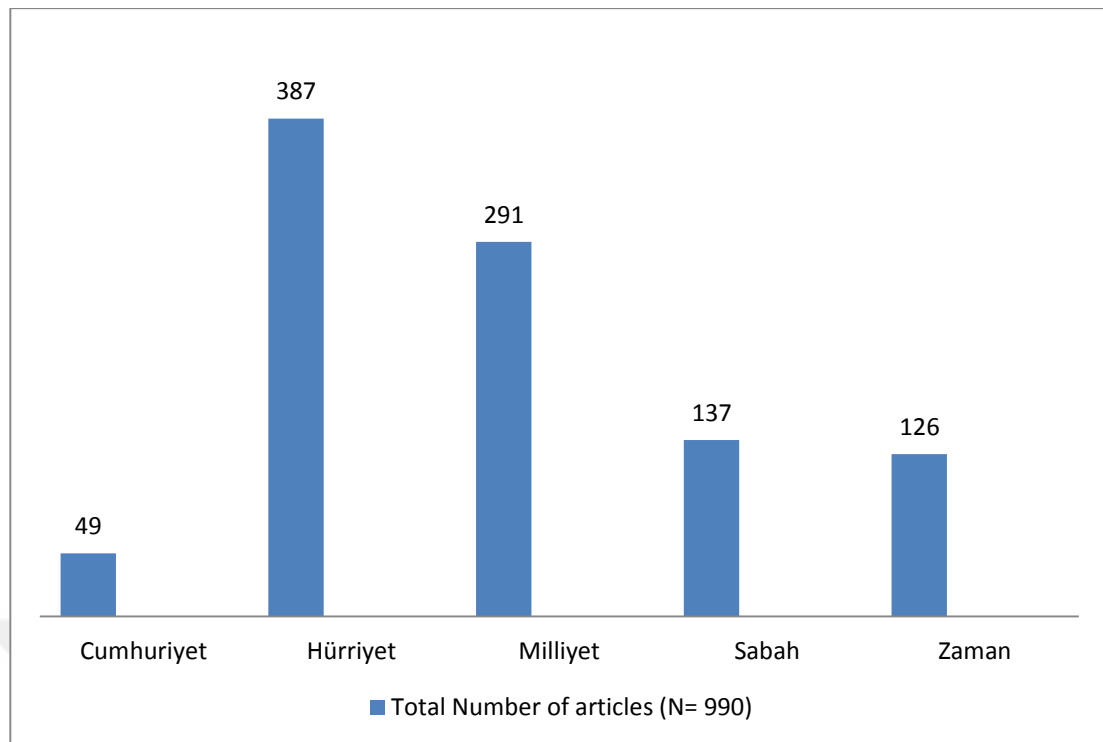


**Figure 7. Total Number of Articles Used for Content Analysis:
Classification by Newspaper.**

The percentage shares of all newspapers in the total number of articles collected for content analysis (N=990) can be found in Figure 8 below. From the diagram, it is possible to see that *Hürriyet* has the highest share (39%), followed by *Milliyet* (29%). These two newspapers contained the highest number of news on the topic of migrant sex labor in Turkey. The other three newspapers contained fewer articles on the topic. *Sabah* has a share of 14%, *Zaman* – 13%, and *Cumhuriyet* has the lowest share with only 5%. The differences between these newspapers and their portrayal of migrant sex labor in Turkey will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

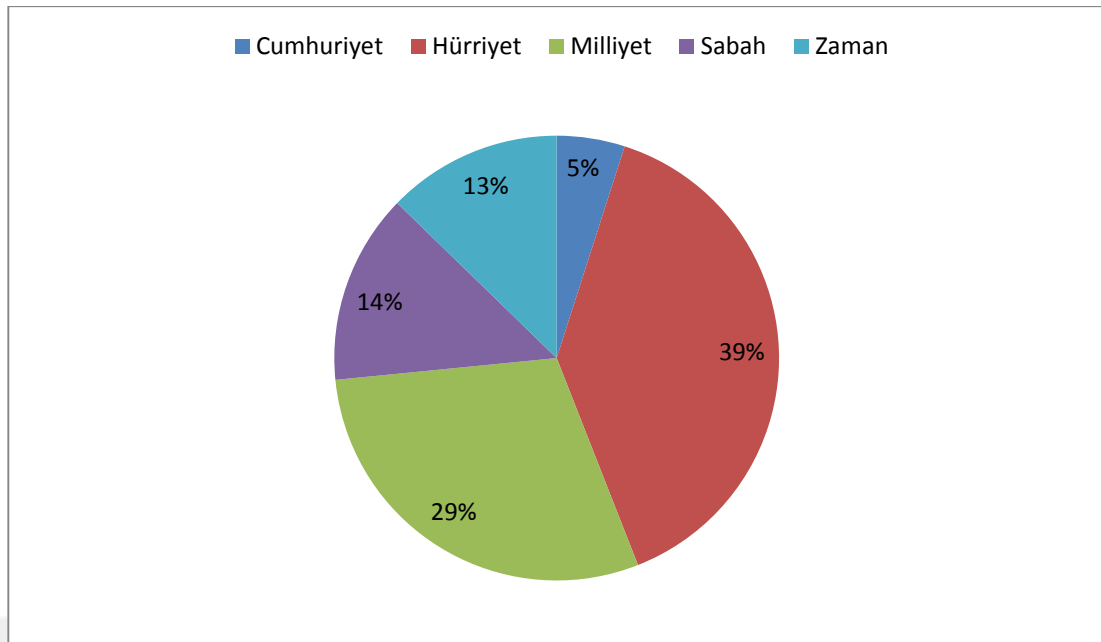


Figure 8. The Percentage Share of Newspapers in Content Analysis.

As far as years are concerned, the classification of all newspapers by year can be seen in Figure 9 below. The year of 2010 has the highest amount of articles (N=161), followed by 2008 with 122 articles, and 2011 with 97 articles. The way the portrayal of the topic changed over the years and the reasons for this change will be explained in detail in Chapter 7, but it is possible to make a preliminary assumption that the reason for such fluctuation is the war between Russia and Georgia of 2008, which left many of Georgian women migrating to Turkey and entering its sex industry, as it is visible from the news articles used in this content analysis that will be discussed in Chapter 7.

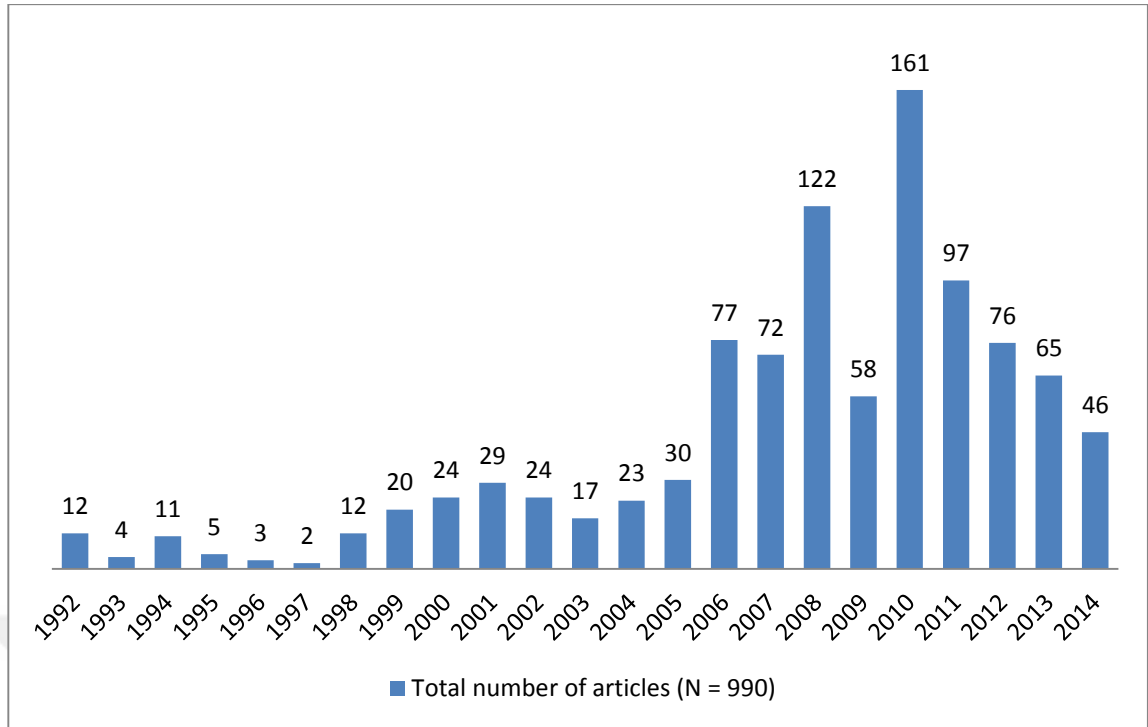


**Figure 9. Total Number of Articles Used for Content Analysis:
Classification by Year.**

An overall table containing all statistical information about the data sample for this content analysis can be seen below as Table 8. Furthermore, the full detailed list of all articles used for content analysis in this dissertation with their Turkish titles, their English translations, authors and news agencies used as source of information in the articles can be found in Appendix C. The total sample includes 990 articles and comprises all the articles on the topic of migrant sex labor in Turkey published in the chosen newspapers from 1992 to 2014 that are available through the official internet archives. Since the emerging sample was quite significant in length and representativeness because of its diversity, it was deemed unnecessary by the author to include any more articles by searching the paper archives of these newspapers in the public libraries.

Table 8. Total Number of Articles Used for Content Analysis, 1992-2014.

Newspaper→ Year↓	<i>Cumhuriyet</i>	<i>Hürriyet</i>	<i>Milliyet</i>	<i>Sabah</i>	<i>Zaman</i>	Year Total:
1992	12	- ²⁹	-	-	-	12
1993	4	-	-	-	-	4
1994	4	-	-	-	7	11
1995	2	-	-	-	3	5
1996	1	-	-	-	2	3
1997	0	1	-	-	1	2
1998	1	11	-	-	-	12
1999	2	18	-	-	-	20
2000	2	22	-	-	-	24
2001	6	12	11	-	-	29
2002	1	14	8	1	-	24
2003	2	11	4	-	-	17
2004	2	9	5	1	6	23
2005	2	9	8	-	11	30
2006	3	43	8	-	23	77
2007	1	49	8	-	14	72
2008	2	55	48	-	17	122
2009	0	29	27	-	2	58
2010	1	48	72	31	9	161
2011	0	23	39	23	12	97
2012	0	18	25	28	5	76
2013	1	11	10	29	14	65
2014	0	4	18	24	0	46
Newspaper Total:	49	387	291	137	126	TOTAL: 990

4.2.4 Translation

After all the Turkish texts of the 990 articles were downloaded from the internet archives as Word or Pdf files, they were translated into English. No English translations of these articles were available online, so the articles were translated manually by the author who is fluent in Turkish with the help of a dictionary when necessary. The translation and coding of all articles took four months and was conducted from December 2015 to April 2016. Attention was paid to the consistency in translating different terms that were particularly important for the analysis. The terms had to be translated in a consistent way in order to ensure that after being coded, the statistics generated by NVivo would not be disrupted.³⁰ Therefore, a

²⁹ The sign “-” means that it was not possible to search for articles for this particular year because of internet archive restrictions.

³⁰ Although NVivo recognizes synonyms in English during automatic coding, this function was not found 100% reliable, so it was not used.

translation log was created in order to make sure that important terms are always translated in exactly the same way. It can be found in Table 9 below.

Table 9. Translation Log.

Turkish term	English translation
<i>ahlak</i> ³¹	morality
<i>bavul ticareti</i>	suitcase trade
<i>baskın</i>	raid
<i>basılmak</i>	to be busted
<i>bel soğukluğu</i>	gonorrhea
<i>cinsel sömürü</i>	sexual exploitation
<i>çete</i>	gang
<i>çete çökertmek</i>	to bring down a gang
<i>darbe</i>	blow
<i>dost hayatı</i>	concubinage
<i>düzensiz göç</i>	irregular migration
<i>escort kız</i>	escort girl
<i>fahişe</i> ³²	prostitute
<i>frengi</i>	syphilis
<i>fuhuş</i>	prostitution
<i>fuhuş batağı</i>	the snare of prostitution
<i>fuhuş çalışanı</i>	prostitution worker
<i>fuhuş şebekesi</i>	prostitution network
<i>fuhuş yapmak</i>	to engage in prostitution
<i>fuhuş yaptırmak</i>	to force into prostitution
<i>gayrimeşru ilişkiler</i>	illicit relationships
<i>gözüaltına alınmak</i>	to be detained
<i>hasta</i>	sick
<i>hastalık</i>	disease
<i>hastalık saçan</i>	disseminating disease
<i>hayat kadını</i>	prostitute
<i>ihbar</i>	informing call
<i>insan kaçakçılığı</i>	human smuggling
<i>insan ticareti</i>	human trafficking
<i>kaçak göçmen</i>	illegal worker
<i>köle</i>	slave
<i>kölelik</i>	slavery
<i>kuma</i>	second wife

³¹ Exception: “*Ahlak Masası*” was translated as Vice Squad.

³² It is important to point out that although the terms “*fahişe*” and “*hayat kadını*” were both translated as “prostitute”, the difference was taken note of and coded in separate nodes in order to maintain the difference in Turkish terms in the final statistical results.

<i>kurban</i>	victim
<i>kurtarılmak</i>	to be rescued
<i>kurtarmak</i>	to rescue
<i>mağdur</i>	victim
<i>müşteri</i>	client
<i>Natasha</i>	Natasha
<i>orospu</i>	whore
<i>para karşılığı ilişki</i>	commercial sex
<i>seks işçisi</i>	sex worker
<i>seks pazarı</i>	sex market
<i>seks ticareti</i>	sex trade
<i>seks turizmi</i>	sex tourism
<i>seksüel sömürü</i>	sexual exploitation
<i>serbest bırakılmak</i>	to be released
<i>sığınak</i>	shelter
<i>sığınma evi</i>	shelter
<i>sınır dışı edilmek</i>	to be deported
<i>sifilis</i>	syphilis
<i>suç örgütü</i>	criminal organization
<i>suçüstü yakalanmak</i>	to be caught in the act
<i>tele kız</i>	call girl
<i>tutuklanmak</i>	to be arrested
<i>tuzak</i>	trap
<i>yakalanmak</i>	to be caught
<i>zina</i>	adultery
<i>zorla fuhuş</i>	forced prostitution

4.3 Stage Three: Defining Coding Categories

Finally, after the articles were translated from Turkish into English, they were imported into NVivo as MS Word documents or Pdf files. In the section “Sources” in NVivo, a folder called “Newspaper articles” was created, and within that folder separate subfolders for each newspaper were created: folders named “Cumhuriyet”, “Hürriyet”, “Milliyet”, “Sabah”, and “Zaman”. Then newspaper articles were imported into the NVivo project by using the “import” button.

Then, the coding process for each folder started. *Cumhuriyet* was coded first, then *Zaman*, then *Sabah*, then *Hürriyet*, and *Milliyet* was coded the last. As it was mentioned above, translation and coding of all newspaper articles took four months (starting in December 2015 and ending in March 2016). Both manual and automatic (“broad-brush”) coding techniques were used. Since it has been argued by other

researchers that “the success of a content analysis depends greatly on the coding process” (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005: 1285), the coding was done very thoroughly and with great attention. According to the method of conventional content analysis, the codes used in the research were “derived from data” and “defined during data analysis” (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005: 1286). No pre-defined codes used in any previous study on the subject were used because no such study existed. The necessary skills in NVivo were obtained by studying the NVivo Help Section and attending a webinar on NVivo usage. The codes used in this study are explained in section 4.4 below.

4.4 Stage Four: Outlining the Coding Process

The NVivo allows for creation of two different types of codes: the so-called “case nodes” and “theme nodes”. According to the NVivo Help section, a “node” is “a collection of references about a specific theme, case or relationship” (NVivo 11 for Windows, 2016a). These references can be gathered in one place by “coding” your sources to a particular node. “Case nodes” or “cases” are used for collecting references about a particular unit of analysis. Thus, “cases are the 'units of observation' in your research study. For example, if you are conducting interviews for your study, you can create a case by the name of each person that you talk to. It is significant to mention that “Unlike theme nodes, case nodes can have demographic attributes—you specify these attributes by 'classifying' the case” (NVivo 11 for Windows, 2016c). These attributes are called “case classifications”. For example, if your unit of analysis is a person, you create a “case node” for each person and assign attributes as “case classifications” to them such as age group, country of birth, or gender. Each age group can be assigned attribute values such as 20-30 years, 30-40 years etc. If, for example, you are conducting interviews on climate change, NVivo Help Section suggests that “as you code more content at cases you can use queries to ask meaningful questions—How do young women respond to the challenge of climate change? Do their attitudes differ from those of older women?” (NVivo 11 for Windows, 2016c). This is what case classifications are used for.

In contrast, “theme nodes” can be used for collecting references on a certain subject or “theme”. These nodes “could be descriptive or analytical” (NVivo 11 for Windows, 2016d), and can be either pre-defined or decided upon during the coding process. If, for example, you are conducting interviews about climate change, you

can create theme nodes for separate topics that your interviewees discussed such as “economy” or “infrastructure” (NVivo 11 for Windows, 2016d). These nodes can later be organized in hierarchies as parent and child nodes according to their logical connections. For example, within the node “economy” you can have separate child nodes such as “agriculture” or “fishing” (NVivo 11 for Windows, 2016d).³³ After creating nodes you can code your data by selecting parts of your interviews and assigning the selection to a particular theme node. This can be done both manually and automatically depending on the type of the content. These theme nodes can later be explored by using queries, charts or other visualizations.³⁴ The software will automatically count the number of references coded at a particular node in order to generate statistical outcomes for content analysis. The nodes used in this study are outlined in sections 4.4.1-4.4.2 below.

4.4.1 Case Nodes

Based on the units of analysis in this content analysis, three groups of case nodes were created in the NVivo project (henceforth, the project): cases “by month”, “by newspaper”, and “by year”. This also means that in this study the general units of analysis that are being analyzed and compared are months, newspapers, and years.

4.4.1.1 Cases by Month

In the group “By month”, 12 cases for 12 months were created. These cases were only created for statistical purposes, in order to find out in which months of the year there was the highest number of prostitution operations conducted by the police (it was found to be the month of December because in this month estimation of the whole year in retrospective was often provided). In order for the software to initiate statistical outcomes properly, each case was assigned a classification attribute “Month” repeating the same 12 months. When the cases are classified like that, it is possible to visualize data coded for particular themes in particular months.

³³ If you want the parent node to incorporate the data coded at child nodes, you should turn on aggregation by right-clicking on a node and turning on the option “Aggregate coding from child nodes”. By default, aggregation in NVivo is turned off, so you always have to turn it on for each particular node that you want to aggregate.

³⁴ Theme nodes can be particularly useful for writing a literature review because they allow taking note of the logical connections among different sources and arranging the content of academic articles by topic in separate nodes.

4.4.1.2 Cases by Newspaper

The second group of cases are cases “by newspaper”. Five cases were created in this folder: “Cumhuriyet”, “Hürriyet”, “Milliyet”, “Sabah”, and “Zaman”. This was done in order to assign each news article analyzed to a particular newspaper, in order to compare and contrast the attitude of different newspapers to different themes.

Each newspaper case was also assigned four attributes in order to increase the number of questions about the data that the software could answer: Name, Ideology, Current Ownership, and Daily Circulation. The attribute values can be assigned by right-clicking on an attribute and opening “Attribute properties”, and then “Values”. Individual attributes and their values are explained below.

4.4.1.2.1 Case Classification by Newspaper: Name

The attribute “Name” contains the names of the five newspapers set as attribute values. Therefore, the values are “Cumhuriyet”, “Hürriyet”, “Milliyet”, “Sabah”, and “Zaman” assigned respectively.

4.4.1.2.2 Case Classification by Newspaper: Ideology

The attribute “Ideology” has three political ideologies entered as attribute values (center-right, center-left, and conservative). However, there is a need to point out that such classification is very simplistic and is only done in order to allow the software to generate proper statistical outcomes. The newspapers’ ideologies were assigned as follows:

Table 10. Newspapers’ Political Ideology.

Newspaper	Ideology assigned
<i>Cumhuriyet</i>	center-left
<i>Hürriyet</i>	center-right
<i>Milliyet</i>	center-right
<i>Sabah</i>	center-right
<i>Zaman</i>	conservative

4.4.1.2.3 Case Classification by Newspaper: Current Ownership

The attribute “Current Ownership” has attribute values for current ownership of all five newspapers. The information about current ownership was obtained from the newspapers’ official websites (by clicking “*künye*” which means “identification record”), and also cross-checked on the individual holding websites (see Demirören Holding, 2016; Doğan Holding, 2016; Turkuvaz Yayın, 2016).³⁵ ³⁶ The current newspaper ownership can be found in Table 11 below:

Table 11. Current Newspaper Ownership.

Newspaper	Current Ownership
<i>Cumhuriyet</i>	Yenigün Holding
<i>Hürriyet</i>	Doğan Holding
<i>Milliyet</i>	Demirören Holding ³⁷
<i>Sabah</i>	Turkuvaz Media Group
<i>Zaman</i>	Feza Gazetecilik

Thus, the attribute “Current Ownership” contains 5 different attribute values: Yenigün Holding, Doğan Holding, Demirören Holding, Turkuvaz Media Group and Feza Gazetecilik (Journalism). It is significant to point out here that prior to 2011, *Milliyet* was also owned by Doğan Holding (see Doğan Holding, 2011). However, NVivo does not allow to code data within the same case by different values in the same attribute. Therefore, it was not possible to code pre-2011 *Milliyet* data as belonging to Doğan Media Holding. However, this difference in ownership was taken notice of during data interpretation manually.

4.4.1.2.4 Case Classification by Newspaper: Daily Circulation

The attribute “Daily circulation” has five different values for all five newspapers based on their daily circulation statistics discussed above. The value for *Zaman* is 1 million, for *Hürriyet* it is 500,000, for *Sabah* it is 400,000, for *Milliyet* it is 200,000, and for *Cumhuriyet* it is 50,000. These are the rough values based on

³⁵ The websites of the *Zaman* newspaper and Feza Gazetecilik are no longer accessible on the Internet, following the seizure of the newspaper in March 2016.

³⁶ The website of the Yenigün Holding (Yenigün Holding, 2016) has no reference that could be evidence of its ownership of *Cumhuriyet*; however, on the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper official website, in the “*künye*” section there is a reference to ownership of the newspaper by Yenigün News Agency Media Group that is associated with Yenigün Holding (see *Cumhuriyet*, 2016).

³⁷ *Milliyet* was also owned by Doğan Holding prior to 2011.

these newspapers' average weekly circulation in 2008-2014 shown in Figure 1 above and entered into NVivo as these newspapers' daily circulation.

4.4.1.3 Cases by Year

In the group "By year", 23 different cases were created, each representing a single year in the period from 1992 to 2014. Each newspaper article could now be assigned to a particular year for the purposes of analysis and comparison. After discussion all case classifications, it is now possible to view the list of all case classifications shown in the section "Case Classifications" in NVivo, where all the classification attributes are displayed in a hierarchical structure.

4.4.2 Theme Nodes

Theme nodes as themes discussed within the media coverage of the topic of migrant sex labor were created during the coding process itself. Appendix D can be consulted for the complete list of 431 theme nodes used in the project. Because all the nodes were hierarchical (it means that they included child nodes), the total number of nodes was very high. The list of 17 parent theme nodes can be seen in Figure 17 below. This can also be considered as the list of general themes found to be discussed within the general topic of migrant sex labor in Turkey that can be used for future studies on the subject. The explanation of which child nodes were created under each parent node can be found below. However, too much information about why particular data was coded at a particular node is not provided here because the results and findings of content analysis will be discussed in Chapter 7.

4.4.2.1 Attitude to Migrant Sex Workers

This node includes information on the overall attitude to migrant sex workers in the article. The attitude to migrant sex workers was classified as either derogatory, or neutral or sympathetic. This node was always coded manually because it contains the analysis of sentiments that the reader gets from the article. Therefore, the attitude was established by personal judgment. If it was not possible to determine the article's attitude at all or it was mixed, then the article was not coded at this node. The non-

coded data will later be included in the emerging statistics as “not available” or “mixed”³⁸. There are three child nodes: derogatory, neutral, and sympathetic.

4.4.2.2 Attitude to Turkish Clients

This node includes general attitude to Turkish clients of migrant sex workers that is present in the article. Because this node contains a judgment of a sentiment, data at this node was also always coded manually. The parent node “Attitude to Turkish Clients” has two child nodes: “Clients as Guilty”, and “Clients as Innocent”. The node “Clients as Innocent” also has a child node “Clients saving the women” to include the examples when migrant sex workers were rescued by their client’s informing call to the police. The importance of this node will be discussed in Chapter 7.

4.4.2.3 Disclosure of Migrant Sex Workers

The node “Disclosure of Migrant Sex Workers” contains references to all kinds of disclosure of personal information about migrant sex workers present in the articles. There are two types of disclosure: disclosure by photograph and disclosure in text. This node has five child nodes: “Blurred pictures of sex workers provided”, “Full names of sex workers provided”, “Open pictures of sex workers provided”, “Pictures with women covering their faces provided”, and “Mentions women covering their faces in text”.

4.4.2.4 Migrant Woman Profile

The node “Migrant Woman Profile” contains statistical information about migrant women identified by the police as sex workers in Turkey. It has more complicated hierarchical structure than previous nodes. There are four big child nodes in the parent node “Migrant Woman Profile”: “Age”, “Country of Birth”, “Education Level”, and “Occupation”. However, each of the four child nodes also has its own child nodes. The node “Age” is classified according to different age groups (see Appendix D). This was done in order to collect statistical information about migrant sex workers of different ages. Then, the node “Country of Birth” has

³⁸ Another way to do this is to create a separate node “mixed or not available”, but both methods achieve the same result.

all countries of the former Soviet Union listed in it.³⁹ The child node “Russian Federation” also has its own child nodes “Chechnya” and “Dagestan” for statistical purposes that will be explained in Chapter 7.

The next node “Education level” is separated into three child nodes: “High school”, “Secondary school”, and “University”.⁴⁰ It was used to collect statistical information about migrant sex workers’ level of education. There is no node “primary school” because no instances of a migrant sex worker with only primary school education in Turkey were found during content analysis (the significance of this finding will be discussed in Chapter 7). It is necessary to point out that the node “University” includes both women who graduated and have a profession, together with college drop-outs and current university students. Thus, this node contains all women who received university education during any period of their life.

The next node “Occupation” contains statistical information about different jobs that migrant sex workers had in their home countries prior to their arrival to Turkey according to the police data mentioned in the articles. However, the list of jobs will not be provided here because this would mean too much data disclosure for now, and is going to be shown and discussed in Chapter 7. Alternatively, the list of child nodes under this node is also available in Appendix D that contains full list of all nodes.

4.4.2.5 Misuse of Terms

This node contains information about all mistaken use of terms related to the topic of migrant sex labor in Turkey. The creation of such node is inspired by Demir and Erdal (2010) study, in which they conducted a content analysis of news on human trafficking in Turkey collected in 2008 and found that the use of many terms by the media was mistaken and problematic. In the present study, the most common mistakes are grouped in the node “Misuse of terms” that has a child node for each common mistake. However, the list of mistakes will not be provided here. It will be shown and discussed in Chapter 7, or can alternatively be found in Appendix D.

³⁹ It is important to note here that the node “Country of Birth” only applies to former Soviet Union countries that are the focus of this dissertation. When other nationalities came up in the articles, they were coded separately in the node “Other Nationalities” that will be explained later.

⁴⁰ It would probably be more logical to have first “Secondary school”, then “High school”, and then “University”, but child nodes within the parent node are always sorted alphabetically by the software, so it was not possible to change the order of their appearance.

4.4.2.6 Naming the Phenomenon

This node is one of the most crucial nodes for this study because it was used to collect information on different ways the phenomenon of migrant sex labor is referred to in the Turkish media. The child nodes in this node represent a list of all the different names sex labor is called. The node “Prostitution” also had a child node “Forced prostitution” when it was used in the context of forced prostitution or forcing into prostitution. The overall structure of the node can be found in Appendix D. The discussion of the significance of this node and its findings will be provided in Chapter 7.

4.4.2.7 Naming the Women

“Naming the Women” is also one of the core nodes used in this study. It collects information about all the different names that are used in the media to refer to migrant sex workers. The list of the child nodes can be seen in Figure 26 below. The node “Prostitute” has two separate child nodes: “*Fahişe*” and “*Hayat kadını*”, because they are considered to have different implied meanings for portrayal of migrant sex workers, especially in terms of patriarchal attitudes to migrant women.

4.4.2.8 Stigmatizing the Women

The node “Stigmatizing the Women” contains information about the most stigmatizing names that migrant sex workers are called. These are “those disseminating diseases” (*hastalık saçanlar*), “Natasha(s)” and “whores” (*orospu*). The node “Natashas” also had a child node “Criticizing the Natasha concept”. Data was coded at this node if the article contained the term “Natasha” not in order to stigmatize the women, but in order to criticize the very stigmatization of these women as “Natashas”.

4.4.2.9 Other Nationalities

The node “Other Nationalities” has all non-FSU nationalities of migrant sex workers identified in Turkey as mentioned in the articles. Although this dissertation only deals with migrant sex workers from former Soviet Union, women of other nationalities were also counted for statistical purposes or for the use in future research projects. The list of child nodes represents the list of the nationalities.

However, this list will not be shown here, and will be explained in Chapter 7. It can also be found in Appendix D.

4.4.2.10 Physical Appearance

The node “Physical Appearance” was used to collect all data mentioning physical appearance of migrant sex workers. This was found helpful for the analysis of patriarchal and postcolonial dimensions of migrant sex labor. It has four child nodes for different types of references: references to “Beautiful or beauty”, “Blond hair or blonde”, “Blue eyes or blue-eyed”, and references to “White skin”. When physical appearance of migrant sex workers was mentioned in general rather than specifically, the data was coded at the parent node “Physical Appearance” and not at child nodes.

4.4.2.11 Public Health

The node “Public Health” is also extremely important for this analysis. It contains all data on migrant sex workers in Turkey discussed in the context of public health. Its hierarchical structure is two-level. There are two “big” child nodes: “Condom use” and “Sexually transmitted diseases (STDs)”. However, each of these nodes has “small” child nodes too. The node “Condom use” is separated into “positive” and “negative” attitude to condom use. And the node “STDs” has separate nodes for different venereal diseases. The data was then coded when each disease was mentioned in the same context with migrant sex workers. When migrant sex workers were mentioned in the general context of public health rather than any particular aspect of it, the data was coded at the parent node “Public Health” rather than any child node.

4.4.2.12 Turkish Culture

The node “Turkish Culture” is extremely important and interesting for the analysis of patriarchal structures influencing the portrayal of migrant sex labor in Turkey by media as an instrument of the state hegemony. It is separated in six child nodes: “Family”, “Honor (*namus*)”, “Masculinity” (*erkeklik*), “Morality” (*ahlak*), “Religion” and “Stereotypes”. The node “Family” also has a child node “divorce” because it was interesting to look at the number that migrant sex workers were mentioned in the context of divorces in Turkey. When migrant sex workers were

mentioned in the context of Turkish culture in general rather than any particular aspect of it, the data was coded under the parent node “Turkish culture” rather than any child nodes. The findings that this node helped to produce will be discussed in Chapter 7.

4.4.2.13 Turkish Economy

The node “Turkish Economy” is very interesting too in terms of grouping references in which migrant sex workers were discussed in the economic context. It is particularly significant for Marxist feminist and historical materialist analysis of migrant sex labor in Turkey. The node “Turkish Economy” is separated into eleven child nodes: “Capitalism”, “Communism”, “Customs” (*gümrük*), “Demand” (*talep*), “Dollars or foreign currency” (*dolar* or *döviz*), “Free market”, “Hotel industry”, “Import”, “Taxes”, “Tourism” and “Trade”. The node “Tourism” also has a child node “Sex tourism”, and the node “Trade” has a very important child node “Suitcase trade” (*bavul ticareti*). When migrant sex workers were mentioned not in the context of these particular aspects of economy, but in the context of Turkish economy in general, the data was coded at the parent node “Turkish economy” rather than child nodes.

4.4.2.14 Turkish Geography

The node “Turkish Geography” is the largest node in terms of child nodes. It has multi-level division of child nodes according to regions of Turkey, provinces of each region, major cities, and districts of some major cities. The data was coded at these geographical nodes mostly when the so-called “prostitution operation” conducted by the police was reported to take place in a certain location in Turkey, and migrant sex workers were detained there. However, any other mentioning of cities and provinces in the same context with migrant sex workers was also coded at relevant geographical nodes. When Turkish geography was mentioned in the same context as migrant sex workers in general rather than any specific place, the data was coded at the parent node “Turkish geography” (as, for example, in the case of discussions about the geographical position of Turkey).

On hierarchical level two, each region is separated into provinces. All of the provinces existing in each region in Turkey were included as separate nodes. Some provinces have child nodes too. This was done for major provinces (*il*) and big

province centers with mentioning of migrant sex workers in the context of their counties (*ilçe*). For example, the node “Aydın” has a separate child node for the county of Kuşadası, and the node “Muğla” has separate child nodes for the county of Bodrum. However, there is a need to point out that only those counties (*ilçe*) that were found to be mentioned in the articles text in the same context as migrant sex workers were created as nodes and included in the coding scheme; counties that have zero references coded were excluded from the coding, but may be added into final data visualizations as having zero references.

All nodes for regions and provinces of Turkey have a similar structure, with very important provincial centers such as Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir and Antalya also being separated by counties. Istanbul as a very important hub for migrant sex labor is also separated by districts (*mahalle*). The full list of geographical nodes for all regions of Turkey can be consulted in Appendix D.

4.4.2.15 Turkish Politics

The node “Turkish Politics” was used to collect references when migrant sex workers were mentioned in political context. It is a very important node for this study because of its focus on the media as an instrument of state hegemony. The node “Turkish Politics” also has a multi-level hierarchical structure. The first-level child nodes within the node are “Authority figure”, “Democracy”, “Elections”, “Fethullah Gulen” (or the Gulen movement), “Government”, “National security”, “Civil society organizations”, “Political parties”, “The State”, “TBMM” (*Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi* or Turkish National Assembly), “Terrorism” and “War”. The node “Authority figure” also has child nodes for “Minister of Foreign Affairs”, “President” and “Prime Minister” in case they were mentioned in the same context with migrant sex labor in Turkey.

The node “Political Parties” has child nodes for each major political party in Turkey that existed in the period from 1992 to 2014 and is mentioned in the same context with migrant sex workers in the articles. Parties that are not mentioned in the same context with migrant sex workers are not included, so this is not an all-encompassing list of all existing political parties in Turkey. There are separate child nodes for Justice and Development Party or *Ak Parti* (AKP), the Motherland Party or *Anavatan Partisi* (ANAP), Republican People’s Party or *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* (CHP), Democratic Left Party or *Demokratik Sol Partisi* (DSP), Democratic Society

Party or *Demokratik Toplum Partisi* (DTP), Democratic Party or *Doğru Yol Partisi* (DYP), Virtue Party or *Fazilet Partisi* (FP), Nationalist Movement Party or *Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi* (MHP) and Welfare Party or *Refah Partisi* (RP). The node “MHP” also had a small child node “MÇP” referring to the party’s predecessor with a different name: Nationalist Labor Party or *Milliyetçi Çalışma Partisi* that no longer exists. Many of these parties only existed during a certain period of time within the time framework of this dissertation (1992-2014), and their possible impact on the portrayal of migrant sex labor in Turkey will be discussed in Chapter 7.

4.4.2.16 Violence against Women

The node “Violence against Women” is also very interesting and important for this study because of its feminist angle. It was used to collect and analyze statistical information about different kinds of violence against women existing in migrant sex work in Turkey. This node has separate child nodes for different instances of violence against migrant sex workers, all of which are very grave examples of patriarchal exploitation of the women’s bodies and their sexual labor. Apart from that, the node “threatening” has child nodes for threatening “with death” of sex worker herself, threatening “with guns”, threatening “with killing family members” of the sex worker, and threatening the sex worker “with ruining (her) face with nitric acid”. Finally, the node “torture” has separate nodes for torturing “with boiling oil” and torturing “with cigarettes on the body”. These are all examples of violence against women that are present in the article sample. The full hierarchy of nodes within the parent node “Violence against women” can be seen in Appendix D.

4.4.2.17 What Happens to Women

Finally, the last theme node is called “What Happens to Women”. It was used to collect references to different kind of language used in the articles to describe what happens to migrant sex workers during or after police raids. According to the articles, migrant sex workers are often “arrested” (*tutuklandı*), “caught” (*yakalandı*), “deported” (*sınırdışı edildi*), “detained” (*gözetim altına alındı*), “referred to shelters”, “released” (*serbest bırakıldı*) or “rescued” (*kurtarıldı*). In addition to that, the node “caught” also has a child node “caught in the act” (*suçüstü yakalandı*) when it is used

in the context of migrant sex workers, and the node “rescued” has separate child nodes for “rescued with 157 helpline”⁴¹ and “rescued with the help of clients”.

Apart from all the theme nodes listed and explained above, there was also one node that was used in this dissertation for personal purposes and is therefore not included here or in Appendix D. It is a node called “Memorable quotations” that was used to collect quotations on different topics that come across in the articles that could be later used to illustrate some analytical examples and findings. It is recommended that future researchers also use such method because it makes data organization much easier, especially when the data sample is significant in size.

4.5 Stage Five: Implementing the Coding Process

After explaining the case and theme nodes used in this study, there is also a need to explain how the coding process was implemented. The overall list of nodes was more or less created while coding the first 50 new articles and was not significantly altered during the coding process unless a new term or idea came up. If this happened, then a new node was created and all the data was revised again and coded on this new node when necessary.

Two coding techniques were used in the coding process: manual coding and automatic coding. Data at most of the nodes was coded manually because of the sensitivity of the subject and desire to avoid mistakes. In order to code manually, the articles were read and reviewed one by one, and then relevant words, sentences or paragraphs were selected and coded at a particular theme node. It was helpful that in NVivo, you could double-click on a word in a text document to select it, and you could also triple-click to select the whole paragraph. You could then simply drag the selected text on the node that is applicable. For Pdf documents though, you always have to select the data manually and there are no special “clicking” techniques that could help speed up the process.

However, when it was identified that a certain term was appropriate for automatic coding because it always appeared in a context that was relevant to the topic of this study, then automatic or so-called “broad-brush” coding technique was used. For example, all usages of the term “prostitution” were found applicable so they were counted and coded automatically. Automatic coding was also used to

⁴¹ The 157 helpline will be elaborated upon in Chapter 6.

count the number certain sexually transmitted diseases were mentioned in the text. In order to code automatically, a query type called “text search query” was used. In a text search query, you can enter the word or phrase that you want to search into a special search form (there are also helpful “AND” and “OR” buttons) in order to search the whole data set, or select the folders of data sources that you want to search in. There is also a possibility to search “exact matches” of the word or words “with stemmed words” in order to include all grammatical forms of it. The software would then produce a statistical result of the list of contexts that were used for the searched term in text, and also allow saving the query results in an existing or a new node. In order to create a new text search query, you need to select “Query” and then “Text search”. The other types of queries used for this study will be discussed in section 4.7 below.

4.6 Stage Six: Determining Trustworthiness

In order to determine trustworthiness of the study and to ensure that its method could be replicable by future researchers, a test sample was first created and coded to test the reliability of the coding scheme. A collection of 49 articles from *Cumhuriyet* was selected as a test sample because of its relatively small size. The articles in the test sample were translated and coded according to the coding scheme invented by the author. Then this mini-project was presented before the jury at the author’s thesis observation committee that took place in December 2015 and was discussed with committee members. It was found that the coding scheme by theme nodes was successful because it reflected major themes in content analysis data that were relevant to the topic of the study. The organization of the data by case nodes was also found applicable because it allowed the researcher to produce many different statistical results and explore the data both quantitatively and qualitatively, as will be shown in section 4.7 below, as well as Chapter 7 that discusses content analysis findings. After the overall coding scheme and structure of the NVivo project was approved by the committee, the other articles in the sample were also coded in a similar way. In addition to that, in order to understand the details and “special tricks” of the software usage, an international expert on NVivo was consulted, and a webinar on NVivo usage organized by QSR International was attended online.

4.7 Stage Seven: Analyzing the Results

The content analysis done with the help of NVivo software allows for many ways of data interpretation. These can be divided into two groups: quantitative ways of analysis and qualitative ways of analysis. The sections below explain each of these.

4.7.1 Quantitative Analysis (Content Analysis)

Traditionally content analysis has a quantitative dimension because of its ability to produce definite statistical outcomes. It was found the NVivo software is very helpful for that purpose. For example, NVivo can automatically count the number of times a certain term is mentioned in text, which is the basic technique of content analysis. There are several ways NVivo was used to generate statistical outcomes in this dissertation.

a) Tables. Tables were created using automatically counted data generated by NVivo. Tables were however created manually in MS Excel. Automatic counting in NVivo means counting of the data coded on a certain node. NVivo automatically groups the data coded on a particular node. When clicking on a node, it is possible to see the coding results as a list of “chunks” of the text where the relevant term appeared. Both the number of sources mentioning the term in the relevant context, and the number of total mentioning of the term in text were counted. This data was used to analyze the findings of content analysis in tables that included a column of the numbers of how many times the term was used, and a column with the percentage share of this number in the total number of articles (N=990 accepted as 100%). These tables with results of content analysis will be shown and discussed in Chapter 7.

b) Charts. Charts allow the visualization of the connections between the data. In order to create a chart in NVivo, one needs to go to the “Explore” section on top of the screen and then press “Charts”. There are two types of charts that can be generated by the software: coding charts and case charts. In this study, coding charts were found extremely helpful because they could show coding by case attribute value for a theme node. Thus, coding charts could help determine logical connections between case nodes and theme nodes. For example, they could show the data from the case of *Zaman* (coded on the case node “by newspaper” with classification attribute “Name”) that is coded under the theme node “Attitude to migrant sex workers - Derogatory”. Because of a large number of possible case/theme node

combinations, coding charts allow the researcher to ask the software an infinite number of different questions. For example, it is also possible to view data from the case “By Year” that is coded on a certain theme node. The software can also show coding by case attribute value for a single theme node, or for multiple theme nodes. However, it is not possible to include case attribute values from different case classifications. In this dissertation, two types of charts were found to be the most useful. The first one is a chart used to show data from each newspaper case coded at a particular theme node. In order to create such chart, one needs to go to “Explore” – “Chart” – “Coding”, and select “Coding by case attribute value for a node”. Then, as a “Node” one can select a theme node that s/he is interested in, and as an X-axis attribute it is possible to select either “Newspaper” – “Name” if the chart needed to show difference in thematic coding for each newspaper, or “Year” – “Year” if the chart was supposed to show difference in thematic coding over the years. In all charts, for the X-axis attribute the selection “All attribute values except “Unassigned”, “Not applicable” was switched on. Also, for charts showing thematic coding by newspaper and by year it was found more appropriate to select the Y-axis in “number of coding references” rather than “percentage coverage” format. Otherwise, the software did not generate the charts properly. Apart from that, sometimes the data coded at two different theme nodes for a single case (either “Newspaper Name” or “Year”) was also visualized in a chart for the purposes of comparison⁴². To this end, a chart for “coding by case attribute value for multiple nodes” was used. In order to quickly create a chart for a particular theme node, it is also possible to right-click on that node and choose “visualize”, then select the option “chart node coding by attribute value” and pick the relevant X-axis attribute⁴³.

4.7.2 Qualitative Analysis (Discourse Analysis)

It is significant to remember that media analysis is not a purely quantitative method and that it also includes a qualitative dimension. Qualitative dimension of media analysis is discourse analysis or analysis of meanings. Even though computer software can be helpful for the researcher in terms of organizing and counting the

⁴² For comparative charts, often a chart generated by NVivo was transformed into a MS Excel chart, and is presented as an Excel chart in the dissertation because the original NVivo chart looked blurry.

⁴³ There might be some other ways to analyze the data that are available in different editions of the software, such as NVivo Pro. However, this study utilizes NVivo Starter edition because it is considered to satisfy all the demands of this particular research project.

data and the findings, as well as beneficial in terms of time-saving, no automated software can replace the creative critical mind of a human being. Therefore, qualitative analysis was also made an important part of this project.

Qualitative analysis of the results of this NVivo project was done in two ways. The first way was to critically think about and analyze the findings of the project. For this purpose, the grouping of the article content on different theme nodes was found very helpful because it allowed for better organization of data. The personal node “Memorable quotations” was also very helpful for this purpose because it allowed collecting quotations on different important subjects separated in child nodes.

The second way was to analyze the findings of the project by conducting comparative mini-case studies. Two comparative mini-cases chosen for this analysis are discussed in Chapter 7. These are the cases of incidents that took place in 2001 and 2003, which received wide coverage in the Turkish media and also provoked the discussion in the civil society because of the sensitivity and significance of the topic. These are the cases of Leyla Bozacı’s rape (2001) and Oksana Topor’s exposure (2003) that will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7. The way these two incidents were portrayed in five different newspapers chosen for content analysis and the similarities and differences in portrayal will be discussed in Chapter 7.

4.8 Methodological Limitations

The content analysis in this dissertation only covers articles from five major Turkish newspapers selected by specific criteria mentioned above. Future researchers could apply the same method to content analysis of different newspapers. Furthermore, the sample only covers the period from 1992 to 2014. The years of 2015-2016 are not included in the analysis. Only the articles that covered migrant sex workers from FSU countries were included in the present analysis. Similar analysis could be conducted for migrant sex workers of all nationalities, or for local sex workers. In addition to internet archives, paper archives in the public libraries can also be used for content analysis by future researchers of the subject if it is not possible to find the necessary information online. For this purpose, the articles will have to be photographed and later manually transcribed and imported into NVivo as MS Word documents.

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter explained the methodology of the present dissertation. It elaborated upon the choice of research question and research sample, the data collection through electronic archives, the data processing through NVivo 11 software, and the data interpretation with both quantitative and qualitative research techniques. The chapter also provided information on the structure of the NVivo project used for content analysis and discourse analysis in this dissertation by showing each case or theme node used in the study in a separate illustration or explaining it in text. It is hoped that the methodology applied in this study could be used for other future research projects on migrant sex labor in Turkey or on sex work in general, as well as in other social sciences projects (Appendix D with full list of theme nodes is provided for that purpose). Before proceeding with the findings of this content analysis and discussion of media representations, it is deemed necessary to elaborate upon the topic of migrant sex labor in Turkey in general based on the analysis of the existing literature on the subject, since this subject is also understudied. However, the role of the media in influencing public opinion on the issue will also be underlined. Thus, the next chapter will provide information about the general context of migrant sex labor in Turkey. It will be followed by Chapter 6 focusing on Turkey's policy on migrant sex labor and its critique. Finally, Chapter 7 will provide the results of content and discourse analysis and discuss media representations of migrant sex labor in Turkey.

CHAPTER 5

GENERAL CONTEXT OF MIGRANT SEX LABOR IN TURKEY

*Girls came from Russia, the coasts are full of them
Whatever with the single men, but what happened to married ones?
Oh, Natasha, Natasha, you threw us into fire
You are driving us crazy, Natasha from Moscow...⁴⁴
A song by Turkish singer Erkan Ocaklı.*

Having described the methodology of this study, there is a need to provide a general context of migrant labor in Turkey, because the discussion of media representations is intrinsically connected to it. This chapter as the first empirical chapter of this study aims to draw a general picture of migrant sex workers in Turkey based on the analysis of available literature. It is divided into two parts: the first part analyzes the supply side of migrant sex labor in Turkey, and the second part analyzes the demand side of migrant sex labor in Turkey. Both parts are discussed through the Marxist feminist and historical materialist theoretical framework with an emphasis on the interaction between capitalist and patriarchal structures of exploitation. According to Hartmann (1981: 17), “there is no such thing as “pure capitalism,” nor does “pure patriarchy” exist,” because these two phenomena coexist out of necessity to provide profit-maximization for the capitalist economy through patriarchal

⁴⁴ The original Turkish lyrics of the song can be found below:
*Rusya'dan kızlar geldi Doldu sahiller dolu
Bekarlara ne ise evlilere ne oldu
Oy Nataşa Nataşa koydun bizi ataşa
Çıkardın bizi baştan Moskovalı Nataşa...*

exploitation of women's labor. Therefore, it can be argued that "in capitalist societies a healthy and strong partnership exists between patriarchy and capital" (Hartmann, 1981: 19). After discussing the general context of migrant sex labor in Turkey in the present chapter through Marxist feminist and historical materialist theoretical framework, the next Chapter 6 will focus on Turkey's policy on migrant sex labor and its problems and pitfalls, and Chapter 7 will focus on the media representations.

5.1 The Supply Side of Migrant Sex Labor in Turkey

In the analysis of the supply side of migrant sex labor in Turkey, it is important to discuss the following elements: the profile of migrant sex workers in terms of their nationality and socio-economic background, the routes how they enter Turkey, and their reasons for entering the sex labor market. All of these elements are important for the present analysis of media representations of sex labor because they have an impact on the way exploitation of migrant sex labor in Turkey, influenced by patriarchal societal structures, provides profit-maximization for the capitalist economy. Consequently, the profile of migrant sex workers in terms of nationality is significant because it allows us to see women of which nationalities entered sex labor in Turkey and why these particular nationalities provided the supply in migrant sex workers. The socio-economic profile of migrant sex workers is significant because it helps to understand the reasons why they entered sex industry in Turkey. The routes how migrant sex workers entered Turkey are important because they show the exact places where the supply in migrant sex workers was provided, and the reasons why they entered sex labor market are discussed here in order to understand the internal dynamics of sex labor industry in Turkey.

When discussing the supply side of migrant sex labor in Turkey, it is necessary to first look at the profile of migrant sex workers as the participants of global relations of production. This chapter provides a general "portrait" of migrant sex workers from the former Soviet Union (FSU) in Turkey, which includes women from such countries as Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Estonia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine and Uzbekistan. The profile of migrant sex workers in Turkey is analyzed here in two different aspects: in terms of nationality and in terms of the workers' socio-economic background.

In the analysis of the profile of migrant sex workers in Turkey by nationality, it is possible to see that there have been significant changes in the workers' profile since the 1990s. In the 1990s, structural economic changes in the FSU countries such as unemployment, inflation and social benefits crisis resulted in the influx of reproductive workers to the nearest more affluent countries. For example, Erder and Kaşka (2003: 13) indicate that in the years 1996-2001 Turkey received female migrant sex workers identified as victims of human trafficking mainly from such FSU countries as Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldova, the Russian Federation and Ukraine. Apart from migrant sex workers from the FSU, there were also high numbers of women from Romania representing the largest share (27.5%) of all women deported for illegal sex work in Turkey in the period from 1996 to 2001 (Erder & Kaşka, 2003: 18; see Table 12 below). Interestingly, Russian women (citizens of the Russian Federation) represented the lowest share in both cases: women deported for prostitution and for carrying a sexually transmitted disease (STD), making 8.3% of all foreign women deported in the period 1996-2001 (see Table 12 below). According to Erder and Kaşka (2003: 18), "this is in contrast to the general stereotyping of "Russian women" as being involved in sex-related illegal activities as projected by the media and widely affecting public opinion in Turkey." Details about different nationalities of migrant sex workers and their percentage share can be found in Table 12 below.

**Table 12. Deportation of Foreigners for Prostitution and STDs from Turkey
(1996-2001).⁴⁵**

	STD	%	Prostitution	%	Total	%
Romania	1,568	-	6,554	-	8,122	27.5
Georgia	1,626	-	3,606	-	5,232	17.2
Moldova	883	-	4,050	-	4,933	16.7
Ukraine	608	-	3,424	-	4,032	13.6
Azerbaijan	868	-	1,950	-	2,818	9.5
Russian Federation	464	-	1,998	-	2,462	8.3
Subtotal	6,017	88.1	21,582	94.9	27,599	93.3
Other	813	11.9	1,170	5.1	1,983	6.7
TOTAL	6,830	100.0	22,752	100.0	29,582	100

⁴⁵ Source: Erder and Kaşka (2003: 22). Data originally obtained from the General Directorate of Security, Foreigners Department, Ministry of Interior.

TOTAL %	23.1	-	76.9	-	100	-

The FSU states facing economic difficulties started to export their reproductive labor in the beginning of the 1990s when the world capitalist market first opened to them. This export of migrant sex workers served two purposes: it allowed these states to avoid paying unemployment benefits to the women who lost their job as a result of the crisis, and also indirectly supported the economies of these states through remittances that migrant sex workers sent home. Therefore, migrant sex labor was seen by FSU states as a “subsidy for social welfare” for the unemployed (Agathangelou, 2004: 73). At the global structural economic level, the FSU states started to rely on the export of reproductive labor because it provided influx of capital to them through the migrants’ remittances. Graburn (1983: 441)’s statement can be well applied to FSU states relying on the labor of their women abroad:

At a psychological level these nations are forced into the “female” role of servitude, of being “penetrated” for money, often against their will; whereas the outgoing, pleasure seeking, “penetrating” . . . [buyers] of powerful nations are cast in the “male” role.

Thus, structural economic changes in the FSU countries pushed local women to accept low-paid reproductive jobs (sex and domestic work) in the nearest more affluent countries, making these women prone to capitalist exploitation because of their vulnerable status as proletarian workers staying in a foreign country usually with no legal status that could allow them to protect their rights.

It can be argued that female migrant sex workers represent a reserve army of labor for their home countries in the FSU (Marx, 1995). Since no job opportunities are available to them at home, these women accept to work at lower and lower wages at jobs they are most often overqualified for, and therefore their labor is easily exploited by the capitalist economy. Vera⁴⁶, a sex worker from Moldavia in Turkey interviewed by Agathangelou (2004: 163, emphasis added), explains how structural economic problems such as unemployment and lack of social benefits, coupled with a patriarchal attitude to female labor as insignificant for the maintenance of the family income, forced her into sex work in Turkey:

There were no jobs in Moldavia. I came here. *Was it better for us to die?* The system was closed for so many years and access to capitalism was limited.

⁴⁶ All sex workers’ names have been changed by the authors of the cited works in order to protect their identity.

The system opened up with Perestroika and many people found themselves without money and everybody left. First, the women left because they did not have any jobs or money. If I wanted to keep men company and I did not have money I could not do it. If you do not have a job, you cannot have a good life. I want my child to go to school but I cannot send him. I did not want to stay in Moldavia any longer.

It is possible to see from Vera's statement that women were more heavily affected by the economic crisis in the FSU because they were the first ones to lose their jobs. In Barrett's (1988: 158) words, women became a "pool of labor" that the state could draw on in times of economic instability, because women often accept to work on lower wages than men and are in a more desperate situation to accept a low-paid job. This can be explained by the women's subordinate position and their vulnerable social status in the global patriarchal division of labor with their wages seen as "supplementary" to the family income, in contrast to men whose wages are seen as "primary", "breadwinner" wages (see Seccombe, 1974; Zaretsky, 1973). Therefore, exploitation of the FSU women's reproductive labor in the 1990s was possible due to the capital's ability to constantly move in search of cheaper workforce, as well as the patriarchal attitude to female reproductive labor as natural and not requiring and financial remuneration (Seccombe, 1974; Hartmann, 1981; Barrett, 1988). Women's sex labor as a marketable item was exploited by the global economy and "sold" to more affluent countries where there was a market niche available for them.

In the early 2000s, when the economic situation in the FSU countries was more or less stabilized with Vladimir Putin's presidency in Russia and subsequent economic revival in all of the post-Soviet states (see Aslund, 2004), the profile of migrant sex workers in Turkey changed. For example, it was noticed that the number of Ukrainian sex workers in Turkey decreased since the beginning of the 2000s. "What we learn from our IOM offices is that the trafficking route has changed, and they [Ukrainian women] mostly prefer Europe rather than Turkey now" (Demir & Finckenauer, 2010: 77). The reasons for this trend seem to be strictly economic: the EU now might represent a more favorable market for the Ukrainian women wishing to migrate in order to work in sex labor than Turkey. According to the interviews with officers at the General Directorate of Security conducted by Ayata et al. (2008: 45), the number of migrant women from Romania identified as victims of human trafficking in Turkey also decreased in the first half of the 2000s:

When job opportunities increased and hunger decreased in Romania, human trafficking decreased too but of course we do not have any data to prove that. It has not been so intense in the recent years; [victims from] Ukraine, Moldova and Russia have sufficiently decreased. There is an inclination towards Turkic republics and the Arabian peninsula. We mostly receive Kirgiz, Uzbek, Turkmen and Moldavian [women] now. The rate of Georgians is low, their population is low anyway (Ayata et al., 2008: 45).

As far as average age of women is concerned, about 64% of migrant women identified as victims of human trafficking were reported to be in the 18-24 age group, and 5,4% of them were under the age of 18 (Ayata et al., 2008: 45-46).

Finally, since the beginning of the 2010s the profile of migrant sex workers in Turkey in terms of nationality changed again: now most migrant sex workers come from Central Asian countries such as Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan (Sever et al., 2012: 37-38; Özer, 2012; U.S. Department of State, 2015). As confirmed by the research on human trafficking in Turkey, “the identified victim profiles in Turkey in the past decade reveal that nationals of Middle [Central] Asian countries with low socio-economic levels make up the majority of the victims of human trafficking.” (Sever et al., 2012: 37). Before that, the percentage of women from Ukraine and Moldova was much higher (Sever et al., 2012: 38). The 2014 US Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Report (U.S. Department of State, 2014: 383) also confirms that migrant sex workers identified as victims of human trafficking in Turkey are increasingly nationals of Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Kazakhstan, as well as Bangladesh, Syria, and Morocco. According to the most recent US TIP Report 2015 (U.S. Department of State, 2015: 340), “trafficking victims in Turkey are primarily from Central and South Asia, Eastern Europe, Syria, and Morocco”. However, victims from Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Romania and Bulgaria still continue to be identified, though in lower numbers. These figures confirm the assumption that migrant sex labor is fed by the “pool of labor” (Barrett, 1988) of women from the poorest countries.

It is possible to argue that the “pool of labor” in the FSU has changed because the definition of “poor” itself, as well as the number of countries this term applied to, significantly altered since the 1990s. According to Coudouel et al. (2002: 29), “poverty” can be defined as “whether households or individuals possess enough resources or abilities today to meet their current needs.” However, the definition of poverty should not be restricted to purely monetary terms. The modern definition of

poverty “is associated not only with insufficient income or consumption but also with insufficient outcomes with respect to health, nutrition, and literacy, and with deficient social relations, insecurity, and low self-esteem and powerlessness” (Coudouel et al., 2002: 32). It can be argued then that in the 1990s, all FSU states faced deep economic problems and lack of access to health care and social services, so all of them could be considered “poor”; however, in the 2000s mostly Ukraine and Moldova were still having deep economic problems; and finally, in the 2010s, the Central Asian states became the poorest countries in the FSU (see The World Bank, 2015). For example, according to the latest Country Poverty Data in the region of Central Asia published by The World Bank (2015), in Tajikistan 85.1% and in Kyrgyzstan 79% of the population currently live below the poverty line (which is estimated as living on less than \$5 a day).

Consequently, the “poorest” country sold reproductive labor of its women to the nearest more affluent country that the women migrated to, and received the women’s remittances sent back home. Thus, reproductive labor of female migrants from these poor countries is being purchased and exploited by the bourgeoisie as the privileged social class in the receiving country. In the case of Turkey, its hegemonic social class (upper and middle class) purchases and “owns” the imported migrant sex labor because it possesses the financial capability of buying it. It can be argued that the privileged social class in Turkey reproduces its hegemonic (bourgeois) class identity through the act of purchasing migrant sex labor, because by purchasing it the client confirms his or her affiliation with the hegemonic social class (Agathangelou, 2004). Since remunerations to individual migrant sex workers as members of the working class (proletariat) are higher in Turkey and other receiving countries than, for example, in the FSU countries themselves because of the particular structure of the global division of labor, they are seen by migrant sex workers from the FSU as the most preferable location for work in the reproductive sector of economy.

Speaking about the nationality of migrant sex workers in Turkey, it is also interesting to look at the hierarchical power relations among migrant sex workers themselves. It is significant because hierarchical power relationships among migrant sex workers are based on many characteristics such as age, race or physical appearance (Kalfa, 2008: 161), which are shaped by the customers’ demand and also influence the patriarchal structure of the sex labor market in general. Furthermore, it has been noticed by scholars that migrant sex workers in Turkey try to categorize

each other by nationality in order to distance themselves from the other group and stigmatize it as “other” (Kalfa, 2008; Özer, 2012). For example, Russian and Ukrainian women claim that Azerbaijani women are “dirty”, and that Romanians are “thieves” (Kalfa, 2008: 157; 163).

Especially Russian and Ukrainian women are placed “on top of the pyramid” of all migrant sex workers and are more valued by customers and impresarios because they are considered as “queens of sex” (Agathangelou, 2004: 11). Russian and Ukrainian women are appreciated because their bodily characteristics such as blond hair, long legs and green/blue eyes are more “desirable” by the Turkish clients than, for example, the bodily characteristics of Azerbaijani or Central Asian women. These bodily characteristics are particularly valuable in the sex labor market because they confirm the Russian and Ukrainian migrant sex workers “whiteness” compared to “non-white” Azerbaijani or Central Asian women. It has been confirmed by various sources (Agathangelou, 2004; Kalfa, 2008; Özer, 2012) that the demand for “white”, ethnically Russian or Ukrainian women in Turkey is much higher than for the women of other nationalities. Therefore, the bodies of Russian and Ukrainian women as a market commodity “can be super-exploited because of their commodified “beauty” and “sexuality” at higher rates” (Agathangelou, 2004: 88). These women in Turkey are perceived as “white but not quite” (Agathangelou, 2004: 4). They are white because have white skin and look European, but they are “not quite” white because they come from poor peripheral countries “whose upper and middle-classes can never be “white” because race is also about class” (Agathangelou, 2004: 4).

Therefore, “white” Russian and Ukrainian migrant sex workers have more market value for the impresarios and clients in sex labor than sex workers of other nationalities. Since profit-maximization is more possible for impresarios of these women, they are treated as more “valuable” marketable items. For example, the impresarios as the dominant social group in the production relations governing sex labor charge more money from the clients of these highly valued women, thus extracting surplus value from each migrant sex worker. According to the testimony of Ukrainian sex worker Alexandra interviewed by Kalfa (2008: 157), her impresario was charging the clients more money because of her nationality: “The boss [impresario] pays us more. While Romanians have one or two customers [per day], we have ten. The boss loves us more, he never beats us, but sometimes beats the

Romanians.” Therefore, the economic payoffs and surplus value extracted from Russian and Ukrainian sex workers are higher than that of migrant sex workers of other nationalities.

Such hierarchy placing the Russian and Ukrainian sex workers “on top” of the pyramid of migrant sex labor creates discontent among the “non-white” Central Asian sex workers who are paid less for the same sexual “service”. For example, Uzbek victim of human trafficking Farida interviewed by Özer (2012: 116) complains about the “otherness” of the Russian women that she interprets as “looseness”:

The worst type of clients wants different [non-traditional] things. When I do not do them, they go to the other girls who do. Osman [impresario] yells at me for losing customers, he yells “These [other] girls do that, you should do it too.” But these girls are Russian girls, it does not matter for them. They are earning money, working for themselves.

Farida also reports that the customers complain about her for “not doing anything and just lying down,” compared to the “professional” Russian women offering the whole range of sexual services (Özer, 2012: 116). In response to that, migrant sex workers interviewed by Kalfa (2008: 163) argue that Russian women have to pretend as if they “like what they are doing” because it is “their job” to look loose and “hungry for sex” in order to survive in the sex market. Seeing their work in the sex sector as their source of income and survival in the capitalist market, the women act according to the rules of this market. However, this hypocrisy of the Russian women often leads to psychological problems. For example, Mina, a migrant sex worker interviewed by Gülçür and İlkaracan (2002: 419) shares mixed feelings that she has about her “profession”:

Sometimes I enjoy working, I can travel and see beautiful places. I can go to nice restaurants. I enjoy that the Turkish men view us as desirable. . . but some mornings I wake up and say to myself “What am I doing? Where am I?” I need to go to a doctor. I have a lot of depression. Sometimes I cannot get out of bed but I have to force myself to work.

Finally, migrant sex workers seem to share somewhat derogatory attitude to the Turkish women because it is their husbands who become the migrant women’s clients. They create the image of “otherness” of the Turkish women, giving them a “subordinate” position in terms of power in the production relations governing sex labor in their minds. This hierarchy reflects the different patriarchal attitudes to sexuality and attitude to men in Turkey and in the FSU countries. For example,

migrant sex workers from the FSU criticize the Turkish women for various things such as “not knowing how to speak to men,” “not knowing how to dress themselves,” and also “for being “too capricious” and “annoying” (Kalfa, 2008: 162-164). Such attitudes mask the FSU women’s patriarchal attitudes to men as the “dominant” sex that are part of the reasons why they are exploited in the sex industry. Some studies on the images of women in Russia and other FSU countries show that in the traditional Orthodox culture women have always been subordinate to men, and they have been valued for their humbleness, diligence, complaisance and submission (see Dergacheva, 2007). Therefore, migrant sex workers from the FSU might share patriarchal attitudes to the Turkish male clients seeing them as the “dominant” group that should be valued and whose wishes should be satisfied. Furthermore, this “othering” of the Turkish women probably serves the psychological aim of raising self-esteem of migrant women engaged in sex work as something letting them feel better in the exploitative conditions of the market. For example, Ukrainian sex worker Alexandra interviewed by Kalfa (2008: 163) shares her thoughts about the Turkish women, almost blaming them for not satisfying the Turkish clients’ desires:

Turkish women are always short. Women from the brothels are very ugly. In Aksaray [a neighborhood in Istanbul] or at the discos, they are always fat, dark-skinned, you almost cannot see them in the darkness, their butts are huge. They do not know how to dress. Prostitution is a profession too. You have to dress according to it. The Russians are always good-looking and elegant. If I were a Turk I would choose a foreigner too.

Thus, migrant sex workers have their own hierarchical power relationships both among themselves and with Turkish women. These hierarchical relationships estimate the women’s “market value” for sex labor and thus influence the production relations among sex workers in the capitalist market. Furthermore, this “othering” of other groups of women allows them to feel a little better in their “profession” in an attempt to forget traumatic experiences related to it, and probably to feel less guilty or ashamed of what they are doing. Therefore, “othering” of other nationalities can be considered as a strategy of surviving in the capitalist market for migrant sex workers from the FSU.

As far as the socio-economic profile of migrant sex workers in Turkey is concerned, it has not really changed over the years. It has been confirmed by many studies that migrant sex workers usually come from poor rural backgrounds. As it

was mentioned before, research on migrant sex workers in Turkey mostly focused on human trafficking. Consequently, most studies confirm that especially victims of human trafficking in Turkey come from poor villages and towns of the FSU. In Erder and Kaşka (2003: 39), the first study on human trafficking in Turkey, it is stated that Moldovan victims were usually “divorced or single, without a profession or economic means, from both rural and urban areas”, women from Belarus were “from rural areas, low educational background and often from single-mother families”, and trafficking victims from Azerbaijan were usually with “low social and economic background, from single-mother families, without family or family support, and women who were left alone to fend for themselves after the war, from rural areas and villages deserted after the war.” Similar evidence was found by more recent studies. Küntay and Çokar (2007: 53) argue that migrant sex workers in Turkey usually come from very poor villages of the former Soviet Union, and one woman among every three has a child to look after. A Turkish NGO official interviewed by Demir and Finckenauer (2010: 69) claims that migrant women becoming victims of trafficking in Turkey “are mostly from low-income families living in the countryside. They tend to be easily deceived. They naively believe it when someone tells them ‘You will make \$1,000 if you come with me and clean the dishes.’” It has been found that sometimes migrant sex workers from the FSU identified as trafficking victims in Turkey cannot call their families back home because they do not have established telephone lines in their houses out of poverty (Demir & Finckenauer, 2010: 70).

With regard to the social profile of migrant sex workers in Turkey, it is also relevant to mention that Özer (2012: 71) found that migrant sex workers from the villages of Central Asian countries also often migrate to Turkey because of the social stigmatization by other family or community members related to the women’s inability to bear a child (infertility), as well as divorce or poor relations with their husbands. Patriarchal attitudes to women as the men’s property or domestic servants prevalent in the rural areas, as well as overall gender inequality and discrimination against women often lie behind the women’s decisions to leave the local community. Also often both migrant and local Turkish women with rural backgrounds find themselves in sex work because of psychological trauma following early or arranged marriages (Balseven-Odabaşı et al., 2012). Therefore, the subordinate position of women in the gendered relations of production in the capitalist economy and patriarchal oppression in the household often push them to make dangerous

migration decisions in an attempt to provide a better life for themselves and other dependent family members.

If one examines education levels of migrant sex workers in Turkey as part of analysis of their socio-economic profile, there is a general disagreement among the scholars. Whereas some scholars point to the fact that education levels of migrant sex workers from the FSU are very high in general due to accessibility of higher education in post-Soviet countries (Erder & Kaşka, 2003; Beşpınar & Çelik, 2009), others confirm that levels of education among migrant sex workers are very low (Demir & Finckenauer, 2010; Sever et al., 2012). Sever et al. (2012: 60) argue that “some specialists [in the police] have reported that some identified victims in recent cases have low IQ and education levels and they have even failed to convince these victims into speaking.” Similarly, a female activist interviewed by Demir and Finckenauer (2010: 68) argues that “the educational levels of trafficking victims are very low. Claiming that sex workers from former [Soviet] countries are highly educated people is not a valid fact for the case of Turkey.” There is also an opinion that if a migrant woman’s IQ and level of education is low, she has been certainly forced into sex work, but if she is a university graduate, she is a “willing” sex worker (Beşpınar & Çelik, 2009: 11). Very often migrant sex workers are stigmatized because of their high levels of education that, in the minds of policemen, exclude the possibility that these women were “tricked” into sex work. A police officer interviewed by Beşpınar and Çelik (2009: 11) explains his concerns:

They are not we have it here, not primary or secondary school graduates. They all finish high school and university. They are like that as a country. There are no those who are illiterate like we have it here [in Turkey]. Let’s say, they are conscious people. Then, with that amount of education, how can they become victims?

However, such labeling is very subjective and can only lead to further stigmatization of migrant women, as well as discrimination against migrant sex workers by the police as an institution responsible for trafficking victim identification, and the Turkish society in general.

Furthermore, there is a perceived dichotomization between migrant and “local” sex workers in the public opinion. Whereas local sex workers are usually seen as innocent “victims of fate” having no option other than sex work because of “cruelty of life”, migrant women are all seen as “willing prostitutes” eager to sell their bodies for money (see Ayata et al., 2008; Beşpınar & Çelik, 2009: 8). Küntay

and Çokar (2007: 15) point to the dangers of such duality arguing that patriarchal dichotomic pairs such as “good woman/bad woman” (or “life woman” – *hayat kadını*, as prostitutes are called in Turkish), “prude/corrupt”, “Madonna/prostitute” only lead to creating the perception of “otherness” of migrant women, making them more vulnerable to further exploitation and discrimination. All such judgments can be considered as very narrow and one-sided, and only exacerbate the existing patriarchal attitudes to migrant sex workers as “loose” and therefore, not needing any protection (Küntay & Çokar, 2007: 15).

According to Demir and Finckenauer (2010: 78), “only 30 percent of all victims spoke Turkish or at least understood it.” An interviewed police officer voices another popular opinion among the police: that women who do not speak Turkish are victims of human trafficking, whereas those who do are “willing” migrant sex workers. He claims that women speaking no Turkish and visiting Turkey for the first time are “the most vulnerable population for trafficking. They can’t defend themselves, because they know almost nothing about Turkey” (Demir, 2010: 332). However, it is possible to disagree with this statement since migrant women with knowledge of the Turkish language can also be victims of trafficking and exploitation. As Özer (2012) confirms, all of migrant women identified as victims of human trafficking interviewed by her were able to explain themselves in Turkish, which she considers a “survival strategy” in the capitalist market for them. Therefore, this categorization of migrant women based on their levels of education or knowledge of Turkish is not helpful, and rather contributes to the policy of dichotomizing between “voluntary” and “forced” sex workers currently implemented by the Turkish government and leading to further victimization of the women themselves.⁴⁷

Apart from the socio-economic and education profile of migrant sex workers, it is also interesting to discuss the choice of Turkey as a particular migration destination for sex workers from the FSU. It is possible to assume that Turkey is considered as a preferable destination country for migrant sex workers from the FSU because of its geographical proximity and lax visa policy for the citizens of post-

⁴⁷ Turkey’s policy on migrant sex labor and its problematic areas will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Soviet countries⁴⁸. As found by Demir (2010: 325), 96% of victims interviewed by the police for his study (total N=430) entered Turkey legally via the visa-free regime. However, they subsequently lost their legal status in Turkey by overstaying their visas and engaging in sex work which is illegal for foreign nationals. It can be argued that Turkey was chosen by the women or their traffickers because there is a demand for female migrant sex labor in this country created by both Turkey's particular position in the global division of labor (Agathangelou, 2004), and patriarchal attitudes to sexuality and "proper" behavior for women (Beşpınar and Çelik, 2009). Demand is therefore creating its own supply in migrant sex workers who come to Turkey "in response to the demands of consumers of the desire economy" (Agathangelou, 2002: 151). Turkey's economy is thus influenced by neoliberal policies of the state which favors female migrants compared to males because women are "perfect workers" for the irregular reproductive work such as domestic and sex sector (Agathangelou, 2004; Eder, 2007; İçduygu & Biehl, 2008).

It can be argued that the ideology of capitalist economy in Turkey is the global "hegemonic ideology" of neoliberalism (Schwarzmantel, 2009a: 82), which represents the interests of the "transnational capitalist class" (van der Pijl, 1988), or the world bourgeois elites. Consequently, neoliberalism is seen here as a

broad strategy on the part of economic, political and cultural (and sometimes military) elites to destroy the (peripheral) Fordist compromises and to restructure power relations, institutions, overall orientations and truths, in particular societies and at the international level, even more towards capitalist interests (Brand & Sekler, 2009: 6).

In this sense, neoliberalism can be considered as "capitalism with the gloves off" (McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2000: 25) because of its imperative aim to provide profit-maximization for the capitalist economy. Therefore, neoliberalism as the global hegemonic ideology of the transnational bourgeois elites threatens migrant women in Turkey as proletarian workers and exploits their labor.

Apart from the neoliberal policies of the state, the traditional division of labor in the global production relations also favors men because their work is better paid and female reproductive labor is rendered invisible (Seccombe, 1974; Hartmann, 1981; Özer, 2012). Productive economy in Turkey thus depends on this "invisible"

⁴⁸ Turkey has visa-free regime agreements (for various durations of stay) with Moldova, Ukraine, Russian Federation, Georgia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Belarus, and Azerbaijan (Demir, 2010: 324).

reproductive labor of migrant women attracted by local demand of the privileged social classes (the bourgeois elites), the “invisibility” of which is deeply internalized by the gendered relations of production (Elias, 2011; Sassen, 2007). Therefore, Turkey is a preferred destination point for migrant sex workers from the FSU.

It is also relevant to discuss *how* migrant sex workers arrive to Turkey as a destination country for their migration because it shows the localities where the supply in migrant sex workers has been concentrated, contributing to the understanding of the general context of migrant sex labor in Turkey. It has been found that the majority of migrant women come to Turkey via the direct flights from their home countries to the Istanbul Ataturk Airport (Özer, 2012). Most women enter Turkey legally because of the visa-free regime with post-Soviet countries, or using a valid visa arranged by traffickers (Demir, 2010). Other than Ataturk Airport, popular points of entrance include Karakoy Sea Port of Istanbul, “Antalya Air Border (Antalya Airport), Trabzon Air and Sea Border, Artvin Land Border (Sarp Border Gate), Igdir Land Border (Dilucu Border Gate), and Edirne Land Border (Kapıkule Border Gate)” (Demir, 2010: 324). The most preferred first destination points for migrant sex workers in Turkey are the cities of Istanbul, Antalya, and Trabzon (Demir, 2010: 325). Istanbul is a preferred location because it is the largest and the most metropolitan and industrialized city of Turkey (Karakuş & McGarrell, 2012: 4). Migrant sex workers are usually in high demand in Istanbul as the city where the Turkish upper and middle class is mostly concentrated. Laleli is the region of Istanbul where migrants from the post-Soviet countries engaging in sex work and small-scale trade (suitcase industry) traditionally live and work (see Yüksek, 2003). Similarly, Antalya is also an important spot for tourism and entertainment industry, therefore it was found to be the “most attractive destination for selling and marketing trafficking victims, followed by Istanbul, Trabzon, Izmir, Mersin, Aydın, Ankara, and Bursa” (Demir, 2010: 325). Trabzon, a major city on the Black Sea coast of Turkey, is preferred because of its geographical proximity to the post-Soviet countries. Ankara, which is the capital of Turkey located at the center of the country, is another preferred location; especially its regions of Maltepe and Ulus receive migrant sex workers (Kalfa, 2008: 127). Finally, in the North-Eastern Anatolia, the cities of Ardahan and Igdir receive many women from the neighboring Azerbaijan who are exploited in sex industry in small hotels (Kalfa, 2008: 127). Therefore, it is possible to see that migrant women are exploited in sex industry in all major cities of

Turkey that they migrate to, and are usually concentrated in the most industrialized economic centers or clusters of entertainment industry. This means that migrant sex workers are exploited by the capitalist economy in the places in Turkey where the local economy relies more on services (in such sectors as small-scale trade, textile, tourism, entertainment) than on heavy industry. The service sector allows for the exploitation of migrant sex workers in Turkey also because it employs more women than men because of the gendered structure of the local market (Davidson & Burke, 2011: 7). Therefore, the structure of the local economy in Turkey together with the prevailing patriarchal attitudes to sexuality makes the women from the FSU prone to exploitation in the sex sector.

There is also a need to discuss the reasons why women from the FSU become migrant sex workers in Turkey because it helps to shed light on the internal dynamics of the production relations governing migrant sex labor market in Turkey. It can be argued that the main reasons why migrant women from the FSU migrate to Turkey are economic ones. “The massive arrival of foreign illegal women migrants for the purpose of illegal prostitution is mainly a result of their dire economic and social conditions at home. They come to Turkey to earn money and improve their living conditions” (Erder & Kaşka, 2003: 48). Despite having a university education, many women from the FSU have to accept low-paid jobs that do not require a special qualification such as reproductive work in the nearest more affluent countries as a result of economic crisis in their home countries. Here is a testimony of Vera, a migrant sex worker in Istanbul interviewed by Gülçür and İlkaracan (2002: 415), illustrating this point:

I graduated as an economist. I lost my job and searched desperately for another job for six months. It was not possible. My parents were taking care of me, which I didn't want as a 31-year old woman. I came to Turkey for a job two years ago. When I first came I started to work in a carpet shop in a harbor near Karakoy. I was earning very little money. A woman friend of mine told me that it was possible to earn more money as a prostitute so I started one and a half years ago. After working as a prostitute for some time I went back to Kazakhstan and bought a house there for 1500 USD.

Apart from the capitalist market pressure and unemployment, patriarchal societal structures also have an impact on the reasons why women from the FSU migrate as sex workers. Some patriarchal attitudes such as feelings of responsibility for other family members and profound guilt if no support for the elderly is provided are parts of the Soviet culture and education which most women from the FSU received. In the

Soviet culture, the family's financial support is usually cut after the family's "child" reaches the age of 18 because it is considered as "productive" or "working age" (Russian: *proizvodstvennyy vozrast*) (Kholostova, 2009: 9). Therefore, a family's "child" is expected to work and provide for the elderly family members (Kholostova, 2009: 53-54). For example, the cultural norm that grown-up citizens should take care of their elderly parents is explicitly stated as social responsibility in the Constitution of the Russian Federation (1993). Therefore, many women from post-Soviet countries whose husbands do not earn well due to illness, addiction to alcohol or other problems, might feel obliged to provide for all elderly members of their family. "In many cultures a daughter is expected to take care of her parents. Women who return without the money they were expected to earn during their promised employment away from home may be subject to feelings of profound guilt and shame" (Baykotan, 2014: 19).

Consequently, from the women's testimonies, it is possible to see that most migrant sex workers in Turkey have dependent family members back at home relying on these women's income. For example, a Moldovan sex worker Tatyana interviewed by Kalfa (2008: 154) who is said to be living together with a 75-year old Turkish man as his "mistress" for \$1000 a month, is taking care of her mother, father, sister, grandmother and cousin with the money she earns as sex worker. She is also paying for her sister's university education. Another example is Uzbek sex worker Nilufar interviewed by Özer (2012: 89) who said that she came to Turkey because she urgently needed \$400 for her father's medical operation. A police officer interviewed by Demir and Finckenauer (2010: 70) well summarizes the above-mentioned arguments: "An ordinary victim can make only \$50-\$60 a month in her homeland. If she comes to Turkey, she can make that just in one night. Even though she will be in a somewhat miserable situation, she is going to provide a better life for her family members back home". Here it is interesting to mention Farr Tormey's (1976) doctrine of "self-sacrifice". She argues that self-sacrifice is a patriarchal "means of oppression that most effectively prepares women for exploitation" (cited in Jónasdóttir, 1994: 93). Self-sacrifice or "living for others" makes a woman forget about herself and her own needs and can thus be understood as "a special form of self-denial" (Jónasdóttir, 1994: 93). A classic example of FSU women's self-sacrifice for their family can be found in Fyodor M. Dostoevsky's famous novel "Crime and Punishment", in which a young woman Sonya Marmeladova becomes a

sex worker in order to save her family from poverty. Referring to Sonya's case, Kollontai (1977) also argues that capitalist exploitation of labor by capital and patriarchal subordination of women to men are the two factors pushing the women into sex work:

The sale of women's labor, closely and inseparably connected with the sale of the female body, steadily increases, leading to a situation where the respected wife of a worker, and not just the abandoned and "dishonored" girl, joins the ranks of the prostitutes: a mother for the sake of her children, or a young girl like Sonya Marmeladova for the sake of her family. This is the horror and hopelessness that results from the exploitation of labor by capital. When a woman's wages are insufficient to keep her alive, the sale of favors seems a possible subsidiary occupation. The hypocritical morality of bourgeois society encourages prostitution by the structure of its exploitative economy, while at the same time mercilessly heaping contempt upon any girl or woman who is forced to take this path... (Kollontai, 1977: 263–264).

Therefore, it is possible to argue that one of the reasons why migrant sex workers "sleep with unknown men squeezing their teeth and only thinking about dollars they will get" (Günçikan, 1995: 108) is their strong feelings of responsibility for other family members. Inability to find a job in the women's home countries in the FSU despite having received a high-quality education, exacerbated by psychological problems resulting from the feelings of guilt and shame created by the position of a "burden" to one's family, is a structural economic and patriarchal problem that leaves women as participants of global relations without any choice of employment rather than sex labor.

Thus, the most important factor pushing women to work in the sex sector is most often the economic one (Küntay & Çokar, 2007: 19; Sassen, 2007: 28). Whether it is the goal of taking care of other family members, buying a separate house in one's home country, or earning money for education or health expenses, sex work may often become the "only option left" for the women (Küntay and Çokar, 2007: 19). In this sense, it is possible to argue that women in the FSU countries are "*forced to choose* to leave their places of residence because of political, social and economic structures that do not offer protection. Not 'forced' as defined in the 1951 [Refugee] Convention's terms, but also not completely 'voluntary'" (Bilgiç, 2013: 38). Although these women are not fleeing from political persecution or war, they are fleeing from poverty which is a structural cause of labor migration. As put by one of the interviewed migrants,

It's not just bullets and bombs that make you flee. There are other reasons that can make you go even further. If you're just fleeing bullets, you just have to leave for a while, until things have calmed down, then you can come back home. If it's poverty that's chasing you, it's like you've got fire behind you, and you just keep going" (Collyer, 2006: 132; cited in Bilgiç, 2013: 48).

Migrant women from the FSU are thus not "forced to leave" their communities because of war or political instability; rather, they are "forced to choose to leave" their home countries by structural reasons such as poverty, unemployment and social benefits crisis in their home countries (Turton, 2003; cited in Bilgiç, 2013: 50). Therefore, their migration cannot be conceptualized in a strict dichotomization between "forced migration" and "voluntary economic migration"; these women's migration is not "forced" in the 1951 United Nations (UN) Refugee Convention sense of the term because they are not asylum-seekers fleeing violence or persecution, but is not "voluntary" either because there women do not *choose* to migrate, but are "*forced to choose*" migration to the nearest more affluent countries because of the pressure of the capitalist market. Thus, it is possible to argue that "irregular migration cannot be reduced to voluntary economic migration because economic structures in relation to political structures sometimes force people to search for protection in other parts of the world" (Bilgiç, 2013: 48). Women from the FSU are therefore forced to choose sex work because no other alternative of survival in the capitalist market is available to them.

The following statement by Elena, a Russian sex worker in Turkey interviewed by Agathangelou (2004: 132), illustrates the point that migrant sex workers are "forced to choose" this type of employment by the pressure of the capitalist market:

This is not a job. It is closing your eyes, surviving, and if you finish your "ambassadorship to Turkey" with some money in your pocket, you are in good shape . . . you know cabaret is only for sex and prostitution and, of course, I can't ever say anything negative about the Russian, the Moldavian or any other impresarios even when they steal your money and do not do anything for you . . . and you know the reasons behind this silence.

