

SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS OF SEX WORK AND WORKERS AMONG
SOCIALIST WOMEN

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ABSTRACT

SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS OF SEX WORK AND WORKERS AMONG SOCIALIST WOMEN

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This thesis analyzes the social representation of sex work and workers among socialist women based on three main approaches. The first approach is the Social Representations Theory of Moscovici, the second approach is Nucleus Theory of Abric and the third approach is Representation and Performance Theory of Theater based on Nietzsche and Goffman. These three approaches had taken in a complementary manner for the data analysis process. The data was collected from women of political parties claiming the idea of socialism in their codes with semi-structured in-depth interviews and it is analyzed with qualitative methods. It is discovered that the major inconsistencies between the representation of sex workers and the performance of the socialist groups were related to the inconsistencies of polemical representations of sex workers. The core representation of sex work is still related to the societal perspective of sex while the peripheral representation is more focused on the concept of work.

Keywords: Sex Workers, Socialism, Socialist Women, Social Representation

ÖZ

SOSYALİST KADINLAR ARASINDA SEKS İŞÇİLİĞİ VE SEKS İŞÇİLERİNİN SOSYAL TEMSİLLERİ

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Bu çalışma, seks işçiliği ve işçilerinin sosyalist kadınlar arasındaki sosyal temsilini üç temel yaklaşımı baz alarak incelemiştir. Birinci yaklaşım Moscovici'nin Sosyal Temsiller Teorisi, ikinci yaklaşım Abric'in Çekirdek Teorisi, üçüncü yaklaşım ise Nietzsche ve Goffman'ın görüşleri üzerine kurulu olan Tiyatroda Temsil ve Performans Teorisidir. Bu üç yaklaşım, datanın değerlendirilmesi sırasında tamamlayıcı olarak ele alınmıştır. Nitel analiz yöntemi ile gerçekleştirilen ve verileri tüzüklerinde sosyalizm iddiasını taşıyan siyasi partilerden birer kadın katılımcı ile yarı yapılandırılmış derinlikli görüşmelerle elde edilen bu çalışmada seks işçilerinin temsilleri ve sosyalist örgütlerin performansları arasında bir tutarsızlık olmasının polemik temsillerdeki tutarsızlık ve kararsızlıkla ilişkili olduğu görülmüş, merkez temsil daha çok seksin toplumsal algısı ile örtüşürken çevre temsiline seks işçiliğindeki işçilik olgusuna yönelmesi bu tutarsızlıktaki temellerden biri olarak tespit edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Seks İşçileri, Sosyalizm, Sosyalist Kadınlar, Sosyalizm.

To women;

Who died and survived on the journey of their dreams.

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CHAPTER 1

A SHORT INTRODUCTION ABOUT THIS WORK

Prostitution is only a specific expression of the general prostitution of the labourer, and since it is a relationship in which falls not the prostitute alone, but also the one who prostitutes – and the latter’s abomination is still greater – the capitalist, etc., also comes under this head.

(Marx, 1844)

In 2011, I had decided to join a theater community in METU, and that community was working on Turkish Folklore and Folk Theater. At the same year, we had started to work on a traditional play, written by Haldun Taner, named Zilli Zarife (Zarife is the name of the head character, and “zilli” is an adjective, meaning something like shrewish, jingle – for describing someone who attracts attention and known by everyone nearby) (Taner, 1966). Zarife was running a brothel house, she herself was a former sex worker, and I was performing this role. From the very first moment after the announcement of me getting the role, I had shockingly realized that I had no idea about what a sex worker does – how they live, is that even a legal job, can men work as sex workers, can a sex worker be a hero even in a play... and many other questions were running through my head.

As an academician-to-be, I had started to do some basic research about them, and I had learned fascinating and terrifying information about their social status, legal status, working conditions, labels, struggles, earnings and so on. I had a presentation

about the social status of sex workers for my anthropology class with the great support of Prof. Smita Tewari Jassal in the same year. They were working under very dangerous conditions, with lots of prejudices and labels and it seems like nobody was even remotely interested in this issue, in Turkey.

Then, in 2013, during the fast politicization process of the Turkish youth with Gezi Park protests, I met with a socialist group of people who were defending the labor struggle. I was quite interested in their theories. It was an early political development of me, my progress could have been measured with describing Marx as “the man with the beard” and Lenin as “the bald one”. After meeting socialism and organized women’s struggle in the same summer, I had started to question about sex workers. The earlier responses were like “Comrade, that is a sensitive issue...”. However, I continuously questioned that, that how were we suppose to argue it? What would be our policy about them? Can we organize them? Can they be a part of the revolution?

These questions had led me to this thesis. My women comrades were the only ones who were at least ready to discuss this issue with me, rather than covering it up by labeling it sensitive or dangerous. I had started my Masters in METU Social Psychology department under the supervision of Prof. Banu Cingöz Ulu, and I had already decided to study on sex workers. I wondered why we were in denial of the existence of sex workers. Every adult had complete awareness about the dimensions of the social status of sex workers, but they were neither completely rejected, nor were they accepted by any part of the society. Especially for the socialists! They were claiming to embrace every oppressed community! Moreover, I was sensing some

different point of views from women about that issue, with the heritage of the previous resemblances, “Women? Oh, that is a sensitive issue...”

Therefore, I had decided to understand what representation sex workers had in between socialist women. To understand how socialist women categorize sex workers based on their collective mind and background, I utilized Social Representations Theory of Moscovici. Then, I explained the differences between *the core* and *the peripheral representations* of sex workers with Abric’s Central and Peripheral System of Social Representations Approach. Finally, I employed the theories of Nietzsche and Goffman to explain the radical differences between the representation and performance, which state that when the representation and performance do not match, the theater convention will eventually be damaged. Keeping in mind, that using a theatre theory is a quite different approach in social psychology, I believe that theatre is both social and psychological, so this approach will fit perfectly to the issue. Especially while thinking about the representation of socialists who are supposed to be on the side of the oppressed ones and the performance of socialists who are constantly excluding the sex workers, the point of the problem seems more visible. To sum up, this work is a result of stages, streets, questions, and curiosity.

In the continuing chapters, I will present the development process of the women organizations in Turkey to track the main aims of their foundations, the relationships between socialist women and feminists and the portrayal of the sexuality of women and the issue of sex work. After that, I will present a brief background of the concept of sex work and workers by giving definitions and referring to general attitudes to these concepts. In that chapter, I will also mention their position among

the rights defenders. In the next chapter, I will draw the lines of the theoretical approaches I follow in order to interpret the given conditions of socialism, the women's movement and the sex workers. There are three theoretical approaches that I follow: The Social Representations Theory of Moscovici, The Nucleus Theory of Abric and the Representation and Performance Theory of theater history with the contributions of Nietzsche and Goffman. In the light of those conditions and the theories, I will give the details of my study, the methods, the analysis and the interpretation of my study. Lastly, I will discuss my results and state the limitations.

CHAPTER 2

WHO ARE THE SOCIALIST WOMEN IN TURKEY?

As a relatively new government, Turkey has a traceable history of women movements. To begin with, it is important to state that women movements began earlier than the socialist women movement. In order to present the full picture, I will begin my discussion with a brief history of the women's movement in Turkey.

Collective movements are the reactions of the non-dominant parts of the society, which means, all the parties which cannot claim considerable space in the mainstream politics; namely, minorities, urban poor, women, LGBTI society, ecologists and so on (Sancar, 2012). In the early period of industrialization, the unequal distribution of the workforces among different genders had led to unequal representation of those genders in the social and political arena. Therefore, the feminist movement with the claim of equal rights and representation of men and women had started to play a critical role in the organization of women. The effect of modernization and industrialization were not quite different in the case of Turkey. However, the modernization process of Turkey grew parallel with the *nation forming* of the last years of the Ottoman Empire and the first years of the Republic of Turkey. Nation building of the new Turkey is not only a series of changes in the regime of the country but also

the creation of new values, new aims, attribution of new responsibilities, and duties to all the citizens (Çongur, 2017). Women were a part of this process, as can be expected.

2.1 Women's Rights and the Turkish Republic

In contrast to the common belief, the republic did not “give” all the social rights to women. Women were not on the earning side of society, neither before nor after the establishment of the Republic of Turkey. With the Tanzimat Reform Era, women were supporting the modernization process by also conflicting with the men who were trying to preserve the *traditional Ottoman values*. In 1917, before the republic, women already gained the rights of working as clerks, workers and even studying in universities. In 1917, with the Family Enactment, along with the other communities, Muslim women of Ottoman were the first ones to gain the rights of divorce and restriction of polygamy among other Muslim countries (Tekeli, 2004).

After the War of Independence, the women who actively participated in the war desired to establish the *very first political party* after the declaration of Republic with the name of *Women's People Party*. However, they were only allowed to establish a union, Turkish Women's Union. The newly established Republic became a one-party regime soon and oppressed many of the non-governmental organizations including the highly active women movement for the sake of *proper construction of a new nation*. Republic gave the civil rights back to women in 1926, political rights in 1930 and 1934, for which they fought many years. In 1935, after women regained the right to vote and the first female politicians were established in the parliament, Turkish Women's Union were forced to abolish itself (Tekeli, 2004).

2.2. 1935-1975: A Lost Period

After the 1950s, Turkey began to try the multi-party democracy system. While the economic growth of that era presented a successful and developing data to the history, the political, cultural and societal changes did not correspond with the economic growth. While two essential elements of nation-formation and educational reform aimed at public education, and spreading of the ideology of Kemalism, the closure of *Halkevleri / Halkodaları* and *Köy Enstitüleri* meant that the renewal of secularism was dismissed, while lodges and shrines were re-opened. Also, the economic growth ended up with massive amounts of foreign debt which lead the country to a deep economic crisis where the devaluation rate became 265%. The ongoing changes and instability of the Turkish political system and economy had led to a deeper crisis, and as the crisis was tried to be stifled, the reactions of the public increased. After the military coup of 1960 and the new constitution of the Turkish republic, one-sided freedom of the earlier government was rejected, and “relatively” more freedom and possibilities were given to the criticizing and opponent groups and organizations. In 1968, the student movements and worker riots had also started, and the unsteady course of the Republic had continued (Erkoç, 2002).

The question that rises at this point is where were the women while all of this was happening? There are various kinds of involvement in the social system for women, and they cannot be evaluated in the same category of collective movement. For example, between 1935-1975 Turkish women were mostly placed in charity movements as a “supportive unit” of the society rather than the “proactive unit”. As Sancar stated, it cannot be compared with the struggle movement of the *suffragette*

who fought for equality rather than acceptance of the sexist role division of the traditional values (Sancar, 2012). Therefore, it is almost impossible to talk about a stronger movement for women until 1975, when the Progressive Women's Association (İlerici Kadınlar Derneği – İKD) was founded as an auxiliary of Communist Party of Turkey.

2.3 After 1970

2.3.1 Worldwide Rise of Feminism and Its Relationship with Socialism

When the calendars showed the 1970s, the student and the workers' riots were in the middle of the agendas because of the unstable course of the governments and economic difficulties as mentioned before. There were thousands of women taking part in the protests and organized movements. However, it is not possible to cite the feminist motivation behind these participations. It was around '80s when the feminist movement had started to develop in Turkey (Talay Keşoğlu, 2007).

The rise of feminist ideology can be traced back to the social and economic changes after World War II. Unlike the first world war, this time, women were not directly sent back to their previous social status and did not engage in with their traditional roles. Many of them were widows who had lost their husbands to the war. The oldest sons were sharing the same destiny with their fathers as well. Therefore, women were alone with the responsibilities of raising their little children on their own, and this led them to enter the working life, which, as a result, raised awareness of discrimination for both in social, economic and political areas among women workers (Kaplan, 1992).