To sum it up, economic reasons are the primary push factor for migrant women leaving their home countries in the FSU and entering sex work in Turkey. However, for them it is not a goal by itself, but a means to achieve it. Many migrant sex workers dream of earning enough money and going back to their home countries in order to fulfill their dreams of being able to provide for themselves or buying a

separate house. Marianne and Galena, sex workers interviewed by Agathangelou (2004: 61), well summarize this point: “When we leave here [Turkey] to go back to Russia and Moldavia we want to be able to sit in our homes with our daughters and mothers and drink our vodka without any impresarios around sucking your blood [they both laugh].” This reminds us of Karl Marx’s statement about capital: “Capital is dead labor which, vampire-like, lives only by sucking living labor, and lives the more, the more labor it sucks” (cited in McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2000: 25). Similar to the impresarios sucking migrant sex workers’ blood, the capitalist economy sucks the blood of the proletarian workers in order to achieve profit-maximization and extract surplus-value.

It is possible to argue then that capitalist markets “benefit from the existence of (unequal) gendered social relations that associate women’s labor with the socially reproductive realm of the household” (Elias, 2011: 105). While migrant women’s sex labor is exploited by the capitalist economy, the states in the FSU benefit from this women’s labor indirectly through remittances, and receiving states such as Turkey also benefit from these women’s labor because they have a demand for reproductive labor that local working class is unable to meet. Exploitation of migrant sex labor by the capitalist economy in the supply side of production relations, worsened by the pressure of patriarchal societal structures, is thus disguised because of the economic benefits and profit-maximization that it entails; the women’s real experiences are also silenced, and exploitation of their labor by capitalism remains to be seen as an inevitable feature of capitalism that Marx referred to (Sterling-Folker, 2013: 218).

5.2 The Demand Side of Migrant Sex Labor in Turkey

The demand side of migrant sex labor in Turkey can also be explained “at the intersection between patriarchy and capitalism” (Messerschmidt, 2009: 85). As a Coxian structure, patriarchy in particular can be viewed as a historical structure facilitating exploitation and subordination of women (Holter, 1997). It includes two elements: sexual subordination of women through male control of fertility and sexuality, and economic subordination through sexual division of labor (McDonough & Harrison, 1978: 11, 40, 36). According to Cox (1981), a historical structure is comprised of three elements: ideas, institutions, and material capabilities. The following section will thus examine ideas, institutions and material capabilities as

elements of patriarchy having a particular impact on the demand side of migrant sex labor in Turkey.

First of all, there is a need to look at ideas as the elements of patriarchy as a Coxian structure. One of the most important ideas influencing the demand side of migrant sex labor in Turkey is the patriarchal idea of *namus* (Turkish: honor, purity, or chastity of a woman, man or his family). In Turkey as a Muslim-majority country, the cultural norm of *namus* is attached high significance because the family honor is considered as one of the most important societal values (see Koçtürk, 1992; Arın, 2001; Sever & Yurdakul, 2001; Pervizat, 2005; Işık, 2008). For example, for many Turkish women raised in traditional families, it is generally not approved to have a sexual intercourse before marriage. The women are expected by the society to protect their virginity (symbolizing purity and *namus*) until marriage. Virginity until marriage for many Turkish women is a symbol of decency, which is another idea constituting an element of patriarchy as a historical structure in Turkey. For example, in a study conducted in 2006 by the Society for Sexual Education, Treatment and Research in Turkey, it was found that 63% of the men “completely agreed with the statement “virginity shows female decency” and 65% of the men completely agreed with the statement “Women should remain virgins until they get married” (cited in Balseven-Odabaşı et al., 2012: 157). The role expected from unmarried Turkish women is protection of their purity and *namus*: “Already as little children, girls learn about the meaning of their bodies to the family and the need to rigorously protect these bodies” (Kaya & Aslan, 2013: 215). Girls are often taught by their families that sexual intercourse is something dirty and indecent, and that their responsibility is to protect their virginity until marriage.

Very illustrative of the traditional perception of sexuality in the Turkish culture is the fact that whereas it is normal for families to ask little boys to show their penises to relatives and neighbors as a symbol of their masculinity and source of the family’s pride, little girls are warned by their mothers that if their underwear is visible when playing a game, even by accident, it is very shameful for them (Kaya & Aslan, 2013: 216). Therefore, many Turkish women are only assigned “Madonna-like” traditional roles such as sisters, wives and mothers who are expected to engage in child-rearing and domestic work and are deprived of the possibility to express their own sexuality (Baykotan, 2014: 17). The sexual behavior of female family members is strictly subordinated to male control. Thus, often Turkish women

“cannot be seen as sexual objects” by the Turkish men (Baykotan, 2014), and the right to express their own sexuality is denied to them.

These patriarchal attitudes to sexuality increase overall inequality between men and women in Turkey. The fact that women’s reproductive labor at the household actually helps to maintain the existing capitalist order and relations of production, in which men are considered as the dominant social group of “breadwinners” and women as subordinate to them, is rendered invisible by the patriarchal structures of the society (Hartmann, 1981). As formulated by Coşkun (2014a: 194), “whereas the fact that a man has a sexual intercourse before marriage can be a reason for celebration, for women having a sexual intercourse outside of marriage is a taboo.” This double standard of appropriate behavior for different genders has a profound impact on patriarchy and subordination of women to men in the traditional Turkish society. For example, the problem of “honor killings” (*namus cinayetleri*) is very serious for Turkey (see Sever and Yurdakul, 2001; Arın, 2001; Pervizat, 2005; Işık, 2008; Bilgili & Vural, 2011). In honor killings, a female family member (a daughter, sister or a wife) can be murdered by male members of her family for jeopardizing or destroying her family’s honor (*namus*) by behavior that is considered indecent (such as marrying a person that her family rejected, becoming a victim of rape, or having a sexual intercourse before marriage). The example of honor killings illustrates the significance of patriarchal cultural norms for Turkey as a Muslim-majority country⁴⁹.

Consequently, similarly to ideas about decency, proper behavior for women and *namus*, there are also patriarchal ideas about “looseness” and what can be considered as *namussuz* (dishonorable, indecent) behavior for women in Turkey. If a woman provokes sexual appetite in men by the way she behaves or dresses herself, she is considered as a “loose” woman. For example, Sever and Yurdakul (2001: 988) refer to a case of a 22-year-old Turkish woman who committed suicide after having been severely beaten by her parents for wearing a tight skirt (for details of the case, see Frantz, 2000). It is possible to argue that another element of patriarchy in Turkey

⁴⁹ Interestingly, it was found that honor killings are not particular to Muslim countries of the Middle East; in fact, many Mediterranean countries such as Italy and Greece, and the Balkan countries such as Yugoslavia attach high significance to honor (see Pitt-Rivers, 1977; Işık, 2008). In fact, it has been found that “honor killings predate Islam and are not consistent with the Qur’an” (Sever and Yurdakul, 2001: 966). Therefore, Sever and Yurdakul (2001: 966) warn against the conceptualization of honor killings as the outcome of Islam or any religion for that matter, suggesting focusing on the patriarchal aspect of honor killings such as discrimination, sexism and violence against woman instead.

that has an impact on migrant sex labor is one other specific feature of the traditional Turkish culture: absence of the opportunity to flirt with most of Turkish women because of patriarchal cultural pressures. In the traditional Turkish culture, “women’s “purity, cleanliness” is very fragile and can be harmed as a result of a range of behaviors changing from very slight acts like “strolling alone in the town, asking for a love song on the radio, or flirting to a boy” (Arın, 2001) to being raped or making love with someone out of marriage” (Işık, 2008: 5). Consequently, in the traditional cultural perception, a Turkish woman is not expected to flirt with men or respond to their attempts to flirt. Establishing an eye contact with men or even laughing in public may be considered as indecent behavior for many Turkish women. Honor in the traditional Turkish society is seen as the women’s “sexual purity” (see Hasan, 2003). According to Işık (2008: 2), such “understanding is a product of patriarchal system in which women are viewed as weaker than, and owned and protected by men and are restricted by male-dominated rules” (also see Koçtürk, 1992).

In many instances, if some Turkish man attempts to flirt with a Turkish woman, it is generally considered unacceptable and may be interpreted by the community as “preparing the floor” for seducing a decent woman or even sexual assault. According to Işık (2008: 5), in the traditional Turkish culture “a man of honor (*namuslu*) is someone whose women kin remain chaste and who does not touch other men’s *namus* (take slant at other men’s women)” (also see Ergil, 1980). However, gender relations in the FSU countries are very different, and it is not considered shameful for the women to smile at strangers, laugh or talk to men. According to a representative of the Association of Laleli Industrialists and Businessmen in Istanbul (*Laleli Sanayici ve İşadamları Derneği* or *LASIAD*), interviewed by Erder and Kaşka (2003: 56), many misunderstanding and stigmatization of all migrant women as “loose” in Turkey is explained by the very different nature of gender relations: “Turkey ... [is] a much more conservative society. [Foreign women’s] outlook and manners were completely different from the traditional Turkish values of “decent” women. Thus, any foreign woman may be considered as “inappropriate” for any Turkish man even from the lower social level.”

Therefore, for many Turkish men not only migrant sex workers, but any migrant women represent an opportunity to flirt without being stigmatized by the local community for jeopardizing the women’s *namus*. It is considered that migrant women are available for flirt because of their “looseness” due to the fact that they

act, dress and talk differently from traditional Turkish women, and are more open to communication. For example, Eker and Erdener (2011) in their study on the cultural myths related to rape have found that in many cases “foreign” ethnic identity of the victim of rape in Turkey was a cultural factor leading to the perception of the rapist as “innocent” and the woman as “guilty” because of her perceived “looseness”.

Probably the most extreme example of this patriarchal attitude to migrant women in Turkey is the notorious “Peace Bride” (*Barış Gelini*) case: the case of a young female artist from Italy known as Pippa Bacca who traveled from Milano aiming to reach Israel by hitchhiking in order to spread her peace message (see Aydoğdu et al., 2008). She had crossed the territory of a few Balkan countries by hitchhiking in a wedding dress without any trouble, but was then raped and murdered near the town of Gebze in Turkey by a local truck driver.⁵⁰ According to Eker and Erdener (2011: 64), the rapist (who was found to be a father of two children living separately from his wife), claimed that “when he saw a foreign woman in a wedding dress hitchhiking in the middle of the night and asking if she could take a picture of him, he thought that the woman herself ‘wanted’ to be raped.”

In contrast, in the patriarchal societal structures a Turkish woman is always under the protection of her husband, father or brother(s) responsible for her *namus* even if she is alone, and Turkish men know that and usually restrain from flirting or even talking to women because of fear of social stigmatization or a confrontation with the woman’s male relatives. According to Işık (2008: 5), the patriarchal ethics of *namus* is “based on the belief that “women cannot be trusted to protect their chastity in the best interests of patriarchal society...an honorable man is someone whose women kin remain chaste...” (Koçtürk, 1992: 56; cited in Işık, 2008: 5). However, with migrant women men usually find flirting behavior acceptable because there are no cultural risks (such as social stigma or confrontation with male members of the woman’s family) involved, as illustrated by the Peace Bride case discussed above. According to Zengin (2011: 32, emphasis original), this is true for sex workers as well: “societal rules and norms creating general perception of *namus* in Turkey codes the women’s bodies not as their own property, but as the property of men, family or the society”. But in the case of sex workers, the connection between

⁵⁰ There was also some proof that Pippa Bacca was actually raped by two or three people, but it was not possible to confirm it by the forensic reports because the corpse was not immediately discovered (see NTV, 2009).

family and women's body is destroyed, and sex workers' bodies are seen as belonging to everyone (Zengin, 2011: 32-33). Male protection of the Turkish women's *namus* is thus not extended to migrant women or sex workers who are left unprotected.

Thus, there is a demand for migrant sex workers in Turkey who serve the function of "loose" women that the Turkish clients could have sexual relationships with, with no social stigma or guilt involved. The patriarchal society norms place the burden on migrant women themselves for their "looseness" and "leading astray" the Turkish men (Agathangelou, 2004; Açıkalın, 2013). For example, a community member interviewed by Günçikan (1995: 77), when asked what he thinks about "Natashas" coming to the Black Sea coast, says "The [Turkish] people was not prepared to that; it was like a surprise attack." Thus, the blame for seducing "innocent" Turkish men is completely placed on the "loose" migrant women. The ideas of "innocence" and "looseness" as elements of patriarchy can be considered to have a profound impact on the demand for migrant sex labor in Turkey.

It can be argued that migrant sex workers often do not have the privilege to refuse sexual intercourse with their Turkish clients or protect themselves from sexual assault because of their vulnerable "illegal migrant" status and pressure of the capitalist market to maintain their income, and are thus generally regarded as "loose" and sexually available (Baykotan, 2014: 17). Many Turkish men can experience with migrant sex workers what they cannot experience with their Turkish wives (Günçikan, 1995: 23). Therefore, migrant sex workers are objectified and seen only as instruments or means of achieving sexual pleasure for men (Küntay & Çokar, 2007: 9). For example, a community member Hikmet interviewed by Günçikan (1995: 89) explains why he feels the need to visit migrant sex workers by the fact that his wife "is not that beautiful and sexy. Also she is always too tired for sex because she works from morning till night." It is possible to argue that many Turkish men in their sexual relationships with migrant sex workers fill the void left by traditional patriarchal norms of culture and morality which prevent them from having mutually satisfactory sexual relationships with their Turkish wives. Barrett (1988: 45) refers to the twin images of women in patriarchy which can be applied to the Turkish society as well: on the one hand, Turkish women in marriage are seen as "sexual property of men", and on the other, as the "chaste mothers of their children." Therefore, there is an inherent conflict in any traditional marriage: the woman is

supposed to stay decent as “Madonna” and *namuslu* (decent, honorable) mother of children, but she is also expected to satisfy the men’s sexual desires, and if she fails to, it is considered natural for her husband to resort to the services of “loose” migrant sex workers who do not have *namus* to be protected. “The Madonna/whore dichotomy runs through western patriarchal culture as the means whereby men have sought to ensure both the sanctity and inheritance of their families and their extra-familial sexual pleasure” (Barrett, 1988: 45).

For example, a brothel sex worker interviewed by the Turkish NGO *Kadın Kapısı* explains why there is demand for her “service” among the Turkish clients:

Men do to us what they cannot do to their wives. There are also those who want themselves to be beaten up or scolded by women. There are even those who just listen to the stories of how we “fell” enough to be prostitutes without having sexual intercourse with us. Apart from normal intercourse we also get a lot of requests for anal or oral sex. We have friends who do these for a separate payment (Çokar & Yılmaz-Kayar, 2011: 47).

Thus, it can be argued that the Turkish male clients’ masculinity is reproduced when they confirm their “manhood” by committing a heterosexual act with a “sexy” migrant sex worker (see Demetriou, 2001). Another example of the reasons for demand for migrant sex labor in Turkey is the response of a migrant sex worker’s Turkish client asked about the reason why he visits migrant sex workers: “My wife is covered [wears a Muslim headscarf]. She does *namaz* [Muslim prayer] five times a day. She does not do sex in bed well. That is why I come to brothels” (Özer, 2012: 117). Here, it is possible to see how religion and patriarchal cultural norms constrain many Turkish woman from openly expressing her sexuality, and her husband thus feels the “necessity” to resort to the services of migrant sex workers to achieve “extra-familial sexual pleasure” (Barrett, 1988: 45). Similarly, in the study by Ayata et al. (2008: 76-77) an interviewed Turkish client claimed that the reason why he attended migrant sex workers was the absence of sexual relationship with his wife:

I have a very happy marriage. We have been together for almost 30 years. We have three children, they are older than 18, university students. I have a good job and a good family, I don’t have any problem. But our sexual relationship with my wife has ended. And because it ended I do this [visit sex workers] because I have a need for it. And let’s say that even those whose relationship with their wives is not over, do it to, let’s say in Turkey or in the whole world this is a very common thing. Remember they said, men are from Mars, and women from Venus. Men are polygamous, this and that. This is done completely out of necessity. I see it as a completely physiological thing.

It is interesting that Kalfa (2008) in her study on migrant sex workers in Turkey found that Turkish clients resort to the sexual services of migrant women not only in an attempt to have a kind of sexual intercourse that is not possible with most of the Turkish women, but also to fulfill their necessity and desire to flirt and “be loved” by “beautiful foreign women”. The migrant sex workers’ “whiteness” represented by their particular bodily characteristics such as green/blue eyes, white skin, blond hair or long legs reinforces the “otherness” of these women, and “both the “otherness” and the affordability of sex ... are sources of desire for clients” (Agathangelou, 2002: 143). For example, Moldavian sex worker Tatyana interviewed by Kalfa (2008: 150) recalls that when she became a mistress of a Turkish man Necdet, she was required to call him by the phone herself and say that she is alone and “wants a man like him”.

Kalfa (2008: 166) argues that it is the mainstream Turkish mass media that contributed to creating an image of the “Russian” (FSU) women as both sexually available and “crazy about Turkish men” and their masculinity. The topic of migrant sex workers from the FSU in Turkey first received attention of the local media in the 1990s. At that time, the attention was mostly directed at the “Natashas” in the Black Sea region coming to Turkey for sex work after the collapse of the Soviet Union through Sarp border gate or by sea (Günçikan, 1995; Erder & Kaşka, 2003). However, Erder and Kaşka (2003: 28) point out to the fact that mostly the news were “sensational” and focused on the deportation of women and “venereal disease statistics”, because media reporters obtained information for the news pieces directly from the Foreigners Department of the local police. According to Erder and Kaşka (2003), many Turkish newspapers mainly portrayed all sex work done by migrant women from the FSU in Turkey as “voluntary prostitution” and openly stigmatized the women for their “looseness” and indecency, portraying them as a threat to public morality and health.

Consequently, the media turned its attention to the exploitative conditions the women worked in, as well as to the cases of “forced prostitution” and human trafficking only after the year of 1999 (Erder & Kaşka, 2003: 28). However, even after than media’s attitude to the issue of migrant sex workers in Turkey often remained stigmatizing and sensational. As Erder and Kaşka (2003: 29) put it,

There is a total lack of sensitivity and sympathy for the women as victims rather than as guilty parties, nor is there any feeling of responsibility to raise public awareness of this issue. While they dwell on the risks of the spread of STDs as a public health issue, and warn men to be “careful in their affairs”,

such reporting is merely sensational, instead of recognizing and informing on the seriousness and legitimate concerns of the issue in a responsible manner.

For example, the media very often provided full names and photographs of migrant women deported for engagement in prostitution or carrying an STD, which can be considered a serious human rights violation. One piece of news⁵¹ provided in Küntay and Çokar (2007: 41) very well illustrates the prevailing attitude to migrant sex workers in Turkey (see Figure 10 below). It is clearly seen that names and photographs of migrant sex workers are provided by the reporters.



FIGURE 10. “Expel them through the door, and they will come back through the chimney.” A newspaper article stigmatizing migrant sex workers in Turkey.

Image source: Küntay and Çokar (2007: 41).

Please find the English translation of the article below:

“Expel them through the door, and they will come back through the chimney”. During a night club raid, Ankara Police caught three Romanian women who were deported for carrying syphilis 6 months ago. So-called “show girls” Adriana Obreta (19), Mirela Rotaru (20) and Natali Artamanova (20) were deported again. “It has to be reported to the border gates”. It was found that these three Romanian women had worked in Ankara for 3 months, but it was not possible to establish who they had sexual intercourse with. The police officials argue that “These women’s photographs should be displayed on the border gates like those of wanted terrorists.” It was found that Romanian prostitutes deported for carrying syphilis 6 months ago found some way to come back to Turkey 3 months ago.

⁵¹ Küntay and Çokar (2007: 41) do not mention neither which newspaper that piece was taken from, nor the exact date of its publication.

It is possible to see from this example that no empathy for the women's difficult economic conditions is present in the journalists and police's attitudes. As confirmed by Ayata et al. (2008: 59-60), in the case of migrant women their social background and reasons for being a sex worker are very seldom discussed, whereas in the context of Turkish sex workers there is always some background provided on the woman's family, often a childhood trauma or deception story.

Moreover, the Turkish clients' role in spreading venereal diseases is also neglected in the media coverage. The women are stigmatized as a threat to public health and as harmful "bacteria" in the society that should be eliminated (see Erder & Kaşka, 2003: 28-29; Ayata et al., 2008: 59-62). According to Kalfa (2008: 186-187), contrary to the "dirty" image of migrant sex workers created by the Turkish media, in reality most of them come to Turkey under very difficult conditions and when deported, can easily be subject to social stigmatization back in their home countries because of former experience of engagement in sex work in Turkey.

Because of the specific media portrayals of the issue, many Turkish clients like the idea that they are desired by a "beautiful foreign woman", even if this "desire" is bought for cash. This fact actually might reveal a deep psychological complex within some Turkish men which is thinking that they can never get the attention of a beautiful, young migrant woman "for free" and have to buy this attention instead (Kalfa, 2008: 150). Sometimes the Turkish clients also convince themselves that they are in a committed romantic relationship with a migrant sex worker by living a fantasy of an "imaginary relationship" with her, whereas in reality this is just an economic relationship between a buyer and a seller. Ayata et al. (2008: 61) also mention that the "myth of Russian women" as beautiful, elegant and professional in sex is an important cultural factor facilitating the demand for migrant sex workers in Turkey. For example, the words of Ukrainian sex worker Alexandra inform us about the attitude of some migrant sex workers to such "fantasizing" clients:

I have fifty permanent clients, they ask me to visit them when I come back from my home country. It has become a game... They are in love with me, and I am in love with their money. They say "I love you," I say "I love you" too. Turkish men are very naïve and it is easy to deceive them. I say "I love you" and do everything they want (Kalfa, 2008: 167).

Therefore, often what is purchased by men is something beyond a sexual intercourse: it is the attention of "beautiful foreign women", an "imaginary relationship" (*hayali*

flört) boosting the Turkish clients' self-esteem and making them feel themselves desired and appreciated by "other" women (Kalfa, 2008: 170). The relationship between migrant sex workers and their Turkish clients is a complex phenomenon shaped by numerous cultural practices and patriarchal structures in the society, which make migrant women "desirable" for many Turkish men.

The most important patriarchal idea influencing the demand for migrant sex labor in Turkey is the portrayal of sex work as a "necessary evil" in the society, and the need to purchase commercial sex as a "biological desire" of men (Erginsoy, 2000; Ayata et al., 2008). As if it was absolutely impossible to control their sexual appetite, some Turkish men seem to have "no other choice" other than visit migrant sex workers when they are not satisfied with their sexual life in marriage. Ayata et al. (2008: 59) criticize this attitude for reducing everything to the biological explanation of the nature of the Turkish men and portraying them as "innocent". As an example of this "biological explanation" of demand, they refer to an interview with a Turkish doctor who explained the reason for demand for migrant sex workers in Turkey by purely biological factors:

I think it all comes from hormones. Whether they are married or single, they might be attracted to the women outside. Honestly, they [migrant sex workers] are a beautiful race, when women who come here walk up the stairs our friends who work downstairs crane their necks to look at them. I think it is in the men's nature. Looking for change, polygamy (Ayata et al., 2008: 76).

Similarly, an NGO representative interviewed by Beşpınar and Çelik (2009: 7) also confirms the presence of such "biological" explanation to the demand for migrant sex labor in Turkey:

There is a demand in these lands... The man requests it. The necessity of the biological nature of men, their sexual appetite, suppression of sexuality by the society, inclination to change and polygamy in the Turkish men, poor looks of the Turkish women, their perpetual complaints, their physical appearance unable to compete with that of foreign women... they all drive the demand.

There is also an interesting evidence that in order to make sure that the Turkish clients felt innocent about purchasing commercial sex from migrant sex workers and did not feel guilty because of it, sometimes religious marriages were quickly conducted in the presence of imam before a commercial sexual act took place, and after completing the act the "couple" divorced (Günçikan, 1995: 103; also cited in Açıkalın, 2013). Günçikan (1995: 103) refers to some Turkish *hacı* (a Muslim who

has completed pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina) who is reported to have conducted such practice: “They tell us about this hacı who asks a Russian girl to say yes in front of one witness before sleeping with her. Hacı has sex with the girl after getting three times “da, da, da” from her, while the girl herself has no idea about what is happening.” In this way, the “innocence” of the Turkish client is confirmed by the fantasy of having a sexual intercourse with his “wife”, and guilt for purchasing commercial sex is therefore removed.

The best illustration of these patriarchal double standards framing the sex workers’ clients as “innocent” and the sex workers themselves as “loose” is stigmatization of the women as “whores” and “prostitutes” by their clients (Erder & Kaşka, 2003; Özer, 2012). For example, a migrant sex worker Gulcehra interviewed by Özer (2012: 117) speaks about her frequent disagreements with clients because of their hypocrisy and “double standards.” When she tried to ask her clients to help her escape sexual exploitation and go to the police, many Turkish clients responded with the classical question “If you do not want to do this job, then why did you come here? [to Turkey]” Gulcehra would reportedly respond by asking “If you have a wife waiting for you at home, what are you doing here?” (Özer, 2012: 117). She said that she found Turkish clients very hypocritical and could not understand why they did not feel guilty about visiting migrant sex workers although they were married, but constantly blamed the sex workers themselves for their “looseness” and indecency.

The above-mentioned ideas influencing the patriarchal demand for migrant sex labor in Turkey are explained by the subordinate position of women in the traditional Turkish society and overall gender inequality (Açıkalın, 2013: 244), and also by capitalist exploitation of migrant sex labor. Women in sex work are seen as commodities or goods that men can purchase in the market in order to fulfill their sexual appetite, like food is purchased when a person is hungry. However, fulfilling this desire with some Turkish women with no payment is not seen as possible in the society because of the patriarchal ideas of the women’s “decency” and *namus*. Thus, the patriarchal ideas about sexuality and traditional roles for women in Turkey create the demand for migrant sex workers.

The second element of patriarchy as a Coxian structure is its institutions. Some examples of patriarchal institutions that facilitate exploitation and subordination of women in sex work are gendered division of labor, the family and the state. First of all, there is a need to examine division of labor as a patriarchal

institution. Global division of labor can be considered gendered in nature because women's waged labor is always underpaid compared to that of men, and also because women's reproductive labor (domestic and care work) at home is rendered invisible as if it does not require any financial compensation (Barrett, 1988: 22). Swarankar (2007: 158) in her study on the sex workers in the Nat community in India found that sex workers were the most exploited group in the division of labor because of their low social status. Since married women are lower in social status than men because of gender inequality, unmarried female sex workers are even lower in status than married women and therefore face double exploitation: as women and as proletarian workers (Swarankar, 2007: 158). Migrant sex workers in Turkey as members of global relations of production are also at the bottom of the social ladder: their labor is exploited by impresarios who aim to earn maximum surplus value on each woman, and also by their clients who can "order" any sexual service from this woman. Therefore, in the global division of labor migrant sex workers are exploited both as women because of gender inequality, and as proletarian workers because of class inequality (Özer, 2012).

The second and probably the most important institution facilitating exploitation of women in sex work and the demand for migrant sex labor in Turkey is the family. The family is, according to Barrett (1988: 152), the "central locus of women's oppression". In many Turkish families, the woman is subordinate to her husband and other male family members. Throughout the woman's life, her father, her elder brother(s) and later her husband hold responsibility for the woman's *namus* and decent behavior (Küntay & Çokar, 2007: 17). The reason for this trend is the tradition to keep women in the "private" sphere of life (at home and responsible for reproductive work in the household), whereas men are allowed to the "public" sphere where they can earn a living and constantly reproduce their masculinity (Küntay & Çokar, 2007: 16). The Turkish women are assigned traditional roles as mothers, wives and sisters by patriarchal structure of the family, and their sexuality is subordinated to males (Baykotan, 2014). It has been argued that, for example, in traditional marriage the Turkish wife is not expected to have any sexual desires or initiate intercourse with her husband herself; she is only expected to respond to her husband's sexual desires and fulfill them (Kaya & Aslan, 2013: 215). If she tries to initiate sexual intercourse with her husband herself, this can be considered a sign of inappropriate behavior and lack of *namus*.

Barrett (1988: 49) argued that Marxist analysis of the institution of the family should especially focus on the “double standard of sexual morality for men and women”. The double standard means strict control of fidelity for wife and less strict or no control of fidelity for husband in marriage. For example, Barrett (1988: 69) argues that in Victorian England, “the crime of adultery was a much more serious one for the married woman than for the married man.” Similarly, Engels argued that “for the bourgeoisie, ... the need to secure knowledge of paternity, which was a prerequisite for the inheritance of property through the male line, led to an insistence on the fidelity of the bourgeois wife” (Barrett, 1988: 48; see Engels, 1972: 79). Therefore, the control of the women’s fidelity actually meant the control of property through marriage. Since if a woman had a child as a result of adultery the property inheritance line could be threatened, the female sexuality and fidelity were put under the strict control of men (Acton, 1857).

The situation with the structure of traditional family in Turkey today shares similarity with that of Victorian England. The wives in marriage are denied sexual pleasure, and sexual intercourse for them is “restricted only to activity which can give rise to biological reproduction” (pregnancy and child-bearing), whereas men’s “proneness to pay clandestine visits to prostitutes” is not criticized at all and is seen as natural (Barrett, 1988: 51-67). It is interesting how contemporary patriarchal cultural norms in Turkey as a Muslim-majority country resemble the Christianity-imposed cultural norms of Victorian England. For example, Barrett (1988: 68; also see Stone, 1977; emphasizes original) explains that

Religious authorities in early modern Europe even argued that sexual passion *within* marriage was no better than adultery. Stone quotes one cleric of 1584: “the husband who, transported by immoderate love, has intercourse with his wife so *ardently* in order to satisfy his passion that, even had she not been his wife he would have wished to have commerce with her, is committing a sin.

Similarly, in Turkey sexual passion within marriage is considered as something inappropriate because of gender roles constructed within family as a patriarchal institution and assigned to men and women accordingly. The masculine and feminine examples of “appropriate” behavior are reproduced within the institution of the family. However, what is obscured from the superficial analysis of gender relations in the traditional Turkish family is the fact that the hegemonic ideology of neoliberalism actually benefits from the patriarchal structure of family as it is. The capitalist system benefits from the Turkish families as units of production; it needs

the families to remain as heterosexual, traditional and responsible units of capital production because they allow capitalism to achieve profit-maximization and facilitate the capitalist production process (see Zaretsky, 1973; Seccombe, 1974; Barrett, 1988). According to Hartmann (1981: 18), “men exercise their control in receiving personal service work from women, in not having to do housework or rear children, in having access to women’s bodies for sex, and in feeling powerful and being powerful”. Thus, in capitalist societies women’s oppression can be seen as “another aspect of class oppression” (Hartmann, 1981: 9).

Subordination of the Turkish women in the traditional family fits the purposes of capitalist profit-maximization because by reproductive labor (domestic and care work) women help men overcome alienation that they face as waged workers in the “public” realm of life, and also help prepare children as the new members of global relations of production through socialization (see Barrett, 1988). Hartmann (1981: 25) argues that

Women’s lower wages in the labor market (combined with the need for children to be reared by someone) assure the continued existence of the family as a necessary income pooling unit. The family, supported by the family wage, thus allows the control of women’s labor by men both within and without the family.

At the same time, men’s masculine identity is realized through achieving “extra-familial sexual pleasure” (Barrett, 1988) with migrant sex workers. Therefore, the family is the most important institution that facilitates subordination and exploitation of women and the demand for migrant sex labor.

Finally, another important institution that facilitates patriarchal exploitation of women and influences and shapes the demand for migrant sex labor in Turkey is the state itself. According to Zengin (2011: 36), the state constantly “reproduces itself as a gendered, patriarchal and sexualized structure”. It creates “good” and “bad” images through the impact of its ideological hegemonic institutions such as education, mass media or religion. For example, the subordination of migrant women to Turkish men who are members of the privileged social class as sex slaves has been institutionalized by the Turkish state throughout its history of the Ottoman period. It can be argued that the attitude to migrant sex workers in contemporary Turkey is similar to the patriarchal attitude to foreign *cariyeler* (the sultan’s sex slaves in the *harem*) in the Ottoman Empire, which were expected to fulfill the sultan’s sexual desires upon his request (Küntay & Çokar, 2007; Açıkalın, 2013). The word *harem*

itself comes from the Arabic *haram* meaning “forbidden, taboo, untouchable” (Açıkalın, 2013: 250). It was a secret, untouchable place in the sultan’s palace where women were kept isolated (Açıkalın, 2013: 250). Penzer (2000: 222-229) cites an example from *The Ottoman Empire*, a book by Dimitri Kantemir: “He [Sultan Ibrahim] would take a virgin in his arms every Friday... His favorite game would be to strip women naked and ask them to act as if they were horses.” Therefore, similarly to the way *cariyeler* were the sex workers of the Ottoman period allowing the sultan to experience his sexual fantasies and dreams, modern migrant sex workers in Turkey allow the Turkish men to experience their own fantasies and desires. The inevitability of the demand for migrant sex labor has been institutionalized by the Turkish state as a patriarchal structure through the institutions of *harem* and *cariyeler*, and sexual desire of the Turkish men has long been considered natural and uncontrollable.

Similarly, the contemporary process of displaying sex workers’ bodies in the hotel lobby in order to be chosen by the customers virtually resembles a slave market of the Middle Ages (Kalfa, 2008). Alexandra, a Ukrainian sex worker interviewed by Kalfa (2008: 159), confirms that: “They [impresarios] gather the customers in the hall, then call the girls in and let the customers pick the one they like. Sometimes they say “I want a new girl.” A brothel sex worker interviewed by Açıkalın (2013: 260) provides a similar statement: “The customers come... and watch us as if we were animals. We say to them “welcome to the zoo.” Since the institution of brothels is also controlled by the Turkish state, it is possible to argue that the state allows and encourages such treatment of sex workers through the activity of its hegemonic institutions.

The Turkish state thus frames the presence of migrant sex workers in Turkey as a “necessary evil” (Roberts, 1992: 74; Açıkalın, 2013: 247) through the activity of its ideological platforms such as education, the mass media and religion. Sometimes the so-called “educational” function of migrant sex workers is also referred to by the state. It has been argued that especially in the regions of Turkey where there are no registered brothels such as some parts of the Black Sea coast, migrant sex workers represent an “unwritten sex manual” for the Turkish men (Açıkalın, 2013: 257), as well as a special educational instrument for young men before marriage (Çokar & Yılmaz-Kayar, 2011: 47). Thus, the state simultaneously blames migrant sex workers for being “loose” and seducing “innocent” Turkish men, but profits from their

activity indirectly because they meet the demand for reproductive labor in Turkey and possibly also reduce the number of rapes of “decent” Turkish women by Turkish men whose sexual appetite is seen as a biological necessity. For example, Cigirim (1992a) reports that after the opening of Sarp border gate, the number of rapes in the Eastern Black Sea region of Turkey has decreased.

It can be argued that neoliberalism or “capitalism with the gloves off” (McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2000: 25) as the hegemonic ideology of the state is constantly being reproduced through ideological institutions and if it fails to reproduce itself, it can be threatened by counter-hegemonic forces. The mass media can be seen as one of the most significant platforms through which the hegemony of the neoliberal state is reproduced. By particular portrayals of migrant sex labor in Turkey, the state-owned media projects the hegemonic ideology of the state to the masses and frames particular subjects or events as “good” or “bad”. What is not reflected in the mainstream mass media is the fact that the Turkish state actually profits from clandestine activity of migrant sex workers: for example, the opening of Sarp border gate after the collapse of the Soviet Union opened up commerce in the Black Sea region of Turkey and facilitated profit-maximization there, but it also brought about migrant sex workers (Günçikan, 1995: 66). However, such topics are covered by oppositional newspapers such as *Cumhuriyet*, as it will be shown in Chapter 7. Although its positive impact on the amounts of trade in the region and relations of production might be stronger than its presumable “negative” impact on the local morality, the migrant sex labor in the Black Sea region was framed by the Turkish media as a catastrophe of public morality (see Küntay and Çokar, 2007). The exploitation of migrant labor by capital and profits received from this activity are silenced by the hegemonic institutions of the state. Thus, the interests of migrant sex workers are subordinated to the interests of the state. The state as a patriarchal institution constantly reproduces itself as a gendered historical structure facilitating exploitation of women and demand for migrant sex labor in Turkey.

Finally, in terms of material capabilities as an element of patriarchy as a Coxian structure it is possible to determine two material capabilities: brutal physical force of men used for the subordination of women, and economic capacity to buy migrant sex labor. Brutal physical force is implemented in migrant sex labor in the form of violence against women and coercion. According to Bindman (1988: 65), sex workers are excluded from basic freedoms that each society offers to its members

such as “freedom from violence at work, to a fair share of what she earns, or to leave her employer.” Therefore, violence at work is a serious problem for migrant sex workers in particular because they are deprived of the rights of citizens both as sex workers and as foreign nationals in a receiving country. According to Balseven-Odabaşı et al. (2012: 153), 14.5% of sex workers interviewed in Ankara (total N=138) said that they were exposed to physical and 70.3% to verbal violence from their clients. A brothel sex worker interviewed by Açıkalın (2013: 265) reports: “When I was in Diyarbakir one of the clients requested anal sex and I refused; he beat me up, I now have four stitches on the back of my head.” Unfortunately, the women’s physical health and well-being have no value for the clients who see them as sexual objects exposable to any kind of exploitation because of the exploitative nature of the capitalist relations of production, as well as the prevailing patriarchal attitudes to sex workers. Moreover, the clients’ masculinity is reproduced in their minds when they commit an act of brutalizing a “loose” woman (Razack, 2000). As formulated by a sex worker interviewed by Açıkalın (2013: 265) with regard to sex workers in general, “their souls are as cheap as their flesh.”

Very often brutal violence is used in order to force women into sex work. Rape and beatings are the instruments most frequently used for this purpose. “Some officials argued that rape is a method of intimidation used when the victims refused to work with traffickers, or the victims hesitated to have sex with customers.” (Demir, 2010: 330). For example, Erder and Kaşka (2003: 63) cite the following story of a trafficking victim:

My two sisters and my mother live in a small town in Moldova. We are Gagauz Turks. Three years ago, two men from our town asked whether I wanted to go to work in Istanbul. At that time, I knew that many people from our town had gone to Turkey and earned a lot of money. The men told me that I was going to work in a hotel laundry in Istanbul and would get US\$ 300 a month. We were 10 girls from surrounding towns and villages and were taken to Istanbul in a minibus. We got a monthly visa at the border and the men took our passports away. When we arrived in Istanbul three Turkish men appeared. They put three of us in a house in Çekmece. I don’t know what happened to the other girls. They gave us something to eat. One of the men told me that there was much money in the sex business, then he raped me. Some other men started to come to the house and forced us to have sex with them.

Very often the women who do not agree to “cooperate” with impresarios are simply beaten into submission. As put by Günçikan (1995: 109), “the woman who says “no”

gets beaten up.” However, the women are under so much pressure because of their economic conditions that they might not have the physical or psychological strength to resist violence from their clients and impresarios. Since sex work is the “last option” that they have (Balseven-Odabaşı, 2012; Coşkun, 2014a), sex workers usually accept the conditions of their “employment” set by their clients and impresarios. Here is an excerpt from an interview with a migrant sex worker Irina conducted by Batı (2008: 214):

Interviewer: Can you give us examples of violence done to you by your “sellers”?

Irina (24): There is always beating. Once my two fingers were broken because I refused to work on that day. There is also intimidation. I know that even if I leave and start working for myself all kinds of things can happen to me.

Interviewer: What kinds of things, can you elaborate?

Irina: Very bad things... I can be sent to prison, they also threatened to destroy my face. They can rape, they can do anything.

It is possible to see from these examples that material capability of brutal physical force is used by men and hegemonic social order in order to reproduce the structure of patriarchy and the underlying subordination of women to men. In migrant sex labor in particular, physical force is used as an instrument to control women as the “property” of men, and also to punish them for their “looseness” in order to confirm the masculine identity of the offender.

Another significant problem related to patriarchy and physical force as material capability that migrant sex workers in Turkey face is fact that protection (condom) is almost never used during a commercial sexual intercourse. Although it is very important for sex workers to use protection during intercourse with clients because of health and pregnancy risks involved, because of the pressure of the capitalist market the women fail to persuade their clients to use it. One of the first studies on migrant sex workers conducted by Gülçür and İlkaracan (2002) reports that only 1% or 2% of the interviewed women’s customers accepted to use protection. Interviewed sex worker Mina says: “I try to force men to use a condom. I ask them how they can trust me, maybe I have got AIDS. They tell me I am beautiful and clean and that I couldn’t possibly have AIDS” (Gülçür & İlkaracan, 2002: 417). Ten years later, Balseven-Odabaşı et al (2012: 153) in their study of registered sex workers in Ankara found that almost nothing changed in the sex industry in Turkey: 97% of interviewed women’s (total N=138) clients insisted on not using a condom

during sexual intercourse. Also, 89.1% of the women reported that their customers offered more money for an unprotected sexual act, thus creating unfair competition for the women insisting on using protection (Balseven-Odabaşı et al., 2012: 158). Furthermore, both in brothels and hotels if the woman persuaded the client to use a condom, the condom's price was added to the woman's "debt" by her impresario (Özer, 2012: 112; Açıkalın, 2013). Therefore, it was not economically beneficial for women to insist on using a condom at work even if unprotected intercourse undermined their health. The interests of migrant sex workers themselves are thus subordinated to the interests of the capitalist market. As formulated by Açıkalın (2013: 265), "most of the clients come unprotected and you cannot say anything, you do not actually have a right to say anything because the man comes here to experience something he purchased with his money." Thus, the women's health is sacrificed for the maximization of the profit in the capitalist market.

Finally, another material capability that is an element of patriarchy as a Coxian structure is the economic capacity of men to buy commercial sex from migrant sex workers. In the relations of production, migrant women themselves are treated as marketable items. Under the pressure of the capitalist market, migrant sex workers are prepared for Turkish men's consumption like market commodities. Özer (2012: 100) refers to the Turkmen sex workers identified as victims of human trafficking who were taken to the hairdresser by their impresarios when they came to Turkey and had their long, "innocent-looking" hair cut and colored against their will, creating an image of a "loose" woman tradable in the sex market. Furthermore, some migrant sex workers were also requested by their impresarios to do wax depilation in order to remove bodily hair in their private body parts because "that is how Turkish men like it" (Özer, 2012: 103; also see Akin, 2008). After the completion of these procedures, migrant women became sexually attractive for the Turkish men and were turned into "marketable items" for the capitalist economy.

Having an economic capacity to buy migrant sex labor, some Turkish clients appraise the women because of their bodily characteristics and buy them little presents, jewelry or take them out to have a meal at a nice restaurant. These customers are usually referred by the women as "good customers" (Özer, 2012: 121). Consequently, "bad customers" are those who demand non-traditional forms of sexual intercourse or use physical violence on the women. However, Özer (2012: 121) points to the fact this classification of clients as "good" or "bad" is flawed

because of the asymmetrical power relationship existing between the women and their customers: “while the customers have a status according to societal perceptions of sexuality, their citizenship and social class, they exert their dominance over the “other” women who do not have the benefits of citizenship and are besieged in prostitution.” Therefore, the economic capacity to buy sex work of the clients and the market necessity to remain in sex work for the women underline the class division between the Turkish clients and migrant sex workers and hierarchical power relationship between them.

To sum it up, the demand side of migrant sex labor in Turkey is fueled by both exploitation of women’s labor by capitalism and the existing patriarchal structures of the women’s oppression. As far as patriarchy is concerned, three kinds of social forces interact with each other here: patriarchal ideas (innocence/looseness, *namus*, biological necessity of men to seek sexual pleasure, subordination of women to men), institutions (relations of production, the family, and the state), and material capabilities (brutal physical force, economic capacity to buy sex labor). As a whole, these social forces form the triangle of a Coxian historical structure of patriarchy that, coupled with the impact of capitalist exploitation, influences and shapes the demand for migrant sex labor in Turkey.

5.3 Conclusion

This chapter provided a general picture of migrant sex labor in Turkey by analyzing the two sides of the production process: supply and demand sides of migrant sex labor. This information is very important for the analysis of media representations of migrant sex labor because it provides general context about the problem of exploitation of migrant women’s sexual labor that the media represents to the general public. Both sides of migrant sex labor were examined here through the use of Marxist and historical materialist literature and focused on the interactions between capitalist exploitation and patriarchal exploitation aspects of migrant sex labor. It is possible to agree with Hartmann (1981: 3) that “our society can best be understood once it is recognized that it is organized both in capitalistic and in patriarchal ways.” Capitalism and patriarchy are in constant interaction and both have an impact on the way the supply and demand sides of migrant sex labor are shaped in Turkey.

It is also possible to argue then that exploitation side of migrant sex labor is constantly being silenced by the state because global capitalist order and hegemonic social classes in Turkey both profit from the activity of migrant sex workers in Turkey. Therefore, migrant sex workers are framed as the “necessary evil” by the state (Roberts, 1992) and are left without protection of their basic human rights. The next chapter will focus on the Turkey’s policy on migrant sex labor in terms of response to supply in migrant sex workers and demand for migrant sex labor respectively, and its main drawbacks. It will be followed by detailed discussion of media representations of the issue provided in Chapter 7.



CHAPTER 6

TURKEY'S POLICY ON MIGRANT SEX LABOR

Following the examination of the general context of migrant sex labor in Turkey, there is also a need to look at the Turkish state's policy on this issue before examining the role of the media in influencing state policy on this issue. This chapter focuses on Turkey's policy on migrant sex labor in two different aspects: response to supply in migrant sex labor, and response to demand. It thus examines Turkey's policy on migrant sex labor in these two aspects, while also discussing its main drawbacks in terms of discriminating against migrant women and human rights violations. However, recommendations to the Turkish government will not be provided in this chapter, because they are going to be discussed in Chapter 8 Conclusion.

In general, prostitution⁵² in Turkey is legal but it can only be performed by the Turkish citizens (women with Turkish nationality) in legally registered brothels (see The Turkish Regulation against the Spread of Sexually Transmitted Diseases through Prostitution and the Provisions Regulating Prostitutes and Public Houses of 1961; also Demir and Finckenauer, 2010: 62). Therefore, engagement in prostitution

⁵² The term "prostitution" rather than "sex work" is used in this chapter when the analysis refers to laws, since the Turkish laws do not use the term "sex work" (*seks işçiliği*) and utilize the term "prostitution" (*fuhuş*) instead.

for individual Turkish women is not punished by law because it is not considered a crime. However, engagement in prostitution for migrant women is illegal and forbidden by law (Passport Law, 1950; Demir & Finckenauer, 2010: 76). It is punished by immediate deportation of all migrant women engaged in prostitution with no right of return to Turkey (Article 8 of Passport Law, 1950; Küntay & Çokar, 2007: 28).

Since individual prostitution by Turkish women is legal, it is possible to classify Turkey's policy on prostitution as "regulatory" rather than "abolitionist" (Küntay & Çokar, 2007: 27). It is "regulatory" because there is an attempt to govern sex labor through state policies without completely "abolishing" it as an illegal activity. Accepting that there is demand for sex work in Turkey, the Turkish government acknowledges its existence and makes employment in the sex sector legal for the Turkish women wishing to pursue it. However, the participation of migrant women in the sex labor activity in Turkey is prohibited by law. The next sections will examine Turkey's policy on migrant sex labor with regard to responses to supply and demand in the light of the Marxist feminist and historical materialist theoretical framework.

6.1 The Turkish State's Response to Supply in Migrant Sex Labor

As such, the Turkish state's response to supply in migrant sex workers has been mostly focused not on the *prevention* of entry into Turkey for the migrant women from the FSU, but on deporting them when caught in illegal sex business in Turkey. The reason for this trend could be the indirect profit of the Turkish state from the presence of migrant women in the country because of their illegal business activities (such as participation in tourism, hotel industry or "suitcase trade").

It is possible to argue that especially since the 1990s, Turkey did not try to restrict influx of migrants from the FSU because of the economic benefits of the clandestine activity of migrants since many of migrant sex workers were simultaneously involved in "suitcase trade" and small-scale trade in Turkey (Erder & Kaşka, 2003; Yüksek, 2003). The "suitcase trade" (Turkish: *bavul ticareti*) is a small-scale trade activity organized by the network-type shuttle-traders called *chelnoki* (Russian: shuttle traders) who "bring consumer goods such as apparel and household items in moderate quantities from other countries and sell them in marketplaces in their towns" (Yüksek, 2007: 61). Laleli is the district of Istanbul

where the activity of suitcase traders from the FSU was traditionally centered (Yükseker, 2003). It has been argued that suitcase trade managed to evade legal regulations and taxation in both Turkey and the FSU countries because of its high profitability for the respective states (Yükseker, 2007: 61). According to Yüksek (2004: 49),

Turkey has turned a blind eye to unregistered small-scale trade (“suitcase trade,” or *bavul ticareti* in Turkish) by Eastern Europeans, which since the 1990s has become a source of much-needed foreign currency for the national economy. At a high point in the mid-1990s, suitcase trade exports from Turkey to the FSU were estimated at \$9 billion annually, a significant sum compared with Turkey’s official exports, which ranged between \$13 and \$27 billion per annum over the decade.

Similarly, the countries of FSU also “turned a blind eye” on the activity of shuttle traders because of the economic profits it entailed. For example, according to the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), “unregistered shuttle trade imports accounted for about one-fourth of Russia’s total imports (totaling \$84 billion) in 1996” (OECD, 1997; cited in Yüksek, 2004: 49, footnote 4; also see Aksay, 1998).

Therefore, it is possible to argue that Turkey’s lax migration policies especially since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1992 and lack of regulation of migration from the FSU had a great deal to do with the new neoliberal policies of the Turkish state aimed at the overall liberalization of foreign trade, “improving economic efficiency and eliminating rent-seeking behavior associated with heavy protectionism and excessive state intervention” (Öniş, 2004: 126). According to Öniş and Şenses (2009: 1), “the critical turning point in Turkish neo-liberalism was the decision in August 1989 to open up the capital account completely”. Albeit leading to the liberalization of foreign trade in the long run, this decision has shown that Turkey’s neoliberal development has been “perverse and rather premature” (Eder, 2003: 223), and Turkey’s economy proved to be “ill-equipped” for the neoliberal reforms (Öniş & Şenses, 2009: 1). Having experienced three major financial crises in 1994, 2000 and 2001, Turkey pushed for even more neoliberal economic reforms supported by the IMF program and motivated by the re-opening of accession negotiations with the EU (Öniş & Şenses, 2009). Therefore, the influx of migrant sex workers from the FSU that started in the beginning of the 1990s has facilitated neoliberal restructuring of the Turkish economy, where the women themselves came

to be seen as a source of income, and their labor was successfully exploited by capitalism.

Furthermore, Turkey as a tourism country continues to profit from the influx of foreigners and their capital, and therefore it always tried to maintain a lax visa policy (Demir & Finckenauer, 2010). According to the interviews conducted by Demir and Finckenauer (2010: 75), many police officials admitted that lax visa policies with FSU countries made it easier for migrant sex workers to enter Turkey, but they did not think that stricter visa policies would be a solution to the exploitation of these women:

We don't think that restricting foreign entry via visas is a good solution. Why? Because we have an example from the European Union: They restricted entries with their regulations; however, illegal entries and entry attempts increased.

Therefore, because of the profits from the activity of migrant sex workers, Turkey's policy has been concentrated not on the restriction of entries into Turkey (which still has visa-free regimes with most of the FSU countries; see Demir, 2010: 324), but on the deportation of migrant women who are caught in illegal sex industry. The fact that the Turkish state profits from the presence and economic activity of migrant sex workers can also be explained by the structural economic reasons. According to Esquerra (2008: 4),

Western countries currently face a "care void" resulting from women's entry in the workforce, aging populations, and limited state support, among other factors. On the other hand, countries in the Global South have gone through decades of economic restructuring. This has resulted in the perpetuation of economic crisis, high unemployment rates, and massive outmigration. In the past two decades, these migration flows have become increasingly feminized. Women from the South move to semi-industrialized and industrialized countries and take jobs as domestic and care workers.

Although Esquerra (2008)'s analysis focuses only on domestic workers, her statement can possibly be applied to all reproductive workers including both sex and domestic ones. Similar to the Western countries, Turkey also experiences a "care void" in reproductive labor explained by structural economic reasons such as "women's entry into the workforce" (Esquerra, 2008: 4) and traditional character of the labor market relying on migrant "surplus labor" (Toksöz & Ulutaş, 2012: 88). Toksöz and Ulutaş (2012: 89) argue that in Turkey "female [migrant] labor dominates particularly such sectors as domestic and care services, entertainment and

commercial sex, and garment production,” whereas “both male and female migrants are employed in other sectors including food-restaurants, various sub-sectors of tourism and, particularly in the Black Sea region, agriculture.” Consequently, the influx of female migrant sex workers from the FSU is not restricted by the state because of the economic benefits it entails.

According to the Turkish Regulation against the Spread of Sexually Transmitted Diseases through Prostitution and the Provisions Regulating Prostitutes and Public Houses of 1961, sex work in Turkey is legal only for the Turkish citizens and can be legally conducted only in registered brothels (see the Turkish Regulation, 1961; Balseven-Odabaşı, 2012). Therefore, foreign⁵³ (migrant) women are not allowed to work in brothels unless they obtain Turkish citizenship, and can be deported for engagement in sex work “in the interest of public morality and health, but not for a criminal offence” (Erder & Kaşka, 2003: 27), since prostitution itself is not a crime according to the Turkish laws. The only consequence for a migrant woman who is unregistered (non-brothel) sex worker in Turkey is deportation to her home country. Demir and Finckenauer (2010: 76) argue that some women “may not be deterred by the fear of deportation”; therefore they can take possible deportation into account when they enter Turkey to work as a sex worker. Because of the structural economic problems in the FSU such as unemployment and social benefits crisis, migrant women from the FSU are “forced to choose” to leave their communities (Bilgiç, 2013: 38) in the search of better economic prospects. Therefore, many of them take into account the future possibility of being deported from Turkey when they enter sex work in this country. When the women are deported, their fingerprints are taken by the police to prevent return of the women, and they are never allowed to enter Turkey again (Passport Law, 1951; Erder & Kaşka, 2003: 27; Küntay & Çokar, 2007).

When the police detain migrant sex workers, they send them to the local Skin and Sexually Transmitted Diseases Hospital for tests. If there is no venereal infection detected, the women are often released; however, they can also be deported simply on the grounds of engagement in sex work which is illegal for them (Erder & Kaşka, 2003: 48). If an infection is detected, the women are immediately deported with no treatment being offered (Erder & Kaşka, 2003: 48). According to Coşkun (2015a:

⁵³ The Turkish legislature uses the term “foreign” or “foreigner” rather than “migrant”.

10) who conducted numerous interviews with key informants about human trafficking for her study, “only Turkish citizens are kept in hospitals to be treated. When they receive test results, those termed “foreigners with diseases” are deported to protect public health, while local women with diseases are kept in hospitals to be treated”. The institution responsible for the women’s deportation is the Turkish National Police. The women are either sent to the Foreigners’ Department of the police for testimony and deportation, or to the Children’s Department if detained women are under 18 years of age (Erder & Kaşka, 2003; Sever et al., 2012). It can be argued that the fact that migrant sex workers are refused treatment of STDs prior to deportation is a serious human rights violation which also indirectly puts all the blame for carrying a disease on the women themselves, neglecting the clients’ role in spreading them, which is an instance of patriarchal exploitation of migrant sex workers in Turkey and the patriarchal attitude to all migrant sex workers as “loose” women.

However, the fact that migrant sex workers are subjected to forced medical examinations and tests at the local Skin and Sexually Transmitted Diseases Hospital prior to their deportation raises even more concerns in terms of human rights. According to an NGO manager *M* interviewed by Coşkun (2015a: 9-10),

Subjection to forcible examination is not only ethically problematic, ... but it is also a violation of women’s human and sexual rights according to several international conventions such as the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR).

Consequently, migrant sex workers’ basic human rights are violated by the state at the very moment they are sent to a local hospital for compulsory medical examinations. Attention should be paid to the fact that, for example, according to Article 7 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), “no one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. In particular, no one shall be subjected without his free consent to medical or scientific experimentation” (United Nations, 1966). Therefore, violation of the women’s human rights during forced medical examinations, although considered acceptable by the Turkish state in an attempt to control the supply in migrant sex workers from the FSU, is actually very problematic and can be subjected to feminist criticism because the women are denied any agency in the process and are treated as commodities. For example, when a commodity (such as garments or

electronics) turns out to be flawed it is usually thrown away by the sellers or sometimes sold at a lower price; similarly, migrant sex workers “flawed” with STDs are “thrown away” by the Turkish state because they are no longer profitable or safe to be sold in the market.

Although individual prostitution is not regarded as a crime in Turkey, organization of prostitution, forced prostitution and human trafficking are all considered crimes and punished by law. The legal framework on forced prostitution and human trafficking in Turkey is significant for this study because it often affects migrant sex workers from the FSU who are identified as victims of human trafficking in Turkey. Instigation to prostitution is punishable by law under Article 227 “Organization of Prostitution” of the Turkish Criminal Code, the relevant parts of which are provided below:

ARTICLE 227:

- (1) Any person who encourages a child to become a prostitute, or facilitates prostitution, or shelters a person for this purpose, or acts as go-between during prostitution of the child, is punished with imprisonment from four years to ten years, and also imposed punitive fine up to ten thousand days.
- (2) Any person who encourages another person to become a prostitute, or facilitates prostitution, or acts as go-between or provides place for such purpose is punished with imprisonment from two years up to four years, and also imposed punitive fine up to three thousand days. Any act aimed to benefit from the income of a person engaged in prostitution to earn one's living, totally or partially, is considered encouragement of prostitution.
- (3) Any person who brings people into the country, or sends groups to abroad for prostitution purposes is punished according to the provisions of above subsection.
- (4) The punishment to be imposed according to above subsections is doubled in case a person is encouraged to become a prostitute by use of threat or force, or malice, or taking advantage of one's helplessness.
- (5) The punishment to be imposed by one half in case of commission of offenses listed in the above subsections by any one of the spouses, antecedents, descendants, brother/sister, adopter, guardian, trainer, educator, nurse or any other person responsible for protection and control of a person, or by a public officer or employee by due influence.

According to this article, instigation to prostitution in Turkey is punishable by an imprisonment term from four to ten years. In the section “Offences against Humanity” of the Turkish Criminal Code, Article 77 refers to “forced prostitution” as a crime also punishable by law:

ARTICLE 77:

(1) Execution of any one of the following acts systematically under a plan against a sector of a community for political, philosophical, racial or religious reasons, creates the legal consequence of an offenses against humanity.

- a) Voluntary manslaughter,
- b) To act with the intension of giving injury to another person,
- c) Torturing, infliction of severe suffering, or forcing a person to live as a slave,
- d) To restrict freedom,
- e) To make a person to be subject to scientific researches/tests
- f) Sexual harassment, child molestation,
- g) Forced pregnancy
- h) Forced prostitution

(2) In case of execution of the act mentioned in paragraph (a) of first subsection, the convict is sentenced to heavy imprisonment; in case of commission of offenses listed in other paragraphs, the convict is sentenced to imprisonment not less than eight years. However, if the offense is caused by voluntary manslaughter or intentional injury of a person, then the provisions relating to physical joinder are applied in consideration of number of victims.

Since organization of sex work often involves the presence of an organized criminal group, Article 78 “Organization of Organized Criminal Groups” can also be used for the sex work cases. According to Article 78, organization of organized criminal groups is punishable by a prison term of 10 to 15 years:

ARTICLE 78:

(1) Those forming organized groups or engage in management of such groups are punished with imprisonment from ten years to fifteen years. Any person who becomes a member of such group is sentenced to imprisonment from five years to ten years.

Finally, human trafficking is also an offense now according to the new Criminal Code adopted in 2005. After the ratification of the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime together with the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in December 2000 (known as the Palermo Protocol) by the Turkish Parliament in 2003, a new Criminal Code was adopted (Kirişçi, 2007; Kaya, 2008). It added a definition of human trafficking (*insan ticareti*) and a concept of “trafficking victim” (*insan ticareti mağduru*) to the Turkish legal system and prescribed a punishment for the act of trafficking of 5 to 10 years (Erder & Kaşka, 2003; İçduygu, 2009: 11). The Article 80 “Human Trafficking” could now be used in human trafficking cases after the reform of the legislature:

ARTICLE 80:

(1) Persons who provide, kidnap or shelter or transfer a person(s) from one place to another unlawfully and by force, threat or violence or misconduct of power or by executing acts of enticement or taking advantage of control power on helpless persons in order to force them to work or serve for others or to send them away where (s)he is treated almost like a slave, are sentenced to imprisonment from eight years to twelve years and punished with punitive fine up to ten thousand days.

(2) In case of execution of acts which constitute offense in the definition of first subsection, the consent of the victim is considered void.

(3) In case of kidnapping, providing, sheltering or transfer of a person(s) who is under the age of eighteen, the offender is subject to the punishments indicated in the first subsection even if he did not execute the acts causing offense.

It is also significant to mention that in paragraph 2 of Article 80 provided above, “the consent of the victim is considered void” if the acts listed in paragraph 1 (such as kidnapping, sheltering, transferring a victim to a place where she is treated almost like a slave) took place. Therefore, even if the woman accepted any payment for a sexual act, her consent to conduct sex work is disregarded if she was forced to work, kidnapped or transferred as stated by Paragraph 2 of this article. This is very significant for the discussion on the role of consent in human trafficking, in which very often the fact of accepting the money for the sexual service is seen as evidence of “willing” engagement in sex work (see Lobasz, 2009; Elliott, 2015; Coşkun, 2015a; 2015). According to Coşkun (2015a: 9), “receiving money (or other benefits) is the only criterion used to distinguish between forced and voluntary prostitution in Turkey’s prostitution regime”. Even the possession of a mobile phone can be considered as evidence of the woman’s consent to work in the sex business by the police (Coşkun, 2015a: 11) because it could be used by the woman to make a rescue call if necessary. Therefore, it is possible to argue that the Turkish police as an institution of the state have developed a patriarchal stereotype of the “innocent” victim of human trafficking who is not supposed to receive *any* payment from her exploiters. However, the whole discussion about the role of consent in sex work is very problematic because when the women’s “victim” status is confirmed, their agency as “conscious” labor migrants is denied to them (Aradau, 2008). Very often even if the woman provided her initial “consent” to become a sex worker and migrate to Turkey for that purpose, she can still be exploited by the capitalist economy through underpayment of her labor or debt-bondage (see Gallagher, 2001;

O'Connell-Davidson, 2006). Therefore, it is possible to agree with Coşkun (2015a: 17) in thinking that “women who have been trafficked and/or forced into prostitution should be considered “the injured party” without questioning her “consent” because of the unequal relations, gender-based violence and coercion inherent in prostitution”.

However, Article 227 “Organization of Prostitution” continues to be most frequently used by the judicial officials in the cases involving migrant sex workers (Baykotan, 2014: 20), because elements of this crime are easier to prove than elements of human trafficking. Therefore, many human traffickers in Turkey are still prosecuted under Articles 227 on “Organization of Prostitution” and Article 77 on “Forced Prostitution”, despite the existence of a separate article on human trafficking (Article 80). Coşkun (2015a: 13) notes that her “lawyer informants also pointed out that most human trafficking crimes are interpreted as forced prostitution crimes, thus resulting in 1–2 years of prison as opposed to the 8–12 years for human trafficking”. This makes Article 80 less effective for the prosecution of human traffickers in Turkey⁵⁴.

In terms of combating forced prostitution and human trafficking, Turkey also issued a National Task Force “Action Plan against Human Trafficking” in March 2003 in order to “identify gaps in the crime of human trafficking and to fulfill international standards with regard to the procedures and investigations in victim identification process.” (Sever et al., 2012: 43). A second plan prepared by the National Task Force, a “National Plan for Strengthening Institutional Capacity in Combating Human Trafficking” was issued in June 2009 (Sever et al., 2012: 46). However, despite the fact that the interagency National Task Force successfully met to discuss human trafficking in Turkey in December 2014, the government “did not update its 2009 national action plan” as of today (U.S. Department of State, 2015: 342).

A significant change affecting migrant sex workers in Turkey was made in 2003 by an amendment to the Turkish Citizenship Law No. 4866. According to this amendment, a probation period of 3 years was now required for a foreign spouse to acquire Turkish citizenship by marriage. The reason for this change was the growing number of “paper marriages” conducted only for the purpose of acquiring Turkish

⁵⁴ For the detailed legalistic analysis of Article 80 on human trafficking in Turkey and problems with its interpretation, see Coşkun (2015a).

citizenship and thus avoiding deportation for engagement in sex work. According to Kalfa (2008: 155), many women from the FSU made fake marriages with Turkish citizens in order to “get a guarantee for themselves” and stay in Turkey. Various amounts of payment were made by these women to their Turkish “paper” spouses. For example, the following is a story of a Russian sex worker of Dagestan origin in Turkey interviewed by Erder and Kaşka (2003: 64):

I decided to enter into a fake marriage to receive a Turkish ID. I married a man of Dagestan origin, and promised him to pay 1,000 dollars. I worked one year to pay him. I am still married and he never disturbs me as I paid him. I don't have a pimp. I am regularly hanging around in discos in Aksaray to find clients. I bargain myself with my clients in the disco. I take 150 US dollars per night. The police have taken me to the hospital twice. No disease was found and as I was married and had Turkish documents they did not deport me. I have never come across a case of forced prostitution.

According to the new amendment to the Citizenship Law, if the spouses are not living in the same household the foreigner spouse cannot be eligible for the Turkish citizenship (Erder & Kaşka, 2003: 27), and the married couple is to be subjected to routine police control in their household. The aim is to prevent arranged marriages with migrant sex workers that allow them to avoid deportation and stay in the illegal sex business in Turkey (Sever et al., 2012). It is possible to assume that the reason why this law was adopted were the state concerns about the growing number of foreigners acquiring Turkish citizenship by marriage who could possibly represent a “security threat” for the state (see Agathangelou, 2004: 126). However, it can be argued that this new provision only made migrant women more vulnerable to exploitation because of difficult procedure of getting citizenship (see Toksöz & Ünlütürk-Ulutaş, 2012; Coşkun, 2015; Zhidkova & Demir, 2016).

In order to prevent exploitation of migrant women in reproductive labor in Turkey, a new Law on Work Permits for Foreigners No. 4817 was adopted in 2003. It made it easier for foreigners to obtain work permits in Turkey which was not possible under the previous legislature, and also created work permits for migrant domestic workers for the first time (Erder & Kaşka, 2003: 27). “According to the previous legal arrangement, foreigners were not able to engage in domestic work. This resulted in the exploitation of thousands of Moldavian women working in the domestic sector in Turkey” (İçduygu, 2009: 12). The new law made the employment of migrant reproductive workers in Turkey legal, which also affected sex workers

since very often domestic work paved the way for migrant women into sex work (Özer, 2012; Agathangelou, 2004).

However, it is possible to argue that despite the existence of legal work permits for migrant domestic workers now, their exploitation in the reproductive labor continued because of the pressure of the capitalist economy leaving the labor of the proletariat constantly exploited and “underpaid” (Burnham, 2002). For example, according to Toksöz and Ulutaş (2012: 90-91), in Turkey, women’s participation in professional occupation has been increasing and is around 37%, “which is close to that in developed countries”. The increasing participation of women in high-professional workforce subsequently created a “care void” in reproductive labor in Turkey that was filled by domestic workers from the FSU:

As female citizens who used to be employed in domestic and care services find other opportunities of employment and refuse to undertake “low status” domestic and care services as there emerged a rising demand for female migrants who could fill the gap (Toksöz & Ulutaş, 2012: 90).

Therefore, exploitation of migrant reproductive labor by capital continued despite new legislation efforts to make it “legal”.

An important initiative to prevent sexual exploitation of migrant women in Turkey is the “Alo-157” helpline for the victims of human trafficking run by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) office in Turkey and funded by the Turkish government. This helpline was opened in 2005 and as of 2015, 167 victims of human trafficking in Turkey were rescued with the help of this line (Ministry of the Interior Directorate General of Migration Management, 2015b). According to the IOM statistics, in 2006 only 19% of phone calls with requests for rescue were made by the migrant women themselves, whereas 81% of calls were made by the women’s clients, friends, relatives and neighbors (Karakuş & McGarrell, 2012: 16). This fact shows that the degree of the women’s exploitation and restriction of their freedom of movement in the cases of forced prostitution and human trafficking is so high that the women themselves are unable even to make a call for rescue. However, it might also be possible that the victims themselves are not informed about the helpline and therefore do not resort to its services. In order to raise awareness about the Alo-157 helpline, the Turkish government continued to publicize this phone number “on pamphlets and posters in airports and at other ports of entry around the country.” (U.S. Department of State, 2014: 385). It has been reported by IOM that the majority

of cases of forced prostitution and human trafficking were made to the hotline by the sex workers' clients themselves (see Bahar, 2012). However, this cannot be a reason for appraisal of Turkish clients as "heroes" projected by the media (see Bahar, 2012; also see Chapter 7), because there is an unequal hierarchical relationship between the client and the sex worker, and the fact that it is the client who informs the police about the case of exploitation does not diminish the inherent patriarchal exploitation and inequality of purchasing sex labor.

In response to further influx of migrants and especially displaced persons from the neighboring Syria in the aftermath of the recent crisis, in April 2013 the Turkish government passed a new law called "Foreigners and International Protection Act" No. 6458, which placed migration management on Turkey's political agenda (İçduygu, 2014: 6). The new law accomplished two important things with regard to migrant sex workers identified as victims of human trafficking in Turkey: granted these women a possibility to apply for an extendable residence permit (the so-called "humanitarian visa" or *insani vize*) and also created a new Department of Protection of Trafficked Persons as a branch of the newly established Directorate General of Migration Management (*Göç İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü*) (U.S. Department of State, 2014: 384). According to the law, the Department of Protection of Trafficked Persons assumed responsibility "for all anti-trafficking efforts, including victim identification." (U.S. Department of State, 2014: 384) that were previously under the responsibility of the Turkish national police.

The new provision on the possibility of a renewable "humanitarian visa" for the victims of human trafficking can be considered as problematic because of the conditions it imposes on the women applying for it. The following provisions apply for the residence permit for victims of human trafficking (see Ministry of the Interior, 2015c):

Residence permits for victims of human trafficking

ARTICLE 48:

(1) A residence permit valid for thirty days shall be granted, by the governorates, to foreigners who are victims of human trafficking or where there is strong circumstantial evidence that they might be victims with a view to allow them to break from the impact of their [negative] experience and reflect on whether to cooperate with the competent authorities.

(2) Conditions attached to other types of residence permits shall not be sought while issuing these residence permits.

Renewal and cancelation of residence permits for victims of human trafficking

ARTICLE 49:

(1) The residence permit granted to allow for recovery and reflection may be renewed for six months periods for reasons of safety, health or special circumstances of the victim. However, the total duration shall not exceed three years under any circumstances whatsoever.

(2) The residence permit shall be cancelled in cases where it is determined that foreigners who are victims of trafficking or might be victims of human trafficking have re-connected with the perpetrators of the crime through their own volition.

However, according to the U.S. TIP Report 2014 (U.S. Department of State, 2014: 384-385), during the reporting year (the year of 2013) which was the first year the law entered into force, “no victims requested or received humanitarian visas.” Similarly, no statistics on the issuing of humanitarian visas were provided by the Turkish state in the following year of 2014 (U.S. Department of State, 2015: 341). The reason for this trend may be the fact that humanitarian visa for a victim of human trafficking can be issued only on the condition of cooperation “with competent authorities” as stated in Paragraph 1 of Article 48. It means that unless the woman agrees to testify against her traffickers in court and help the police dismantle her trafficking network, she is denied any right to stay in Turkey and is deported to her home country on similar grounds with women identified as “willing” sex workers (Baykotan, 2014: 21; also see Coşkun, 2015a; 2015b; Zhidkova & Demir, 2016). “The law [on Foreigners and International Protection] seems to tie residence permit to victim’s cooperation with the authorities because victims may feel themselves obliged to cooperate with authorities to renew their residence permit” (Baykotan, 2014: 21). Therefore, it can be subjected to feminist criticism because the law requires the women to be “silent” victims who “gratefully receive whatever is offered” (Coşkun, 2015a; also see Dauvergne, 2008), which reflects patriarchal assumptions about “innocent victims” in Turkey who are denied agency as “conscious” migrants. According to Lobasz (2009: 332; cited in Baykotan, 2014: 20), when the trafficking victim’s right to protection is tied to her cooperation with state or law enforcement authorities, her human rights are not protected, and her security needs are “subordinated to the security needs of the state” (also see Coontz and Griebel, 2004). The state can thus decide whether a particular trafficking case is worth prosecuting or not, and decline the victim’s request for a humanitarian visa (Baykotan, 2014; Lobasz, 2009). This makes this initiative less “humanitarian” than

it may originally seem because it actually protects the interests of the state and its security at the expense of the security of migrant sex workers.⁵⁵

The “humanitarian visa” in Turkey can be compared to the so-called “T visa” (trafficking visa) that is provided to trafficking victims in the United States according to the 2000 Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA). According to Chapkis (2003: 932), “the T visa ... is designed not so much as a means to assist the victim as it is a device to assist prosecutors in closing down trafficking networks.” The similar seems to be true for “humanitarian visa” in Turkey, which is actually an instrument to allow the Turkish police to persuade the victim to testify against her traffickers. Actually, the interviews conducted by Coşkun (2014a: 15) show that “more and more identified “victims” did not choose to join this program ..., but rather were sent back by the police immediately following the prosecution process” because of the dubious conditions on cooperation with authorities. Therefore, this initiative is very problematic in terms of human rights and does not provide adequate protection for victims of sexual exploitation in Turkey (Özer, 2012: 144; Coşkun, 2015a).

It can be argued that in general, a serious problem with the existing state response to supply in migrant sex labor is the fact that although there are many irregular migrant sex workers staying on the territory of Turkey, there are no laws to encompass and protect them (Coşkun, 2014a; Sever et al., 2012). Bishop et al. (2013: 117) in their analysis of public awareness on human trafficking in Europe found that although not all irregular migrants are necessarily exploited, the problem is that many of them “lack the same protection and rights as citizens”. It can be argued that the same problem is true for Turkey. The restrictive migration policies of the Turkish state such as denying migrant sex workers the possibility to legally enter the Turkish entertainment industry and the absence of adequate laws to protect migrant sex workers push these women into the illegal sector, where they can easily fall prey to exploitation. Although there is no possible way for migrant sex workers to engage in prostitution in Turkey legally, they are stigmatized as “illegal” prostitutes by the migration and prostitution regime (Coşkun, 2014a; 2015a). As noted by Coşkun

⁵⁵ On March 17, 2016 Turkey adopted a new comprehensive directive for the Ministry of Interior on the struggle against human trafficking and victim protection (see Resmi Gazete, 2016). According to the new directive, the “people who are suspected of being victims of human trafficking will be identified as victims without waiting for the outcome of an investigation or prosecution” (Anadolu Agency, 2016). The directive can be considered an important initiative that would help make trafficking victim identification process in Turkey more victim-oriented, but since it has not entered into force yet, it is too early to provide any full-scale assessment of its impact.

(2015a: 2), especially in the human trafficking discourse in Turkey that mostly involves migrant sex workers, “efforts to prevent “trafficking” are often grouped with efforts to prevent “illegal” migration” (Agustin, 2007; Anderson, 2013; Anderson & Andrijasevic, 2008; Dauvergne, 2008; Dewey, 2008; Gallagher, 2001; Lobasz, 2009). Therefore, the migrant women’s status as “illegal prostitutes” prevents them from any equal and just treatment by the state and its institutions. Moreover, any migrant women who are not engaged in sex work also face discrimination and sexual harassment which can push them into the sex sector against their will (Gülçür & İlkaracan, 2002; Erder & Kaşka, 2003; Coşkun, 2015b). Therefore, the existing policies on migrant sex labor in Turkey do not prevent migrant women attracted by economic opportunities in this country from being exploited in the sex sector in Turkey (Agathangelou, 2004).

Finally, probably the most significant problem with the existing policies on sex trafficking in Turkey is the fact that deportation to a migrant sex worker’s home country is seen as the ultimate solution to the women’s exploitation. Even if a migrant sex worker has a valid visa, she can be easily deported for engagement in sex work or for carrying a sexually transmitted disease (Coşkun, 2014a; 2015b). The only solution offered to both “willing” sex workers and “victims” of human trafficking in Turkey is deportation to their home countries. Table 13 below shows the numbers of women deported from Turkey to FSU countries in the period from 2000 to 2013.

Table 13. Numbers of Deportations from Turkey to Ex-Soviet Countries
(2000-2013).⁵⁶

Years	The number of migrant women voluntarily repatriated as “victims of human trafficking”	The number of migrant women deported for engagement in prostitution or having a sexually transmitted disease
2000-2003	-	15.091
2004	239	2.444
2005	256	2.763
2006	246	2.855

⁵⁶ Source: Coşkun (2014a: 201). Data originally obtained from Countertrafficking.org, Demir (2008), Ministry of the Interior and Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

2007	148	-
2008	120	-
2009	102	2.134
2010	58	1.600
2011	82	-
2012	39	-
2013	21	-
Total:	1.311	-

From the table, it is possible to see that each year the number of migrant women from the FSU deported from Turkey for engagement in sex work or having a STD is almost 10 times higher than the number of the women deported as victims of human trafficking. These statistics raise questions about the efficiency of Turkey's policies against human trafficking and the management of sex labor in general.

Also, it is very interesting that although deportation is suggested as an ultimate solution for both “willing” sex workers and victims of human trafficking, in the official documents the word used for “willing” sex workers is “deportation” (see Şimşek et al., 2003: 58), whereas for victims of human trafficking it is “safe return” (see Sever et al., 2012) or “voluntary repatriation” (see U.S. Department of State, 2014: 384). Actually, it is possible to argue that all these terms have the same meaning and are actually synonyms for deportation; the only difference between a “voluntary” sex worker and a sex worker identified as a “victim” of human trafficking and therefore assumed to be “coerced” into sex work is the fact that a “victim” is required to testify against her traffickers (coercers), whereas a “willing” prostitute is not expected to testify against anyone and can be immediately deported. In fact, such “voluntary” repatriation of trafficked persons “without undue or unreasonable delay” (United Nations, 2000: 45) can be defined as just a “more humanitarian” form of deportation” rather than any kind of aid to the victim (Erder, 2011; cited in Coşkun, 2015a). Because of the problematic conditions requiring cooperating with law enforcement in the traffickers prosecution process, many women identified as victims of human trafficking in Turkey were denied access to victim protection services. For example, according to the recent data from the U.S. Department of State (2015: 341), out of 50 migrant women identified as potential victims of human trafficking in Turkey in 2014, “twenty-six victims accepted support services and 24 [were] elected for immediate repatriation, which the government facilitated,” meaning that half of the women refused to cooperate with

the police and were thus denied access to victim protection services. Therefore, in the current state response to supply in migrant sex labor the migrant sex workers' interests are left without protection. The Turkish state's response to supply in migrant sex workers from the FSU has been handicapped by the perception of migrant sex labor as an issue of "illegal" migration rather than a human rights issue. Consequently, the state policy focused more on deporting women "caught" in illegal sex business rather than on preventing their access to the country, while the state continued to simultaneously collect profits from migrant women's involvement in small-scale industry and exploitation of their labor by capital.

6.2 The Turkish State' Response to Demand in Migrant Sex Labor

There are considerably few initiatives regarding the response to demand in migrant sex labor in Turkey. One of them is the Turkish Regulation against the Spread of Sexually Transmitted Diseases through Prostitution and the Provisions Regulating Prostitutes and Public Houses of 1961 (Turkish: *Genel Kadınlar ve Genel Evlerin Tabi Olacakları Hükümler ve Fuhuş Yüzünden Bulaşan Zührevi Hastalıklarla Mücadele Tüzüğü*) which is an official document regulating "legal" employment in sex work in Turkey. It was adopted in 1961 in response to growing demand for sex work in Turkey and amended in 1973, and no changes have been made since then. The Regulation "concerns the control of prostitution, the identification of prostitutes, medical examinations, the closing down of unregistered brothels to prevent the spread of STDs and the protection of public morals and health" (Erder & Kaşka, 2003: 27; see the Turkish Regulation, 1961). It allows the existence of authorized brothels in Turkey where sex work can be performed under strict control of the relevant authorities. According to the Regulation, "women have to be at least 21 years old and Turkish citizens to work in brothels. They also have to be examined in a Skin and Sexually Transmitted Diseases Hospital twice a week." (Balseven-Odabaşı et al., 2012: 153). Foreign (migrant) women cannot legally work in brothels unless they become naturalized Turkish citizens (the Turkish Regulation, 2016). After obtaining Turkish citizenship, which usually occurs through marriage, foreign women can apply to work in a brothel and receive a sex worker "license" (*vesika*).

However, it is possible to argue that this Regulation that is almost half a century-old no longer reflects the realities of contemporary demand for sex work in

Turkey (Küntay & Çokar, 2007: 11; Coşkun, 2015a; 2015b). First of all, with the invention of mobile phones, scheduling a meeting with a sex worker has become very easy, and the necessity for the existence of state-run brothels has declined (Erder & Kaşka, 2003: 47). According to Balseven-Odabaşı et al. (2012: 153), “there are 56 licensed brothels with about 3,000 sex workers in these brothels in Turkey” However, the total number of female and transgender sex workers in Turkey is reported to be 100,000, not counting migrant sex workers (Balseven-Odabaşı et al., 2012: 153). Therefore, brothels simply cannot meet the growing demand for sex workers. Beşpınar and Çelik (2009: 7) claim that the nature of demand for sex work in Turkey has changed: now migrant sex workers are more desirable than Turkish brothel sex workers by the male clients. Therefore, clients now prefer to arrange meeting with sex workers in private meeting houses (*randevu evleri*) organized by impresarios, rather than come to a brothel. This lack of demand has created economic problems for brothels sex workers who are unable to compete with underground sex work involving migrant women and are thus forced to accept clients for considerably low market prices. For example, Açıkalın (2013: 263) argues that some brothel sex workers, especially older ones, have to accept clients for 3 Turkish Liras (TL) in order to remain in the market. Similarly, whereas in private “meeting houses” clients can be served alcoholic drinks and otherwise “entertain” themselves, in brothels alcohol is strictly forbidden under the 1961 Regulation (see Küntay & Çokar, 2007: 31). This creates unfair competition for brothel sex workers who are not allowed to provide additional “entertainment” for their clients apart from a commercial sexual act itself (Küntay & Çokar, 2007: 31). According to a statement by a nurse interviewed by Beşpınar and Çelik (2009: 7), “the number of brothels in Turkey sometimes rises and sometimes declines, but the number of meeting houses and women working for themselves constantly increases because it is them who earn most.” Therefore, it is possible to argue that 1961 Regulation has many drawbacks and has to be updated according to the current sex work demand conditions of Turkey. Working conditions for sex workers should be improved, and migrant women should be allowed to legally engage in sex work in Turkey given the growing demand. However, the women’s victimization and exploitation should be prevented in the process, and their human rights should be protected.

Despite the existing demand for migrant sex workers in Turkey, protection for these women is denied nowadays because they are considered as a security threat

to the Turkish state and its citizens. It can be argued that migrant sex workers are considered a threat to public health, public morality and national security of the state. However, this securitization discourse is problematic because it leads to the portrayal of sex trafficking as an “illegal” border crossing issue rather than a human rights issue, and emphasis in policy-making is thus placed on the security of states rather than the security of individuals (see Dauvergne, 2008; Lobasz, 2009; Anderson, 2013).

The patriarchal attitude to migrant sex workers as a threat to public health is especially visible when the responsibility for the spread of STDs that is placed only on migrant women themselves. For example, Erder and Kaşka (2003: 51) argue that the interviewed hospital staff in Istanbul “was concerned over the potential rise in STDs as a public health risk caused by the illegal sex business, a concern fully justified by the number of confirmed cases.” Therefore, the women are being blamed for being a source of venereal infections in the society (see Anadolu Agency, 1999; Bayer, 2000). For example, according to a medical study by Şimşek et al. (2003: 56), sex workers “are more vulnerable to infection. Once infected, they are more likely to spread the disease than individuals with fewer partners.” In this perspective, the sex workers’ clients’ role in the spread of STDs is completely neglected (Balseven-Odabaşı et al., 2012: 158), and the “public health” is protected at the expense of migrant sex workers’ health (Coşkun, 2014a: 198; 2015a). According to Balseven-Odabaşı et al. (2012: 159), “total disregard for sex workers’ rights and the screening of sex workers for STDs just to protect public health increase their feeling of being outcasts,” and creates serious psychological trauma in them. The responsibility for the spread of STDs placed at migrant sex workers and discrimination leading to it are also very traumatic for the migrant women themselves. As found by Özer (2012: 122), migrant sex workers from the FSU interviewed by her were all very well informed about the risks of STDs, pregnancy and the methods of protection during sexual intercourse, which can be considered an impact of the Soviet educational and health care system. However, in Turkey they are stigmatized for the spread of STDs with total disregard for the role of male clients in the spread of these diseases (Balseven-Odabaşı et al., 2012).

It is possible to see from some examples in the Turkish media that migrant sex workers are stigmatized for carrying STDs, whereas the women’s clients’ role in the spread of these diseases is not discussed. For example, here is one example of a

Turkish newspaper article on migrant sex workers provided in Küntay and Çokar (2007: 42).



FIGURE 11. “Ortalık HIV Kaynıyor” (This Place is Flooded with HIV). Image source: Küntay and Çokar (2007: 42).

Here is an English translation of this article:

It was determined that 2 women among 6 foreign women detained in Iğdir because their passports expired carried Hepatitis C virus. According to the received information, 6 foreign women whose passports had expired were detained by law enforcement forces during controls at picnic areas and music halls. During the medical tests that women underwent at Iğdir State Hospital, it was found that 2 women out of 6 had Hepatitis C virus. It was announced that women are to be deported for carrying a disease and having no valid passport after the conclusion of all relevant procedures.

It is possible to see from Figure 2 that migrant sex workers in the picture are covering their faces trying to protect their identity. This portrayal can be frequently seen in newspaper pieces on migrant sex workers in Turkey, confirming the patriarchal idea that sex work is a shameful activity for them, and that the women themselves admit being guilty of carrying STDs (see further discussion in Chapter 7).

From the next example, it is possible to see how male clients of migrant sex workers are protected by the mainstream media discourse and framed as “innocent”:



FIGURE 12. “AIDS’li Kadın Yakalandı” (A Woman with AIDS was Caught).

Image source: Küntay and Çokar (2007: 52).

Here is an English translation of this article:

In the operation conducted in the city of Marmaris in the province of Muğla, 20 prostitutes were detained by the police, out of which 9 were foreigners. During the first medical test conducted on one of the Turkish women, an AIDS virus was detected. The authorities warned men who had a sexual intercourse with this prostitute about the necessity to go through medical inspection.

It is possible to see here that the clients’ role in the spread of STDs is neglected, and that the migrant sex workers’ health is left unprotected. The fact that infected women are immediately deported with no STD treatment offered in Turkey shows that public health is protected, and the women’s health is sacrificed and neglected (Coşkun, 2014a: 198; Coşkun, 2015a) at the expense of “public health”. It is possible to see in these examples how the media as an instrument of state hegemony reflects official state policy on migrant sex workers stigmatizing them as “dirty” and “indecent” (see more examples and further discussion in Chapter 7). However, the fact that the state

indirectly profits from the activity of migrant sex workers because, first, they fill the “void” in the demand for sex labor in Turkey of the privileged social classes and, second, they support the Turkish economy through their participation in small-scale and “suitcase” trade, is silenced in these media accounts because the state requests so. The hegemonic ideology of the state is thus reproduced in the mass media as one of the ideological platforms that helps to reinforce the dominant cultural and societal norms such as patriarchal attitudes to sexuality, marriage and family “honor”.

Migrant sex workers are also seen by the traditional Turkish society as a threat to public morality. Migrant women engaged in sex work are seen as a “threat to family sanctity” because their existence is seen as a source of conflict between husbands and wives (Karakuş & McGarrell, 2012: 17). As put by Bayer (2000), “who knows how many Turks’ homes and family happiness were destroyed by a single Natasha pleasure.” Since Turkey as a Muslim-majority country is a traditional society, the behavior of individuals is subject to strict control by patriarchal institutions such as family, friends and religion (Karakuş & McGarrell, 2012: 17). For example, Atauz et al. (2009: 432) in their study on human trafficking in North-Eastern Anatolia have found that in the interviews on the societal attitudes to migrant women becoming victims of human trafficking in Turkey, the prevailing attitude is negative and stigmatizing. The interviewed *muftis* (religious counselors) especially saw migrant sex workers as “harmful” and “the root of moral outrage” in the society (Atauz et al., 2009: 432). A male mufti in Iğdir claimed that migrant women could protect themselves from getting involved in sex work by traditional Muslim veiling (Atauz et al., 2009: 432): “Our religion imposes veiling upon women. If a woman wears headscarf and *tesettür* [veil], then she keeps herself safe from harmful men.”

Furthermore, migrant women are also seen as a threat to public morality because they are held responsible for “spoiling” the traditional women with their weakness for luxury (Günçikan, 1995). However, it was found by Açıkalın (2013: 268) that despite the widespread opinion that migrant sex workers have a weakness for money and luxury, they do not actually earn much from sex work and receive less than 20% of their earnings (interviews with sex workers in Mersin, Açıkalın, 2013: 268). As it was discussed in Chapter 5, instead of a weakness for luxurious lifestyle that is often mentioned by the hegemonic institutions such as the police as the reason why migrant women end up in sex work in Turkey, poor socio-economic background and “urgent financial need is the most frequent reason mentioned by people in

prostitution for being in the sex trade” (MacKinnon, 2011: 276). Rather than suddenly becoming rich by selling their bodies, the women “are lucky to get out with their lives, given the mortality figures” in sex work (MacKinnon, 2011: 277).

According to Coşkun (2014a: 194), another factor having an impact on the portrayal of migrant sex workers as a threat to public morality is the religious motivation of the Justice and Development Party (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi* or AKP) in Turkey. By promoting religious discourse in the society, the AKP receives a valid justification for all kinds of discrimination and stigmatization of migrant sex workers as “threats to public morality and health” who spoil the traditional Muslim society with their “indecentry” and “weakness for luxury”. For example, AKP has already closed legally registered brothels “in several cities such as Istanbul, Ankara, Afyon and Erzurum for public health and moral reasons, such as being too near to schools or public places, etc.” (Coşkun, 2015a: 18, notes), motivated by its Islamic “morals” (Coşkun, 2015a: 7). However, the state policy on migrant sex labor is not abolitionist but regulatory, which means that the presence of migrant women in sex work is tolerated by the state. The entry of migrant women into Turkey is not restricted upon arrival because the state acknowledges the demand for their activities. Thus, migrant sex workers are simultaneously “desirable” in Turkey because of the existing market demand and their contribution to the Turkish economy and “undesirable” because of the patriarchal ideas that they spread indecentry and looseness in the Turkish society. The underlying truth about the profitability of migrant sex workers for the capitalist economy is deliberately silenced by the state.

Finally, migrant sex workers are also seen as a threat to national security of Turkey (see Narlı, 2006; Işığçok, 2010). According to Agathangelou (2004: 2; 10; 25), by framing migrant sex workers as a “security threat” to the state, the state itself masks capitalist exploitation of these women and their labor and profit-maximization that their activity entails. The real societal problems such as exploitation of labor by capital and class inequality are being disguised, and migrant sex workers are shown as a source of evil and corruption in the society (Agathangelou, 2004). The following article from the Turkish newspaper *Istanbul Sabah* demonstrates how migrant sex workers are seen as a security threat for the national security of Turkey (Istanbul Sabah, cited in Agathangelou, 2004: 126):

A majority of individuals, who have financial gains from the . . . Natasha activities show these women as married on paper and make them Turkish

citizens. If no measures are taken, the number of people who have acquired Turkish citizenship in this way will increase to hundreds of thousands. This situation will become an important security issue for Turkey. . . . It will also be an important threat factor in terms of the effect it will have on our human resources. . . . Most of these women are university graduates and they provide the intelligence units of their countries with intelligence on various issues. It has been established that the intelligence units interrogate some of these women for days after they return to their countries. The state officials, who have been involved in the Natasha activities and who are in important positions, may leak extremely important information regarding the general security of the state, to these women. It has been established that some of these officials have illegal relationships with these women. It is known that the important strategic natural sources and the human structure [of Turkey] are being examined with this method.

Thus, it is possible to see the hypocrisy in the state policy on migrant sex workers in Turkey: they are seen as a “threat to national security” but their presence in the country is tolerated and they are deported only if infected with a venereal disease. Especially the “Turkish anti-trafficking mechanisms have been primarily focused on preventing migration and not on protecting the women” (Coşkun, 2015a: 16) because of the state’s emphasis on the “illegal migration” aspect of the problem (Gallagher, 2001; Dauvergne, 2008; Dewey, 2008; Lobasz, 2009). However, the underlying profit-maximization and exploitation of migrant women’s labor by the capital of the Turkish privileged social classes (see Toksöz & Ulutaş, 2012) is not mentioned in the official discourses. The women themselves remain unprotected, and their problems remain unaddressed.

One of the problems of the state’s response to demand in migrant sex workers in Turkey is discrimination by the state authorities. For example, the attitude of health personnel in state-run hospitals where medical inspections of migrant sex workers are held to the sex workers themselves has been found to be very stigmatizing. Atauz et al. (2009: 432) in their study on the attitudes to human trafficking in Northeastern Anatolia found that the health personnel “labeled foreign women and trafficked women as “immoral.” According to health officials, the health problems of women in the sex sector “are a matter of shame” (Atauz et al., 2009: 432). Similarly, Özer (2012: 124)’ study also confirmed the existence of negative discriminatory attitude to migrant sex workers among the health personnel in state hospitals. According to her interviews, a Moldovan sex worker Irina faced discrimination during routine medical inspections for possible STDs in the state hospitals (Özer, 2012: 124). Irina told that when she was in a hospital for a medical

inspection, thinking that she did not understand Turkish the nurses said to each other “They take our husbands from our hands, and then come and ask for service. Do we have to look after them?” She also reported that she became very angry with that and said “Do not talk to me about your husbands, it is because of them that I am here” (Özer, 2012: 124). It is possible to see from these examples that the interviewed health personnel shared patriarchal attitudes to the presence of sex workers in the society blaming them for “seducing” their husbands and “taking them from their hands”, whereas husbands attending sex workers themselves are seen as “innocent”.

A similar stigmatizing attitude is shared by the Turkish police, which is the institution responsible for the identification of migrant women as “illegal” sex workers and their deportation. In many studies, interviewed sex workers claim that the police accepted bribes or sex services from them or otherwise discriminated against them (see Gülçür & İlkkaracan, 2002; Erder & Kaşka, 2003; Coşkun, 2014b). According to Coşkun (2014b: 42), the police “is a client too” because it demands sex services from detained migrant women who do not have a valid passport or visa. Gülçür and İlkkaracan (2002: 417) cite a story of a migrant sex worker Lena:

When the police stops me and wants to take my passport away I get afraid because they want to take me into custody. Therefore I offer them money... One night I and two women friends of mine were strolling in the street. The police stopped us and took us to Mecidiyekoy police station. They verbally assaulted us, calling us whores and Natashas. One of us didn't have a passport with her. They kept us there a whole night... I told them that they didn't know who I am, I have my passport and my visa is OK and I threatened to make a lot of problems for them the next day. The police responded again by calling me a whore and telling me to shut up.

According to Gülçür and İlkkaracan (2002: 417), “this police activity indirectly placed the state in the role of pimp, as state economic interests were supported in two ways: (1) with “extra salaries” for the police and (2) with an infusion of capital from the women's simultaneous investments in the suitcase industry.” However, for successful policy on migrant sex labor the police should adopt a less discriminatory approach. In their study on the trafficking victim identification process in Turkey, Sever et al. (2012: 88) suggest that during police investigations

In general, questions like “Why did you not get away?” or “Why did you not call 157” discourages potential victims from communicating with members of the security forces. During victim identification interviews, officials should refrain from an attitude that blames or accuses potential victims.

With less discriminatory approach to migrant sex workers, they can be better protected and their interests can be defended. Given the reality of demand for migrant sex labor in Turkey and the existence of a “regulatory” approach to sex work making it partly legal (only for the Turkish citizens), there is a need to reconsider the state policy and laws regulating sex labor in Turkey.

To sum it up, it can be argued that the most significant problem with state response to demand in migrant sex workers is lack of protection for migrant women engaged in sex work. Although there is a high demand for migrant sex labor in Turkey because of patriarchal attitudes to female sexuality and “decency” making most Turkish women “unavailable” for sexual relations, “the foreigner women involved in prostitution are devoid of both formal and informal protection” (Karakuş & McGarrell, 2012: 17). It is possible to argue that the only method of dealing with migrant sex workers in Turkey is deportation to their home countries in the FSU termed “safe return” in case of the women’s being identified as a victim of human trafficking. According to Kalfa (2008: 137), there are many problems with Turkey’s policy on migrant sex labor. Apart from absence of an adequate legal framework, there is a lack of activity from the NGOs and civil society organizations working in the field of struggle against human trafficking (Kalfa, 2008: 137). Furthermore, “humanitarian” residence permits for victims of human trafficking are only provided on the condition of testifying against the women’s traffickers in court (Coşkun, 2015a), although this might change with the new directive on human trafficking adopted on March 17, 2016 and has yet to enter into force. It is than possible to agree with Coşkun (2015a: 17) that

Instead of criminalizing women, [Turkish] policy makers should consider preventive measures that target the demand side of the issue. For example, in Sweden men’s involvement in prostitution is made visible in order to build gender sensitive protection and preventive measures.

Thus, the patriarchal attitudes to all migrant sex workers as “willing” prostitutes, lack of protection system, and the state’s failure to develop a policy regulating the existing demand for migrant sex workers in the Turkish society, are very problematic. It is possible to argue that in general, Turkey’s policy on migrant sex labor is very handicapped and requires reconsideration.⁵⁷⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Particular recommendations to the Turkish government on how to improve its policy on migrant sex labor will be provided in Chapter 8.

6.3 Conclusion

This chapter examined Turkey's policy on migrant sex labor in two different aspects: response to supply in migrant sex workers, and response to demand for migrant sex workers. It has been found that Turkey's policy on migrant sex labor has numerous drawbacks such as absence of a system of protection for migrant sex workers and their labor, inadequate legal framework which only "sees" migrant sex workers when they are deported for "willing" sex work or "safely returned" as victims of human trafficking, tying the issuing of a "humanitarian" residence permit to cooperation with law enforcement authorities, the portrayal of migrant sex workers as a "threat" to the state and its citizens (a threat to public health, public morality, and national security), and suggesting deportation as an ultimate solution to all problems related to migrant sex workers. What is most significant for the analysis in the present dissertation is the fact that the state profits from the activity of migrant sex workers through their simultaneous involvement in "suitcase" trade and small-scale trade and industry, as well as through the way these migrant women compensate for the "void" in reproductive labor in Turkey created when upper and middle-class women entered the labor force. The fact that the sex labor of migrant women from the FSU is exploited by bourgeois capital in Turkey is disguised under the pretext of framing of migrant women as "loose" and "willing prostitutes" who steal the Turkish husbands from their wives, and also steal the Turkish "wealth" (capital) and take it back to their home countries in the FSU (Atauz et al., 2009: 432).

The media as one of the platforms through which the hegemony of the state is reproduced participates in the portrayal of migrant sex workers from the FSU as a threat to public health, public morality and national security, thus contributing to the

⁵⁸ Since this chapter only covers state (government) policy on migrant sex labor in Turkey, it does not mention the NGO impact. "Three non-governmental organizations have been actively participating in anti-trafficking efforts. Human Resources Development Foundation in Istanbul, Women's Solidarity Foundation in Ankara, and Association of Family Counselors in Antalya have been operating shelters that are specifically designed for the protection of victims of trafficking. Those who are accommodated in these shelters are provided with physical and psychological treatment, vocational courses, and legal assistance" (see Zhidkova & Demir, 2016; Sever et al., 2012). However, in general, "the involvement of non-governmental organizations in anti-trafficking efforts is scarce and weak. The only exception can be the Network to Fight against Child Sexual and Commercial Exploitation that conducts anti-child trafficking campaigns and trainings country-wide" (Zhidkova and Demir, 2016; also see ÇTCS, 2015). Internationally, some initiatives for helping migrant sex workers were organized by such organizations as IOM, La Strada and FEMEN. Ukraine-based feminist solidarity organization FEMEN even organized a bare-breasted protest in Istanbul in 2012 in order to attract attention to the problem of sexual exploitation of Ukrainian women in Turkey (see Chapter 8).

creation of negative and stigmatizing attitudes to migrant sex workers and migrant women in general in Turkey. Thus, the Turkish state itself turns into an “impresario” for the migrant women from the FSU because it produces surplus-value from the sex labor of every woman who participates in illegal sex industry, while simultaneously engaging in the patriarchal “morality” rhetoric about “decency” and proper behavior for women in a patriarchal Muslim society. The next chapter is going to examine the media representations of migrant sex labor in Turkey in greater detail, relying on the original findings of content and discourse analyses.



CHAPTER 7

MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF MIGRANT SEX LABOR IN TURKEY: 1992-2014

Having provided relevant information about the general picture of migrant sex labor in Turkey, as well as the Turkish state's policy on it, there is a need to now focus particularly on media representations of this issue relying on the results of content and discourse analyses, because this is the focus of the present dissertation. According to Gitlin (2003), the state-run media is a “major political force” that can create particular framings of events that are beneficial to the state. It has been noticed by Doğan (2013: 26) that in Turkey, “80 percent of the media sector belongs to the several corporate companies. This causes monopolistic predisposition of diversities. For a democratic system to occur the competition of different views and the equivalence of opportunity should be maintained. The most powerful media company in Turkey is Doğan Media Group”. Therefore, the presence of oppositional or “counter-hegemonic” media that could challenge the dominant ideology in Turkey is very limited. In the content analysis conducted for this study, the printed newspapers such as *Hürriyet*, *Milliyet* and *Sabah* are considered as indirectly state-dominated because they are controlled by media holdings that are in no split with the AKP government (see Doğan, 2013). However, *Zaman* and *Cumhuriyet* are considered as oppositional, independent and “counter-hegemonic” media, although the impact of *Zaman* can be neglected after the newspaper seizure in March 2016.

This chapter examines media representations of the topic of migrant sex labor of women from former Soviet Union (FSU) in five mainstream Turkish newspapers systematically searched for the articles on the topic from January 1, 1992 to January 1, 2015. These are *Cumhuriyet*, *Hürriyet*, *Milliyet*, *Sabah*, and *Zaman*. The total sample is 990 articles (see Chapter 4 and Appendices C and D). This chapter is going to uncover step by step the way the hegemonic ideology of the state is produced and reproduced in the narratives created by the state-dominated media, and how it is “challenged” by the oppositional “counter-hegemonic” media. There is a need to remind that the sample includes 387 articles from *Hürriyet*, 291 articles from *Milliyet*, 137 articles from *Sabah*, 126 articles from *Zaman*, and 49 articles from *Cumhuriyet*. The chapter is structured similarly to the node structure of the NVivo project, discussing each topic mentioned by the media in the context of migrant sex labor separately. In the end of the chapter, there is comparative mini-case study: an examination of how two different sensational events related to the topic of migrant sex labor were covered in five different newspapers. These are the case of the rape of Leyla Bozacı that took place in 2001, and the case of the disclosure of migrant sex worker Oksana Topor that took place in 2003. The role of the media in shaping public opinion on migrant sex labor in Turkey and its possible impact on state policies is discussed throughout the chapter.

In general, the relationship between the media and the state is seen here as a two-way one according to the ‘media-policy interaction’ model suggested by Robinson (2000; 2001; 2002) explained in Chapter 3. However, it can be argued that since the bulk of media outlets are concentrated in the hands of Doğan and Demirören families (see Doğan, 2013), in Turkey “citizens are being directed to read newspapers which are approved as supporters of the government” (Dogan, 2013: 27), that are the “state-dominated” media. However, the influence of oppositional media sources such as *Cumhuriyet* can be considered to be in decline because of overall decline of democratic freedoms in Turkey. Therefore, instead of a balanced two-way relationship between the media and the government that should exist in a democratic society as suggested by the ‘media-policy interaction’ model (Robinson, 2000), the situation with media representations of migrant sex labor in Turkey is in fact very close to the ‘manufacturing consent’ model suggested by Bennett (1990), where the media is often manipulated into *supporting* state (government) policy and ideology, and “mass media serves elite interests” (Robinson, 2001: 523).

7.1. Attitude to Migrant Sex Workers

It was found that the authors of newspaper articles under analysis (henceforth, the media) have differences in the attitude to migrant sex workers from former Soviet Union (henceforth, migrant sex workers or MSW) that they project through articles to the reader. The media shared derogatory, sympathetic or neutral attitude to MSW. Statistics about the sample distribution and details about each attitude can be found below.

7.1.1 Overall Estimation

Overall, almost half of the articles in the sample (49.4%) shared derogatory attitude to MSW. It is followed by 24.9% of articles with neutral attitude, and 21.9% of articles with sympathetic attitude (see Table 14 below).

Table 14. Attitude to Migrant Sex Workers in the Sample.

Attitude	Number of articles	Percentage share in total sample (N=990)
Derogatory	489	49,4%
Neutral	247	24,9%
Sympathetic	217	21,9%
Mixed or not available	37	3,7%
TOTAL:	990	100,0%

In even better illustration, it is possible to see how different attitude to MSW is spread across the sample (the numbers are rounded now). In Figure 13 below, it is possible to see that almost half of the articles share derogatory attitude to migrant sex workers.

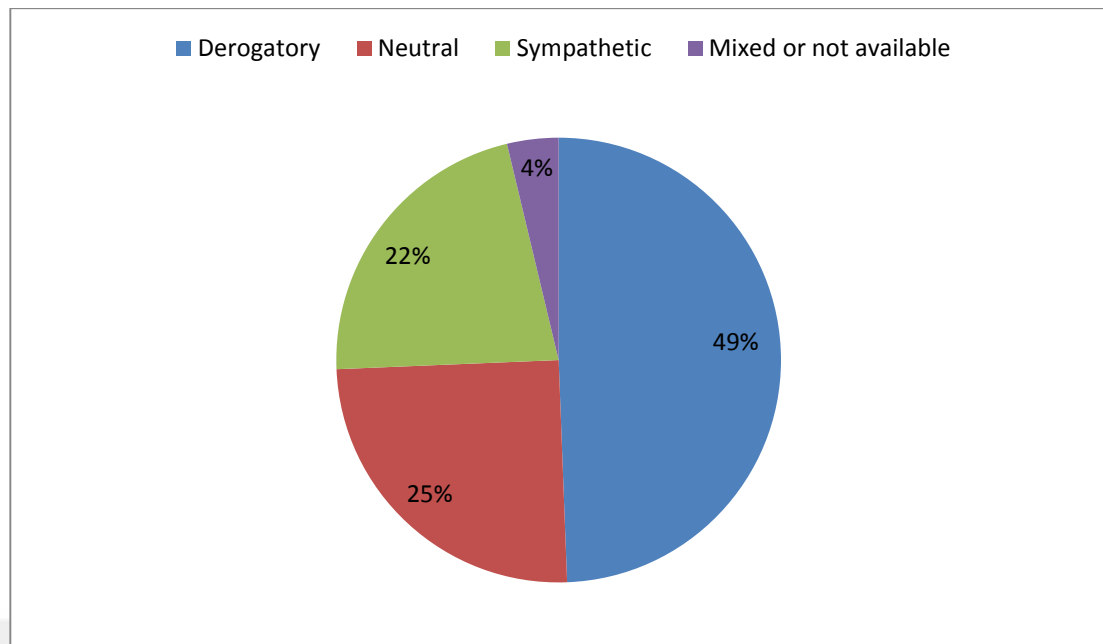


Figure 13. Attitude to Migrant Sex Workers in the Sample.

The sections below examine each type of attitude and provide examples thereof.

7.1.2 Derogatory Attitude

As it was mentioned above, 49.4% of all articles share derogatory attitude to MSW. In derogatory attitude, migrant sex workers are often stigmatized for being the source of venereal diseases, for polluting and corrupting the society. For example, the following passage is provided in *Cumhuriyet* (1992, “The Natashas Were Discussed in the Parliament”⁵⁹). Although in general *Cumhuriyet* provides more sympathetic attitude to MSW than other newspapers, in this case the attitude is derogatory:

Our sisters living in the Black Sea are boiling with rage. Many families fell apart because of prostitution. Many people have become bankrupt because of it. If families are in rage, if children's food money is spent on Russian prostitutes, then it means that it is the responsibility of the government granted by the Constitution to take measures against it according to Constitution and to create organizations necessary to prevent it.

⁵⁹ Original Turkish titles of all cited newspaper articles can be found in Select Bibliography section and in Appendix C.

It was found that the use of some terms by the reporters often pointed to the existence of derogatory and discriminatory attitude to MSW. For example, the use of such terms as “caught in prostitution” (*fuhuşta yakalandı*) or “busted in prostitution” (*fuhuşta basıldı*) rather than more neutral terms such as “detained” were found to be indicators of derogatory attitude. Similarly, when migrant sex workers were referred to as “prostitutes” (*hayat kadını/fahişe*) or “whores” (*orospu*), the attitude of the whole article was also considered derogatory. Often articles sharing derogatory attitude were also providing full names of sex workers and their open photographs (showing faces, more on that see below). It was also found that in general, the majority of the news obtained from Doğan News Agency (DHA) shared derogatory attitude to migrant sex workers (see Appendix C). This can lead to assumption that state-dominated media outlets in general share more derogatory attitude to MSW. Finally, when mentioning human trafficking or forced prostitution, articles with derogatory attitude often noted that the women were “allegedly” forced into prostitution thus showing their discriminatory attitude (*fuhuşa zorlandığı iddia edildi*).

In Figure 14 below, it is possible to see the distribution of derogatory attitude to migrant sex workers by newspaper:

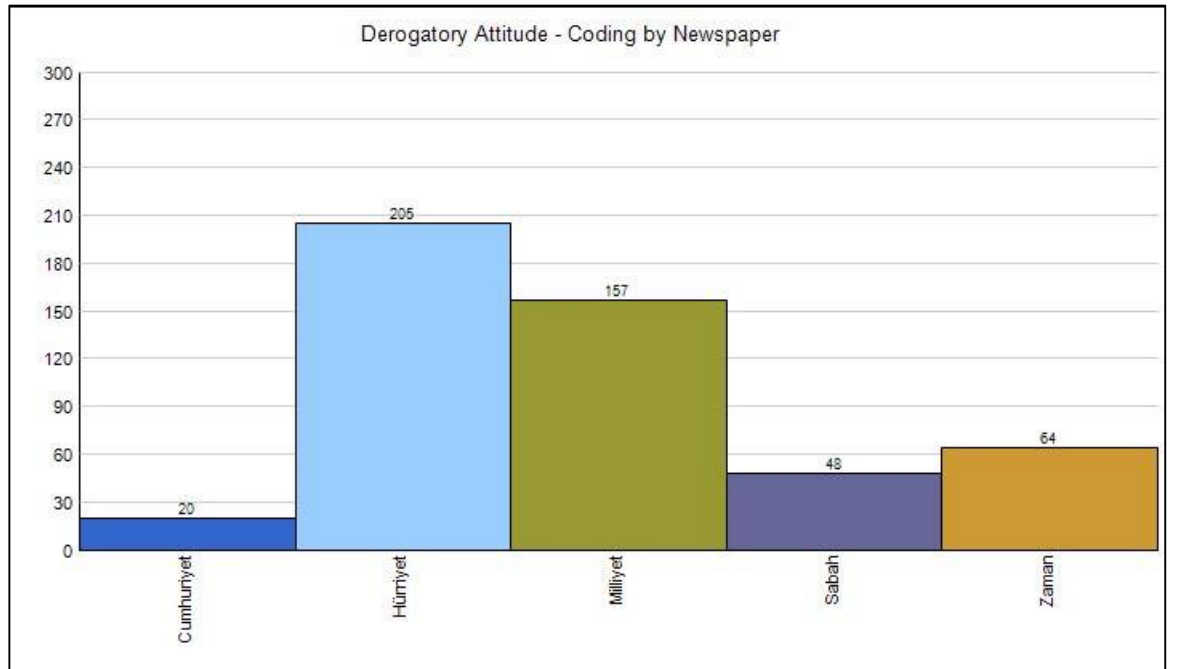


Figure 14. Derogatory Attitude – Coding by Newspaper⁶⁰.

It is possible to see from the chart that *Hürriyet* as “state-dominated” media outlet has the highest number of articles with derogatory attitude (205). It can be argued though that distribution by derogatory attitude is proportional to the number of articles coded for each newspaper. Figure 15 below shows distribution of articles sharing derogatory attitude by year:

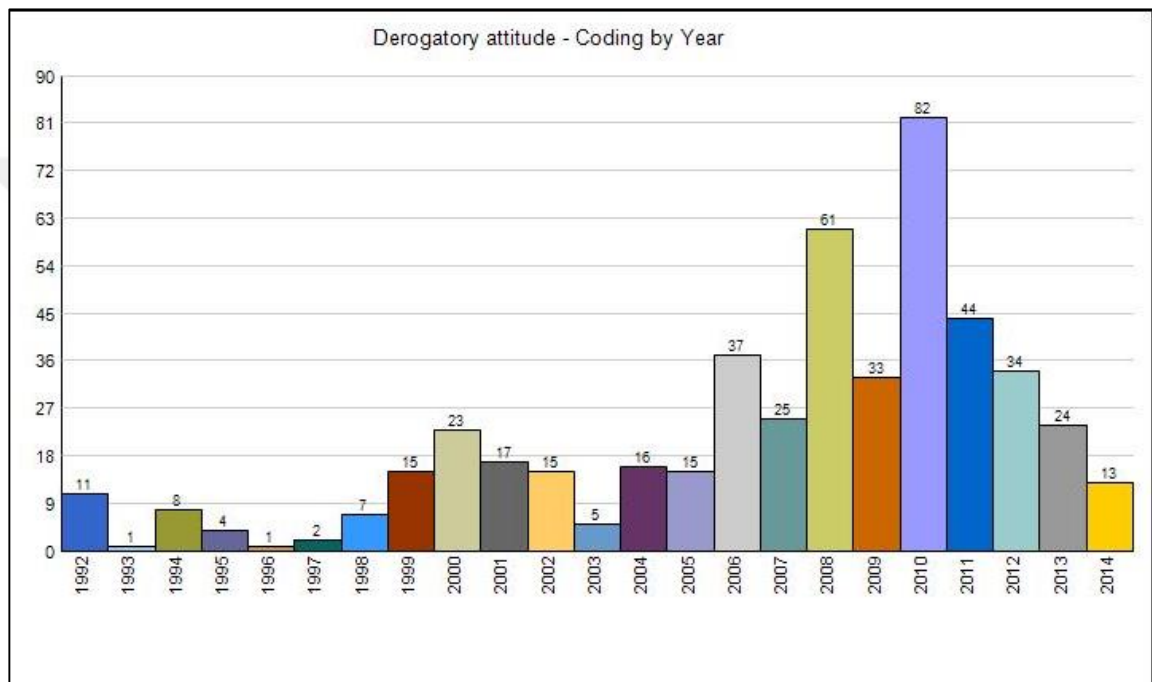


Figure 15. Derogatory Attitude – Coding by Year.

Contrary to the possible expectation that the attitude would be more derogatory in the 1990s when the topic of migrant sex labor first started to be represented by the media, it is possible to see that the attitude actually became more and more derogatory over the years, culminating in 2008-2010. It is possible to argue that after 2008, Turkey started to receive more migrant women from FSU countries because of the Russo-Georgian war of 2008 and the global financial crisis of 2008-2009 (see sections 7.11 and 7.13 below). The crisis of the global capitalist system made

⁶⁰ The Y-axis in all charts is the number of coded references which means words or sentences containing the necessary term. Sometime the texts of the articles were coded as a whole (especially in attitude assessments). This type of charts is generated by the NVivo software. For details on how this was done, see Chapter 4.

migrant women even more desperate to seek employment in Turkey as the nearest affluent country (Agathangelou, 2004), but although the state profited from their activities (see section 7.11 below), the derogatory attitude to migrant sex workers was projected by the state-dominated media, and media representations of this issue increased over time because it was such a sensational topic. Therefore, in the majority, the attitude of state-dominated media to migrant sex workers in Turkey is derogatory.

Probably the worst examples of derogatory attitude to MSW are articles sharing mocking attitude that try to make fun of migrant women. For example, the following article from a local newspaper *Zümrüt Rize* was cited in *Cumhuriyet* (1993, “When Natasha Swallows a Condom”):

A Russian tourist Katherina Roskov was brought back to life with a surgery after a condom got stuck in her throat. The other night, young woman was immediately taken into surgery after being brought to the State Hospital by an unidentified Turkish boyfriend. Regaining her conscience after a condom stuck in her alimentary canal was removed, Katherina Roskov thanked her doctors. Katherina did not explain what she was doing when she swallowed a condom.

It is clearly seen from the example that while the identity of the Turkish client is protected and he is referred to as “an unidentified Turkish boyfriend”, the full name of migrant woman is provided in the article. It is also pointed out that migrant woman “did not explain what she was doing when she swallowed a condom”, implying that the women must be ashamed of conducted such an indecent act. Patriarchal and capitalist exploitation of the woman’s body and sexual health, as well as health risks associated with sex work, are clearly seen from the example.

A similar example of mocking attitude can be seen in *Hürriyet* (Kıdık, 2010, “A Prostitution Operation in Fatih”). It claimed that during a “prostitution raid” in the district of Fatih in Istanbul, “the team forces entered the entertainment spot and pressed on the start button for the operation. The women who saw the police started to rush to the toilets. It was also pointed out that one of the women escaped to the kitchen, put on cook’s clothes and tried to trick the police that she was just a cook”. It is clearly seen from the example that migrant women are treated as those who want to stay in Turkey by all means and are obviously in sex work “voluntarily” since they

try to escape from the police instead of being grateful for being rescued from their exploiters.

It is also possible to view the distribution of derogatory attitude to migrant sex workers by the newspapers' ownership by media holdings (see Figure 16 below).

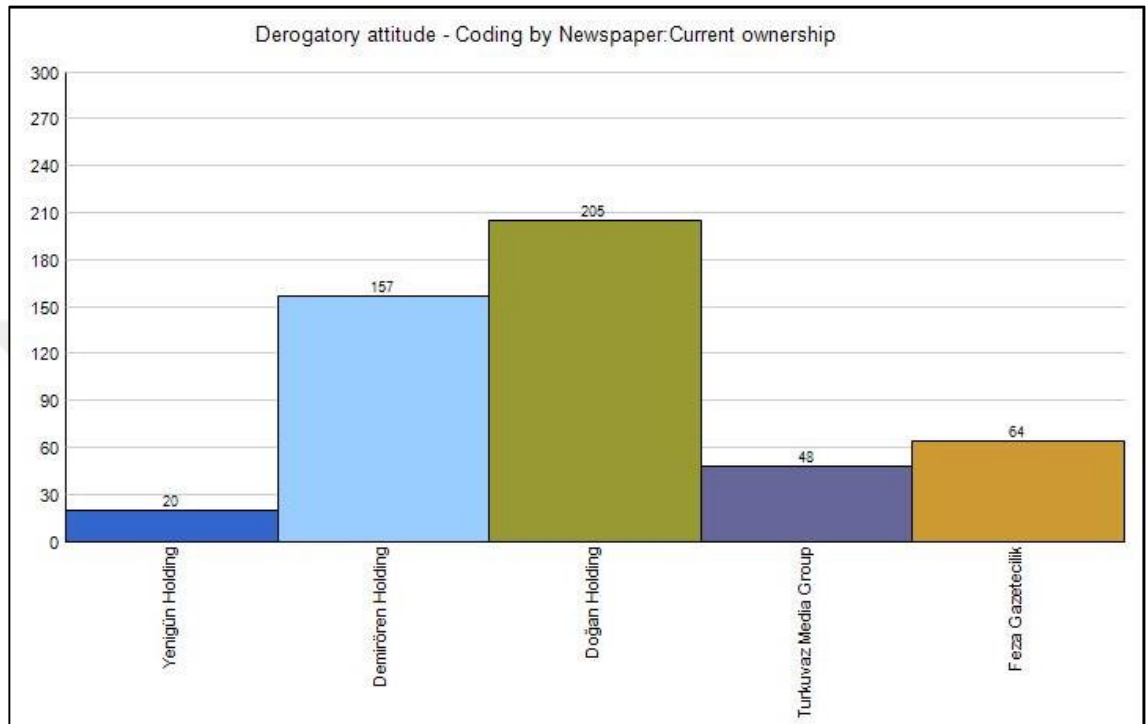


Figure 16. Derogatory Attitude – Coding by Newspapers' Current Ownership.

From the chart it can be seen that the majority of the articles with derogatory attitude (205) belong to Doğan Holding, and 157 articles – to Demirören Holding. If we take into consideration prior to 2011, *Milliyet* was also owned by Doğan Holding, then this number doubles. However, the least number of articles with derogatory attitude belong to independent Yenigün Holding. It is then possible to agree with Oxford Business Group (2009: 187) that “The Doğan Media Group, with its pro-business editorial stance, has been Turkey’s dominant media player for much of this decade”. The domestic hegemony of the privileged capitalist class in Turkey represented by business giants such as Doğan Holding is transported onto the global level by dissolving into the broader category of “transnational capitalist class” of the world bourgeoisie, and its attitude to the issue of migrant sex labor in Turkey is broadcast to the public via the state-dominated media as an instrument of state hegemony. The

next section examines sympathetic attitude to migrant sex workers, which is the opposite of derogatory.

7.1.3 Sympathetic Attitude

In articles sharing a sympathetic attitude to MSW, women were often portrayed as victims of sexual exploitation that need protection. The use of the following terms was found by this study to indicate the article's sharing a sympathetic attitude to migrant sex workers: the women are "rescued" (*kurtarıldı*) rather than detained, they are referred to as "victims" (*mağduru/kurban*), or there is a reference to human trafficking (*insan ticareti*). However, it was found that the use of the term "slave" (*köle*) is in fact an indicator of derogatory attitude rather than sympathetic, and that is it mostly used for the purposes of sensational portrayal of the issue (for example, see Dinç, 2008, "Sex Slaves in a Wardrobe"; *Milliyet*, 2006b, "Dear Policemen I Love You").

The articles sharing sympathetic attitude to MSW often also included explanation of how these women became involved in sex industry, examples of exploitation, the women's testimonies, or mentioned instances of violence against MSW or torture. For example, see the following passage from "counter-hegemonic" *Zaman* (2005, "Ukrainian Women Forced into Prostitution with Boiling Oil Were Rescued"):

4 Ukrainian women forced into prostitution in Antalya who were tortured with boiling oil poured on their bodies and beaten for months, were rescued in the operation conducted by the gendarmerie... It was specified by the authorities that apart from threatening and beating, the women were also subjected to inhumane treatment by being tortured with boiling oil poured on their bodies.

It is possible to see from the example that the reference to torture as "inhumane treatment", and the women as "forced into prostitution" and then "rescued" by the gendarmerie, are all indicators of sympathetic attitude to MSW shared by the author of this article. A similar attitude is shared by *Hürriyet* (Kurt, 2007, "The Victims of a Prostitution Gang Are Telling"), that provides an interview with a victim of human trafficking:

I came from my country on my own to do some shopping. When I arrived at the Ataturk Airport, I met Mehmet K. who introduced himself as a taxi-driver. We got into his car and he brought me to the villa in Ankara in

Gölbaşı where we were later caught [by the police]. I was held hostage in the house. I was forced into prostitution. I was raped by Halil U. and Mehmet K., and the same people also took me to different hotels and houses and forced me into prostitution. These men took all payments for prostitution; I didn't receive any money at al.

The distribution of articles sharing sympathetic attitude to MSW by newspaper can be seen in Figure 17 below:

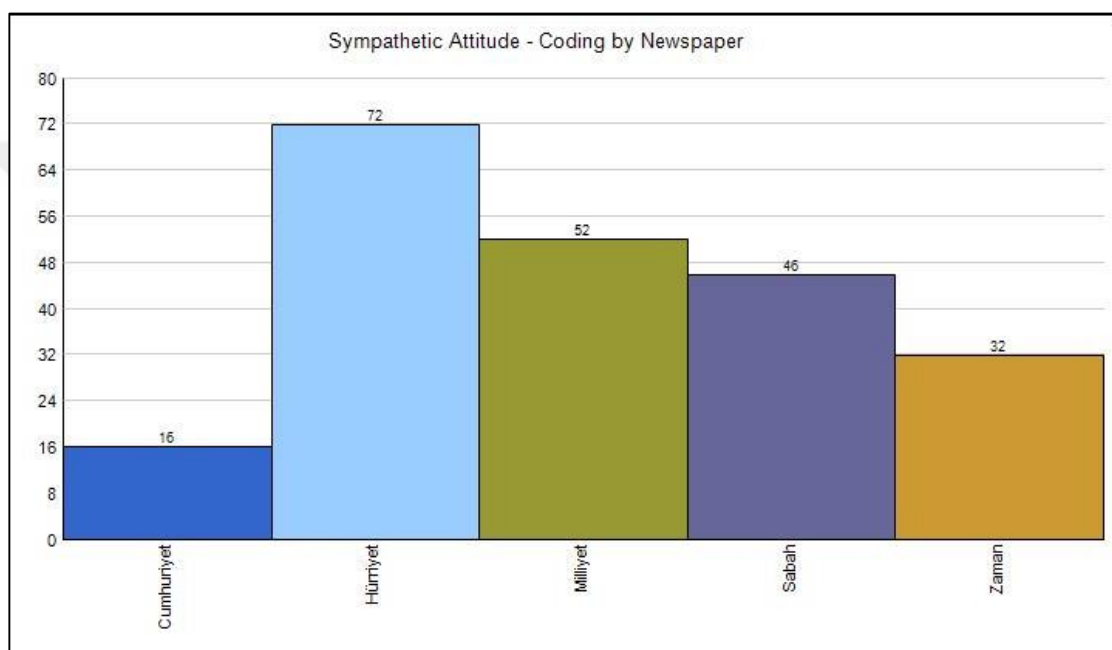


Figure 17. Sympathetic Attitude – Coding by Newspaper.

From the chart, it is clear that the majority of the articles coded as sharing sympathetic attitude belong to *Hürriyet* (72), which is followed by *Milliyet* with 52, *Sabah* with 46, and *Zaman* with 32 articles. Interestingly, albeit being a liberal secularist newspaper, *Cumhuriyet* has the lowest number of articles with sympathetic attitude to migrant sex workers (16). It can be explained by the fact that *Cumhuriyet* is a highly political newspaper that rarely covers the topic of migrant sex labor at al. And very importantly, this might also be the case because the number of analyzed articles for *Cumhuriyet* is low compared to the others (48).

It is now possible to view comparative distribution of articles sharing derogatory or sympathetic attitude to MSW in different newspapers (see Figure 18 below).

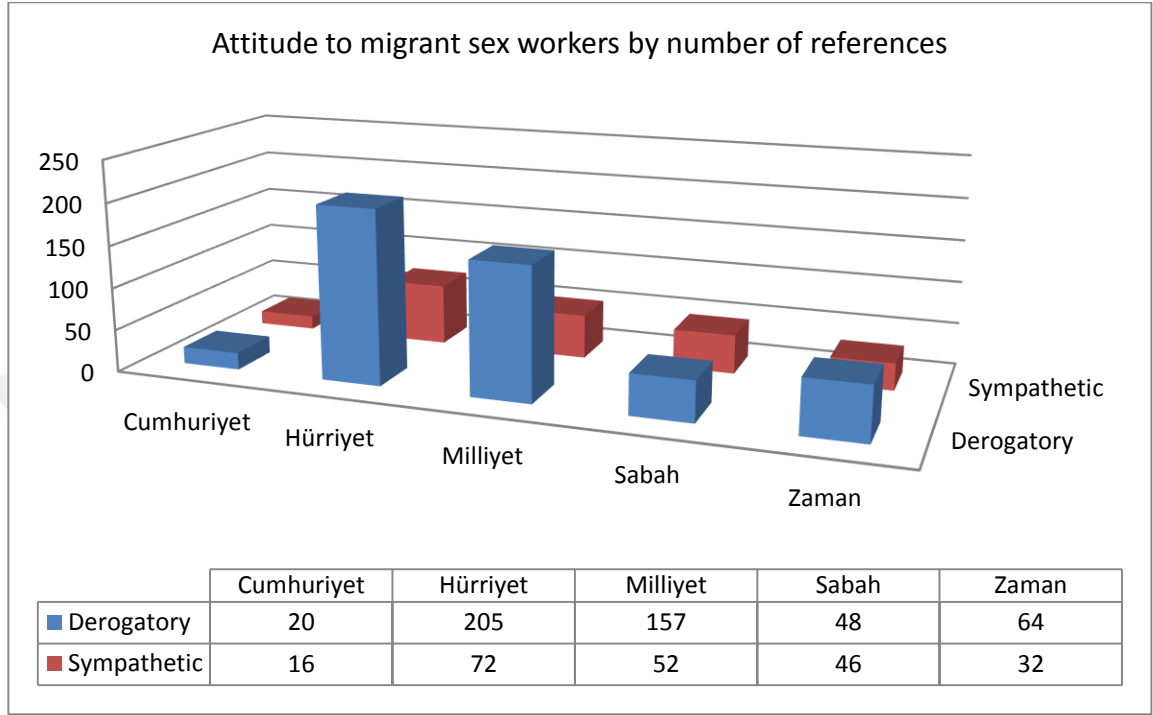


Figure 18. Attitude to Migrant Sex Workers by Newspaper –Derogatory vs Sympathetic.⁶¹

From the chart, it is possible to see that the number of articles sharing derogatory attitude to MSW is almost two times higher than the number of articles with sympathetic attitude in the case of almost all newspapers (*Hürriyet*, *Milliyet* and *Zaman*).

7.1.4 Neutral Attitude

Neutral attitude to migrant sex workers was shared by articles that often have a formal portrayal of events related to migrant sex labor. Certain terms were found to be the indicators of neutral attitude. For example, when it was said in the articles that migrant women were “detained” (*gözüaltına alındı*) rather than “caught”, when they were referred to as “women of foreign nationality” (*yabancı uyruklu kadınlar*) which

⁶¹ This chart was originally generated by NVivo but was recreated in MS Excel because the Original chart looked blurry.

is a very formal term, and when only the women’s initials rather than their full names were provided, the articles were often those with neutral attitude. It was also found that mostly news using Anadolu Agency as an information source shared neutral attitude to the problem (see Appendix C for information about news agencies).

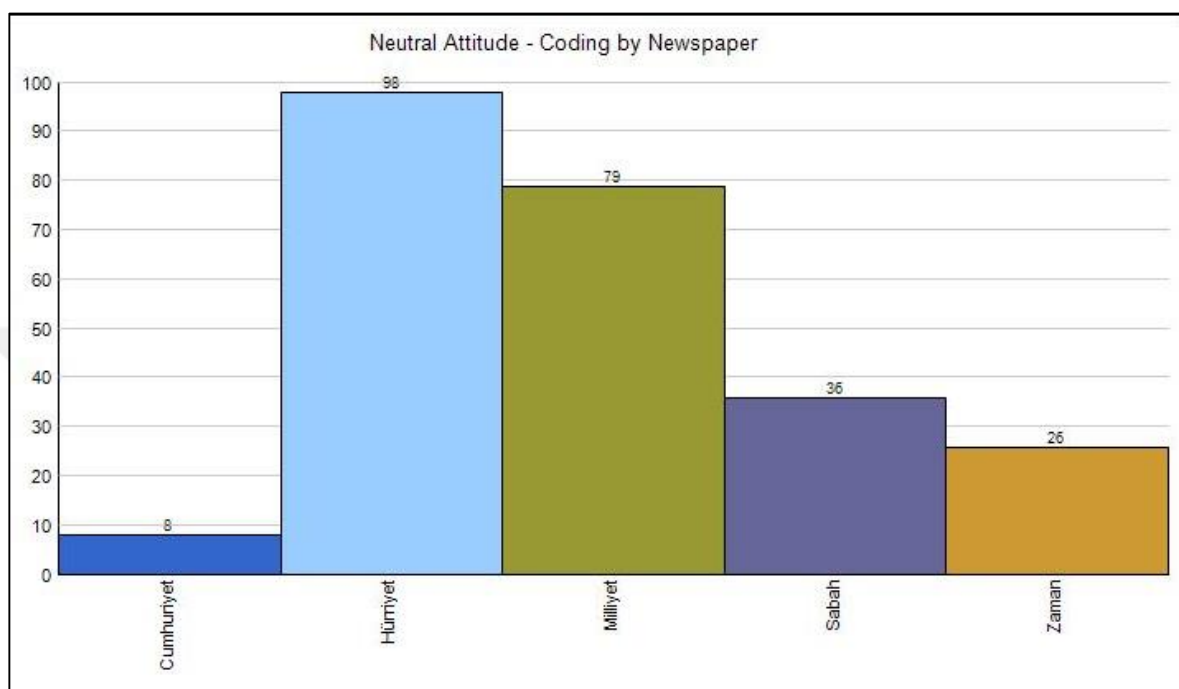


Figure 19. Neutral Attitude to Migrant Sex Workers – Coding by Newspaper.

From the chart, it is possible to see that again, *Hürriyet* has the highest number of articles with neutral attitude (98), and *Cumhuriyet* has the lowest (8). In general, attitudes are spread proportionally among the newspapers, however, the overall share of articles with derogatory attitude is much higher than the others. Therefore, it can be claimed that the attitude of the Turkish media to migrant sex workers in general is derogatory (49.4% of the sample).

7.2 Attitude to Turkish Clients

Attitude to Turkish clients of migrant sex workers shared by the Turkish media was also found to be divided. Some of the articles portrayed the clients as “innocent”, and the others portrayed them as “guilty”. The overall distribution of

attitude to Turkish clients present in different newspapers can be seen in Table 15 below.

Table 15. Attitude to Turkish Clients.

Attitude to Turkish clients	Number of articles coded	Percentage share in parent node	Percentage share in total sample (N=990)
Clients as innocent	34	52,3%	3%
Clients as guilty	31	47,7%	3%
NVIVO TOTAL:	65	100,0%	7%

From the table, it is possible to see that the attitude is proportionally distributed across the newspapers, with the attitude to “clients as innocent” shared by 52,3% of articles mentioning clients, and “clients as guilty” shared by 47,7% of articles mentioning clients. Interestingly, 38.2% of all articles mentioning “clients as innocent” also refer to the examples of “clients saving the women”. This represents 1% of the total articles sample (see, for example, Kocaer, 2008b, “The Police Saved a Sex Slave”; 2010a, “A Client’s Informing Call Rescued Sex Slaves”). Details on each type of attitude are provided below.

7.2.1 Clients as “Guilty”

The attitude to clients as “guilty” is shared by only 3% of newspapers in the whole sample (N=990). In these articles, there is a critical attitude to sex labor as a problem of capitalist and patriarchal exploitation of women’s sex labor. The majority of these articles (12 out of 31) are in *Cumhuriyet*, which is known for its critical analysis of many events. See Figure 20 below:

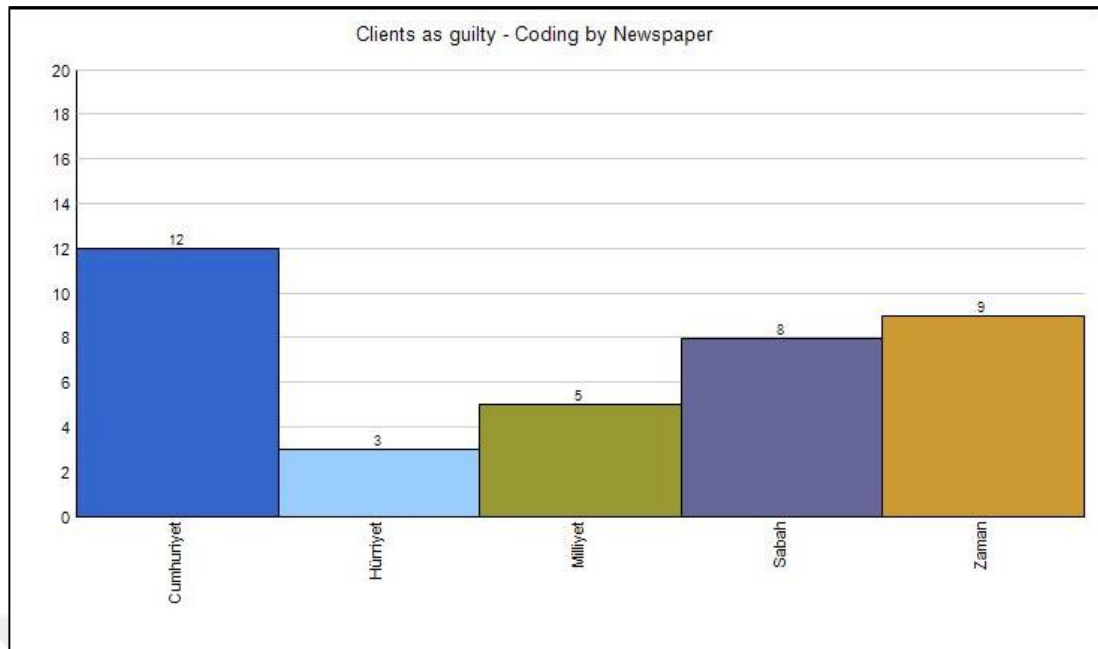


Figure 20. Attitude to “Clients as guilty” – Coding by Newspaper.

It is possible to see from the chart that the highest number of articles criticizing the clients is in “counter-hegemonic” media source *Cumhuriyet*, and the lowest is in *Hürriyet*, whose coverage of the topic is often very sensational. Interesting examples of this critical coverage of migrant sex labor can be found particularly in *Cumhuriyet*. For example, Aksay (1998, “Food Comes First and Then Morality”), writes about sensational “prostitution raids” on the news channels and comments that:

One of the women – who knows, maybe Russian, maybe Romanian – who is trying to attract attention to this shared tragedy with the amount of Turkish she was able to learn – is being censured by the “rating monster”: “Do you think that those who sell their flesh are dirty, and whose who buy it are clear? Do you think we are crazy about your men? We come here because we are hungry in our countries, because we have to. We want to live like human beings.” Alas! In order to live like a human being you need to have money first. Money before morality!

Here, the author refers to the cruelty of the global capitalist order that forces women to sell their bodies in order to provide daily “food on the table”. This is an example of a commentary article providing critical analysis of the topic. Interestingly, a relatively high number of articles finding the clients “guilty” are also found in “counter-hegemonic” media source *Zaman*. Although it is very conservative, *Zaman*

often writes about the professions of clients of sex workers and tries to disclose their personality to the public, perceiving their behavior as “indecent” and shameful in terms of morality (see, for example, *Zaman*, 2008, “He Made RTÜK Pay For The Ukrainian Woman’s Place At The Hotel”; or Özdemir, 2013, “The Prostitution Gang’s Clients Are A Bureaucrat, A Businessman And Football Players”).

7.2.2 Clients as “Innocent”

The attitude to clients as “innocent” is also an interesting topic of discussion. It is mostly shared by popular liberal newspapers such as *Hürriyet* and *Milliyet* (see Figure 21 below). The articles with this attitude also comprise about 3% of the overall sample.

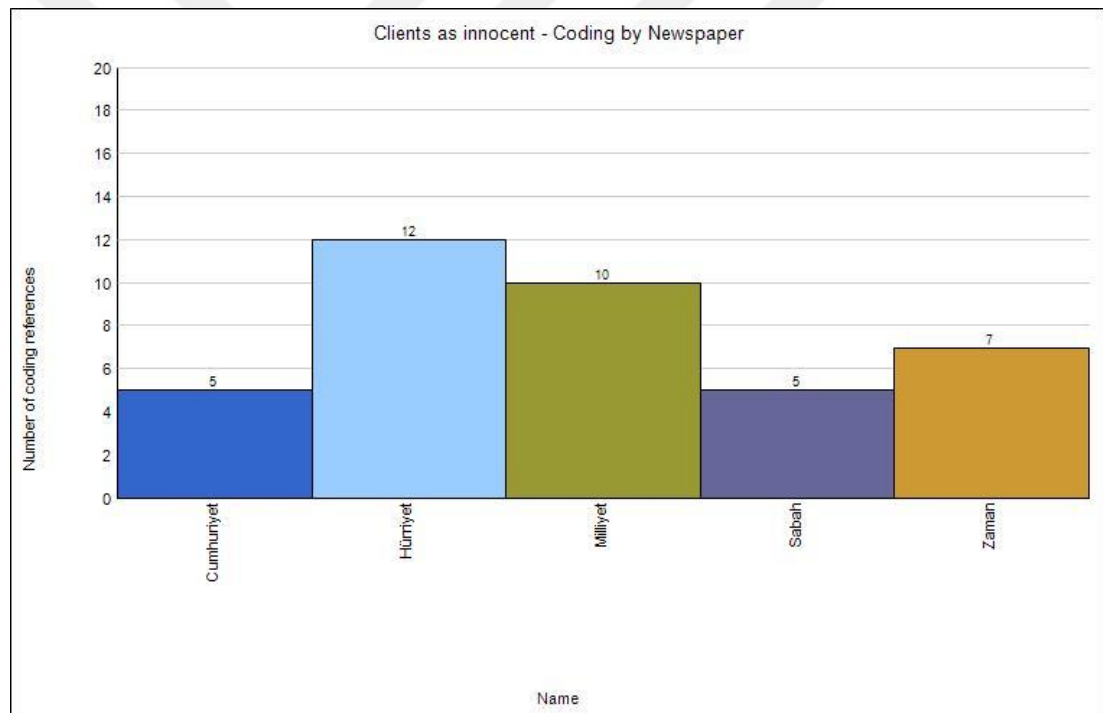


Figure 21. Attitude to “Clients as Innocent” – Coding by Newspaper.

In articles sharing attitude to clients as “innocent”, often the blame for being a sex worker and “seducing” or “poisoning” a man is placed on the migrant woman. For example, *Hürriyet* (see Sansür, 2007, “A Woman with AIDS Had Sex with 250 Men in 2 Months”) writes that:

While the women were taken to the hospital, some of them explained that they were getting their revenge from Turkish men by infecting them with diseases. The hospital authorities point to the fact that these women could have infected the men they had sexual relationships with, with such sexually transmitted viruses as Hepatitis C and HIV. The authorities suggested that men who slept with these women apply to the health institutions.

It is possible to see from this example that the blame for “polluting” the society with STDs is put on migrant women, whereas the Turkish clients are protected by the state and portrayed as “innocent” victims of migrant sex workers. In this sense, the findings of this study confirm comments on the impact of the media made by previous researchers on the subject such as Erder and Kaşka (2003) and Ayata et al. (2008).

It is now possible to compare attitudes to clients as innocent and clients as guilty in Figure 22 below:

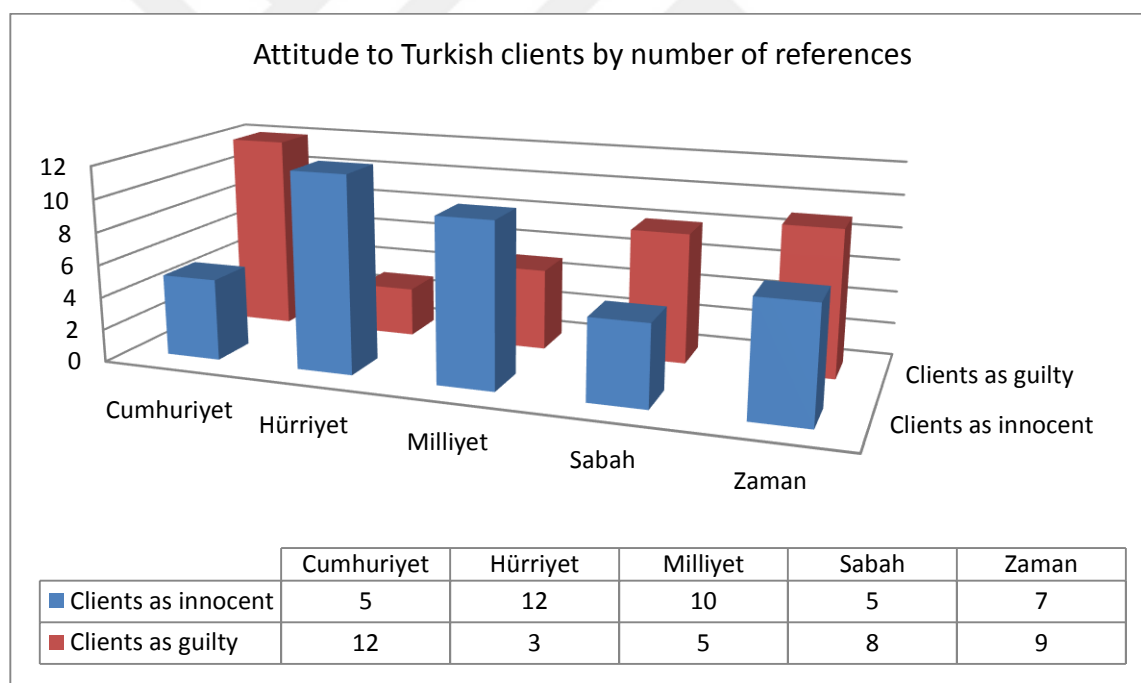


Figure 22. Attitude to Turkish clients – Comparison by Newspaper.

It is possible to see that the attitudes vary among different newspapers. The attitude of *Cumhuriyet* is mostly critical of the clients, *Hürriyet* and *Milliyet* mostly criticize the women, and *Sabah* and *Zaman*’s attitude is more or less balanced, but still critical of the clients in the majority. However, there is a need to point out that the share of the articles mentioning the clients in any way in the overall article sample is very low

(7%). Therefore, in general the media prefers not to mention the clients in their coverage of the topic, which is an instance of gender-based inequality and patriarchal attitudes to migrant sex labor in itself.

7.3 Disclosure of Migrant Sex Workers

Findings on the disclosure of migrant sex workers of this study can be considered particularly interesting. The study identified five types of disclosure: disclosure by providing full names of sex workers, disclosure by providing pictures with women covering their faces, disclosure by mentioning women covering their faces in text, providing pictures of sex workers with “blurred” faces, and providing pictures of sex workers with “open” faces. The results can be seen in Table 16 below.

Table 16. Disclosure of Migrant Sex Workers.

Disclosure of migrant sex workers	Number of articles coded	Percentage share in parent node	Percentage share in total sample (N=990)
Full names of sex workers provided	119	44,7%	12%
Pictures with women covering their faces provided	97	36,5%	10%
Mentions women covering their faces in text	37	13,9%	4%
Blurred pictures of sex workers provided	25	9,4%	3%
Open pictures of sex workers provided	21	7,9%	2%
NVIVO TOTAL:	266	100,0%	27%

From the table, one can see that 12% of articles in the whole sample provide full names of migrant sex workers. This can be considered particularly problematic in terms of human rights. In many cases, in the same article the names of sex workers are provided in full (both first and second name), whereas for the client there is no identifying information at all. The Turkish nationals (criminals) accused of “forcing” migrant women into sex work are also always referred only by initials. The information on each type of disclosure can be found in sections below.

7.3.1 Full Names of Sex Workers Provided

As it was mentioned above, 12% of articles in the sample (total N=990) provide full names of migrant sex workers, which is very discriminatory. An example of such attitude can be seen below in *Milliyet* (Yıldırım, 2008, “She Came from Abroad and Forced Them into Prostitution”):

The hotel employees M.Ö. and C.U., K... A...⁶² of Dagestan origin who was allegedly both involved in prostitution herself as well as mediating in prostitution of other foreign women, 21 years-old S... M... sleeping with men in exchange of money, and two men who came to have sex with her were detained.

In the example above, it is possible to notice that migrant sex workers' full names are provided, but the Turkish “hotel employees” charged with mediating in prostitution are only mentioned by their initials, and the Turkish clients are left nameless. This is a classic example of patriarchal attitude to migrant sex workers in Turkey, where all the blame is put on an “indecent” woman who is considered to be involved in sex labor because of her “looseness”, and the clients and sellers are left unpunished, and their personality is not even disclosed. It is possible to see how such attitude is spread across different newspapers in Figure 23 below.

⁶² Although full names of migrant sex workers are provided in the original article, here only initials are provided because it is considered discriminatory.

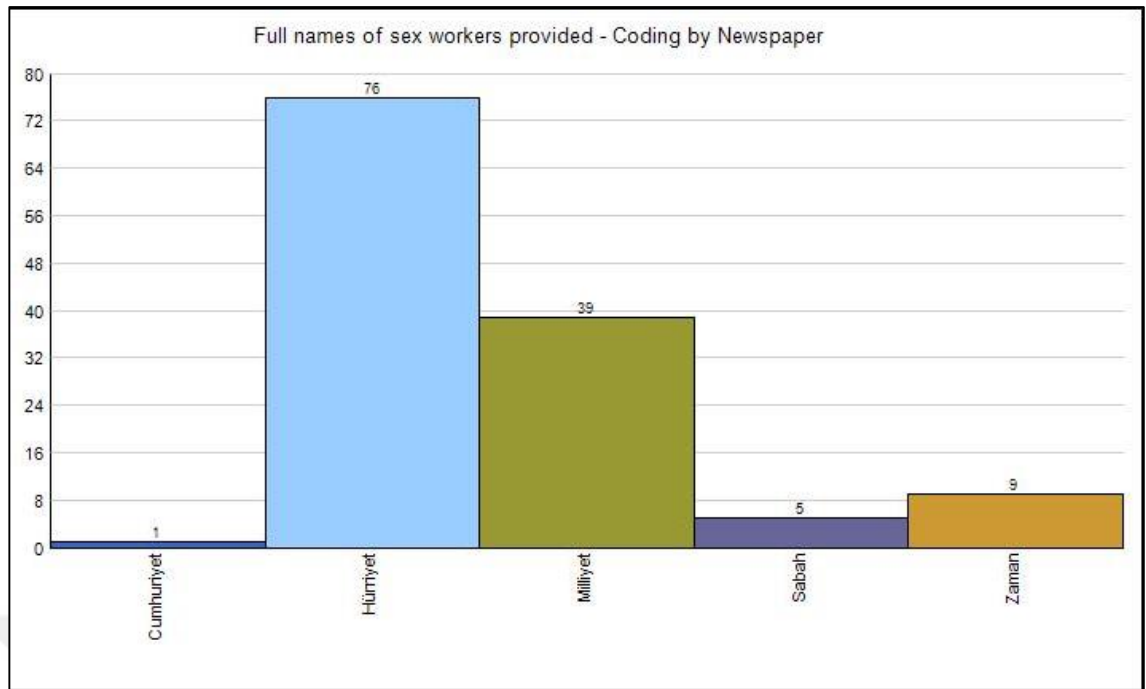


Figure 23. Full Names of Sex Workers Provided – Coding by Newspaper.

The highest number of articles providing full names of sex workers is in *Hürriyet* (76 articles). The lowest share is with *Cumhuriyet* (1 article). It can be argued that this is because *Cumhuriyet* is more political and less sensational than the other newspapers. The number of articles providing full names in *Sabah* is also quite low (5 articles). It is also possible to see the distribution of such attitude by year:

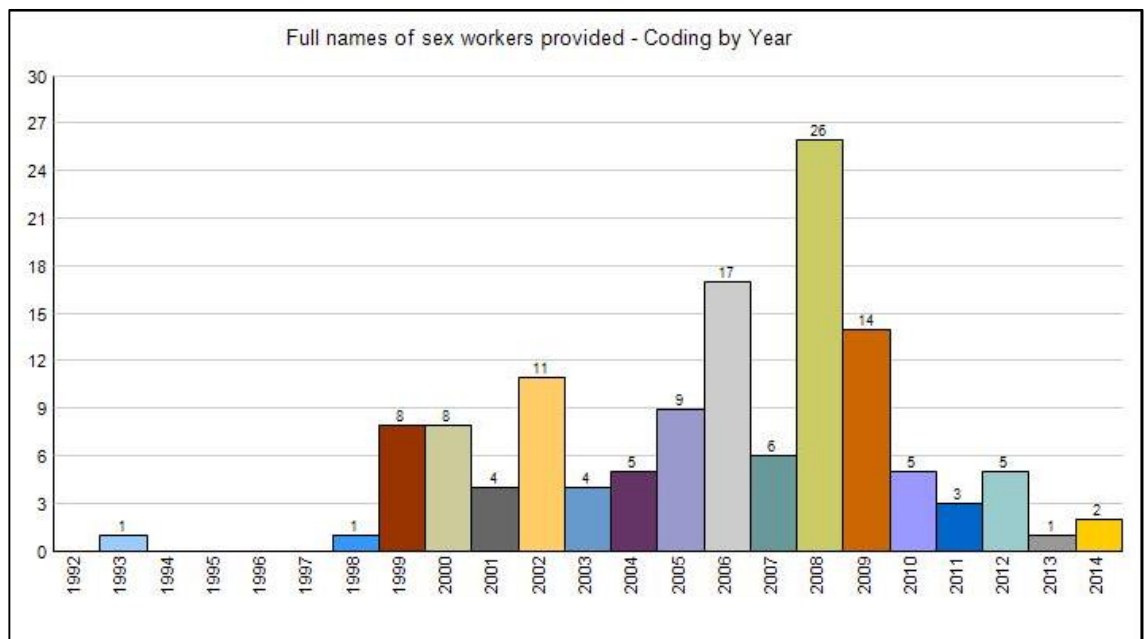


Figure 24. Full names of sex workers provided – Coding by Year.

It can be seen that full names of sex workers started to be provided after 1999, and is provided as of 2014. However, it culminated in 2008-2009, as did the number of articles covering the topic of migrant sex labor in general.

7.3.2 Pictures with women covering their faces provided

Pictures in which migrant women are covering or trying to cover their faces are provided in 10% of articles in the overall sample. This is also an example of patriarchal attitude because it is considered that these women are doing something so shameful that they would not want anyone to recognize them. These images are emotionally very strong and stigmatizing for the migrant women. Some examples are provided below:



Figure 25. Migrant Women Trying to Cover Their Faces: Example 1 (*Hürriyet*, Kaya, 2010a, A Prostitution Operation in Fatih).



Figure 26. Migrant Women Trying to Cover Their Faces: Example 2 (*Milliyet*, Kocaer, 2010b, A Turkmen Policewoman Was Caught in Prostitution).

It is possible to see that these images are also very stigmatizing and problematic in terms of human rights, but are a good illustration of the patriarchal attitudes to migrant women as “loose” in Turkey determined by previous research (Agathangelou, 2004; Ayata et al., 2008; Baykotan, 2014). The distribution of such attitude across different newspapers is provided in Figure 27 below.

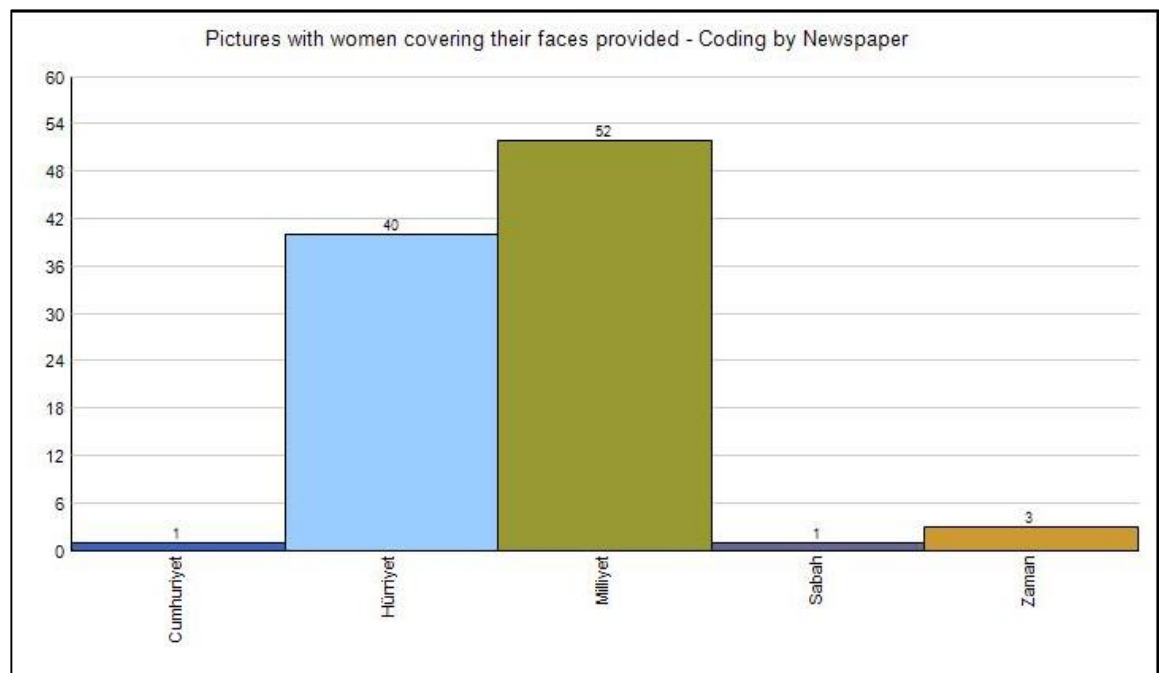


Figure 27. Pictures of Migrant Women Covering Their Faces – Coding by Newspaper.

It is possible to see that in this case, *Milliyet* has the highest share with 52 articles accompanied with images of migrant sex workers covering their faces. The share of *Hürriyet* is high too (40 articles). *Cumhuriyet* and *Sabah* have the lowest share with 1 article each.

7.3.3. Mentions Women Covering Their Faces in Text

4% of articles in the total sample also mention the fact of migrant sex workers trying to cover their faces in text of the article. This is very interesting because the emphasis is very unusual. Here again, it can be considered an example of stigmatization against migrant women. In the media coverage, it is assumed that the women see themselves as “fallen” and “indecent”; therefore, they cover their faces. Here are some examples: “The women brought to the Department of Law and Order in Gayrettepe tried to cover their faces with their handbags and coats” (in *Hürriyet*: Kaya, 2011, “A Prostitution Raid with Code Words ‘Apache Dance’”), “One of the women who covered her face so as not to be recognized said: “In my country, a doctor earns 300 dollars in 1 month. We, however, earn 500 dollars for one-night love” (in *Sabah*: Sözal, 2013, “They Studied and Then Started to Work In Prostitution”). The distribution of these examples across different newspapers can be seen in Figure 28 below:

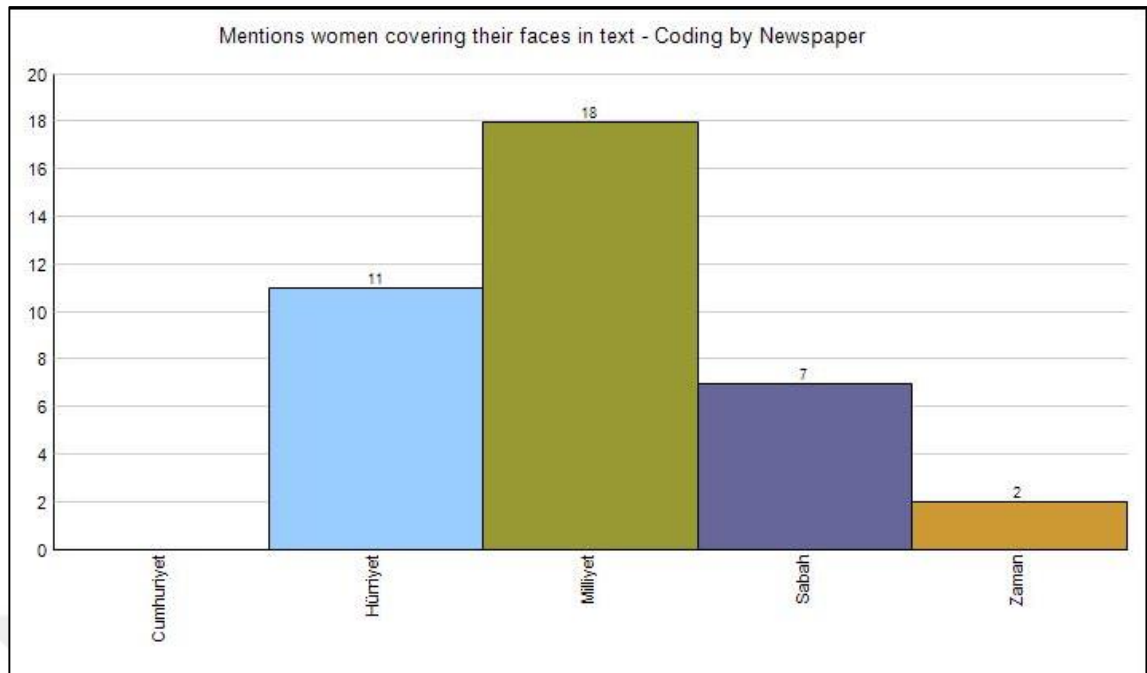


Figure 28. Articles Mentioning Migrant Sex Workers’ Covering Their Faces in Text – Coding by Newspaper.

It is possible to see that the highest number of articles mentioning migrant women covering their faces during a police raid is in *Milliyet* (18 articles). *Cumhuriyet* does not have such sentences at all (0 articles), which shows that this newspaper is less stigmatizing towards migrant women.

In the sample, 3% of the articles in the sample also contained pictures of migrant sex workers with “blurred” faces. These were only 14 articles in *Milliyet*, and 11 in *Hürriyet*. No other newspapers contained such disclosing images. Finally, 2% of the articles were accompanied with pictures of migrant sex workers with “open” faces (full pictures). These were 11 articles in *Milliyet*, 9 articles in *Hürriyet*, and 1 in *Sabah*. It should be noted here that these are all “state-dominated” media sources. However, examples of such images will not be shown here because it is considered very discriminatory against migrant women, and a violation of their human rights, especially in the case of disclosure of women with venereal diseases such as AIDS as in the infamous case of Oksana Topor (see section 7.16.2 below).

7.4 Migrant Sex Worker Profile

Since most of the articles contained identification information about migrant sex workers, it was considered interesting and necessary to collect some

demographical information about them. Most of the authors of the articles obtained the information about sex workers directly from the General Directorate of Security during or after “prostitution operations” conducted by the police. Therefore, this data can be considered reliable unless it was deliberately altered or fabricated by the reporters, which currently is impossible to prove. The following sections are based on all the demographical information provided about migrant sex workers in the articles sample.

7.4.1 Age

The age of migrant sex workers as mentioned in the sample can be found in Table 17 below:

Table 17. Age of Migrant Sex Workers.

Age of migrant sex workers	Number of articles coded	Percentage share in parent node (Age)
18-25	135	56,5%
26-30	101	42,3%
31-35	47	19,7%
36-40	22	9,2%
41-45	14	5,9%
46-50	6	2,5%
51-55	4	1,7%
under 18	13	5,4%
NVIVO TOTAL:	239	100,0%

It is possible to see from the table that the majority (56,5%) of the articles mentioning sex workers’ age in general mention sex workers aged between 18 to 25. Interestingly, these results about migrant sex workers are very close to the results of Ayata et al. (2008: 45-46), who found that about 64% of migrant women identified as victims of human trafficking in Turkey were reported to be in the 18-24 age group. Furthermore, according to our study, also 5,4% of articles mention migrant sex workers under the age of 18. This is also similar to the findings of Ayata et al. (2008: 45-46) who argued that children under 18 represented 5,4% of migrant women identified as victims of human trafficking in Turkey. We can conclude that the majority of migrant sex workers in Turkey are of very young age (younger than

25), which can be an important statistical finding concerning the patriarchal demand for migrant sex labor in Turkey.

7.4.2 Country of Birth

Since the sample for content analysis was related only to women from former Soviet Union (FSU) countries, the data for sex workers' country of birth is only available for FSU countries. The nationalities of MSW mentioned in the sample are provided in Table 18 below:

Table 18. Migrant Sex Workers by Country of Birth.

Country of birth	Number of articles coded	Percentage share in parent node (Country of birth)
Russian Federation	439	49,4%
Ukraine	375	42,2%
Moldova	313	35,2%
Georgia	225	25,3%
Azerbaijan	157	17,7%
Turkmenistan	118	13,3%
Kyrgyzstan	105	11,8%
Uzbekistan	104	11,7%
Belarus	64	7,2%
Kazakhstan	41	4,6%
Armenia	34	3,8%
Tajikistan	6	0,7%
Latvia	3	0,3%
Estonia	2	0,2%
Lithuania	1	0,1%
NVIVO TOTAL:	888	100,0%

According to this study, 49,4% of all women in migrant sex labor in Turkey are from the Russian Federation, and 42,2% are from Ukraine. Moldova also has a high share (35,2%). In this sense, it is possible to agree with Agathangelou (2004), Kalfa (2008) and Özer (2012) that the demand for particularly “white” women in migrant sex labor in Turkey is much higher than the demand for “less white” women from Caucasian or Central Asian countries. Ayata et al. (2008) point out that the “myth of Russian women” as “professionals” or “queens of sex” is an important cultural factor influencing the demand for migrant women in sex labor in Turkey. *Hürriyet*

columnist Ayşe Arman (2003, “Is the Legend True?”) also refers to the significance of this myth in cultural terms. However, our study on nationalities has the opposite results with Erder and Kaşka (2003: 18-22) who found that the share of the Russians was the lowest (8.3%) of all migrant women deported for prostitution and STDs in Turkey in the period 1996-2001. It is possible to explain such difference with the fact that the present study looks at a longer period (1992-2014). In our study, MSW from the Russian Federation represent almost half of all migrant sex workers in Turkey (49.4%).

Furthermore, with regard to women from the Russian Federation it is very interesting that 0,6% of articles mentioning nationalities of sex workers refer particularly to women from Chechnya, and 1,9% refer to women from Dagestan. This is significant because no other republics within Russia or its major cities are ever mentioned when discussing Russian sex workers. It is possible to make a very interesting conclusion that in many cases, the Turkish media does not realize that Chechnya and Dagestan are not separate countries, but autonomous republics within Russia. There is an inclination to considering every country ending in “-stan” a separate country that is Turkic by nationality. The fact that populations of the autonomous republics of Chechnya and Dagestan are mostly Muslim is also a significant cultural factor creating such mistaken understanding. However, there were no similar mistakes or any mentioning of Tatarstan which is a Muslim-majority republic within Russia too.

For example, it was also found by this study that 11 articles out of 990 (1.1%) used the term “Dagestan” mistakenly, thinking that it is a separate country. For example, see the following citation from *Hürriyet* (Öztanır, 2006, “7 Women Rescued In A Raid On A Prostitution Villa”): “In the house, 4 women including 23-year-old G....M...⁶³ of Russian origin, 20-year-old E...K... of Dagestan origin, 20-year old A...S... and 32-old A...G... were rescued”. Here it is visible that either the women themselves stated their nationality as “Dagestan” rather than Russia during police interviews, and it was copied by the reporters talking to the police, or the reporters simply do not realize that Dagestan is actually a part of Russia. There are 10 more examples like that in the sample, which proves rather poor knowledge of the geography of former Soviet space among the Turkish population.

⁶³ Although full names of women are provided in the original article, they are not provided here because it is considered discriminatory.

As far as nationalities of migrant sex workers from non-FSU countries are concerned, the articles about them were not specifically searched because of this study's particular focus. However, often non-FSU women were detained by the police in the same police raids as FSU women. Therefore, some limited information was also collected about their profile. It was found that the largest group of non-FSU migrant sex workers are Romanian women (52.2% of all articles mentioning non-FSU nationality of sex workers). Very often Romanian women were mentioned in the same sentences with Russian women as the reason for public health and cultural problems especially in the Black Sea region of Turkey (see, for example, *Cumhuriyet*: Tavşanoğlu, 1994, "The Only Way To Protect Oneself From AIDS Is Condom"). A group of women from Morocco was also found to be significant (36.5%). Finally, the third largest non-FSU group among migrant sex workers in Turkey is Bulgarians with 13%. Syrians were found to represent only 1% of all non-FSU migrant sex workers mentioned in the sample. However, since articles about Syrians were not searched specifically, a separate study should be conducted on this topic to clarify the actual percentage.

7.4.3 Education Level

As far as education level of migrant sex workers is concerned, in 97% of the articles mentioning any level of education of sex workers, it was university education that was mentioned. See Table 19 below.

Table 19. Migrant Sex Workers' Education Level.

Education level	Number of articles coded	Percentage share in parent node (Education level)
Secondary school	1	2,9%
High school	0	0,0%
University	33	97,1%
NVIVO TOTAL:	34	100,0%

Thus, the findings of this study correspond to those of Erder and Kaşka (2003) and Beşpınar and Çelik (2009) who argue that the level of education among migrant sex workers is very high because of the accessibility of higher education in the post-Soviet countries. However, our findings contradict those of Demir and Finckenauer

(2010) and Sever et al. (2012) who claim that education level among migrant women is very low. Also, no instances of migrant women with lower than secondary school education was found. This situation is very different from that of Turkey, where “63.8% of the labor force do not hold a high school diploma” (Toksöz et al., 2012: 54). Probably because of this difference, it was found that the articles in the sample often included information about these women’s high level of education or prestigious profession (see below). The fact that women with such high levels of education were involved in sex work often came as a shock to the reporters.

7.4.4 Occupation

Similar trend is visible in the information about migrant women’s occupation. From Table 20 below it is possible to see, that the majority of women have professions that are considered very prestigious in Turkey such as doctors, lawyers or engineers.

Table 20. Migrant Sex Workers by Professional Occupation.