Since the women are an official and undeniable part of the European working class, it is time for the question of what was the Marxist approach this discrimination? Marxism had always recognized women as part of the labor force, either by working in the production of the goods and services as a gainfully employed worker or by providing a means to the reproduction of other workers (like their husbands, fathers, brothers, or sons). Re-production of the working forces happened in two ways; firstly, by preparing them for the next working day by providing their humanitarian needs like nutrition and nurture and secondly by producing new workers via giving birth to them and raising them as healthy and workable individuals. In most of the cases, the women worked dual shifts –by working both in the factories as workers and at homes as wives and mothers. This was called the “double exploitation of women” or “domestic slavery of women” (Aktas, 2013; Bilican Gökkaya, 2011; Marks, Engels, & Lenin, 2006) and this is one of the main cores of the labor theory of value which stands at the cross point of Marxism and feminism. However, it is a known fact that the classic Marxist theory does not lean on the women’s question alone. It is seen as a part of the problem of the capitalist system, and it is not clearly distinguished from the class problem. It is also widely supported that especially early Marxist theory is structured for and by men. It can be fairer to re-phrase this sentence as “for workers by men” since it does not exclude women from working class, but, doesn’t accept any differences due to inequalities. Instead, it relates almost all suppressions and violation of rights to the capitalist economic system. Marxists’ point of view on the issue does not deny the existence of patriarchy, instead it aimed at patriarchy since it was exploitative and suppressive. Therefore, it is important to state that Marxist theory does not especially

exclude women, but it was confused about the societal structure of women's question (Brown, 2014; Hartmann, 2006).

Marxism, as mentioned before, states that women were exposed to more and deeper exploitation and alienation than men since domestic labor is also assumed to be their natural and non-wage duty. For example, Engels and Lenin (1975, as cited in Özbudun, 2015) had stated separately that the childcare and early education task and “the babies need their mothers” myths are being an extra burden to the women and these can be handled by assigning the childcare and education to the society in the socialist system (Engels, 2003). Other than that, Marxists also thought and wrote on family, its values, and the destruction of all the values by the capitalist system, how women's domestic labor is invisible and how women were working at mostly the unqualified jobs with much lower wages (Marks et al., 2006). Marxists also bring a solution to these spotted problems in two ways. First is the socialization of the domestic work and the second one is waging of the domestic work (Marks et al., 2006). At this point, Andrée Michel identifies a crucial difference between Marxism and Feminism. According to Michel, Marxism can talk about women and family but cannot talk about reproduction and sexuality, at least directly. Also, among the solutions that were suggested by Marxists above, the feminists had accepted and stood behind the second one, *waging of the domestic works*, which brings more concrete solutions to the problem of double exploitation of women in the capitalist system (Michel, 1995, as cited in Talay Keşoğlu, 2007). There stands a key point of this study. At this point, it is important to mention the difference between *doing some work* that is necessary for a healthy society *in exchange for money* and *doing the same work* that is necessary

for a healthy society *for free*, as a part of the socialization of the work. The second one, doing the same work for free as a “favor” or “duty” visibly discriminates the work from all other waged works in the current capitalist system. Work is using labor force for fulfilling the needs of the society and its value is defined by valuing the time and effort spent for fulfilling it. To expect a work to be done in the *natural flow of life* by not defining its value or in a capitalist society means to give the responsibility of the work to the most devalued and suppressed part of the society, such as street sweepers, house cleaners, waiters, miners or to mention the scope of this thesis, sex workers.

2.3.2 Socialist Women Movements in Turkey: The 70’s – The Start-Point

The general path of the women’s movement (or lack thereof) until the ‘70s was mentioned before. In this part, mainly, the pioneers of the socialist women’s movement in Turkey is discussed.

Around the 1970s, the flame of the 1968 student and workers’ movement was still heating the struggle. Women’s movement was also getting stronger with the courage gained by the increasing worldwide demands of political and social freedom. This wave also affected women in Turkey. In the ‘60s, while discussing the women’s question, Atatürk Revolutions and the rights given to women during that era were at the center of the arguments. On the other hand, when Marxists-Left wing had started to lean on this issue, they had preferred to name their goal as “women’s liberation” and not “women’s emancipation” like in Europe (Talay Keşoğlu, 2007, 2010).

Turkish socialist women were quite distant to the women’s emancipation movement and the “feminism” tag, especially during those years. Even though socialist women in Turkey had been criticizing the European feminist movement, their

aims and demands were nearly the same as the feminists, such as women's participation in labor force, the re-valuation of the domestic labor, or the active participation of women in the social life. One of the main references of Turkish socialists' who did not support feminism was Clara Zetkin. Zetkin was unquestionably a socialist who was aware of the fact that the capitalist system targets women with lower wages and longer working hours. She was well aware that capitalists are using female labor to exploit male labor through double exploitation of women. However, she strongly defended that, feminism was a demand from the bourgeoisie and petit bourgeoisie, and feminism was not a suitable demand for proletarian women (Zetkin, 2015). She stated in her writing dated back to 1889 that "the emancipation of women, as well as humankind, *will only occur* within the framework of the emancipation of labor from the capitalist." (p.50), (emphasis added by the author). This speech was originally made in 1889 with the title of The Liberation of Women at International Worker's Congress. Seven years later, in 1896, Zetkin still defended her ideas about women liberation and theorized them as "a women's question in the modern sense of the world did not exist," and "modern women's question by destroying the old family economic system which provided both livelihood and life's meaning for the great mass of women during the pre-capitalistic period." (p.72). Therefore, she blamed the capitalist system by stating there would be no inequality between genders in a socialist system. Moreover, it seems that İKD (İlerici Kadınlar Derneği / Progressive Women's Association) directly adopted her views. In an interview in *Yürüyüş*, Behice Boran repeats Zetkin's arguments under the titles of "*The Social Status Of Women is A Result Of The Exploitative System, Progressive Women's Movement Against Feminist*

Movement, and The Women's Question Is Solved In Socialist Societies." (Boran, 1976).

İKD (İlerici Kadınlar Derneği / Progressive Women's Association) was the first socialist independent women organization which was established in 1975 with the support of TKP. TKP was trying to catch up with the other international communist organizations and was closer to the new tryouts in those years. They had also established a separate youth organization. İKD was established on June 3rd, 1975, on the ground floor of a shed. There were 30 women founders, but in just four years their members reached up to 15.000, opened 33 branch offices and 35 agents. Their periodical was a newspaper called Kadınların Sesi (The Voice of Women) which printed around 30.000 copies. It was an effective, rapidly growing organization. However, İKD was also critical about feminism and almost clearly opposed it. In their first General Assembly Report, they mentioned that instead of being in solidarity with men, targeting them like an enemy is quite wrong. We can interpret that as the patriarchy was still not accepted as a source of pressure. However, as mentioned before, we can still claim that their aims and demands were parallel to the European feminists. For instance, in 1978, in the TKP Conference Documents, it is stated that women's most important questions are unemployment, inequality, illiteracy, double burden, obstacles in joining the social life, traditions, superstitions, dependency, and commitment caused by oppression. All of these pointed to the struggle for women's emancipation. Also, in the same document, the mistakes made regarding the women's question were spotted. For instance, they criticized the Leftist approach by arguing that a separate women's organization would cause fragmentation in laborers'

movement. They disapprove of the bourgeoisie-liberal-feminist approach by arguing that problems of women can be solved with steps taken within the borders of this exploitative system (TKP Conference Documents, 1978).

On the other hand, the main aim of TKP can only be named *the protection of women* rather than *the liberation of women*. The Women's Rights section of the TKP's party program can be taken as an example. In the program, the party limits the women's issues and problems only to workplace and maternity issues. The part dedicated to women's rights consists of equal rights for men and women in political, economic and social areas. These claims included equal pay for equal work, women being restricted to be employed in heavy and unhealthy jobs as well as night-shift. Family-related issues were on the list by declaring that it is the state's duty to protect motherhood, provide for child-care and the need for day care centers at workplaces. Additionally, providing 3 months of paid vacation for women during pregnancy, birth and postpartum period and restricting the employment of children during primary school years were also on the list. According to this declaration TKP protected the "family home" against the destructive regime (Sağlam, 1978). All the given suggestions and program items serve the traditional mother roles and try to ensure the "safety" of women rather than their "freedom."

Why did the TKP and İKD take the lead to include the women's problem in the socialist agenda? To answer this, it would be useful to have a look at the socialist organizations in the first years of the '70s. TKP (Türkiye Komünist Partisi / Communist Party of Turkey) was the first legal communist party of Turkey when established in 1920. In the first years of 1970s, TKP had advanced its core members

and activists. In 1961, TİP (Türkiye İşçi Partisi / Worker's Party of Turkey) was established and had gained strong support from TKP. TİP was closed with the 1971 memorandum and re-established itself in 1975. TSİP (Türkiye Sosyalist İşçi Partisi / Socialist Worker's Party of Turkey) was the first socialist party established after the amnesty given in 1974. Therefore, around 1975, after the foundation of İKD, TİP and TSİP were trying to gather strength after government's and military's interventions. That was the main reason behind İKD being the first socialist women organization and TKP being the first communist party to support it. No other socialist parties were stable enough to make such a "different" and "novelistic" breakthrough.

When it comes to the TİP, as another remarkable and powerful socialist party, unfortunately, there were some "notes" about women's question in TİP's party program. Those notes draw the route for the emancipation of women in many ways. One route was providing easier, functional and effective working and living conditions for women. The other was about taking measures against difficulties arising from the motherhood status of working women. Another item was about providing equal pay for equal work. Yet another item was providing women with the opportunity to take part in all levels of public services and to play effective roles in social progress. Also, pension period had to be re-adjusted, *taking the difficult living conditions that capitalism imposed on women into consideration* (italic emphasis added by the author). There was still an emphasis on the source of the problem being capitalism and patriarchy was still not detected as a threat by the party. By examining these stations, one can conclude that TİP had definitely made progress on detecting women's problem, but as mentioned, still did not build the necessary link between women's

problem and patriarchy. Therefore, TİP was not a supporter of women's separate organization. But, on the other hand, despite having this insufficient theoretical evaluation of women's problem, TİP did not ignore the women. In contrast, in 1970, on the fourth congress of TİP, Behice Boran had been elected as the party leader, being the first female party leader in the history of the Turkish Republic. If one examines how Boran was thinking about the women's problem, Boran was stating that they, as the party, never felt the *necessity* for a separate organization for women- if they had felt that necessity, they would think about it. In the central media organ of TİP, Çark Başak (Wheel Ear), it is clearly stated that women's problem is real. However, the idea that women's problem was only caused by the socio-political structure had continued. The mentioned structure was the *exploitative capitalist system*, therefore the divisions about genders are not a result of biological differences, but the exploitative system ("8 Mart Dünya Kadınlar Günü," 1977). In those years, TİP was also supporting the İKD movement, keeping in mind that the final and real solution of all the problems which women were facing would finally be abolished when the struggle of the proletariat reaches success, the social system changes and the exploitative system would be destroyed. Boran also claims that in socialist countries women are completely equal with men and all the "gender issues" that feminism works on are now history in these countries (Boran, 1976).

Lastly, as another important socialist party that draw the line of socialism and the women's movement, TSİP's program never suggested a specific section for women's problem in those years. In "1974 Program", there was no specific reference to the women's problem. In the 1976 program, TSİP had published an article on this

issue with details. The interesting point of the article is the content of the details in section 5, which focuses on women:

5 - For Women:

- *The women-men inequality created by the exploitative societies will be diminished, and women's emancipation of slavery domestic life will be provided, development of their creative power will be provided, their work at places which are harmful to their own self will be precluded and equal pay for equal work principle will be applied without discriminating men and women.*
- *The prostitution which tramples on the human honor will be restricted, and work will be provided for women who are saved from the trap of prostitution, the financial conditions which elicit prostitution will be eradicated. (translated by the author).*

The emancipation of women had started to occupy some items in the programs of the leading parties. The basic focus of the problems is still on the economical inequalities and the exploitative nature of the capitalist culture, and the main emphasis is empowering women and providing equality between men and women.

To sum this up, it would be coherent to state that, these main socialist parties of that era had shared some common thoughts such as “women’s problem means problems of working women”, some problems were agreed to be specific to women such as physical and financial problems during pregnancy and early maternity, unemployment and domestic labor. Also, they all agreed that feminism was a bourgeoisie movement and is not suitable for socialists at all. Lastly, as Talay Keşoğlu stated, all the problems of women were the results of “customs, traditions, corrupted social system, the remains of the feudal system and the exploitative nature of the capitalist system.” It is important to notice that, in this calculation, there is no place for patriarchy or any critics to the moral codes of the “corrupted” society (Talay

Keşoğlu, 2007, p.282-283). Marxism states that the suppression of women had first emerged with the patriarchal system while explaining that private property had started with the patriarchal monogamous families and the heritage systems, which also suppressed the sexual independence of women (Engels, 2003). Engels used the word patriarchy many times and pointed it out as a dangerous problem for men and women; even Zetkin quoted him as “*Engels stated that within the family the husband constitutes the bourgeoisie and the wife the proletariat*” (Zetkin, 2015, p.72). In that era, the socialist parties did not think that the problem was between the sexes and they did not prefer to separate the women’s organization even though they had recognized the oppression of women. Rather, they had put the main stress on pushing men and women to “fight together” to solve the problems. All of them were based on one main aim: avoiding feminism.

2.3.3.1 The Issue of Prostitution as the “Common Enemy”

As can be seen, in the last item of the 1976 program of TSİP, female sex workers were considered as someone to be saved from a trap. In that passage, prostitution is described as something that tramples human honor, without any need for a wider explanation. Also, only the female prostitutes were mentioned, while, there was always male and transgender prostitution. At third glance, it can also be seen that the promise that was given by the party only includes the eradication of financial conditions behind prostitution. Because the concepts of sexuality, patriarchal society, the shame related to almost everything about sexuality, the biological need for sex, the service sector or the choice of working in this sector were not the items in the argument. Therefore, all

the presuppositions can easily be prejudices and would be revealed as the duties for revolutionists to solve.

Towards the end of the 1970s, prostitution takes a special place and becomes quite a relatable issue within the socialist women's movement. For example, Demokratik Kadın Birliđi (Democratic Women's Association) started to publish Kadın Dayanıřması (Women's Solidarity) in 1977, and in all 36 issues, the cover pages of the magazines rarely featured women. The women were not on the cover until the 7th issue, where there was a large group of women protesting on the front page (Talay Keřođlu, 2007). The title of the mentioned issue was "Let's Fight for Our Economic and Democratic Demands!" (Ekonomik Demokratik Taleplerimizi Savunalım!). However, there was only one item on the cover page which was directly about women, and that also happened to be the last one: "*prostitution must be banned completely and more severe punishments for those who encourage it must be enforced.*" (Demokratik Kadın Birliđi, 1978). The prostitutes and the prostitution were the common enemies for the women's movement in those years.

Also, it is important to state that after TSİP's declaration, all three parties, TSİP, TİP, and TKP always put the "prostitution issue" on the table when talking about women's problem. Because it was always easier to claim that, the socialist system was a definite "solution" for this "problem." (Talay Keřođlu, 2007, p.283.)

2.3.3 Socialist Women and Women's Organizations: After the 1980s

1980 is an important turning point for every opponent group in Turkey since the brutal military coup took over the control in 12th of September. In that era, approximately 650.000 people were taken into custody and faced state violence and

heavy physical and mental torture. 50 revolutionists were hanged to death, at least 171 people were proven to be killed with torture, at least 30.000 people became political refugees and left the country, uncountable numbers of “suspicious” deaths and temporary or permanent physical and mental damages were recorded by human rights organizations (Öndül, 2013; TBMM, 2012). Newspapers were banned for 300 days, journalists were judged with thousands of years of prison sentence with more than 300 cases, three journalists were shot to death, and many were either attacked or imprisoned. 39 tons of newspapers and magazines were burnt, and 937 movies were found “objectionable” and banned (Ergün, Güler, & Tanyer, n.d.)

This tight political turning point expectedly affected the opposition in Turkey. Socialist movements were one of the initial targets along with the women’s movements. Every single publication and propaganda tool of the left and independence movement were closed and punished, so, there became a black and non-recordable duration after the coup. Not only the socialist parties and organizations, but also the women’s organizations were targeted, shut, banned and dispersed.

After these dark years, socialist and feminist women were the very first group who dared to organize a meeting, the first ones who broke the silence after 1980 coup. It was up to the decision of the judge in a trial in Çankırı. A woman applied to the court for divorce after being seriously beaten by her husband, and the judge had neither let them divorce nor punished the husband for violence. The judge made the decision based on a “proverb” in Turkish, saying that “*You should never let a woman be without a kid in her belly and a stick on her back*” (*Kadının karnından sıpayı, sırtından sopayı eksik etmeyeceksin*). Women organized after this judge’s words in an incredibly fast

manner; sued the judge and organized a very crowded meeting and protest march named Solidarity Against Beating (Dayağa Karşı Dayanışma) on 17 May 1987. That was a very important move which led many others to follow, and its impacts are still traceable until today. Socialist women also took part in those protests and slowly started to take more active parts in feminist movements. For example, in 1998, the first socialist-feminist publication started under the name of Socialist-Feminist Cactus. This can be considered as a step to understand each other for socialist movement and women's movements, but Socialist-Feminist Cactus had put one important theoretical difference between the other feminists and themselves, by stating that being a socialist is a *condition* to politicize feminism. In its first issue, they stated: “*There can be no socialism without feminism or no feminism without socialism.*” By stating so, the socialists were finally admitting the necessity of a women's struggle, but with the condition of socialism for feminism. That can be evaluated as consistent since they are still socialists along with acceptance of the importance of the women's emancipation.

In 1990s, organized women became more courageous and started a campaign against 428th item of the Criminal Code of the Republic of Turkey (Türk Ceza Kanunu -TCK), which suggests when a woman is raped, the court can make 2/3 of discount in the given punishment to the rapist if the woman is a “public woman”¹ (*genel kadın*) which corresponds with the sex worker. According to the lawmakers, “public women” would suffer *less damage* than “chaste women” therefore, the punishment should be reduced. Women had organized strong protests against this law. For example, in

¹ The term “Genel Kadın” in the mentioned code can most accurately be translated in this way, since the second term about “Genel Ev” means the brothel houses and are seen as the public houses, implying the difference between the public and the private ones.

Zürüfa Sokak, in İstanbul, where a well-known brothel of government is placed, women had handed out “chaste certificates” to sex workers of the street. That protest is one of the first major solidarity examples of women organizations and sex workers. The motto of “Our Body is Ours” goes back to those protests. That law was abrogated later, with the continuous help of the Human Rights Association and The Bar. Later on, women organizations planned another strong campaign against sexual harassment during the 1990s. The main core of this campaign was the Purple Needle Movement, for which, women were handing out big needles (with a little purple ribbon attached at the end) to women in public places such as in squares, public transportations, ferries for using against men if they face harassment. The Purple Needle Movement of feminists was one of the earliest organized and publicized self-defense movements in Turkey.

The 1990s were also known as a variety of women movement’s meeting point. Firstly, it can be stated that socialist women become more integrated with the feminist movement. As socialist women stated, the need for women enlightenment had imposed itself to the socialist movement in the 1990s. Until that time, the women’s struggle was left to the flow of the revolution. Socialists were assuming that the women’s problem would be solved spontaneously after the revolution. Later on, socialist women convicted that assumption by tagging it as “revolutionary spontaneity” (*devrimci kendiliğindencilik*). As the pressure of the state increases on socialists, and as the socialist women had started to speak out for themselves about what they had been going through under custody or while in jail, women solidarity became stronger. For example, Laborer Women’s Union (Emekçi Kadınlar Birliği - EKB), which was

founded in the early 1990s, tried to join in the celebrations of 8th of March, however, police forces stopped them in the entrances of many cities. In 1995, as the deaths or missing reports in detentions and in jails increased highly, EKB started an initiation named “Mother’s Council / Analar Kurultayı” which evolved into Saturday Mothers / Cumartesi Anneleri” with the inspiration of Plaza de Mayo Square (“-IV- EKB/EKD tarihinden yapraklar...,” 2008). It was important to question a political problem according to women’s point of view, and although there was a ten-year break period due to the state suppression, Saturday Mothers are still gathering every Saturday in İstanbul for over 700 weeks.

There were still “unsolved issues” between feminist and socialist women until 1996 when they finally managed to join the marches of 8th of March together. In 1997, with the courageous lead of Asiye Güzel, sexual harassment and rape incidents were spoken out loud. Asiye was a socialist writer who was taken into custody and repeatedly raped by the police forces under custody and in jail. She was not the first woman who had experienced that torture, but almost eight months later, she was able to talk about what happened to her. The feelings of shame, fear, and anxiety along with the remains of a heavy physical and mental trauma and most importantly the fear of “being seen as a weak person” had held her behind for a while. However, later, she was even able to write a book about what happened to her under custody named: *İşkencede Bir Tecavüz Öyküsü*, which was later translated to English by Richard McKane, Deputy Chair of English PEN’s Writers in Prison Committee with the title of “Asiye’s Story” (Zeybek Güzel, 2003). When Asiye sued the police officers, feminists and socialists organized a campaign named “No to Sexual Violence / Cinsel

Şiddete Hayır.” The solidarity and the support of the women had brought a consensus about the state being patriarchal. Later in 2000, there was a two-day event with the name of “No to Sexual Harassment and Rape under Custody Council / Gözaltında Cinsel Taciz ve Tecavüze Hayır Kurultayı” on 10-11 June 2000, where women who had faced sexual harassment and rape under custody finally found a stage to speak. Many of those women who had started to live in foreign countries came to talk in that council. Some of the women who spoke during the council were put on trial with the accusation of defamation and degradation of military institutions (Belge, 2001). The major point in Asiye’s case was her being a pioneer about talking out loud. There were many constrictions and drawbacks related to talking about sexual violence for many reasons. Firstly, the victims of such sexual assaults were seen responsible for the victimization by putting themselves under such dangerous conditions. Secondly, talking about the cost of being a socialist woman in Turkey was considered as a discouraging and demoralizing act for the younger revolutionists. The last can be about the awareness of the people under custody, such as neglecting denunciation of verbal, mental or physical torture since it was seen as a “normal and expected procedure of police violence, a normal outcome of state fascism.” (Bozoklar, 2009; Erdoğan Çelik, 2016).

Back to the variation of 1998, another important turning point of the feminist movement was the riot of the Muslim Women against 1998 head-scarf ban. That ban had restricted many young women’s education rights because of their head-scarves. There were two options given to the head-scarfed women: either they were convinced to take off their head-scarves in the “convincement rooms” of the registration offices

in the universities, or they were not allowed to register to the universities and would have to try their chances abroad. Muslim women had protested this ban at the entrance of the universities, and they gained remarkable support from some feminist and socialist women. (Sargin, 2008; Pürüzsüz, 2017). The main argument for the headscarf ban was accepting it as a marginalizing, political and religious sign. Feminists and socialist women considered this issue from a wider point of view, pointing out men's freedom to go for Friday prayers without any constriction. It was a ban on women and feminists and socialists were defending women's rights (Sargin, 2008). Another important milestone about Muslim women movement was Konca Kuriş, who was a Muslim feminist, rejecting male-dominant religious practices and trying to rebuild the interpretations of the Quran from a feminist point of view. She attracted attention with her radical ideas and actions, such as leaving from Hizbullah and publicly criticizing them for misleading women, working for Independent Women's Association in Mersin, helping disabled people to buy the necessary vehicles and rescuing a sex worker from committing suicide was some of the well-known acts of her ("Her şey ne çabuk unutuldu," 2011). As a result, Hizbullah's three armed militants had abducted her from Mersin when she was with her husband. She was in the list of the lost people for 555 days, and even though there were strong pressures from women's associations, she was only found dead in Konya, in the basement of a Hizbullah house, with nine more people. Hizbullah members tortured her for at least 35 days and recorded the process with a videotape. Hizbullah never denied killing her, in contrast, "proudly accepted that they had punished her by ecclesiastics' law." The murderers were released in 2011 due to a change in Criminal Code of the Republic of

Turkey after being jailed for ten years. Who was financing, supporting or leading the Hizbullah remains as a confusing question (Huggler, 2000; Şakir, 2017)

At the end of the 1990s, socialist women were already criticized for not being an active part of independent women's movement and henceforth, they started to combine the struggles into each other to make them more intense and powerful (Ergün et al., n.d.) However, not every socialist fraction shared the same idea. For example, in 2007, Işık Yüksel had criticized 90's movements for being bourgeoisie, project-oriented, institutionalized (no longer against the system and now even a part of it), and lobbyist (because of approving the national and international agreements as an achievement) (Yüksel, 2007). Yüksel also claims that in the 1980s, there were remarkable achievements for women, but tags the later struggles as signs of deterioration. She also claims that the detection of women's problem as an original and societal problem is a contribution of feminism; however, Marx, Engels, and Bebel have detected it earlier, but Marxists in Turkey "forgot" it (Yüksel, 2007).