Occupation in home country	Number of articles coded	Percentage share in parent node (Occupation)
Doctor	45	39,5%
School teacher	29	25,4%
Student	22	19,3%
Nurse	20	17,5%
Engineer	17	14,9%
Lawyer	17	14,9%
Police officer	8	7,0%
Economist	7	6,1%
Architect	6	5,3%
Photo model	6	5,3%
Veterinarian	5	4,4%
Dancing teacher	4	3,5%
Research assistant	3	2,6%
Sportswoman	3	2,6%
Ballet dancer	2	1,8%
Chef	2	1,8%
Clerk	2	1,8%
Hairdresser	2	1,8%
IT specialist	2	1,8%
Journalist	2	1,8%

Psychologist	2	1,8%
Tourism specialist	2	1,8%
Trade	2	1,8%
Accountant	1	0,9%
Animator	1	0,9%
Bank expert	1	0,9%
Beauty specialist	1	0,9%
Chemist	1	0,9%
Designer	1	0,9%
Domestic worker	1	0,9%
Fashion designer	1	0,9%
Finance officer	1	0,9%
Hostess	1	0,9%
Kindergarten teacher	1	0,9%
Laboratory assistant	1	0,9%
Musician	1	0,9%
Pharmacist	1	0,9%
Real estate agent	1	0,9%
Saleswoman	1	0,9%
Show girl	1	0,9%
Singer	1	0,9%
Textile seller	1	0,9%
Tourist guide	1	0,9%
NVIVO TOTAL:	114	100,0%

From the table, it is visible that migrant sex workers being a “doctor” in their home countries are mentioned in 39,5% of all articles that mention any kind of profession with regard to MSW. The ratio of school teachers is also rather high (25,4%). Other large groups include university students (19,3% of all migrant sex workers) and medical nurses (17,5%). In this respect, the findings of the present study correspond to the findings of Erder and Kaşka (2003) who claim that professional occupation of migrant women is usually high. The reason for such trend is high degree of unemployment, especially among the women, in FSU countries. It would not be wrong to assume that doctors, schoolteachers and nurses are the professions that experience the crisis of low wages in the former Soviet space, and are affected by unemployment the most. Therefore, the fact that these women migrate to Turkey and are often involved in sex work should not come as a surprise, given the existing demand. However, it is possible to agree with Ayata et al. (2008: 60) who in her media analysis was also surprised by the fact that newspaper articles always mention

migrant sex workers' profession, especially if it is a prestigious one. See, for example, *Hürriyet* (2008, "Deportation to a Doctor with AIDS"; Karaçalı, 2012, "Doctor and Lawyer Women Detained for Prostitution"), also *Milliyet* (2008, "A Nurse, a Schoolteacher and a Doctor Were Caught in Prostitution"; Kocaer, 2008a, "A Russian Psychiatrist Was Caught in Prostitution at a Beauty Shop"), or *Sabah* (2012, "A Prostitution Gang Drove a Russian Doctor Crazy with Torture"). It can be argued that the narrative that is created by the media with regard to migrant women is very sensational and can be characterized by lack of sensitivity to the reasons why these women are in sex work. In this sense, this research confirms the findings of Erder and Kaşka (2003: 28-29) about sensational character of media coverage of the topic of migrant sex labor in Turkey.

7.5 Differences in Naming the Phenomenon

Very interesting findings were made by content analysis conducted for this study with regard to different names used by articles to refer to the phenomenon of migrant sex labor. These different terms can be found in Table 21 below.

Table 21. Naming the Phenomenon of Migrant Sex Labor.

Naming the phenomenon	Original Turkish term	Number of articles coded	Percentage share in total (N=990)
Prostitution	<i>fuhuş</i>	911	92,0%
Human trafficking	<i>insan ticareti, insan kaçakçılığı</i>	155	15,7%
Sex trade or sex market	<i>seks ticareti, seks pazarı</i>	34	3,4%
Love	<i>aşk</i>	15	1,5%
Trap	<i>tuzak</i>	11	1,1%
Commercial sex	<i>para karşılığı ilişki</i>	9	0,9%
Illicit relationships	<i>gayrimeşru ilişkiler</i>	5	0,5%
Slavery	<i>kölelik</i>	4	0,4%
Adultery	<i>zina</i>	2	0,2%
Irregular migration	<i>düzensiz göç</i>	2	0,2%
Migrant smuggling	<i>göçmen kaçakçılığı</i>	2	0,2%
Sexual exploitation	<i>cinsel sömürü</i>	2	0,2%
Concubinage	<i>dost hayatı</i>	1	0,1%
NVIVO TOTAL:		990	100,0%

It is possible to see that in 92% of all articles in the sample (total N=990), migrant sex labor was referred to as “prostitution” (*fuhuş*). There is a need to point out additionally that 31,94% of all references to prostitution were referenced to “forced prostitution” (*zorla fuhuş*) or being “forced into prostitution” (*fuhuşa zorlama*), which represented 29,4% of all articles sample. Articles with any references to “human trafficking” (*insan ticareti* and *insan kaçakçılığı* when it is mistakenly used to refer to trafficking) constituted 15,7% of the total sample. Very interesting is the name “*zina*” (adultery) that is used to refer to migrant sex labor just in 0,2% articles in the sample. These are one article in *Zaman* and one article in *Sabah*. The use of this term is very controversial because *zina* was a very serious crime in the Ottoman Empire and was defined as any sexual relationship outside of marriage (see Atalay, 2013: 8). The usage of this term in contemporary press gives the coverage of the topic a slightly religious connotation because of the connection to sharia law of the Ottoman Empire. It also allows the researcher to draw attention to the fact that the emphasis is placed not on the fact of acceptance of payment for a sexual act, as in the definition of prostitution, but on the fact of being a sexual act outside of marriage. For example, O’Connell Davidson (1998: 9) defines prostitution as “the exchange of sex or sexual services for money or other material benefits” that usually takes place within unequal gendered relations of power. However, when referred to as *zina*, migrant sex labor loses its connection to prostitution as commercial sex and becomes closer to the patriarchal definition of adultery or “illicit relationships” (*gayrimeşru ilişkiler*) that happen outside of marriage.

The sections below only examine the most frequently used terms: prostitution, forced prostitution and human trafficking. The distribution of the usage of the term “prostitution” by newspaper can be seen in Figure 29 below:

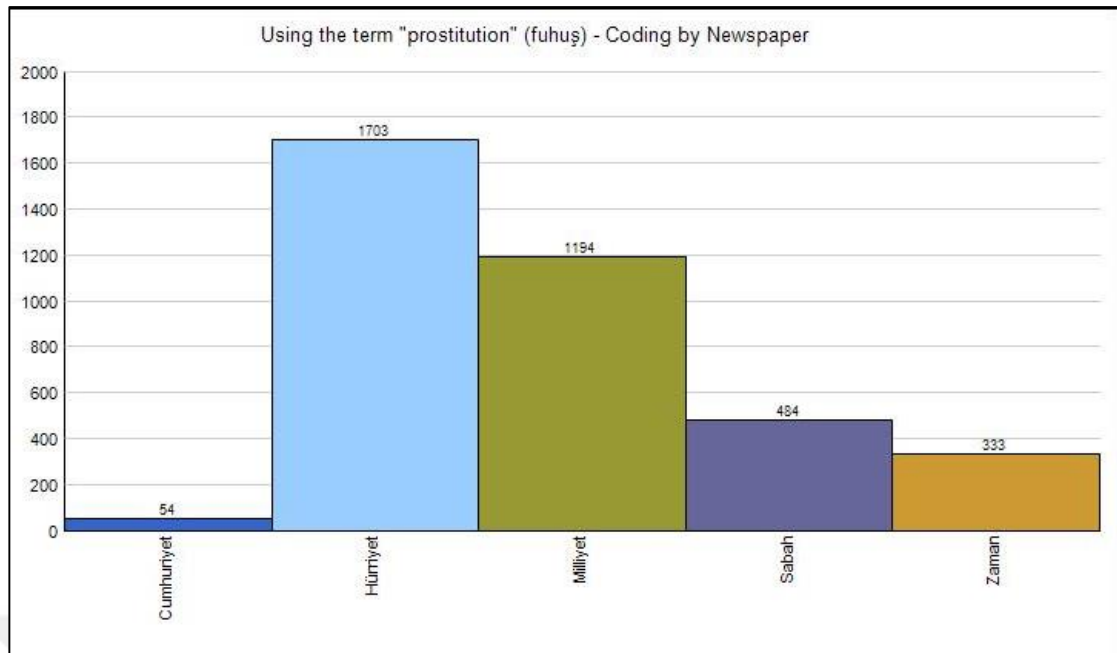


Figure 29. The Usage of the Term “Prostitution” – Coding by Newspaper.

It is possible to see from the chart that *Hürriyet* has the highest number of coding references for prostitution (1703), and *Cumhuriyet* has the lowest (54). In general, this term is the main term used to refer to sex labor because it is also the one used by Turkish Criminal Code and other official legislature (see Article 227, Criminal Code of the Republic of Turkey, 2005). The distribution of the term usage by year can also be seen in Figure 30 below.

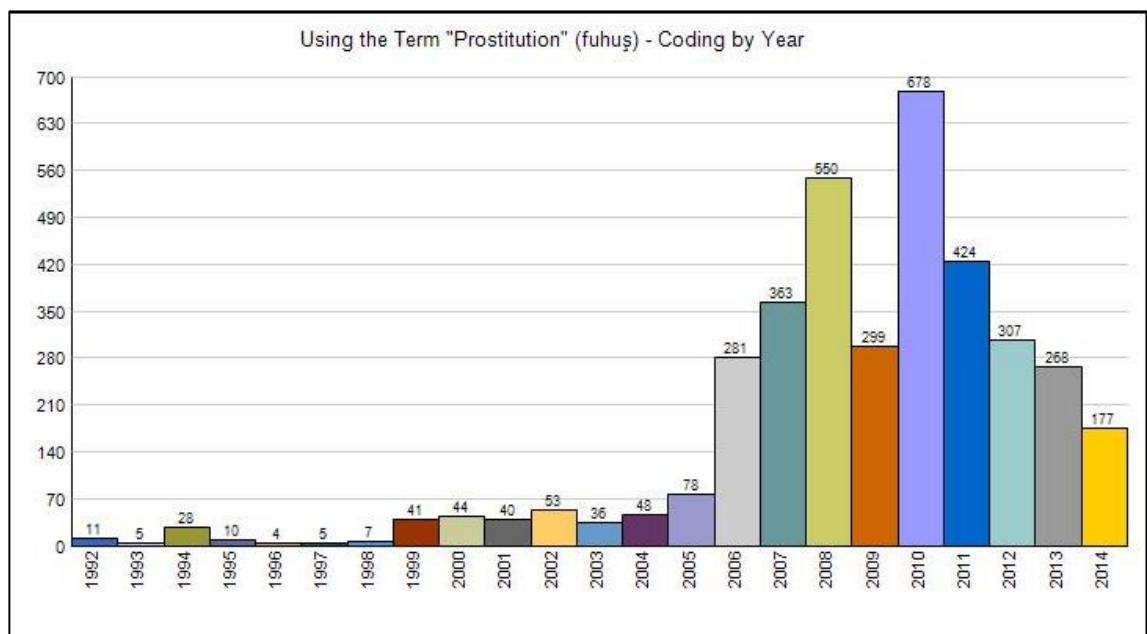


Figure 30. The Usage of the Term “Prostitution” – Coding by Year.

It can be seen very clearly on the chart that the number of references to prostitution suddenly increases in 2006. This could be explained by the adoption of the new Criminal Code by Turkey in 2005. Similarly, the usage of the term “forced prostitution” also only appears in the media after 2005. This can be clearly seen in Figure 31 below.

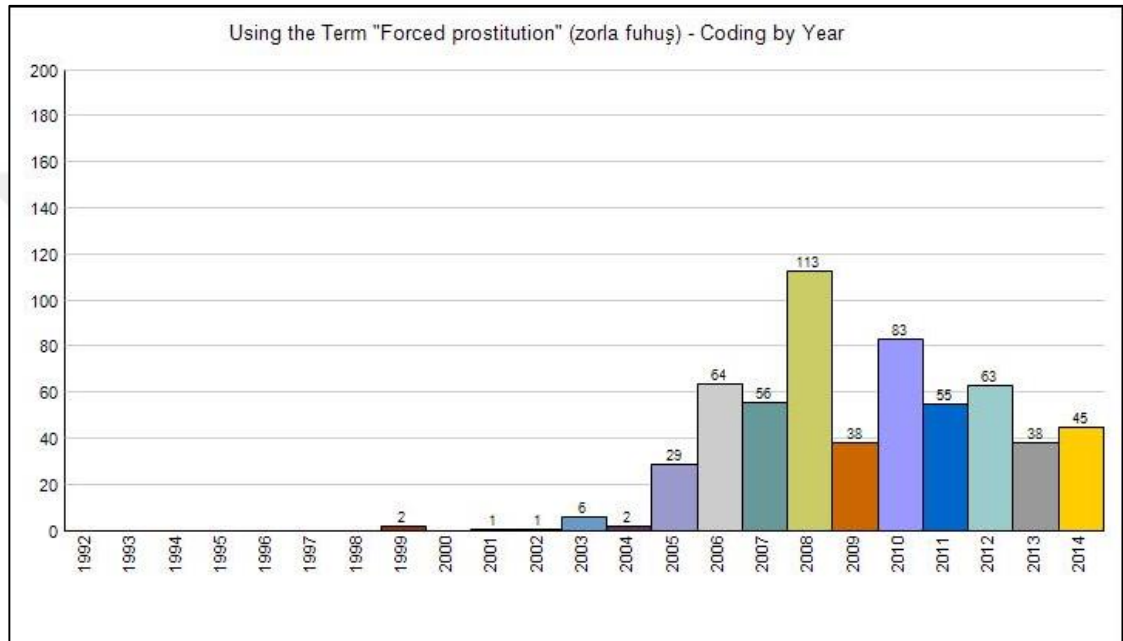


Figure 31. The Usage of the Term “Forced Prostitution” – Coding by Year.

The usage of the term “human trafficking” is even more illustrative. In Figure 32 below it is possible to see that it suddenly emerges in the Turkish media sources in 2001. This can be explained by the adoption of the UN Convention on Transnational Organized Crime with its Protocol on Human Trafficking in 2000.

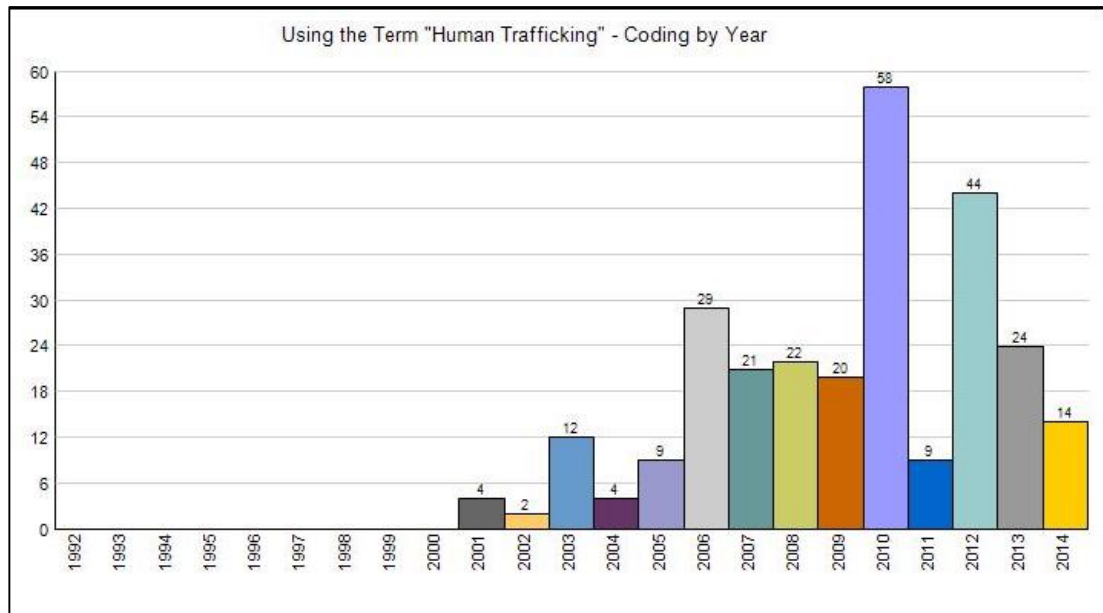


Figure 32. The Usage of the Term “Human Trafficking” – Coding by Year.

It is possible to see how the usage of the term “human trafficking” is spread across different newspapers in Figure 33 below:

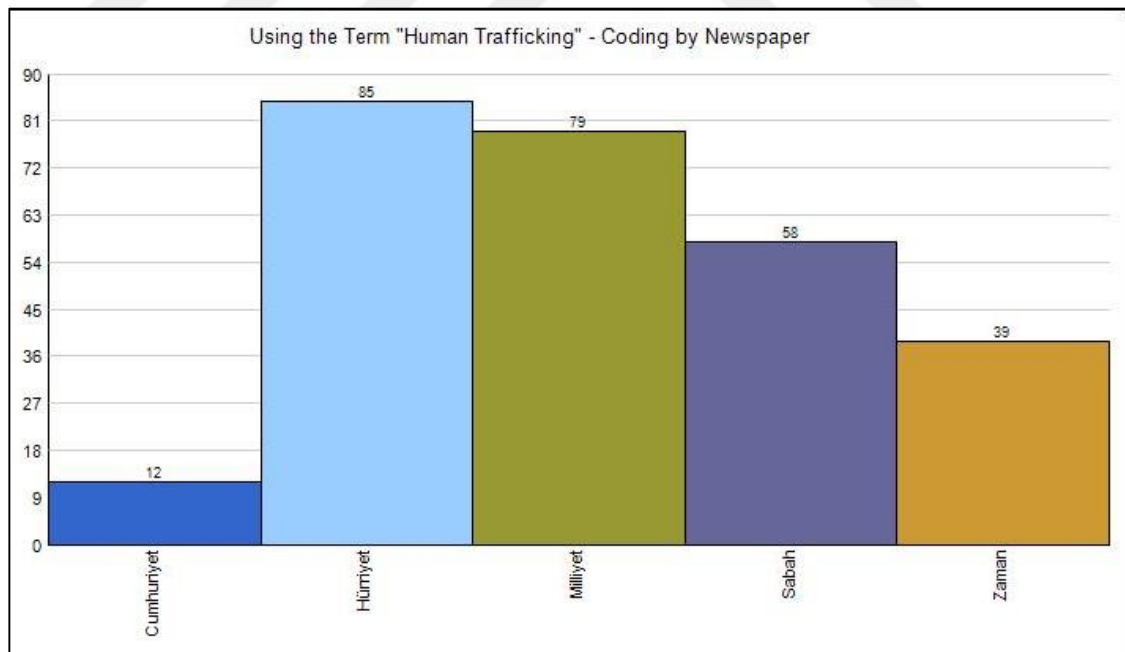


Figure 33. The Usage of the Term “Human Trafficking” – Coding by Newspaper.

It is possible to see that the term “human trafficking” is used by all five newspapers rather proportionally. Only *Cumhuriyet* is significantly different with only 12 references to human trafficking. *Hürriyet* has the highest number of references (85). It can be argued that the number of references to human trafficking is proportional to the size of the sample for each newspaper.

7.6 Misuse of Terms

This section also discusses different names used by the media to refer to the phenomenon of migrant sex labor. However, here the discussion is about different kinds of mistakes frequently used by reporters in their coverage of the topic. The desire to investigate this question is inspired by Demir and Erdal’s (2010) study in which they conducted a content analysis of articles about migration and human trafficking from the year of 2008, and found out that the media usage of many terms was mistaken. In particular, they found out that the media very often mixed up the terms “human trafficking” (*insan ticareti*) with “human smuggling” (*insan kaçakçılığı*) (Demir & Erdal, 2010).

Following the example of Demir and Erdal (2010), this study also identified several most common mistakes made by the media. In general, mistakes were present in all five newspapers analyzed by the sample. The distribution of all mistakes by newspaper can be seen in Figure 34 below.

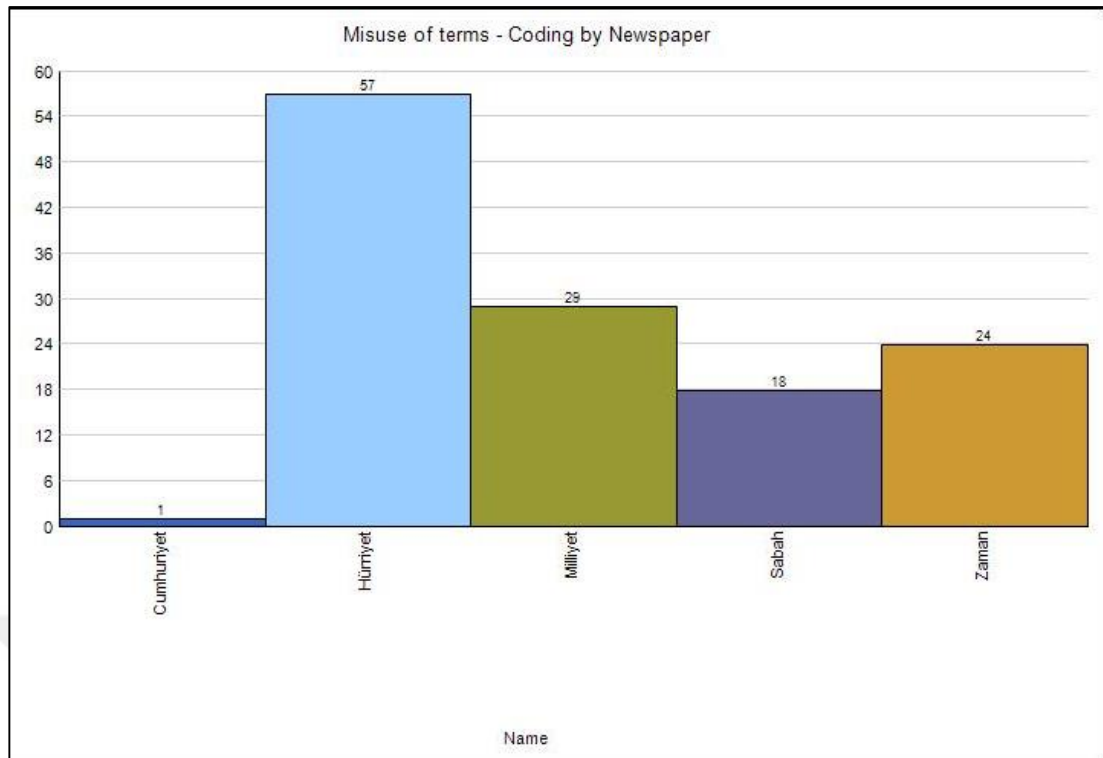


Figure 34. Misuse of Terms – Coding by Newspaper.

It is possible to see that *Hürriyet* has the highest number of references to different kinds of mistakes (57), and *Cumhuriyet* only has 1 reference to a mistaken use of a term. The most frequent mistakes made by the Turkish media in their coverage of migrant sex labor can be found in Table 22 below.

Table 22. Misuse of Terms.

Misuse of terms	Original Turkish term	Number of articles coded	Percentage share in total (N=990)
"Prostitution in exchange for money"	<i>para karşılığı fuhuş</i>	66	6,7%
"Human trafficking" mixed up with "human smuggling"	<i>insan ticareti, insan kaçakçılığı</i>	13	1,3%
"Crime of prostitution"	<i>fuhuş suçu</i>	7	0,7%
Clients engaging in "prostitution" with women	<i>kadınlarla fuhuş yapan müşteriler</i>	6	0,6%
Misconceptions about STDs	-	2	0,2%
"Forced rape"	<i>zorla tecavüz</i>	1	0,1%
NVIVO TOTAL:		990	100,0%

Some interesting mistakes include references to “forced rape” in 1 article in *Hürriyet* (*zorla tecavüz*), in which the meaning of rape was probably equated to the meaning of sexual relationship in general. Also, there were some misconceptions about STDs that will be discussed in section 7.8 later. Finally, another interesting mistake is the reference to the “crime of prostitution” (*fuhuş suçu*) in 7 articles when discussing migrant sex workers. For example, it is often stated by the reporters that migrant women were deported “for the crime of prostitution” (see in *Sabah*: Öztürk, 2010, “Girls To Be Deported, Gang To The Courthouse”; in *Hürriyet*: Akın, 2008b, “A Ukrainian Was Deported for Prostitution”). The following reference is from *Milliyet* (2003, “The Security Forces: To Call Somebody a Natasha Hurts”): “Beginning from now, the X sign will be put on the exit page of the passports of women deported for the crime of prostitution”. However, actually there is a need to remind that prostitution is not a crime in Turkey, only the organization of prostitution is a crime according to article 227 of the Turkish Criminal Code. Individual prostitution of women in Turkey is legal; therefore, migrant women are actually deported for violation of public order and Article 8 of Passport Law (1950) that prohibits entrance into Turkey of foreigners engaging in prostitution, rather for the “crime of prostitution”. Such rhetoric only strengthens the already existing stigmatizing attitude to migrant women and makes the vulnerable to harassment.

However, it is possible to see that the most popular mistake is using the term “prostitution in exchange for money” (*para karşılığı fuhuş*). It is present in 6.7% of all articles in the sample. The usage of this term is wrong because the term “prostitution” already means the exchange of a sexual service for money, and there is no need to additionally emphasize the fact that it is commercial. There is no “commercial prostitution” because all prostitution is commercial, it is a part of the definition as it was seen above (see O’Connell Davidson, 1998). Similarly, according to the Turkish Language Institute, “prostitution” (*fuhuş*) is defined as “having a sexual relationship in a manner not fitting the rules of the host society with one or several people in exchange for money” (Türk Dil Kurumu, 2016). It is possible to see here that Turkish language definition of prostitution contains two elements: not only the fact of exchange of money for a sexual service, but also doing it “in a manner not fitting the rules of the host society” (Türk Dil Kurumu, 2016). Therefore, the meaning of the term “prostitution” has a subtle cultural dimension to it, by making an implicit reference that prostitution is disrupting for the public order and morals.

However, when the word “prostitution” is used in a phrase “prostitution in exchange for money” as it often is in the Turkish media, its meaning becomes closer to the meaning of sexual relationship in general, or “illicit relationship” as relationship outside of marriage. It is possible to see the distribution of this mistake by newspaper in Figure 35 below.

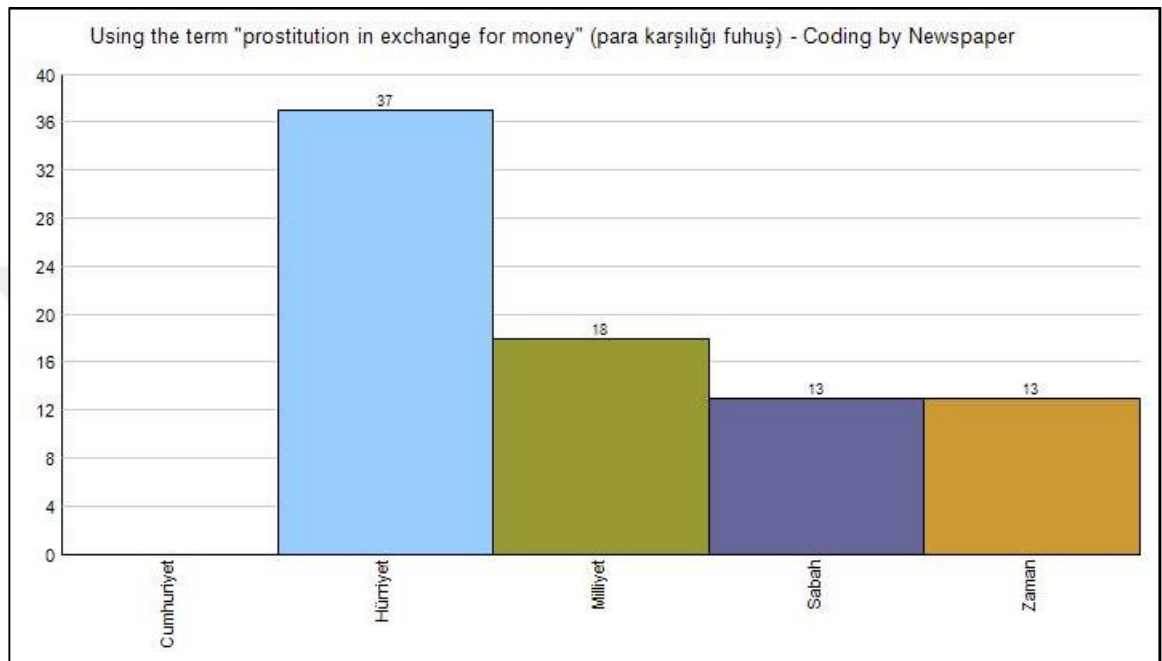


Figure 35. Using the Term “Prostitution in Exchange for Money” – Coding by Newspaper.

It is possible to see from the chart that *Hürriyet* is the newspaper that makes this mistake the most frequently (37 references), and that *Cumhuriyet* with its more objective coverage of the topic does not make this mistake at all (0 references).

The next important misuse of terms is “human trafficking” (*insan ticareti*) mixed up with “human smuggling” (*insan kaçakçılığı*). It is present in 1,3% of all articles in the sample (N=990), so it is not that statistically significant. However, in some articles that are actually on the topic of human trafficking, it is referred to as human smuggling. The distinction between the two terms is significant for migration literature (see Zhidkova, 2011: 39-42), therefore, this mistake should also be pointed out to. The distribution of this mistake across different newspapers can be seen in Figure 36 below:

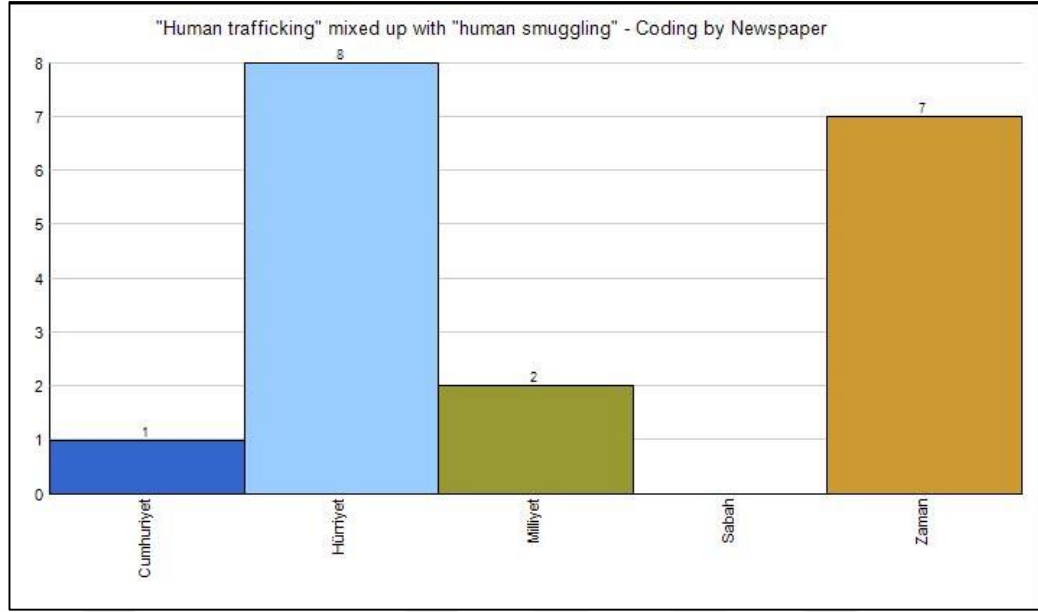


Figure 36. “Human Trafficking” Mixed Up with “Human Smuggling” – Coding by Newspaper.

Finally, another interesting mistake is the use of the phrase “clients engaging in prostitution with women” (*kadınlarla fuhuş yapan müşteriler*) in its different grammatical forms. It is present in 0.6% of articles in the sample. When the phrase is built like that, the meaning of the word “prostitution” (*fuhuş*) becomes very close to the meaning of the word “adultery” (*zina*) explained above with its religious and patriarchal connotation. You can almost replace the word “prostitution” with the word “*zina*” in the sentence, and the meaning of it will not change. It was found that this phrase is used by more conservative newspapers such as *Zaman* in order to underline the inappropriate character of prostitution for the society, and also in order to stigmatize the clients for performing an “indecent” act because of the “illicit” character of such relationship. The usage of this phrase by newspaper can be viewed in Figure 37 below.

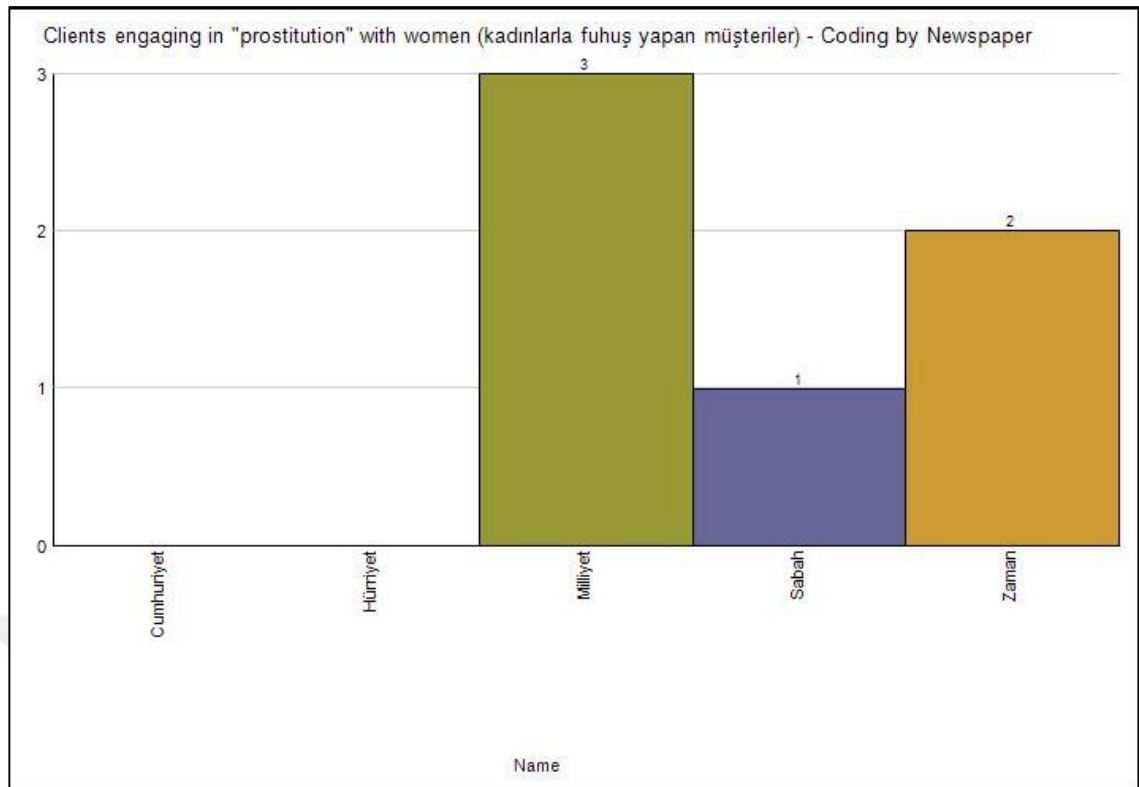


Figure 37. The Usage of the Phrase “Clients Engaging in Prostitution with Women” – Coding by Newspaper.

From the chart, it is possible to see that this phrase is only used by *Milliyet*, *Zaman* and *Sabah*, and is not present at all in *Cumhuriyet* or *Hürriyet*.

7.7 Differences in Naming Migrant Sex Workers

There is also a need to discuss differences among the newspapers in naming migrant sex workers (MSW). Different kinds of names used to refer to MSW in the media and their percentage shares can be found in Table 23 below.

Table 23. Differences in Naming Migrant Sex Workers.

Naming the women	Original Turkish term	Number of articles coded	Percentage share in total (N=990)
Prostitutes	<i>hayat kadını, fahişe</i>	156	15,8%
Victims	<i>kurban, mağdur</i>	81	8,2%
Slaves	<i>köle</i>	34	3,4%
Irregular migrants	<i>kaçak göçmen</i>	9	0,9%

Sex workers	<i>seks işçisi</i>	4	0,4%
Call girl	<i>tele kız</i>	3	0,3%
Second wife	<i>kuma</i>	3	0,3%
Escort girl	<i>eskort kız</i>	2	0,2%
“Prostitution workers”	<i>fuhuş çalışanı</i>	1	0,1%
NVIVO TOTAL:		990	100,0%

It can be seen from the table that most frequently (in 15.8% of articles in the overall sample), MSW are referred to as “prostitutes” (which has two versions in Turkish, *hayat kadını* and *fahişe*). The percentage share of each Turkish term for the word “prostitute” can be seen in Table 24 below.

Table 24. The Use of the Term “Prostitutes”.

Prostitutes	Number of articles coded	Percentage share in parent node	Percentage share in total (N=990)
<i>Fahişe</i>	26	16,7%	2,62%
<i>Hayat kadını</i>	133	85,3%	13,43%
NVIVO TOTAL:	156	100,0%	16,06%

It is possible to see from the table that in 85.3% of the cases where a migrant sex worker is referred to as “prostitute”, she is referred to as “*hayat kadını*”, and in 16.7% of cases she is referred to as “*fahişe*”. It can be argued that although both words are very stigmatizing, the word “*fahişe*” is probably even more stigmatizing and is closer to the meaning of “whore”. The women were also referred to as “victims” in only 8.2% of cases, which is rather low, and demonstrates the fact that migrant sex labor in Turkey is usually perceived as “voluntary” (see Coşkun, 2015a; 2015b). Furthermore, in 3.4% MSW were referred to as “slaves”. However, as explained above, this term was used not sympathetically in order to attract attention to the resemblance of sexual exploitation to slavery, but rather sensationally. The term “sex workers” is only used in 0.4% of articles in the sample, which is also an important finding. Very interesting is the use of the term “*kuma*” meaning second wife of a Muslim. It is used by *Hürriyet*, *Milliyet* and *Zaman*, one article in each. Turkish Language Institute (Türk Dil Kurumu, 2016) defines “*kuma*” as a name used

among the women married to the same man to refer to themselves. This word is used by the media to refer to migrant women who “destroy” Turkish marriages. For example, see the following excerpt from *Hürriyet* (Tokuş, 2008a, “A Foreign Women Blow to Marriages”):

A mother of one child N.S. who filed for divorce in the Karasu Civil Court said that she learnt about her husband’s relationships with women of foreign origin from the photographs he took, and a mother of two children M.I. said “He wants to bring her as a kuma beside me”.

Here, once again the “illicit”, out-of-marriage character of relationship with MSW is emphasized rather than its commercial aspect. The Turkish women are complaining that their husbands want to keep their migrant mistress as a “kuma” or second wife, pointing to the indecency of such behavior and a “blow” that migrant women brought upon their families. Although in the above-mentioned example the clients are also stigmatized, the patriarchal attitude against migrant sex workers as “family breakers” is very common (see Erder & Kaşka, 2003).

The distribution of the most frequently used terms “prostitute”, “victim” and “slave” among the newspapers can be found below in Figure 38.

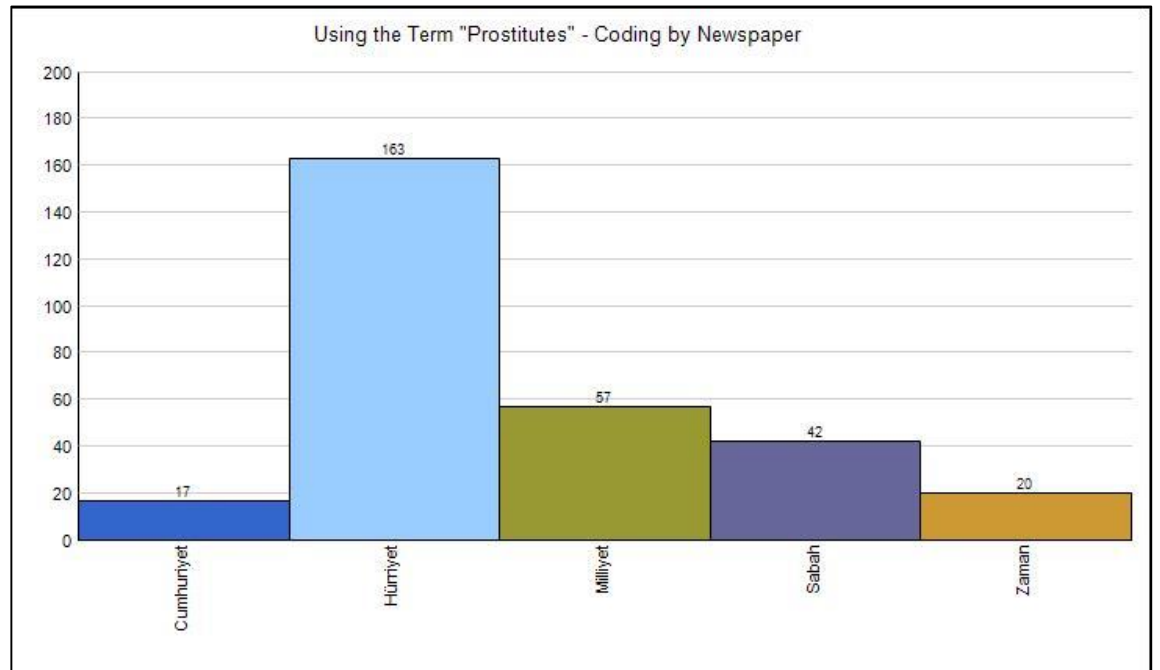


Figure 38. Using the Term “Prostitutes” – Coding by Newspaper.

It is possible to see from the table that Hürriyet has the highest number of references to “prostitutes” (both *hayat kadını* and *fahişe*) (163). The usage of this term is *Cumhuriyet* and *Zaman* is very low though (17 and 20 references respectively).

It is also very interesting to look at the distribution of the usage of this term by year (see Figure 39) below.

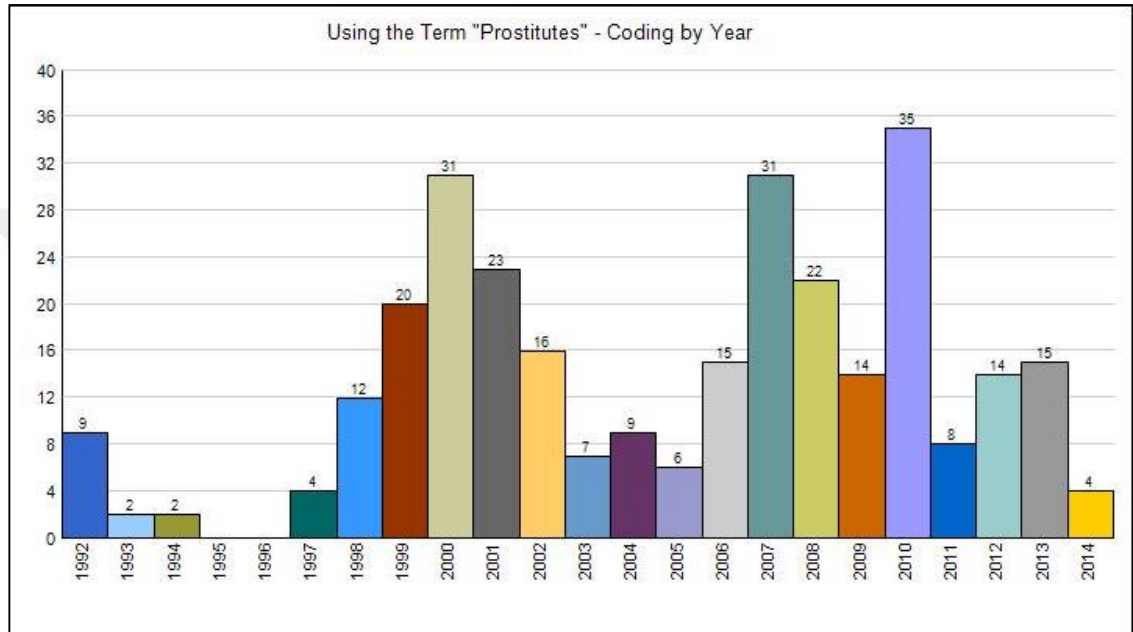


Figure 39. Using the Term “Prostitutes” – Coding by Year.

It is possible to see from the chart that the term “prostitutes” was most frequently used in 2000, 2007 and 2010. However, the term is almost each year and is quite common in general.

The usage of the term “victim” comprises 8.2% of articles in the sample. Figure 40 below shows its distribution by newspaper:

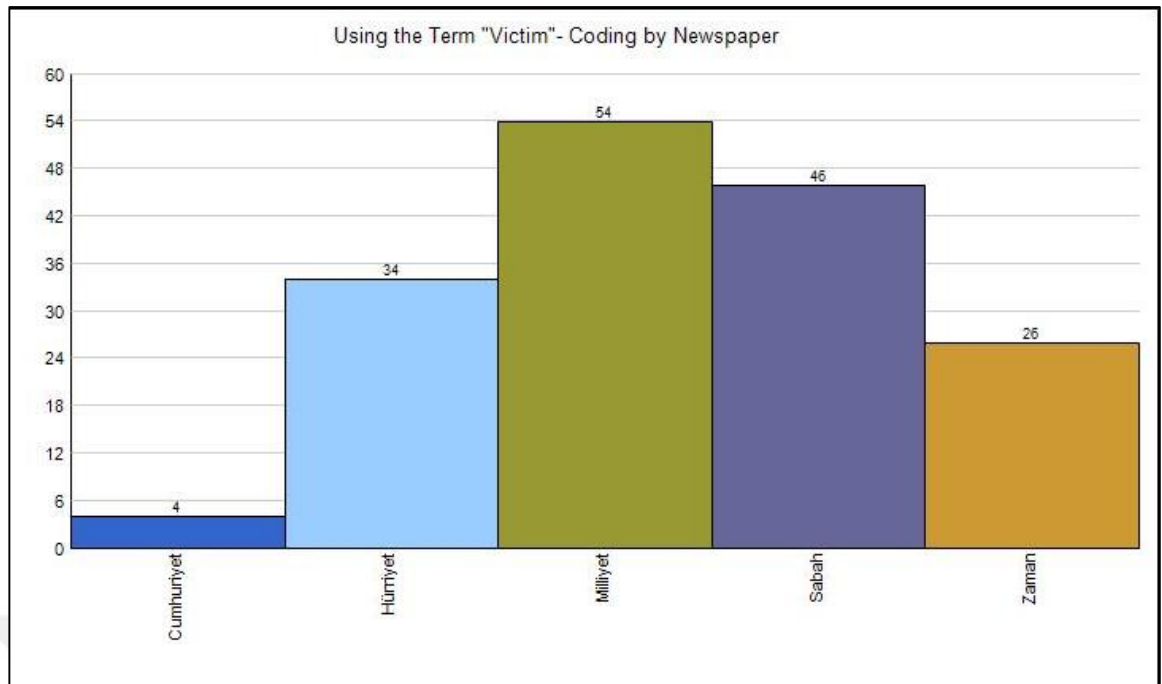


Figure 40. Using the Term “Victim” – Coding by Newspaper.

It is possible to see that in this case, *Milliyet* has the highest number of references to “victims” (54), followed by *Sabah* with 46 references. *Cumhuriyet* has the lowest share with only 4 references to “victims.” However, even more interesting is to look at the sample distribution in terms of using the term “victim” over the years. It can be seen in Figure 41 below.

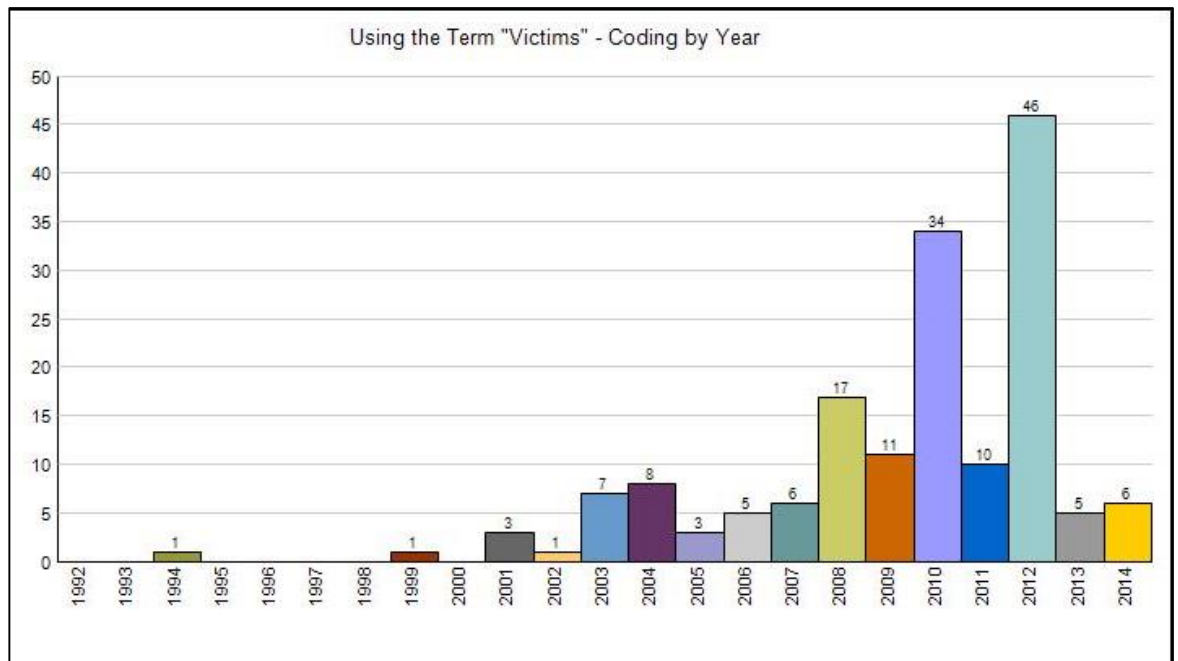


Figure 41. Using the Term “Victims” – Coding by Year.

It is possible to see that the term “victims” started to be commonly used after 2001, which can also be explained by the adoption of the UN Protocols on trafficking in 2000. It is also used once by *Zaman* in 1994, and by *Hürriyet* in 1999 (in *Zaman*, see Gürsoy, 1994, “Prostitution Progresses More Insidiously than Terror”; *Hürriyet*, 1999a, “The Russian Beauties Will Not Belong to Turks Anymore”).

The term “slave” is used in 3.4% of articles in the sample. The use of the term is mostly sensational. See, for example, the following article examples: *Milliyet* (2010, “The Man Making a Georgian Woman His Sex Slave Was Caught”), in *Hürriyet* (Şahin, 2012, “A Sex Slave Line between Ukraine and Turkey”) etc. The usage of the term by newspaper can be seen in Figure 42 below:

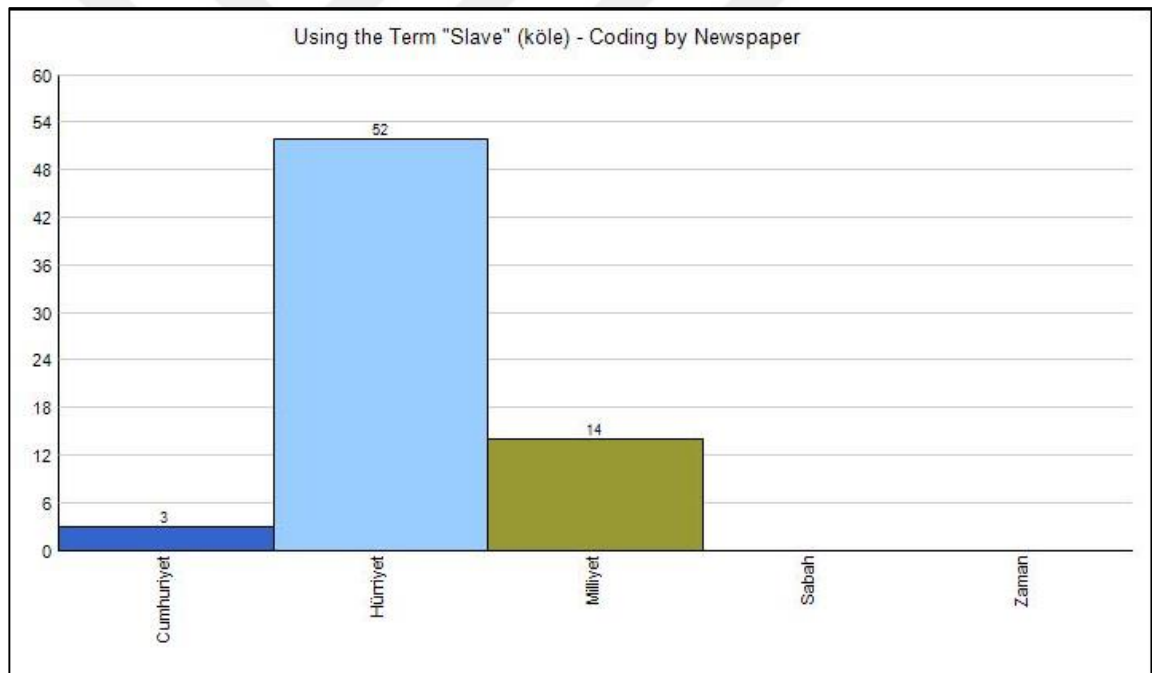


Figure 42. Using the Term “Slave” – Coding by Newspaper.

It is possible to see from the chart that *Hürriyet* has the highest number of references to “slave” (52), which makes it the most sensational newspaper in terms of coverage of migrant sex labor in Turkey. There are no references to “slaves” in *Sabah* and *Zaman* at all, which makes these newspapers less sensational. It is also possible to view the sample distribution by newspaper in terms of references to “slave” in Figure 43 below.

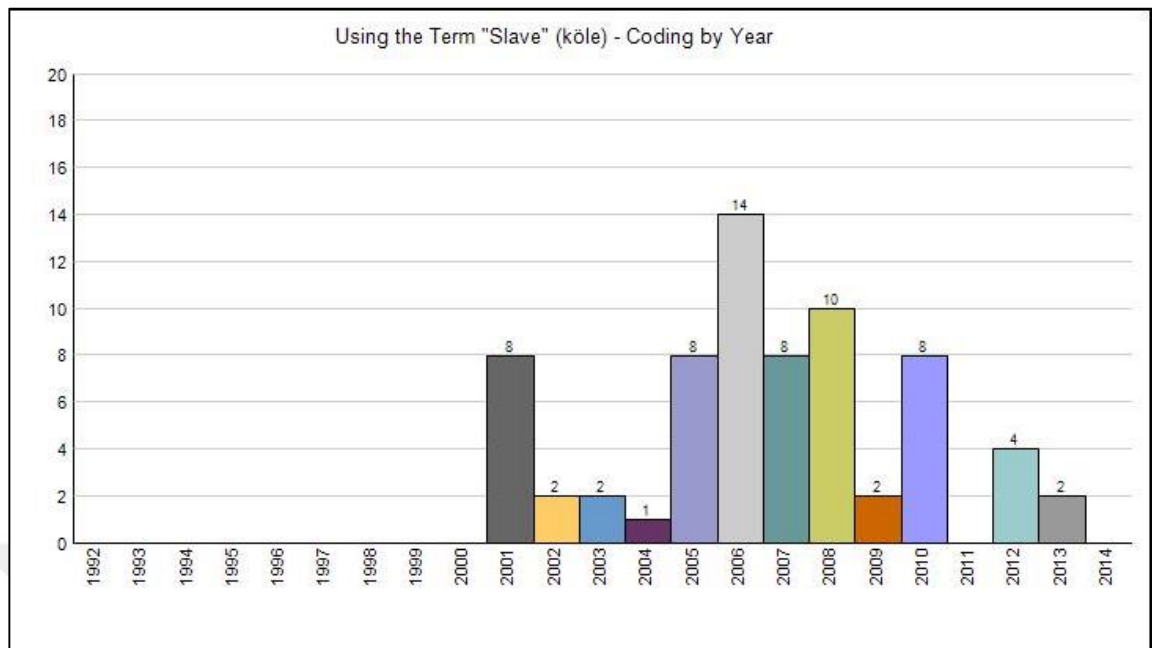


Figure 43. Using the Term “Slave” – Coding by Year.

It is quite clear from the chart that the usage of the term “slave” suddenly appeared in 2001, after the acceptance of the UN Protocols in 2000. After the Protocols were accepted, the media narrative of human trafficking as “modern slavery” also started. However, the reporters also use this term with highly emotional connotation in order to provide sensational coverage and attract attention to the issue of migrant sex labor in Turkey, which is apparently found very interesting by newspaper readers because it is related to “forbidden” topics of “illicit” sexual relationships outside marriage, the highly sensitive issue of honor (*namus*) and other features of the historical structure of patriarchy.

7.7.1 Naming Migrant Sex Workers with Stigmatization

In order to investigate the way the state hegemony is projected through media as one of the most important ideological platforms of the state, it is particularly significant to look at the cases when the media names MSW with particularly stigmatizing attitude. The different terms used by the media to stigmatize migrant sex workers can be found in Table 25 below:

Table 25. Stigmatization of Migrant Sex Workers.

Stigmatizing the women	Original Turkish term	Number of articles coded	Percentage share in total (N=990)
Natasha	<i>Nataşa</i>	91	9,2%
The one disseminating diseases	<i>hastalık saçan</i>	10	1,0%
Whore	<i>orospu</i>	2	0,2%
NVIVO TOTAL:		990	100,0%

The stigmatizing term that was used most frequently by the media to refer to migrant sex workers is “Natasha” (9.2% of articles in the sample). Other interesting terms that were used are “the ones disseminating diseases” (*hastalık saçanlar*) that was used by 1% of the articles in its different grammatical forms, and the term “whore” (*orospu*) that is used by 0.2% of articles in the sample. It is also interesting that 32.96% of all references to “Natashas” are actually critical analytical articles criticizing the use of the term for being discriminatory. Such articles represent 3% of the overall sample, which can be considered quite high. One of these interesting critical articles from *Cumhuriyet* is provided below because it is found very significant in terms of the focus of the present study (see Atabek, 1992, “The Natasha Syndrome”):

Who thought that one day a blonde Russian beauty Natasha would be a symbol of prostitution in our country? But it happened. In the time of social upheaval in the countries, in the time when their economies are messed up, the labor-value relationship also changes.

(...) In the films prepared by the Ministry of Health in the struggle against AIDS the “Natasha syndrome” is used as a stereotype. I wrote before about

the hidden dangers of stereotypes. But let us see how these mistakes develop in our society that uses a lot of stereotypes:

All blonde foreign women are prostitutes.

Blonde women are sexually available.

Uncovered women or women wearing miniskirts are questionable.

Women are devil.

All of these are wrong stereotypes, but can we ignore what happens at some levels of our society? Had not the assault on the daughter of Consul General of Austria by a village kid years ago raised with these stereotypes shaken all of our society? Were the attempts to quickly execute this village kid in order to save the tourism season a product of another stereotype? And now, can we ignore the fact that it is extremely dangerous when such stereotypes are backed up by the state?

While small steps are taken in various areas where women's rights are being discussed, isn't there a need to take into account the way the "image of women" would be affected when public health is used as a pretext to justify guardianship of morals?

"Natasha" is a prostitute, isn't she? Romanian women are prostitutes as well. They come here from their own countries in order to gain money in an easy way. They seduce our men, engage into prostitution with them, take their money. At the same time, they carry the danger of spreading AIDS. This is all true, but what do our men do? What they do is of course womanizing. They have fun with these women, elude real life with them. This is OK, but aren't our men afraid of AIDS? According to the existing studies, there is not much evidence for the existence of such fear. But do we think about introducing proper sexual education that this society desperately needs? No, no evidence of that either. There doesn't seem to be an intention, a program or a practice related to sexual education. What we do see is, as always, "scaring", "threatening", the tale that "bugaboo will come and eat you". And if you ask why, the answer is ready: because this is what our people understand.

People's soul feels twisted. The people's soul feels twisted at how these beautiful women get inside the rising values of the new world order and follow the rule of "earn a lot of money no matter how." The people's soul feels twisted at how money is put in the fuss of "new values" instead of human values. And people's soul feels twisted when it is considered not important how the money is earned.

In the background of "Natasha" context you can see people's hopes flying into pieces, you can see looters blinded by greed looting all that belongs to humanity. You can see the war of interests rising in the background of Natasha. (...) In the background of Natasha activities you can see the profit economy, millions of people without a job, and looting of humanity.

It is not Natasha that is pacing around, it is the inner face of capitalism...

In this article, the columnist (Atabek, 1992) questions the discrimination and stereotyping of all migrant women from FSU as “Natashas” and discussed the underlying meaning of such portrayal by the state, which is profit-maximization of the global capitalist economy. In general, interesting critical analytical articles on the topic were found present in all newspapers except for *Zaman*, which persists with the traditional coverage of the problem as a “public morality” issue (see, for example, in *Hürriyet*: Turgut, 1999, “Who Corrupts Morality?”; *Hürriyet*, 1999b, “Don’t Look At Us As At Prostitutes”; Bayer, 1998a, “What Happens When Every Russian Woman Is Considered A Prostitute”; in *Sabah*: Oğuz, 2011, “An Advocate Of Change Earns More”; Ramoğlu, 2013, “The Bull’s Money Goes To Natasha”).

The distribution of references to MSW as “Natashas” by newspaper in the sample can be seen in Figure 44 below.

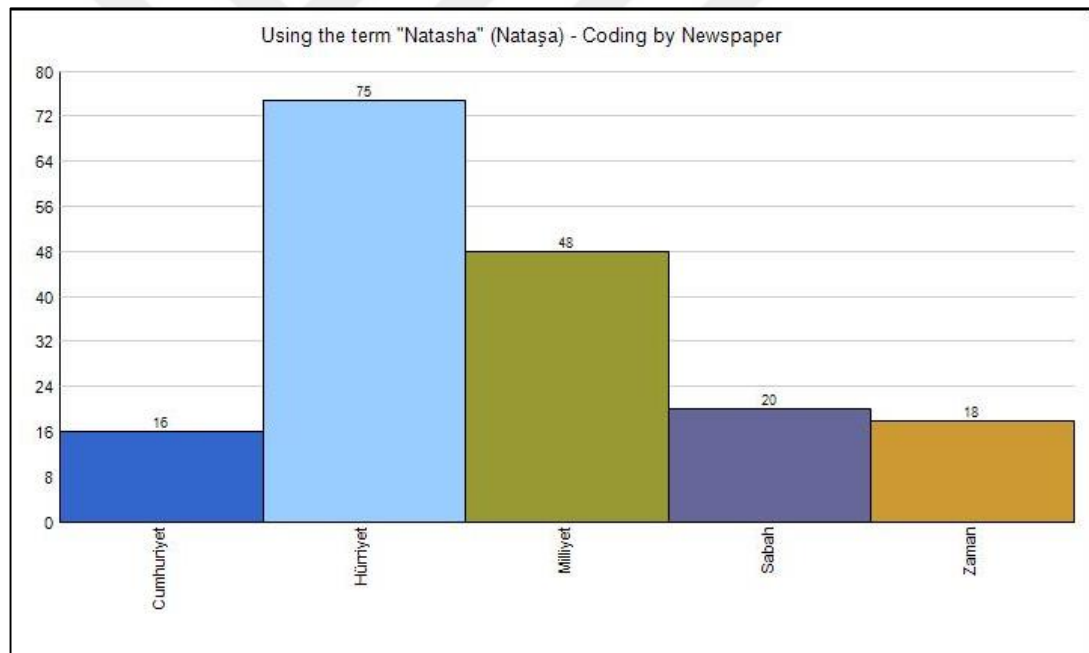


Figure 44. The Usage of the Term “Natasha” – Coding by Newspaper.

It is possible to see from the chart that once again, *Hürriyet* has the highest number of references to “Natashas” (75), and *Cumhuriyet* and *Zaman* have the lowest (16 and 18 references respectively). The distribution by years can also be seen below in Figure 45.

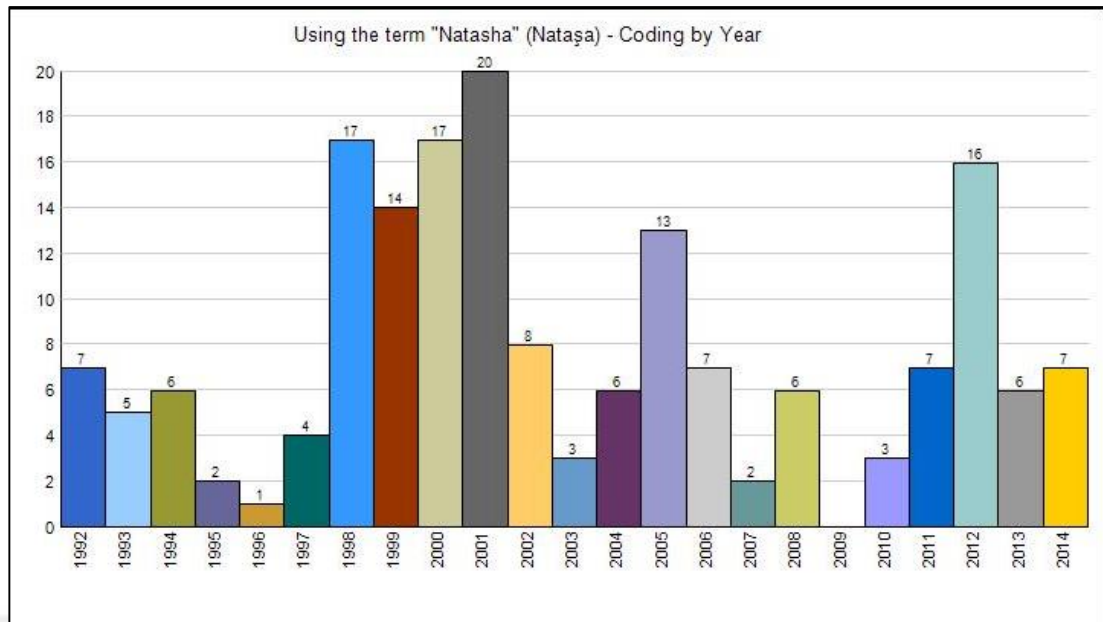


Figure 45. The Usage of the Term “Natasha” – Coding by Year.

The term “Natasha” was used every year apart from 2009 by all newspaper in the sample. The total number of articles using this term in the sample is 91.

Another problematic term that is used is “those disseminating diseases” (*hastalık saçanlar*) (1% of the sample). It is particularly stigmatizing towards migrant women because it holds them responsible for the spread of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) in the society. See, for example, *Cumhuriyet* (Çiğirim, 1992b, “The Natashas Are Disseminating Disease”), *Hürriyet* (2000, “The Ones Disseminating Disease Were Caught”), *Milliyet* (Aksoyer, 2010, “She Disseminated AIDS by Doing Prostitution”), *Sabah* (Oskay, 2010, “They Disseminated Disease”) or *Zaman* (1995, “Tourists Are Disseminating Disease through Prostitution”). The distribution of the usage of this term in the sample can be seen in Figure 46 below.

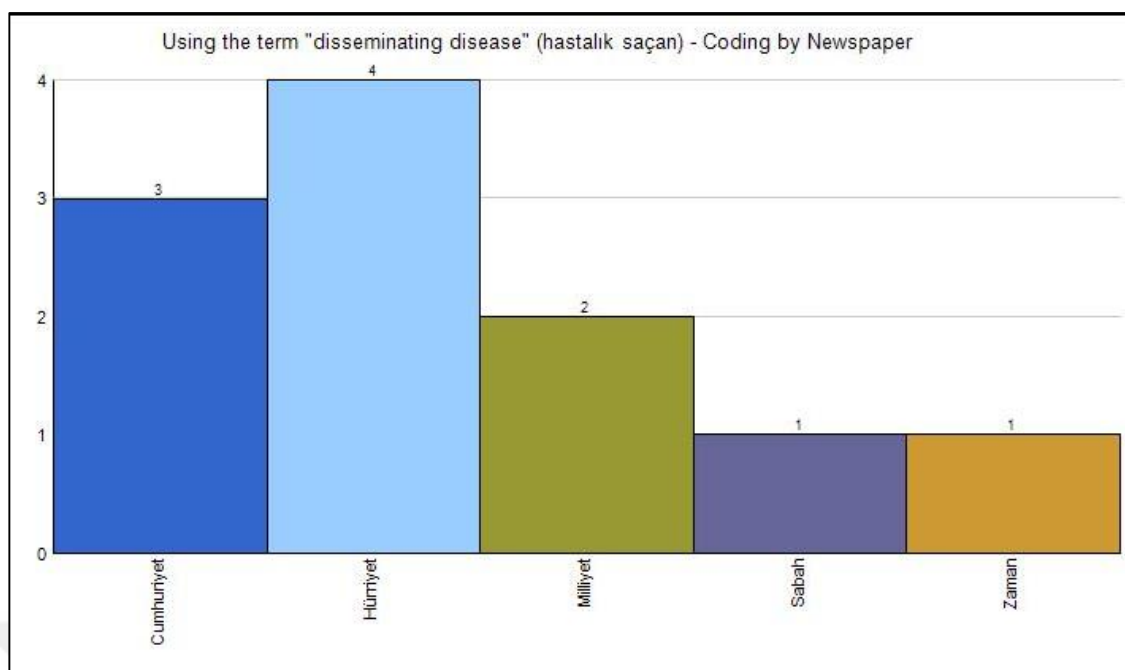


Figure 46. Using the Term “Disseminating Diseases” – Coding by Newspaper.

It is possible to see that although this term is not used so frequently, it is very discriminatory for migrant women and ignores the role of the clients in the spread of STDs. More details about this problem are provided in section 7.8 below.

7.8 Public Health

It was found very significant for the purposes of the present study when migrant sex workers were mentioned by the media in the same context with public health. Details about this statistical information are provided in Table 26 below. According to Table 26, public health in general is mentioned in 34.8% of all articles in the sample. Specifically, 19.1% of articles in the sample mention migrant sex workers in the context of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), and 1.4% of articles mentioned MSW in the context of condom use. See Table 26 below.

Table 26. Mentioning Migrant Sex Workers in the Context of Public Health.

Mentioning sex workers in the same context with:	Number of articles coded	Percentage share in total (N=990)
Public health in general	345	34,8%
Sexually transmitted diseases (STDs)	189	19,1%

Condom use	14	1,4%
NVIVO TOTAL:	990	100,0%

In general, the number of references to public health in text of the articles is very high. Figure 47 below provides information on how the coverage of the topic of migrant sex labor in Turkey is covered in this particular context is spread across the sample:

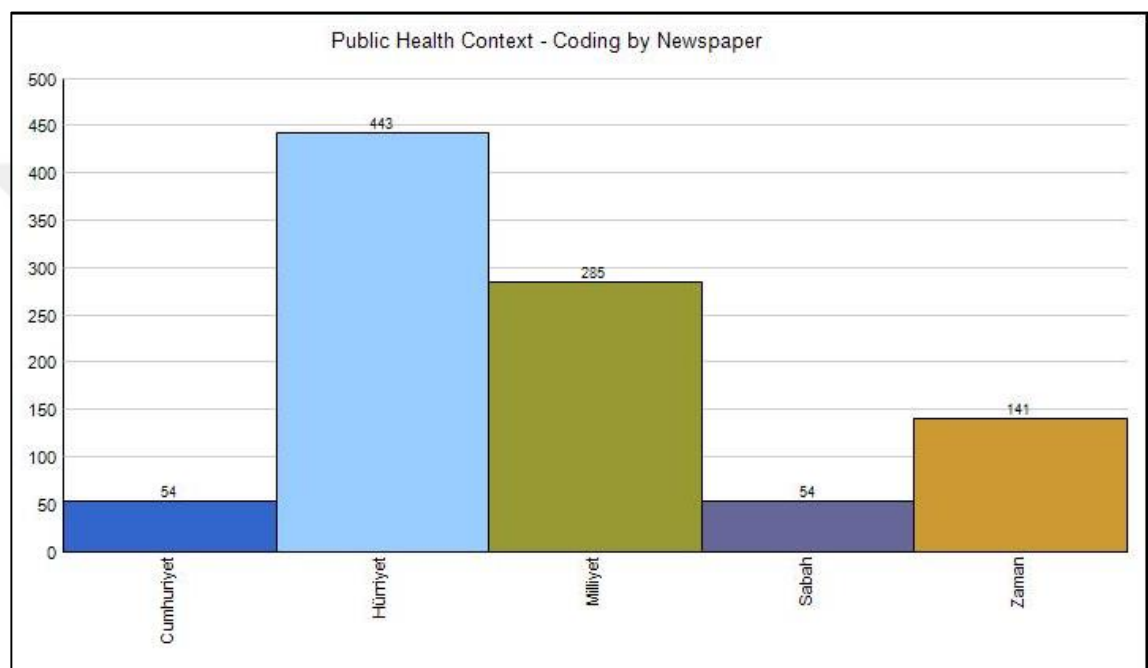


Figure 47. Mentioning Migrant Sex Workers in the Context of Public Health – Coding by Newspaper.

It is possible to see that *Hürriyet* leads the chart with the highest amount of references to public health in general (443). *Cumhuriyet* and *Sabah* both have the lowest share (54 articles). It is also possible to see distribution of the context by year in Figure 48 below.

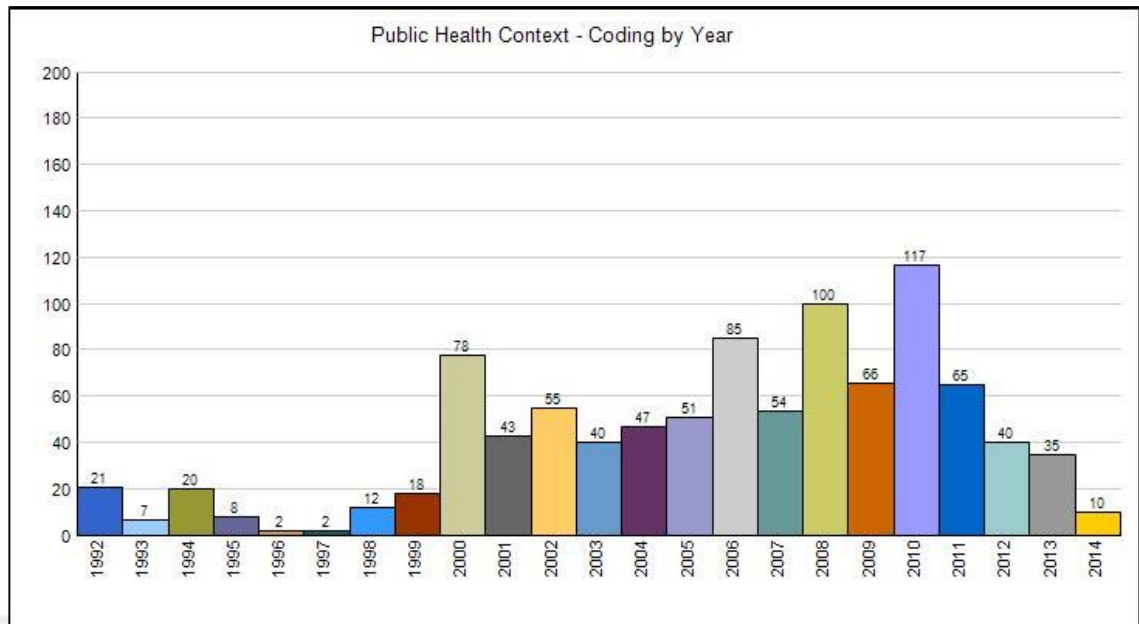


Figure 48. Mentioning Migrant Sex Workers in the Public Health Context – Coding by Year.

It is possible to see from the chart that references to public health are proportionally spread over the years, with the year of 2010 having the highest amount of references. However, the number of references to public health is proportional to the size of the sample for each newspaper, which means that the topic is constantly discussed by the media in general.

7.8.1 Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDs)

In 19.1% of all articles in the sample, migrant sex workers were mentioned in the context of STDs. References to different kinds of STDs can be found in Table 27 below.

Table 27. Mentioning Migrant Sex Workers in the Context of Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDs).

Mentioning sex workers together with STDs	Original Turkish term	Number of articles coded	Percentage share in parent node	Percentage share in total (N=990)
AIDS/HIV/ELISA test	<i>AIDS/HIV/Eliz a testi</i>	136	72%	13,7%
Syphilis	<i>frengi/sifilis</i>	53	28%	5,4%
Hepatitis C	<i>hepatit C</i>	30	16%	3,0%

Hepatitis B	<i>hepatit B</i>	18	10%	1,8%
Gonorrhea	<i>bel soğukluğu</i>	16	8%	1,6%
Other	<i>diğer</i>	5	3%	0,5%
NVIVO TOTAL:		990	189	100,0%

It can be seen that in general, when MSW were mentioned in the context of venereal diseases, in 72% of cases it was the context of AIDS, and in 28% of cases it was the context of syphilis. The ratio of articles discussing migrant sex workers in the context of AIDS in the overall sample is 13.7%. It is possible to see how the references to migrant sex workers in the context of STDs are spread across the newspaper in Figure 49 below:

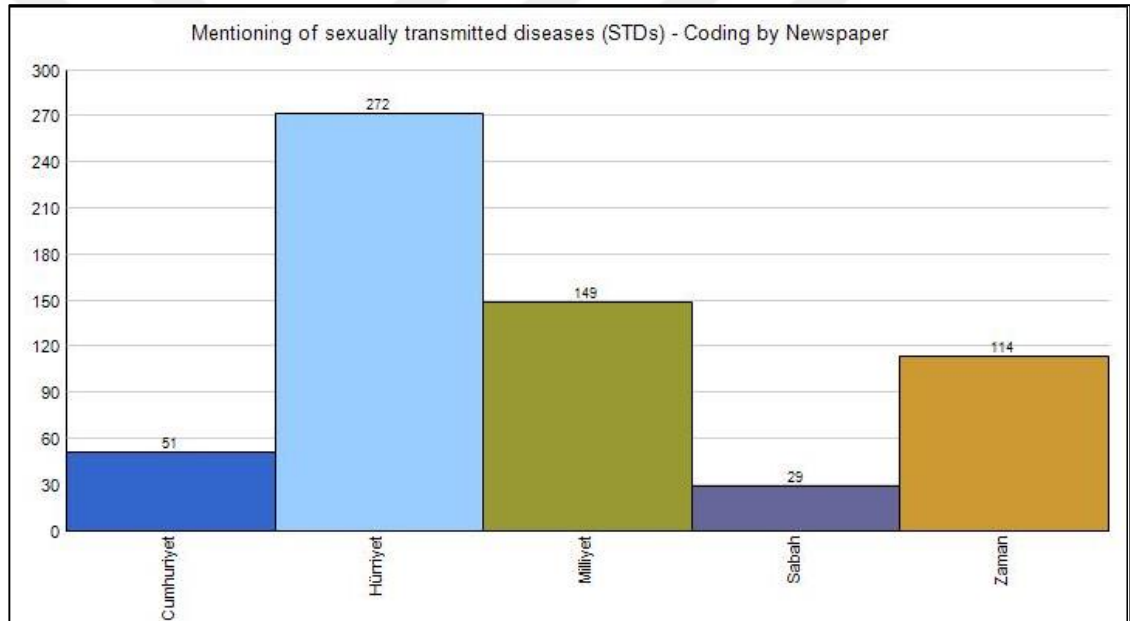


Figure 49. Mentioning Migrant Sex Workers in the Context of STDs – Coding by Newspaper.

It is possible to see from the chart that the highest number of references to MSW in the context of STDs is in *Hürriyet* (272 references). The lowest number is in *Sabah* (29 references). The distribution of the sample by year can also be found in Figure 50 below:

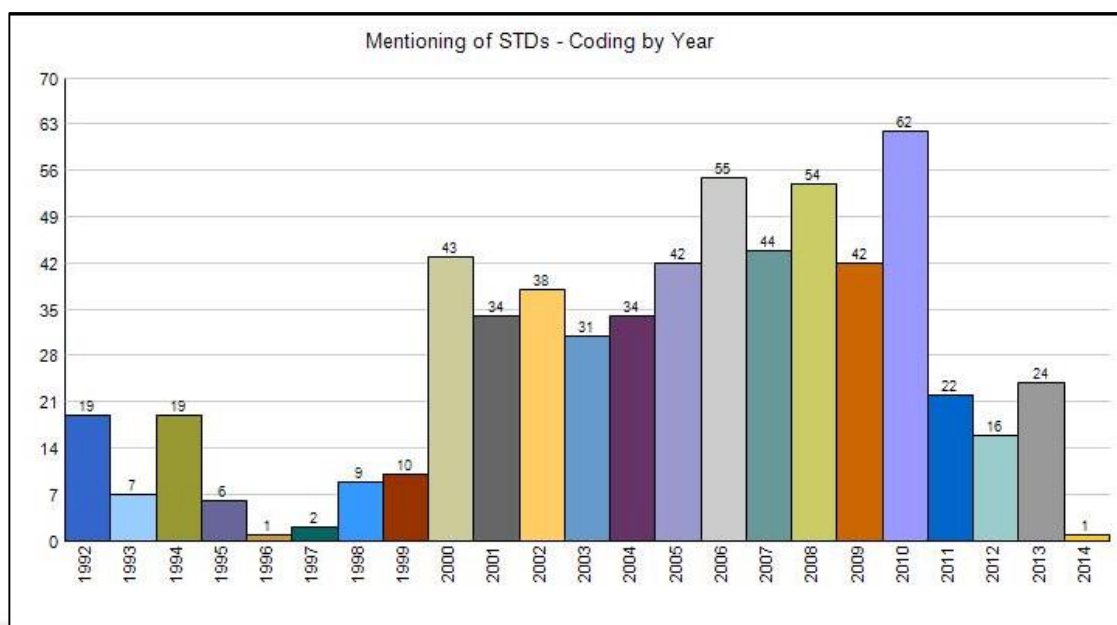


Figure 50. Mentioning Migrant Sex Workers in the Context of STDs – Coding by Year.

On the chart it is visible that whereas in the 1990s the coverage of migrant sex workers in the same context with STDs was rather limited, it achieved its peak in the 2000-2010 period, and later diminished. As far as mentioning MSW in the particular context of AIDS or HIV is concerned, the distribution of the sample by newspaper can be found in Figure 51 below.

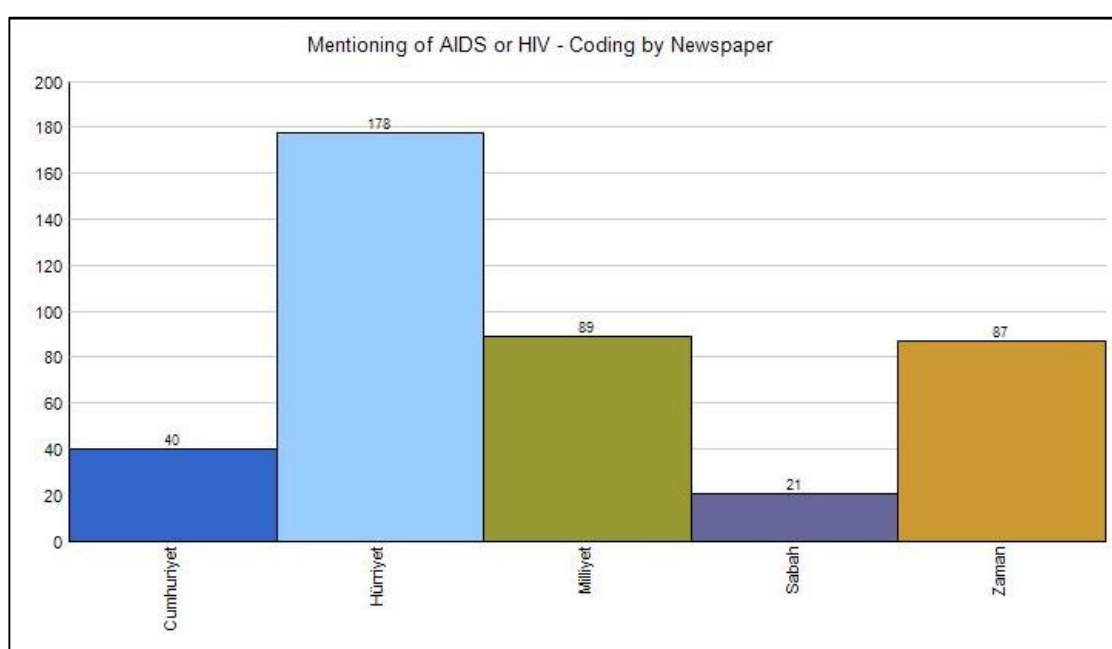


Figure 51. Mentioning Migrant Sex Workers in the Context of AIDS/HIV – Coding by Newspaper.

Once again, *Hürriyet* has the highest number of references (178), and *Sabah* has the lowest (21). Interestingly, the number in *Zaman* is also quite high (87) although the newspaper is rather conservative. Most probably AIDS is mentioned in the context of protection of public health. The distribution by year can also be seen in Figure 52 below.

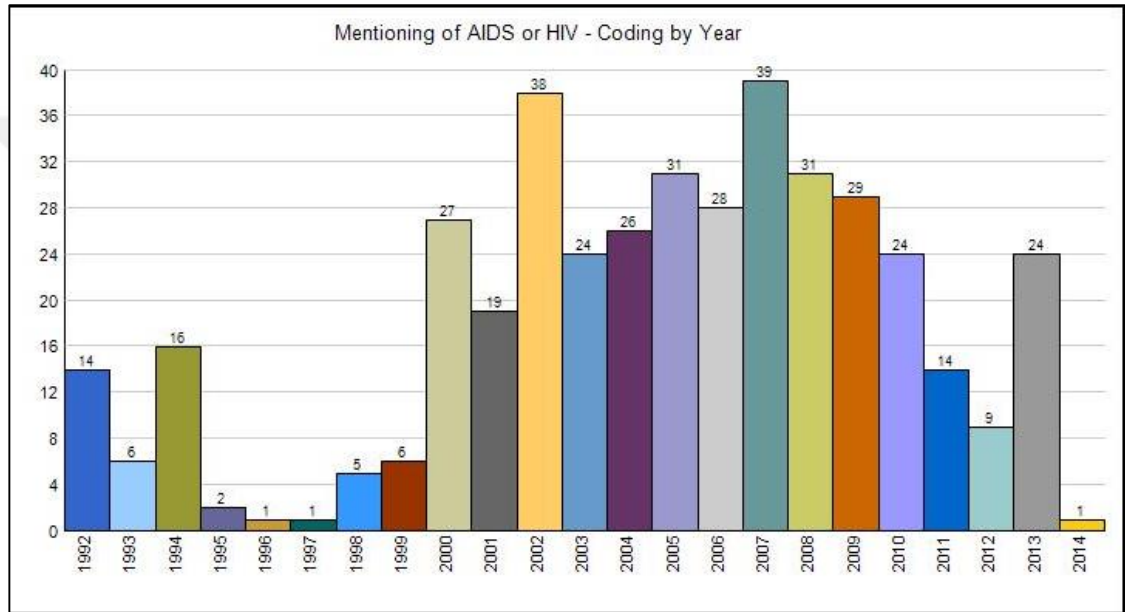


Figure 52. Mentioning Migrant Sex Workers in the Context of AIDS/HIV – Coding by Year.

It can be seen that the highest number of references to migrant sex workers in the context of AIDS/HIV is in 2007, which is followed by 2002. The 1990s have the lowest share in general, which can be explained by the fact that not enough time passed since the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the media had not yet started to create particular sensational narratives about the issue.

It is also interesting to note that there were some misconceptions about STDs present in the articles. For example, several articles mentioned cervical cancer (*rahim ağzı kanseri*) among sexually transmitted diseases, which is factually wrong (see, for example, in *Sabah*: Zengin, 2011, “A Photo Modeling Trap for Foreign Women”). The reporter in *Sabah* (Zengin, 2011) claims that “In 20 women out of all such

sexually transmitted infections as Hepatitis A, Hepatitis B, gonorrhea, yeast infection and cervical cancer”. Furthermore, Hepatitis A is not a sexually transmitted infection either. Another misconception is about AIDS. Many Turkish people seem to think that it can be transmitted by touching the infected person or being around her. For example, reporter in *Milliyet* (Aksoyer, 2010) writes that

The presence of HIV virus was identified in the blood of Caroline I. who was brought to the Department of Law and Order and put through a medical examination... Caroline I. who was released from custody in Gayrettepe building of the Department of Security and accompanied by a female police officer who wore plastic gloves as a security precaution, was helped to get on a minibus.

From such examples, it is possible to conclude that the level of education about sexually transmitted diseases in the Turkish society is rather low, and that the knowledge is limited, which often exacerbates discrimination against migrant women.

7.8.2 Condom Use

Information about mentioning MSW in the context of condom use can be found in Table 28 below.

Table 28. Mentioning Migrant Sex Workers in the Context of Condom Use.

Condom use	Number of articles coded	Percentage share in parent node	Percentage share in total (N=990)
Positive	7	50%	0,7%
Negative	8	57%	0,8%
NVIVO TOTAL:	990	14	100,0%

Condom use is only mentioned in 14 articles (1.4% of the total articles sample). Among the articles mentioning MSW in the same context with condom use, 57% refer to the absence of the use of condoms in migrant sex labor. For example, the following quotation from a Turkish client cited in *Cumhuriyet* (Söner, 1996, “The Followers of Baltacı Are On The Roads To Russia With Their Suitcases”) is quite impressive: “A condom? There is no need for it, Russian women do not get pregnant”. It is possible to see that the attitude to migrant sex workers among the population is very stigmatizing, and they are considered as being the women “for

sexual pleasure” and not for family creation because of their perceived “looseness” (see Agathangelou, 2004).

It is also interesting that the findings of this study on condom use among migrant sex workers are very similar to the study on condom use among local Turkish sex workers by Balseven-Odabaşı et al. (2012). Balseven-Odabaşı et al (2012: 153) in their study on brothel sex workers in Ankara found that 97% of clients of interviewed women (total N=138) insisted on not using a condom during sexual intercourse with a sex worker. Therefore, it could be argued that the attitude to condom use in Turkey is very patriarchal and old-fashioned. For example, reporter in *Cumhuriyet* (İmşir, 1993, “Be Afraid of Catching AIDS, Protect Yourselves”) cites an interview with Prof. Dr. Enver Tali Çetin who was the President of the Council on the Fight against AIDS in 1993: “Condom use has not been widely spread in Turkey. Men who enter sexual intercourse do not want to use a condom. When the person who has commercial sex with them wants to use a condom, they dissuade them from using it by offering more money”. It has also been reported that “Turkish men do not like to use protection” during sexual intercourse with migrant sex workers (see *Hürriyet*: Kaya, 2010b, “She Bought a House and a Jeep with One-Month Gain from Prostitution”). Such situation increases health risks for both the clients and sex workers, but it is sex workers who are stigmatized the most.

7.9 Physical Appearance of Sex Workers

In 62 articles, which represent 6.2% of the total articles sample, migrant sex workers were also mentioned in the context of their physical appearance. Such references are very significant for the analysis of postcolonial analysis of reproductive labor such as the one conducted by Agathangelou (2004). From Table 29 below it is seen that migrant sex workers are often mentioned in terms of their “beauty” in general (*güzellik* or *güzel*, “blond hair” (*sarı saç*) or being “blonde” (*sarışın*), “blue eyes” (*mavi gözler*) or “white skin” (*beyaz ten*). See Table 29 below.

Table 29. Mentioning Physical Appearance of Migrant Sex Workers.

Physical appearance	Number of articles coded	Percentage share in total (N=990)
Beautiful/beauty	33	3,3%
Blond hair/blonde	16	1,6%

Blue eyes/blue-eyed	5	0,5%
White skin	2	0,2%
NVIVO TOTAL:	990	100,0%

From the table, it can be seen that 3.3% of articles in the total sample refer to the women's beauty. 1.6% of articles refer to the women being blonde, 0.5% of articles refer to women being blue-eyed, and 0.2% refer to women having white skin. For example, Aksay (1998) writes:

Look at the beauty of this corrupted woman! Is her unchastity increasing her attractiveness, or does attractiveness trigger her unchastity? We have intuitive colorful umbrellas for every person feeling the unbearable attractiveness of their sparkling sins on his skin; for some of them it is light, and for some of them it is dark. Let us all hold hands and shout that "Honor is lost" and complain that "Our dignity is being stepped upon". But how do you find their snow-white arms and legs? How are their bare shoulders and back with no pimples?

Similarly, *Hürriyet* (2002, "The Natashas Became A Story At An American Agency") informs us that "young Natashas most of whom have blond hair and blue eyes and are so beautiful that they attract attention are telling that they do not experience any problems while practicing their profession". Such references confirm previous research on the existing demand for particularly "white" women from Russia and Ukraine rather than "non-white" women from Caucasian or Central Asian FSU countries (see Agathangelou, 2004; Kalfa, 2008; Özer, 2012).

7.10 Turkish Culture

References mentioning migrant sex workers in the context of Turkish culture are of utmost importance to the present study because of its focus on patriarchal exploitation of women in sex work. It has been found in content analysis that 12.3% of all articles in the sample mention Turkish culture in general. 49% of all references to culture are references to "family" (*aile*). See Table 30 below:

Table 30. Mentioning Migrant Sex Workers in the Context of Culture.

References to Turkish culture	Original Turkish term	Number of articles coded	Percentage share in parent node	Percentage share in total (N=990)

Turkish culture in general	-	122	100%	12,3%
Family	<i>aile</i>	60	49%	6,1%
Stereotypes	<i>önyargı</i>	34	28%	3,4%
Morality	<i>ahlak</i>	33	27%	3,3%
Religion	<i>din/İslam</i>	11	9%	1,1%
Honor	<i>namus</i>	9	7%	0,9%
Masculinity	<i>erkeklik</i>	7	6%	0,7%
TOTAL:		990	122	100,0%

Turkish culture in general is mentioned by a significant amount of articles in the sample (122). The articles are spread by newspapers in Figure 53 below:

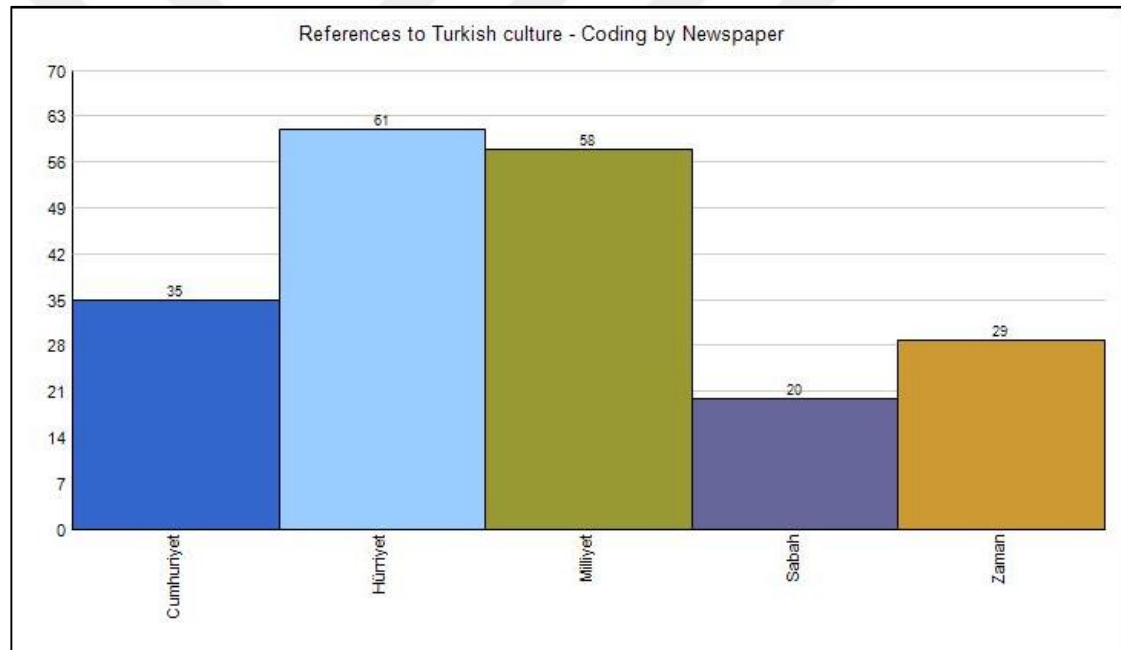


Figure 53. Mentioning Migrant Sex Workers in the Context of Turkish Culture – Coding by Newspaper.

It is possible to see that *Hürriyet* and *Milliyet* have the highest amount of references to Turkish culture mentioned in the same context with MSW (61 and 58 respectively). Sabah has the lowest number (20). The distribution by year is shown in Figure 54 below.

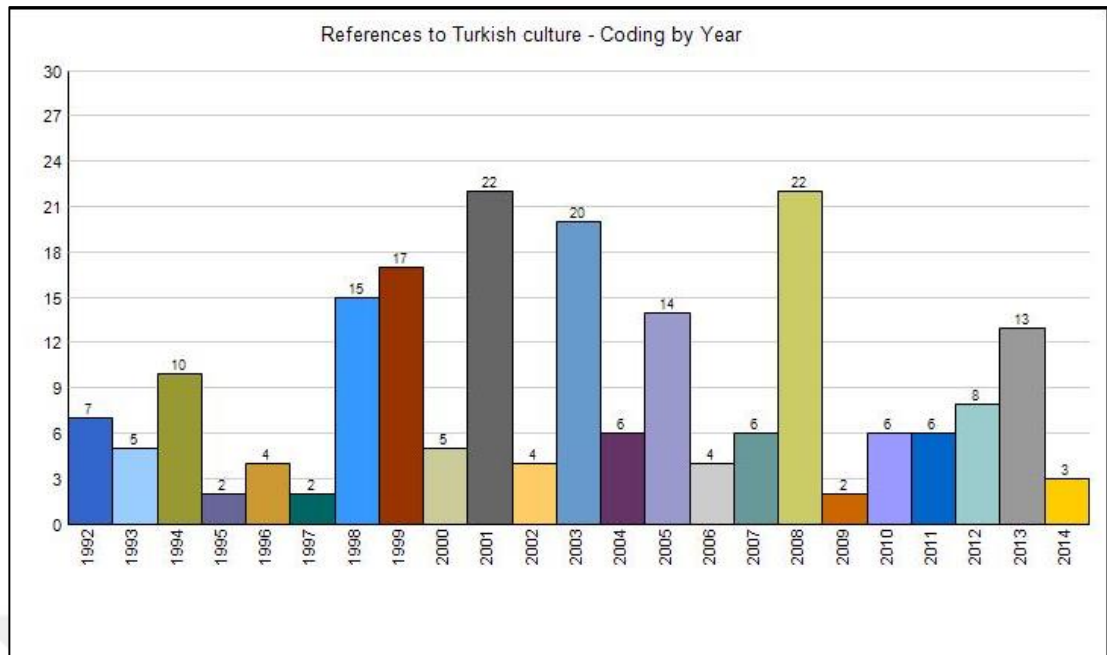


Figure 54. Mentioning Migrant Sex Workers in the Context of Turkish Culture – Coding by Year.

It is possible to see from the chart that the years of 2001 and 2008 have the highest amount of references for Turkish culture. However, it is more significant to examine the distribution of specific cultural references by topic, which is done in sections 7.10.1-7.10.6 below.

7.10.1 Family

References to family are present in 6.1% of articles in the sample. The majority of the references are in *Milliyet* (33) and *Hürriyet* (25). *Cumhuriyet* and *Sabah* have the lowest number of references (9 and 10 respectively). See Figure 55 below.

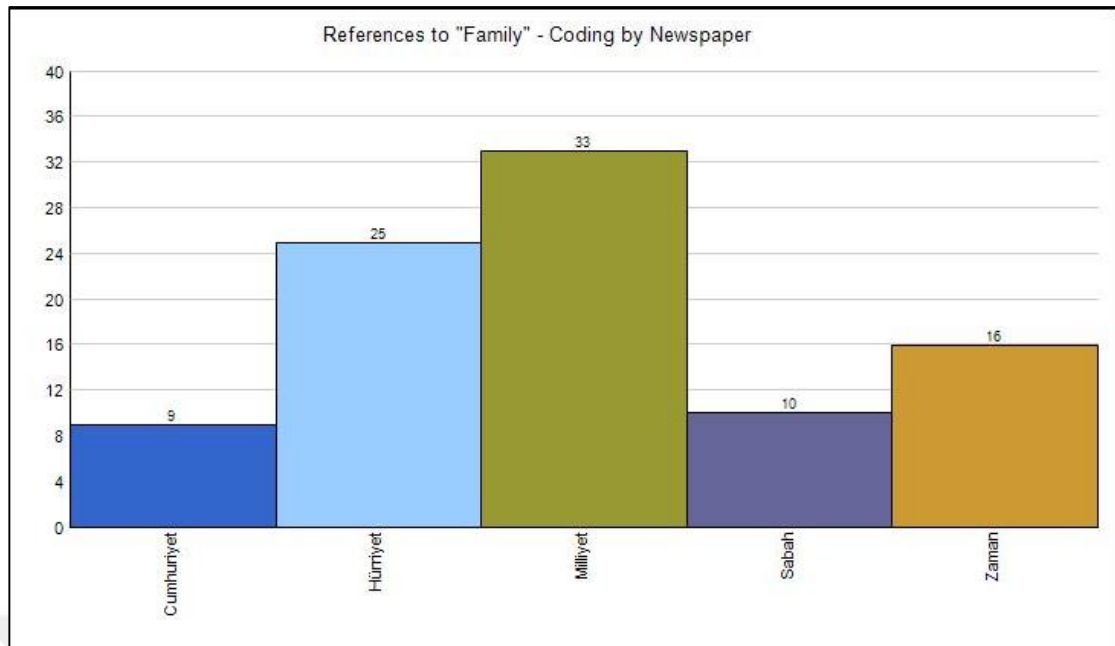


Figure 55. Mentioning Migrant Sex Workers in the Context of Family – Coding by Newspaper.

In the sample, often Turkish clients are criticized for spending their income on migrant sex workers rather than their family (see, for example, in *Milliyet*: Bila, 2001, “The Tea No Longer Gives Any Pleasure to the People of Rize”; Yıldırım, 2010, “HIV Came Out of a Womanizer Husband Complaint”; Tokuş, 2008b, “A Foreign Prostitute Blow to Marriages in Karasu”). *Hürriyet* columnist Yalçın Bayer (2000) writes about the topic stigmatizing migrant women for destroying the Turkish families:

Who knows how many Turk’s home and happiness were destroyed by a single Natasha pleasure. Unfortunately on some topics we are very narrow-minded. It’s a pity to these destroyed families and our women and men who unintentionally get infected with diseases!

In such statements, it is possible to see that migrant women are seen as the ones to be blamed for “destroying” families, however, the clients are seen as innocent people who are “unknowingly” infected by diseases from these “dangerous” women.

It is also possible to see how such articles are spread by year in Figure 56 below:

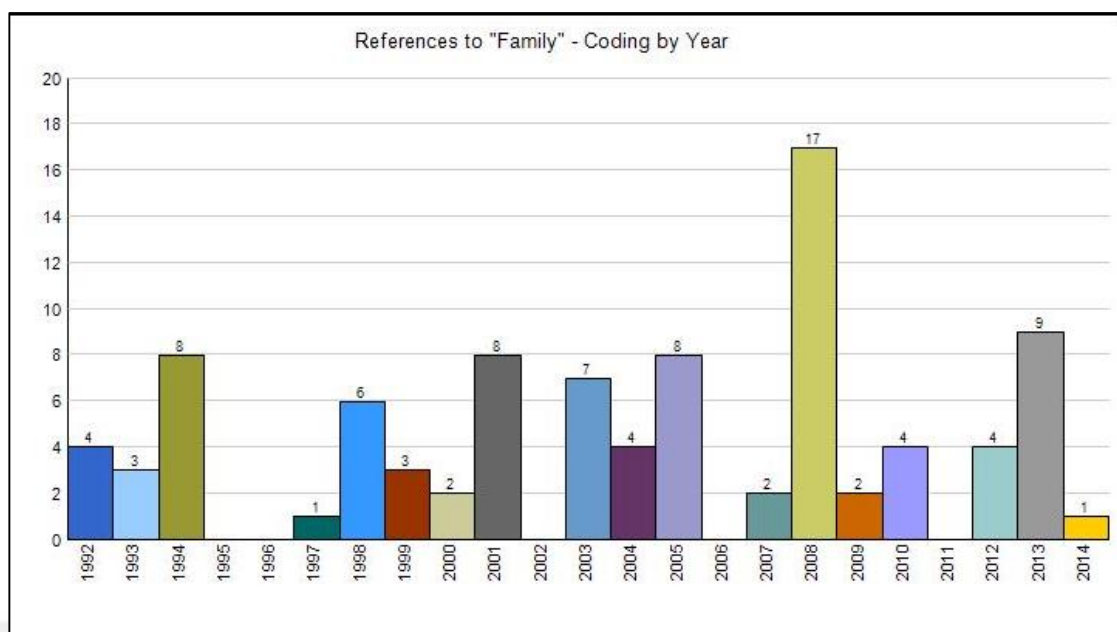


Figure 56. Mentioning Migrant Sex Workers in the Context of Family – Coding by Year.

It can be seen that references to family are inconsistent through the years and culminate in the year of 2008. It is also interesting to mention, that 10% of articles mentioning family in general mention MSW in the particular context of “divorces”. Migrant women’s role in the increased number of divorces in Turkey is sometimes discussed. For example, *Milliyet* (2005, “The Natasha Epidemic Passed but a Beauty Rush Started”) informs us that

After foreign prostitutes arrived, the rate of divorces in the [Black Sea] region sharply increased: last year in the Eastern Black Sea region 1730 couples got divorced. In Trabzon in 4 years the number of divorces doubled. In Gümüşhane in 1999 25 couples divorced. In 2003 it increased to 1005. The increase rate is 40 times...

Such attitude is very interesting but very stigmatizing for migrant women who, as it was also confirmed by previous research, are often made the scapegoats for the increased rate of divorces, and men are often seen as “innocent” people who are “seduced” by “foreign prostitutes” (Erder & Kaşka, 2003; Ayata et al., 2008). This finding also confirms the fact that in the structure of patriarchy in Turkey, the protection of *namus* is seen as the responsibility of women who are not supposed to

“lead astray” the Turkish men by provoking behavior (see Agathangelou, 2004; Açıkalın, 2013).

7.10.2 Stereotypes

Migrant sex workers are mentioned in the same context with stereotypes (*önyargı*) in 3.4% of articles in the sample. Often such discussions are provided in critical analytical commentary articles. For example, *Cumhuriyet* columnist Günçikan (1993, “From Harasho to Natasha”) who is also the author of the book with the same title mentioned in Chapter 2 when discussing works of investigative journalism on the topic (Günçikan, 1995) provides the following example of stereotypes affecting migrant sex workers:

(...) Elena and Irina Biven are two sisters. They came to Trabzon by plane from the Russian city of Kaliningrad. Their aim was to sell porcelain stuff and notebooks they brought with themselves. They were detained with a prostitution accusation on the day of their arrival. Irina is an engineer, Elena an economist. Their salaries are approximately 3 thousand rubles. Which makes 7.5 dollars, which makes 69 thousand liras. They have their own house, but what is the importance of having a house during an inflation time that is impossible to calculate? They had calculated to earn 200 hundred dollars in two days by selling their goods. They feel offended by the prostitution accusation. Elena knows what is going to be written under her photograph taken when it was known that it was her third visit to Turkey: “An Economist Natasha Caught in Prostitution”. (...)

The distribution of articles describing prejudice and stereotypes affecting migrant sex workers by newspaper in the sample can be seen in Figure 57 below.

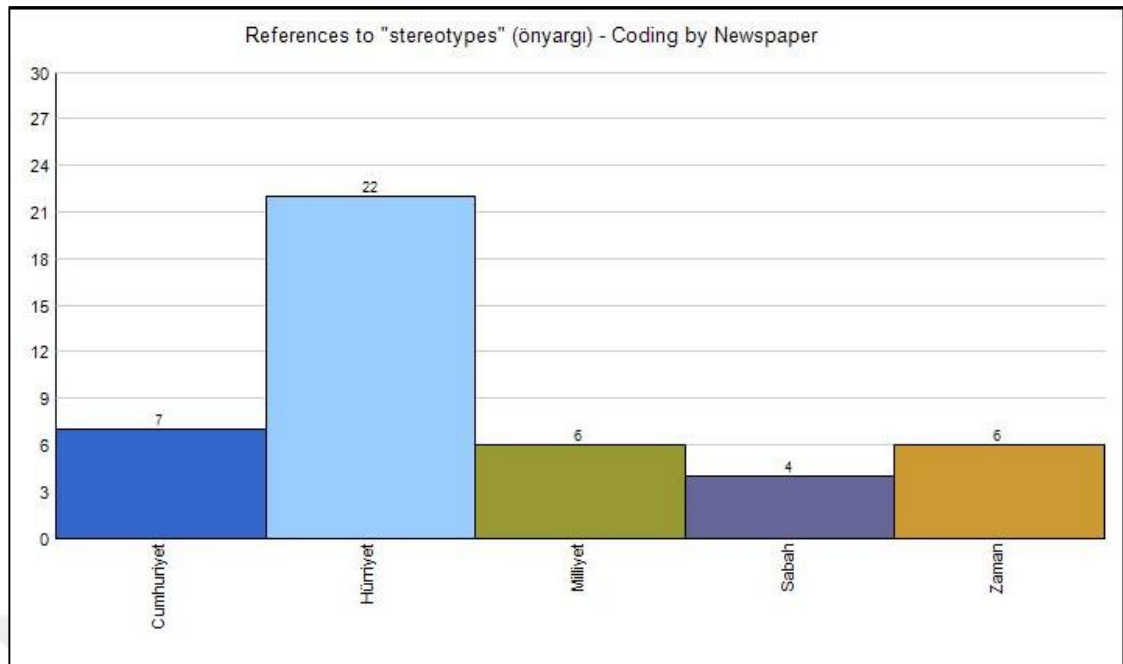


Figure 57. Discussing Migrant Sex Workers in the Context of Stereotypes – Coding by Newspaper.

It can be seen from the chart that Hürriyet has much higher number of articles discussing migrant sex workers in the context of stereotypes (22) compared to other newspapers. This can be explained by the fact that Hürriyet has a high number of critical analytical commentary types of articles on the topic (13) in the overall sample.

7.10.3 Morality

Migrant sex workers are mentioned in the same context with morality (*ahlak*) in 3.3% of articles in the sample. An example can be provided from *Zaman* (Gürsoy, 1994): “Destroyed families, orphan children who have no one, generations victimized by venereal diseases, and corrupted morality will bring an end to the society”. The way such articles are spread across newspapers can be seen in Figure 58 below:

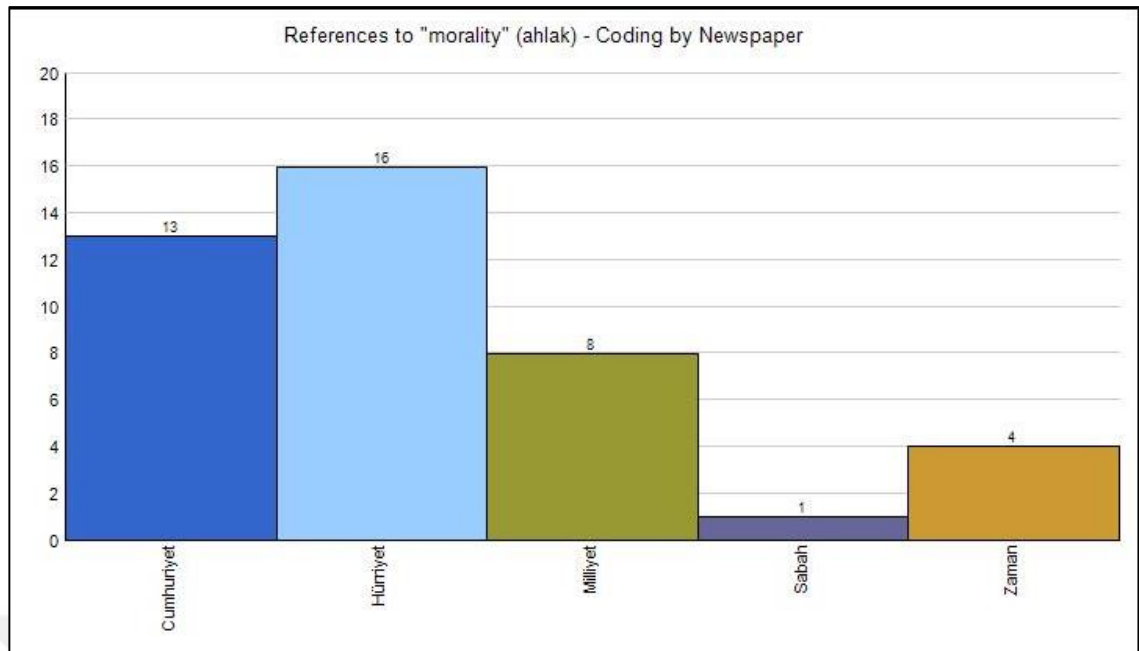


Figure 58. Discussing Migrant Sex Workers in the Context of Morality – Coding by Newspaper.

It is possible to see that *Cumhuriyet* and *Hürriyet* as more liberal newspapers have the highest number of references to morality (13 and 16 respectively), and *Sabah* only has 1 reference. The distribution of the articles by year can be seen in Figure 59 below.

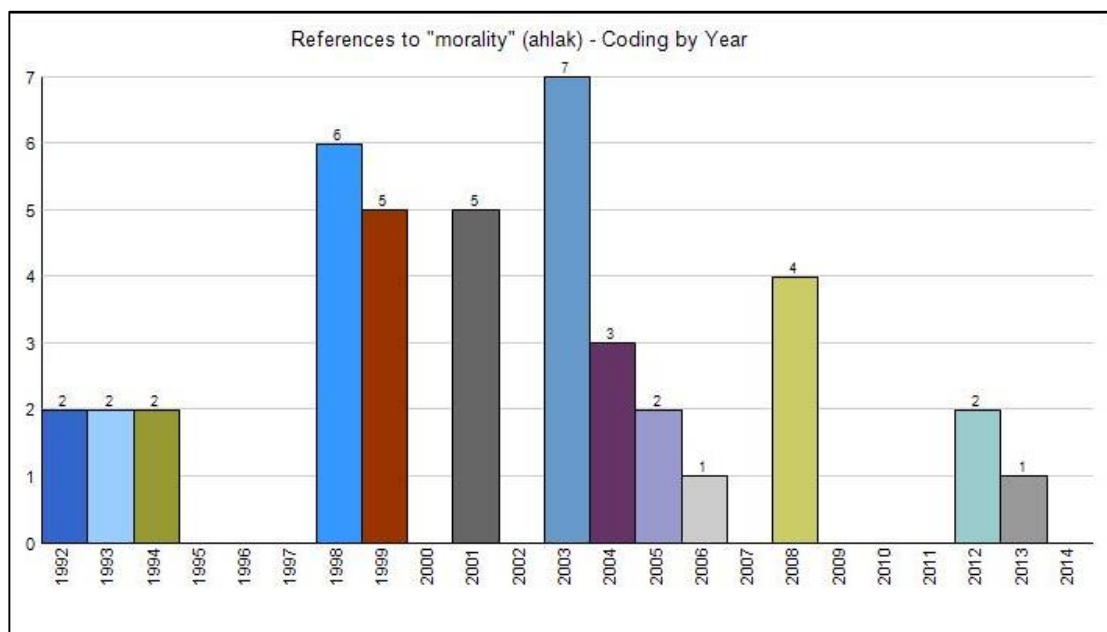


Figure 59. Discussing Migrant Sex Workers in the Context of Morality – Coding by Year.

On the chart, it is visible that although the overall number of articles mentioning MSW in the context of morality is not very high, morality is discussed in newspapers every year, culminating in 2003 with 7 references.

7.10.4 Religion

Migrant sex workers are mentioned in the same context with religion in 1.1% of articles in the sample. These references are very interesting because they help better understand the representation of the state hegemony through media. From Figure 88 below it is visible that, surprisingly, the majority of references to religion are in *Milliyet* (6 references). For example, in *Cumhuriyet*, Günçikan (1993) writes that “Flora’s head is covered. The police officers are mocking her, saying that she is using a headscarf to cover her involvement in prostitution”. The references to religion are rather limited in general. See, for example, *Zaman* (Durukan, 1994, “An Interesting Solution to Adultery From Hatemi”), *Milliyet* (2006a, “Trabzon Is Cheering Up With Iftar”). In general, the discussion of religion is always connected to morality and public morals being corrupted by migrant women. For example, see this sentence from *Cumhuriyet* (1992, “Natashas Were Discussed in the Parliament”): “Many Far East countries are open to sex tourism, but our country and our people cannot sacrifice their religious, moral and national values”. Here one can notice that religious values are mentioned together with moral values, so these contexts are often connected.

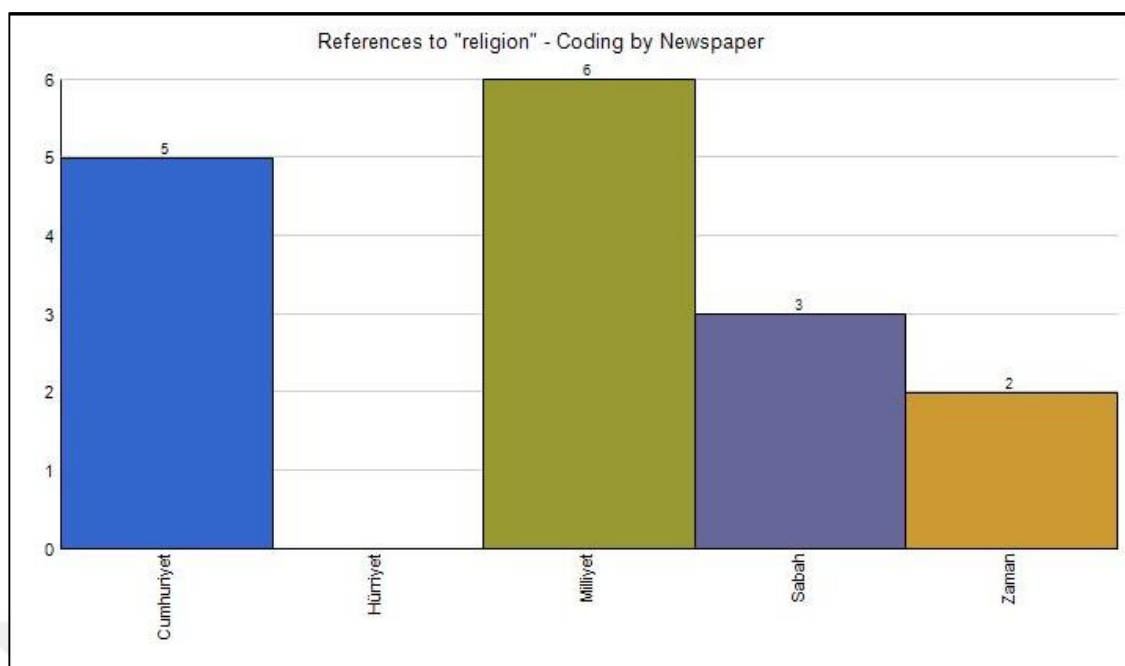


Figure 60. Discussing Migrant Sex Workers in the Context of Religion – Coding by Newspaper.

As far as sample distribution by year is concerned, it is shown in Figure 89 below. The years of 2001, 2003 and 2011 are the highest years for references to religion. This could probably be explained by AKP's coming to power in 2002, but it is unclear whether this had an impact at all because no significant change in media representations of the topic following 2002 was noticed (see section 7.13 below).

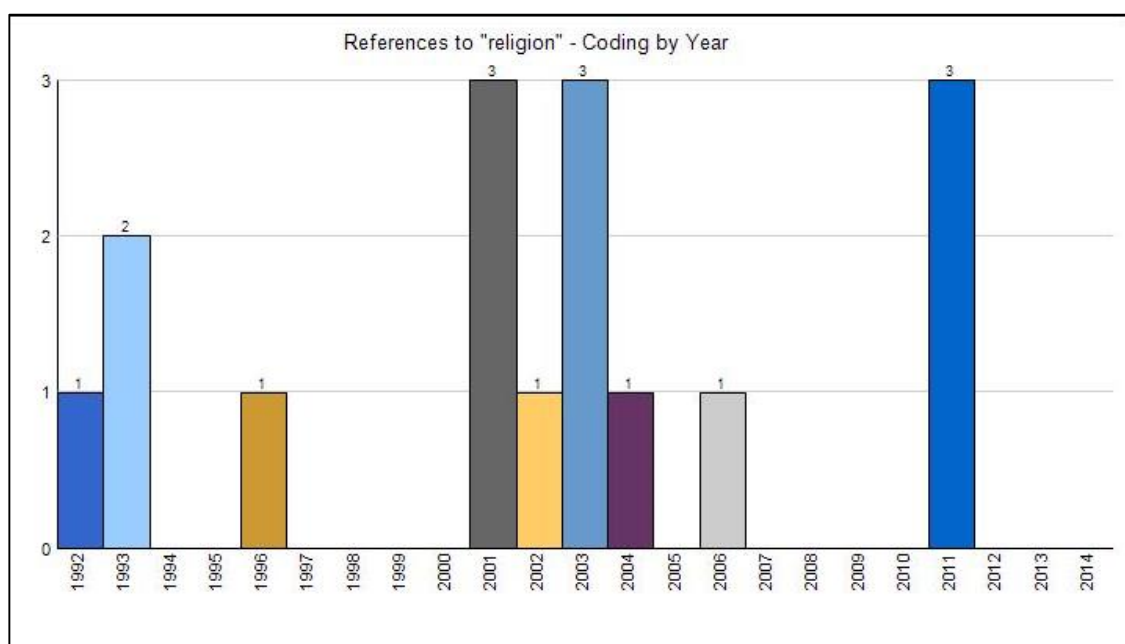


Figure 61. Discussing Migrant Sex Workers in the Context of Religion – Coding by Year.

7.10.5 Honor (*namus*)

Migrant sex workers are mentioned in the same context with *namus* in 0.9% of articles in the sample. Interestingly, the majority of these articles can be found in *Cumhuriyet*, mostly in critical analytical articles (5 references). For example, in *Cumhuriyet* (2004, “The Drama of Women with No Life”), the reporter argues that “in the societal structure where such values as honor (*namus*), morality, dignity, self-respect, honesty, justice and honest earning are constantly degrading, an appropriate ground for prostitution is already being prepared”. See Figure 62 below for the distribution of such articles across the sample.

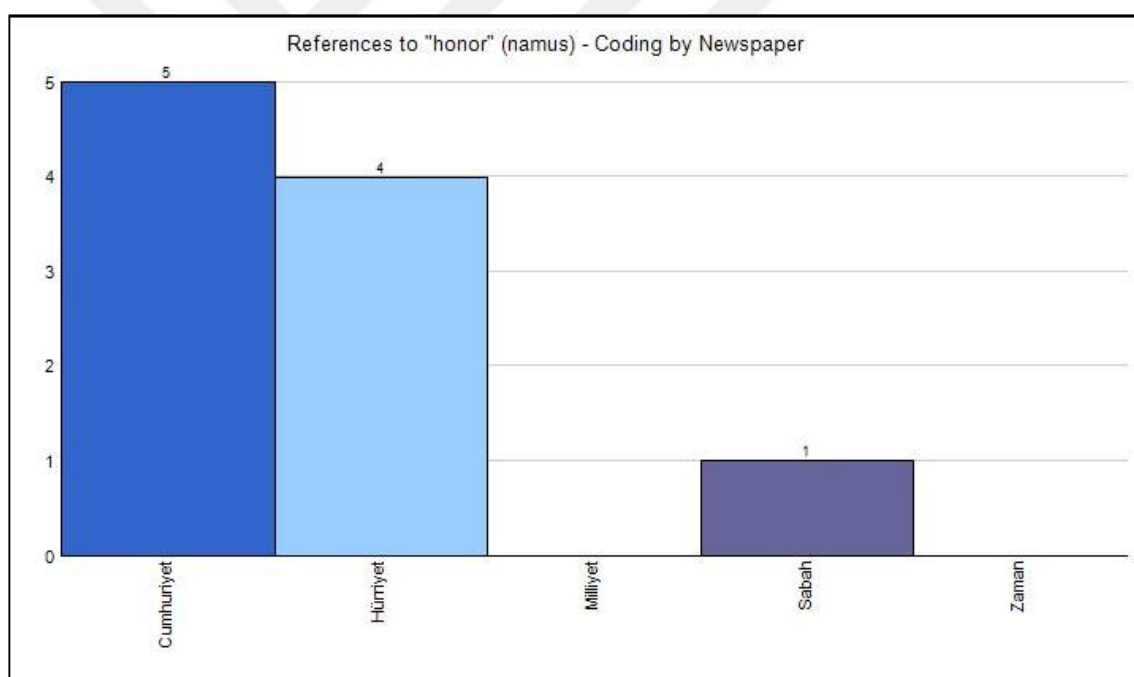


Figure 62. Discussing Migrant Sex Workers in the Context of Honor – Coding by Newspaper.

It is also possible to view data distribution by year in Figure 63 below. It can be seen that references to “*namus*” mostly exist in the 1990s, with only a few of them after 2000.

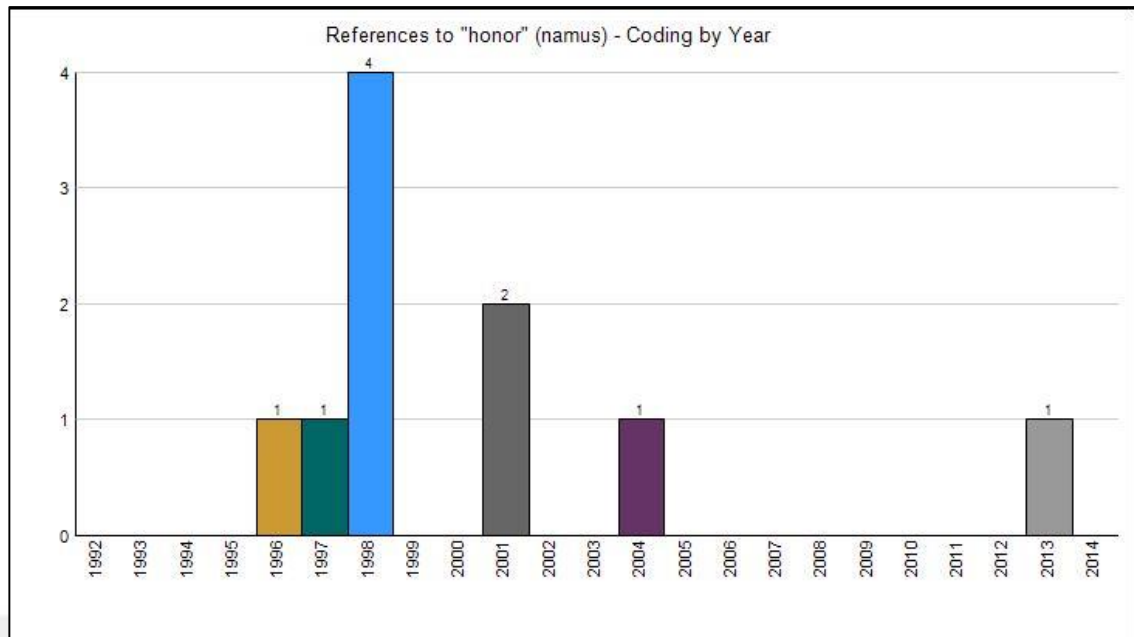


Figure 63. Discussing Migrant Sex Workers in the Context of Honor – Coding by Year.

7.10.6 Masculinity

Finally, in 0.7% articles in the sample migrant sex labor is discussed in the context of masculinity (*erkeklik*). These references are also mostly in *Cumhuriyet* (6 references, 3 in *Milliyet*, and 1 in *Hürriyet*. There are no references to masculinity in *Sabah* or *Zaman* because there are not so many critical analytical articles there. For example, an interesting example of stigmatization towards migrant women as “Natashas” is provided in *Cumhuriyet* by Aksay (1999, “Let’s Erect a Monument to Natasha in Laleli”) in connection with “suitcase trade”:

Her name is Natasha, her last name is the Suitcase Trader. She has been coming and going to Turkey for ages. Friends she had been doing “suitcase trade” with already started to go to Poland, United Arab Emirates and China, but she has been holding on to Turkey. (...) The Turkey act of the play starts here. A hotel in Laleli-Beyazıt area so that to be cheap and close to the center of trade. Shops. Arcades. Paths full of salesmen and “men”. The Turkish police. Bargaining. Them trying to sell of poor quality goods and fear of being cheated. Tiredness. Humiliation in the shops she enters, ill-treatment. When she does not have enough cash, there are inklings that “it is possible to pay in a different way”, unpleasant grins. When she rejects it they say “they do it when they want to”, “they can’t be dealt with”, they say “off” and they

say “puff”... The “male” taxi drivers seating at their side and quickly calling you by your first name, their rude smiles. Molestation and harassment in the streets. The incuriousness of police in case of trouble, them protecting their “male brothers”, them saying “Give 100 dollars and the business will be done,” sticky smiles of them in “masculine” poses in official uniform, their ill-treatment when you reject...

In general, references to Turkish culture in the sample confirm the fact that patriarchal exploitation of women and their sexual labor is an ideological process (Barrett, 1988: 248). When the state wants to project certain images of events to the public, it often does it through media. The media representations of migrant sex labor in the context of Turkish culture often reflect the cultural and ideological dominance of the state policies supporting gender inequality.

7.11 Turkish Economy

References to migrant women in the context of Turkish economy are also extremely important for this study because of its focus on capitalist exploitation of the women’s sex labor. It was found that Turkish economy was mentioned in 25.2% of the articles in the sample. 63% of references to economy are references to “dollars” (*dolar*) or “foreign currency” (*döviz*). Other information is provided in Table 31 below.

Table 31. References to Turkish Economy

References to Turkish economy	Original Turkish term	Number of articles coded	Percentage share in parent node	Percentage share in total (N=990)
Turkish economy in general	-	249	100%	25,2%
Dollars or foreign currency	<i>dolar/döviz</i>	156	63%	15,8%
Tourism	<i>turizm</i>	80	32%	8,1%
Trade	<i>ticaret</i>	37	15%	3,7%
Demand	<i>talep</i>	8	3%	0,8%
Capitalism	<i>kapitalizm</i>	7	3%	0,7%
Hotel industry	<i>otelcilik</i>	6	2%	0,6%
Taxes	<i>vergi</i>	5	2%	0,5%
Import/imported	<i>ithalat/ithal</i>	4	2%	0,4%

Communism	<i>komünizm</i>	3	1%	0,3%
Free market	<i>serbest piyasa</i>	3	1%	0,3%
Customs	<i>gümrük</i>	2	1%	0,2%
TOTAL:		990	249	100,0%

Similarly to Ayata et al. (2008: 59), the findings of the present study confirm that migrant women are often mentioned in the context of economy and profitability of sex industry and luxurious life that sex workers have. The frequent mentioning of “dollars” in the same context as migrant sex workers confirms that. In general, the state and the capitalist class represented by giant media holdings such as Doğan Holding work in a coalition in the state-dominated media to facilitate the creation of systemic violence against migrant sex workers. However, their sexual labor is exploited in the process.

It is possible to see the distribution of such articles by newspaper in Figure 64 below.

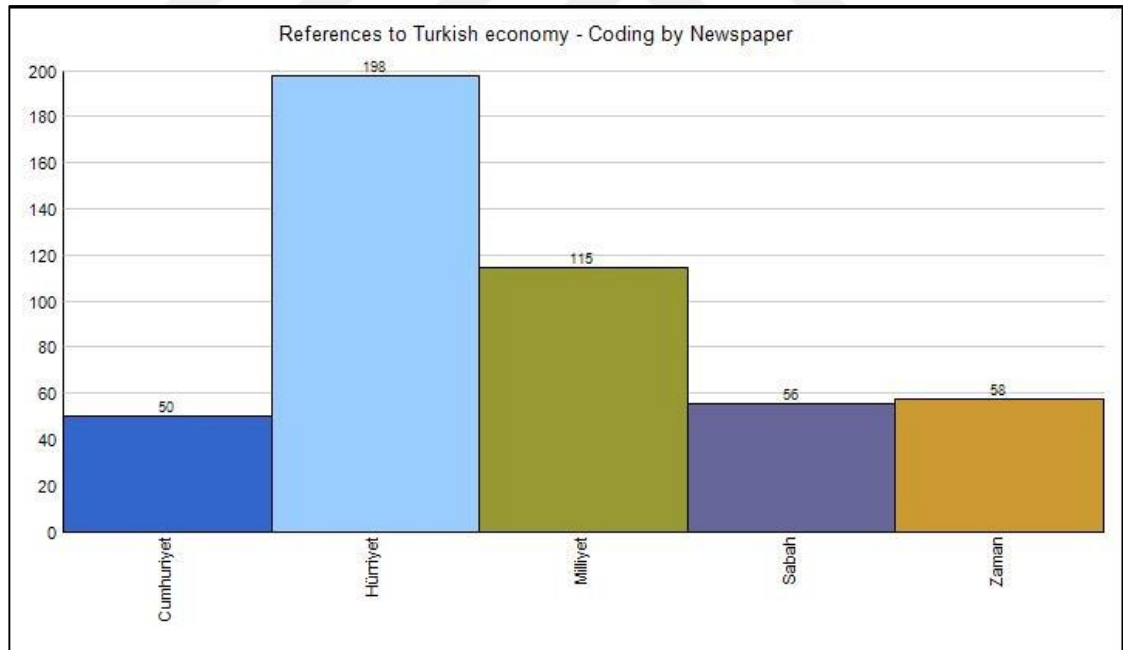


Figure 64. Mentioning Migrant Sex Workers in the Context of Turkish Economy – Coding by Newspaper.

The highest number of such articles is in *Hürriyet*, and the lowest in *Cumhuriyet*. References structure by years can also be viewed below in Figure 65.

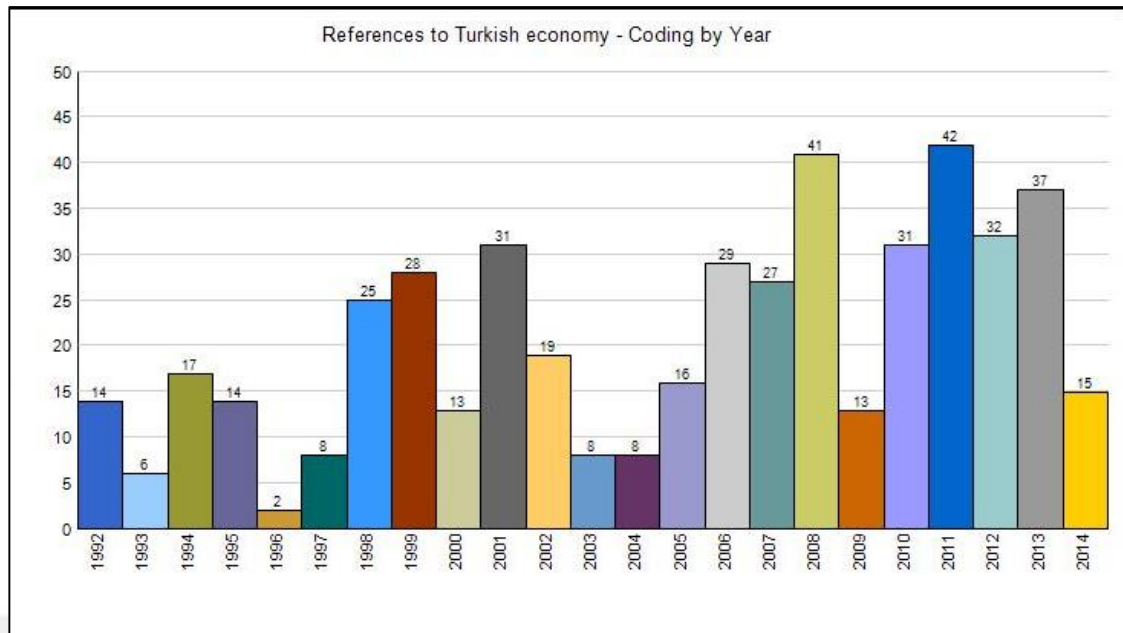


Figure 65. Mentioning Migrant Sex Workers in the Context of Turkish Economy – Coding by Year.

It is possible to see that in general, the number of references to Turkish economy is quite high and can be seen each year. The majority of such articles can be found in 2008-2013 period, which could probably be explained by the global financial crisis of 2008-2009 bringing about more migrant women suffering from unemployment from FSU countries to Turkey.

References to dollars or foreign currency are particularly interesting because they represent the majority of all references to Turkish economy and 15.8% of articles in the overall sample (total N=990). For example, Cığirim (1992a, “A Dollar Obstacle to AIDS”) warns that “starting from New Year a tourist from CIS who does not pay \$100 at the border gate will not be allowed to enter Turkey.” Often dollars are also mentioned when discussing the “price” for sex worker’s services. For example, *Hürriyet* (2001, “A Love Slave For 1,500 Dollars”) reports that “the human trafficker specified to the reporter that he had 15-16 years old girls of foreign origin in his hands and that he put them on sale for 1500 dollars). Such references to dollars or foreign currency can be seen in Figure 66 below. It is possible to argue that the very fact that “price” for sex worker is almost always discussed in the articles in dollars and not in Turkish liras points to the connection between migrant sex labor and global capitalist economy that profits from these activities.

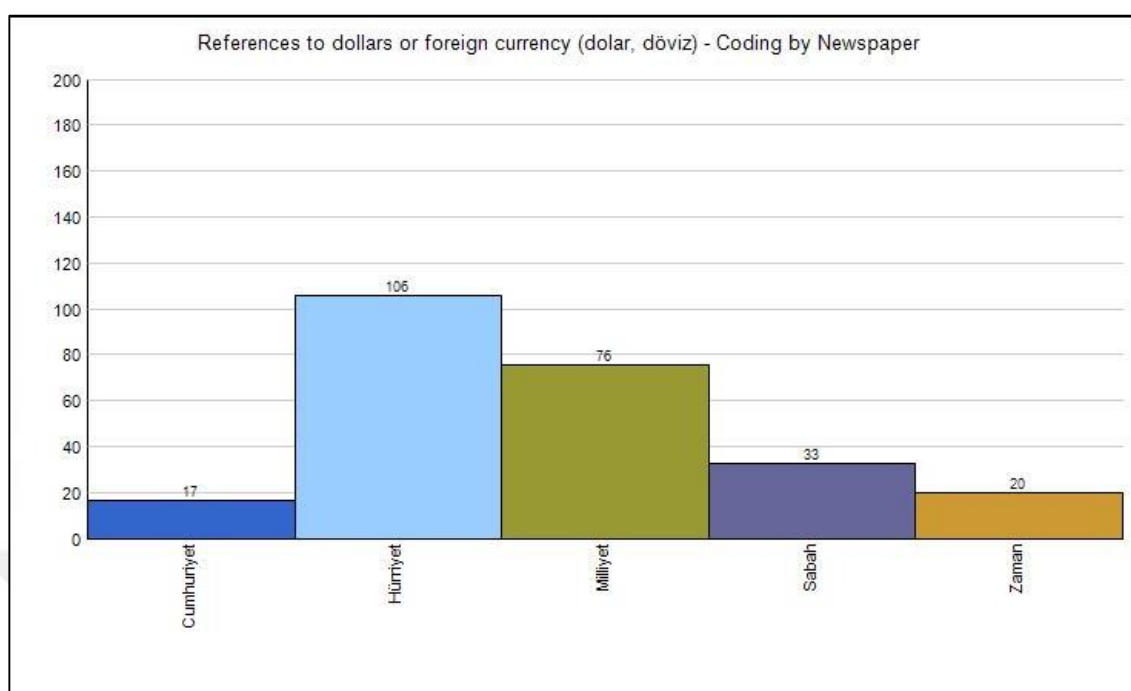


Figure 66. Mentioning Migrant Sex Workers in the Context of Dollars or Foreign Currency – Coding by Newspaper.

Hürriyet includes the majority of such articles (106), and *Cumhuriyet* only has 17 references to dollars or foreign currency which is the lowest share. It is also possible to view distribution by years in Figure 67 below.

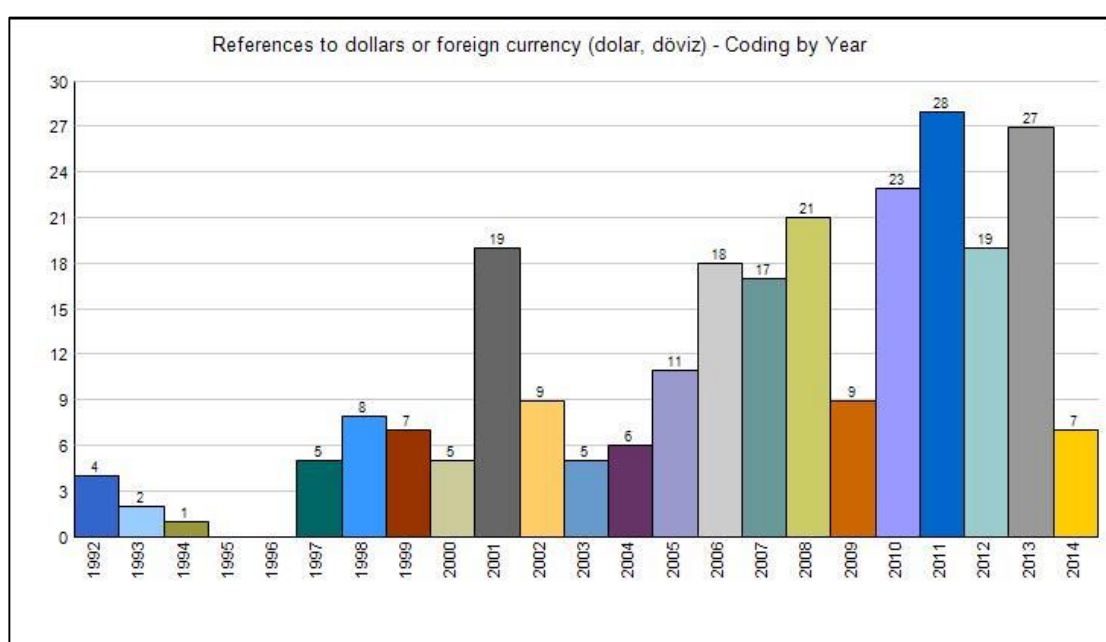


Figure 67. Mentioning Migrant Sex Workers in the Context of Dollars – Coding by Year.

Interestingly, the articles mentioning MSW in the context of dollars or foreign currency exist in higher numbers starting from 2001, as it can be seen from the chart. This is quite unusual since the discussion about migrant women’s involvement in trade, especially “suitcase trade” started in 1990s. The number of articles mentioning suitcase trade in the overall sample is 30, which represents 3% of the sample. It is possible to see their distribution by newspaper in Figure 68 below.

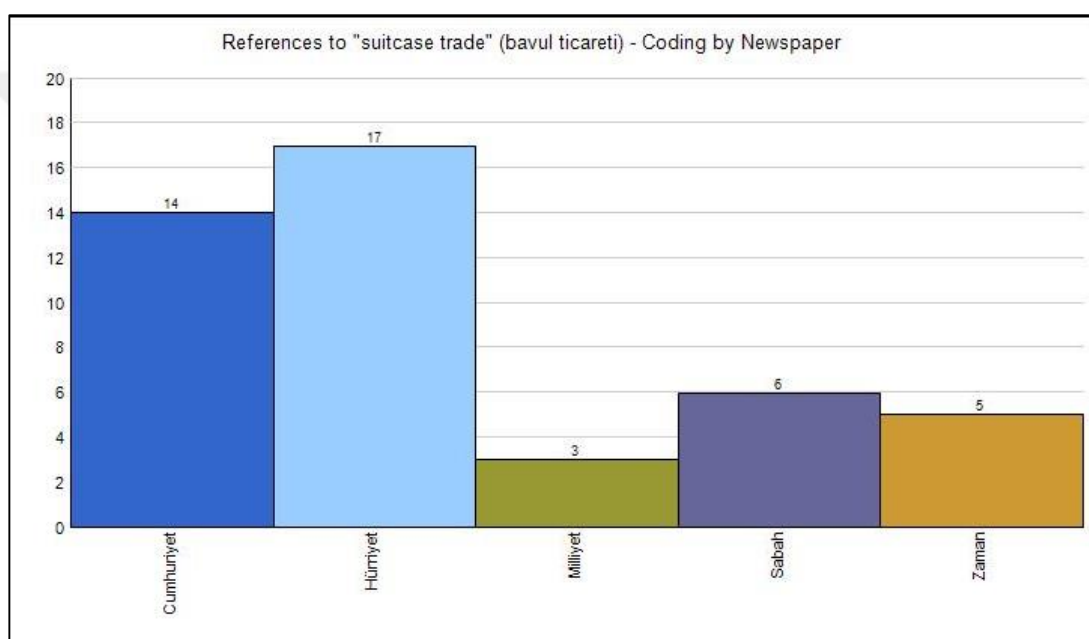


Figure 68. Mentioning Migrant Sex Workers in the Context of Suitcase Trade – Coding by Newspaper.

It can be seen from the chart that suitcase trade is mostly discussed in *Hürriyet* and *Cumhuriyet*, mostly in critical analytical articles. For example, *Cumhuriyet* (1994, “Huge Amounts of Dollars Are Escaping in Suitcases”) is referring to the financial crisis in Turkey created by stagnation of suitcase trade caused by low numbers of shuttle traders from FSU countries:

A shopkeeper we talked to at the Balkan Bazaar Export Market where trucks carrying rugs from Gaziantep and Adana are unloaded in great numbers said that suitcase trade decreased to a considerable extent because of the

difficulties at the customs and attitude to all women as Natashas, and that Russians now preferred to go to Dubai, Syria and Japan.

The distribution of such articles in the sample by year can also be seen in Figure 69 below.

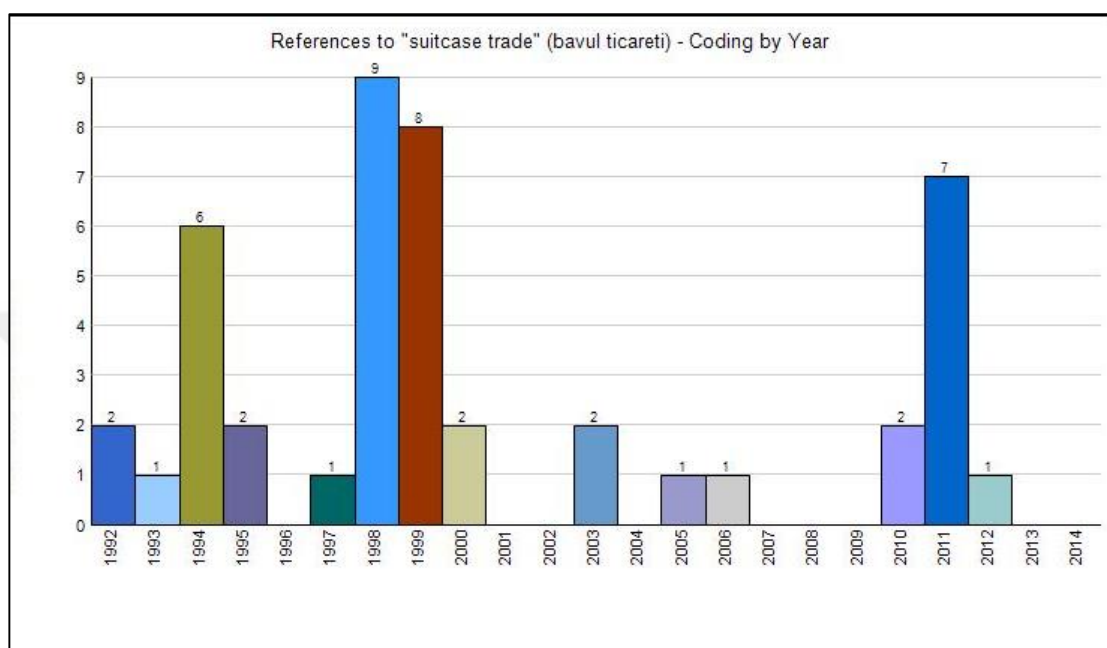


Figure 69. Mentioning Migrant Sex Workers in the Context of Suitcase Trade – Coding by Year.

Here, it is clear from the chart that the majority of articles discussing suitcase trade are from the 1990s, culminating in 1998. The year of 1998 was a year of a deep financial crisis in Russia and all former Soviet space known as the “August default” (see Desai, 2000), therefore, it can be argued that many migrant women from FSU countries started to engage in “suitcase trade” from Turkey in order to sustain their income (see Yüksekler, 2003). It is possible to see how the global capitalist economy forces these women to choose sex labor because of inability of other employment in the market, and also because of the existing demand for migrant sex labor in Turkey.

7.12 Turkish Geography

Since the majority of the articles in the sample mentioned a geographical location where the “prostitution operation” of the police was conducted, some unprecedented statistics were collected by this study. First of all, there is a need to

view migrant sex labor in Turkey (judged by the frequency of prostitution operations conducted by the police) by region. From Table 32 below it is possible to see that the majority of so-called prostitution operations in Turkey are conducted in Marmara region (50.6% of all articles). It is followed by Mediterranean region with 22.6% articles.

Table 32. Migrant Sex Labor in Turkey by Region.

Migrant sex work in Turkey by region	Number of articles coded	Percentage share in total (N=990)
Marmara region	501	50,6%
Mediterranean region	224	22,6%
Central Anatolia region	169	17,1%
Aegean region	143	14,4%
Black Sea region	125	12,6%
Eastern Anatolia region	58	5,9%
Southeastern Anatolia region	19	1,9%
TOTAL:	990	100,0%

Furthermore, judging by the articles sample, the major cities in Turkey in terms of migrant sex labor are Istanbul, Antalya, Ankara, Izmir and Trabzon, which are also the biggest and the most developed cities (see Table 33 below). In Istanbul only, 33.5% of all operations are conducted in the district of Fatih.

Table 33. Major Cities in Turkey in Terms of Migrant Sex Labor.

Major cities in Turkey in terms of migrant sex labor	Number of articles coded	Percentage share in total (N=990)
Istanbul*	450	45,5%
Antalya	180	18,2%
Ankara	136	13,7%
Izmir	76	7,7%
Trabzon	56	5,7%
TOTAL:	990	100,0%

In the Aegean region of Turkey, 53.1% of all prostitution operations are conducted in Izmir (see Table 34 below). It is followed by the province of Muğla with 32.9%, and Aydın with 13.3%.

Table 34. Migrant Sex Labor in the Aegean Region by Provinces.

Aegean region by provinces	Number of articles coded	Percentage share in parent node	Percentage share in total (N=990)
Izmir	76	53,1%	7,7%
Muğla	47	32,9%	4,7%
Aydın*	19	13,3%	1,9%
Denizli	8	5,6%	0,8%
Afyonkarahisar	3	2,1%	0,3%
Kütahya	3	2,1%	0,3%
Manisa	2	1,4%	0,2%
Uşak	1	0,7%	0,1%
NVIVO TOTAL:	143	100,0%	14,4%
 *The country of Kuşadası within Aydın:	17	89,5%	1,7%

Information for the counties within the province of Izmir can be viewed in Table 35 below.

Table 35. Migrant Sex Labor in the Province of Izmir by Counties.

Izmir by counties (ilçe)	Number of articles coded	Percentage share in parent node	Percentage share in total (N=990)
Karşıyaka	16	21,1%	1,6%
Buca	10	13,2%	1,0%
Alsancak	5	6,6%	0,5%
Bornova	5	6,6%	0,5%
Karabağlar	5	6,6%	0,5%
Konak	4	5,3%	0,4%
Menemen	3	3,9%	0,3%
Çeşme	2	2,6%	0,2%
Çiğli	1	1,3%	0,1%
Urla	1	1,3%	0,1%
NVIVO TOTAL:	76	100,0%	7,7%

Information for the counties within the province of Muğla can be viewed in Table 36 below.

Table 36. Migrant Sex Labor in the Province of Muğla by Counties.

The province of Muğla by counties	Number of articles coded	Percentage share in parent node	Percentage share in total (N=990)
Bodrum	28	59,6%	2,8%
Fethiye	11	23,4%	1,1%
Marmaris	11	23,4%	1,1%
Köyceğiz	1	2,1%	0,1%
Milas	1	2,1%	0,1%
NVIVO TOTAL:	47	100,0%	4,7%

In the Black Sea region of Turkey, the majority of cases involving migrant sex workers take place in Trabzon (44.8%) and Samsun (15.2%), which are also the biggest and the most developed towns in the region (see Table 37).

Table 37. Migrant Sex Labor in the Black Sea Region by Provinces.

Black Sea region	Number of articles coded	Percentage share in parent node	Percentage share in total (N=990)
Trabzon	56	44,8%	5,7%
Samsun	19	15,2%	1,9%
Artvin	18	14,4%	1,8%
Rize	16	12,8%	1,6%
Çorum	7	5,6%	0,7%
Ordu	6	4,8%	0,6%
Giresun	5	4,0%	0,5%
Kastamonu	2	1,6%	0,2%
Amasya	1	0,8%	0,1%
Tokat	1	0,8%	0,1%
Bartın	0	0,0%	0,0%
Bayburt	0	0,0%	0,0%
Bolu	0	0,0%	0,0%
Düzce	0	0,0%	0,0%
Gümüşhane	0	0,0%	0,0%
Karabük	0	0,0%	0,0%
Sinop	0	0,0%	0,0%
Zonguldak	0	0,0%	0,0%
NVIVO TOTAL:	125	100,0%	12,6%

In Central Anatolia region, the vast majority of cases involving migrant sex labor are related to the province of Ankara (80.5%). This is also 13.7% of all articles in the sample (see Table 38 below).

Table 38. Migrant Sex Labor in the Central Anatolia Region by Provinces.

Central Anatolia region	Number of articles coded	Percentage share in parent node	Percentage share in total (N=990)
Ankara	136	80,5%	13,7%
Konya	21	12,4%	2,1%
Nevşehir	7	4,1%	0,7%
Yozgat	4	2,4%	0,4%
Kayseri	3	1,8%	0,3%
Niğde	3	1,8%	0,3%
Eskişehir	2	1,2%	0,2%
Karaman	1	0,6%	0,1%
Aksaray	0	0,0%	0,0%
Çankırı	0	0,0%	0,0%
Kırıkkale	0	0,0%	0,0%
Kırşehir	0	0,0%	0,0%
Sivas	0	0,0%	0,0%
NVIVO TOTAL:	169	100,0%	17,1%

The distribution of different countries within the province of Ankara can be seen in Table 39 below. 22.8% of all prostitution in Ankara takes place in Çankaya.

Table 39. Migrant Sex Labor in the Province of Ankara by Counties.

Ankara by counties (ilçe)	Number of articles coded	Percentage share in parent node	Percentage share in total (N=990)
Çankaya	31	22,8%	3,1%
Altındağ	4	2,9%	0,4%
Keçiören	4	2,9%	0,4%
Mamak	4	2,9%	0,4%
Yenimahalle	4	2,9%	0,4%
Etimesgut	1	0,7%	0,1%
NVIVO TOTAL:	136	100,0%	13,7%

In Eastern Anatolia region, 29.3% of prostitution operations or other events involving migrant sex workers take place in Iğdır, and 24.1% take place in Erzurum (see Table 40).

Table 40. Migrant Sex Labor in the Eastern Anatolia Region by Provinces.

Eastern Anatolia region	Number of articles coded	Percentage share in parent node	Percentage share in total (N=990)
Iğdır	17	29,3%	1,7%
Erzurum	14	24,1%	1,4%
Kars	9	15,5%	0,9%
Van	8	13,8%	0,8%
Ardahan	7	12,1%	0,7%
Erzincan	5	8,6%	0,5%
Ağrı	2	3,4%	0,2%
Elazığ	2	3,4%	0,2%
Malatya	2	3,4%	0,2%
Muş	1	1,7%	0,1%
Bingöl	0	0,0%	0,0%
Bitlis	0	0,0%	0,0%
Hakkari	0	0,0%	0,0%
Tunceli	0	0,0%	0,0%
NVIVO	58	100,0%	5,9%
TOTAL:			

In Marmara region, 89.8% of all prostitution operations take place in Istanbul.

Table 41. Migrant Sex Labor in the Marmara Region by Provinces.

Marmara region	Number of articles coded	Percentage share in parent node	Percentage share in total (N=990)
Istanbul	450	89,8%	45,5%
Bursa	28	5,6%	2,8%
Kocaeli	13	2,6%	1,3%
Balıkesir	10	2,0%	1,0%
Sakarya	10	2,0%	1,0%
Tekirdağ	10	2,0%	1,0%
Yalova	10	2,0%	1,0%
Çanakkale	9	1,8%	0,9%
Kırklareli	6	1,2%	0,6%
Edirne	2	0,4%	0,2%
Bilecik	0	0,0%	0,0%

NVIVO TOTAL:	501	100,0%	50,6%

Information about different counties within the province of Istanbul can be found in Table 42 below. 33.6% of all prostitution raids in Istanbul take place in the district of Fatih.

Table 42. Migrant Sex Labor in the Province of Istanbul by Counties.

Istanbul by counties (ilçe)	Number of articles coded	Percentage share in parent node	Percentage share in total (N=990)
Fatih	151	33,6%	15,3%
Şişli	33	7,3%	3,3%
Silivri	32	7,1%	3,2%
Bakırköy*	29	6,4%	2,9%
Beyoğlu**	28	6,2%	2,8%
Büyükçekmece***	27	6,0%	2,7%
Beylikdüzü	24	5,3%	2,4%
Beşiktaş****	19	4,2%	1,9%
Kadıköy	17	3,8%	1,7%
Küçükçekmece*****	16	3,6%	1,6%
Pendik*****	13	2,9%	1,3%
Ümraniye	8	1,8%	0,8%
Bağcılar	5	1,1%	0,5%
Avcılar	2	0,4%	0,2%
Beykoz	2	0,4%	0,2%
Eyüp*****	2	0,4%	0,2%
Maltepe	2	0,4%	0,2%
Sarıyer	2	0,4%	0,2%
Ataşehir	1	0,2%	0,1%
Bahçelievler	1	0,2%	0,1%
Başakşehir	1	0,2%	0,1%
Bayrampaşa	1	0,2%	0,1%
Çekmeköy	1	0,2%	0,1%
Kağıthane	1	0,2%	0,1%
NVIVO TOTAL:	450	100,0%	45,5%
* in Bakırköy:	29		
Ataköy	9	31,0%	0,9%
Florya	1	3,4%	0,1%
**in Beyoğlu:	28		
Cihangir	1	3,6%	0,1%

Taksim	10	35,7%	1,0%
***in Büyükçekmece:	27		
Kumburgaz	11	40,7%	1,1%
***in Beşiktaş:	19		
Etiler	3	15,7%	0,3%
Gayrettepe	1	5,2%	0,1%
*****in	16		
Küçükçekmece:			
Halkalı	5	31,3%	0,5%
*****in Pendik:	13		
Kurtköy	8	61,5%	0,8%
*****in Eyüp:	2		
Kemerburgaz	2	100,0%	0,2%

Prostitution in Fatih was mentioned in 15.3% of all articles in the sample, therefore, it has to be examined separately. 51.7% of all prostitution in Fatih takes place in Aksaray, and 19.9% - in Laleli.

Table 43. Migrant Sex Labor in the District of Fatih in Istanbul.

The district of Fatih in Istanbul	Number of articles coded	Percentage share in parent node	Percentage share in total (N=990)
Aksaray	78	51,7%	7,9%
Laleli	30	19,9%	3,0%
Eminönü	13	8,6%	1,3%
Beyazıt	4	2,6%	0,4%
Kumkapı	4	2,6%	0,4%
NVIVO TOTAL:	151	100,0%	15,3%

In Mediterranean region of Turkey, 80.4% of prostitution raids take place in Antalya (see Table 44 below).

Table 44. Migrant Sex Labor in the Mediterranean Region by Province.

Mediterranean	Number of	Percentage share	Percentage share

region	articles coded	in parent node	in total (N=990)
Antalya	180	80,4%	18,2%
Adana	24	10,7%	2,4%
Mersin	20	8,9%	2,0%
Hatay	8	3,6%	0,8%
Isparta	5	2,2%	0,5%
Kahramanmaraş	2	0,9%	0,2%
Osmaniye	1	0,4%	0,1%
Burdur	0	0,0%	0,0%
NVIVO TOTAL:	224	100,0%	100,0%

Information on different counties within the province of Antalya can be found in Table 45 below. 22.2% of all prostitution in Antalya takes place in Alanya.

Table 45. Migrant Sex Labor in the Province of Antalya by County.

Antalya by counties (ilçe)	Number of articles coded	Percentage share in parent node	Percentage share in total (N=990)
Alanya	40	22,2%	4,0%
Lara	14	7,8%	1,4%
Konyaaltı	13	7,2%	1,3%
Manavgat*	12	6,7%	1,2%
Kaş	3	1,7%	0,3%
Serik**	3	1,7%	0,3%
Aksu	2	1,1%	0,2%
Kemer	1	0,6%	0,1%
NVIVO TOTAL:	180	100,0%	18,2%
*within Manavgat:			
Side	11	91,6%	1,1%
Kızılot	1	8,3%	0,1%
**within Serik:			
Belek	2	66,6%	0,2%
Kadriye	1	33,3%	0,1%

Finally, in Southeastern Anatolia region the number of prostitution raids is rather low. Articles mentioning the region represent only 1.6% of the total sample. 84.2% of prostitution in Southeastern Anatolia takes place in Gaziantep, and 10.5% - in Şanlıurfa (see Table 46).

Table 46. Migrant Sex Labor in the Southeastern Anatolia Region by Province.

Southeastern Anatolia region	Number of articles coded	Percentage share in parent node	Percentage share in total (N=990)
Gaziantep	16	84,2%	1,6%
Şanlıurfa	2	10,5%	0,2%
Batman	1	5,3%	0,1%
Mardin	1	5,3%	0,1%
Adıyaman	0	0,0%	0,0%
Diyarbakır	0	0,0%	0,0%
Kilis	0	0,0%	0,0%
Siirt	0	0,0%	0,0%
Şırnak	0	0,0%	0,0%
NVIVO TOTAL:	19	100,0%	1,9%

It is hoped that statistical information about the distribution of migrant sex labor across Turkey can be used by future studies in order to develop better protection programs for migrant women that would allow better prevention of their exploitation in the sex industry.

7.13 Turkish Politics

The references to migrant sex workers discussed in the context of Turkish politics are also very interesting. In general, politics is mentioned in the same context with migrant sex workers in only 5.6% of articles in the total sample. 29% of these are references to political parties, and 22% of these refer to a particular authority figure such as the Prime Minister or the President. For example, the following excerpt is from *Hürriyet* (1998, “The CHP Asks For the Head of The Forbidding Governor”): “An FP parliamentarian Haşim Haşimi asked the Prime Minister Mesut Yılmaz in a proposal requiring for his answer: Why are the towns of the Black Sea region where Russian Natashas walk free and freely engage in illicit activities, forbidden to Southeastern Anatolian hazelnut workers?” The number of such references is rather low, but they are very interesting. The remaining information can be found in Table 47 below.

Table 47. Mentioning Migrant Sex Workers in the Context of Turkish Politics.

References to	Number of	Percentage share	Percentage share in

Turkish politics	articles coded	in parent node	total (N=990)
Turkish politics in general	55	100%	5,6%
Political parties	16	29%	1,6%
Authority figure	12	22%	1,2%
Civil society organizations	9	16%	0,9%
State	9	16%	0,9%
Government	8	15%	0,8%
TBMM (parliament)	7	13%	0,7%
War	5	9%	0,5%
Terrorism	4	7%	0,4%
Elections	2	4%	0,2%
National security	2	4%	0,2%
Democracy	1	2%	0,1%
Fethullah Gulen	1	2%	0,1%
TOTAL:	990	249	100,0%

In references to “war” (5 articles), it was usually referred to in the context of Russo-Georgian war of 2008 or Ukrainian civil war of 2014 (see, for example, in *Hürriyet*: Tokuş, 2008c, “Georgian Women Engaging in Prostitution Are Detained”; in *Sabah*: Temel, 2014, “They Threatened Ukrainians with War and Russians with Crisis”).

In references to “terrorism” (4 articles), it was pointed out that the PKK terrorism affected tourism in the area (Bayer, 1998b), and also to financial connections between human traffickers’ criminal groups and the PKK terrorists (in *Sabah*: Zengin, 2012, “A Criminal Gang Transferring Its Income to PKK Was Brought Down”).

In general, the distribution of references to Turkish politics can be seen in Figure 70 below:

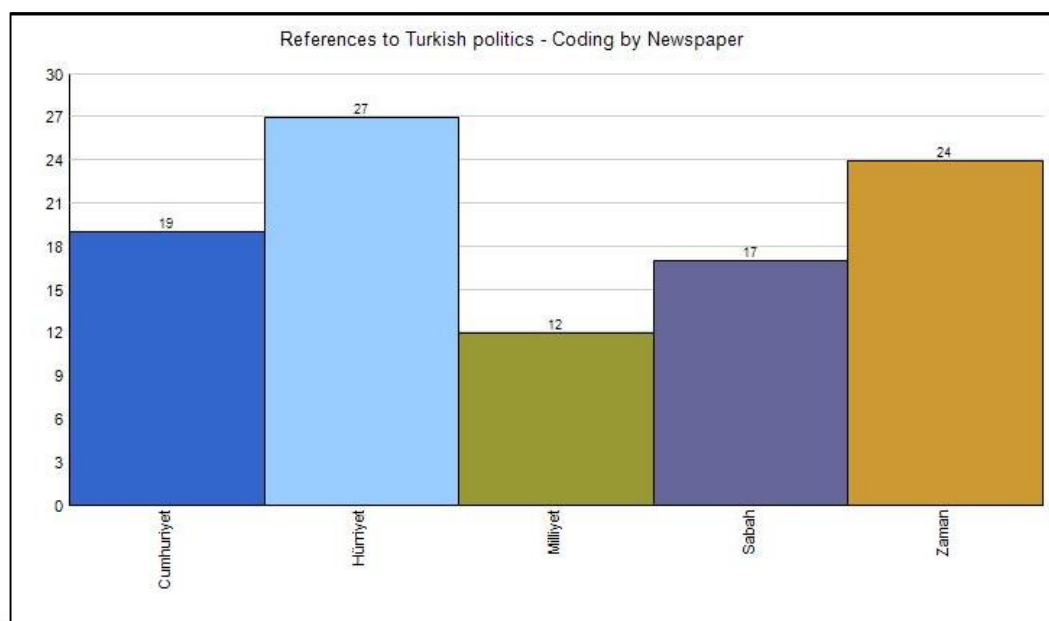


Figure 70. Mentioning Migrant Sex Workers in the Context of Turkish Politics – Coding by Newspaper.

It can be seen that politics is discussed mostly in *Hürriyet* (27 references) and *Zaman* (24 references). The distribution of the sample by year can be found below in Figure 71.

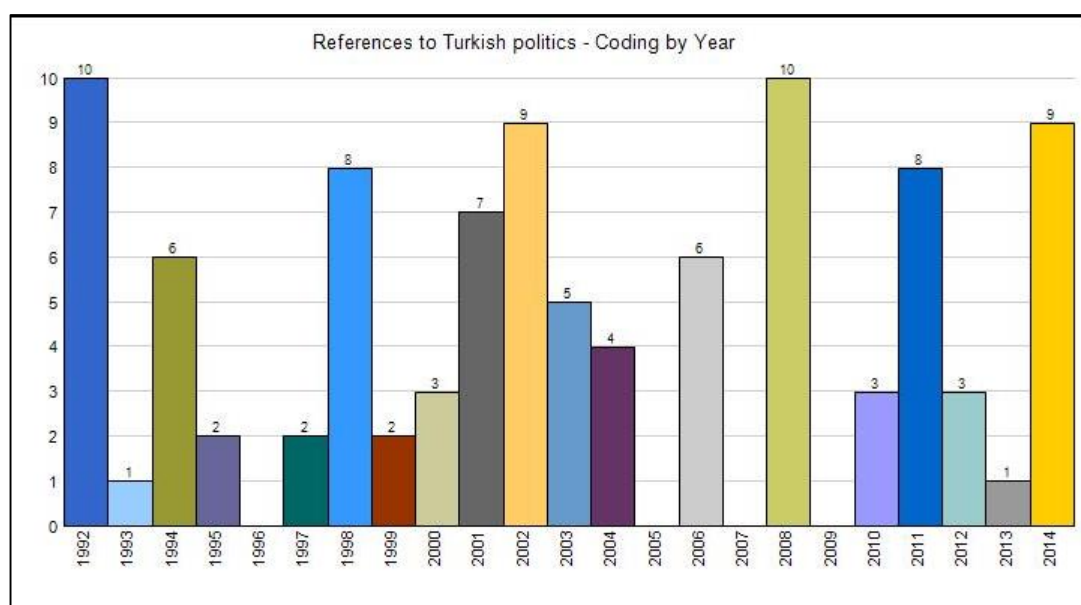


Figure 71. Mentioning Migrant Sex Workers in the Context of Turkish Politics – Coding by Year.

It can be seen that mentioning MSW in the context of Turkish politics is quite proportionally spread over the years, with the highest amount of references being in 1992, 2002, 2008 and 2014. It is interesting that these dates almost correspond to the dates of general elections in Turkey conducted in 1991, 1999, 2007 and 2015. Also, in 2002 AKP came to power so the number of references for this year is high too.

Very interesting are the references to authority figure. They represent 1.2% of articles in the total sample, and there are only 12 articles (see Table 48 below). Out of this number, in 7 articles the Prime Minister is mentioned. The only Prime Ministers of Turkey mentioned in the total sample are Mesut Yılmaz (2 references), Tansu Çiller (4 references), and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (5 references).

Table 48. Mentioning Migrant Sex Labor in the Context of an Authority Figure.

References to authority figure	Number of articles coded	Percentage share in parent node	Percentage share in total (N=990)
Authority figures in general	12	100%	1,2%
Prime Minister	7	58%	0,7%
President	5	42%	0,5%
Minister of Foreign Affairs	1	8%	0,1%
TOTAL:	990	12	100,0%

Political parties are also mentioned in 1.6% of articles in the total sample. Out of this, the highest number of articles mentions CHP (38% of all articles mentioning political parties). AKP and MHP both have the shares of 25% each among all the articles mentioning political parties. See Table 49 below for further information.

Table 49. Mentioning Migrant Sex Labor in the Context of Political Parties.