On the other hand, there are significant changes in some other socialist fractions. For example, in Bozoklar's collected works on women's emancipation, she claims that feminism is a counterargument for Marxism and feminists *attack* the socialist values by dividing the struggle (p.16, 1993), however, in her later writings she claims that feminists are *challenging* the Marxist ideology and enhance it with women-oriented point of view (p.63, 2007), (Bozoklar, 2009).

2.3.4 Kurdish Women Movement

Lastly, in the 2000s, the 3rd Wave of Turkish Feminism had completed itself with the valuable contributions of Kurdish women strugglers. An independent

women's movement was not seen as an essential need or a primary problem in Kurdish regions since there was no social and political stability provided for decades. The Kurdish freedom movement and the oppression of the Turkish state is still an ongoing issue, but it did not completely block the Kurdish women's movements. In this section, the primarily important characteristics of Kurdish women's movements and their relation to the concepts of honor, pudicity, sexuality and sex workers are discussed.

Kurdish movement seems to be based on the viewpoint of national emancipation but also goes hand in hand with socialism, as Lenin states that every nation has the right to determine their destiny (Lenin, 2012). In the lead of Öcalan, a Marxist-Leninist rooted party, PKK (*Partiya Karkerên Kurdistanê – Kurdistan Worker's Party*) was founded in late 1970s and launched an armed struggle against Turkish government with the aim of an independent Kurdish region ("Who are Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) rebels? - BBC News," 2016). They have started a guerilla war on the mountains of eastern Turkey. In the beginning years of these movements, the guerilla teams were only constituted by men, and there were very few women among them. Those women were the ones with strong theoretical backgrounds, aiming national emancipation and socialism. In an article in *Ayrıntı Dergi*, a woman with the nickname of Sakine Zagros had explained the initial problems of being a female guerilla on the mountains: In the beginning, females were hiding their gender from the public by hiding their hair, wearing scarfs and only moving in the dark of the night. The party was aiming to be "responsive" to the sensitivities, traditions, and customs of the community and tribal-feudal judgments. The formula was to be respectful to the values of the community as the revolutionists (Zagros, 2016).

The gender hierarchy is a widely known issue among Kurdish people. Especially among people in lower socio-economic status, the dependency of family honor on a women's body and sexuality is still a widely accepted cultural code, and this code is accepted by women as well (Çağlayan, 2007, p. 62). That was still an obstacle for Kurdish women even when they decided to join the armed guerilla struggle on the mountains. In her book about women and the mountains, Bingöl states that in the 1990s, rolling up sleeves was a restriction for women to prevent men from being impressed by them. They were hiding from the men whom they fight together in the same army and wearing head-scarves. (Bingöl, 2016, p. 15). The book also states that there were dramatic changes during the years that women spent on mountains, they had resisted to the patriarchal practices many times and defended their equal rights. Another book about this experience was "Dağın Kadın Hali" by Arzu Demir, but it had been banned in Turkey ("Toplatılan 'Dağın Kadın Hali' kitabının yazarı Arzu Demir hakim karşısına çıktı," 2016). Arzu Demir, who is a journalist at ANF (Fırat News Agency) and editor of ETHA (Etkin News Agency), had interviewed with 11 women guerrillas who are still on the mountains and in the "Medya Defense Areas" of Rojava.

In an important passage of her banned book, an interview with a woman nicknamed Menal Bagok stated that men were conceding the women's existence on the mountains though they did want to do so. Bagok was also mentioned as the first women in PKK who used DShK (also nicknamed as Dashka or Docka), which is a Soviet heavy machine gun. Also, the book clearly stated that the establishment of an all-women army in PKK had caused a period of *all hell broke loose*. (Tar, 2016). About

the opposition of men and the persistence of women, Zagros also mentioned a rebel in the congress who was held after the imprisonment of Öcalan. She states that Öcalan was very clear about the equality of men and women, but right after his imprisonment, congress tried to discharge many women from their duties. About 120 women had shaved their heads and attended the rest of Congress like that to protest the decision (Zagros, 2016). This example also shows that Kurdish movement had hesitated a while before accepting the women's movement, and couldn't decide whether to respect the gender identity of women or to call them to be masculine on the mountains, as Çağlayan also stated in her work (Çağlayan, 2007, p. 123).

This “sensitivity” about honor and pudicity was an issue for the psychological war between the Kurds and the state. Zagros mentioned rumors of the female guerillas being used as the sexual service on the mountains. In the rumors the closeness between two phrases of “going to the mountains / dağa çıkmak” and “being kidnapped, abducted / dağa kaldırılmak) was being repeatedly mentioned (Zagros, 2016). Also, as an important ideological and psychological tool, media was using this sensitivity to keep women away from the guerilla movement. Many news about raping the dead bodies of the female guerillas, cutting off breasts and chastity control of their dead bodies were widely known among female guerillas as well (“Başına ödül konulan kadın terörist leş oldu!,” 2016; “Muş valiliği, çıplak PKK’lı kadın cesedi fotoğrafının gerçek olduğunu duyurdu,” 2015; Kaniurkben, 2008; Tarafsız Gündem, 2017; tubeTürk, 2017). Zagros states that if there was even a tiny tear on their panties, there were sexist interpretations about them, referring them to be raped. She mentioned that there was even a tradition among female guerrillas, which was to give the highest

quality of panties to the women who go for dangerous attacks to protect their honor if they die (Zagros, 2016). However, now the gender revolution in the mountains had changed the situation of women deeply.

Despite being aware of the entire problems and restrictions in a women's life caused by the patriarchal idea of honor, safety, protection, and pudicity, Zagros, in her writing, is still very distant to the concept of sex work and labels sex work as prostitution. At the end of the article, while listing the problems women fight, Zagros added "the extension and popularization of prostitution in care of the state." (Zagros, 2016). She is not the only one who is distant to the concept. For example, in the workshop of Demokratik Özgür Kadın Hareketi (DÖKH) / Democratic Free Women Movement in 2006, Zehra İpek had stated two reasons behind prostitution as an economic necessity and the effect of state and militarism. İpek also mentioned that it is not acceptable to marginalize women who are prostitutes.

On the other hand, Nebile Irmak had stated that war and prostitution are two profit markets of capitalism. Although poverty is an important factor about it, it is important to remember that state is actually "getting taxes of women's flesh without any social arrangements and using the taxes for military expenses and religious affairs. She also had stated that even though they, as DÖKH, had tried to found a union for prostitutes they could not agree since the sex workers refused to stop doing this job and only wanted the pimps to be eliminated (Yılmaz, 2006). This statement is, in fact, a very tragic explanation about how impossible it is for each party to understand each other. While sex workers try to have better working conditions and less exploitation,

Kurdish women's movement tries to eliminate this sector even though it means the unemployment of countless women.

Therefore, women of the Kurdish movement had passed through similar processes as socialist women, and their point of view to the women's emancipation struggle had changed and developed over the years. As stated before, the major difference between socialist women movement and Kurdish women movement was the relative more open internalization of patriarchal and feudal authority in the region. For example, one of the main aims of women's struggle is accepted as the liberalization of men as well. This opinion is characterized by the legend of Prometheus, the person who stole the fire from the Gods in ancient Greek myths. It is interpreted as "objection to the masculine authority which concretized on Gods, and the penalty of this act is strictly cruel, tying Prometheus on the Caucasian Mountains and let eagles eat his lungs while he was alive. His lungs were repaired every night and re-eaten every day as a part of the penalty. To punish the humanity, Zeus, the God of Gods, had created Pandora, the first woman among men to be loveable and a distraction to the mankind to withhold them from making more discoveries with the power of fire. However, Prometheus rejects Pandora even though she is as attractive as Aphrodite, since he shows no frailty or weakness towards a woman who is designed for the benefits of authorities (Yıldırımçı, 2016). It can be said that this interpretation of the tale is quite masculine, and the femininity of women is still seen as dangerous, women are still the ones who distract men and keep them away from their struggles. That can be a reason behind the objection of Kurdish women movement to the prostitution because of the interpretation of prostitution as a trap to the state.

CHAPTER 3

SEX WORK AND SEX WORKERS: A BRIEF BACKGROUND

This section presents a general overview of the sex work and sex workers in two layers of *general* and *local*; in which, *general* including different approaches about worldwide prostitution literature, while *local* focuses mostly on the Turkish case.

3.1 The General Approaches about Sex Work and Sex Workers

Famously being mentioned as the oldest profession, sex work is a widely known profession among adults. Compared to its fame, the research about this area seems too limited. It was named with commercial sex or commercial pleasure, venal love, sex work, whoring, prostitution, hooking... and many other tags among people. It was categorized as the filthiest of all the occupations, an honest job, a usual occupation among others and was qualified with many other adjectives. Therefore, it is certain that society has either secretly or openly discussed this profession – however, it took a long while for it to attract the attention of the researchers.

Even though sex work had managed to attract the attention of the researchers, Pheterson states that deconstruction of the social background of prostitution, or getting over the “whore stigma” had been a necessity for the social scientists to objectively focus on the social status and the representation of the work and the workers.

(Pheterson, 1990). The different general and local definitions, approaches and labeling styles are within the scope of this section.

3.1.1 The Definition of the Work and Different Classifications

“Sex work” and “sex workers” are phrases which have a serious ideological, cultural and historical background. (Grant, 2008; Pheterson, 1990). Although the profession itself is not openly discussed by the public, there are various conditions referring to prostitution as a sort of insult, with the connotation of dishonesty, cheating, selfishness, and manipulation.

According to the online dictionary Oxford, there is a meaning for the phrase of the sex worker, which is “*A person who engages in prostitution, appears in pornography, or takes part in similar activities for payment.*” (“sex worker,” n.d.) Also, the primary and secondary meaning of the phrase points the word “prostitution.” The primary meaning describes the profession as “*A person, in particular a woman, who engages in sexual activity for payment*” while the secondary meaning puts the main emphasis on the insult connotation that mentioned above “*A person who misuses their talents or behaves unworthily for personal or financial gain*” (“prostitute,” n.d.). An important unit in the first description is the reflection of the general idea of society, which can be seen in the statement “in particular, a woman.” Sex work is widely associated with females and or transgenders, and the reasons for this association lie under the “need” to control the sexuality of women, as explained before.

However, of course, there are male sex workers as well – although they are not as visible as females, they exist. Oxford, again, defines male sex workers, with their generally known name *gigolos* as, “*A young man paid or financially supported by a*

woman, typically an older woman, to be her escort or lover.” (“gigolo,” n.d.) As can be seen, when the worker is male, he suddenly becomes a young man and labeled as a lover. Another word may correspond to the need for male sex worker better, and it is the “rent-boy,” defined as: “A young male prostitute.” (“rent boy,” n.d.) There are also some other words, which directs the people’s mind to male prostitution, such as dandy, beau and admirer, and these words were given as synonyms of rent-boy. Apparently, youngness is a key factor for males to provide pleasure and this can be explained with the widely known negative correlation between erection capacity and age for males. The last thing that may carry a deeper meaning is, there are no other/second meanings for these words which represent the male prostitutes. Therefore, one can conclude that either these words exactly mean what they mean in society without any other negative connotation or they are not-so-well-known, and there is not much talking that happens around this phenomenon.