References to political parties	Number of articles coded	Percentage share in parent node	Percentage share in total (N=990)
Political parties in general	16	100%	1,6%
CHP	6	38%	0,6%
ANAP	5	31%	0,5%
AKP	4	25%	0,4%
MHP	4	25%	0,4%
DYP	3	19%	0,3%

FP	3	19%	0,3%
DSP	2	13%	0,2%
DTP	1	6%	0,1%
RP	1	6%	0,1%
TOTAL:	990	16	100,0%

The information about the distribution of articles mentioning political parties in the sample by newspaper can be found in Figure 72 below.

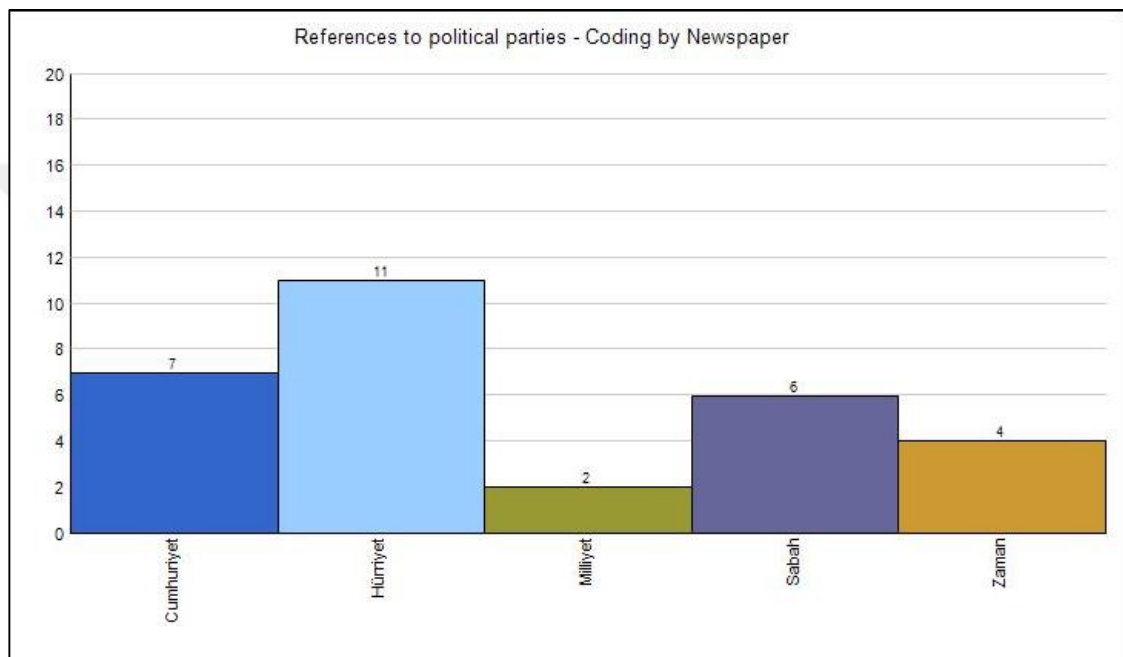


Figure 72. Mentioning Migrant Sex Workers in the Context of Political Parties – Coding by Newspaper.

It is possible to see that *Hürriyet* has the highest number of articles mentioning migrant sex workers in the context of political parties (11), and *Milliyet* in this case has the lowest number (2).

Very interesting picture can be seen when references for each particular party are visualized by newspaper. Figure 73 below provides references to AKP as spread across newspapers.

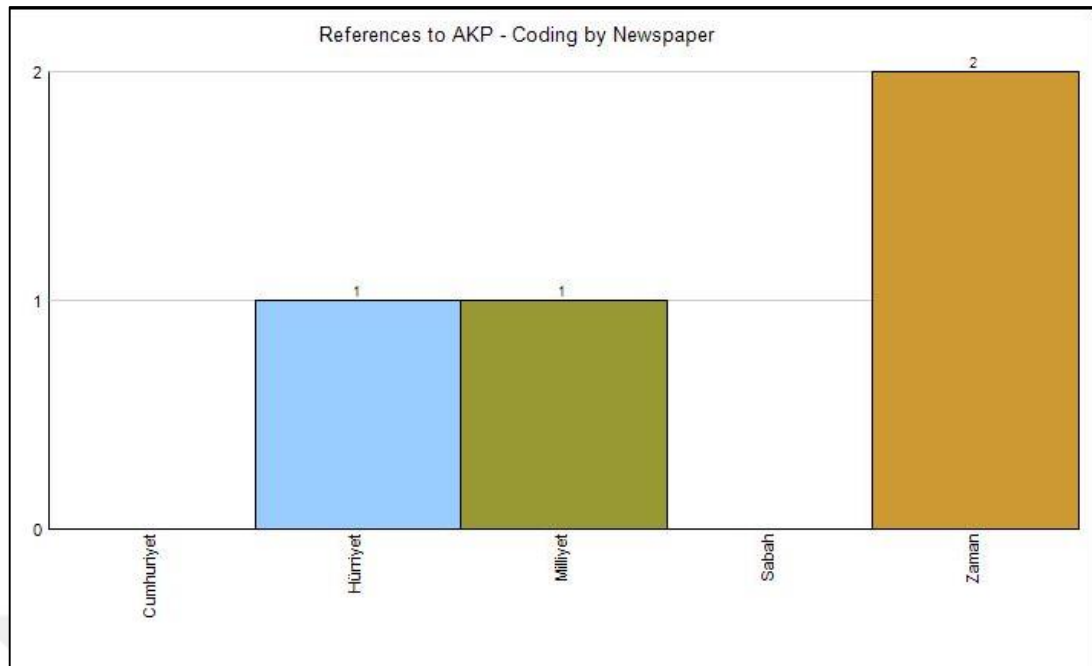


Figure 73. Mentioning Migrant Sex Workers in the Context of AKP – Coding by Newspaper.

It is possible to see that that surprisingly, the highest number of references to AKP is in *Zaman* (2), which is actually opposed to AKP in ideology. However, this might mean that AKP is mentioned critically. The pro-AKP newspaper *Sabah*, however, does not comment on AKP at all, which is very demonstrating. References to main oppositional party CHP are also visualized by newspaper in Figure 102 below. One can see that the highest number of references to CHP is in pro-government newspaper *Sabah*, but pro-CHP newspaper *Cumhuriyet* abstains from comments on CHP when discussing migrant sex labor completely. This is very interesting in terms of the relationship between the state and the media: the “state-dominated” media sources (*Sabah*, *Hürriyet* and *Milliyet*) do not mention the ruling party, but oppositional “counter-hegemonic” media (*Zaman* and *Cumhuriyet*) do. *Zaman* also refrained from mentioning Mr. Fethullah Gulen that it was associated with.

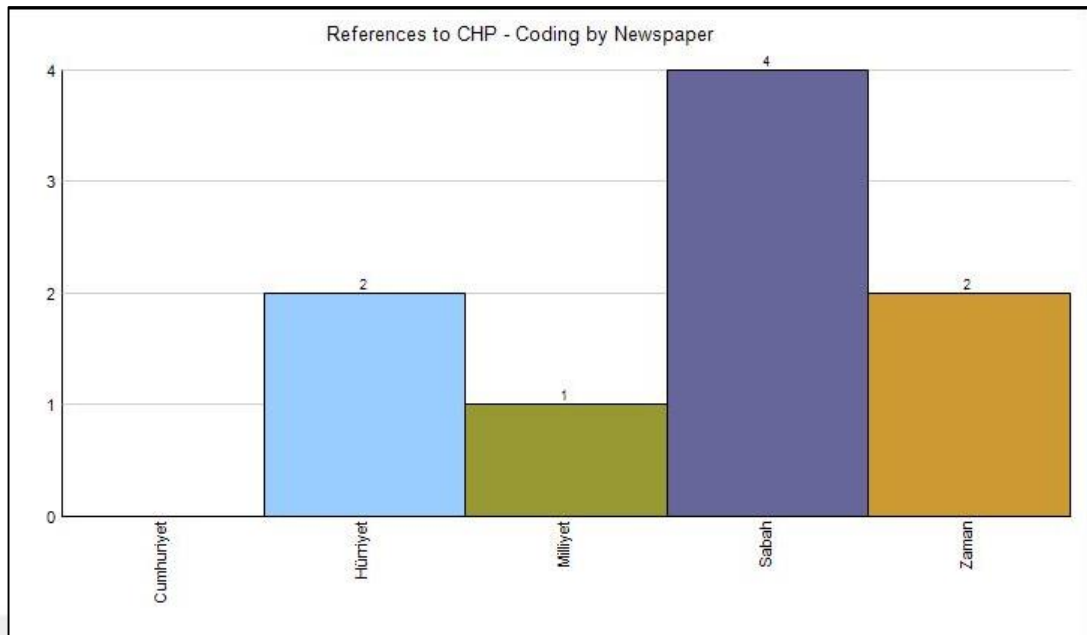


Figure 74. Mentioning Migrant Sex Workers in the Context of CHP – Coding by Newspaper.

References to MHP can be visualized in the same manner. The highest number of references is in pro-government newspaper *Sabah* (3), while *Hürriyet* and *Zaman* do not mention MHP at all.

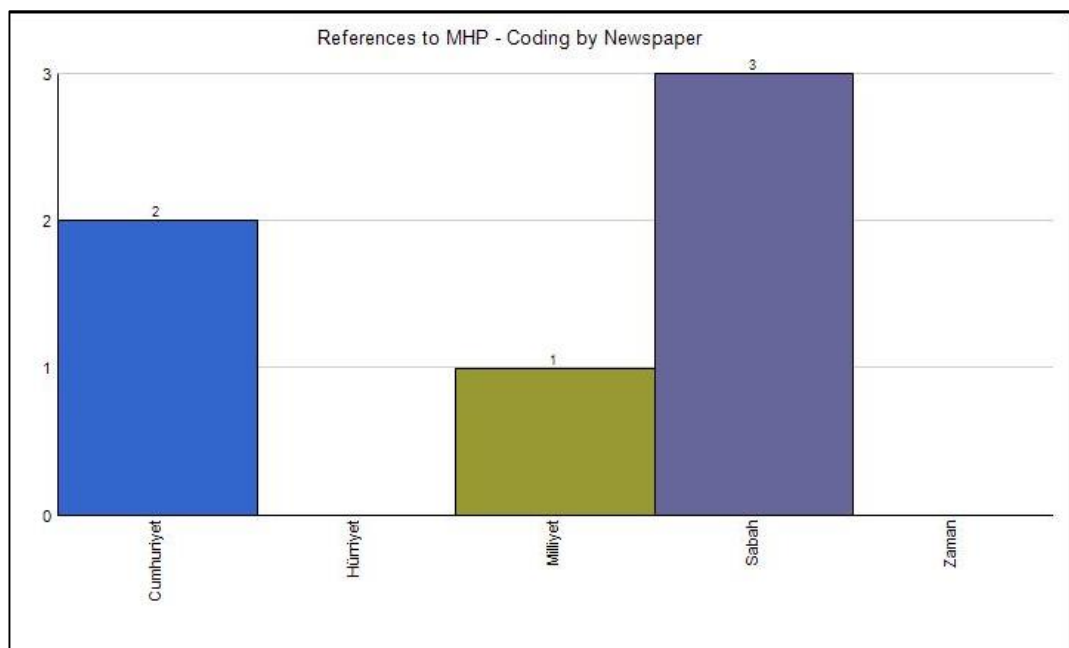


Figure 75. Mentioning Migrant Sex Workers in the Context of MHP – Coding by Newspaper.

It can be argued that these details point to the fact that each newspaper refrains from mentioning the political party that it is supporting, but criticizes its main opponents. However, in general the connection between media representations of migrant sex labor and Turkish politics can be considered rather weak, and is explained by factual portrayal of events such as parliament discussions in the media.

7.14 Violence against Migrant Sex Workers

Very often the articles about “prostitution raids” conducted by the police contained information about instances of violence against sex workers. Statistical information about these cases is provided in Table 50 below.

Table 50. Instances of Violence against Migrant Sex Workers.

Violence against women (VAW)	Number of articles coded	Percentage share in parent node	Percentage share in total (N=990)
VAW in general	235	100%	23,7%
Threatening	92	39%	9,3%
Beating	54	23%	5,5%
Confinement	48	20%	4,8%
Forced pregnancy	35	15%	3,5%
Debt-bondage	34	14%	3,4%
Torture	34	14%	3,4%
Rape	24	10%	2,4%
Drugging	15	6%	1,5%
Blackmail with pornography	7	3%	0,7%
Death	7	3%	0,7%
Forced abortions or killing babies	7	3%	0,7%
Malnutrition	7	3%	0,7%
Forced defloration	5	2%	0,5%
Loss of mental health	2	1%	0,2%
TOTAL:	990	235	100,0%

In general, instances of all kinds of violence against women (VAW) appear in 23.7% articles in the total sample. 39% of this is threatening. These findings are close to those of Balseven-Odabaşı et al. (2012: 153) who in her research on brothel sex workers in Turkey found that 14.5% of sex workers interviewed in Ankara (total

N=138) said that they were exposed to physical and 70.3% to verbal violence from their clients. For example, Cumhuriyet (2008, “Prostitution with Torture”) provides the following part of an interview with a woman exploited in sex work:

I loved U.K. I slept with him. He furnished a luxurious house. We both stayed there for a short period of time. Then he took me to S.Ç. who, as I learned, was his wife. They had foreign women there as well. U.K. told me I was going to sleep with men for money. When I did not accept it, he beat me with his belt. He forced me into prostitution. He cut my arm with a razor, tortured me. He also constantly threatened me saying “I will pour nitric acid to your face.” (...)

Also, in one extreme case mentioned by several newspapers, a Russian migrant woman who was a doctor in her country reportedly lost her mental health as a result of being tortured in sex work in Turkey (see *Sabah*, 2012, “A Prostitution Gang Drove A Russian Doctor Crazy With Torture”; in *Zaman*: Ünal, 2012, “A Russian Doctor Refusing To Work In Prostitution Lost Her Mental Health Because Of Torture”), which is a very grave example of patriarchal exploitation of women in sex work.

Information about instances of VAW across the articles sample can be found in Figure 76 below.

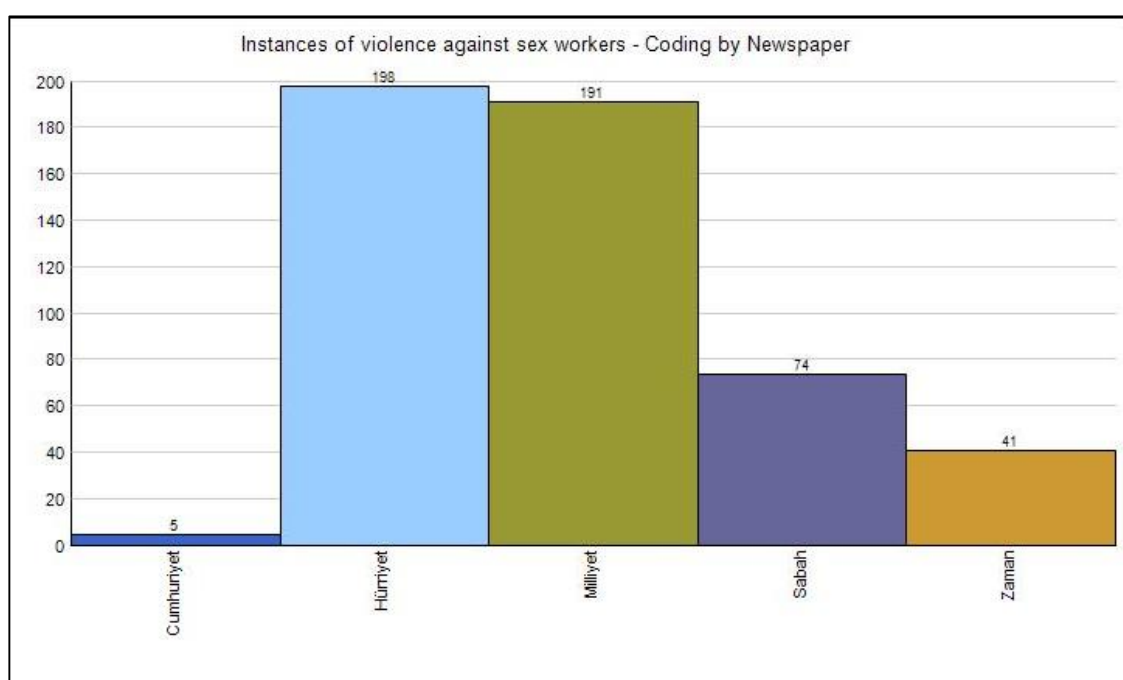


Figure 76. Mentioning Violence against Migrant Sex Workers – Coding by Newspaper.

The numbers of references to violence against sex workers seem proportional to the size of the sample for each newspaper, so there is no obvious bias of the media. It is also possible to see the findings about VAW by year in Figure 77 below:

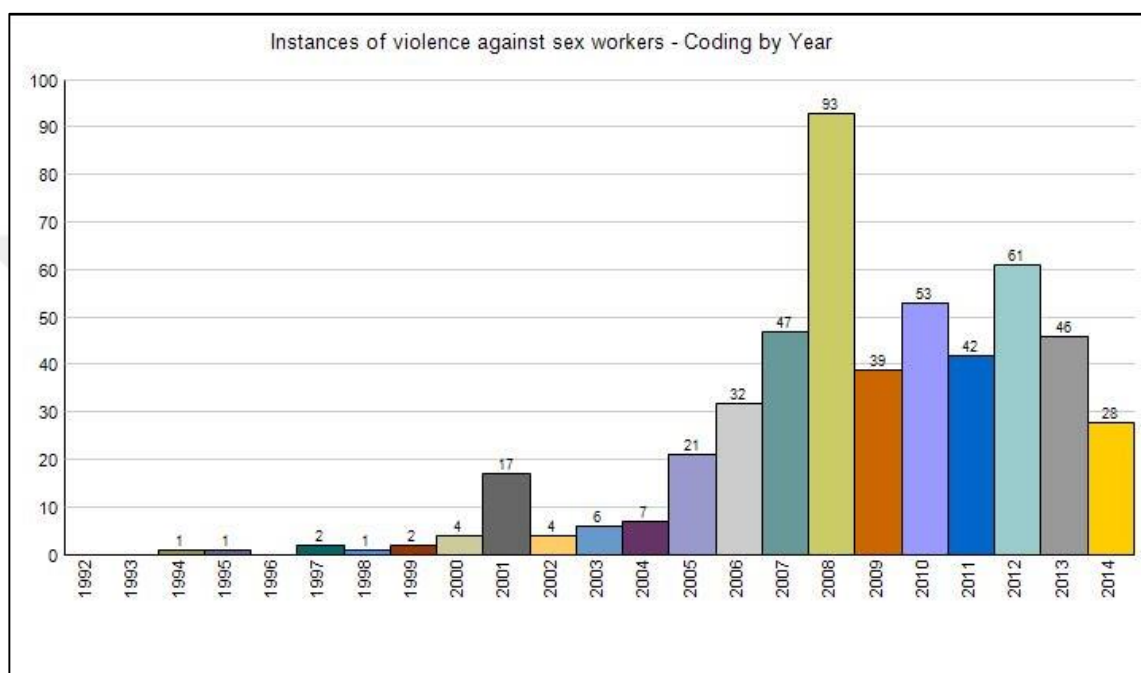


Figure 77. Mentioning Violence against Migrant Sex Workers – Coding by Year.

From this chart it can be seen that the year of 2008 has the highest amount of references to violence against migrant women.

There is also a need to point out that there were different kinds of threats made to migrant women by their exploiters. These are summarized in Table 51 below.

Table 51. Instances of Threatening Migrant Sex Workers.

References to threatening	Number of articles coded	Percentage share in parent node	Percentage share in total (N=990)
Threatening in general	92	100%	9,3%

with death	9	10%	0,9%
with guns	9	10%	0,9%
with killings family members	5	5%	0,5%
with ruining face with nitric acid	3	3%	0,3%
TOTAL:	990	92	100,0%

Information of different kinds of torture mentioned by the articles is also summarized in Table 52 below.

Table 52. Instances of Torturing Migrant Sex Workers.

References to torture	Number of articles coded	Percentage share in parent node	Percentage share in total (N=990)
Torture in general	34	100%	3,4%
with boiling oil	5	15%	0,5%
with cigarettes on the body	2	6%	0,2%
TOTAL:	990	92	100,0%

All instances of violence against women in sex work represent very grave examples of patriarchal exploitation of women's sexual labor, as well as gender inequality inherent in sex work that should be fought against.

7.15 What Happens to Migrant Sex Workers?

Statistical information on different kinds of terms used to explain what happened to migrant sex workers during or after a police raid can be found in Table 53 below. In the majority of the articles (70.2% of the total sample), a rather neutral term “detained” (*gözültına alındı*) is used. In 41.6% of the articles, it is also pointed out that the women were deported. However, 38.7% of the articles use a more derogatory term “caught” (*yakalandı*). A sympathetic term “rescued” (*kurtarıldı*) is only provided in 13.9% of articles in the sample.

Table 53. What Happens to Migrant Sex Workers?

What happens to women	Original Turkish term	Number of articles coded	Percentage share in total (N=990)
Detained	<i>gözültına alındı</i>	695	70,2%

Deported	<i>sınırdışı edildi</i>	412	41,6%
Caught	<i>yakalandı</i>	383	38,7%
Rescued	<i>kurtarıldı</i>	138	13,9%
Released	<i>serbest bırakıldı</i>	22	2,2%
Referred to shelters	<i>sığınak/sığınma evi</i>	9	0,9%
Arrested	<i>tutuklandı</i>	7	0,7%
TOTAL:		990	100,0%

Since the term “caught” is the most stigmatizing term in the media coverage of migrant sex labor, it can be examined separately. The distribution of the usage of this term across the sample can be found in Figure 78 below.

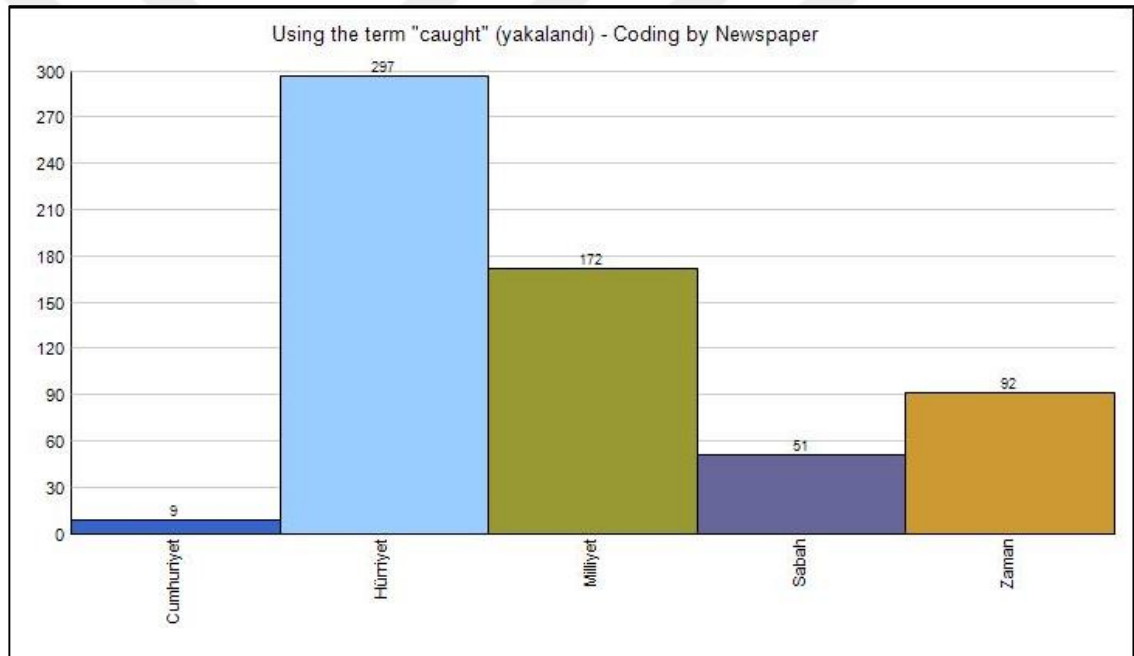


Figure 78. Using the Term “Caught” – Coding by Newspaper.

It is possible to see that the term “caught” is most frequently used by *Hürriyet* (297 references), and is very seldom used by *Cumhuriyet* (9 references). The visualization of the usage of this term by year can be found in Figure 79 below.

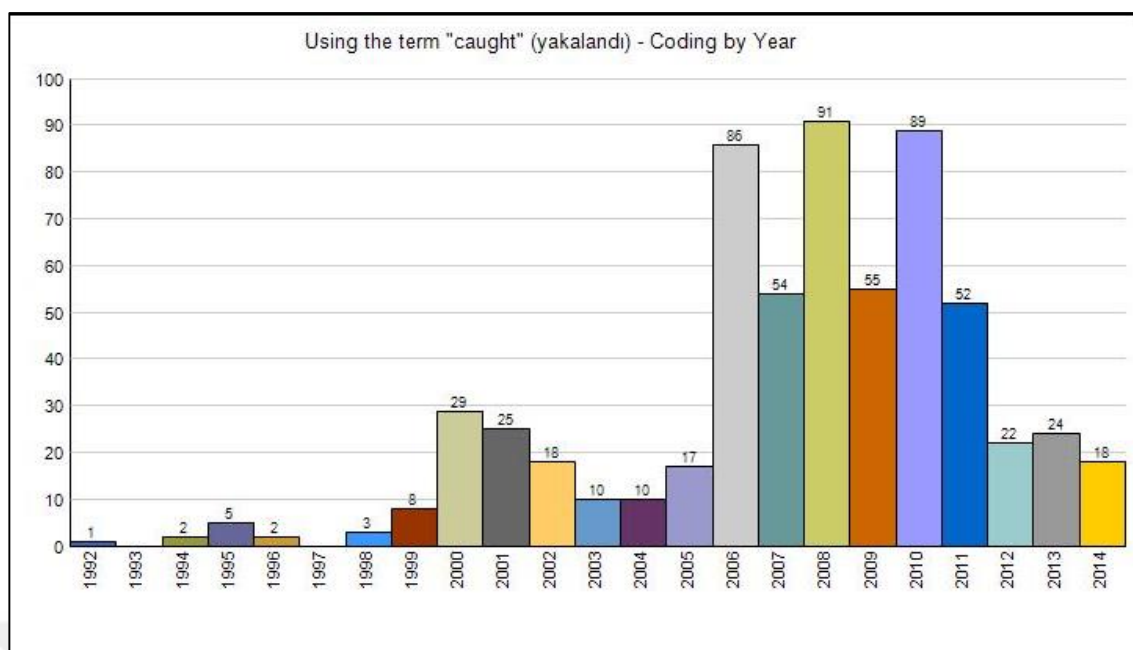


Figure 79. Using the Term “Caught” – Coding by Year.

It can be seen that the term is used almost every year, but the usage culminates in 2006-2010. It can be compared with the usage of the more sympathetic term “rescued” presented in Figure 80 below.

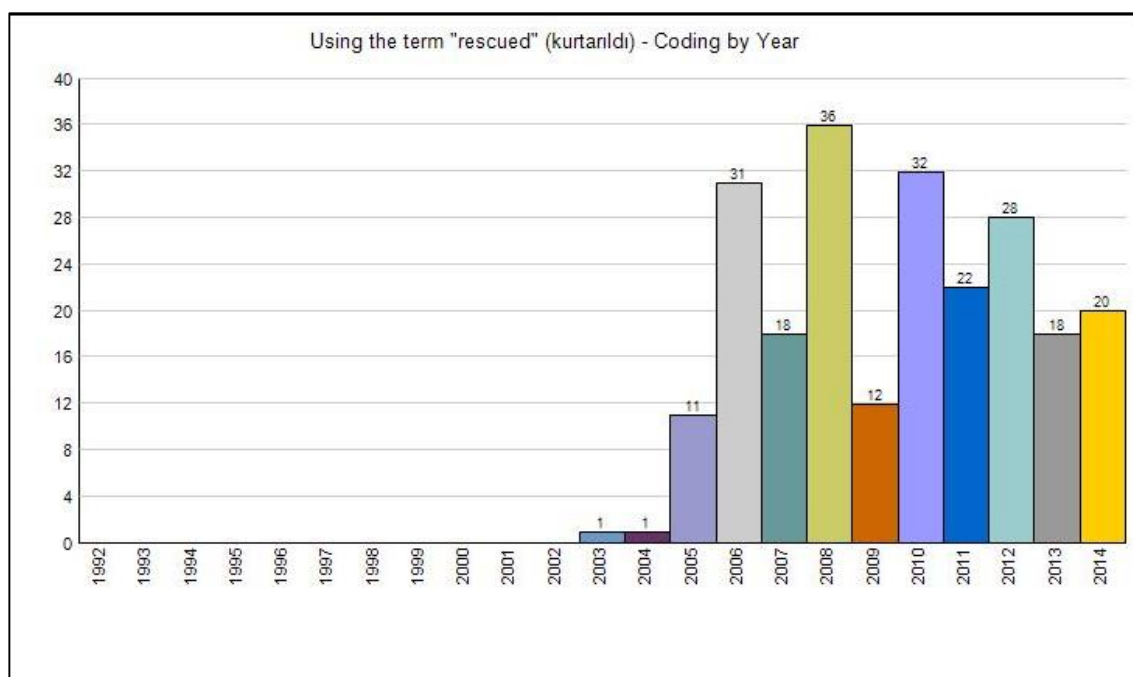


Figure 80. Using the Term “Rescued” – Coding by Year.

It can be noticed from the chart that the usage of the term “rescued” only starts in 2003. This can again be explained by the adoption of the UN Protocols on Trafficking supplementing the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime adopted in 2000 and ratified by Turkey in 2003.

7.16 Comparative Case Study

This section aims to compare and contrast the differences and similarities in the media coverage of two events that received strong reaction from the public opinion in Turkey: the rape of Leyla Bozacı (2001), and the disclosure of Oksana Topor. It uses discourse analysis as method of qualitative data analysis.

7.16.1 The Rape of Leyla Bozacı, 2001

Lacramioara (Leyla) Bozacı is a Romanian wife of a Turkish man Eyüp Sabri Bozacı (see Arman, 2001a, “These Cops Should Pay the Price”). According to Ayşe Arman’s (2001a) story, they met and got married in Romania, but Leyla later insisted on moving to Turkey because she was fascinated by the country. She learnt Turkish and became a Muslim, and the couple had three children. However, in September 2001 while her husband was out of town Leyla was raped by two Turkish policemen who detained her together with her female friend under the pretext of not having her ID with her at night in Şile, Istanbul, when the two women were driving in order to buy cigarettes. Despite her struggle and attempts to explain that she was not a sex worker, Leyla was taken by the police to a Şato Hotel in Şile that was familiar to the policemen, taken upstairs by force and being threatened with a gun in front of the receptionists who were also familiar to the policemen, and then violently raped by two policemen upstairs (see Arman, 2001a). Getting the support of her husband, Leyla later filed a formal complaint against the policemen for sexual assault; however, it turned out more difficult to prove them guilty in Turkey than she had thought it would be. In court, the policemen provided their justification: “We thought she was a Natasha”, and one of them was found not guilty of rape by the judge for lack of evidence (see *Milliyet*, 2002, “The Bruises Are Normal”). The fate of the other policeman is unclear because of lack of other sources on this case.

Let us now compare how this sensational event was portrayed by five different newspapers. The attitude of *Cumhuriyet* in general was very sympathetic to the woman and her husband, and they even gave this topic a whole page in their

Sunday supplement in November 2001. Former *Cumhuriyet* columnist Oral Çalışlar (see Çalışlar, 2001, “A Culture That Isolated Leyla”) who is famous for his books and essays about democracy in Turkey and who even served several prison terms for anti-government activities in the 1970s and 1980s, wrote a critical article on the subject in 2001. He pointed out that the case of Leyla Bozacı is illustrative of Turkey’s patriarchal attitudes to sexuality and masculinity, where in the case of rape the women are considered as “ruined” for the society forever, and the men whose wives were raped are expected that the only way to restore their “contaminated” honor is to purify it by blood, by committing an “honor killing” (*namus cinayeti*). He points to the fact that Leyla was isolated by the Turkish society after the rape case as a perceived “prostitute”, and her husband also was isolated by his relatives and lost his job for standing by the side of his wife and not performing an “honor killing” of her or her rapists.

A mother of three children Leyla Bozacı was isolated by the whole society and in a desperate situation for being raped by the policemen. However, the drama of her husband Eyüp Bozacı is very illustrative in terms of showing this country’s culture in its full scale. Eyüp Bozacı was required by his relatives circle to purify his *namus* by killing his wife and her rapists (!). And when he refused to do so, he was alienated by his relatives and colleagues at his workplace. He was left without a job, powerless and desperate.

Çalışlar (2001) later explains this case in the context of patriarchal attitudes to victims of rape in Turkey, pointing out to the fact that such situation does not exist in any other developed country in the world. He criticizes the Turkish society, saying that “This violent nature that we have in our subconscious and this ill-natured ego of a man demonstrate themselves in every aspect of our lives”. Therefore, the emphasis of the author is on the issue of *namus* and honor killings in Turkey, as well as patriarchal attitudes to all raped women as prostitutes⁶⁴. The author does not discuss the factor of Leyla’s being a “foreigner” in Turkey or any connection to migrant sex labor.

In contrast, *Hürriyet* columnist Ayşe Arman who is also well-known in Turkey for her feminist activism and particularly her writings on gender relations in

⁶⁴ Patriarchal attitude to all victims of rape in Turkey as “ruined” women who are stigmatized by the society for failing to protect their *namus* can also be traced in such Turkish TV series as “What is Fatmagül’s Fault?” (*Fatmagül’ün Suçu Ne?*) and “İffet” (*İffet*).

Turkey covers this case from a different angle (see Arman, 2001a, “These Cops Should Pay the Price”; 2001b, “I Confess”). She conducts a long interview with both Leyla Bozacı and her husband following the rape case (Arman, 2001a, “These Cops Should Pay the Price”), discussing with her the woman’s feelings after rape in general, prejudice against migrant women in Turkey, and also praising Leyla’s husband for standing by her side in difficult times: “The husband of a Romanian woman who was violently raped by two policemen in Şato Hotel in Şile Eyüp Bey, has the back of his wife, saying “The problem is not in my wife. I trust her so much I would send her all over Turkey. But this is my honor fight now”. Although the columnist also discusses the case in the context of honor, she uses the Turkish term “*onur*” which is closer in meaning to “dignity” (see Işık, 2008 for interesting discussion of various Turkish terms for the concept of “honor”). Arman (2001a) also points out to the fact that Eyüp Bey as the injured party is going to seek his revenge and “fight for his honor” by bringing legal action against the perpetrators of this crime, first in Turkey, and if this does not produce results, then in the European Court of Human Rights, citing Eyüp Bey: “If I do not win it in Turkey, I will carry it [my cause] to Europe”. In her second article on the topic, Arman (2001b, “I Confess”) urges the Turkish population to “get rid of this Natasha language” that, as she sees it, was the underlying cause of Leyla Bozacı’s rape:

Didn’t we decide that we would no longer use this “Natasha” word? Don’t you get annoyed when Turkey comes to mind of people when they talk about Armenian deportation or the “Midnight Express” movie? Isn’t it also annoying when the word “Natasha” is said and what you think about is Russians and prostitution? Why is the name of all Russian women connected with the act of prostitution? Is it so hard? Can’t we drop this? And moreover, don’t you think that such news have negative impact on people? Didn’t the policemen who raped Leyla Bozacı say “We thought they are Natashas” as their justification. And whatever happened, didn’t it happen to that poor woman?

The columnist also points out to the fact in response to some people who think that identities of raped women should be protected and that the name of Leyla Bozacı should not have been revealed to the general public, the reality is that Leyla Bozacı particularly told Ayşe Arman to write her full name in every article on purpose, saying “Write my name so that all women who are victims of rape in this country could come out and openly talk about the disaster that happened to them, so that they

could speak. I have nothing to hide”⁶⁵. Arman (2001b) warns against the “Natasha” perception of all Russians or Romanians: “No rapist should hide under the pretext “I thought she was a Natasha”. It is possible to argue that Arman’s (2001a; 2001b) coverage of the topic is very impressive in terms of emphasis on stereotypes against all migrant women as “voluntary” sex workers, as well as the need to protect human rights of these women, as well as all women suffering from gender-based discrimination and violence. It can be considered a good example of critical media coverage.

The article on this topic in *Milliyet* (2002, “The Bruises Are Normal”) also provides a critical coverage of the case. It describes the court hearing of rape suspects in the case of Leyla Bozacı, providing criticism of the policemen’s words. According to the article, one of the police officers refused to accept the authenticity of a forensic report showing bruises on the body of Leyla as an evidence of rape, claiming that Leyla engaged in sexual act with him “on her own will”, and that these bruises “Are normal bruises that can emerge during sexual intercourse” (*Milliyet*, 2002). At the courthouse entrance, Leyla Bozacı is said to have told the reporters that “The accusations in the forensic report are real. It clearly specifies the beating traces on my body left by Kerem Döndü [one of the policemen], as well as the psychological trauma that I experienced. I want him to be punished in the heaviest way” (*Milliyet*, 2002). However, the other policeman Benal Demir accused of being an accomplice in the crime provided the following justifications in court describing his version of the case: “Kerem Döndü did not use force on anybody. On that night Leyla Bozacı and her female friend had other men near them. They were together with two men before we met them. According to my speculations, these women had had sexual intercourse with these men. But Bozacı and her friend are saying that these people went to America. Why aren’t these people coming to court?” (*Milliyet*, 2002). It can be said that this statement as described in *Milliyet* is incredible in terms of the ability of the rapists to prove themselves as “innocent”, not even in the eyes of the society, but most importantly, in the face of their own conscience. It also very well illustrates the patriarchal attitudes to all migrant women in Turkey as “sexually available”, as well as attitudes to all women not protected by men, especially at

⁶⁵ This feminist attitude of Leyla Bozacı is clearly ahead of its time and deserves special appraisal. The global “coming out” movement among victims of sexual assault initiated by Lady Gaga with her powerful “Till It Happens to You” project did not appear until 2015.

nighttime when the rape took place, as those who are jeopardizing their *namus*, and therefore, themselves “want to be raped” (see the parallel to Pippa Bacca case discussed in Chapter 5). The coverage of *Milliyet* is sympathetic too, it is particularly mentioned that the Bozacı hearing was supported by the members of the NGO Women’s Platform of the Council for Support of Modern Living (*Çağdaş Yaşamı Destekleme Derneği Kadın Platformu*) who gathered in front of the courthouse. The emphasis in this coverage of the event is placed on “incredibility” of the rapists’ justifications for themselves, and critical attitude of the unknown reporter is very well seen in the article.

Finally, in *Sabah* newspaper the reporter Celal Yıldız (Yıldız, 2002, “A Release That Makes You Cry”) the attitude is less sympathetic and more focused on the sensational character of the topic. It is reported that when the judge decided that one of the police officers is to be released for lack of proof of rape, Leyla Bozacı “had a nervous breakdown” and “was crying all the time”. Apart from the sentiment of the coverage in this article which is less sympathetic than the one in the other newspapers, it is possible to note the grave character of bias against migrant women in Turkey, even in the legal system. One of the police officers accused of rape stated that Leyla Bozacı “wanted to be with him on her free will” (Yıldız, 2002). This example very well illustrates stigmatization existing in Turkey not only against migrant sex workers, but against all migrant women or all “foreign-looking” blonde women who are perceived as “loose” and are not protected by patriarchal cultural norms (see Toksöz & Ünlütürk-Ulutaş, 2012; İçduygu, 2014, personal communication; Coşkun, 2015a; 2015b; Zhidkova & Demir, 2016).

The *Zaman* newspaper provides no coverage of the case, as found by content analysis in this dissertation. In general, it can be argued that the coverage of this case in liberal newspapers such as *Cumhuriyet*, *Hürriyet* and *Milliyet* is more critical than that of *Sabah*, which is more sensational in the coverage of media sex labor in general as well. However, since this mini-case study is based on critical commentary articles and not on news articles, the media representations of this case in general were sympathetic and objective in both “state-dominated” and oppositional newspapers.

7.16.2 The Disclosure of Oksana Topor, 2003

The case of the disclosure of Oksana Topor (henceforth, O.T.) is a case of a migrant sex worker from Ukraine in Erzurum, Turkey whose personality was reportedly disclosed to the public because it was found that the woman who “had slept with 1335 men” (Sağsöz, 2003) during her stay in Turkey turned out to be an HIV carrier. The local authorities who took the decision to display the migrant woman to the public reportedly justified it by the need to protect public health. The woman was shown to the public in person at a press conference so that her Turkish clients could recognize her and apply to the nearest hospital for AIDS tests.

Let us examine the coverage of this case in five different newspapers. In *Hürriyet*, reporter Onur Sağsöz (Sağsöz, 2003, “Let’s See Have You Slept Together”) does not refer to the sex worker by full name, only her initials are provided. However, his coverage is highly sensational and only aims to attract the attention of the general public to the subject of “prostitution”. For example, he reports that:

Ukrainian O.T., who allegedly slept with 1335 men and was seized during a prostitution operation in Erzurum, was disclosed and introduced to the media by the police. The Deputy Security Director of Erzurum Ayazlar specified that the woman carried HIV and Hepatitis C and said that “She is more dangerous than a suicide bomber”.

Some slight degree of sympathy in the reporter’s coverage can be found in the sentence “Ayazlar... kept the woman standing by his side all through the press conference”. However, in general even the title of the article is very derogatory (“Let’s See Have You Slept Together”), and it is said that the woman was “seized” (*ele geçirildi*) by the police as if she was a weapon. It can be clearly seen that the migrant woman is “demonized” for spreading HIV in the Turkish society, and the clients’ role in sex work or the demand side of it is totally neglected (also see Kurt, 2004).

In contrast, in *Cumhuriyet*, columnist Hikmet Çetinkaya (2003, “The Exposure”) provides a highly critical assessment of the authorities’ decision to publicly expose the migrant sex workers identified to carry HIV, in his reaction to Sağsöz’s (2003) article in *Hürriyet* mentioned above. The Ukrainian woman is only referred to by her initials here as well:

The woman is desperate...

The woman is looking with eyes full of fear...

A Ukrainian prostitute O.T. is the wallflower of a press conference...

When I read this news article in Hürriyet, I was stumped...

Orhan Erinç was with me...

Orhan said “The next stage of this is to kill women by stoning like they do in Iran”, and added: “This news article in Hürriyet is the proof of what point Turkey has reached.”

Look what Ali Ayazlar, Deputy Director of Security who specified that a Ukrainian woman caught in Erzurum carried HIV and Hepatitis C, is saying: “O.T. who has AIDS is more dangerous than a suicide bomber.”

In what civilized country is it possible to expose a sick woman like that?

Who does a deputy director of security get this authority from?

No matter which nationality and which religion the woman is, it is the responsibility of any civil man-in-charge to refer the patient to health authorities...

They say that:

“What were we going to do? The woman has AIDS. She slept with 1335 men. All the men she slept with are Turks, and moreover, they are young men...”

Here the state officials are referring to the necessity to protect public health “at the expense of foreigners’ health” and human rights that Coşkun (2014a; 2015a; 2015b) referred to. In its most interesting part, the article also refers to the role of the clients in purchasing migrant sex labor:

OK, but did O.T. force these 1335 men to sleep with her?

No!

Moreover, the men paid O.T. to have intercourse with her...

They say:

“But O.T. slept with men although she knew she was an HIV carrier...”

...

Of course, there is mutual abuse of rights...

Turkey is a democratic state of law!..

The woman is sick!..

What needs to be done by the governor of the state, the director of security, is not exposing this woman, but taking her to the hospital...

In Iran mullahs make prostitutes be killed by stoning after catching them and exposing them like that...

I look at the picture...

It is not possible to see O.T.’s face but I can imagine that she is looking with fear...

The governor Mustafa Malay, the Director of Security Tahsin Demir, how do they treat this woman like that?

The authorities say, “There is a public interest in the exposure of this woman.” Honestly, it is astonishing. How can public interest be achieved by exposing a sick woman, I don’t understand it.

I look at the picture of Ukrainian O.T....

The woman carrying AIDS in front of the reporters...

The deputy director of security exposes the woman to the public opinion:

“She is more dangerous than a suicide bomb!”

Alright, but where are the men here?

There are no men!

Here, the author acknowledges the role of patriarchal demand for sex labor and the role of the clients in the existence of this phenomenon. In the last part of the article, the issue is connected to the problems of morality and lack of education in the Turkish society:

(...) Turkey is a country that is hard to explain...

They find a scapegoat, and the attack begins:

“Because of Russian women morality in Turkey is corrupted, the society is degenerating!”

In a couple of days this story will be forgotten too!..

Why attention is not paid to education, instead of exposure?

But the Turkish man is fearless!..

Let’s ask these 1335 men, “What will you do if you have AIDS”. Here is what their response will be:

“Dead mice feel no cold”⁶⁶

Nowadays how many people know that AIDS virus might not be identified in the body for 8-10 years?

And that the earliest it can be correctly identified is in three months?

Then Çetinkaya (2003) identified the underlying reason for the state officials’ portrayal of migrant sex workers as a “threat to public health” – capitalist exploitation of their labor, and additional “dollar” income from suitcase trade:

The governor of Erzurum is saying: “These women freely come to Turkey. They spend only 10 dollars out of 100 dollars they earn, and they take 90 dollars away...”

What does it mean?

That if they spent all 100 dollars here in Turkey, there would be no problem?

⁶⁶ Original Turkish proverb: “*Acı patlıcanı kırağı çalmaz*”.

If we deport all Russian women from Turkey, get rid of AIDS – or prostitution – will we be a healthy society?

No matter what a woman's nationality and religion, color, language or doctrine is, she shouldn't be humiliated, she shouldn't be hurt!..

Turkey does not look good with such images!..

It can be argued that the article provided above (Çetinkaya, 2003), as well as many other commentary types of articles found in *Cumhuriyet*, provides an extraordinary deep critical analysis of the subject matter. This may be explained by this newspaper's being independently owned and thus "counter-hegemonic". The emphasis in the media representation of this case is placed on the protection of democratic ideals and human rights of migrant women on the same ground with human rights of all Turkish citizens.

Let us now examine how this incident is covered in *Milliyet*. An unknown reporter from *Milliyet* (2004, "A Diplomatic Note on Oksana from Ukraine") refers to the fact that Ukraine submitted a diplomatic note to Turkey expressing its frustration about the fact that Turkey disclosed O.T.'s personality in front of the public without notifying Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and also for disclosing the woman without receiving the confirmation results of a second HIV test. The article's attitude is more or less neutral although the sex worker is referred to by her full name rather than initials, and it is mostly informative in purpose.

In *Sabah* newspaper, Aydın and Taşkın (2004, "Oksana Turned Out to Have No Money") also provide neutral coverage of the event for informative purposes, although there are some indicators of lack of sympathy for migrant woman such as the fact that her full name is provided in the article. The article mentions that O.T. is going to be deported to Ukraine from Istanbul, but that it turned out that she "has no money at all" and can barely afford a ticket home (Aydın & Taşkın, 2004). This emphasis on money here may seem coming out of nowhere; however, it implicitly illustrates the traditional attitude existing in the Turkish public opinion that sex workers have a luxurious lifestyle because of the profitability of this industry, and also because they "charge" high price in "dollars" from their clients (see Ayata et al., 2008). However, in reality, exploitation in sex labor and gendered violence inherent in prostitution do not allow the women to receive financial remuneration for their

labor. Rather than earning a lot of money, the women in sex work “are lucky to get out with their lives, given the mortality figures” (MacKinnon, 2011: 277).

Finally, in *Zaman* newspaper Morkoç (2004, “700 People Went through AIDS Control in Erzurum”) provides a completely different perspective on the subject, citing the benefits of disclosing a migrant sex worker who carries AIDS for public health and the Turkish population in general:

The Governor of Erzurum Mustafa Malay has specified that the number of people who applied to the hospitals because of having a sexual relationship with O... T...⁶⁷ has reached 700. Malay, who spoke in public together with Director of Security Tahsin Demir in the Police House gave explanations about the exposure of O... T... who was caught in prostitution to the public.

...

Malay noted that after the exposure of prostitute O... T... for the purpose of allowing people to take precautions, approximately 700 people applied to Ankara and community clinics in the surrounding area, and said that the exposure proved to be beneficial in this sense.

The article also mentions an excerpt from Governor Malay’s interview to the *Chicago Tribune* reporter Catherine Collins:

Malay said that although foreign prostitutes led to the destruction of many families, in the year of 2003 alone 40 prostitutes were caught but none of them were shown to the press. Malay said: “But T...’s situation was different. According to the reports of two different hospitals in Erzurum, it was specified that T... carried HIV. She was shown to the press in order to both attract attention to her health condition, as well as warn many people who she engaged in sexual relationship with”. To Collins’ question whether they would continue to expose if it is such a good idea, Malay responded: “If we don’t [expose], we will not be fulfilling our duty”.

Several interesting details can be noticed in this article. First of all, the sex worker’s full name is provided all the times she is mentioned. Second, she is referred to as “prostitute” (*hayat kadını*), which is rather stigmatizing. Third, in one sentence it is argued that the exposure “of prostitution O... T...” was made “for the purpose of allowing people (*insanlar*) to take precautions”. Here it is possible to see that “prostitute” O.T. is not seen as a “human being”, and she is exposed in order to allow

⁶⁷ Full name of the sex worker is provided in the original article.

“real” human beings to take their “precautions”. The discrimination against all migrant women in Turkey is clearly seen in this example, where the local population is protected “at the expense” of violating human rights of non-Turkish women who are seen as worthless (see Coşkun, 2014a; 2015a). Finally, it is very interesting that it is stated that most of the Turkish clients took their AIDS tests not in Erzurum, but in Ankara. It was confirmed by other media sources in the sample that very often Turkish men apply to have a health check after a relationship with a migrant sex worker in a city different from their own. However, in fact, AIDS checks are always anonymous for those who apply because of a state regulation. It can be argued that the reason for such behavior is fear of being exposed to the public as sex worker’s clients, or to be recognized in local hospital by some of the acquaintances. It means that Turkish clients want to protect their identity because of fear of criticism or because they would like to conceal the fact of purchasing sex labor from their wives and relatives. In this sense, it is possible to assume that if the police started to identify Turkish clients during police raids instead of taking anonymous statements or not detaining them at all, the situation with exploitation of migrant sex labor in Turkey could change for the better (see Chapter 8; also Zhidkova & Demir, 2016).

In general, the comparative cases examined above show that the coverage of the subject of migrant sex labor in *Cumhuriyet* is less sensational than that of other newspapers. Therefore, *Cumhuriyet* can be considered Wolfsfeld’s (1997) ‘challenger’ that attempts to criticize and change government policies on migrant sex labor or any other issues. There are many interesting critical analytical articles on the subject in both *Cumhuriyet* and *Hürriyet* that call for the protection of democracy and human rights of both Turkish citizens and migrants. However, in other three newspapers the coverage is more sensational. *Zaman* as a more conservative newspaper also seems protective of traditional family values in Turkey and often discusses the subject in the context of moral or religious values, but it also stigmatizing the Turkish clients, which is very significant.

7.17 Conclusion

This chapter examined media representations of the topic of migrant sex labor in Turkey in five mainstream Turkish newspapers in the period from 1992 to 2014. It attempted to provide both quantitative analysis through statistical results obtained from content analysis done in NVivo, and qualitative analysis of media

representations through critical analysis of article texts through discourse analysis. It can be argued that in general, the mainstream “state-dominated” media such as *Sabah*, *Hürriyet* and *Milliyet* are an ideological platform where the hegemony of the Turkish state is being reproduced. The state often portrays migrant sex workers through these media sources as a source of “corruption” and “vice” in the society, stigmatizing the women for their indecency and weakness for luxury. The critical coverage of events that provides more sympathetic attitude to migrant sex workers is still rather rare. However, the state also profits from the simultaneous infusion of dollar capital in its economy made by involvement of migrant women into tourism, hotel business or “suitcase trade”. Moreover, the state turns a blind eye on grave exploitative conditions and gender-based violence against women that are present in sex work, and does not provide any visible attempts to tackle the patriarchal demand for migrant sex labor. The “state-dominated” media as an ideological platform for the state hegemony also silences these problems because the state requests it to do so. The ownership of biggest media sources in the country by giant business groups such as Doğan Holding interested in profit-maximization is also problematic because, being interested in selling more newspapers to the readers, the holding-owned media deliberately covers only the most sensational aspects of sex labor in Turkey in order to ensure better sales. According to Noam Chomsky (1994: 1-6),

The mass media serve as a system for communicating messages to the general populace. It is their function to amuse, entertain, and inform, and to inculcate individuals with the values, beliefs, and the codes of behaviors that will integrate them into the institutional structures of the larger society. In a world of concentrated wealth and major conflicts of class interest, to fulfill this role requires systematic propaganda.

However, critical analytical articles and more sympathetic attitude to migrant sex workers present in oppositional or “counter-hegemonic” media outlets such as *Cumhuriyet* may not prove to sell as well as the articles about “prostitution operations” or the “Natasha activities” present in the state-dominated media. It can be seen in the example of *Cumhuriyet* that independently owned newspapers provide much more critical coverage of this topic. Apart from that, it should be also pointed out that the number of female columnists and reporters as shown by the sample is rather low in Turkey in general (see Appendix C), which is a significant drawback in terms of gender equality and diversity in general, and once again confirms patriarchal attitude to women present in Turkey. To sum it up, judging by the content analysis

findings, the “state-run” media sources such as *Hürriyet*, *Milliyet* or *Sabah* owned by media holdings in no open split with the AKP government, provide more sensational and less sympathetic coverage of the topic of migrant sex labor and often discriminate against migrant women, adding to the existing stigmatization. However, oppositional or “counter-hegemonic” media sources such as *Zaman* and *Cumhuriyet* that are in some split with the ruling AKP elite provide more sympathetic coverage of the topic and often criticize the state policies on the topic, attempting to change them as Wolfsfeld’s (1997) ‘challengers’.

In general, it is possible to agree with Louis Althusser (1971) who argued that “the elite class secures and maintains the ideological, political, social institutions by the mass media” (cited in Doğan, 2013: 24) as an instrument where the state hegemony and patriarchal societal structures are being reproduced. Therefore, “to change the continuous mainstream media perspective, first of all the political economy of media ownership should be reformed. The relationship between political actors and media owners should be at least declared, underlined in news” (Doğan, 2013: 56-57). Furthermore, greater diversity in terms of media ownership should be provided to ensure objective media representation of migrant sex labor. More independent media sources should be created to act as ‘challengers’ (Wolfsfeld, 1997) that would challenge state hegemony and contribute to maintenance of a healthy two-way relationship between the media and the state that Robinson’s (2000; 2001) model of ‘media-policy interaction’ suggests.

Currently in Turkey, “the means of communication belongs to several wealthy media groups which do not have diverse point of views. Consequently, if the number of the different political party coverages in the newspapers are counted, the numbers only goes up to four. Yet, to maintain this situation of wealth, these media group have to reinforce the capitalist system. So, it would be ridiculous to expect otherwise” (Dogan, 2013: 58). In order to challenge the existing structures of capitalist and patriarchal exploitation of migrant sex labor present in the neo-liberal order, the media-state relationship in Turkey has to be reformed to allow more democratic freedoms and diversity of opinions.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

Imagine you are a baker, if you put something on the shelf and you sell it, it will be over and you will have to buy a new thing. But you can sell woman every day. You sell her in the evening and you put her on the shelf again in the morning. It is never over. Do you understand?

A photographer interviewed by Ayata et al. (2008: 56-57).

This dissertation examined media representations of migrant sex labor in Turkey, seeing mass media as an instrument of state hegemony and patriarchy. It has done so within the framework of Marxist feminist and historical materialist theory in IR, supplemented with literature on the relationship between media and the state in communication studies. The exploitation of migrant women's sex labor was examined in this work "at the intersection between patriarchy and capitalism" (Messerschmidt, 2009: 85), and gender-based inequality was seen in the broader context of exploitation of any labor by capital.

In general, the answer to the research question posed in the beginning of this study of "How do the Turkish media portray migrant sex labor of women from FSU in Turkey?" is that the media impact in influencing the portrayal of migrant sex labor and public opinion on this issue in Turkey in the period from 1992 to 2014 was very significant. Whereas state-dominated "hegemonic" media sources owned by giant media holdings that are in no split with the ruling government elite such as *Sabah*,

Hürriyet or *Milliyet* provided more sensational and less sympathetic account of migrant sex labor, the oppositional “counter-hegemonic” media sources such as *Cumhuriyet* or *Zaman* provided more sympathetic and critical coverage of the topic. In general, there is a lack of democratic diversity in media representations of migrant sex labor and other topics in Turkey, explained by current unfortunate suppression of democratic freedoms in Turkey in general. Furthermore, many media outlets are also indirectly owned by members of the ruling elite. For example, Doğan (2013: 26) notes that

There are some considerable incidents that indicate the corruption in the relationship between media ownership and politics. It is possible to claim that a politician’s relative owning a TV channel provides the politician an arena to duplicate his/her political perception. ATV belongs to Çalık Media Group. The prime minister’s son in law is a partner of this group. Consequently, the independence and impartiality of reporting in ATV is arguable.

Acting as an instrument of state hegemony, the “state-dominated” media creates particular “negative” images and narratives in its coverage of migrant sex labor such as the image of “Natashas” from former Soviet Union countries as “loose” and “voluntary prostitutes”, or the images of Turkish clients as “innocent victims” of these women. The aim of the creation of such images is to reproduce the dominant forms of hegemonic ideology of neoliberal capitalism adopted by the Turkish state, and to conceal exploitation of migrant women’s labor by capital (Gitlin, 1979). In Gramsci’s understanding, “hegemony” meant rule by consent rather than coercion (Gill & Law, 1989: 476). Therefore, the “state-dominated” media such as *Sabah*, *Hürriyet* or *Milliyet* as the ideological platforms where the hegemony of the state was reproduced were “instructed” by the state to create certain narratives of events related to sex labor in the highly ideological context of morality and cultural norms such as decency, family relations or *namus*. In contrast, independently owned *Cumhuriyet* created more “positive” and sympathetic accounts of migrant sex labor.

However, because in Turkey the media capital is monopolized in the hands of a few holdings such as Doğan Holding or Demirören Holding, it becomes more and more difficult to maintain diversity and freedom of speech in the media representation of migrant sex labor, as well as other sensitive political issues. “According to Chomsky, in countries where the levers of power are in the hands of political elites, the monopolistic control over the media makes it clear that the media serve for the benefits of a dominant elite” (cited in Doğan, 2013: 22). Therefore,

instead of a healthy two-way relationship between the media and the state in which both interact in a structure and exert mutual influence upon each other suggested by Robinson's (2000; 2001; 2002) model of 'media-policy interaction', the situation in Turkey is actually much closer to the 'manufacturing consent' model suggested by Bennett (1990), in which the media coverage of most issues conforms with the interests of political elites and can be easily manipulated when necessary. As a result, freedom of speech is threatened and diversity of different views is not provided. In order to ensure more objective media representations of migrant sex labor in Turkey, better diversity in media ownership and provision of democratic freedoms should be ensured by the state. The whole structure of media-state relationship in Turkey has to be reformed to provide diversity of opinions and prevent monopolization of media outlets in the hands of powerful holdings close to the ruling AKP elite.

According to Williams (1960: 586), "a project becomes hegemonic when its view of reality pervades all the different layers of society, namely, its institutions, its private life, its morality, its customs, its religion and the different aspects of its culture". In this sense, the portrayal of migrant sex labor as a source of "sin" in the traditionally "unspoiled" Turkish society was created as a successful hegemonic project by the state. Since the state and transnational capitalist class represented by giant media holdings are both motivated by profit-maximization in the capitalist economy, they found it useful to promote particular patriarchal attitudes to migrant sex workers as "goods" in the capitalist market that could be sold. The quotation provided in the beginning of this chapter very well pictures the underlying reason for the existence and "tolerance" to the presence of sex labor in Turkey: its high profitability. When migrant women's bodies are viewed as commodities that can be purchased by "clients", one can notice "the complicity of the state ... in facilitating the exploitation of women's reproductive labor by its propertied class, specifically, and for transnational bourgeois capitalist interests, generally" (Agathangelou, 2004: 2).

Although the state and its privileged social classes enjoy the benefits of exploiting migrant sex labor with simultaneous "dollar" infusions into the economy from migrants' participation in tourism, hotel industry, small-scale or "suitcase trade", at the same time, the state also promotes certain "good" and "bad" images through the state-dominated media to conceal profit-maximization (Ludwig, 2009). Yet, it does not forbid migrant women to enter Turkey for good, which could be done

by adopting more strict migration laws because of the state's profits from migrants' involvement in tourism and trade. Therefore, there is a certain hypocrisy in Turkey's overall policy on migrant sex labor and its representations in the state-dominated media sources. The women are shown by these media to the general public as "fallen" women who contaminate the traditional Turkish society with contagious venereal diseases, but profits pocketed by the Turkish state from these women's participation in tourism or trade are only discussed in the oppositional media sources such as *Cumhuriyet*. However, since oppositional media sources are currently under very strong pressure from the AKP ruling elite and because freedom of speech in Turkey is currently suppressed by government policies, the critical coverage of such sensitive issues in oppositional media outlets is also in decline.

Furthermore, through the state-dominated media outlets as an instrument of state hegemony and patriarchy, the Turkish state also supports the "good" images of traditional roles of Turkish women as "chaste" mothers and wives, and cultural and religious values because it is interested in the maintenance of capitalist production in traditional nuclear families (Barrett, 1988). The state is interested in the continuation of exploitation of migrant sex labor as long as it does not disrupt the continuation of capital accumulation by challenging gendered division of labor in the family and the society in general. However, at the same time, the state also creates "bad" images with the help of the "state-dominated" media broadcasting certain messages related to such "private" matters as sexuality, marriage and divorce because it helps to ensure the rule of masses by consent rather than coercion (Gramsci, 1971). The masses that are being fed with particular media narratives from the state-dominated media outlets continue to behave in the interests of global capitalism.

In general, the news about "prostitution" in Turkey will always be popular, and the readers will buy newspapers with headlines mentioning it because sexuality is such a sensitive matter that is supposed to be in the private control of the individuals. However, in fact, family relations, sex labor and sexuality are strictly controlled by the state because of their significance for the maximization of profit in capitalist relations. Through its governance of sex labor, the state also alienates sex workers from the society by coding them in the people's minds as "less human" than others as it was shown in the discussion of Oksana Topor case provided above. The hegemonic ideology of neoliberal capitalism needs to be constantly reproduced by cultural institutions of the state such as the media in order to stay "hegemonic";

otherwise, it would be threatened by “oppositional” counterhegemonic forces such as the oppositional media. Therefore, there is constant discussion of the topic of migrant sex labor in the state-dominated media aimed at reproduction of state hegemony and patriarchy and concealing of exploitation of migrant labor by capital. Discussion of such sensational topics also provides better newspaper sales, which is beneficial for capitalism.

In this dissertation, we also examined the supply and demand sides of migrant sex labor in Turkey because this topic is very significant for the analysis of media representations. It was found that both supply and demand sides of migrant sex labor are explained by the dynamics of capitalist and patriarchal structures facilitating exploitation of migrant sexual labor by capital. It is then possible to agree with Demir and Finckenauer (2010: 86) that “The Turkish government may be able to do little to decrease the supply, but it can do many things to reduce the demand” for migrant sex labor. The Turkish government may not be able, or not interested in stopping the arrival of migrant women to Turkey because of profits from tourism or “suitcase trade”, although arrival of migrants could be stopped by adopting more strict migration laws or visa policies for migrants from FSU⁶⁸, but the least it could do would be to attempt to tackle the patriarchal demand for migrant sex workers in Turkey.

As the most important step in preventing and fighting exploitation of migrant women’s sexual labor, the presence of Turkish male clients in the system of sex labor should be made visible, and they should be held responsible for purchasing a service from a sex worker. Since the opinion of the society and one’s reputation are very important cultural values in the Turkish society, it is predicted that criminalization of buying commercial sex in Turkey would bring positive results. As a preventive measure, the identities of Turkish clients should be taken notice of at the police stations, and clients should be held responsible by the society and law for purchasing sexual services from sex workers. As Küntay and Çokar (2007: 55) figuratively put

⁶⁸ For example, after the incident with downing of a Russian plane Su-24 participating in the military operation in Syria by the Turkish aviation in November 2015 that led to cooling of Russian-Turkish relations, the Russian side introduced visa regime for the Turkish citizens wishing to enter Russia, although there are a lot of Turkish businesses in Russia especially in the construction industry that obviously bring profits and benefits to the Russian economy. However, the Turkish side refrained from such sanctions and did not introduce visa regime for the citizens of Russian Federation wishing to enter Turkey. Turkey continues to maintain visa-free regime with all countries of former Soviet Union because of the immense profits that the Turkish economy receives from migrants’ participation in tourism and trade (for statistics on these profits, see Yüksek, 2003).

it, the “name of the clients should be written among those who exploit [sex labor] openly in the criminal law”.

The real reason for sexual exploitation of migrant women from former Soviet Union in Turkey is not these women’s “looseness” or “indecentness”; it is the ongoing patriarchal demand for new women in sex work stemming from the Turkish clients who perceive it normal and acceptable to buy commercial sex. It is then possible to agree with Raymond (2001: 9) who argues that “the least discussed part of the prostitution and trafficking chain are the men who buy women for sexual exploitation through prostitution, pornography, sex tourism and mail order bride marketing”. As long as it is considered normal to buy sexual services from a sex worker, the demand and the exploitation will pertain. The following quotation from an interview with a 53-year old senior media executive is provided in *Cumhuriyet* (Toktar, 2004):

Previously for these types of activities [prostitution] one had to go to Europe. However, now it is possible to find the best here. My own personal choice is women from northern countries such as Russia, Ukraine and Romania. Because these women are educated, smart and beautiful. We started to bring these women to Turkey 2 years ago. I myself did this 5-6 times. We bring two girls, one for me, one for my friend. They usually stay for 1 week-10 days and then go. The prices range between 3-10 thousand dollars for a week. The prices change according to the women’s age, beauty and length of stay. Today, especially among rich people it is very popular to do so, and rich people entertain themselves in this way. A yacht trip is both safe and perfect for such types of activities.

It is possible to feel that the interviewed client feels absolutely no discomfort about using the services of sex workers because he and his “friends” got used to doing “such types of activities” so much that it no longer seems strange or wrong to them to exploit migrant sex labor. According to Anderson and O’Connell Davidson (2003: 41), demand for sex labor is “socially construed” in the sense that it is never anyone’s individual decision to go and visit sex worker, which is very significant. Rather than that, the decision to visit sex workers is usually made under the influence or pressure of peers (e.g., father), friends or colleagues. Anderson and O’Connell Davidson (2003) believe that purchasing sexual service from a sex worker is often used to justify one’s status as a “man” in a particular social group. Since human beings are social creatures, the behavior of people around them often changes their

own behavior patterns. Therefore, a person who was not thinking about visiting a sex worker at all might consider this option under peer pressure.

Anderson and O'Connell Davidson (2003: 42) point out that "it is depressing how malleable most people are in terms of their morality in any market, and how quickly they can adjust to practices that before they would have considered exploitative, provided that no one stopped them and others appeared to be behaving similarly". Here again, the ideological and cultural aspect of the state hegemony is very significant, because it seems that the best way to develop less discriminatory attitudes to sex workers among the population is through proper education and objective media representations as instruments of state hegemony. Proper critical coverage of migrant sex labor should also continue to be provided by oppositional "counter-hegemonic" media. The following quotation very well summarized this point:

Human beings are not born wishing to buy commercial sexual services or to pay someone else to clean, cook and care for them, any more than they are born with specific desires to play the lottery or drink Coca-Cola. They have to *be induced* to feel that it would be pleasurable to pay a stranger for sex, and that it would be convenient or pleasant to have another person to clean after them. Where commercial sex is concerned, they also have to be taught to feel that consuming such services is a sign that they are having fun, a marker of their social identity and status as 'real men', 'adult', 'not-gay', or whatever (Anderson & O'Connell Davidson, 2003: 41, emphasis original).

It can be argued that in Turkey, men are often *induced* to buy commercial sexual services by their immediate environment such as friends or co-workers. Therefore, it would be a good idea to address this patriarchal demand for migrant sex labor not as an individual but as a societal, "socially construed" problem of treating migrant sex workers as "less worthy" than local women because they do not have their male kin to protect their *namus*, or treating all blonde or "foreign-looking" women as sexually available in general. Better education programs and objective media representations of such topics as migrant sex labor, sexuality and gender equality in general should be introduced by the Turkish state in state-dominated media, and continue to develop in oppositional independent media within the existing system constraints.

However, it is also very significant not to limit the measures aimed at prevention of exploitation of women's sexual labor to state policies or media impact on public opinion; it is equally important to increase the role and support of female NGOs as "solidarity networks" (Agathangelou, 2004) that would help develop better

connectedness among both migrant and Turkish women facing sexual exploitation in Turkey. Erder and Kaşka (2003: 58) point out that NGO participation in issues regarding human trafficking or sexual exploitation of migrant women is very limited because of the “dominant state tradition in Turkey”. “In a society in which the public sphere is mostly dominated by the state, and where there is a strong and well-established conservative tradition, NGOs cannot find a suitable climate in which to establish themselves and to be active” (Erder & Kaşka, 2003: 58).

However, in order to “seek agency” as active participants of global migratory movements, the women need to develop networks of global solidarity (Lucas, 2007: 6). Networks would allow sex workers to feel less isolated and better unionize in order to face exploitation of their labor by global capitalism (Agathangelou, 2004). One example of such network is a Ukraine-based feminist organization FEMEN (<http://femen.org/about-us/>) founded by activist Inna Shevchenko which organizes protests by bare-breasted female activists in public places in different parts of the world in order to attract attention of general public to the problems of sexual exploitation and gender inequality. They even organized a bare-breasted protest in Istanbul in 2012. The female protestors who receive special training had the words “Why?” and “What for” written in English on their bare-breasted bodies in order to attract public attention in Turkey to the problem of sexual exploitation of Ukrainian women in Turkey, arguing that the biggest demand for Ukrainian women came particularly from Turkey (see Acar, 2013; also Figure 81 below). The protest received wide public attention in Turkey and internationally.



Figure 81. FEMEN Protest in Sultanahmet, Istanbul, 2012 (Image Source: *Hürriyet Daily News*, 2012).

The activities of such organizations as FEMEN help unite all women facing sexual exploitation or victims of human trafficking globally, as well as better protect labor rights of both female and transgender sex workers and prevent discrimination against them. In a better effort to prevent exploitation, the Turkish state should also acknowledge the existing demand for migrant women and transgenders in sex work in Turkey and update its half-a-century-old 1961 Regulation on sex workers according to contemporary standards (see Coşkun, 2015a; 2015b; Zhidkova & Demir, 2016). Better information campaigns and more objective media representations of such topics as the spread of sexually transmitted diseases and condom use should be provided for the Turkish public through both state-dominated and independent media sources, but without “demonizing” migrant women as sources of diseases, but in a more positive and constructive way aimed at increasing level of public awareness about health and level of education in the Turkish society in general. Instead of stigmatization and labeling migrant women from former Soviet Union in Turkey for corruption of the society, a new more empathic perspective should be developed (Küntay & Çokar, 2007: 55). Gender inequality should be

fought by all available means in order to achieve global emancipation and freedom from all stereotypes and all types of “narrow” thinking.



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APPENDIX A

Academic Research on Migrant Sex Workers from the Former Soviet Union (FSU) in Turkey, 1992-2015

No.	Author(s)	Publication year	Title of the study	Type	Theoretical perspective applied	Methodology applied
1	Günçikan, Berat	1995	<i>Haraşo'dan Nataşa'ya</i> (From Harasho to Natasha) ⁶⁹	book	- (investigative journalism)	in-depth interviews with migrant sex workers, consulate staff and other community members
2	Hughes, Donna M.	2000	The "Natasha" Trade – The Transnational Shadow Market of Trafficking in Women ⁷⁰	academic article	feminist/criminological	research of available literature, newspaper analysis, personal communication with NGOs
3	Gülçür, Leyla, and Pinar İlkcaracan	2002	The "Natasha" Experience: Migrant Sex Workers from the Former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in Turkey	academic article	feminist (pro-sex work)	interviews with migrant sex workers (N=3), interviews with key informants (N=6), participant observation, newspaper analysis
4	Erder, Sema, and Selmin Kaşka	2003	Irregular Migration and Trafficking in Women: The Case of Turkey ⁷¹	IOM report	migration	interviews with government officials, consular and embassy staff, hotel owners, businessmen, NGOs and aid agencies, irregular migrants, academics and journalists (N=88), media analysis (<i>Sabah</i> and <i>Hürriyet</i> , 1999-2002)
5	Şimşek, Şükran, Adnan Kısa and	2003	Sex Workers and the Issues Surrounding Registration in	academic article	medical (health)	interviews with registered sex workers at the Skin and Sexually Transmitted

⁶⁹ Full citation information for all the sources listed here can be found in the Select Bibliography section of this dissertation.

⁷⁰ Although Hughes (2000) mainly focuses on trafficking of women from Ukraine, her article does contain important information on Turkey as a market for human trafficking, and can therefore be used for research on the problem of migrant sex workers in Turkey as well.

⁷¹ Also available in Turkish.

	Sophia F. Dziegielewski		Turkey			Infections Hospital in Ankara (N=150)
6	Agathangelou, Anna M.	2004	<i>The Global Political Economy of Sex: Desire, Violence and Insecurity in Mediterranean Nation States</i> ⁷²	book	postcolonial feminist historical materialist	interviews with sex and domestic workers, interviews with “impresarios” of sex workers in Cyprus, Greece and Turkey, newspaper analysis
7	Arslan, Çetin, et al.	2006	Combating Trafficking in Turkey: A Strategic Approach to Law Enforcement	IOM report	criminological	analysis of court decisions on human trafficking, interviews and correspondence with government officials, questionnaire among the members of the Turkish National Police
8	Narlı, Nilüfer	2006	Human Trafficking and Smuggling: the Process, the Actors and the Victim Profile	book chapter in <i>Trafficking in Persons in South East Europe: A Threat to Human Security</i>	criminological	interviews with migrant sex workers, irregular migrants, human smugglers, lawyers and male customers; media analysis, analysis of statistics obtained from Istanbul and Ankara security departments
9	Kirişçi, Kemal	2007	Border Management and EU-Turkish Relations: Convergence or Deadlock	research report	migration	research of available literature, interviews with officials from the Turkish National Police, the Turkish General Secretariat for EU Affairs, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as representatives of UNHCR and Turkish NGOs dealing with irregular

⁷² Agathangelou (2004) looks at reproductive labor (sex and domestic work) in three Mediterranean states: Cyprus, Greece and Turkey.

10	Kızılsümer, Deniz	2007	İnsan Ticareti ile Mücadele: Uluslararası Belgeler ve Türkiye'nin Çabaları (Struggle against Human Trafficking: International Documents and Turkey's Efforts)	academic article	criminological	migration, media analysis research of available literature
11	Küntay, Esin, and Muhtar Çokar	2007	<i>Ticari Seks Medya Dosyası</i> (Media Record on Commercial Sex)	research report	feminist (regulatory)	research of available literature, media analysis, legislation analysis
12	Öztürk, Fahriye, and Hakan Naim Ardor	2007	Suç Sanayiinin Bir Alanı İnsan Ticareti: Türkiye Açısından Bir Değerlendirme (Human Trafficking as a Criminal Industry Sector: An Assessment from the Perspective of Turkey)	academic article	criminological	research of available literature
13	Ayata, Ayşe, et al.	2008	Türkiye'de İnsan Ticaretinin Farklı Formlarına Olan Talebin İncelenmesi (An Analysis of Demand for Different Forms of Human Trafficking in Turkey)	IOM report	migration	in-depth interviews and focus-group studies with staff of international organizations, public offices and NGOs, as well as victims of human trafficking, sex worker customers, domestic workers, employers, lawyers and psychiatrists in Istanbul, Izmir, Antalya and Adana (total N=100), also media analysis (<i>Hürriyet</i> , <i>Posta</i> and <i>Zaman</i> , 2001-2008).
14	Kalfa, Ashıcan	2008	Eski Doğu Bloku Ülkeleri Kaynaklı İnsan Ticareti ve Fuhuş Sektöründe Çalışan Kadınlar (Human Trafficking Originating from Former	unpublished master's thesis	feminism/migration nexus	research of available literature, in-depth interviews with a Moldovan sex worker in Turkey, semi-structured interviews with convicted migrant sex workers awaiting trial and deportation

			Soviet Countries and Women Working in the Prostitution Sector)			at Ankara Sincan Female Closed Punishment and Detention Center (N=2) and Istanbul Bakırköy Female Closed Punishment and Detention Center (N=11), one interview with a lawyer who has consulted a migrant sex worker, two interviews with Women's Solidarity Foundation Staff, and one interview with General Directorate of Security officer
15	Kaya, İbrahim	2008	Legal Aspects of Irregular Migration in Turkey	research report	migration	research of available literature analysis of legislature
16	Atauz, Sevil, Emrah Akbaş and Reyhan Atasü-Topçuoğlu	2009	Human Trafficking in Turkey: Findings from Northeastern Anatolia	academic article	migration	semi-structured interviews with different stakeholders (city governors, police, gendarmerie, judiciary staff, state hospital staff, NGOs, local press) on their attitudes to human trafficking in Ardahan, Artvin, Iğdır and Trabzon (total N=142)
17	Beşpınar, Umut, and Kezban Çelik	2009	İnsan Ticaretinin Görünen Yüzü: Türkiye’de Farklı Sosyal Aktörlerin Seks Ticaretine Bakışı (The Visible Face of Human Trafficking: The View on Sex Trade of Different Social Actors in Turkey)	conference paper	criminological	research of available literature, in-depth interviews with police officers, former sex-workers, health care personnel, NGOs and other community members in Ankara, Istanbul, Izmir, Adana and Antalya
18	İçduygu, Ahmet⁷³	2009	International Migration and Human Development in	research report	migration	research of available literature, analysis of legislature, analysis of

⁷³ Ahmet İçduygu has published a great number of studies on irregular migration in Turkey starting from the 1990s. However, since neither of them deals directly with migrant sex workers or human trafficking, only the most relevant studies have been included in the table.

			Turkey			statistical data obtained from governmental institutions, interviews with academicians, media analysis content analysis of newspapers: <i>Hürriyet, Star, Radikal, Sabah, Taraf, Cumhuriyet, Milliyet</i> and <i>Vatan</i> published during the year of 2008, total N=84.
19	Demir, Oğuzhan Ömer, and Hakan Erdal	2010	Yasadışı Göç ile İlgili Kavramların Doğru Anlaşılabilmesi Sorunu ve Yazılı Basında Çıkan Haberler Üzerine Bir İnceleme (The Problem of Misunderstanding of Terms Related to Illegal Immigration and An Examination of News That Appeared in the Printed Media)	academic article	migration	
20	Demir, Oğuzhan Ömer, and James O. Finckenauer	2010	Victims of Sex Trafficking in Turkey: Characteristics, Motivations, and Dynamics	academic article	criminological	research of available literature, interviews with identified victims of human trafficking conducted by the police (N=430) and individual interviews with prosecutors, police officials, representatives of NGOs and IOs (N=18)
21	Demir, Oğuzhan Ömer	2010	Methods of Sex Trafficking: Findings of a Case Study in Turkey	academic article	criminological	research of available literature, media analysis, police-recorded interviews with victims of human trafficking (N=430), interviews with judicial personnel, police officials, representatives of NGOs and IOs (N=18) ⁷⁴
22	Işığçok, Özlem	2010	Küresel Gerçeklerle	academic	migration	research of available literature,

⁷⁴ Demir (2010) uses the same data set as Demir and Finckenauer (2010) probably because of the richness of the interviews with victims of human trafficking conducted by the police and used in both of these studies.

			Türkiye’de Yabancı Kaçak İşçi Sorunu: Boyutları ve Sonuçları (Global Truths and The Problem of Foreign Illegal Workers in Turkey: Dimensions and Conclusions)	article		analysis of legislation, media analysis
23	Çokar, Muhtar, and Habibe Yılmaz-Kayar	2011	Seks İşçileri ve Yasalar: Türkiye’de Yasaların Seks İşçilerine Etkileri ve Öneriler (Sex Workers and Laws: The Impacts of Laws on Sex Workers in Turkey and Suggestions)	research report	feminist (regulatory)	interviews with sex workers conducted by an NGO <i>Kadın Kapısı</i> in Turkey, analysis of legislation, research of available literature, media analysis (<i>Hürriyet, Milliyet</i>)
24	Balseven-Odabaşı, Aysun et al.	2012	The Experiences of Violence and Occupational Health Risks of Sex Workers Working in Brothels in Ankara	academic article	medical (health)	questionnaire at face-to-face interviews with registered sex workers at Ankara Skin and Sexually Transmitted Diseases Hospital (N=138)
25	İçduygu, Ahmet, and Damla B. Aksel	2012	Irregular Migration in Turkey	research report	migration	analysis of statistics, analysis of legislation
26	Karakuş, Önder, and Edmund F. McGarrell	2012	The Distribution of Women Trafficking Market in Turkey: Does Demand Matter?	academic article	criminological	Rengert’s (1996) framework for the diffusion of illegal drug markets and Negative Binomial Regression Models used to examine patterns of human trafficking across 81 cities in Turkey, media analysis
27	Okutan, Esra	2012	Trafficking in Persons in Theory and Practice: Case Of Turkey	unpublished master’s	feminist (abolitionist)	research of available literature and analysis of statistics

28	Özer, Elif	2012	<i>Kimse Duymaz: Türkiye’de İnsan Ticareti Mağdurları Üzerine Bir Araştırma</i> (Nobody Will Hear: A Research on the Victims of Human Trafficking in Turkey)	thesis book (published master’s thesis)	Marxist feminist	in-depth interviews with migrant sex workers granted the status of victims of human trafficking in Turkey conducted via the NGO Human Resources Development Foundation(N=13)
29	Sever, Murat, Oğuzhan Ömer Demir, and Yavuz Kahya	2012	Assessing the Identification Processes of Trafficked Persons in Turkey ⁷⁵	IOM report	migration	interviews with government officials, police officers, judicial staff, IOs and NGO representatives in Antalya, Istanbul, Trabzon, Rize, Artvin and Ankara (total N=49), data analyzed through SWOT analysis
30	Toksöz, Gülay, and Çağla Ünlütürk-Ulutaş	2012	Is Migration Feminized? A Gender- and Ethnicity-Based Review of the Literature on Irregular Migration to Turkey	book chapter in <i>Turkey, Migration and the EU: Potentials, Challenges and Opportunities</i>	migration	research of available literature, analysis of statistical data obtained from the Ministry of Labor and Social Security and Foreigners’ Office of the General Directorate of Security, 107 interviews with migrants, state officials, representatives of labor unions and migrant organizations, including interviews with 47 migrants conducted in Kumkapı, Istanbul
31	Toksöz, Gülay, Seyhan Erdoğan, and Selmin Kaşka	2012	Irregular Labor Migration in Turkey and Situation Of Migrant Workers in The Labor Market	IOM report	migration	research of available literature, analysis of statistical data obtained from the Ministry of Labor and Social Security and Foreigners’ Office of the General Directorate of Security,

⁷⁵ Also available in Turkish.

32	Açıkalın, Neriman	2013	Fuhuş Pazarında Sermaye Olmak: Mersin Örneği (To be a Capital in the Prostitution Market: The Example of Mersin)	academic article	feminist (abolitionist)	interviews with migrants conducted in Kumkapı, Istanbul, interviews with state officials, representatives of labor unions and migrant organizations in-depth interviews with sex workers working in brothels and in street prostitution in Mersin (N=44)
33	Baykotan, Ceren	2014	Human Trafficking in Turkey: A Feminist Analysis	academic article	feminist	research of available literature, analysis of legislation, media analysis
34	Coşkun, Emel	2014	Türkiye’de Göçmen Kadınlar ve Seks Ticareti (Migrant Women in Turkey and Sex Trade)	academic article	feminist (abolitionist)	semi-structured interviews with government officials, police officers, NGO representatives, doctors and lawyers in Ankara and Istanbul (N=23), media analysis, analysis of legislation
35	Coşkun, Emel	2015a	“Consent” Issue in Sex Trafficking and Evidence from Turkey	academic article	feminist (abolitionist)	semi-structured interviews with government officials, police officers, NGO representatives, doctors and lawyers in Ankara and Istanbul (N=23), media analysis, analysis of legislation
36	Coşkun, Emel	2015b	Curbing Sex Trafficking in Turkey: The Policy–Practice Divide	academic article	feminist (abolitionist)	semi-structured interviews with government officials, police officers, NGO representatives, doctors and lawyers in Ankara and Istanbul (N=23), media analysis, analysis of legislation

APPENDIX B

A Sample Article Included into Content Analysis

Fatih'te fuhuş operasyonu: 35 gözaltı

CİHAN

29 Ocak 2011, Cumartesi 06:30

Fatih'te Asayiş Şube Müdürlüğü Ahlak Büro Amirliği ekipleri, ihbar üzerine Aksaray'daki bir eğlence mekânına fuhuş baskını yaptı. Operasyonda, fuhuş yaptığı ve fuhşa aracılık ettiği iddia edilen 35 kişi gözaltına alındı.

Asayiş Şube Müdürlüğü Ahlak Büro amirliği ekipleri, Aksaray'daki bir eğlence merkezini yakın takibe aldı. Söz konusu adrese müşteri kılığında giren sivil ekipler, fuhuş pazarlığı yaptı. Eğlence merkezine baskın yapan polis ekipleri, fuhuş yaptığı iddia edilen 32 kadın ile fuhşa aracılık ettiği ileri sürülen 3 kişiyi gözaltına aldı. Kadınların, Moldova, Ukrayna ve Rus uyruklu oldukları öğrenildi.

Gözaltına alınan kadınlar, hastalık taşıyıp taşımadıklarının belirlenmesi için hastaneye sevk edildi. Kadınlar, daha sonra sorgulanmak üzere Asayiş Şube Müdürlüğü'ne götürüldü. Emniyetteki işlemleri süren yabancı uyruklu kadınların, sınır dışı edilmek üzere Yabancılar Şube Müdürlüğü'ne teslim edileceği belirtildi.

Source: *Zaman*, January 29, 2011

APPENDIX C

The List of Turkish News Articles Related to Migrant Sex Workers from Former Soviet Union in Turkey Used for Content Analysis in This Dissertation, 1992-2014

No	Newspaper Name	Year Of Publication	Publication Date	Article Title In Turkish ⁷⁶	Article Title In English	Author/Source
1	<i>Cumhuriyet</i>	1992	June 19	AIDS Tehlikesi	The Danger Of AIDS	AA ⁷⁷ (Trabzon)
2	<i>Cumhuriyet</i>	1992	December 13	AIDS'e Dolarlı Engel	A Dollar Obstacle To AIDS	Cemil Cığırım
3	<i>Cumhuriyet</i>	1992	April 30	Her Derde Deva Serbest Piyasa	The Free Market Is A Solution To Everything	İlhan Selçuk
4	<i>Cumhuriyet</i>	1992	February 17	Kalpak Var, Madam Da Var	We Have Hats And We Have Madams	Cemil Cığırım (Samsun)
5	<i>Cumhuriyet</i>	1992	January 15	Karadeniz'de Seks Çılgınlığı	The Sex Madness In The Black Sea Region	AA (Ankara)
6	<i>Cumhuriyet</i>	1992	November 13	Meclis'te Nataşa Tartışıldı	Natashas Was Discussed In The Parliament	Cumhuriyet Ankara Office
7	<i>Cumhuriyet</i>	1992	December 21	Nataşa Sendromu	The Natasha Syndrome	Erdal Atabek
8	<i>Cumhuriyet</i>	1992	September 17	Nataşalar Hastalık Saçıyor	The Natashas Are Disseminating Disease	Cemil Cığırım
9	<i>Cumhuriyet</i>	1992	February 5	Rus Pazarları Askere Yasak	Soldiers Are Forbidden To Enter The Russian Markets	News Center
10	<i>Cumhuriyet</i>	1992	May 26	Sevişmek Ne Güzel, Şu AIDS	Having Sex Is So Wonderful, But	Türey Köse

⁷⁶ The list is organized in the alphabetic order according to the articles' Turkish titles for each year.

⁷⁷ AA stands for Anadolu Agency.

				Olmasa...	For The AIDS...	
11	Cumhuriyet	1992	March 2	Sınır Kapısının Etkisi	The Effect Of The Border Gate	AA (Samsun)
12	Cumhuriyet	1992	July 7	Temel’le Nataşa’ya AIDS Senaryosu	An AIDS Scenario For Temel And Natasha	Istanbul News Service
13	Cumhuriyet	1993	December 3	AIDS’e Yakalanmaktan Korkun, Korunun	Be Afraid Of Catching AIDS, Protect Yourself	Gündüz İmşir
14	Cumhuriyet	1993	August 7	Haraşo’dan Nataşa’ya	From Harasho To Natasha	Berat Günçikan
15	Cumhuriyet	1993	January 7	Nataşa Prezervatifi Yutunca	When Natasha Swallows A Condom	Cumhuriyet Ankara Office
16	Cumhuriyet	1993	December 8	Turizmciler, Vergi İndirimi İstedi	Those Working In The Tourism Sector Asked For a Tax Reduction	Istanbul News Service
17	Cumhuriyet	1994	June 26	AIDS’ten Korunmanın Tek Yolu Prezervatif	The Only Way To Protect Oneself From AIDS Is Condom	Leyla Tavşanoğlu
18	Cumhuriyet	1994	August 16	Bavul Dolusu Dolar Kaçıyor	Huge Amounts Of Dollars Are Escaping In Suitcases	Economic News Service
19	Cumhuriyet	1994	January 9	Hayat Kadınına Eliza Testi	An AIDS Test For A Prostitute	Cemil Çiğirim (Samsun)
20	Cumhuriyet	1994	October 17	Madalyonun İki Yüzü	Two Faces Of A Medallion	İlhan Selçuk
21	Cumhuriyet	1995	October 10	Laleli’nin Eski Günlerdeki Tadı Kalmadı	No Taste Of The Old Days Is Left In Laleli	Istanbul News Service
22	Cumhuriyet	1995	August 6	Türkiye İçin Uçak Üretebiliriz	We Can Produce Planes For Turkey	Leyla Tavşanoğlu
23	Cumhuriyet	1996	April 28	Baltacının İzinden Gidenler, Bavullarla Rusya Yollarında	The Followers Of Baltacı Are On The Roads To Russia With Their Suitcases	Şükran Soner, Sochi (Russia)
24	Cumhuriyet	1998	November 1	Önce Ekmek Ver, Sonra Ahlak	Food Comes First, and Then Morality	Hakan Aksay, Moscow (Russia)
25	Cumhuriyet	1999	August 14	Hatalarımız Bizi Bitirdi	Our Mistakes Have Destroyed Us	Fatma Koşar, Özkan Güven
26	Cumhuriyet	1999	April 11	Laleli’ye “Nataşa Anıtı” Dikelim!	Let’s Erect A “Monument To Natasha” In Laleli!	Hakan Aksay, Moscow (Russia)
27	Cumhuriyet	2000	December 7	AIDS Paniği	An AIDS Panic	Cumhuriyet Office In Muğla

28	Cumhuriyet	2000	April 15	“Bavulcular” Da Değişti	“The Suitcase Traders” Have Changed As Well	Hakan Aksay (Moscow)
29	Cumhuriyet	2001	December 25	Büyüyen Canavar: Fuhuş	The Growing Monster: Prostitution	Saadet Uslu
30	Cumhuriyet	2001	December 25	Çaresizlikten Yapıyorlar	They Are Doing It Out Of Desperation	Istanbul News Service
31	Cumhuriyet	2001	December 19	Fuhuş Mafyasına Suçüstü	The Prostitution Mafia Caught In The Act	News Service
32	Cumhuriyet	2001	August 21	Fuhuşa Avrupa Standardı	A European Standard For Prostitution	Ebru Toktar
33	Cumhuriyet	2001	November 28	Leyla’yı Dışlayan Kültür	A Culture That Isolated Leyla	Oral Çalışlar
34	Cumhuriyet	2001	December 25	Yabancıların Suç Dosyası Kabarık	The Crime Record Of Foreigners Is Blooming	AA (Istanbul)
35	Cumhuriyet	2002	December 23	Eğlence Sektörü Köleleri	The Slaves Of The Entertainment Sector	Ahmet Şefik (Ankara)
36	Cumhuriyet	2003	December 19	İnsanca Yaşama Adım	A Step To A Humane Living	Figen Atalay
37	Cumhuriyet	2003	December 30	Teşhir	The Exposure	Hikmet Çetinkaya
38	Cumhuriyet	2004	July 19	Hayatsız Kadınların Dramı	The Drama Of Women With No Life	Cumhuriyet Office In Ankara
39	Cumhuriyet	2004	August 2	Türkiye Fuhuşta Merkez Üs	Turkey Is The Epicenter Of Prostitution	Ebru Toktar (Ankara)
40	Cumhuriyet	2005	January 9	Fuhuş Çetesi Çökertildi	A Prostitution Gang Was Brought Down	News Center
41	Cumhuriyet	2005	December 25	Seks Kölesi Kızların Çığlığı	The Scream of Sex Slave Girls	Figen Atalay
42	Cumhuriyet	2006	February 20	Fuhuş Çetesi Çökertildi	A Prostitution Gang Was Brought Down	Istanbul/Antalya Cumhuriyet Office
43	Cumhuriyet	2006	December 1	Fuhuşta Yurtdışı Bağlantısı	A Foreign Connection In Prostitution	Cumhuriyet Office In Ankara

44	Cumhuriyet	2006	May 8	İyi Bir Yaşam Sözüne Kandılar	They Fell For A Good Life Promise	Cumhuriyet Office In Ankara
45	Cumhuriyet	2007	April 7	Fuhuş Operasyonu: 7 Gözaltı	A Prostitution Operation: 7 Detained	Istanbul News Service
46	Cumhuriyet	2008	July 1	Hayata Bağlayacak Hat: 157	A Life-Connecting Line: 157	Cumhuriyet Office In Ankara
47	Cumhuriyet	2008	November 20	İşkenceyle Fuhuş	Prostitution With Torture	Konya (Cumhuriyet)
48	Cumhuriyet	2010	February 15	Türkiye Hedef Ülke	Turkey Is A Target Country	Meltem Yılmaz
49	Cumhuriyet	2013	July 19	Karadeniz'in Kadınları	The Women Of The Black Sea Region	Özgen Acar
50	Hürriyet	1997	November 14	Nataşa Avrupalının 6 Katını Kazandırdı	Natasha Earned Us 6 Times More Than The Europeans	Enis Berberoğlu (Trabzon)
51	Hürriyet	1998	November 29	AIDS'li Çıktı	She Turned Out To Have AIDS	-
52	Hürriyet	1998	May 23	Antalya'da Sahil Kavgası	A Beach Fight In Antalya	Yalçın Bayer
53	Hürriyet	1998	August 24	Bakan Türk'e Nataşa Şikâyeti	A Complaint About Natashas To Minister Turk	-
54	Hürriyet	1998	September 24	Bavul Turistleri Fahişe Oldu	The Suitcase Tourists Became Prostitutes	World News
55	Hürriyet	1998	September 13	Bir Gemi Dolusu Nataşa Geliyor	A Ship Full Of Natashas Is Coming	-
56	Hürriyet	1998	August 22	CHP, Yasakçı Valinin Kellesini İstiyor	The CHP Asks For The Head Of The Forbidding Governor	-
57	Hürriyet	1998	August 6	Göbek Değil Cüzdan Önemli	Not The Belly But The Wallet Is Important	-
58	Hürriyet	1998	May 10	Her Rus Kadınına Fahişe Sanınca!	What Happens When Every Russian Woman Is Considered A Prostitute	Yalçın Bayer
59	Hürriyet	1998	June 10	Moskova'dan Sevgilerle...	From Moscow With Love...	İsmet Solak
60	Hürriyet	1998	May 31	Rusya Bize Batı'dan Daha Çok Lazım	We Need Russia More Than The West	Yalçın Bayer
61	Hürriyet	1998	April 1	Sakıncalı Kızlar	Problematic Girls	-

62	Hürriyet	1999	August 9	6 Bin Kadına Sınırdışı	Deportation For 6 Thousands Women	-
63	<i>Hürriyet</i>	1999	February 28	Ahlakı Kim Bozar?	Who Corrupts Morality?	Serdar Turgut
64	<i>Hürriyet</i>	1999	July 4	Bağ Evinde Fuhuş	Prostitution In The Vineyard Resting House	-
65	<i>Hürriyet</i>	1999	July 25	Bize Fahişe Gözüyle Bakmayın	Don't Look At Us As At Prostitutes	-
66	<i>Hürriyet</i>	1999	April 3	Canavar İrina	Monster Irina	-
67	<i>Hürriyet</i>	1999	August 1	İçine Kapanan Çarşı	Desolated Grand Bazaar	-
68	<i>Hürriyet</i>	1999	November 19	Minibüslü Fuhuş Şebekesi	A Prostitution Network With Minibuses	-
69	<i>Hürriyet</i>	1999	March 12	Moldovalı Marjin AİDS'li	Moldavian Marjin Has AIDS	-
70	<i>Hürriyet</i>	1999	October 8	Müşterilerim Çok Cesur	My Clients Are Very Bold	-
71	<i>Hürriyet</i>	1999	February 26	Nataşalar Kars'ı Yedi Bitirdi...	The Natashas Have Completely Drained Kars	-
72	<i>Hürriyet</i>	1999	April 1	Paralar Nataşa'ya Oylar 'Boğa'ya	The Money Goes To Natashas, And The Votes Go To The "Bulls"	-
73	<i>Hürriyet</i>	1999	December 29	Patroniçe Değil Tüccarım	I'm Not A Madam, I Am A Trader	-
74	<i>Hürriyet</i>	1999	January 29	'Rus Güzeller Artık Türkler'in Olmayacak'	"The Russian Beauties Will Not Belong To Turks Anymore"	-
75	<i>Hürriyet</i>	1999	July 4	Rus Kadınların Nataşa İsyanı	The Natasha Uprising Of The Russian Women	-
76	<i>Hürriyet</i>	1999	June 8	Sahte Revü Kızları	Fake Show Girls	-
77	<i>Hürriyet</i>	1999	February 4	Sakıncalı Mühendisler	Problematic Engineers	-
78	<i>Hürriyet</i>	1999	May 4	Sokağı Yabancılar Kaptırdılar	They Lost The Streets To Foreigners	-
79	<i>Hürriyet</i>	1999	July 30	Yenikapı'da Seks Pazarı	A Sex Market In Yenikapı	-
80	Hürriyet	2000	October 5	9 Nataşa Yakalandı	9 Natashas Were Caught	-
81	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2000	February 26	10 Bin Nataşa'mız Var	We Have 10,000 Natashas	-
82	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2000	January 11	6200 Yabancı Hayat Kadını Sınırdışı Edildi	6,200 Foreign Prostitutes Were Deported	-
83	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2000	March 31	Bakanlıktan Nataşa Operasyonu	A Natasha Operation Order From	-

84	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2000	February 11	Emri	The Ministry	-
85	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2000	November 26	Bile Bile AIDS Bulaştırıyor	He Consciously Spreads AIDS	Izmir
86	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2000	January 31	Evlilik Oyunu	The Marriage Game	
87	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2000	February 11	Fuhuş Çetesine Darbe	A Blow To A Prostitution Gang	Antalya
88	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2000	August 3	Fuhuş Otellerine Şok Baskın	A Surprise Raid On The Prostitution-Related Hotels	Istanbul
89	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2000	February 4	Fuhuşa Baskın	A Prostitution Raid	The Mediterranean (Antalya)
90	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2000	April 20	Fuhuşa Darbe	A Blow To Prostitution	Antalya
91	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2000	March 6	Hastalık Saçanlar Yakalandı	The Ones Disseminating Disease Were Caught	-
92	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2000	January 17	Hastalık Saçıyorlar	They Disseminate Disease	-
93	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2000	May 15	Hastane Polise Kızgın	The Hospital Is Mad At The Police	-
94	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2000	March 29	Havalar Isındı, Fuhuş Sayfıyeye Kaydı	As The Weather Became Warmer The Prostitution Moved To Holiday Resorts	-
95	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2000	February 27	Maryna'nın Ekmek Parası Ve AIDS Dramı	Maryna's Bread Money And Her AIDS Tragedy	-
96	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2000	January 1	Muz Cumhuriyeti	The Banana Republic	Yalçın Bayer
97	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2000	October 21	Müdüre Fuhuş Baskını	A Prostitution Raid On The Director	Çanakkale
98	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2000	May 26	Nataşa Operasyonu	A Natasha Operation	Izmir
99	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2000	January 5	Nataşa, Dikkat Çekmemek İçin 'İmaj' Değiştirdi	Natasha Changed Her "Image" So As Not To Attract Attention	-
100	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2000	March 25	Seks İşçilerinin Sağlık Karnesi	Health Record Of Sex Workers	-
101	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2000	March 23	Uyanın AIDS Türkiye'yi Sarıyor	Wake Up, AIDS Is Taking Over Turkey	Yalçın Bayer
102	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2001	December 24	Yine Fuhuş Operasyonu	Another Prostitution Operation	-
103	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2001	December 24	10 Bin 150 Yabancıya Sınırdışı	Deportation for 10,150 Foreigners	-
104	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2001	December 24	1500 Dolara Aşk Kölesi	A Love Slave For 1,500 Dollars	News

104	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2001	20 December 30	Ardahan'da Kadın Turist Yasağı Kalktı	A Ban On Women Tourist In Ardahan Has Been Lifted	Ümit Kılıç (Ardahan)
105	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2001	January 29	Bodrumda İlçe Turizm Komitesi	A District Committee On Tourism In Bodrum	Yaşar Anter (Bodrum)
106	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2001	August 15	C Motel'e Yine Fuhuş Baskını	Another Prostitution Raid On The C Motel	Kenan İspir (İstanbul)
107	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2001	December 5	İtiraf Ediyorum	I Confess	Ayşe Arman
108	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2001	September 23	O Polisler Bedelini Ödesin	These Cops Should Pay	Ayşe Arman
109	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2001	August 25	Seks Ticaretine Yılda 4 Milyon Köle	4 Million Victims Of Sex Trade Annually	Nurdan Çakmakçı (İstanbul)
110	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2001	July 24	TC Vatandaşı 3 Bin Nataşa	3,000 Natashas Are Turkish Citizens	Ali Aksoyer (İstanbul)
111	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2001	February 5	Temel Kondomu Sevd	Temel Loved The Condom	-
112	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2001	November 11	Türkiye'deki Bin 246 AIDS Hastası Var	Turkey Has 1,246 AIDS Patients	-
113	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2001	July 22	Yeni Nataşalar Ermenistan'dan	The New Natashas Are From Armenia	Uğur Ergan (Ankara)
114	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2002	July 21	AIDS'li Kadınlar Durdurulamıyor	Women With AIDS Cannot Be Stopped	Kenan İspir (İstanbul)
115	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2002	September 16	AIDS'im Ama Para İçin Yine Geleceğim	I Have AIDS But I Will Come Again For The Money	Ali Aksoyer (İstanbul)
116	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2002	December 14	AIDS'li Çıktı	She Turned Out To Have AIDS	-
117	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2002	July 16	Çöpçatan Tatiana Nihayet Yakalandı	Matchmaker Tatiana Was Finally Caught	Kenan İspir (İstanbul)
118	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2002	October 5	Fuhuş İçin Sınırı Yaya Geçtiler	They Crossed The Border On Foot For Prostitution	Recep Demirci (Erzincan/DNA ⁷⁸)
119	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2002	April 1	Home Sweet Home	Home Sweet Home	Ayşe Arman

⁷⁸ DNA stands for Doğan News Agency.

120	Hürriyet	2002	January 23	İkisi de AIDS'li Çıktı	They Both Turned Out To Have AIDS	Ali Aksoyer (Istanbul)
121	Hürriyet	2002	January 14	İlanla Kandırıp Ağa Düşürmüşler	They Tricked Them With An Ad And Trapped Them In Their Net	-
122	Hürriyet	2002	December 26	İlişkisi Olanlar Doktora Gitsin	Those Who Had An Intercourse Should Visit A Doctor	-
123	Hürriyet	2002	February 2	Lütfen Rus Kadına Nataşa Demeyelim	Please Let Us Not Call Russian Women Natashas	Şaban Sevinç (Ankara)
124	Hürriyet	2002	June 11	Nataşalar Amerikan Ajansına Haber Oldu	The Natashas Became A Story At An American Agency	-
125	Hürriyet	2002	January 17	Pazarlama Sanal Fuhuş Gerçek	Procuring Is Virtual But Prostitution Is Real	-
126	Hürriyet	2002	May 8	Polis Zoruyla AIDS Testi	An AIDS Test Enforced By The Police	-
127	Hürriyet	2002	February 4	Sanal Fuhuş Çetesine Dava	A Lawsuit Against A Virtual Prostitution Gang	-
128	Hürriyet	2003	December 29	Bakın Bakalım Siz Yattınız Mı	Let Us See Have You Slept Together	Onur Sağsöz (Erzurum, DNA)
129	Hürriyet	2003	December 24	Bin Dolara Seks Kölesi	A Sex Slave For 1,000 Dollars	Ali Aksoyer (Istanbul)
130	Hürriyet	2003	December 26	Dansçılara Tuzak	A Trap For The Dancers	Süleyman Kaya (Istanbul)
131	Hürriyet	2003	March 23	Efsane Doğru Mu	Is The Legend True	Ayşe Arman
132	Hürriyet	2003	May 15	Formalite Koca Katliam Yaptı	A Husband-On-Paper Carried Out A Massacre	Serkan Akkoç- Ömer Çağlak/Istanbul
133	Hürriyet	2003	October 10	İthal Bakıcıya Seks Tuzağı	A Sex Trap For An Imported Caretaker	Süleyman Kaya (Istanbul)
134	Hürriyet	2003	June 1	Karsta AIDS Paniği	An AIDS Panic In Kars	Mukadder Yardımcıel (DNA)
135	Hürriyet	2003	August 14	Operasyon Rusya'ya da Kaydırılıyor	The Operation Is Shifted To Russia As Well	Tekin Atay (DNA)
136	Hürriyet	2003	October 8	Piknikte Toplu Seks Baskını	A Group Sex Raid At A Picnic	-

137	Hürriyet	2003	February 10	Polisten Korktu Betona Uçtu	She Was Afraid Of The Police And Flew On A Concrete Floor	Turgay İpek (Erzurum, DNA)
138	Hürriyet	2003	August 12	Rusya'nın İsteddiği Operasyon	An Operation That Russia Wants	Tekin Atay (DNA)
139	Hürriyet	2004	October 17	Alanya'da AIDS Panîği	An AIDS Panic In Alanya	Mehmet Çelik (Alanya, DNA)
140	Hürriyet	2004	September 18	Albümlü Aşk Pazarı	A Love Market With An Album	Turaç Top (DNA)
141	Hürriyet	2004	August 9	Artık Nataşa Nikâhı Kıymam	I Will No Longer Perform Marriage Ceremonies With Natashas	Mehmet Çelik (DNA)
142	Hürriyet	2004	February 3	Hayat Kadınları Hastalık Saçıyor	The Prostitutes Are Disseminating Disease	-
143	Hürriyet	2004	April 26	İstanbul'da Fuhuş Şebekesi Çökertildi	A Prostitution Network In Istanbul Was Brought Down	Ali Aksoyer (Istanbul)
144	Hürriyet	2004	June 7	İşte Kırgızistan'daki Patroniçe Ainura	Here Comes Madam Ainura From Kyrgyzstan	Ali Aksoyer (Istanbul)
145	Hürriyet	2004	March 2	Kırgız Kadınlara Kırgız Tuzağı	A Kyrgyz Trap For The Kyrgyz Women	Tekin Atay (DNA)
146	Hürriyet	2004	March 6	Lüleburgaz'da AIDS Tehlikesi	An AIDS Danger In Luleburgaz	-
147	Hürriyet	2004	February 11	Ukrayna HIVli O.T.'Yi Belçika'ya Gönderdi	Ukraine Sent O.T. With HIV To Belgium	Nurettin Kurt (Ankara)
148	Hürriyet	2005	August 3	4 m Sığınakta 5 Seks Kölesi	5 Sex Slaved In A 4-Meter-Large Shelter	Soner Kocaer (Antalya, DNA)
149	Hürriyet	2005	January 11	Bebeğini Öldürüp Zorla Çalıştırdılar	They Killed Her Baby And Forced Her To Work	Şefik Dinç (Istanbul)
150	Hürriyet	2005	May 3	Dadılık İçin Geldim, Seks Kölesi Oldum	I Came To Work As A Nanny But Became A Sex Slave	Özden Atik (Istanbul)
151	Hürriyet	2005	April 19	Fuhuş Kavgası Kanlı Bitti	A Prostitution Fight Ended With Blood	Isparta/ Atabey
152	Hürriyet	2005	February 28	İlk Ay Şebekeye Sonra Kendilerine	In The First Month They Worked For The Network, And Then For Themselves	Ali Aksoyer
153	Hürriyet	2005	February 9	Kırgız Öğretmene Kamyonette	A Raid In A Pickup Truck On A	Onur Sağsöz (DNA)

154	Hürriyet	2005	May 24	Baskın Lüleburgaz'da AIDS Paniği	Kyrgyz Schoolteacher An AIDS Panic In Lüleburgaz	Lüleburgaz
155	Hürriyet	2005	September 1	Manken Yapacağınız Deyip Kandırdılar	They Tricked Us Saying They Will Make Us Models	Mustafa İhsan (DNA)
156	Hürriyet	2005	November 2	Nataşa Davası Kamu Davasına Dönüştü	The Natasha Case Became A Public One	Taner Yener (Istanbul)
157	Hürriyet	2006	August 10	2 Aylık Hamile Kadın Fuhuşta Yakalandı	A 2-Months-Pregnant Woman Was Caught In Prostitution	Soner Kocaer/ Antalya (DNA)
158	Hürriyet	2006	July 27	19 Yaşındaki Hamile Kızı Satmaya Kalktılar	They Tried To Sell A 19-Year-Old Pregnant Girl	-
159	Hürriyet	2006	March 11	Açık Denizde Fuhuş	Prostitution In The Open Sea	Ahmet Bayrak- Erdoğan Cankuş (DNA)
160	Hürriyet	2006	November 24	Anaokulu Öğretmeni Fuhuşta Yakalandı	A Pre-School Teacher Was Caught In Prostitution	Harun Gökçeoğlu / Yozgat (DNA)
161	Hürriyet	2006	May 5	Ankara'da "Kaktüs Operasyonu": 4 Gözaltı	"Operation Cactus" In Ankara: 4 Detained	AA
162	Hürriyet	2006	February 13	Antalya'da Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation In Antalya	AA
163	Hürriyet	2006	December 8	Ardahan'da AIDS Paniği	An AIDS Panic In Ardahan	Ümit Kılıç / Ardahan (DNA)
164	Hürriyet	2006	March 23	Beyoğlu'nda Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation In Beyoğlu	AA
165	Hürriyet	2006	February 24	Çanakkale'de Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation In Çanakkale	AA
166	Hürriyet	2006	March 2	Çanakkale'deki Fuhuş Operasyonunda 7 Kadında Hastalık Çıktı	7 Women In A Prostitution Operation In Çanakkale Turned Out To Have Diseases	AA
167	Hürriyet	2006	November 21	Evin Gizli Bölümlerinde Fuhuş	Prostitution In The Secret Parts Of The House	AA
168	Hürriyet	2006	October 16	Fuhuş Çetesine Baskın	A Raid On A Prostitution Gang	Taylan Yıldırım / İzmir (DNA)
169	Hürriyet	2006	October 8	Fuhuş Kölesi Değil Profesyonel Çıktı	She Turned Out To Be A Professional, Not A Prostitution	Teslime Tosun (DNA)

170	Hürriyet	2006	November 27	Fuhuş Operasyonunda 7 Tutuklama	Slave 7 Arrests In A Prostitution Operation	Izmit / AA
171	Hürriyet	2006	August 14	Fuhuş Villasına Baskında 7 Yabancı Kadın Kurtarıldı	7 Women Rescued In A Raid On A Prostitution Villa	Metehan Öztanır / Alanya/Antalya (DNA)
172	Hürriyet	2006	November 1	Fuhuş Yapan 2 Gürcü Kadına Sınır Dışı	Deportation To 2 Georgian Women Engaging In Prostitution	Mustafa Şahin / Kayseri (DNA)
173	Hürriyet	2006	November 20	Fuhuş Yapan 3 Kadına Sınır Dışı	Deportation To 3 Women Engaging In Prostitution	Harun Gökçeoğlu / Yozgat (DNA)
174	Hürriyet	2006	June 26	Fuhuş Yapan Yabancı Uyraklı Hemşireler Yakalandı	Foreign Nurses Engaging In Prostitution Were Caught	Kürşat Tercanlı / Erzurum (DNA)
175	Hürriyet	2006	September 2	Fuhuş Yuvasına Baskın	A Raid On A Prostitution Nest	Metehan Öztanır / Alanya/Antalya (DNA)
176	Hürriyet	2006	November 23	Hem Fuhuş Hem Ticaret	Both Prostitution And Trade	Onur Sağsöz- Kürşat Tercanlı / Erzurum (DNA)
177	Hürriyet	2006	September 21	Iğdır'da Fuhuş Çetesine Darbe	A Blow On A Prostitution Gang In Iğdir	Iğdir (DNA)
178	Hürriyet	2006	June 15	İnsan Kaçakçılığı Şebekesi Çökertildi	A Human Smuggling Network Was Brought Down	AA
179	Hürriyet	2006	December 15	İstanbul'da 19 Kişiye Fuhuş Gözaltısı	19 People Detained For Prostitution In Istanbul	AA
180	Hürriyet	2006	November 27	İstanbul'da 30 Kadın Fuhuştan Gözaltına Alındı	30 Women Detained For Prostitution In Istanbul	AA
181	Hürriyet	2006	June 9	İstanbul'da Fuhuş Operasyonu: 6 Gözaltı	A Prostitution Operation In Istanbul: 6 Detained	AA
182	Hürriyet	2006	December 28	İstanbul'da Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation In Istanbul	AA
183	Hürriyet	2006	May 2	İstanbul'da Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation In Istanbul	AA
184	Hürriyet	2006	June 21	İzmir'de Fuhuş Operasyonu: 19	A Prostitution Operation In Izmir:	AA

185	Hürriyet	2006	May 30	Kişi Yakalandı Jandarmadan ‘Seks Kölesi’ Baskını	19 People Caught A ‘Sex Slave’ Raid From The Gendarmerie	Süheyla Gözdereliler- Nedim Güler/Yalova (DNA)
186	Hürriyet	2006	March 2	Kars'ta, 'Nataşa' Yasağı	A ‘Natasha’ Ban In Kars	Mukadder Yardımcıel /Kars (DNA)
187	Hürriyet	2006	January 6	Korkusuz Nazira Çeteyi Yakalattı	Fearless Nazira Helped Catch A Criminal Gang	Soner Kocaer / Antalya (DNA)
188	Hürriyet	2006	December 1	Olena’nın Fuhuş Çetesi Yakalandı	Olena’s Prostitution Gang Was Caught	Arda Akın / Ankara
189	Hürriyet	2006	September 19	Polisten Ölümüne Kaçış	An Escape From The Police To Death	Süleyman Elçin / Antalya (DNA)
190	Hürriyet	2006	November 21	Rize’de Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation In Rize	Muhammet Kaçar / Fındıklı/Rize (DNA)
191	Hürriyet	2006	December 7	Sağlık Merkezine Fuhuş Baskını	A Prostitution Raid On A Health Center	AA
192	Hürriyet	2006	February 7	Sahte Kimlikle Fuhuş	Prostitution With A Fake ID	Şefik Dinç / Istanbul
193	Hürriyet	2006	October 17	Seks Çetesini Çökerten İhbar	An Informing Call Bringing Down A Sex Gang	Taylan Yıldırım (DNA)
194	Hürriyet	2006	August 17	Seks Kölelerin Altısı Hastalıklı	Six of The Sex Slaves Have Diseases	Metehan Öztanır (DNA)
195	Hürriyet	2006	September 14	Seks Kölelerini Kurtarma Baskını	A Rescue Raid For The Sex Slaves	Remzi Bilge / Istanbul
196	Hürriyet	2006	November 13	Silivri’de 20 Kadın Gözaltına Alındı	20 Women Detained In Silivri	AA
197	Hürriyet	2006	December 6	Van'da Bir Kadında Frengi Tespit Edildi	Syphilis Identified In One Woman In Van	Fahrettin Gök / Van (DNA)
198	Hürriyet	2006	December 14	Yabancı Uyruklu 11 Kadına Fuhuş Gözaltısı	11 Women of Foreign Origin Detained for Prostitution	AA
199	Hürriyet	2006	November 30	Zorla Fuhuş Yaptıran 8 Kişiye Gözaltı	8 People Detained for Forcing into Prostitution	AA
200	Hürriyet	2007	January 30	76 Kadın Kurtarıldı	76 Women Were Rescued	Soner Kocaer /

201	Hürriyet	2007	March 5	AIDSli Kadın 2 Ayda 250 Erkeklerle Birlikte Olmuş	A Woman with AIDS Had Sex With 250 Men in 2 Months	Antalya (DNA) Latif Sansür / Kuşadası/Aydın (DNA) AA
202	Hürriyet	2007	February 26	Alanya'da Fuhuş Operasyonunda 40 Gözaltı	40 Detained in a Prostitution Operation in Alanya	AA
203	Hürriyet	2007	November 26	Ankara'yı Titreten Ajanda	An Agenda Making Ankara Tremble	Ankara
204	Hürriyet	2007	September 27	Antalya'da Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Antalya	Soner Kocaer / Antalya (DNA)
205	Hürriyet	2007	July 30	Artvin'de Fuhuş Operasyonu: 16 Kişi Tutuklandı	A Prostitution Operation in Artvin: 16 People Arrested	Hakan Aydın/ Şavşat/Artvin (DNA)
206	Hürriyet	2007	November 12	Aşçıydı, Dansçı Olacak Sandı, Fuhuşa Zorlandı	She Was a Cook, Thought She Would Become a Dancer, But Was Forced into Prostitution	Eray Eroğlu / İstanbul
207	Hürriyet	2007	February 22	Bandırma'da Fuhuş: 40 Gözaltı	Prostitution in Bandırma: 40 Detained	Erdem Özcan-Ahmet Pesen / Bandırma/Balıkesir (DNA)
208	Hürriyet	2007	January 17	Bodrum'da Fuhuşa İkinci Darbe	The Second Blow to Prostitution in Bodrum	Yaşar Anter / Bodrum/Muğla (DNA)
209	Hürriyet	2007	May 26	Bursa Ve Yalova'da 'Kardelen' Operasyonu	Operation 'Snowdrop' in Bursa and Yalova	AA
210	Hürriyet	2007	December 15	Çanakkale'de Fuhuşa 'Marmara' Darbesi	A 'Marmara' Blow to Prostitution in Çanakkale	Erdem Sürek-Ersan Küçükkuş / Çanakkale (DNA)
211	Hürriyet	2007	December 14	Çetenin Lideri Dr Svetlana	The Gang's Leader is Dr. Svetlana	Ali Aksoyer (İstanbul)
212	Hürriyet	2007	June 7	Erzincan'da Fuhuş Operasyonuna 9 Gözaltı	9 Detained in a Prostitution Operation in Erzincan	Recep Demirci / Erzincan (DNA)
213	Hürriyet	2007	January 11	Fuhuş Baskınında Ayısıyla	She Was Caught with Her Teddy	Taylan Yıldırım

214	Hürriyet	2007	February 1	Yakalandı Fuhuş Çetesinin Kurbanları Anlatıyor	Bear in a Prostitution Raid The Victims of a Prostitution Gang Are Telling	(DNA) Nurettin Kurt
215	Hürriyet	2007	April 7	Fuhuş Esaretinden 157 Hattı Kurtardı	157 Hotline Saved from Enslavement in Prostitution	Şefik Dinç
216	Hürriyet	2007	March 14	Fuhuş Kölesi E-mail İhbarıyla Kurtuldu	A Prostitution Slave Was Saved by an Informing Email	Bahadır Öktem / Trabzon (DNA)
217	Hürriyet	2007	December 30	Fuhuş Operasyonunda 34 Gözaltı	34 Detained in a Prostitution Operation	Tahsin Dolavcı / Kütahya (DNA)
218	Hürriyet	2007	November 8	Fuhuş Operasyonunda 46 Gözaltı	46 Detained in a Prostitution Operation	Bahadır Öktem / Trabzon (DNA)
219	Hürriyet	2007	July 1	Fuhuş Operasyonunda Gözaltı Sayısı 59a Çıktı	The Number of Detainees in a Prostitution Operation Rose to 59	Taylan Yıldırım / İzmir (DNA)
220	Hürriyet	2007	March 27	Fuhuş Villasına İkinci Baskın	The Second Raid on a Prostitution Villa	Erol Akkır / Antalya (DNA)
221	Hürriyet	2007	March 9	Fuhuşa Zorlanan Moldovalı Polise Sığındı	A Moldavian Forced into Prostitution Was Harbored by the Police	Latif Sansür / Kuşadası/Aydın (DNA)
222	Hürriyet	2007	June 28	Fuhuşta Yakalanan Azeri Hemşire: 'Doktora Geldim'	An Azerbaijani Nurse Caught in Prostitution Says 'I Came to See a Doctor'	Cem Bakırcı / Erzurum (DNA)
223	Hürriyet	2007	June 18	Gürcü Bale Öğretmenine, Fuhuştan Sınırdışı	Deportation for Prostitution to a Georgian Ballet Teacher	Cem Bakırcı / Erzurum (DNA)
224	Hürriyet	2007	December 4	Hastane Otoparkında Fuhuş	Prostitution in a Hospital's Parking Area	Ramazan Çetin / Denizli (DNA)
225	Hürriyet	2007	May 11	Isparta'da Fuhuş Operasyonuna 27 Gözaltı	27 Detained in a Prostitution Operation in Isparta	AA
226	Hürriyet	2007	October 10	İstanbul'da Fuhuş Çetesi Çökertildi	A Prostitution Gang Was Brought Down in Istanbul	AA
227	Hürriyet	2007	March 19	İstanbul'da Yabancı Uyruklu 30 Kadın Gözaltına Alındı	30 Women of Foreign Origin Were Detained in Istanbul	AA
228	Hürriyet	2007	March 19	İşe Yerleştireceğiz Dediler Fuhuşa	They Said They Would Find Them	Serkan Kılınç /

				Sürüklediler	a Job But Dragged Them into Prostitution	Trabzon (DNA)
229	Hürriyet	2007	June 30	İzmir'de Fuhuş Operasyonu: 50 Gözaltı	A Prostitution Operation in Izmir: 50 Detained	Turaç Top-Bahri Karataş / İzmir (DNA)
230	Hürriyet	2007	May 1	Kadın Polis, Fuhuş Çetesinin Köstebeği	A Female Police Officer Turned Out to be a Prostitution Gang's Mole	Taner Yener / İstanbul
231	Hürriyet	2007	May 26	Karaca: Eğitimli Nataşalar Açlıktan Geliyor Bence Onlar Melaike	Karaca Says: Educated Natashas Come Because of Hunger I Think They Are Angels	Tahsin Ülker / Adana (DNA)
232	Hürriyet	2007	March 5	Kuşadası'nda Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Kuşadası	AA
233	Hürriyet	2007	March 16	Marmaris'te 35'i Yabancı Uyruklu Kadın 50 Kişi Gözaltında	50 People Out of Which 35 Are Foreign Women are Detained in Marmaris	AA
234	Hürriyet	2007	March 20	Marmaris'teki Fuhuş Operasyonuna 9 Tutuklama	9 Arrests in a Prostitution Operation in Marmaris	Gülşah Güyük / Marmaris/Muğla (DNA)
235	Hürriyet	2007	April 13	Masaj Salonunda Zorla Fuhuş Skandalı	Forced Prostitution Scandal at a Massage Parlor	AA
236	Hürriyet	2007	January 16	Mavi Turda Fuhuş	Prostitution on a Boat Trip	Yaşar Anter / Bodrum/Muğla (DNA)
237	Hürriyet	2007	November 13	Moldova-Türkiye Seks Kölesi Hattı	A Sex Slave Line between Moldavia and Turkey	Toygun Atilla / İstanbul
238	Hürriyet	2007	October 29	Natalia'yı Tanıyan Hastaneye Gitsin	Those Who Know Natalia Should Go to the Hospital	Ali Aksoyer / İstanbul
239	Hürriyet	2007	August 23	Porno CD'li Kadın Servisi	A Woman Service with Porno CDs	-
240	Hürriyet	2007	October 18	Rusya Federasyonu Başkonsolosu: Eşim Trabzon'da Tacize Uğradı	The Consul General of the Russian Federation Says: My Wife Was Harassed in Trabzon	Osman Şişko / Trabzon (DNA)
241	Hürriyet	2007	June 5	Samsun'da Fuhuş Operasyonu: 29	A Prostitution Operation in Samsun:	Ismail Akduman /

242	Hürriyet	2007	December 1	Gözaltı	29 Detained	Samsun (DNA)
243	Hürriyet	2007	April 13	Seks Çetesinin Gizli Kayıtları	Secret Records of a Sex Gang	-
				Temizlikçi Diye İşe Aldı, Fuhuş Yaptırdı	He Hired Her as a Cleaner But Forced into Prostitution	Şefik Dinç
244	Hürriyet	2007	June 27	Uluslararası Fuhuş Davasında 3 Tahliye	3 Released in an International Prostitution Case	Bahri Karataş / İzmir (DNA)
245	Hürriyet	2007	December 10	Ürgüp'te Fuhuş Operasyonu: 13 Gözaltı	A Prostitution Operation in Ürgüp: 13 Detained	Ahmet Korkmazer / Nevşehir (DNA)
246	Hürriyet	2007	April 27	Van'da Fuhuş Operasyonuna 16 Gözaltı	16 Detained in a Prostitution Operation in Van	AA
247	Hürriyet	2007	February 6	Yargıtay Hâkimi Seks Villasında Yakalandı	A Supreme Court Judge Was Caught in His Sex Villa	Arda Akın / Ankara
248	Hürriyet	2007	January 25	Yozgat'ta Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Yozgat	Yozgat (DNA)
249	Hürriyet	2008	May 10	'Seks Kölesini' Polis Kurtardı	The Police Saved a 'Sex Slave'	Soner Kocaer / Antalya (DNA)
250	Hürriyet	2008	September 27	2 Buçuk Aylık Hamile Fuhuşta Yakalandı	A 2.5-Months-Pregnant Woman Was Caught in Prostitution	Soner Kocaer (DNA)
251	Hürriyet	2008	December 25	17 Yaşındaki Kızı Fuhuşa Zorlayan Kadın Tutuklandı	A Woman Forcing a 17-Year-Old Girl into Prostitution Was Arrested	Osman Şişko / Trabzon (DNA)
252	Hürriyet	2008	January 24	Adapazarı'nda Fuhuş Operasyonu: 9 Gözaltı	A Prostitution Operation in Adapazarı: 9 Detained	Zafer Tokuş / Adapazarı/Sakarya (DNA)
253	Hürriyet	2008	December 4	AİDS'li Doktora Sınır Dışı	Deportation to a Doctor with AIDS	Akçaabat/Trabzon (DNA)
254	Hürriyet	2008	April 14	Ailesini Arayınca Fuhuş Çetesi Çökertildi	A Prostitution Gang Was Brought Down When She Called Her Family	Tufan Hamarat / İzmir (DNA)
255	Hürriyet	2008	July 27	Alanya'da Fuhuş Çetesine Baskın	A Raid on a Prostitution Gang in Alanya	AA
256	Hürriyet	2008	November 20	Amasya'da Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Amasya	Savaş Tutak / Amasya (DNA)
257	Hürriyet	2008	December 29	Artvin'de Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Artvin	Hakan Aydın / Artvin (DNA)

258	Hürriyet	2008	February 25	Aşk Kaçamağı Ölümle Bitti	A Love Escapade Ended With Death	Ali Aksoyer / Istanbul
259	Hürriyet	2008	April 3	Bakıcı Olacaksın Dediler, Zorla Fuhuş Yaptırdılar	They Told Her She Would Become a Caretaker, But Forced Her into Prostitution	Selamet Öz / Istanbul
260	Hürriyet	2008	December 2	Birisi Hamile Diğeri HIV’li	One of Them Is Pregnant, the Other One Has HIV	Ali Aksoyer
261	Hürriyet	2008	July 18	Çeteden En Çok Kazandıran Kadına Nazar Boncuğu	An Evil Eye Talisman for the Woman Who Helps the Gang Earn the Most	Soner Kocaer / Antalya (DNA)
262	Hürriyet	2008	January 11	Dansöz Yapacağız Dediler, Beni Pazarladılar	They Said I Would Become a Dancer But Sold Me into Prostitution	Ali Aksoyer / Istanbul
263	Hürriyet	2008	October 20	En Çok Kazaklar Fuhuş Kurbanı	Kazakhs Become Victims of Prostitution the Most	Uğur Ergun / Ankara
264	Hürriyet	2008	March 6	Erzurum’da Fuhuş Yapan 2 Kadın Yakalandı	2 Women Engaging in Prostitution in Erzurum Were Caught	Erzurum (DNA)
265	Hürriyet	2008	March 31	Evlenme Vaadiyle Kandırıp Fuhuş Yaptıran Şebeke	A Network Tricking into Prostitution with False Marriage Promises	Soner Kocaer (DNA)
266	Hürriyet	2008	August 4	Evliliklere Yabancı Kadın Darbesi	A Foreign Women Blow to Marriages	Zafer Tokuş / Adapazarı/Sakarya (DNA)
267	Hürriyet	2008	December 21	Fuhuş Evinde Parola ‘Misafirliğe Geldik’	The Code Words in a Prostitution House Are ‘We Came as Guests’	Sefa Kılık / Istanbul
268	Hürriyet	2008	December 5	Fuhuş Operasyonuna 10 Tutuklama	10 Arrests in a Prostitution Operation	AA
269	Hürriyet	2008	October 18	Fuhuş Yapan Gürcü Kadınlar Gözaltında	Georgian Women Engaging in Prostitution Are Detained	Zafer Tokuş / Adapazarı/Sakarya (DNA)
270	Hürriyet	2008	January 21	Fuhuşa Zorladıkları Kadınları, Gizli Bölmede Saklamışlar	They Hid Women They Forced into Prostitution in a Secret Space	Erdoğan Cankuş / Fethiye/Muğla (DNA)

271	Hürriyet	2008	March 10	Fuhuşa Zorlanan Kırgız Kadın Kurtarıldı	A Kyrgyz Woman Forced into Prostitution Was Rescued	Trabzon (DNA)
272	Hürriyet	2008	May 30	Gardıroptaki Seks Köleleri	Sex Slaves in a Wardrobe	Şefik Dinç / İstanbul
273	Hürriyet	2008	November 6	Gaziantep'te Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Gaziantep	AA
274	Hürriyet	2008	January 22	Gizli Fuhuş Yuvasına Baskına 4 Tutuklama	4 Arrests in a Raid on a Secret Prostitution Nest	Erdoğan Cankuş / Fethiye/Muğla (DNA)
275	Hürriyet	2008	December 22	Gizli Kameralı Randevu Evi	A Meeting House with Secret Cameras	Mehmet Yirun / Çorlu/Tekirdağ (DNA)
276	Hürriyet	2008	August 1	Halı Saha Maçına Bir Kaleci Lazım	We Need a Goalkeeper for a Football Field Game	Şefik Dinç / İstanbul
277	Hürriyet	2008	April 24	Hepatit C'li Kadınlarla Fuhuş Yapanlar Doktora	Those Who Had Intercourse with Prostitutes Having Hepatitis C Should Go to a Doctor	AA
278	Hürriyet	2008	January 21	İstanbul'da Fuhuş Operasyonu: 68 Gözaltı	A Prostitution Operation in İstanbul: 68 Detainees	AA
279	Hürriyet	2008	April 9	İzmir'de AIDS'li Hayat Kadını Paniği	A Panic about a Prostitute Having AIDS in İzmir	Taylan Yıldırım / İzmir (DNA)
280	Hürriyet	2008	May 12	İzmir'de Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in İzmir	İzmir (DNA)
281	Hürriyet	2008	January 26	Kalaşnikof'lu Fuhuş Çetesine Operasyon: 9 Gözaltı	An Operation on a Prostitution Gang Owning Kalashnikovs: 9 Detained	Soner Kocaer / Antalya (DNA)
282	Hürriyet	2008	February 5	Katalogdan İthal Kadın Siparişi	An Imported Women Order from a Catalogue	Arda Akın / Ankara
283	Hürriyet	2008	March 20	Kayseri'de Fuhuş Operasyonu: 9 Gözaltı	A Prostitution Operation in Kayseri: 9 Detained	Recep İstek / Kayseri (DNA)
284	Hürriyet	2008	November 16	Konya'da Fuhuş Çetesi Çökertildi	A Prostitution Gang Was Brought Down in Konya	Özgür Sarı / Konya (DNA)
285	Hürriyet	2008	January 18	Konya'da Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Konya	-
286	Hürriyet	2008	February 22	Kuaförde Fuhuş Şifresi: Bıyıkları Kestirecektim	Code Words for Prostitution at the Hairdresser's: I Came to Have My	Soner Kocaer (DNA)

287	Hürriyet	2008	March 21	Kuşadası'nda Fuhuş Baskını	Moustache Trimmed A Prostitution Raid in Kuşadası	Latif Sansür / Kuşadası/Aydın (DNA) AA
288	Hürriyet	2008	December 26	Küçükçekmece'de Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Küçükçekmece	
289	Hürriyet	2008	December 1	Marmaris'te Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Marmaris	Ali Gündoğan / Marmaris/Muğla (DNA) AA
290	Hürriyet	2008	April 26	Masaj Salonunda Fuhuş İddiası	Prostitution Allegations against a Massage Parlor	
291	Hürriyet	2008	July 2	Mersin'de Fuhuş Şebekesi Çökertildi	A Prostitution Gang Was Brought Down in Mersin	Mustafa İnsan / Mersin (DNA)
292	Hürriyet	2008	June 17	Natasha Bile Hava Parası Ödüyor	Even Natashas Pay Taxes	-
293	Hürriyet	2008	March 31	Rus Çocuk Doktoru Fuhuşta Basıldı	A Russian Pediatrician Was Busted in Prostitution	Taylan Yıldırım / Izmir (DNA)
294	Hürriyet	2008	October 19	Rus Eşe Zorla Fuhuşa Gözaltı	Detention for Forcing a Russian Wife into Prostitution	Izmir (DNA)
295	Hürriyet	2008	January 12	Seks Pazarına Düşüren İhanet	A Betrayal Causing Her to Enter the Sex Market	Taylan Yıldırım
296	Hürriyet	2008	December 5	Sungurlu'da Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Sungurlu	AA
297	Hürriyet	2008	February 13	Talimatnameli Fuhuş Evi	A Prostitution House with Its List of Instructions	Abdurrahman Cengiz (DNA)
298	Hürriyet	2008	October 31	Trabzon'da Fuhuş Operasyonu: 86 Gözaltı	A Prostitution Operation in Trabzon: 86 Detained	Bahadır Öktem / Trabzon (DNA)
299	Hürriyet	2008	May 5	Türk Sarışın Sever Boyatıp Da Gönder	Turks Like Blondes So Dye Their Hair Before Sending Them	Arda Akın / Ankara
300	Hürriyet	2008	October 18	Ukraynalı Fuhuştan Sınır Dışı Edilmiş	A Ukrainian Was Deported for Prostitution	Arda Akın / Ankara
301	Hürriyet	2008	February 26	Ürgüp'te Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Ürgüp	Nevşehir (DNA)
302	Hürriyet	2008	July 24	Virüs Taşıdığını Bile Bile İlişkiye	She Had Sexual Intercourse Already	Ali Aksoyer / İstanbul

303	Hürriyet	2008	May 9	Girdi Zorla Fuhuş Yaptırılan Kızı Polis Kurtardı	Knowing She Carried a Virus The Police Rescued a Girl Forced into Prostitution	AA
304	Hürriyet	2009	February 16	Adana'da Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Adana	AA
305	Hürriyet	2009	April 11	Alanya'da Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Alanya	Özgür Yılmaz / Alanya/Antalya (DNA)
306	Hürriyet	2009	June 20	Antalya'da AIDSli Hayat Kadını Paniği	Panic about a Prostitute with AIDS in Antalya	Soner Kocaer / Antalya (DNA)
307	Hürriyet	2009	February 6	Antalya'da Fuhuş Baskını	A Prostitution Raid in Antalya	Soner Kocaer / Antalya (DNA)
308	Hürriyet	2009	April 8	Antalya'da Fuhuş Operasyonu: 5 Gözaltı	A Prostitution Operation in Antalya: 5 Detained	Soner Kocaer / Antalya (DNA)
309	Hürriyet	2009	August 14	Beylikdüzü'nde Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Beylikduzu	Seyit Erçiçek (DNA)
310	Hürriyet	2009	September 26	Bursa'da Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Bursa	Emre Koşak / Bursa (DNA)
311	Hürriyet	2009	March 14	Edremit'te Fuhuş Operasyonunda 18 Gözaltı	18 Detained in a Prostitution Operation in Edremit	Ahmet Ertan/ Edremit/Balıkesir (DNA)
312	Hürriyet	2009	May 10	Fındıklı'da AIDS Paniği	AIDS Panic in Fındıklı	Tamer Karataş / Fındıklı/Rize (DNA)
313	Hürriyet	2009	July 4	Fuhuş Çetesinde Ukraynalı Polis	A Ukrainian Policewoman in a Prostitution Gang	Eray Eroglu / Istanbul
314	Hürriyet	2009	August 4	Fuhuş Mağdurunu Garson Kurtardı	A Waiter Saved a Victim of Prostitution	Özgür Yılmaz / Alanya/Antalya (DNA)
315	Hürriyet	2009	July 3	Fuhuş Operasyonu: 15 Gözaltı	A Prostitution Operation: 15 Detained	AA
316	Hürriyet	2009	March 16	Fuhuş Operasyonunda 4 Tutuklama	4 Detained in a Prostitution Operation	Latif Sansür/ Kuşadası/Aydın (DNA)

317	Hürriyet	2009	December 1	Gürcistan'dan Kadınları Getirip Fuhuş Yaptırdılar	They Brought Women from Georgia and Forced Them into Prostitution	DNA
318	Hürriyet	2009	January 9	Hopa'da Rus Uyraklı Hayat Kadını AIDSli Çıktı	A Russian Prostitute in Hopa Turned Out to Have AIDS	Hakan Aydın / Hopa/Artvin (DNA)
319	Hürriyet	2009	May 31	İnsan Ticareti Çetesinin Şifreleri	Code Words of a Human Trafficking Gang	Nurettin Kurt / Ankara
320	Hürriyet	2009	May 8	İzmir'de Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Izmir	AA
321	Hürriyet	2009	May 21	Kuşadası'nda Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Kuşadası	AA
322	Hürriyet	2009	May 26	Kuşadası'ndaki Fuhuş Operasyonuna 3 Tutuklama	3 Arrests in a Prostitution Operation in Kuşadası	Latif Sansür/ Kuşadası/Aydın (DNA)
323	Hürriyet	2009	July 6	Muş'ta Fuhuş Operasyonu: 13ü Kadın 24 Kişi Yakalandı	A Prostitution Operation in Muş: 24 People Caught out of Which 13 Are Women	Mehmet Aydın / Muş (DNA)
324	Hürriyet	2009	May 23	Orhangazi'de Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Orhangazi	AA
325	Hürriyet	2009	January 6	Rize'de Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Rize	AA
326	Hürriyet	2009	May 13	Sahte Kimlikle Fuhuşa 5 Gözaltı	5 Detained for Prostitution with Fake IDs	Osman Şişko / Trabzon (DNA)
327	Hürriyet	2009	February 17	Samsun Ve Ordu'da Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Samsun and Ordu	AA
328	Hürriyet	2009	February 17	Şifre 'Fişek'	The Code Word is "Fireworks"	Adana (DNA)
329	Hürriyet	2009	January 18	Trabzon'da AIDS Şoku	AIDS Shock in Trabzon	Akçaabat/Trabzon (DNA)
330	Hürriyet	2009	March 10	Türkiye'de Geçen Yıl 62 Bin Kaçak Yakalandı	62,000 Irregular Migrants Were Caught in Turkey Last Year	AA
331	Hürriyet	2009	May 1	Yengelerin Fuhuş Çetesine 27 Tutuklama	27 Arrests to 'Aunts' Prostitution Gang	Turaç Top / Izmir (DNA)
332	Hürriyet	2009	January 10	Zorla Fuhuşa 2 Gözaltı	2 Detained for Forced Prostitution	Burak Gül / Alanya/Antalya

333	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2010	November 8	Antalya'da Fuhuş Operasyonu: 29 Gözaltı	A Prostitution Operation in Antalya: 29 Detained	(DNA) Soner Kocaer / Antalya (DNA)
334	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2010	November 3	Başkentte Fuhuş Çetesi Çökertildi	A Prostitution Gang Was Brought Down in the Capital	Fevzi Kızılkoyun / Ankara (DNA)
335	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2010	October 2	Bir Aylık Fuhuş Parasıyla Ev Ve Cip Satın Aldı	She Bought a House and a Jeep with One-Month Gain from Prostitution	Süleyman Kaya / Istanbul (DNA)
336	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2010	May 25	Bursa'da Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Bursa	AA
337	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2010	March 14	Bursa'da Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Bursa	AA
338	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2010	November 5	Fatih'te Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Fatih	Sefa Kıdık / Istanbul (DNA)
339	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2010	December 21	Fatih'te Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Fatih	Süleyman Kaya / Istanbul (DNA)
340	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2010	October 3	Fatih'te Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Fatih	Sefa Kıdık / Istanbul (DNA)
341	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2010	August 9	Fatih'te Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Fatih	AA
342	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2010	June 11	Fatih'te Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Fatih	AA
343	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2010	May 28	Fuhuş Çetesine Darbe	A Blow to a Prostitution Gang	Soner Kocaer / Antalya (DNA)
344	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2010	March 2	Fuhuş Davasında Ceza Yağdı	Punishment Was Poured in a Prostitution Case	AA
345	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2010	April 9	Fuhuş Operasyonu: 1'i Polis 9 Gözaltı	A Prostitution Operation: 9 Detained 1 of Which is a Policeman	Zeki Günay-Mehmet Bulut / Gaziantep (DNA)
346	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2010	March 16	Fuhuş Operasyonunda 15 Tutuklama	15 Arrests in a Prostitution Operation	Soner Kocaer / Antalya (DNA)
347	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2010	April 21	Fuhuş Operasyonunda 17 Gözaltı	17 Detained in a Prostitution Operation	Soner Kocaer / Antalya (DNA)
348	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2010	June 11	Fuhuş Yapan Kadınlar Frengili Çıktı	Women Engaged in Prostitution Turned Out to Have Syphilis	DNA
349	<i>Hürriyet</i>	2010	September	Fuhuş Yapılan Otele Gece Yarısı	A Midnight Raid on a Hotel	Soner Kocaer /

350	Hürriyet	2010	18 January 9	Baskını Fuhuştan 40 Kadın Yakalandı	Hosting Prostitution 40 Women Were Caught for Prostitution	Antalya (DNA) Süleyman Kaya / Istanbul (DNA)
351	Hürriyet	2010	October 27	Gece Kulübüne Fuhuş Baskını	A Prostitution Raid on a Nightclub	Süleyman Kaya / Istanbul (DNA)
352	Hürriyet	2010	May 17	Gölcük'te Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Gölcük	AA
353	Hürriyet	2010	January 9	Günün Üçüncü Sayfa Haberleri	The Day's Third Page News	-
354	Hürriyet	2010	January 21	Hatay'da Fuhuş Operasyonu: 10 Gözaltı	A Prostitution Operation in Hatay: 10 Detained	AA
355	Hürriyet	2010	July 20	Hayat Kadınına AIDS Şoku	An AIDS Shock to a Prostitute	Ali Aksoyer (DNA)
356	Hürriyet	2010	April 11	İstanbul'da Fuhuş Operasyonu: 32 Kişi Göz Altında	A Prostitution Operation in Istanbul: 32 People Detained	AA
357	Hürriyet	2010	June 17	İstanbul'da Fuhuş Operasyonu: 45 Gözaltı	A Prostitution Operation in Istanbul: 45 Detained	İsmail Aktaş / Istanbul (DNA)
358	Hürriyet	2010	November 3	İstanbul'da Gece Kulübüne Fuhuş Baskını	A Prostitution Raid on a Nightclub in Istanbul	Süleyman Kaya / Istanbul (DNA)
359	Hürriyet	2010	November 29	İstanbul'da Kumar Ve Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Gambling and Prostitution Operation in Istanbul	AA
360	Hürriyet	2010	October 30	İzmirli'lere Kötü Haber	Bad News to the Citizens of Izmir	AA
361	Hürriyet	2010	August 5	Kameralar Oyuncak Ayı İçinde	The Cameras Are Inside a Teddy Bear	Çetin Aydın
362	Hürriyet	2010	June 14	Karasu'da Fuhuş Baskını: 15 Gözaltı	A Prostitution Raid in Karasu: 15 Detained	Zafer Tokuş, Karasu/Sakarya (DNA)
363	Hürriyet	2010	March 15	Kataloglu Fuhuş Çetesi	A Prostitution Gang with a Catalogue	Soner Kocaer / Antalya (DNA)
364	Hürriyet	2010	December 8	Kocaeli'de Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Kocaeli	AA
365	Hürriyet	2010	October 1	Konya'da Fuhuş Operasyonu: 30 Gözaltı	A Prostitution Operation in Konya: 30 Detained	İhsan Yalçın-Ali Saylam, Seydişehir/Konya (DNA)
366	Hürriyet	2010	November	Kumburgaz'da Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in	AA

367	Hürriyet	2010	20 March 12	Maaş Ve Primli Seks Köleleri	Kumburgaz Sex Slaves with Salaries and Bonuses	Soner Kocaer (DNA)
368	Hürriyet	2010	May 27	Manavgat'ta Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Manavgat	AA
369	Hürriyet	2010	May 11	Moldovalı Kızları 'Alo 157' Kurtardı	'Hello 157' Saved the Moldavian Girls	Soner Kocaer / Antalya (DNA)
370	Hürriyet	2010	May 9	Müşteri Gibi Bastılar	They Suddenly Attacked as Clients	Süleyman Kaya (DNA)
371	Hürriyet	2010	May 25	Ödül İç Çamaşırı	The Prize is Underwear	Hüseyin Tüccar (DNA)
372	Hürriyet	2010	July 8	Pendik'te Fuhuş Operasyonu: 6 Gözaltı	A Prostitution Operation in Pendik: 6 Detained	AA
373	Hürriyet	2010	October 11	Promosyonlu Fuhuş Şebekesi	A Prostitution Network with Special Offers	Taylan Yıldırım / Izmir (DNA)
374	Hürriyet	2010	March 18	Rize'de Fuhuş Operasyonu: 45 Gözaltı	A Prostitution Operation in Rize: 45 Detained	AA
375	Hürriyet	2010	March 5	Rus Turistlere Fuhuş Tuzağını Polis Bozdu	The Police Disrupted a Prostitution Trap Set for the Russian Tourists	AA
376	Hürriyet	2010	June 9	Samsun'da Fuhuş Operasyonu: 39 Gözaltı	A Prostitution Operation in Samsun: 39 Detained	AA
377	Hürriyet	2010	February 17	Seks Kölelerini Müşteri İhbarı Kurtarmış	A Client's Informing Call Rescued Sex Slaves	Soner Kocaer / Antalya (DNA)
378	Hürriyet	2010	May 5	Trabzon'da Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Trabzon	Osman Şişko / Trabzon (DNA)
379	Hürriyet	2010	October 9	Türkmen Kadın Polis İzne Ayrılıp Fuhuş Yapmaya Geldi	A Turkmen Policewoman Took a Leave and Came to Work as a Prostitute	Soner Kocaer / Antalya (DNA)
380	Hürriyet	2010	January 4	Ürgüp'te Fuhuş Operasyonunda 13 Gözaltı	13 Detained in a Prostitution Operation in Ürgüp	Ahmet Korkmazer / Nevşehir (DNA)
381	Hürriyet	2011	November 20	4 Yıldızlı Otelde Kumar Ve Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Gambling and Prostitution Operation in a 4-Stars Hotel	Sefa Kılık (DNA)

382	Hürriyet	2011	December 18	155'i Gizlice Arayıp Kurtuldu	She Saved Herself by Secretly Calling 155	Elvan Ezber (DNA)
383	Hürriyet	2011	October 21	200 Polisle Fuhuş Çetesine Darbe	A Blow to a Prostitution Gang with 200 Policemen	Ali Aksoyer (Istanbul, DNA)
384	Hürriyet	2011	March 4	AIDSli Kadınları Bile Pazarladılar	They Even Sold Women with AIDS to Prostitution	Ahmet Bayrak (Muğla, DNA)
385	Hürriyet	2011	January 29	Aksaray'da Fuhuş Operasyonu: 35 Gözaltı	A Prostitution Operation in Aksaray: 35 Detained	Sefa Kıdık (Istanbul, DNA)
386	Hürriyet	2011	October 28	Antalya'da Fuhuş Operasyonu: 3 Polis Memuru Da Gözaltında	A Prostitution Operation in Antalya: 3 Police Officers Are Detained As Well	Soner Kocaer/ Antalya (DNA)
387	Hürriyet	2011	April 14	'Apaçi Dansı' Parolalı Fuhuş Baskını	A Prostitution Raid with Code Words 'Apache Dance'	Süleyman Kaya/ Istanbul (DNA)
388	Hürriyet	2011	February 13	Aynı Otele Kumar Ve Fuhuş Baskını	Gambling and Prostitution Raids on the Same Hotel	Sefa Kıdık / Istanbul (DNA)
389	Hürriyet	2011	May 19	Fatih'te Fuhuş Baskını: 33 Gözaltı	A Prostitution Raid in Fatih: 33 Detained	Süleyman Kaya/ Istanbul (DNA)
390	Hürriyet	2011	December 16	Fatih'te Fuhuş Operasyonu: 20 Gözaltı	A Prostitution Operation in Fatih: 20 Detained	AA
391	Hürriyet	2011	November 2	Fatih'te Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Fatih	AA
392	Hürriyet	2011	February 11	Fotoğraftan Beğen İnternette Çağır	Choose from a Photograph Invite from the Internet	Soner Kocaer (DNA)
393	Hürriyet	2011	June 21	Fuhuş Baskını	A Prostitution Raid	Süleyman Kaya (DNA)
394	Hürriyet	2011	April 24	Fuhuş Yaptırılan 6 Kadın Kurtarıldı	6 Women Forced into Prostitution Were Rescued	Istanbul (DNA)
395	Hürriyet	2011	February 27	İstanbul Fatih'te Fuhuş Baskını	A Prostitution Raid in Fatih in Istanbul	Süleyman Kaya / Istanbul (DNA)
396	Hürriyet	2011	May 4	İstanbul'da Fuhuş Operasyonu: 12 Gözaltı	A Prostitution Operation in Istanbul: 12 Detained	Sefa Kıdık / Istanbul (DNA)
397	Hürriyet	2011	February 3	İstanbul'da Fuhuş Ve Kumar Operasyonu: 41 Gözaltı	A Prostitution and Gambling Operation in Istanbul: 41 Detained	AA

398	Hürriyet	2011	April 15	İzmir’de Fuhuş Şebekesine Darbe	A Blow to a Prostitution Network in İzmir	Taylan Yıldırım / İzmir (DNA)
399	Hürriyet	2011	December 2	Otel Odasında 2 Bin 160 Prezervatif	2,160 Condoms in a Hotel Room	Osman Şişko (DNA)
400	Hürriyet	2011	June 15	Otelde Grup Sekse Baskın	A Raid on Group Sex in a Hotel	Soner Kocaer (DNA)
401	Hürriyet	2011	May 12	Otele Fuhuş Baskını	A Prostitution Raid on a Hotel	Soner Kocaer / Antalya (DNA)
402	Hürriyet	2011	June 5	Polisten Kurtulmak İçin Denize Açılmışlar	They Sailed in Order to Evade the Police	Soner Kocaer / Antalya (DNA)
403	Hürriyet	2011	November 20	Saat 03.00 Baskını	A 3:00 AM Raid	Sefa Kıdık (DNA)
404	Hürriyet	2012	December 31	300 Polisile Baskın	A Raid with 300 Policemen	Suat Deniz (DNA)
405	Hürriyet	2012	December 25	Adana Polisinden Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation from the Adana Police	AA
406	Hürriyet	2012	October 9	‘Bakıcı Aranıyor’ Fuhuşu	Prostitution With ‘Caretaker Needed’ Ads	Ali Aksoyer (DNA)
407	Hürriyet	2012	March 19	Çetenin Kalite Standardı	The Gang’s Quality Standard	Mehmet Kaymak (DNA)
408	Hürriyet	2012	July 20	Çorbacıya Gece Yarısı Baskını	A Midnight Raid on a Soup Restaurant	Hakan Kabahasanoğlu (DNA)
409	Hürriyet	2012	December 30	Doktor Ve Avukat Kadınlara Fuhuş Gözaltısı	Doctor and Lawyer Women Detained for Prostitution	Fatih Karaçalı / Adana (DNA)
410	Hürriyet	2012	December 17	Fatih’te Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Fatih	AA
411	Hürriyet	2012	December 27	Fuhuş Komiseri	A Prostitution Commissar	Fevzi Kızılkoyun / Ankara
412	Hürriyet	2012	June 28	Fuhuş Operasyonunda 12 Kadın Dolaptan Çıktı	12 Women Came Out of a Closet in a Prostitution Operation	Suat Deniz / Iğdır (DNA)
413	Hürriyet	2012	April 20	Fuhuş Operasyonunda Ortaya Çıkan Dram	The Drama Revealed in a Prostitution Operation	Ali Aksoyer- Süleyman Kaya / İstanbul (DNA)

414	Hürriyet	2012	July 4	Hasta Dediler Fuhuş Çıktı	They Said There is a Sick Person to Look After but It Turned Out to be Prostitution	Fatih Karaçalı (DNA)
415	Hürriyet	2012	December 1	Mankenlik Ajansına Fuhuş Baskını	A Prostitution Raid on a Modeling Agency	Ali Aksoyer (DNA)
416	Hürriyet	2012	February 6	Merdivene Gelince Bayıldı	She Fainted When Approaching the Stairs	Süleyman Kaya (DNA)
417	Hürriyet	2012	October 16	Performans Raporlu Fuhuş Kaydı	Prostitution Record with Performance Reports	Ahmet Kaya (DNA)
418	Hürriyet	2012	February 9	Polis Çok Uğraştı Ama Sonunda Şifreyi Buldu	The Police Worked Hard But Finally Found the Code	Adem Güngör / Artvin (DNA)
419	Hürriyet	2012	December 27	Sınır Dışı Edilen Kadını Kaçırdılar	They Kidnapped a Deported Woman	AA
420	Hürriyet	2012	January 17	Ukrayna-Türkiye Seks Kölesi Hattı	A Sex Slave Line between Ukraine and Turkey	Murat Şahin
421	Hürriyet	2012	December 11	Vika'nın Fuhuş Çetesi	Vika's Prostitution Gang	Fevzi Kızılkoyun / Ankara
422	Hürriyet	2013	April 11	7 Aylık Hamile Kadın AIDS'li Çıktı	7-Months-Pregnant Woman Turned Out to Have AIDS	Akif Arıcı / Antalya (DNA)
423	Hürriyet	2013	March 8	60 Manken Köle	60 Model Slave	Fevzi Kızılkoyun / Ankara
424	Hürriyet	2013	February 4	Aksaray'da Fuhuş Baskını: 37 Gözaltı	A Prostitution Raid in Aksaray: 37 Detained	Hasan Yıldırım / Istanbul (DNA)
425	Hürriyet	2013	February 13	Antalya'da Suç Örgütü Operasyonu	A Criminal Group Operation in Antalya	AA
426	Hürriyet	2013	April 28	Baskından AIDS Testine	From a Raid to an AIDS Test	İhsan Yalçın (DNA)
427	Hürriyet	2013	April 28	Fatih'te Fuhuş Baskını: 28 Gözaltı	A Prostitution Raid in Fatih: 28 Detained	İhsan Yalçın / Istanbul (DNA)
428	Hürriyet	2013	October 10	Fuhuş Yoksa Dayak	If There is No Prostitution There is Beating	Akif Arıcı (DNA)
429	Hürriyet	2013	May 3	Kod Adı: FUHUŞ	Code Name: PROSTITUTION	Çetin Aydın/Istanbul - Bülent Civanoglu/

						Bursa(DNA) - Habip Atam – Istanbul (DNA) - Ender Baykuş Fevzi Kızılkoyun / Ankara
430	Hürriyet	2013	December 4	'Manken Yapacağız' Dediler Fuhuş Yaptırdılar	They Said 'We Will Make You Models' But Forced into Prostitution	
431	Hürriyet	2013	May 3	'Manken Yapma' Vaadiyle Getirip Fuhuş Batağına Sürüklediler	They Brought Them Under a Fake Promise of 'Making Them Models' but Dragged Them into the Snare of Prostitution	Habip Atam – Istanbul (DNA)
432	Hürriyet	2013	December 17	Ukrayna'dan Ev Alacaktık	We Were Going to Buy a House in Ukraine	-
433	Hürriyet	2014	November 9	9 Aylık Hamile Kadın Fuhuş Çetesinin Elinden Kurtarıldı	A 9-Months-Pregnant Woman Was Rescued from the Hands of a Prostitution Gang	Süleyman Ekin / Antalya (DNA)
434	Hürriyet	2014	October 2	Alanya'da Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Alanya	Görkem Çancı, Alanya/Antalya (DNA) AA
435	Hürriyet	2014	March 28	İstanbul'da Kumar Ve Fuhuş Operasyonu	Gambling and Prostitution Operation in Istanbul	
436	Hürriyet	2014	April 15	Konya'da Fuhuş Operasyonu: 18 Gözaltı	A Prostitution Operation in Konya: 18 Detained	Tolga Yanık, Konya (DNA)
437	Milliyet	2001	August 26	Çay Artık Rizeliye Tat Vermiyor	The Tea No Longer Gives Any Pleasure To The People Of Rize	Fikret Bila
438	Milliyet	2001	December 3	Doktorlara Ahlâksız Teklif	An Immoral Offer To The Doctors	-
439	Milliyet	2001	August 24	Fuhuş Yapıldığı Gereğiyle C Moteller Mühürlendi...	C Motels Were Closed On The Grounds Of Hosting Prostitution	-
440	Milliyet	2001	December 4	İlaç Skandalı Büyüyor	The Medications Scandal Is Growing	-
441	Milliyet	2001	July 31	İnanılmaz Olay... Nikâhlı Eşini	An Incredible Incident... A	-

				Pazarlayan Koca Yakalandı	Husband Selling His Lawfully Wedded Wife To Prostitution Was Caught	
442	Milliyet	2001	July 28	İstanbul'da Yabancı Uyrıklı Kadın Ve Travestilere Operasyon	An Operation On Foreign Women And Transvestites In Istanbul	-
443	Milliyet	2001	August 25	Nefsimizi Çektirip Hasta Ediyorlar!	The Make Us Want Them And Then Make Us Sick!	Ece Temelkuran
444	Milliyet	2001	July 7	Pembe Geceler	Pink Nights	Can Dünder
445	Milliyet	2001	July 30	Pendik'te Fuhuş Operasyonu... Moldavyalı Kadınlar Gözaltında	A Prostitution Operation In Pendik... Moldavian Women Are Detained	-
446	Milliyet	2001	August 27	Tacik Seks Köleleri Türkiye'de	The Tajik Sex Slaves Are In Turkey	-
447	Milliyet	2001	June 28	Temizlik Hizmeti Adı Altında Hayat Kadını Pazarlayanlar Yakalandı	The People Selling Women Into Prostitution Under The Name Of A Cleaning Company Were Caught	-
448	Milliyet	2002	May 9	35 kişiye zorla AIDS testi	A Forced AIDS Test to 35 People	-
449	Milliyet	2002	September 30	AIDSli kadın: 200 kişi ile yattım	A Woman with AIDS: I Slept with 200 People	-
450	Milliyet	2002	September 2	Edirneli temiz toplum diyor	The Clean Edirne Society Says	-
451	Milliyet	2002	August 4	Jet AIDS testi kapış kapış	An On-the-Go AIDS Tests Sell Like Hot Cakes	-
452	Milliyet	2002	April 18	Morluklar Normal	The Bruises Are Normal	-
453	Milliyet	2002	November 3	Natasha kaput	The Natasha Is Over	-
454	Milliyet	2002	October 24	Polis Prezervatifle Korunuyor	The Police Protects Themselves with a Condom	-
455	Milliyet	2002	September 21	Zenginlik rüyası kâbusa dönüştü	A Dream of Richness Turned into a Nightmare	-
456	Milliyet	2003	May 5	Emniyet: Natasha Demek Rencide Eder	The Security Forces: To Call Somebody a Natasha Hurts	-
457	Milliyet	2003	July 22	Hayali rahibelikti ama fahişe damgası yedi	She Dreamed of Becoming a Nun But Was Labeled as a Prostitute	-
458	Milliyet	2003	June 29	Rus eşini Ukraynalı kadınla	When He Cheated on His Russian	-

459	Milliyet	2003	June 29	aldatınca Vatandaşlık biraz zorlaştı	Wife with a Ukrainian Woman Getting Citizenship Became a Little More Difficult	Tamer Heper
460	Milliyet	2004	April 13	Fuhuş imparatoriçesi	A Prostitution Empress	-
461	Milliyet	2004	March 4	Lüleburgaz'da AIDS paniği	An AIDS Panic in Luleburgaz	-
462	Milliyet	2004	November 20	Rus kadını reisin önüne atarsınız	You will give the Russian woman to the gang leader	-
463	Milliyet	2004	January 3	Ukrayna'dan Oksana notası	A Note from Ukraine on Oksana	-
464	Milliyet	2004	August 9	Yabancı evliliğine başkan ambargosu	An Embargo on Foreign Marriages from the Chairman	-
465	Milliyet	2005	January 9	Belarus'a telefon açıp imdat dedi	She Called Belarus and Said "Help"	-
466	Milliyet	2005	August 7	Fuhuş operasyonunda 6 AIDSli Çıktı	6 People in the Prostitution Operation Turned Out to Have AIDS	-
467	Milliyet	2005	March 16	Fuhuş yaptıran polis tutuklandı	A Police Officer Organizing Prostitution Was Arrested	-
468	Milliyet	2005	January 11	Fuhuşa engel diye bebeğimi boğdular	They Choked My Baby Because It Was an Obstacle to Prostitution	-
469	Milliyet	2005	August 2	Nataşa salgını geçti güzellik furyası başladı	The Natasha Epidemic Passed But a Beauty Rush Started	-
470	Milliyet	2005	February 9	Polisliği bırakıp hayat kadını oldu	She Quit Being a Police Officer and Became a Prostitute	-
471	Milliyet	2005	November 9	Rus uyruklu AIDSli Kadını 200 Kişiye Pazarlamışlar	The Sold a Russian Woman with AIDS to 200 People	-
472	Milliyet	2005	December 29	Türk erkekleri BM'nin Şövalyesi	Turkish Men are the Knights of the UN	-
473	Milliyet	2006	March 23	200 kadın kurtuldu	200 Women Were Rescued	-
474	Milliyet	2006	June 22	İzmir ve Manisa'da Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Izmir and Manisa	-
475	Milliyet	2006	January 29	Sakarya'da Orkide Hasadı	An Orchid Harvest in Sakarya	-
476	Milliyet	2006	October 23	Sevgili polisler sizi seviyorum	Dear Policemen I Love You	-

477	Milliyet	2006	October 15	Trabzon iftarla şenleniyor	Trabzon Is Cheering Up With Iftar	-
478	Milliyet	2006	February 12	Türkiye’deki Annemi Geri Getirin	Bring My Mother Who Is in Turkey Back	-
479	Milliyet	2006	February 20	Uluslararası Köle Çetesi Çökertildi	An International Slave Gang Was Brought Down	-
480	Milliyet	2006	December 4	Yazın turizm kışın fuhuş	There is Tourism in the Summer and Prostitution in Winter	-
481	Milliyet	2007	November 6	Fuhuş çetesinden Help Me Notu Yazıp Kurtuldular	They Escaped a Prostitution Gang by Writing “Help Me” Note	-
482	Milliyet	2007	May 1	Fuhuş çetesinin 7 üyesi polis çıktı	7 Members of a Prostitution Gang Turned Out to be Police Officers	-
483	Milliyet	2007	May 16	Fuhuş çetesinin 8 ajandalık müşteri listesi	An 8-notebook-long Client List of a Prostitution Gang	-
484	Milliyet	2007	July 19	Fuhuş kataloğu	A Prostitution Catalogue	-
485	Milliyet	2007	December 15	Fuhuş yapan 29 kadın hasta	29 Women Engaging in Prostitution Are Sick	-
486	Milliyet	2007	January 15	Oyuncak ayılı Ukraynalı fuhuş şebekesini anlattı	A Ukrainian with a Teddy Bear Told About Her Prostitution Network	-
487	Milliyet	2007	April 14	Silah zoruyla fuhuş yaptırdı	He Made Her Engage in Prostitution Under at Gunpoint	-
488	Milliyet	2007	December 12	Tecavüz davasında şaşırtan gerekçe	A Surprising Justification in a Rape Case	-
489	Milliyet	2008	December 25	17 yaşındaki kızı fuhuşa zorlayan kadın tutuklandı	A Woman Forcing a 17-year-old Girl into Prostitution Was Arrested	Osman Şişko/Trabzon, (DHA)
490	Milliyet	2008	August 26	AIDSli Kadın 230 Kişiyle Yatmış	A Woman with AIDS Slept with 230 People	-
491	Milliyet	2008	July 24	AIDSli Olduğunu Bile Bile Fuhuş Yaptı	She Engaged in Prostitution Although She Knew She Had AIDS	-
492	Milliyet	2008	April 9	Aksaray’da Gazeteci Doktor ve Öğretmen Fuhuşta Yakalandı	A Journalist, a Doctor and a Schoolteacher Caught in	-

493	Milliyet	2008	October 28	Beşiktaş'ta Koliden Çıkan Kadın Cesedinin Kimliği Belirlendi	Prostitution in Aksaray The Identity of a Woman's Body That Came Out of a Cardboard Box in Beşiktaş Was Determined	-
494	Milliyet	2008	April 22	Beyoğlu'nda Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Beyoğlu	-
495	Milliyet	2008	November 3	Bir gecede en az 5 erkekle yattık	We Slept with at least 5 Men in One Night	-
496	Milliyet	2008	November 16	Çocuk bakıcısı diye getirip fuhuş yaptırıyorlardı	They Made Them Engage in Prostitution Having Brought Them as Babysitters	-
497	Milliyet	2008	March 31	Evlenme vaadiyle kandırdıkları kızlara fuhuş yaptıran çete	A Gang Making Women Engage in Prostitution to Girls They Tricked with Marriage Promises	-
498	Milliyet	2008	August 5	Fuhuş çetesi üyelerinin lider yağcılığı	A Leader Cult from a Prostitution Gang Members	-
499	Milliyet	2008	February 14	Fuhuş çetesinden performans çizelgesi	A Performance Chart from a Prostitution Gang	Erdal Kılınç
500	Milliyet	2008	March 18	Fuhuş çetesine darbe	A Blow to a Prostitution Gang	Ufuk Aktuğ/İskenderun (Hatay), (DHA)
501	Milliyet	2008	March 20	Fuhuş minibüsüne soba kurmuşlar	They Installed a Heater into a Prostitution Minibus	Yaşar Anter-Ahmet Bayrak/Bodrum - Muğla-DHA
502	Milliyet	2008	November 14	Fuhuş Şebekesine Salıncak Operasyonu	A "Swing" Operation on a Prostitution Network	-
503	Milliyet	2008	December 4	Fuhuş yapan doktor AIDSli	A Doctor Engaging in Prostitution Has AIDS	-
504	Milliyet	2008	April 1	Fuhuş yaptığı iddia edilen kadını öldürüp evini ateşe verdiler	They Killed a Woman Allegedly Engaging in Prostitution and Set Her House on Fire	İsmail Temiz, Samsun DHA
505	Milliyet	2008	March 10	Fuhuşa zorlanan Kırgız kadın kurtarıldı	A Kyrgyz Woman Forced into Prostitution Was Rescued	Trabzon (DHA)

506	Milliyet	2008	December 3	Gazetecilere sinirlenip soyundu	She Undressed Getting Mad at the Reporters	-
507	Milliyet	2008	March 26	Geceliğiyle kaçıp polise sığındı	She Escaped with Her Nightgown and Took Refuge at the Police	Soner Kocaer/Antalya, (DHA)
508	Milliyet	2008	December 22	Gizli kameralı randevu evi	A Meeting House with Secret Cameras	Mehmet Yirun/Çorlu (Tekirdağ), (DHA)
509	Milliyet	2008	September 26	Hamile Moldovyalı kız fuhuşta yakalandı	A Pregnant Moldavian Girl Was Caught in Prostitution	Soner Kocaer/Antalya, (DHA)
510	Milliyet	2008	March 26	Hayat kadınına tecavüz iddiasına 4 gözaltı	4 Detained Under an Allegation of a Rape to a Prostitute	Yüksel Menekşe/Tokat, (DHA)
511	Milliyet	2008	March 28	Hemşire Öğretmen ve Doktor Fuhuşta Yakalandı	A Nurse, a Schoolteacher and a Doctor Were Caught in Prostitution	AA
512	Milliyet	2008	April 24	Iğdır'da Fuhuş Yapan İki Kadında Hepatit C Çıktı	Hepatitis C Was Identified in Two Women Engaging in Prostitution in Iğdır	AA
513	Milliyet	2008	November 19	İşkenceyle fuhuşa zorladılar	They Forced Her into Prostitution with Torture	Taner Oral/Konya DHA
514	Milliyet	2008	June 23	İzmir'de Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Izmir	Turaç Top/Izmir, (DHA)
515	Milliyet	2008	May 12	İzmir'de Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Izmir	Izmir, DHA
516	Milliyet	2008	December 20	Kadıköy'de Fuhuş Baskını	A Prostitution Raid in Kadıköy	-
517	Milliyet	2008	March 13	Kadıköy'de Fuhuş Minibüsü	A Prostitution Minibus in Kadıköy	-
518	Milliyet	2008	April 9	Kadınlarda AIDS Frengi Hepatit Çıkınca Müşteriler Panikledi	When AIDS, Syphilis and Hepatitis Were Identified in Women, the Clients Panicked	Taylan Yıldırım/Izmir, (DHA)
519	Milliyet	2008	August 4	Karasu'da Evliliklere Yabancı Hayat Kadını Darbesi	A Foreign Prostitute Blow to Marriages in Karasu	Zafer Tokuş-Adapazarı-Sakarya-DHA