According to the Turkish Language Association (Türk Dil Kurumu / TDK) there are many variations of the mentioned occupation, but the term sex worker (seks işçisi) does not appear in the Current Turkish Dictionary (Güncel Türkçe Sözlük) of TDK. To understand the official phrase to define the occupation, “public woman – genel kadın” and “life-wife – hayat kadını”² can be taken into consideration. For this case, as also used in the Criminal Code of Turkish Republic, “genel kadın” means “The

² To make this translation, I had considered the similar usage of the word, *ev kadını* – housewife. These women, therefore, does not *belong* to a house, do the domestic work in a house (and it includes the sexual service provided to the husband, as listed in “duties of a wife”) instead they work on the streets.

woman who acquired prostitution as an occupation”³ (“genel kadın,” n.d.). It had also been defined in the Criminal Code with more detail: “*The women who acquire it as an art to satisfy other people’s sexual pleasure in return for the benefit and those who are connected with different men to do so are called as public women.*”⁴ (Genel Kadınlar Ve Genelevlerin Tabi Olacakları Hükümler Ve Fuhuş Yüzünden Bulaşan Zührevi Hastalıklarla Mücadele Tüzüğü, 1961).

An art? An occupation? What counts as the benefit? It is certain that even in the borders of Turkey, between the different official associations, the definition of this term differs. Another phrase that corresponds to the term sex worker is “hayat kadını” and it is defined as “*The woman who services to the men’s sexual pleasures in return for money and the women who acquire it as an occupation, prostitute, whore, public property, the flower of the sidewalk, the broom of the sidewalk, the beauty of the sidewalk⁵, slut.*”⁶ There are many different words to describe this profession, but considering the variety, one can conclude that those female sex workers have their share in the daily literature of Turkish people. One of the most striking definitions among the given list is the “public property – *orta malı*.” It not only re-approves the

³ “Fuhuş meslek edinmiş kadın.”

⁴ “Başkalarının cinsi zevkini menfaat karşılığı tatmin etmeyi sanat edinen ve bunun için değişik erkeklerle münasebette bulunan kadınlara (Genel kadın) denir.”

⁵ Since these phrases are literary, no exact translation is possible. I had preferred to make direct translations since they correspond to a visual image that can be seen anywhere.

⁶ “Para karşılığında erkeklerin cinsel zevklerine hizmet eden ve bu işi meslek edinen kadın, fahişe, orospu, orta malı, kaldırım çiçeği, kaldırım süpürgesi, kaldırım yosması, sürtük.”

relation between the private property and female sexuality but also dehumanizes the sex worker and categorizes them as something that is available to anyone to *use*. Another word for sex workers is “orospu,” which is mostly used in slang language, and there are two meanings given for this word in TDK, one is as the synonym of “hayat kadını” which is explained above. Other has the expected negative connotation in it by defining orospu as “a woman who can be obtained easily, woman of easy virtue, low morality”(“orospu,” n.d.)⁷. Other definitions, such as “sokak kadını,” “kötü kadın,” and “kiralık kadın” all have the negative labels mentioning backsliding, going astray and so on (“kiralık kadın,” n.d.; “kötü kadın,” n.d.; “sokak kadını,” n.d.). Anyone can easily detect the emphasis on the women again, but for male prostitutes, the term gigolo (jigolo, as in TDK) has almost the same meaning as in Oxford Living Dictionary: “a young male lover whose livelihood is provided by an old and rich woman, *punner*⁸.”(“jigolo,” n.d.)⁹ There is a quite important study about the veiled existence of the male sex workers, done by the Red Umbrella, and the study perfectly summarizes the condition of male sex workers in Turkey:

For various reasons, sex work in Turkey has been associated with trans and non-trans women sex workers. On many platforms, sex work has mostly been discussed within the framework of gender-based violence or violence against and exploitation of the female body. Nevertheless, sex work is also pursued by a good number of males. Many heterosexual, gay or bisexual males do sex work for a living.1 When it comes to sexual identity, one should also add that many trans men also do sex work. Without a doubt, the existence, experience, problems, and demands of males with different sexual orientations

⁷ “Kolay elde edilen, düşük ahlaklı kadın.”

⁸ Punner means, the person who uses the mallet or hammer, which refers to the performance of the males in sexual relationship.

⁹ “Geçimi yaşlı ve zengin bir kadın tarafından karşılanan genç, erkek sevgili, tokmakçı.

and sexual identities have been largely ignored. (...) As a result of this survey and face to face conversations with the respondents, we realized that many concepts such as poverty, violence, discrimination, stigmatization, marginalization, exclusion, ignorance, denial, contempt and despise are a part of the daily lives of gay and bisexual sex worker men. We have come to realize that sex work also included male sex workers of different sexual identities, that they have their specific problems and that they have a strong urge to voice their claims to overcome these hardships when consulted and given a chance. We have realized another aspect of sex work, which has forcefully come to be associated with transsexual and non-trans female sex workers. We witnessed how male sex workers lived through their daily experiences as influenced by their sexual identity and professional status. (Ördek, 2014a, p. 9)

3.1.2 Different Attitudes Towards Sex Work

History claims many different roots for the sex work, it is accepted as “the oldest profession” (Basserman, 1967), a worldwide phenomenon that has existed for as long as the writing itself (McKeganey & Barnard, 1996), both a developing industry and a problem of sexuality, morality and public order (Brooks-Gordon, 2006), a fighter against system and patriarchy (Chateauvert, 2013) or the most widely known practice that violates the partiality of women (Basserman, 1967), an inhumane action (de Beauvoir, 2011), world’s oldest oppression (Grant, 2008) and in Soviets “*a mode of life, involving danger to society and parasitism*” (Basserman, 1967, p. 278). In most of the morality view, prostitution is a sin, some action to fight against and abolish (Outshoorn, 2004). Although some claims state that there is a sacred version of prostitution which refers to “*selling the body to devote all the earned money to a deity or a temple.*” actually, there is no clue to prove these claims in the history of the ancient world (Budin, 2010).

There are different approaches to sex work which can dramatically differ. Sex work is, practically, people offering sexual services to people in return of money with

the consent of both parties. Therefore, it is important to mention that when talking about sex work, this term excludes human trafficking, slavery, child labor, coercion or any other conditions that would also be illegal or inhumane about any other sector.

There is a quick relation established between sex work and female sex workers and it is widespread in common-knowledge. The main reason behind this connection is the importance given to the control of female sexuality by patriarchal societies. The sources of this “need for control” may be traced back to the beginning of the understanding of private property. According to Engels, the connection between private property and women was of motherhood. On the matriarchal period of human history, the law of heritage was traced with the women’s genes. The mother of a child could be detected easily since she gives birth to the baby, but no one could be ever sure of the identity of the father. With the understanding of the private property, the families became “double-headed” since the families start to include the fathers as well. The social division of work was organized as childcare and house being the responsibility of the women, while food and working tools were the responsibility of men. If a condition of separation occurred, men would be leaving the house, taking the food sources (domesticated animals) and working tools with them. While the amount of the privatized properties (herds and tools) increased, the power of men also increased, the maternal genes tracking system was abolished, and the society became male-oriented since the power was now held by men (Engels, 2003). At this point, for the “correct” legacy of the properties, men wanted to track their babies and ensure that “their women” would only give birth to “their children.” Therefore, it was important for the society to keep a woman’s sexuality under control, tie her to a man who brings

her food, and a man who is completely sure that only he can be the father of their children. At that point, sex workers are seen by the society as the most dishonest, devaluated, unrecognized part of the society, since their sexuality cannot be controlled, and they do not fit into the concept of “private” property. There are many clandestine gossips about the prostitutes and sometimes even the mere existence of the sex workers and the possibility of their power to destroy the private property system, (by maybe claiming any child to be any men’s - as in the play, *Zilli Zarife* (Taner, 1966)) can be seen as a threat by the society. However, as Basserman states, anyone, who ignores prostitutes, brothels, or indecent films or who finds the mere existence of prostitution offensive should inevitably visit a psychiatrist, since *venal love* do not greatly differ from other features of human development, because the trade of sexual satisfaction can be stated as an internalized part of the urban life of mankind (Basserman, 1967).

Because of the existence of this gendered connection of sex workers being female, sex work is sometimes seen as “*systematic violence to the women*” (Bindel, 2003; de Beauvoir, 2011; Grant, 2008). The main argument behind this approach is that the general population of sex workers being female and paying for service usually refers to a power hierarchy between the giver and the taker of the service, taker being the more advantageous side of this hierarchy. Simone de Beauvoir states prostitution as the “*sum of all types of feminine slavery*” (de Beauvoir, 2011, p. 599). de Beauvoir is also famous for her comments about the mental abilities of the sex workers. She states that generally “some researches” indicates that the general mental levels of the prostitutes are slightly *below average*, and some are clearly retarded. She concludes this “findings” by stating that since prostitution demands no specialization, even the

people with fewer mental facilities can readily choose this as their job. If there are clever ones among them, they are probably attracted to the lucrative side of this work (p. 600). There are even more brutal comments as well, especially the following one, which is widely quoted, from the declaration of a “feminist” woman named Julie Burchill, targeting directly the female sex workers by stating that, “*When the sex war is won, prostitutes should be shot as collaborators for their terrible betrayal of all women.*” (Magnanti, 2013).

Another sharp judgment about prostitution took place in Soviet Russia, by categorization of sex work in the scope of rape, by extending the connotation of rape as “*including direct forms of compulsion, where the victim is materially dependent to the aggressor.*” (Basserman, 1967, pp. 273–274). This connotation was used as a reference to put a ban on sex work and trade, although, in every form of labor, the laborer (a.k.a. the victim) is materially dependent on the employer (a.k.a. the aggressor) even it is the state itself. Basserman also states that in Soviet’s legal language, there is no such expression as “morality.” For communist morality, the main aim is to protect the work and progress towards an entirely classless society. Basserman concludes this judgment as for *the necessity of some sacrifices and renunciations from the most private possible nature of humans to higher aims* (p. 275).

As can be seen from this chapter, although there are different approaches to this sector, they can be gathered under three categories. Firstly, ones who evaluate work with labor other than morality and see this as an option that people can choose. Secondly, ones who consider this field as a visible and systematic action of patriarchal violence. Thirdly, ones who evaluate this sector as a more of a public issue, both from

the public health perspective and from the legislative perspective. The next chapter will especially focus on whether there is a problem with this issue, whose problem it is and what can the solution be if there is a problem.

3.2 Detection of the “Problem” and the “Solution”

When there is such a disagreement spotted on an issue, it can quickly rise and turn into a conflict. Conflicts cause problems, and for reaching a mutual understanding and general agreement about an issue, problems require solutions. Since there is an obvious difference between the approaches about sex work, we can name it as a problem. Deciding whether there is a problem is probably the easiest point, what is more, complicated and discriminative is the definition of the problem.

In the book of *Politics of Prostitution*, it is stated that the definition of the problem is more about choosing the party that carries the responsibility and the party that can be blamed for the cause of the problem, “who is to blame, who has a say over it and who has to solve it” (Outshoorn, 2004). It is important since the determination of the subject of the problem is a key factor to construct a solution on the determined base. This point is also important for this work because, from the socialist perspective, work and labor must be defended and must be protected. Following the given logic, the definitions of some specific concepts are gaining more importance. In a way, this study aims to question the consistency of the socialist thought by putting the sex work riddle on the table. Since there is an unquestionable side of sex work which touches sexuality and morality (Brooks-Gordon, 2006; Lopes, 2006; Outshoorn, 2004) and the previously explained relation between private property, gender, sexuality, and

morality, it is also a problem which is closely related to the women. Therefore, it can be said; this problem is related to work, morality, and women.

What about work, sexuality and judging it by morality? Work is, as defined in the Oxford online dictionary, “*activity involving mental or physical effort done in order to achieve a purpose or result.*” which perfectly matches with the concept of sex work (“work,” n.d.). Proletaire is, as defined in the same source, “*a person who is dependent on his or her own labor for subsistence; a worker*” which also matches the concept of sex work and workers. Morality is defined in the same source as “*principles concerning the distinction between right and wrong or good and bad behavior*” (“morality,” n.d.) and sexuality is defined as the “*capacity for sexual feelings*” (“sexuality,” n.d.). Putting all these definitions together, one can conclude that sex work is *work*, these workers are a part of the *proletariat*, it is tied with sexuality, and since such comments like good or bad are not possible for *sexuality*, it is not a problem of *morality*. This discussion is an issue about work, and what a socialist should consistently argue about this work must be the rights of the workers and the liberation of their labor. Marx, himself, foresaw ever-greater confrontations between capital and labor, only resolvable by the ultimate triumph of labor (Singh, 2014).

The criticisms, judgments, and comments about prostitution mentioned above are not unknown concepts in Turkish context as well. The claims about the “violent nature” of the job, the victimization of workers, categorizing the profession as a sort of human trafficking and seeing this job as an “easy way” of making money are some of the common myths about this occupation. Kemal Ördek, the former chair of KIRMIZI Şemsiye Cinsel Sağlık ve İnsan Hakları Derneği (Red Umbrella Sexual Health and

Human Rights Association) had completed all these myths in the report named “Seks İşçiliği: Mitler ve Gerçekler – Sex Work: Myths and Truths” (Ördek, 2013). In that report, Ördek clarifies almost every misunderstanding about the profession with the quotes of the current workers. Ördek, as a sex worker, explains that sex work involves a certain amount of violence and victimization. However, this is valid for almost all other jobs. Being objected to more visible types of violence and victimization in this sector is not related to the “mere nature” of the sector, rather it is the prejudices and ostracization of the public and the authorities that causes the increasing rates of the problems in the sector. Ördek also puts clear differences between human trafficking and sex work based on the open difference of the concept of “consent.” About labeling sex work as a way of making easy money both Ördek and Ece (one of the participant sex workers who contributed to the report) disagree with the judgment and label sex work as one of the heavy workloads. The report is a very important source centering these subjects, in this case, the sex workers, as the source of information and hearing the public myths while being able to handle the issue as for any other occupation.

Since the problem is related to labor, then, the solution must be related to protection of labor and labor rights. What can be expected from the socialist movement is the inclusion of sex workers to the labor struggle, regulation of the working conditions, insurance of their safety, provision of security and insurance rights and centering the sex workers as the subjects of the problem.

3.3 Violence and the State

Two of the most coexisting notions about sex work are violence and victimization. Violence is almost endemic to this occupation, and it has various

sources, such as “angry clients,” isolated indoor working conditions, dangers of nights and streets and public hatred and categorization (Brooks-Gordon, 2006). Prostitution is accepted as one of the most dangerous professions along with taxi drivers and police officers (Lowman, 2000; as cited in Sanders, 2005). The violence for sex workers also has its own variety, such as physical, psychological, economic or sexual violence. Physical violence can include beating, pushing or using a tool such as a shotgun or knife. Psychological violence mostly includes threatening with physical damage or revelation of their occupation – if done secretly, it includes hurting someone they know, stigmatization, marginalization and ostracization from society...etc. Economic violence includes frauds, especially inexperienced workers may forget to take the money up-front and the customers may refuse to pay after work. The claims of the worker can only be taken into consideration if the necessary laws and regulations are enacted by the state. Also, the unstable share that the middlemen (widely known as pimps) claim can also be count as a part of the economic violence. Lastly, the sexual violence is the most challenging part of this occupation since some authorities consider this occupation as a form of violence against women as a whole (Bindel, 2017; Farley, Baral, Kiremire, & Sezgin, 1998; Grant, 2008). Just like forcing workers in the service sector to serve somebody is considered violation of their rights, the same also applies for sex workers. The service providers (in this case the sex workers) must have the rights to choose their customers, the service they offer and limitations of the offered service. Also, claiming that sex work being a violence against sex workers is a sort of tautology, as Richard Weitzer suggested, it cannot be verified or falsified (Weitzer, 2005), and the causes of the violence str still questionable – whether it is the conditions

of the work, the lack of rules and regulations about the legality of the profession, the stigmatizations about the occupation, or just the “mere nature” of the job.

In Turkish concept, with the “help” of the provoked ostracization, physical and emotional violence has different varieties. For example, ostracization itself is a form of emotional violence. The ways sex workers are excluded will be discussed in the following parts of the chapter. Insult, harassment, rape, and beating are some known forms of individual physical violence, but there is also “organized” violence against the sex workers. One striking example of it came from the Halk Cephesi, a socialist organization. On 19th of July 2014, members of Cephe had found a woman who was accused of prostitution and publicly “punished” her by beating her on the street. The actual link for the announcement of the Halk Cephesi was on Twitter, but due to the limitations of the access to some social media accounts and the newly abolished State of Emergency, the original accounts, and the news pages are withheld. In the news, they had used a pornographic picture of the beaten woman standing on knees between the beater “socialists”. That action of Halk Cephesi got a lot of negative responses and about a week later, they had made another declaration which stood behind the first one, stating that she was a pimp who sells young girls to old men, but they would punish her if she was just a prostitute as well, since they are totally against the corruption on any level (Sarigazi Halk Cephesi, 2014).

There are many other examples of the organized crimes against sex workers, mostly ending up with setting their house on fire or sending them away from the cities (“Fuhuş yapıldığı iddia edilen evleri yaktılar,” 2017; Gökçeoğlu, 2007). Violence has



HALK CEPHESİ
@HALK_CEPHESI



Takip et

Sarıgazi demokrasi Cad. Fuhuş pazarlığı yapanlar CEPHELİLER tarafından halka teşhir edilip dövülerek cezalandırıldı.

pic.twitter.com/GSmlL17epJ

Yanıtla Retweetle Favorilere ekle Daha fazla



RETWEET
71

FAVORİ
37



14:27 - 19 Tem 2014

Medyayı işaretle

Figure 1. Declaration from Halk Cephesi via Twitter

<https://seyhunsertan.files.wordpress.com/2014/07/2014-07-19-sosyalist-cephe.png?w=471&h=486&zoom=2>

the guarantee to not get punished, so the violent actors are able to act freely. Even the cops, themselves are being a part of this violence in various ways. If a sex worker is caught on the streets while doing non-registered, illicit sex work, which is actually not against the law, (but having a non-registered house or hotel for doing this job is illegal) police starts to give reports or financial penalties to this woman. In her thesis, Aslı Zengin mentioned some “other” requests of the police officers, such as asking for a

bribe or having sex with the workers without paying them – which actually corresponds to raping them (Zengin, 2007). On the other end, Örddek states an extraordinary situation in one of the reports of Kırmızı Şemsiye, named “Recorded Rubbery in the Unrecorded Sphere”, which is about the financial penalties given to the transsexual sex workers for standing on the sidewalks by claiming this action to be a “misdemeanor”. Administrative fines can be used by the authorities, however, how and when an objection to administrative fines can be made, who to get in contact with and details alike do not exist in the related code. The first article of Highway Traffic Law states the aim of the code as “providing traffic order in terms of security of life and property on the highways and determining precautions related to all issues of traffic security”. The sex workers standing along the roads and highways can arbitrarily be punished for a misdemeanor (Örddek, 2014b, p. 9). This is a biased and corrupted way for getting tax from the non-registered, free sex workers. Also, this is a clear clue of the systematic violence of the state against sex workers, since, as stated in the same book, especially transvestite sex workers can be exposed to serious physical violence if they reject to pay for the lawless fines. This pressure also causes the sex workers to escape police and in doing so they are not able to negotiate for the essential details, such as what is and is not included in the service, whether or not the customer will use a barrier method, and more importantly, the workers do not have enough time to “evaluate” the customers’ trustworthiness. (Örddek, 2014b, p. 15). The following paragraph from the book perfectly summarizes the severity of these brutal practices:

I witnessed the despair of trans sex workers who had consulted Red Umbrella to object the administrative fines imposed on them. I met people who have been

discouraged with administrative fines since 2007, saying that they cannot go cruising anymore and brooding on how to earn money. I listened to the story of trans sex worker who had been kicked and beaten with nightsticks and stayed at the hospital for five days after rejecting to go to the police station by saying that the administrative fine practices are lawless, and I witnessed victimization of trans sex worker breaking her leg while trying to escape the police because of bad financial status... (Ördek, 2014b, p. 4),

Another source of victimization of sex workers is drug use and unprotected sexual relationships. In the study of McKeganey and Barnard, the prevalence of HIV among the street-sex workers is found quite high and the lack of the usage of any barrier birth control method, such as condoms, is highly correlated with the findings. The study also revealed that there is a detectable overlap between prostitution and drug injection, related to the need for money to obtain drugs and the need for drugs to continue working. Another important outcome of that study is the higher levels of HIV infection among drug injecting workers and crack cocaine users. Speaking of HIV, protected sexual relationships can be thought of as a mandatory condition for sex workers, but, it is not the case. Clients usually offer more money for unprotected sex to increase pleasure (Ördek, 2015, pp. 216, 362). It corresponds to paying more to a construction worker to avoid paying for the helmets or to save the time spend in wearing helmets, such that, that time can be used for more work. As it can be seen, that is quite a problematic idea. Different from the example of the construction worker, the sexual health of the prostitute is considered as a crucial factor for the public health. Especially for the non-registered sex workers who work on the streets, it is a part of the negotiation that whether the customer will use the condom or not. (Ördek, 2014b, p. 15). Another example from the Turkish case is that the law for prostitution

mentioned above offers sex workers to be controlled and followed by a formally commissioned doctor or hospital to regularly check whether or not the sex workers are infected (*Genel Kadınlar Ve Genelevlerin Tabi Olacakları Hükümler Ve Fuhuş Yüzünden Bulaşan Zührevi Hastalıklarla Mücadele Tüzüğü*, 1961) (Item 25). This may seem like a necessary and a protective approach that aims to secure the sexual health of the public, and this sentence contains nothing more than it claims. To be more specific, the problem about this “protective” precaution is aiming only the protection of the health of the customers – but not workers. While it can be easily solved by asking for a current health report from the customers, the state ignores the health of the sex workers in the brothel houses. In other words, it is okay for the sex workers to be contaminated by any sexually transmitted diseases, but when it comes to the customers, the state realizes the requirement of the protection. It is one of the simplest and obvious indicators of the bias of the state policies. In the same code mentioned above, under the title of “Korunma Tedbirleri – *The Precautions of Protection*” there is only one item, and it states that “In the brothels, apart from the hygiene conditions that are required to be taken, preservatives are provided as a tool of protection. These preservatives will be given to the desired visitors for its price.”¹⁰ (Item 75 of the Code). As can be clearly seen from the statement, preservatives are in the brothel houses, but it is not a compulsion for the customers to use them. The usage of these tools of protections is fully up to the decision of the customer who is willing to pay some extra money for them. The worker, on the other hand, had no right to declare her decision.

¹⁰ Madde 75 (değişik madde: 31.01. 1973): Fuhuş yerlerinde alınması gereken hijyen şartları yanında bir korunma aracı olarak prezervatif bulundurulur. Bu prezervatifler, ziyaretçilerden arzu edenlere bedeli mukabilinde verilir.

If closely examined, this code, itself, is a threat to all the women who are subjected to the mentioned code. This code not only specifies the status of the “public women” and brothel houses and aims to struggle with the venereal diseases spread via prostitution, but also makes clear judgments about the concepts of honor, an honorable lifestyle, and defines the brothel houses to their every single detail. Also, that code claims to be able to “detect” the “public women”. When closely reviewed, some items attract special attention. For example, Item 20 suggests the methods of “detection” of the public women:

*Detection
Item 20*

If a woman is suspected of acquiring prostitution as an art for keeping in touch repeatedly with many men, and as a result of a secret and detailed investigation about her if she is vested with the qualifications of the public women mentioned in Item 15, firstly, the reasons that dragged her into prostitution are investigated by the commission and the precautions that will make her return to a chaste life are discussed. When these precautions do not provide the benefit, if she has the conditions given in Item 21, she is subjected to the status about Public Women; if not, then she is subjected to the medical precautions written in Item 23.¹¹

Item 21 gives the conditions that allow the commission to decide a woman to be a public woman and these are:

¹¹ Tesbit: Madde 20

Mükerreren ve bir çok erkeklerle münasebette bulunması dolayısıyla bir kadının fuhşu sanat edindiğinden şüphe edilir ve hakkında gizli ve etraflıca yapılan inceleme ile elde edilen müspet delillerle kendisinin 15 inci maddede yazılı genel kadınlar vasıflarını haiz olduğu meydana çıkarılırsa, evvela bu kadını fuhşa sürükleyen sebepler komisyonca araştırılır ve kendisinin tekrar namuslu bir hayata dönmesini sağlayacak tedbirler düşünülür. Bu tedbirlerin faide vermediği hallerde bu kadın hakkında 21 inci maddedeki şartlar varsa Genel Kadınlar hakkındaki hükümler, bu şartlar yoksa 23 üncü maddede yazılı sağlık tedbirlerine dair hükümler uygulanır.