520	Milliyet	2008	December 26	Küçükçekmece’de Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Küçükçekmece	-
521	Milliyet	2008	June 6	Mavi turda fuhuş zanlıları iyice yüz­süz­leş­ti	The Prostitution Suspects on a Boat Trip Got Really Cheeky	Yaşar Anter/Bodrum (Muğla), (DHA)
522	Milliyet	2008	June 5	Mavi turda Fuhuşun Adı Gülpembe Gezi Grubu	The Name of Prostitution on a Boat Trip is Gülpembe Travel Group	Yaşar Anter- Sezer Şahındaş/ Bodrum(Muğla), (DHA)
523	Milliyet	2008	May 8	Otel odasına fuhuş baskını	A Prostitution Raid on a Hotel Room	Taylan Yıldırım/Izmir, (DHA)
524	Milliyet	2008	October 13	Özel müşterilere mavi turlu fuhuş	Prostitution with Boat Trips for Special Clients	-
525	Milliyet	2008	March 26	Polisi de ağlatan fuhuş dramı	A Prostitution Drama Which Made Even the Police Cry	Soner Kocaer/Antalya, (DHA)
526	Milliyet	2008	July 19	Rus gelinin şikâyeti	A Complaint of a Russian Bride	Izmir, DHA
527	Milliyet	2008	April 2	Rus Kadınlara Gazete İlanıyla Fuhuşa Davet	A Newspaper Invitation to Prostitution for Russian Women	-
528	Milliyet	2008	April 26	Rus psikiyatır Güzellik Salonunda Fuhuşta Yakalandı	A Russian Psychiatrist Was Caught in Prostitution at a Beauty Shop	Soner Kocaer/Antalya, (DHA)
529	Milliyet	2008	March 31	Samsun iki ayrı vahşetle sarsıldı	Samsun Was Shaken with Two Separate Barbarities	İsmail Temiz/ Samsun, (DHA)
530	Milliyet	2008	September 1	Savaştan kaçtı fuhuş çetesinin eline düştü	She Fled from War But Fell into the Hands of a Prostitution Gang	Bahri Karataş Izmir DHA
531	Milliyet	2008	March 21	Temizlikçi olarak geldiler fuhuşa zorlandılar	They Arrived as Cleaning Ladies but Were Forced into Prostitution	DHA
532	Milliyet	2008	April 14	Ukrayna istedi İzmir’deki Fuhuş Çetesi Çökertildi	A Prostitution Gang in Izmir Was Brought Down Upon Ukraine’s Request	Tufan Hamarat, Taylan Yıldırım/ Izmir DHA
533	Milliyet	2008	April 15	Ukrayna uyarınca 6 kadın kurtuldu	6 Women Were Rescued When	Izmir, DHA

534	Milliyet	2008	August 12	Ukrayna'dan Gelen Fuhuş İhbarı Çeteyi Çökertti	Ukraine Made a Warning A Prostitution Warning Coming from Ukraine Helped Bring Down a Gang	AA
535	Milliyet	2008	April 21	Yurt dışından geldi fuhuş yaptırdı	She Came from Abroad and Forced Them into Prostitution	Taylan Yıldırım/ İzmir, (DHA)
536	Milliyet	2008	May 9	Zorla fuhuş yaptırılan 17 yaşındaki kızı polis kurtardı	The Police Rescued a 17-Year-old Girl Forced into Prostitution	AA
537	Milliyet	2009	November 18	15 yaşındaki kızı fuhuşa zorlamışlar	They Forced a 15-Year-old Girl into Prostitution	Özgür Sarı/ Konya DHA
538	Milliyet	2009	July 24	30luk Ukraynalı Fuhuş Patroniçesi	A 30-year-old Ukrainian Prostitution Madame	Ahmet Bayrak/Muğla, DHA
539	Milliyet	2009	June 19	AIDSli Svetlana: 3 Ayda 100 Erkek Yattım	Svetlana with AIDS Says: I slept with 100 Men in 3 Months	Soner Kocaer/Antalya, (DHA)
540	Milliyet	2009	April 11	Alanya'da Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Alanya	Özgür Yılmaz/Alanya (Antalya), (DHA)
541	Milliyet	2009	December 10	Antalya'da El Bombalı Fuhuş Çetesi	A Prostitution Gang with Hand Grenades in Antalya	-
542	Milliyet	2009	June 16	Antalya'daki Büyük Operasyonda 44 Gözaltı	44 Detained in a Large Operation in Antalya	Soner Kocaer/Antalya, (DHA)
543	Milliyet	2009	August 8	Bakire kızı kandırıp seks kölesi yaptılar	They Tricked a Virgin Girl and Made Her a Sex Slave	Soner Kocaer/Antalya, (DHA)
544	Milliyet	2009	August 14	Beylikdüzü'nde Fuhuşa Polis Baskını	A Police Raid on Prostitution in Beylikdüzü	Seyit Erçiçek/(DHA)
545	Milliyet	2009	January 6	Canlı gömülen kadın görüntüsüyle zorla fuhuş	Forced Prostitution with a Video of a Woman Buried Alive	Muhammet Kaçar/Rize, (DHA)
546	Milliyet	2009	July 13	Fuhuş çetelerine yönelik en büyük operasyon	The Largest Operation on Prostitution Gangs	Mehmet Aktaran - Tahsin Lale -İstanbul (DHA)

547	Milliyet	2009	March 17	Fuhuş operasyonunda 4 tutuklama	4 Arrests in a Prostitution Operation	Latif Sansür/ Kuşadası(Aydın), (DHA)
548	Milliyet	2009	October 28	Fuhuş operasyonunda 16 gözaltı	16 Detainees in a Prostitution Operation	Mustafa Serter/Afyonkarahisar, (DHA)
549	Milliyet	2009	October 12	Fuhuş operasyonunda futbolcu bombası	A Football Player News Creating an Effect of a Bomb in a Prostitution Operation	-
550	Milliyet	2009	January 19	Fuhuş operasyonunda yakalanan kadınlarda HIV ve frengi	HIV and Syphilis Identified in Women Caught in a Prostitution Operation	-
551	Milliyet	2009	April 8	Fuhuş yaptırılan kadını Bir müşterisinin ihbarı kurtardı	A Client's Informing Call Rescued a Woman Forced into Prostitution	Soner Kocaer/Antalya, (DHA)
552	Milliyet	2009	September 7	Fuhuşun şifresi Tuzlu Fıstık	The Code Word in Prostitution is Salted Pistachios	-
553	Milliyet	2009	October 6	Gürcü kadını ölüme götüren söz	A Word Bringing a Georgian Woman Towards Her Death	Recep Demirci/Erzincan, (DHA)
554	Milliyet	2009	January 9	Hopa'da Rus Uyruklu Hayat Kadını AIDSli Çıktı	A Russian Prostitute in Hopa Turned Out to Have AIDS	Hakan Aydın/Hopa (Artvin), (DHA)
555	Milliyet	2009	August 21	İşkenceyle fuhuşa zorlanan kadını polis kurtardı	The Police Rescued a Woman Forced into Prostitution with Torture	Ali Aksoyer/Istanbul
556	Milliyet	2009	February 16	Kriz fuhuşu da vurdu	The Crisis Has Affected the Prostitution As Well	-
557	Milliyet	2009	January 3	Rize'de Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Rize	-
558	Milliyet	2009	October 19	Rus eşe zorla fuhuşa gözaltı	A Russian Husband Detained for Forcing into Prostitution	Izmir, DHA
559	Milliyet	2009	October 6	Satıcısı Hayat Kadını Öldürdü	The Seller Killed His Prostitute	-
560	Milliyet	2009	July 17	Seks kölesi olmaktan polis	The Police Rescued Her from Being	Soner

				kurtardı	a Sex Slave	Kocaer/Antalya, (DHA)
561	Milliyet	2009	June 30	Şantiyede fuhuşa baskın	A Raid on Prostitution at the Construction Site	Patnos (Ağrı), (DHA)
562	Milliyet	2009	May 19	Yabancı gelin fuhuşta basıldı	A Foreign Bride Was Busted in Prostitution	-
563	Milliyet	2009	January 10	Zorla fuhuşa 2 gözaltı	2 Detained in Forced Prostitution	Burak Gül/Alanya (Antalya), (DHA)
564	Milliyet	2010	November 16	10 ayda 2 bin kadına fuhuştan gözaltı	2 thousand women detained for prostitution in 10 months	Erdal Kılınç
565	Milliyet	2010	August 2	Adana'da Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Adana	Murat Kibritoğlu/Adana, (DHA)
566	Milliyet	2010	February 20	Alanya'da Fuhuş Operasyonu: 13 Tutuklama	A Prostitution Operation in Alanya: 13 Arrested	-
567	Milliyet	2010	November 3	Ankara'da Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Ankara	-
568	Milliyet	2010	March 12	Antalya'da Fuhuş Operasyonu: 35 Gözaltı	A Prostitution Operation in Antalya: 35 Detained	Soner Kocaer/Antalya, (DHA)
569	Milliyet	2010	December 16	Bağcılar'da Diskoteğe Fuhuş Baskını	A Prostitution Raid on a Discotheque in Bağcılar	-
570	Milliyet	2010	April 14	Ben AIDSliyim dedim yine de birlikte oldular	I Told Them I Have AIDS But They Slept with Me Anyway	Erdal Kılınç İstanbul
571	Milliyet	2010	August 3	Beş ilde beş fuhuş çetesine operasyon: 35 Gözaltı	An Operation of Five Prostitution Gangs in Five Provinces: 35 Detained	Milliyet İstanbul
572	Milliyet	2010	October 14	Böyle şikâyet görülmedi	An Unprecedented Complaint	-
573	Milliyet	2010	February 4	Bu kadınlara dikkat	Watch Out for These Women	Mehmet Aktaran - DHA/İstanbul
574	Milliyet	2010	May 25	Bursa'da Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Bursa	-
575	Milliyet	2010	March 14	Bursa'da Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Bursa	-
576	Milliyet	2010	October 11	Cep telefonundan fuhuş	A Prostitution Deal on the Cell	-

577	Milliyet	2010	July 9	pazarlaması Çapkın koca ihbarından HIV çıktı	Phone HIV Came Out of a Womanizer Husband Complaint	Taylan Yıldırım/Izmir, (DHA)
578	Milliyet	2010	September 18	Diskoya fuhuş baskını	A Prostitution Raid on a Discotheque	Istanbul, AA
579	Milliyet	2010	November 8	Doktor Avukat Moda Tasarımcısı Fuhuş Elemanları	Doctor, Lawyer and Fashion Designer Are All Prostitution Gang Members	Tahsin Ülker/ Adana, (DHA)
580	Milliyet	2010	January 9	Doktor avukat öğretmen fuhuş operasyonunda yakalandı	A Doctor, a Lawyer and a Schoolteacher Were Caught in a Prostitution Operation	Süleyman Kaya Istanbul DHA
581	Milliyet	2010	December 19	Fatih'te Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Fatih	Sefa Kıdık / Istanbul, (DHA)
582	Milliyet	2010	October 3	Fatih'te Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Fatih	Sefa Kıdık / Istanbul, (DHA)
583	Milliyet	2010	June 11	Fatih'te Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Fatih	-
584	Milliyet	2010	May 10	Fatih'te Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Fatih	Süleyman Kaya/Istanbul,(DHA)
585	Milliyet	2010	April 22	Fatih'te Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Fatih	-
586	Milliyet	2010	February 20	Finike'de Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Finike	-
587	Milliyet	2010	June 14	Fuhuş baskını: 15 Gözaltı	A Prostitution Raid: 15 Detained	Zafer Tokuş/Karasu (Sakarya), (DHA)
588	Milliyet	2010	December 21	Fuhuş baskınında Venezüellalı 2 travesti	2 Venezuelan Transvestites in a Prostitution Raid	Süleyman Kaya/Istanbul,(DHA)
589	Milliyet	2010	December 9	Fuhuş baskınından kaçamadılar	They Could Not Escape a Prostitution Raid	Istanbul, DHA
590	Milliyet	2010	February 14	Fuhuş operasyonu: 15 Kadın Gözaltında	A Prostitution Operation: 15 Women Detained	-
591	Milliyet	2010	November 1	Fuhuş operasyonu: 50si Kadın 80 Gözaltı	A Prostitution Operation: 80 Detained Out of Which 50 Are Women	Deniz Başlı/Ardahan, (DHA)

592	Milliyet	2010	May 27	Fuhuş operasyonunda yakalanan kadın doğum uzmanı çıktı	A Woman Caught in a Prostitution Operation Turned Out to be a Gynecologist	-
593	Milliyet	2010	June 11	Fuhuş yapan kadınlar frengili çıktı	The Women Engaging in Prostitution Turned Out to Have AIDS	Nevşehir, (DHA)
594	Milliyet	2010	April 10	Fuhuş yaparak AIDS saçtı	She Disseminated AIDS by Doing Prostitution	Ali Aksoyer Istanbul DHA
595	Milliyet	2010	September 18	Fuhuş yapılan otele gece yarısı baskını	A Midnight Raid on a Hotel Hosting Prostitution	Soner Kocaer/Antalya, (DHA)
596	Milliyet	2010	October 16	Fuhuşa değil gezmeye geldik	We Came for a Tour Not for Prostitution	Süleyman Kaya/Istanbul, (DHA)
597	Milliyet	2010	April 12	Fuhuşta yakalandı Gözyaşlarına Boğuldu	She Was Caught in Prostitution and Burst into Tears	-
598	Milliyet	2010	April 23	Fuhuşun kadın patronları	The Female Bosses of Prostitution	Ali Aksoyer, Sefa Kırık İstanbul DHA
599	Milliyet	2010	March 15	Gaziantep'te Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Gaziantep	-
600	Milliyet	2010	October 27	Gece kulübüne fuhuş baskını	A Prostitution Raid on a Nightclub	-
601	Milliyet	2010	November 4	Gece kulübüne fuhuş baskını	A Prostitution Raid on a Nightclub	Süleyman Kaya Istanbul DHA
602	Milliyet	2010	June 30	Gürcü kadını seks kölesi yapan adam yakalandı	The Man Making a Georgian Woman His Sex Slave Was Caught	-
603	Milliyet	2010	July 8	HIV taşıyan hayat kadını yakalandı	A Prostitute Carrying AIDS Was Caught	-
604	Milliyet	2010	August 16	İstanbul'da Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Istanbul	-
605	Milliyet	2010	April 26	İstanbul'da Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Istanbul	-
606	Milliyet	2010	March 31	İstanbul'da Fuhuş Operasyonunda Şifreli Çete Çökertildi	A Gang with Code Words Was Brought Down in a Prostitution Operation in Istanbul	Mehmet Aktaran-Istanbul-DHA
607	Milliyet	2010	November	İstanbul'da Fuhuş ve Kumar	A Prostitution and Gambling Raid	-

			14	Baskını	in Istanbul	
608	Milliyet	2010	June 8	İzmir’de Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Izmir	-
609	Milliyet	2010	July 7	İzmit’te Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Izmit	-
610	Milliyet	2010	June 17	Jandarmanın fuhuş operasyonu uluslararası dramı ortaya çıkardı	A Prostitution Operation by the Gendarmerie Revealed an International Tragedy	-
611	Milliyet	2010	May 28	Kadın istemenin şifresi: Kalp Doktoru Var Mı	A Code for Asking for a Woman is “Do you have a heart doctor?”	-
612	Milliyet	2010	June 12	Kağıthane’de Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Kağıthane	Sefa Kıdık/Istanbul, (DHA)
613	Milliyet	2010	July 22	Kartvizitle ortaya çıkan fuhuş şebekesi	A Prostitution Network Revealed with Business Cards	-
614	Milliyet	2010	March 15	Kızları katalogdan seçtirmişler	They Made Them Choose Girls from a Catalogue	-
615	Milliyet	2010	May 17	Kocaeli’nde Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Kocaeli	-
616	Milliyet	2010	September 30	Mağdur kadınlar jandarmaya ifade vermedi	The Female Victims Refused to Give a Testimony to the Gendarmerie	Soner Kocaer - Namık Kemal Kılınç Antalya DHA
617	Milliyet	2010	March 3	Mersinde Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Mersin	-
618	Milliyet	2010	November 5	Polisleri şaşırtan hayat kadını	A Prostitute Surprising the Police	-
619	Milliyet	2010	October 30	Promosyoncu fuhuş şebekesinin kadınları hastalıklı çıktı	The Women of a Prostitution Network with Special Offers Turned Out to Have Diseases	Taylan Yıldırım/Izmir, (DHA)
620	Milliyet	2010	August 7	Promosyonlu fuhuş çetesi	A Prostitution Gang with Special Offers	Soner Kocaer/Antalya, (DHA)
621	Milliyet	2010	October 30	Promosyonlu fuhuş	Prostitution with Special Offers	Taylan Yıldırım, Izmir DHA
622	Milliyet	2010	March 18	Rize’de Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Rize	Muhammet Kaçar / DHA
623	Milliyet	2010	September 29	Rus patroniçeyi Ukrayna’dan Gelen E-posta Yakalattı	An Email from Ukraine Helped Catch a Russian Madame	-

624	Milliyet	2010	June 9	Samsunda Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Samsun	-
625	Milliyet	2010	June 16	Samsunda Fuhuş Operasyonunda 2nci Dalga	A Second Wave in a Prostitution Operation in Samsun	Samsun, DHA
626	Milliyet	2010	July 8	Sanal patroniçe için kırmızı bülten	A “Wanted” Notice for a Virtual Madame	-
627	Milliyet	2010	November 13	Striptiz klubüne fuhuş operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation on a Striptease Club	-
628	Milliyet	2010	November 20	Şifre Geçmiş Bayramınız Kutlu Olsun	The Code is Happy Holidays	Sefa Kıdık / İstanbul, (DHA)
629	Milliyet	2010	August 24	Taksiyle fuhuş servisi	A Prostitution Service with Taxis	Elvan Ezber/Istanbul, (DHA)
630	Milliyet	2010	October 15	Trabzon’da Fuhuş Operasyonu: 15i Yabancı Kadın 33 Kişi Gözaltında	A Prostitution Operation in Trabzon: 33 People Including 15 Foreign Women Are Detained	Osman Şişko/Trabzon, (DHA)
631	Milliyet	2010	October 9	Türkmen kadın polis izne ayrılıp fuhuş yapmaya gelmiş	A Turkmen Policewoman Took a Leave and Came to Engage in Prostitution	Soner Kocaer/ Antalya, (DHA)
632	Milliyet	2010	October 10	Türkmen polis fuhuşta yakalandı	A Turkmen Policewoman Was Caught in Prostitution	Soner Kocaer Antalya DHA
633	Milliyet	2010	April 21	Ukraynalı 2 turiste fuhuş ambargosu	A Prostitution Embargo to 2 Ukrainian Tourists	Durmuş Sevindik/Zonguldak, (DHA)
634	Milliyet	2010	March 15	Yabancı kadınları 157 Kurtarıyor	The 157 Rescues Foreign Women	-
635	Milliyet	2010	March 2	Zorla fuhuşa 6 yıl 8 ay hapis	6 Years and 8 Months of Prison Term for Forced Prostitution	-
636	Milliyet	2011	January 26	Alanya’da fuhuş operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Alanya	-
637	Milliyet	2011	February 21	Anamur’da fuhuş operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Anamur	-
638	Milliyet	2011	October 24	Antalya’da Fuhuş Operasyonu: 47 Gözaltı	A Prostitution Operation in Antalya: 47 Detained	Soner Kocaer/Antalya, (DHA)
639	Milliyet	2011	December	Apartmanda grup sekse suçüstü	Those Having Group Sex in the	Soner

			19		Building Were Caught in the Act	Kocaer/Antalya, (DHA)-
640	Milliyet	2011	February 3	Araplar Yahşi parolasıyla fuhuş operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation with a Code “The Arabs are Good”	-
641	Milliyet	2011	November 18	Başkentte AIDS Paniği	An AIDS Panic in the Capital	Sertaç Koç Ankara
642	Milliyet	2011	November 7	Bebeğini Doğurmak İçin Geldi Fuhuşa Zorlandı	She Came to Give Birth to Her Baby but Was Forced into Prostitution	Soner Kocaer Antalya DHA
643	Milliyet	2011	February 22	Bodrum’da 3 villaya fuhuş baskını yapıldı	A Prostitution Raid on 3 Villas Was Done in Bodrum	Yaşar Anter/Bodrum (Muğla), (DHA)
644	Milliyet	2011	April 2	Çerkezköy’de fuhuş operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Çerkezköy	Şaban Kardeş/Çerkezköy (Tekirdağ), (DHA)
645	Milliyet	2011	November 19	Diskoteğe fuhuş baskını	A Prostitution Raid on a Discotheque	Sefa Kıdık/Istanbul, (DHA)
646	Milliyet	2011	March 12	Diskoteklere Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation on Discotheques	Süleyman Kaya, DHA
647	Milliyet	2011	January 19	Fatih’te fuhuş operasyonu: 25 gözaltı	A Prostitution Operation in Fatih: 25 Detained	-
648	Milliyet	2011	February 4	Fatih’te fuhuş operasyonu: 32 kişi gözaltında	A Prostitution Operation in Fatih: 32 People Detained	-
649	Milliyet	2011	September 9	Fatih’te Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Fatih	-
650	Milliyet	2011	March 3	Fethiye’de fuhuş operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Fethiye	-
651	Milliyet	2011	April 6	Fotoğraflı kadın siparişi	A Women Order with Photographs	-
652	Milliyet	2011	February 11	Fotoğraftan beğen internetten çağır	Choose from a Photo and Bring from the Internet	Soner Kocaer/DHA
653	Milliyet	2011	April 21	Fuhuşa zorlanan 54 kadın kurtarıldı	54 Women Forced into Prostitution Were Rescued	Sertaç Koç Ankara
654	Milliyet	2011	May 14	Fuhuş baskını	A Prostitution Raid	Sefa Kıdık/Istanbul, (DHA)
655	Milliyet	2011	July 9	Fuhuş baskını	A Prostitution Raid	Sefa

656	Milliyet	2011	February 13	Fuhuş baskınına gittiler kumarı da tespit ettiler	They Came for a Prostitution Raid But Also Identified Prostitution	Kıdık/Istanbul,(DHA) Sefa Kıdık/Istanbul, (DHA)
657	Milliyet	2011	March 4	Fuhuş çetesi AIDSli kadınları bile pazarlamış	A Prostitution Gang Even Sold Women with AIDS	Ahmet Bayrak/Muğla, (DHA)
658	Milliyet	2011	October 28	Fuhuş çetesi operasyonundan dram çıktı	A Tragedy Emerged from an Operation on a Prostitution Gang	Sertaç Koç, Ankara
659	Milliyet	2011	December 5	Fuhuş operasyonu depremde 40 kişinin hayatını kurtarmış	A Prostitution Operation Saved the Lives of 40 People in an Earthquake	Gülây Özak
660	Milliyet	2011	February 11	Fuhuş tuzağından yalın ayak polise kaçtı	She Escaped a Prostitution Trap and Ran to the Police Barefoot	Ozan Ural Istanbul-DHA
661	Milliyet	2011	July 16	Gece sıcak odalar serin	The Night is Hot but the Rooms Are Cold	Timur Tarlığ Istanbul DHA
662	Milliyet	2011	February 2	Hamile kadına zorla fuhuş yaptırdılar	They Forced a Pregnant Woman into Prostitution	Felat Bozarslan / Istanbul, DHA
663	Milliyet	2011	June 3	Her fanteziye ayrı kadın	A Separate Woman for Each Fantasy	Güliden Aydın
664	Milliyet	2011	May 29	Hiç Uyumayan Şehrin Öteki Yüzü	The Other Face of the City That Never Sleeps	-
665	Milliyet	2011	October 30	İnternet üzerinden fuhuş	Prostitution on the Internet	DHA
666	Milliyet	2011	February 10	İnternette fuhuş pazarlığı	Prostitution Deal on the Internet	Soner Kocaer/Antalya, (DHA)
667	Milliyet	2011	February 17	İstanbul'da fuhuş ve kumar operasyonları	Prostitution and Gambling Operations in Istanbul	-
668	Milliyet	2011	February 3	İstanbul'da fuhuş ve kumar operasyonu	A Prostitution and Gambling Operation in Istanbul	-
669	Milliyet	2011	June 15	Otelde grup sekse polis baskını	A Police Raid on Group Sex at a Hotel	Soner Kocaer/Antalya, (DHA)
670	Milliyet	2011	October 22	Sibiryalı fuhuş çetesine baskın	A Raid on a Prostitution Gang from Siberia	Ali Aksoyer, Istanbul DHA

671	Milliyet	2011	March 25	Şişli’de 28 kişiye fuhuş gözaltısı	28 People Detained for Prostitution in Şişli	-
672	Milliyet	2011	July 1	Şişli’de Diskoya Fuhuş Baskını	A Prostitution Raid on a Discotheque in Şişli	-
673	Milliyet	2011	September 29	Tankerle fuhuş baskını	A Prostitution Raid with a Tanker Truck	-
674	Milliyet	2011	July 18	Yabancı kadınlar sınır dışı edilecek	The Foreign Women Will Be Deported	Soner Kocaer/Antalya, (DHA)
675	Milliyet	2012	April 24	400 erkekle birlikte olan kadın Hepatit C hastası çıktı	A Woman Who Slept With 400 Men Turned Out to Have Hepatitis C	Atilla Memiş/Akşehir (Konya), (DHA)
676	Milliyet	2012	June 6	Aksaray’da fuhuş operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Aksaray	İhsan Yalçın-Istanbul DHA
677	Milliyet	2012	December 31	Aralarında doktor ve avukatlar var	There Are Doctors and Lawyers Among Them	Fatih Karaçalı/DHA
678	Milliyet	2012	June 8	Araştırmada Nataşa kriteri	The Natasha Criteria in a Study	-
679	Milliyet	2012	March 13	Batuma Bu Hücüm Niye	Why This Rush to Baku?	Ali Eyüboğlu
680	Milliyet	2012	September 22	Bir de poz verdiler	And They Posed As Well	Süleyman Kaya/Istanbul,(DHA)
681	Milliyet	2012	September 27	Burası Rusların değil Türklerin mekanı	This is Not the Russians’ But the Turks’ Spot	-
682	Milliyet	2012	December 25	Dadı olacaksın diye kandırdılar fuhuşa zorladılar	They Tricked by Saying “You Will be a Nanny” and Forced Them into Prostitution	-
683	Milliyet	2012	October 5	Evinde 20 liraya fuhuş yaparken yakalandı	She Was Caught Engaging in Prostitution for 20 Liras in Her House	Hakan Çelikbaş/Samsun, (DHA)
684	Milliyet	2012	July 11	facebookta beğenip fuhuşa zorladılar	They Liked Them on Facebook and Forced Them into Prostitution	Taylan Yıldırım Izmir DHA
685	Milliyet	2012	November 23	Film senaryolarını aratmayan olay	An Incident like a Film Scenario	M. Akif Erdem/İstanbul, DHA

686	Milliyet	2012	May 23	Fuhşa zorlandı sonra âşık olan müşteri satın aldı	She Was Forced into Prostitution, But Then a Client Who Fell in Love Bought Her	Kurbani Geyik / AA
687	Milliyet	2012	January 17	Fuhuş çetesinde aynı emniyet müdürü	The Same Security Director in a Prostitution Gang	Sertaç Koç Ankara
688	Milliyet	2012	June 28	Fuhuş operasyonunda kadınlar dolaptan çıktı	The Women in a Prostitution Operation Came Out of the Closet	Suat Deniz/Iğdir, (DHA)
689	Milliyet	2012	April 20	Fuhuş operasyonundan çıkan vahşet	A Barbarity Coming Out of a Prostitution Operation	Mehmet Aktaran - Istanbul DHA
690	Milliyet	2012	December 17	Fuhuş yapan kadından inanılmaz itiraf	An Incredible Confession from a Woman Engaging in Prostitution	-
691	Milliyet	2012	March 18	Fuhuşta kalite standardı	A Quality Standard in Prostitution	Mehmet Kaymak/Adana, (DHA)
692	Milliyet	2012	November 7	Fuhuşun şifresi gazete	The Code Word for Prostitution is Newspaper	-
693	Milliyet	2012	September 11	Gece kulübüne fuhuş baskını: 25 gözaltı	A Prostitution Raid on a Nightclub: 25 Detained	Süleyman Kaya / Istanbul,(DHA)
694	Milliyet	2012	September 7	İşlem tamam gelin mesajlı fuhuş baskını	A Prostitution Raid with a Message "The Business Is Done You Can Come Now"	-
695	Milliyet	2012	March 17	Küçük semtte kocaman fuhuş	Huge Prostitution in a Tiny District	Sefa Kırık-Hasan Yıldırım/İstanbul, (DHA)
696	Milliyet	2012	November 30	Mankenlik ajansına fuhuş baskını	A Prostitution Raid on a Modeling Agency	Mehmet Aktaran/Istanbul DHA
697	Milliyet	2012	June 14	Nataşalar aklandı	The Natashas Are Cleared of Blame	Erdal İzgi
698	Milliyet	2012	October 15	Performans listeli ajandalı fuhuş çetesi	A Prostitution Gang with a Performance List and Notebooks	Ahmet Kaya/Gaziantep, (DHA)
699	Milliyet	2012	April 1	Sizde hiç mi vicdan yok	Do You Have No Conscience At	Soner Kocaer Antalya

700	Milliyet	2013	December 12	Diş laboratuvarında fuhuş	All? Prostitution in a Dental Lab	DHA -
701	Milliyet	2013	December 17	Ev için fuhuş yapmışlar	They Engaged in Prostitution to Buy a House	-
702	Milliyet	2013	March 11	Fatih'te fuhuş operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation in Fatih	Istanbul (AA)
703	Milliyet	2013	April 11	Fuhuş baskınında yakalanan 7 aylık hamile kadın AIDSli çıktı	A 7-month Pregnant Woman Caught in a Prostitution Raid Turned Out to Have AIDS	Akif Arıcı/Antalya, (DHA)
704	Milliyet	2013	April 8	Fuhuş çetesine baskın	A Raid on a Prostitution Gang	
705	Milliyet	2013	October 14	Fuhuş yapmayana hortum ve kemerle dayak	Beating with Hoses and Belts to Those Who Refused Prostitution	Akif Arıcı/Antalya, (DHA)
706	Milliyet	2013	August 27	Kastamonu'daki operasyondan HIV virüsü çıktı	The HIV Virus Came Out of an Operation in Kastamonu	DHA
707	Milliyet	2013	March 5	Konya'da fuhuş operasyonu: 32 gözaltı	A Prostitution Operation in Konya: 32 Detained	Tolga Yanık-Hasan Dönmez Konya DHA
708	Milliyet	2013	May 3	Manken yapacaklardı	They Were Going to Make Them Models	DHA
709	Milliyet	2013	March 15	Tosya'da fuhuşa yardım eden 2 kişi tutuklandı	2 People Assisting Prostitution Were Arrested in Tosya	Alaattin Keşoğlu/ Tosya, Kastamonu, DHA
710	Milliyet	2014	January 14	Fuhuş çetesinin 2 numarası doktor	The Number Two Member of a Prostitution Gang is a Doctor	Ali Aksoyer Istanbul DHA
711	Milliyet	2014	April 25	Fuhuş operasyonunda inanılmaz detay	An Incredible Detail in a Prostitution Operation	-
712	Milliyet	2014	December 24	Fuhuş operasyonu ile ortaya çıkanlar şoke etti	The Things That Came Out of a Prostitution Operation Were a Shock	-
713	Milliyet	2014	August 12	Fuhuş yapan kadının kimliği şoke etti	The Identity of a Woman Engaging in Prostitution Shocked	-
714	Milliyet	2014	November 12	Fuhuştan kurtarılan hamile doğum yaptı	A Pregnant Woman Rescued from Prostitution Gave Birth	DHA

715	Milliyet	2014	November 26	Hamile kadına fuhuş yaptırdılar	They Forced a Pregnant Woman into Prostitution	-
716	Milliyet	2014	June 29	Hayat kadını polisi tanıdı para almadı	The Prostitute Recognized the Policeman and Did Not Accept Money	Türker Karapınar Ankara
717	Milliyet	2014	February 8	İhbarla ortaya çıkan rezalet	A Disgrace Revealed with an Informing Call	Görkem Çancı/Alanya, (DHA)
718	Milliyet	2014	June 25	İki ilde fuhuş baskını	A Prostitution Raid in Two Provinces	-
719	Milliyet	2014	October 13	Lüks villalara yabancı kadın servisi	A Foreign Women Service to Luxurious Villas	İHA
720	Milliyet	2014	January 28	Mansur Yavaş'ın Antikomünist Konuşması Kargoyla Gönderildi	Mansur Yavaş's Anti-Communist Speech Was Sent with Cargo	-
721	Milliyet	2014	February 19	Model olmak isterken fuhuş batağına düştüler	They Fell into the Snare of Prostitution While Wanting to Become Models	-
722	Milliyet	2014	May 18	Oğlumun ameliyatı için	For My Son's Operation	-
723	Milliyet	2014	November 22	Operasyon teknesi kriz çıkardı	The Boat Used in the Operation Caused a Crisis	Esra Alus
724	Milliyet	2014	April 21	Otele fuhuş baskını	A Prostitution Raid on a Hotel	-
725	Milliyet	2014	October 20	Polisi karşılarında görünce	When They Saw the Policemen	-
726	Milliyet	2014	December 22	Trabzon'daki fuhuş yaparak rüşvet alma davasında karar	The Decision on the Case of Accepting Bribes by Prostitution in Trabzon	-
727	Milliyet	2014	February 26	Uluslararası fuhuşa 175 yıl hapis istendi	175 years of Prison Term Were Requested for International Prostitution	AA
728	Sabah	2002	February 28	Ağlatan Tahliye	A Release That Makes You Cry	Celal Yıldız
729	Sabah	2004	January 3	Oksana Parasız Çıktı	Oksana Turned Out to Be Penniless	Salih Aydın-Kenan Taşkın
730	Sabah	2010	December	5 Bin Dolara Formalite Evlilik	A Paper Marriage For 5	Ali Şahin

			20		Thousand Dollars	
731	Sabah	2010	November 2	80lik Dede Fuhuŝta Soyulduđunu Öne Sürdü	A 80-Year Old Man Claimed To Be Robbed In Prostitution	AA (Trabzon)
732	Sabah	2010	November 15	81 Kiŝiye Fuhuŝ Ve Kumar Gözaltısı	81 People Arrested For Prostitution And Gambling	Silivri
733	Sabah	2010	October 17	Aksaray’da Fuhuŝ Operasyonu: 25 Gözaltı	A Prostitution Operation In Aksaray: 25 Arrested	-
734	Sabah	2010	April 11	Aksaray’da Fuhuŝ Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation In Aksaray	Cihan News Agency
735	Sabah	2010	November 30	Baskında Parola Kartal Kazandı	A Code Used In A Raid Is “Eagle Has Won”	Barıŝ Sözal
736	Sabah	2010	October 25	Bu Kafayla AB’ye Giremezsiniz	You Cannot Get Into The EU With Such Thinking	Ali Ŗahin
737	Sabah	2010	October 29	Dün Avrattı Bugün Nataŝa	Yesterday It Was Dame Now It Is Natasha	Yavuz Donat
738	Sabah	2010	February 14	Fatih’te Fuhuŝ Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation In Fatih	AA
739	Sabah	2010	April 23	Fuhuŝ Ajandasında Ünlü İsimler Var	There Are Famous Names On The Prostitution Agenda	Rıdván Tezel
740	Sabah	2010	June 9	Fuhuŝ Çetesine 6 Aylık Takipten Sonra Baskın	A Raid On The Prostitution Gang After 6 Months Of Following	Fatih Ŗendil
741	Sabah	2010	November 20	Fuhuŝ Operasyonu: 24 Kiŝi Gözaltında	A Prostitution Operation: 24 Arrested	-
742	Sabah	2010	September 24	Fuhuŝ Operasyonunu Dans Etmeyi Bilen İki Polis Yönetti	Two Police Officers Knowing How To Dance Led A Prostitution Operation	Barıŝ Sözal
743	Sabah	2010	October 4	Fuhuŝ Pazarlıđı Yaptı Yakalanınca Aŝçıyım Dedi	She Made A Price Negotiation For Prostitution But Said She Was A Cook When Caught	Ali Ŗahin
744	Sabah	2010	February 18	Fuhuŝtan Yakalanan Ođlunu Azarladı	She Scolded Her Son Caught For Involvement In Prostitution	-
745	Sabah	2010	August 27	Hastalık Saçmıŝlar	They Disseminated Disease	Tamer Oskay
746	Sabah	2010	June 18	Hayat Kadını Kılıđında Operasyon	Operation In A Prostitute Disguise	Barıŝ Sözal
747	Sabah	2010	March 14	İmdat Notu Hayat Kurtardı	A Help Note Saved A Life	İhlas News Agency

748	Sabah	2010	June 18	İnsan Tacirlerine Jandarma Baskını	A Gendarmerie Raid On Human Traffickers	Erdoğan Öztürk
749	Sabah	2010	November 14	İstanbul'da Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation In Istanbul	AA
750	Sabah	2010	December 14	Kar Geliyor Dona Dikkat	The Snow Is Coming, Be Careful About Your Pants	Barış Sözal
751	Sabah	2010	October 2	Kızlar Sınır Dışına Çete Adliyeye	Girls To Be Deported, Gang To The Courthouse	Erdoğan Öztürk
752	Sabah	2010	November 18	Mağdur Kadınların Sığınağı	Women Victims' Shelter	Ersan Atar
753	Sabah	2010	May 19	Nataşa'nın Saygınlığı	Natasha's Respectability	Yavuz Donat
754	Sabah	2010	June 5	Podyuma Niyet Pavyona Kısmet	Dreaming About Catwalk But Ending Up In A Brothel	Ferit Zengin
755	Sabah	2010	November 17	Polise Eğlence	An Entertainment For The Police	Hıncal Uluç
756	Sabah	2010	August 4	Rus Fotomodele Fuhuş Baskını	A Prostitution Raid On A Russian Photo Model	Barış Sözal
757	Sabah	2010	September 29	Rus Patroniçeyi E-Posta Yakalattı	An Email Got A Russian Madam Caught	AA
758	Sabah	2010	August 10	Ukraynalı Şarkıcı Fuhuşta Yakalandı	A Ukrainian Singer Was Caught In Prostitution	Barış Sözal
759	Sabah	2010	October 25	Ürgüp Ve Yeşilova'da Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation In Ürgüp And Yeşilova	AA
760	Sabah	2011	November 21	Arkadaşını Fuhuş Tuzağından Kurtardı	She Saved Her Friend From A Prostitution Trap	Fatih Şendil
761	Sabah	2011	September 11	Atatürk'ün Köşküne Fuhuş Baskını	A Prostitution Raid On Ataturk's Mansion	-
762	Sabah	2011	October 28	Başkentte İnsan Tacirlerine Darbe	A Blow On Human Traffickers In The Capital	-
763	Sabah	2011	March 12	Beyoğlu'nda Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation In Beyoğlu	AA
764	Sabah	2011	November 28	Çekmeyin Annem Görürse Kızlar	Don't Shoot My Mom Will Be Mad If She Sees It	Ali Şahin

765	Sabah	2011	February 11	Eğlence Mekânına Fuhuş Baskını	A Prostitution Raid On An Entertainment Spot	İhlas News Agency
766	Sabah	2011	October 4	Fatih'te Fuhuş Baskını	A Prostitution Raid In Fatih	AA
767	Sabah	2011	May 19	Fatih'te Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation In Fatih	AA
768	Sabah	2011	January 29	Fatih'te Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation In Fatih	AA
769	Sabah	2011	June 16	Fuhuşa 2 Sınırdışı 1 Tutuklama	2 Deported And 1 Arrested For Prostitution	Erdoğan Öztürk
770	Sabah	2011	April 25	Fuhuşa Zorlananların Çığlığını Polis Duydu	The Police Heard Screams Of Those Forced Into Prostitution	Ferit Zengin
771	Sabah	2011	May 11	İçerde Doğum Günü Var Dediler Fuhuş Çıktı	They Said There Is A Birthday Party Inside But It Turned Out To Be Prostitution	Barış Sözal, Istanbul
772	Sabah	2011	April 6	İstanbul'da Dev Operasyon: 40 Gözaltı	A Large-Scale Operation In Istanbul: 40 Detained	AA
773	Sabah	2011	December 19	Kurtarın Çığlığı Fuhuştan Kurtardı	A Cry For Help Saved From Prostitution	Mustafa Kaya
774	Sabah	2011	November 2	Laleli Moda Merkezi Olsun İstiyoruz	We Want Laleli To Be A Fashion Center	Ali Şahin
775	Sabah	2011	October 28	Laleli Nataşa İmajından Kurtuldu	Laleli Got Rid Of A "Natasha" Image	-
776	Sabah	2011	February 28	Polis Mühürlüyor Onlar Söküyor	The Police Closes It Down But They Reopen It	Ali Şahin
777	Sabah	2011	December 14	Polisten Şaka Gibi Teşhis	An Interesting Identification Method From The Police	-
778	Sabah	2011	July 16	Sınırdışı Edilmemek İçin Hülle Evliliği Yapmışlar	The Made Paper Marriages So As Not To Be Deported	Ali Şahin
779	Sabah	2011	October 28	Şifreli Fuhuş Çetesi Çökertildi	A Prostitution Gang Using Codes Was Brought Down	-
780	Sabah	2011	June 7	Tekvandocu Fuhuştan Yakalanınca	What Happens When A Taekwondo Sportswoman Is Caught In Prostitution	-
781	Sabah	2011	June 23	Yabancı Kadınlara Fotomodelli	A Photo Modeling Trap For Foreign	Ferit Zengin

782	Sabah	2011	December 15	Tuzak Yardımcım Yaptı Bana Mal Ettiler	Women My Assistant Did It But It Was Attributed To Me	Nazif Karaman
783	Sabah	2011	January 9	Yenilikçi, Daha Çok Kazanıyor	An Advocate Of Change Earns More	Şeref Oğuz
784	Sabah	2012	May 23	157 İhbar Hattı Özgürlüğe Yol Açtı	157 Rescue Hotline Opened A Way To Freedom	AA
785	Sabah	2012	September 18	AIDS'li Aziza'ya Suçüstü	Aziza Carrying AIDS Was Caught In The Act	Deniz Derin
786	Sabah	2012	February 6	Bayıltan Fuhuş Baskını	A Prostitution Raid Making Them Faint	Ali Şahin
787	Sabah	2012	December 27	Dadı Diye Getirip Fuhuş Yaptırdılar	They Brought Them As Nannies But Forced Them Into Prostitution	Murat Karaman/ Ziya Ramoğlu
788	Sabah	2012	January 22	Deprem Çadırına Fuhuş Baskını	A Prostitution Raid On An Earthquake Tent	İhlas News Agency
789	Sabah	2012	January 16	Facebook'ta Fuhuş Tuzağı	A Prostitution Trap On Facebook	AA
790	Sabah	2012	August 31	Fatih'te Fuhuş Operasyonu: 20 Gözaltı	A Prostitution Operation In Fatih: 20 Detained	İhlas News Agency
791	Sabah	2012	November 23	Fuhuş Çetesi Rus Doktoru İşkenceyle Delirttiler	A Prostitution Gang Drove A Russian Doctor Crazy With Torture	-
792	Sabah	2012	October 7	Fuhuş Çetesinde 8 Aylık Hamile	AN 8-Month Pregnant Woman In A Prostitution Gang	Emir Somer
793	Sabah	2012	May 23	Fuhuş Gelirini PKK'ya Aktaran Çete Çökertildi	A Criminal Gang Transferring Its Income To PKK Was Brought Down	Ferit Zengin
794	Sabah	2012	April 21	Fuhuş Operasyonunda 125 Kişi Gözaltına Alındı	125 People Were Arrested In A Prostitution Operation	Mustafa Kaya
795	Sabah	2012	January 26	Fuhuştan Kaçarken Betona Çakıldı	She Dropped Dead On The Concrete When Escaping Prostitution	Erhan Öztürk
796	Sabah	2012	February 27	Haçapuri	Hachapuri	Ersin Ramoğlu
797	Sabah	2012	February 5	İstanbul'da Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation In Istanbul	AA

798	Sabah	2012	February 20	İşadamin Aracına Fuhuş İlanı Yakalattı	A Prostitution Ad Stuck To A Businessman's Car Made Them Caught	Deniz Derin
799	Sabah	2012	December 27	Kadın Komiser Fuhuş Baskınında Yakalandı	A Female Police Chief Was Caught In A Prostitution Raid	Yüksel Temel
800	Sabah	2012	May 26	Kredi Kartına 6 Taksit Fuhuş	A Prostitution Paid By Credit Card In 6-Months Installment	Alper Sancar
801	Sabah	2012	December 10	Rus Eskort Kız Çetesi Çöktü	A Russian Escort Girls Gang Was Brought Down	Emir Somer
802	Sabah	2012	March 27	Rus Gelinini Bile Fuhuşa Zorlamış	He Even Forced His Russian Daughter-In-Law Into Prostitution	Fatih Şendil
803	Sabah	2012	June 18	Söz Rusya'dan Açılmışken	Speaking About Russia	Şeref Oğuz
804	Sabah	2012	September 16	Striptiz Kulübüne Fuhuş Baskını	A Prostitution Raid On A Strip Club	-
805	Sabah	2012	February 9	Şifreli Fuhuş Asansörü	A Secret Prostitution Elevator	-
806	Sabah	2012	September 22	Şişlide Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation In Şişli	AA
807	Sabah	2012	February 20	Temizlikçi Diye Geliyorlar	They Come As Cleaning Ladies	Sonat Bahar
808	Sabah	2012	July 3	Turizm Çalışanlarına AIDS Uyarısı	An AIDS Warning To Tourism Sector Employees	AA
809	Sabah	2012	May 17	Uçurum Son Bölümü İle Olay Yarattı	The Last Episode Of "Precipice" Was A Sensation	-
810	Sabah	2012	March 2	Ünlü Modacı Fuhuştan Adliyede	A Famous Fashion Designer In Courthouse For Prostitution	Cihan News Agency
811	Sabah	2012	February 21	Yardım Hattını En Çok Müşteriler Arıyor	Clients Are The Ones Who Call The Helpline The Most	Sonat Bahar
812	Sabah	2013	July 21	Aksaray'da Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation In Aksaray	-
813	Sabah	2013	April 12	Bağcılarda Fuhuş Operasyonu: 7 Gözaltı	A Prostitution Operation In Bağcılar: 7 Detained	İhlas News Agency
814	Sabah	2013	November 5	Başkentte Fuhuş Çetesine Darbe	A Blow To A Prostitution Gang In The Capital	Yüksel Temel
815	Sabah	2013	March 30	Beyoğlu'nda Fuhuş Baskınında 40	40 Detained In A Prostitution Raid	Barış Sözal

816	<i>Sabah</i>	2013	March 6	Gözcü	In Beyoğlu	
817	<i>Sabah</i>	2013	March 5	Bir Başkadır Kadın	A Woman Is Something Else	Ersin Ramoğlu
818	<i>Sabah</i>	2013	March 8	Diri Diri Gömdüler	They Buried Her Alive	Ersin Ramoğlu
				Doktorun Fuhuş Çetesi Çökertildi	A Prostitution Gang Led By A Doctor Was Brought Down	İhlas News Agency
819	<i>Sabah</i>	2013	November 18	Fatihte Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation In Fatih	AA
820	<i>Sabah</i>	2013	July 20	Fatihte Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation In Fatih	İhlas News Agency
821	<i>Sabah</i>	2013	April 29	Fuhuş Baskını Laleler Açtı	A Prostitution Raid Started With Code Words “Tulips Started Blooming”	Ali Şahin
				Parolası İle Başladı		
822	<i>Sabah</i>	2013	May 4	Fuhuş Çetesi Çökertildi	A Prostitution Gang Was Brought Down	AA
823	<i>Sabah</i>	2013	March 11	Fuhuş Çetesine Darbe	A Blow To A Prostitution Gang	-
824	<i>Sabah</i>	2013	November 15	Fuhuş Operasyonunda Şok Detay	A Shocking Detail In A Prostitution Operation	-
825	<i>Sabah</i>	2013	March 23	Fuhuş Örgütüne Ajanlı Çökertme	An Agent-Led Dismantling Operation To A Prostitution Organization	Yüksel Temel
826	<i>Sabah</i>	2013	May 10	Fuhuşa Seri Baskın Yapıldı	A Series Of Prostitution Raids Was Conducted	Yüksel Temel
827	<i>Sabah</i>	2013	July 31	İki Astsubay Tutuklandı	Two Non-Commissioned Officers Were Arrested	AA
828	<i>Sabah</i>	2013	November 6	İlanlı Tuzak	An Advertisement Trap	Yüksel Temel
829	<i>Sabah</i>	2013	May 24	İstanbul’da Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation In Istanbul	AA
830	<i>Sabah</i>	2013	December 17	Kadıköy’de Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation In Kadıköy	İhlas News Agency
831	<i>Sabah</i>	2013	June 11	Kalite Standartlı Fuhuş Sona Erdi	A High Quality-Standard Prostitution Came To An End	Nazan Erdem
832	<i>Sabah</i>	2013	April 5	Kiralık Yazlıklarda Fuhuş	Prostitution In Rented Summerhouses	-
833	<i>Sabah</i>	2013	December	Kırgız Fuhuş Şebekesi	A Kyrgyz Prostitution Network	-

834	<i>Sabah</i>	2013	14 May 11	Liderleri Kadın Olan İki Fuhuş Çetesine Darbe	A Blow To Two Prostitution Gangs Led By Women	Emir Somer
835	<i>Sabah</i>	2013	March 12	Okuyup Fuhuşa Soyundular	They Studied And Then Started To Work In Prostitution	Barış Sözal
836	<i>Sabah</i>	2013	February 6	Otellere Fuhuş Baskını	A Prostitution Raid On The Hotels	-
837	<i>Sabah</i>	2013	March 9	Polisten Fuhuş Baskını	A Prostitution Raid From The Police	Mehmet Yıldırım
838	<i>Sabah</i>	2013	March 11	Sığırın Parası Nataşa'ya	The Bull's Money Goes To Natasha	Ersin Ramoğlu
839	<i>Sabah</i>	2013	June 24	Temizlikçilik Diye Fuhuş Yaptırdılar	They Forced Them Into Prostitution Instead Of Cleaning	-
840	<i>Sabah</i>	2013	November 27	Whatsapp'la Fuhuşa Otel Baskını	A Prostitution Raid On A Hotel With The Help Of WhatsApp	Emir Somer
841	<i>Sabah</i>	2014	March 14	Adı İrina Olan Nataşa	A Natasha Named Irina	Engin Ardıç
842	<i>Sabah</i>	2014	October 2	Alanya'da Fuhuş Baskını	A Prostitution Raid In Antalya	-
843	<i>Sabah</i>	2014	April 15	Biri Avukat Biri Hemşire Çıktı	One Of Them Turned Out To Be A Lawyer, The Other One A Nurse	-
844	<i>Sabah</i>	2014	November 28	Çete Lideri 'Topal'	The Gang's Leader Is 'Crippled'	Erdoğan Öztürk
845	<i>Sabah</i>	2014	September 1	Fas'tan Sekreter Olarak Getirmişler	They Brought Them From Morocco To Work As Secretaries	-
846	<i>Sabah</i>	2014	June 30	Fuhuş Çetesi 9 Kişi Tutuklandı	A 9-People Prostitution Gang Was Arrested	-
847	<i>Sabah</i>	2014	March 1	Fuhuş Noktalarına Polis Baskını	A Police Raid On The Prostitution Spots	Yüksel Temel
848	<i>Sabah</i>	2014	September 16	Fuhuş Şebekesi 3 Ay Takip Edildi	A Prostitution Network Was Followed For 3 Months	Antalya
849	<i>Sabah</i>	2014	October 4	Fuhuş Yaptırılan 18 Kadın Kurtuldu	18 Women Forced Into Prostitution Were Rescued	-
850	<i>Sabah</i>	2014	June 26	Fuhuşa 12 Gözaltı	12 Detained In Prostitution	-
851	<i>Sabah</i>	2014	November 11	Fuhuştan Kurtulduğu Gün Doğum Yaptı	She Gave Birth The Day She Escaped Prostitution	İhlas News Agency

852	Sabah	2014	June 23	Gece Kulüplerine Baskında 29 Gözaltı	29 Detained In A Night Clubs Raid	-
853	Sabah	2014	August 30	İmdat Telefonu Çeteyi Çökertti	A Help Call Helped To Bring Down A Criminal Gang	Yüksel Temel
854	Sabah	2014	November 22	İstanbul Polisinde Tuzak Operasyon Tartışması	A Disagreement On A Set-Up Operation Among The Istanbul Police	-
855	Sabah	2014	December 9	İstanbul'da Dev Kumar Operasyonu	A Large-Scale Gambling Operation In Istanbul	DNA
856	Sabah	2014	June 12	Jandarmadan Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation From The Gendarmerie	Bekir Coşkun/ Esmâ Okur
857	Sabah	2014	December 20	Kriepkiy Çelovyek	Kriepkiy Chelovyek	Engin Ardıç
858	Sabah	2014	January 30	Moda Dünyasında VIP Fuhuş Davası	A VIP Prostitution Case In The Fashion World	Dilek Yaman
859	Sabah	2014	April 5	Polis Sanal Tuzak Teyakkuzunda	The Police On The Alert Of A Virtual Trap	Yüksel Temel
860	Sabah	2014	November 16	Side'de Gece Baskını	A Nighttime Raid In Side	-
861	Sabah	2014	January 29	Solculara Ağır Hareket	Hard Insult To The Leftists	-
862	Sabah	2014	May 6	Sosyal Medya Üzerinden Fuhuş Tuzağı	A Prostitution Trap On The Social Media	Ferit Zengin
863	Sabah	2014	December 26	Ukrayna Uyrukluları Savaşla Rusları Krizle Tehdit Ettiler	They Threatened Ukrainians With War And Russians With Crisis	Yüksel Temel
864	Sabah	2014	September 21	Yasadışı Göçten 32 Milyar Dolar	32 Billion Dollars From Illegal Migration	Yasemin Salih
865	Zaman	1994	December 1	AIDS Patlaması Kapımızda	The Outbreak Of AIDS Is At Our Doorstep	Emin Akdağ/Muammer Turan/Yusuf Sinan Yakup Ulusoy
866	Zaman	1994	September 6	Aile Müessesesi AIDS'e Engel	The Institution Of Family Prevents AIDS	Yakup Ulusoy
867	Zaman	1994	December 2	Devlet AIDS'e Savaş Açmalı	The State Should Launch A War On	Ömer Önder

868	Zaman	1994	December 1	Dünya Sağlık Teşkilâtı Türkiye’yi Uyardı	AIDS World Health Organization Warned Turkey	Ufuk Akın
869	Zaman	1994	December 1	Fuhuş Mafyası Otel İşletiyorsa	When The Prostitution Mafia Runs A Hotel	-
870	Zaman	1994	December 6	Fuhuş Terörden Sinsi İlerliyor	Prostitution Progresses More Insidiously Than Terror	İdris Gürsoy
871	Zaman	1994	December 12	KISA KISA	Briefly	-
872	Zaman	1995	June 27	Çirkin Proje Boş Çıktı	The Disgusting Project Turned Out To Be Empty	Ufuk Akın
873	Zaman	1995	August 2	İşler Yolunda	Everything Is OK	İdris Gürsoy
874	Zaman	1995	April 24	Turist Fuhuşla Hastalık Saçıyor	Tourists Are Disseminating Disease Through Prostitution	-
875	Zaman	1996	May 21	Gümrük Skandallarında Bakan İsmi	A Minister Name Comes Up In A Customs Scandal	-
876	Zaman	1996	March 18	Kaçak İşçiler Baş Ağrıtıyor	Illegal Workers Are Creating Trouble	Fatih Yılmaz/Hacı Güven
877	Zaman	1997	February 11	Aksaray’da Fuhuş Rezaleti	Prostitution Disgrace In Aksaray	-
878	Zaman	2004	March 11	Doç. Dr. Adem Sözüer: Türkiye Hala 19uncu Yüzyıl Yasaları İle İdare Ediliyor	Assoc. Prof. Adem Sozuer: Turkey Is Still Ruled By 19 th -Century-Old Laws	Enver Öztürk
879	Zaman	2004	January 9	Erzurum’da 700 Kişi AIDS Kontrolü Yaptırdı	700 People In Erzurum Took AIDS Test	Recai Morkoç
880	Zaman	2004	November 17	Fuhuş İçin Gelen Kadınları Sığınma Evinde Saklamak İstemişler	They Wanted To Hide Women Who Came For Prostitution In A Shelter House	Sedat Güneç
881	Zaman	2004	September 19	Hatemi’den Zinaya İlginç Çözüm	An Interesting Solution To Adultery From Hatemi	M. Yaşar Durukan
882	Zaman	2004	August 28	İnsanlarımız Korkmadan Gelip HIV Testi Yaptırsınlar	Our People Should Come And Take An HIV Test Without Being Afraid	-
883	Zaman	2004	March 4	Lüleburgaz’da Yakalanan 2	Disease Virus Found In 2 Women	AA

884	Zaman	2005	January 9	Kadında Hastalık Virüsü Çıktı Belarus'lu Annenin Feryadı İstanbul'da Fuhuş Şebekesi Çökertti	Out Of Those Caught In Luleburgaz A Belarusian Woman's Cry For Help Helped To Bring Down A Prostitution Gang In Istanbul	Ercan Gün
885	<i>Zaman</i>	2005	January 7	Fuhuş Operasyonunda 4 Kişi Yakalandı	4 People Caught In A Prostitution Operation	İltifat Neciyev, Gebze
886	<i>Zaman</i>	2005	May 17	Gemlik'te Fuhuş Evlerine Baskın	A Raid On A Prostitution House In Gemlik	Erdem Toprak
887	<i>Zaman</i>	2005	February 8	Iğdır'ın Fuhuştan Kaybı Her Ay 2 Buçuk Milyon Dolar	Iğdir's Monthly Economic Damage From Prostitution Is \$2.5 Million	Ali Işık
888	<i>Zaman</i>	2005	August 11	İş Vaadiyle Kandırılan Yabancı Kadınlara Fuhuş Yaptıran Çete Çökertildi	A Criminal Gang Forcing Foreign Women Into Prostitution Under False Job Promises Was Brought Down	Ufuk Köroğlu
889	<i>Zaman</i>	2005	December 8	Kapıdan Çıkarılıyor Pencereden Dönüyorlar	They Are Taken Out Through The Door, But Come Back From The Window	Ercan Yentek
890	<i>Zaman</i>	2005	August 3	Kızgın Yağ İle Fuhuşa Zorlanan Ukraynalı Kadınlar Kurtarıldı	Ukrainian Women Forced Into Prostitution With Boiling Oil Were Rescued	Cihan News Agency, Antalya
891	<i>Zaman</i>	2005	February 20	Mudanya'da Jandarma Fuhuş Çetesini Yakaladı	Gendarmerie Caught A Prostitution Gang In Mudanya	Kasım Şahin
892	<i>Zaman</i>	2005	July 3	Polis Gece Fuhuş Batağı Olan Aksaray'a El Koydu	The Police Seized Aksaray Which Become A Prostitution Snare At Night	AA
893	<i>Zaman</i>	2005	July 5	Trabzon'da Çok Sayıda Yabancı Uyruklu Kadın Gözaltına Alındı	Great Numbers Of Women Of Foreign Origin Were Detained In Trabzon	-
894	<i>Zaman</i>	2005	February 6	Türkiye'de Tespit Edilen AIDS'li Sayısı 2 Bine Yaklaştı	The Number Of Identified AIDS Cases In Turkey Has Reached 2,000	Necip Çakır
895	Zaman	2006	December 17	AİDS'li Olduğu İddia Edilen Kadın Gözaltında	A Woman Allegedly Having AIDS Is Detained	Cihan News Agency

896	Zaman	2006	December 29	AIDS'li Olduğunu Emniyette Öğrendi	She Learned That She Has AIDS At The Police Station	Mutlu Özay, Istanbul
897	Zaman	2006	December 8	Ardahan'da AIDS Uyarısı	An AIDS Warning In Ardahan	-
898	Zaman	2006	August 14	Dernek Başkanı Zorla Fuhuş Yaptırmaktan Tutuklandı	An Association President Was Arrested For Forcing Women Into Prostitution	-
899	Zaman	2006	November 14	Diskoda Yakalanan Kadınlar Hastalıklı Çıktı	Women Caught At The Disco Turned Out To Carry Diseases	Bayram Emir
900	Zaman	2006	November 2	Fuhuş Tacirlerine Ağır Hapis Cezası Geliyor	Heavy Imprisonment For Prostitution Traffickers Is Coming	Fatih Atik, Ankara
901	Zaman	2006	March 11	Fuhuş Tuzağına Düşürülen Ukraynalı Genç Kız Kurtarıldı	A Ukrainian Girl Trapped In Prostitution Was Rescued	AA
902	Zaman	2006	February 2	Hastalık Taşıyan Yabancı Kadınlar Sınır Dışı Edildi	Foreign Women Carrying Diseases Were Deported	Cihan News Agency
903	Zaman	2006	March 4	Hayat Kadını Çalıştıran Gazino Ve Restoranların Kapatılmasına Başlandı	Clubs And Restaurants Hiring Prostitutes Started To Be Closed	Murat Kaban
904	Zaman	2006	August 17	Iğdır'da Yeniden AIDS Alarmı	Another AIDS Warning In Iğdir	Zeki Aksel
905	Zaman	2006	November 26	İnterpol'ün Aradığı Ukraynalı Türkiye'de	A Ukrainian Woman Wanted By INTERPOL Is In Turkey	-
906	Zaman	2006	November 8	Kayseri Ve Antalya'da AIDS Paniği	An AIDS Panic In Kayseri And Antalya	Cihan News Agency
907	Zaman	2006	March 2	Kedi Operasyonu Kapsamında Bir Kadın Yakalandı	One Woman Was Caught Within The Scope Of An Operation Named "Cat"	-
908	Zaman	2006	February 15	Marmara Ereğli'sinde Fuhuş Yaptıran Otelci Tutuklandı	A Hotel Owner Forcing Women Into Prostitution Was Arrested In Marmara Ereğlisi	Cihan News Agency
909	Zaman	2006	February 25	Marmaris Ve Çanakkale'de Fuhuş Operasyonu Düzenlendi	A Prostitution Operation Was Conducted In Marmaris And Çanakkale	Cihan News Agency
910	Zaman	2006	July 22	Pasaportlarına El Koyup Zorla	They Confiscated Their Passports	Mutlu Özay

911	Zaman	2006	August 18	Fuhuş Yaptırmışlar Pasaportuna El Koyan Fuhuş Şebekesinden Kaçarken Apartman Boşluğunda Mahsur Kaldı	And Forced Them Into Prostitution A Woman Trapped In An Empty Well Inside A Building When Trying To Escape A Prostitution Network Who Confiscated Her Passport	-
912	Zaman	2006	November 24	Polise Rüşvet Teklif Edince Tutuklandı	She Was Arrested When Offering A Bribe To The Police	-
913	Zaman	2006	July 25	Silivri’de Otel Baskınında 10 Yabancı Kadın Gözaltına Alındı	10 Foreign Women Were Detained In A Hotel Raid In Silivri	Cihan News Agency
914	Zaman	2006	March 23	Trabzon’da 101 BDT’li Bayan Gözaltına Alındı	101 Women From The CIS Were Detained In Trabzon	Fahri Öztoprak
915	Zaman	2006	February 20	Uluslararası Fuhuş Operasyonunda 71 Gözaltı	71 Detained In An International Prostitution Operation	Sait Edige, Adem Eyüboğlu; Cihan News Agency
916	Zaman	2006	November 29	Yabancı Kadınlar: İstanbul’da Gidiyoruz Demeye Utanıyoruz	Foreign Women: We Are Ashamed To Say We Are Going To Istanbul	Nuri Emre
917	Zaman	2006	August 12	Yabancı Kadınlarda Frengi Çıktı	Syphilis Was Found In Foreign Women	Ziya İpek, Adana
918	Zaman	2007	August 23	AIDS’li Hayat Kadını Serbest Bırakıldı	A Prostitute With AIDS Was Released	-
919	Zaman	2007	August 21	Antalya’da Otelde Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation In A Hotel In Istanbul	Cihan News Agency
920	Zaman	2007	February 6	Başkentte Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation In The Capital	Sedat Güneç
921	Zaman	2007	January 30	Fuhuş Çetesine Baskın	A Raid On A Prostitution Gang	Özkan Mayda, Antalya
922	Zaman	2007	August 10	Fuhuş Operasyonunda 16 Gözaltı	16 Detained In A Prostitution Operation	-
923	Zaman	2007	June 9	Fuhuş Operasyonunda 20 Kişi Tutuklandı	20 People Arrested In A Prostitution Operation	-
924	Zaman	2007	October 19	Fuhuş Operasyonunda 24 Gözaltı	24 Detained In A Prostitution	-

925	Zaman	2007	March 17	Fuhuş Operasyonunda 50 Kişi Gözaltına Alındı	Operation 50 People Detained In A Prostitution Operation	-
926	Zaman	2007	December 11	Fuhuş Şebekesine Polisten Ağır Darbe	A Heavy Blow To A Prostitution Network From The Police	Mutlu Özay
927	Zaman	2007	December 16	Fuhuşla Suçlanan 29 Kadın Hastalıklı Çıktı	Diseases Were Found In 29 Women Accused Of Prostitution	Cihan News Agency
928	Zaman	2007	January 12	İzmir Polisinden 15 Yere Fuhuş Baskını	A Prostitution Raid On 15 Places From The Izmir Police	Hasan Çilingir
929	Zaman	2007	August 11	Karadul Operasyonuna 6 Tutuklama	6 Arrests In The Operation “Black Widow”	AA
930	Zaman	2007	December 11	Türkiye AIDS Riski Altında	Turkey Is Under The Risk Of AIDS	Cihan News Agency
931	Zaman	2007	January 15	Yabancı Kadınlara Zorla Fuhuş Yaptıran 19 Zanlı Adliye Sevk Edildi	19 Suspects Accused Of Forcing Foreign Women Into Prostitution Were Referred To The Courthouse	-
932	Zaman	2008	May 4	Antalya’da 70 Kişi Adliye Sevk Edildi	70 People Were Referred To The Courthouse In Antalya	Cihan News Agency
933	Zaman	2008	July 17	Antalya’da Fuhuş Evlerinde Bahar Temizliği	A Spring Cleaning In The Prostitution Houses In Antalya	Lütfi Aykurt
934	Zaman	2008	April 14	Ayşe Teyze Çetesi Çökertildi: 17 Gözaltı	Aunt Ayse’s Criminal Gang Was Brought Down: 17 Detained	Mürsel Karadeniz, Istanbul
935	Zaman	2008	December 4	Emniyet Müdürüne Fuhuştan Tutuklama	An Arrest For Prostitution To The Director Of The Department Of Security	Sungurlu, AA
936	Zaman	2008	November 5	Fuhuş Operasyonu: 54 Kişi Gözaltına Alındı	A Prostitution Operation: 54 People Detained	Mustafa Kuşen
937	Zaman	2008	September 2	Fuhuş Suçlamasıyla Gözaltına Alınan Altısı Kadın 37 Kişi Adliye Sevk Edildi	37 People 6 Of Which Are Women Detained With A Prostitution Accusation Were Referred To The Courthouse	-
938	Zaman	2008	February 22	Fuhuş Şebekesinin Elebaşı	The Leader Of A Prostitution	AA

939	Zaman	2008	July 29	Ukraynalı Kadın İnsan Ticareti Yapmak Suçundan 3 Kişi Tutuklandı	Network Is A Ukrainian Woman 3 People Arrested For Committing The Crime Of Human Trafficking	Ahmet Yeşil
940	Zaman	2008	January 23	İstanbul'da Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation In Istanbul	-
941	Zaman	2008	April 9	İstanbul'da Gazetecilere Fuhuş Baskını	A Prostitution Raid On Journalists In Istanbul	-
942	Zaman	2008	January 23	İstanbul'da İki Fuhuş Çetesi Çökertildi	Two Prostitution Gangs Were Brought Down In Istanbul	Cihan News Agency
943	Zaman	2008	August 1	Jandarmadan Operasyon: 133 Kaçak Kadın Yakalandı	An Operation From The Gendarmerie: 133 Illegal Women Caught	-
944	Zaman	2008	March 22	Kuşadası'nda Bir Otele Fuhuş Baskını Yapıldı	A Prostitution Raid On One Hotel In Kuşadası Was Conducted	-
945	Zaman	2008	December 26	Küçükçekmece'de Fuhuş Baskını	A Prostitution Raid In Küçükçekmece	Cihan News Agency
946	Zaman	2008	September 1	Savaştan Kaçtı Fuhuş Şebekesinin Eline Düştü	She Escaped War But Fell Into The Hands Of A Prostitution Network	Özdemir Özkan, Cihan News Agency
947	Zaman	2008	October 17	Ukraynalı Kadının Otel Parasını RTÜK'e Ödetmiş	He Made RTUK ⁷⁹ Pay For The Ukrainian Woman's Place At The Hotel	Ankara
948	Zaman	2008	August 30	Uslanmazlar Çetesi Çökertildi	"The Incurables" Gang Was Brought Down	Cihan News Agency
949	Zaman	2009	October 30	Afyonkarahisar'da Yapılan Fuhuş Operasyonunda 16 Kişi Gözaltına Alındı	16 People Were Detained In A Prostitution Operation Conducted In Afyonkarahisar	Mustafa Kuşen
950	Zaman	2009	June 17	İşkenceci İnsan Ticareti Çetesini İki Kadın Yönetmiş	Two Women Led A Torturer Human Trafficking Gang	Alper Sancar, Ankara
951	Zaman	2010	November 5	Aksaray'da Fuhuş Operasyonu: 31 Gözaltı	A Prostitution Operation In Aksaray: 31 Detained	Cihan News Agency
952	Zaman	2010	August 17	Fuhuş Çetelerinden Çirkin İşbirliği	An Ugly Cooperation From The	-

⁷⁹ RTÜK stands for Radio and Television Supreme Council (Turkish: *Radyo ve Televizyon Üst Kurulu*).

953	Zaman	2010	October 16	Fuhuş Operasyonu: 31 Gözaltı	Prostitution Gangs A Prostitution Operation: 31 Detained	Cihan News Agency
954	Zaman	2010	June 10	Fuhuş Operasyonunda Polis Memurları Da Yakalandı	Police Officers Were Caught In A Prostitution Operation Too	AA
955	Zaman	2010	October 30	Fuhuş Zanlısı Kadınlar Hastalıklı Çıktı	Women Suspected Of Prostitution Turned Out To Carry Diseases	Cihan News Agency
956	Zaman	2010	June 11	Fuhuşa Zorlanan 10 Kadın Polis Operasyonuylu Kurtarıldı	10 Women Forced Into Prostitution Were Rescued In A Police Operation	Cihan News Agency
957	Zaman	2010	May 25	İnsan Ticaretinde Ürküten Bilanço	A Frightening Income Plan In Human Trafficking	AA
958	Zaman	2010	November 14	İstanbul'da Fuhuş Ve Kumar Operasyonları: 81 Gözaltı	Prostitution And Gambling Operations In Istanbul: 81 Detained	AA
959	Zaman	2010	May 10	Subaylara Fuhuş Ve Uyuşturucu Tuzağı	A Prostitution And Drug Trap For The Officers	Mustafa Turan, Istanbul
960	Zaman	2011	January 15	8 İldeki Eş Zamanlı Operasyonda 44 Kişi Gözaltına Alındı	44 People Detained In A Synchronized Operation In 8 Provinces	Cihan News Agency
961	Zaman	2011	March 12	Beyoğlu'nda Fuhuş Operasyonu: 50 Gözaltı	A Prostitution Operation In Beyoğlu: 50 Detained	-
962	Zaman	2011	September 3	Fatih'te Fuhuş Operasyonu: 22 Gözaltı	A Prostitution Operation In Fatih: 22 Detained	-
963	Zaman	2011	January 29	Fatih'te Fuhuş Operasyonu: 35 Gözaltı	A Prostitution Operation In Fatih: 35 Detained	Cihan News Agency
964	Zaman	2011	June 19	Fuhuş Operasyonunda 4 Kişi Adliyeye Sevk Edildi	4 People Were Referred To The Courthouse In A Prostitution Operation	Cihan News Agency
965	Zaman	2011	November 4	Gaziantep'te Fuhuş Çetesine Operasyon	An Operation Against A Prostitution Gang In Gaziantep	-
966	Zaman	2011	September 15	Gözaltına Alınan Yabancı Uyruklu Kadının Bebeğine Polisler	The Police Will Look After The Baby Of A Detained Woman Of	-

967	Zaman	2011	April 6	Bakacak İstanbul'da Fuhuş Ve Kumar Operasyonları: 40 Gözaltı	Foreign Origin Prostitution And Gambling Operations In Istanbul: 40 Detained	-
968	Zaman	2011	February 3	İstanbul'da Fuhuş Ve Kumar Operasyonları: 41 Gözaltı	Prostitution And Gambling Operations In Istanbul: 41 Detained	AA
969	Zaman	2011	December 15	İzmir'de Suç Örgütüne Yönelik Operasyon Kapsamında 17 Kişi Adliye Sevk Edildi	17 People Were Referred To The Courthouse Within The Scope Of An Operation Against An Organized Criminal Group In Izmir	AA
970	Zaman	2011	November 2	Laleli'nin Dış Ticaretteki Kötü İmajı Geride Kaldı	Bad Image Of Laleli In Foreign Trade Is Left Behind	Istanbul Zaman
971	Zaman	2011	July 1	Şişli'de Fuhuş Operasyonu: 20 Gözaltı	A Prostitution Operation In Sisli: 20 Detained	AA
972	Zaman	2012	June 21	Ardahan'da 46 Kişiden 24'dü Tutuklandı	24 Arrested Out Of 46 People Detained In Ardahan	-
973	Zaman	2012	July 10	Fuhuş Çetesi Polisi Polis Çeteyi Takip Etmiş	The Prostitution Gang Followed The Police, And The Police Followed The Prostitution Gang	Cihan News Agency
974	Zaman	2012	November 24	Fuhuşu Reddeden Rus Doktor İşkenceyle Akıl Sağlığından Oldu	A Russian Doctor Refusing To Work In Prostitution Lost Her Mental Health Because Of Torture	Cihan Ünal, Antalya
975	Zaman	2012	July 6	İzmir'de Fuhuş Operasyonu: 92 Gözaltı	A Prostitution Operation In Izmir: 92 Detained	Cihan News Agency
976	Zaman	2012	November 15	Türkiye'nin Esnek Vize Politikası Yabancıları İnsan Tacirlerine Kurban Yapıyor	Turkey's Lax Visa Policy Makes Foreigners The Victims Of Human Traffickers	Cihan News Agency
977	Zaman	2013	November 1	Ankara'da 4 İnsan Taciri Tutuklandı	4 Human Traffickers Arrested In Ankara	Cihan News Agency, Ankara
978	Zaman	2013	September 17	Batman'da Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation In Batman	Cihan News Agency, Batman
979	Zaman	2013	February 14	Fuhuş Çetesinin Müşterileri Bürokrat, İşadamı Ve Futbolcular	The Prostitution Gang's Clients Are A Bureaucrat, A Businessman And	Ömer Özdemir, Antalya

980	Zaman	2013	November 25	Fuhuş Yaptığı İddiasıyla Yakalanan Kırgız Kadın Sınır Dışı Edildi	Football Players A Kyrgyz Woman Caught Because Of Alleged Involvement In Prostitution Was Deported	Cihan News Agency, Antalya
981	Zaman	2013	October 12	İğdir’da 6 Ayda 38 Kişi Kaçakçılıktan Tutuklandı	38 People In 6 Months Were Arrested For Smuggling In Iğdir	Cihan News Agency, Iğdir
982	Zaman	2013	July 17	İğdir’da Göçmen Kaçakçılığı Operasyonu: 62 Gözaltı	A Migrant Smuggling Operation In Iğdir: 62 Detained	Mehmet Tuna/ Cihan News Agency, Iğdir
983	Zaman	2013	December 6	İşe Aldıkları Kadınları Fuhşa Zorlayan Üç Kişi Tutuklandı	Three People Forcing The Women They Hired Into Prostitution Were Arrested	Cihan News Agency, Denizli
984	Zaman	2013	December 20	İzmir’de Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation In Izmir	Cihan News Agency, Izmir
985	Zaman	2013	December 17	Kadıköy’de Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation In Kadıköy	Cihan News Agency, Istanbul
986	Zaman	2013	May 26	Karadeniz’in Ağlayan Yüzünü Anlatmak İstedim	I Wanted To Tell About The Teary Face Of The Black Sea Region	-
987	Zaman	2013	November 24	Kütahya’da Fuhuş Operasyonu	A Prostitution Operation In Kütahya	Cihan News Agency, Kütahya
988	Zaman	2013	September 30	Malatya’da Fuhuş Çetesi Çökertildi	A Prostitution Gang Was Brought Down In Malatya	Cihan News Agency, Malatya
989	Zaman	2013	November 26	Whatsapp’tan Fuhuş Pazarlığı	A Prostitution Negotiation Through WhatsApp	Cihan News Agency, Istanbul
990	Zaman	2013	January 21	Yabancı Kadınları Tinercilerle Evlendiriyorlar	They Make Foreign Women Marry Thinner-Addicts	Mustafa Kirazlı



APPENDIX D

Full Coding Scheme in NVivo: Theme Nodes

ATTITUDE TO MIGRANT SEX WORKERS

- Derogatory**

- Neutral**

- Sympathetic**

ATTITUDE TO TURKISH CLIENTS

- Clients as guilty**

- Clients as innocent

- Clients saving the women**

DISCLOSURE OF MIGRANT SEX WORKERS

- Blurred pictures of sex workers provided**

- Full names of sex workers provided**

- Open pictures of sex workers provided**

- Pictures with women covering their faces provided**

- Mentions women covering their faces in text**

MIGRANT WOMAN PROFILE

- Age

- 18-25**

- 26-30**



31-35

36-40

41-45

46-50

51-55

under 18

Country of birth

Armenia

Azerbaijan

Belarus

Estonia

Georgia

Kazakhstan

Kyrgyzstan

Latvia

Lithuania

Moldova

Russian Federation

Chechnya

Dagestan

Tajikistan

Turkmenistan

Ukraine

Uzbekistan

EDUCATION LEVEL



High school
Secondary school
University
OCCUPATION
Accountant
Animator
Architect
Ballet dancer
Bank expert
Beauty specialist
Chef
Chemist
Clerk
Dancing teacher
Designer
Doctor
Domestic worker
Economist
Engineer
Fashion designer
Finance officer
Hairdresser
Hostess
IT specialist
Journalist



Kindergarten teacher

Laboratory assistant

Lawyer

Musician

Nurse

Pharmacist

Photo model

Police officer

Psychologist

Real estate agent

Research assistant

Saleswoman

School teacher

Show girl

Singer

Sportswoman

Student

Textile seller

Tourism specialist

Tourist guide

Trade

Veterinarian

MISUSE OF TERMS

Chechnya as a separate country

"Crime of prostitution"



Dagestan as a separate country

"Human trafficking" mixed up with "human smuggling"

Clients engaging in "prostitution" with women

Misconceptions about STDs

"Prostitution in exchange for money"

"Forced rape"

NAMING THE PHENOMENON

Adultery (*zina*)

Commercial sex

Concubinage

Human Trafficking

Illicit relationships

Irregular migration

Love

Migrant smuggling

Prostitution

Forced prostitution

Sex trade or sex market

Sexual exploitation

Slavery

Trap

NAMING THE WOMEN

Call girl

Escort girl

Irregular migrants



Second wife (*kuma*)

Prostitutes

“Fahişe”

“Hayat kadını”

“Prostitution workers”

Sex workers

Slaves

Victims

STIGMATIZING THE WOMEN

Disseminating disease

Natashas

Critical attitude to the Natasha concept

Whores

OTHER NATIONALITIES

Albania

Algeria

Bulgaria

China

Columbia

Ethiopia

Indonesia

Iran

Iraq

Japan

Kenya



Mongolia
Morocco
Nigeria
Paraguay
Romania
Sri Lanka
Syria
Tunisia
Uganda

PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

Beautiful or beauty
Blond hair or blonde
Blue eyes or blue-eyed
White skin

PUBLIC HEALTH

Condom use

Negative
Positive

Sexually transmitted diseases (STDs)

AIDS or HIV
Gonorrhea
Hepatitis B
Hepatitis C
Syphilis
Other



TURKISH CULTURE

Family

Divorce

Honor (*namus*)

Masculinity

Morality

Religion

Stereotypes

TURKISH ECONOMY

Capitalism

Communism

Customs

Demand

Dollars or foreign currency

Free market

Hotel industry

Import

Taxes

Tourism

Sex tourism

Trade

Suitcase trade

TURKISH GEOGRAPHY

Regions of Turkey

Aegean region



Afyonkarahisar

Aydın

Kuşadası

Denizli

İZMİR⁸⁰

Alsancak

Bornova

Buca

Çeşme

Çiğli

Karabağlar

Karşıyaka

Konak

Menemen

Urla

Kütahya

Manisa

Muğla

Bodrum

Fethiye

Köyceğiz

Marmaris

Milas

⁸⁰ The list of counties within the provinces only includes those with at least one coded reference for migrant sex labor. The counties (*ilçe*) and in the case of Istanbul, districts (*mahalle*) with no instances of migrant sex labor were not included in the coding scheme.



Uşak

Black Sea region

Amasya

Artvin

Bartın

Bayburt

Bolu

Çorum

Düzce

Giresun

Gümüşhane

Karabük

Kastamonu

Ordu

Rize

Samsun

Sinop

Tokat

Trabzon

Zonguldak

Central Anatolia region

Aksaray

ANKARA

Altındağ

Çankaya



Etimesgut
Keçiören
Mamak
Yenimahalle

Çankırı
Eskişehir
Karaman
Kayseri
Kırıkkale
Kırşehir
Konya
Nevşehir
Niğde
Sivas
Yozgat

Eastern Anatolia region

Ağrı
Ardahan
Bingöl
Bitlis
Elazığ
Erzincan
Erzurum
Hakkari
Iğdır



Kars

Malatya

Muş

Tunceli

Van

Marmara region

Balıkesir

Bilecik

Bursa

Çanakkale

Edirne

ISTANBUL

Ataşehir

Avcılar

Bağcılar

Bahçelievler

Bakırköy

Ataköy

Florya

Başakşehir

Bayrampaşa

Beşiktaş

Etiler

Gayrettepe

Beykoz



Beylikdüzü

Beyoğlu

Cihangir

Taksim

Büyükçekmece

Kumburgaz

Çekmeköy

Eyüp

Kemerburgaz

Fatih

Aksaray

Beyazıt

Eminönü

Kumkapı

Laleli

Kadıköy

Kağıthane

Küçükçekmece

Halkalı

Maltepe

Pendik

Kurtköy

Sarıyer

Silivri

Şişli



Ümraniye
Kırlareli
Kocaeli
Sakarya
Tekirdağ
Yalova
Mediterranean region
Adana
ANTALYA
Aksu
Alanya
Kaş
Kemer
Konyaaltı
Lara
Manavgat
Kızılot
Side
Serik
Belek
Kadriye
Burdur
Hatay
Isparta
Kahramanmaraş



Mersin

Osmaniye

Southeastern Anatolia region

Adıyaman

Batman

Diyarbakır

Gaziantep

Kilis

Mardin

Siirt

Şanlıurfa

Şırnak

TURKISH POLITICS

Authority figure

Minister of Foreign Affairs

President

Prime Minister

Democracy

Elections

Fethullah Gülen

Government

National security

Civil society organizations

Political parties

AKP



ANAP

CHP

DSP

DTP

DYP

FP

MHP

MÇP

RP

State

TBMM (parliament)

Terrorism

War

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Beating

Blackmail with pornography

Confinement

Death

Debt-bondage

Drugging

Forced abortions or killing babies

Forced defloration

Forced pregnancy

Loss of mental health

Malnutrition

Rape

Threatening

With death

With guns

With killing family members

With ruining face with nitric acid

Torture

With boiling oil

With cigarettes

WHAT HAPPENS TO WOMEN

Arrested

Caught

Caught in the act

Deported

Detained

Referred to shelters

Released

Rescued

With 157 Helpline

With the help of clients