Conditions of Registration

Item 21: In order for a woman to be registered by the commission as a public woman the following conditions are necessary:

- a) Acquiring prostitution as art to herself or be decided about by the commission due to the 21st Item.*
- b) Being 21 years old.*
- c) Not having a foreign nationality*
- d) Not having no nationality.¹²*

The given items have every necessary sign of prejudice and bias. State clearly give rights to its “law enforcers” to determine how chaste a woman’s life is. The privacy of the sexuality of women clearly concerns the state, since they divide the women into two categories, first is the non-chaste and so-called “public” ones, and the second is the chaste and private ones. Women are clearly seen as some sort of tools of reproduction and there are laws to protect the property of the tools products, in this case, the protection the heredity of children of the woman.

The clear division between public and private women of the state is also visible in Item 62 of the code: “*The owners of the brothel houses, are not permitted to accept any woman or girls under the age of 21 and the woman who is not registered by the commission, under any circumstances.*”¹³ This item shows the concern of any sort of “mixing” of the public and the private women. This item also has some uncalculated

¹² Tescil şartları: Madde 21

Komisyonca bir kadının genel kadın olarak tesciline karar verilebilmesi için, aşağıdaki şartların bulunması lazımdır:

- a) Fuhşu kendisine sanat edinmek veya 20 nci madde gereğince hakkında komisyonca karar verilmiş olmak,
- b) 21 yaşını bitirmiş olmak,
- c) Yabancı tabiiyetinde bulunmamak,
- d) Tabiiyetsiz olmamak.

¹³ Madde 62:

Genel ev sahiplerinin 21 yaşını bitirmemiş olan kadın veya kızlarla, komisyonca tescil edilmemiş kadınları her ne suretle olursa olsun evlerine kabul etmeleri yasaktır.

outcomes, such as the limitations for the female health officers to intervene any emergency in the borders of the brothel house, the impossibility of any researchers to do observations of the living spaces, the isolation of the workers from any other women, which also strengthens the ostracization of the sex workers from the public. One other interesting unforeseen outcome of this isolation is reported by Ayşe Tükrükçü, a former brothel house worker, in the interview with Selin Ongun. She states that one of the problematic sides of not accepting any other women in the brothel houses appears on while taking a population census. Tükrükçü, states that when a female census taker arrives, since she is not allowed to come in the house, and the census is made address-based, the workers of the brothel houses cannot be counted, and this little “flaw” constrains the workers of the brothel houses from voting in the elections. Since they are not counted, they cannot vote as well. Tükrükçü, claims that it is something done on purpose, rather than a flaw; and she had come to realize this when she was nominated for the local elections in the street which she used to work (Ongun, 2010).

This part had summarized the several types of violence against the sex workers, the reasons behind these violent actions and exemplified the ostracization the sex workers face. As dehumanization helps some people to feel grunge for other people, de-proletarianization also helps some “socialists” to use violence against workers.

3.4 Unions and Protests of Sex Workers

If there is enough pressure on something concrete, it will eventually break. This is one of the most widely known rules of physics. Until this chapter, the concrete

existence of the sex workers and the pressures applied to them are aimed to be explained. As the rule stated, now it is the time to break.

Until now, one can reach the conclusion that the sex workers are clearly ostracized by the state, by the police forces, by most socialists and feminists, and by the society. It is as old and as natural as “breathing”, one won’t recognize its continuous existence, until there is something wrong with it, or someone specially mentions it.

As Chateauvert states, sex workers are not as voiceless or as resigned as the society assumes (Chateauvert, 2013, p. 189). The exact beginning of the sex worker riots is not known, but, the first major strikes of the sex workers had begun in the same place where the world revolution history officially began, in France. In 1975, a group of sex workers had protested the ostracization of sex work business, the large shares that their pimps took illegally from them and the brutal sex worker murders that didn’t concern the government and remained uninvestigated. The sex workers had refuged into a Catholic Church and interestingly, they gained the church’s support for their strike. When considered it is a very clever decision to refuge in a church, where they cannot be forced to work since there are only priests and sisters in it. During the protest, totally five churches were “occupied” by sex workers in France and nearly 20.000 sex workers “downed their tools” to join the riot. Another interesting detail about this pioneer protest was the statement of Father Louis Blanc, who stated his support for the sex workers as “*It is, after all, Mary Magdalene to whom Jesus appeared.*” (Aroney, 2016).

This riot had influenced and influenced many other sex workers around the world. England is a clear example of this situation. After France, English sex workers decided to unite and founded ECP, English Collective of Prostitutes. This Collective had found a way to get attention in media by their radical demands and acquisitions. Their protests are known as “carnival-like” in London, especially in the Red Light District. Like in France, ECP also occupied a church in London, King’s Cross. Holy Cross Church was under the control of the sex workers for 12 days, in 1982 (ECP, 2010).

In 1985, several prostitutes from all over the world had united in Amsterdam for the World Whores Congress with the main demands such as legalization of their trade and the right for insurance. Several sex workers joined in that conference with masks demanding from the governments to provide full human rights for the sex workers, as they must provide for the workers in other sectors (Pheterson & St James, 2005; Saen, 1986). These were the major initiatives of those years. The 1990s also passed with the decriminalization and sex workers rights debates. Their voice had increased when they gathered together, therefore, although the history of sex work goes quite back, the academic researches on sex work and workers started in the 1990s. In the late 1990s, the IUSW, International Union of Sex Workers was founded by a migrant sex worker, working with a group of colleagues, academicians, and allies with the familiar aim of establishing the legitimacy of the sex work (Lopes, 2006). IUSW had organized and joined in many events through the 1990s, such as, gay prides, anti-war demonstrations, and international women’s day marches, almost always with the stereotypical items that symbolize their ostracized identity, things like feather boas and

fishnet stockings– but they did not join in the celebrations of the Mayday (Lopes, 2006).

When it comes to 2000s, things started to get even more attention. At 2000, ECP called a strike on Soho, a famous red-light district in London, to stop the attempts of the local authorities of removing them from their working area. A sort of parade was organized, and it got many supports from various groups such as a small student samba band and some academicians. The protest took place in Soho, in a carnival atmosphere with “flamboyant” costumes worn by the IUSW organizers. Soho March, is a quite unique milestone in the history of the sex workers resistances since it was also the first time that a very popular banner appeared and spread all over the world, as its original did in its time: “Sex Workers of the World, Unite!” (Lopes, 2006, p. 265).

With the idea of “union activism can make a difference, as it sometimes does in other works”, ECP had developed IUSW, and set 14 items of demands. To summarize, demands contained: decriminalization, right to join professional associations or unions, right to work on the same basis as independent contractors and employers did, receiving the same benefits as other workers did and not paying any taxes until such rights and representations were gained. Zero tolerance to coercion, violence sexual abuse, child labor, rape or racism was one of the major demands. Other demands included legal support, right to travel across national boundaries, right to obtain a work permit, provision of clean and safe working places, right to choose to work individually or collectively, an “absolute right to say no”, access to job training, access to health commodities, provision of re-training programs for the ones who

would want to leave the industry and an end to the stigmatization. IUSW was founded with all these demands and in 2002, IUSW applied in GMB, “a general union - which means that anyone can join”, as they state in their website. (Lopes, 2006). When their application was being evaluated, there were strong reactions against sex workers. Their application was accepted but for a long time, sex workers were not able to have a representative speaker in the Maydays for GMB. GMB was accused as ‘being provocative’ and ‘looking for controversy’, and some of the members of GBM resigned after this decision stating that “they refuse to be a part of a union that represent prostitutes” (Lopes, 2006, p. 280).

Lastly, in 2009, to introduce their lives and themselves to the society, to stop ostracization, to make voices and to provoke cultural activism, “Red Umbrella Project” RedUP was started. It is a small peer-led organization based in Brooklyn, New York, which organizes communities and does advocacy to form policies and bring systemic changes to support the rights of sex workers by utilizing media, storytelling, peer support, and direct action strategies to amplify the voices and power of sex workers (“Red Umbrella Proj.,” n.d.). It is also important to mention the famous “SlutWalk” of Toronto. It had begun in 2011 when a police sergeant told a class at York University “If you do not want to be a victim, don’t dress like a slut.” (Chateauvert, 2013, pp. 206–207). Toronto’s anti-violence activists replied that with a red, hot “No!”, “Enough slut-shaming, victim-blaming, sexual-profiling, gender-policing.” Some of the activists had tried for more than a month to get an appointment from Toronto’s chief of police but failed. Then, on 3rd of April, 2011, with the gathering of more than 3000 people, SlutWalk began in Toronto, from Queens Park to Toronto Police Service,

which is almost a distance of 1km. The main aim was to reclaim the word “Slut”, but only a few of the protesters were dressed as the stereotypical “sluts”. Most of the crowd comprised of white, young females. What got more attention than miniskirts were the women with baggy pants and sweatshirts, carrying the leaflets saying: “This was what I was wearing when I got raped.” Other SlutWalks were re-organized in big riots like the Arab Spring and Occupy Wall Street (Chateauvert, 2013, pp. 208–209).

On the other and, Turkey, has a quite long history of violence against sex workers, but a very short history of visible protests. As mentioned before, one of the significant obstructions for the opposers in Turkey was the 1980 military coup. After that coup, the pressures on the LGBTI community and the sex workers were drastically increased. In 1987, Beyoğlu District Police Department was “famous” for its violent acts against homosexuals and transsexuals, like putting them in big sacks and beating the helpless people in the sacks with iron sticks (Doğan, 2004). In order to protest such “police interventions” 37 homosexuals and transsexuals gathered on Taksim, Gezi Park’s stairs which are towards the famous sex worker and trans people residence – Tarlabası Boulevard. They had started a hunger strike, although they could not reach a solid result, they managed to make their voices heard in the national and international media, and even gain support from some famous artists (Doğan, 2004; “Gezi Parkı ve LGBTİ Hareketi,” n.d.). This was the first known public protest of LGBTI in Turkey. To support the cause, people from other countries wanted to come to Turkey and join the protest– but they were deported.

The protest history of sex workers and LGBTI people in Turkey went hand in hand for many years. In 1993, the first known LGBTI association was founded in

Istanbul, named Lambda. Then KAOS-GL followed as a group who gathered around the KAOS-GL magazine in Ankara, in 1994.

In 1995, in İstanbul, under the name of “Clean Cihangir Project¹⁴” there became a systematic violence against sex workers and trans people, living on Ülker Street. With the unnamed coalition of police forces, greedy homeowners and nationalists, radical right idealist groups who were brought from other districts to the Ülker street, the residents and sex workers of Ülker street was fired brutally from their living areas. The head of the police department of the district was Alaattin Yüksel, and the general chief of the police teams was Süleyman Ulusoy, who was nicknamed by the sex workers as “Hortum¹⁵ Süleyman” because of the brutal custody and tortures he did to the people under custody, making night raids to the houses of sex workers by breaking the doors with sledgehammers and cutting their electricity and phone cords to prevent them from getting help. In the precious work of Pınar Selek, those people tell their memories with the connotation of their obligation to run away from the back windows of their own houses in order to not get beaten (Selek, 2011). Unfortunately, although these crimes against humanity were spoken out loud many times and proven with the testimonies of many victims, “Hortum Süleyman” retired peacefully and is now working as a car-park manager in İstanbul, in a street close to the LGBT residents (“Gezi Parkı ve LGBTİ Hareketi,” n.d.).

¹⁴ Temiz Cihangir Projesi

¹⁵ *Hose Süleyman*, as he used hard plastic hoses to beat people and making marks on their bodies.

In the Mayday of 2001, KAOS-GL had joined with its own banner and group for the first time, as a declaration of its independently organized society with the banner of “KAOS-GL: The Voice of the Homosexuals¹⁶” and with the leaflets stating: “ Compulsory heterosexuality is a crime against humanity¹⁷” (Tüfekçi, 2001). With the positive influence of KAOS-GL, Lambda had also joined in Maydays in İstanbul in 2002-2003, and the first Gay pride was organized in İstanbul in 2003.

In 2008, sex workers decided to start a union of their own, as it happened in Europe. The preparations began in 2008, even the name and the date were set, March 3rd, World Sex Workers’ Day. If a union cannot join another and more inclusive union in Turkey, it is almost impossible to help the union members. In 2013, sex workers applied to Genel-İş Sendikası, a member of Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu (DİSK)¹⁸, as IUSW did for GMB. However, neither Genel-İş nor DİSK was willing to accept the prostitutes in their unions and confederations. For not finding enough support, Kırmızı Şemsiye Seks İşçileri Ağı¹⁹ decided to be an Association rather than a union. It was founded in the same year, in 2013 with the name of Kırmızı Şemsiye Cinsel Sağlık ve İnsan Hakları Derneği²⁰. The Red Umbrella Sexual Health and

¹⁶ Kaos GL: Eşcinsellerin Sesi!

¹⁷ Zorunlu heteroseksüellik insanlık suçudur.

¹⁸ General-Work Union, a member of The Confederation of Revolutionist Worker Unions

¹⁹ Red Umbrella Network of Sex Workers

²⁰ The Red Umbrella Sexual Health and Human Rights Association

Human Rights Association, “Kırmızı Şemsiye”, is a sex worker-led organization and a member of the regional networks ICRSE²¹, and SWAN²². In 2014, Kırmızı Şemsiye had started a campaign in Turkey for the acceptance of sex work as any other work (Altan, 2014). In 2015, they had joined not a national but an international union, NSWP, Global Network of Sex Work Projects. They had signed a consensus statement which declared the demanded rights of sex workers in Turkey and Europe. The statement has 8 items, and the items are here as follows:

- 1) *Right to associate and organize*
- 2) *Right to be protected by the law*
- 3) *Right to be free from violence*
- 4) *Right to be free from discrimination*
- 5) *Right to privacy and freedom from arbitrary interference*
- 6) *Right to health*
- 7) *Right to move and migrate*
- 8) *Right to work and free choice of employment. (NSWP, 2015).*

Apart from the attempt to found a union and the success to found a worldwide known association of sex workers, there is only one recorded strike of sex workers in Turkey, which took place in 2013, in Zürafa Sokak, a well-known sex worker place around Taksim. Under the threat of closing the official brothel they work in, sex workers stepped out of the brothel with leaflets, wearing scarves and big glasses that covered their faces. They had a press briefing to protest the sealing of their working space and went back in. Their words were influential: Nobody can change our past and

²¹ International Committee on the Rights of Sex Workers in Europe

²² The Sex Worker’s Rights Advocacy Network in Central and Eastern Europe and Central Asia

give our lives back to us. Let us provide the money for the education of our children, let us protect ourselves and work here.²³” (Tahaoglu, 2013).

This chapter aimed to summarize the sex workers’ attempts to protest for their social, economic and legal problems, their unions and their stories which are interestingly parallel to the socialist revolutions.

²³ "Bu gemiřimizi kimse deęiřtirmeyecek ve hayatımızı geri veremeyecekler. Bırakın en azından evlatlarımızı okutalım, kendimizi koruyup burada alıřalım."

CHAPTER 4

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND OF THIS STUDY

4.1. Social Representations Theory

“Omnia mutantur nos et mutamur in illis”. This is an old saying in Latin, which means “everything changes, and we change with it”. When examined from a wider perspective, with every change, new social conditions and dynamics occur. Those new conditions appear with new problems for the individuals, groups, and societies, and those new problems require new political structures (Wagner & Hayes, 2005). According to Serge Moscovici, the person who is accepted as the explorer of the social representation theory, the duty of social psychology is to examine the functions of the individuals and groups in social structures. Since these structures are dynamic, social psychology must always be updated. This is because a socio-psychological phenomenon can only be understood in its own cultural, historical and macro-social conditions (Wagner et al., 1999).

While defining the function of social psychology, Allport also mentions this branch of psychology as an attempt to understand the influences of actual, imagined or implied presence of other actors on individuals’ thoughts, feelings or behaviors (Allport, 1924). One of the best concepts that fit in this “attempt” is the social representations.

4.1.1 Definition and Roots of Social Representations

Mentioning the difference between a subject and an object is a matter of discussion. By placing an individual or a specific group as the subject and any other concept, group or “actual, imagined or implied presence of other” as the object, one includes the variable of “perception” in the equation.

There is a close and reciprocal relation between the concepts of subjective and objective. Subjective is generally used in reference to the subject’s perspective, and subjective is usually based on or influenced by the preferences of the subjective. On the other hand, objective is generally used in reference to the shared and common and objective is not considered based on or influenced by one’s preferences, it implies “the actual”. Therefore, as an important point of social representations, “subjective” is used as the synonym of the wrong belief, while “objective” is used as the synonym of the shared belief. For objective inferences, the source is the group, which, through its system of representations shapes the individual’s understanding of the object (Wagner & Hayes, 2005, p. 119). Moscovici also mentions that there is a dialectic relationship between the individual and the society; actually constituted by the individuals; that is made possible by the representations created in a collective and shared fashion (Moscovici, 1990, p. 165). This relationship has major importance in the formation of the representations because social ideas are created, arisen and changed when they are discussed by the people (Wagner & Hayes, 2005, p. 123). What social representations theory does is that it considers the smallest parts of the big picture by identifying the interconnections between perception, thinking, emotions, values, norms, and action (Sakki, Kassea, Vauhkonen, & Pirttilä-Backman, 2010).

The ideas created by a specific group or society give valuable clues to the researchers examining them. These ideas of the group about an object or the representations of the object by the group may indicate the filters, the interests and the aspects they valued and cared about. This function of social representations is quite important in terms of its contribution to social psychology itself. The way people share knowledge and the reason for this sharing matter since they constitute their common reality by doing so. That reality does not only consist of the ideas but also includes the transformation of the ideas into practices. This indicates the power of the ideas and it is also a specific problem of social psychology to work on (Moscovici, 1990, p. 164). Moscovici also refers to Marxism when regarding the power of ideas, by quoting a famous definition of the ideology: Ideas, once released among the masses, *are and behave like* material forces (Moscovici, 2000, p. 33).

The term “Social Representations” was first internationally mentioned by Moscovici in 1963 regarding attitude research in Annual Reviews (Wagner & Hayes, 2005). However, the roots of the social representations go back to the sociologist Durkheim and the term of collective representations. Durkheim noticed and stated that these shared collective representations are acting like a system that constitutes a means for a society, and it is useful for that society for being conscious of its self and objectifying the common rules for social intercourse (Moscovici, 2000, p. 33; Wagner & Hayes, 2005, p. 118). Durkheim made a distinct differentiation between the collective representations and the individual representations; since the individual representations can only exist from the source of a particular individual (Cırhınlioğlu, Aktaş, & Öner Özkan, 2006). Durkheim also drew a critical line between the individual

and the collective – this line ignored the dialectic relationship that Moscovici stated, and also separated sociology and psychology from each other by attributing the collectivity to sociology and individuality to psychology. Durkheim also considered his collective representations as stable and valid through generations (Öner, 2002).

What Moscovici did about the representations while updating and adapting them to social psychology is re-consider collectivity in the light of modern societies. Moscovici constructed the theory of social representations in a more dynamic manner by considering the dialectic between the individual and the society which is more applicable to modern societies and more accessible and applicable to the inquiry of the social psychology (Moscovici, 2000; Öner, 2002; Wagner & Hayes, 2005). Therefore, Moscovici is considered as the founder of the social representations theory as it is used in today's social psychology literature.

4.1.2 Formation of Social Representations

As mentioned before, environmental factors are quite important for the formation and function of the social representations. How one organizes the mental representations and what the content of these representations are, have a certain autonomy in relation to the environment and in relation to the information received or derived from that certain environment (Moscovici, 1990).

As a part of the cognitive processes, social representations can be thought of as a macro-reduction process, in which socio-structural facts are transposed and translated into forms of thinking. Such cognitive top-down processes are quite important in the formation of the social representations by capturing the structural knowledge itself, as a photographer does. There lies the “magic” of the social

representations – they link the captured, structured knowledge to the societal progress (Wagner & Hayes, 2005, p. 117).

Wagner and Hayes had defined some “necessities” in order to lead to the completion of the formation of the social representations and for their detection. One is limiting the subject area by preparing the structural and multi-dimensional portrayal of it. They suggested that the social facts may appear in iconic, image or metaphorical forms and are transferred through bodily and verbal actions. This helps in the elaboration of the ideas and accepted facts; therefore, rough facts can turn into social objects in the space of the studied groups. What social representations theory does in this phase is define the socially relevant phenomena and the objects by considering their relations with the group. For the formation process, being potentially conscious of the mentioned social idea is taken as a pre-requisite. Wagner and Hayes did not suggest that the representation should necessarily be shared by each and every member of the group, but it must be shared predominantly in the selected, culturally distinct, studied society. Lastly, when a social representation is formed, it is so powerful that it can orientate the way that the group acts since it contains judgmental and action directing elements (Wagner & Hayes, 2005, pp. 120–123).

Moscovici defined the formation process of the social representations in three phases: anchoring, objectification and naturalization. Anchoring can be defined as placing, relating or integrating a new idea into some concept that is already known. Like the literal meaning of the word anchoring, it can be thought of as some ideas that are floating freely in the sea and in order to “familiarize” with those ideas, subjects anchor them to somewhere related and known by naming and categorizing them.

Objectification also carries its meaning in the word itself. It is the process whereby people detect an abstract idea and transform it into something concrete by relating its highlighted and focused features. By objectification concepts and images can be brought together. Lastly, naturalization phase is a sort of completion of the process. In order to naturalize the “familiarized” concept, people integrate it into their social reality and let that “familiarized” concept have its own existence in the flood of life (Moscovici, 2000). For instance, when a small family first encounters with LGBTI people via one of the friends of their children, they can anchor this orientation as a “different but harmless” type of sexuality, therefore it can be classified under the tag of sexual orientations. The abstract concepts of homosexuality, intersexuality, and transsexuality can be objectified by a rainbow image – which includes different colors coexisting in a peaceful and natural harmony. In the good scenario, that family will eventually naturalize the LGBTI orientations and consider more than two genders when they think about sexual orientation.

In short, a new concept is formed into a social representation by going over the mentioned phases. This process can also be seen as recognition, but it doesn't necessarily mean mere acceptance. Societies can recognize the harmful concepts and anchor them in the areas of avoidance, objectify them with harmfulness, and naturalize them by putting them away from the daily cycle. To continue with the previous example of LGBTI people, there are still some groups which anchor LGBTIs with deviancy, objectify their orientations as an illness and neutralize their processes by “curing” their orientations in hospitals.

4.1.3 The Function of Social Representations

Why do people need common, collective or social representations of ideas, concepts or any other new objects? As widely mentioned, the most useful function of the social representations is familiarizing the unfamiliar (Cirhinlioğlu et al., 2006; Moscovici, 2000; Öner, 2002; Sakki et al., 2010; Sayılan, 2013; Wagner & Hayes, 2005).

More specifically, it is important to understand why people need to represent the present objects. The unknown is almost always disturbing, and new social phenomenon is therefore a disturbing, uncertain and unfamiliar concept that alarms people (Öner, 2002). In order to sooth that “panic atmosphere” people need to form a social representation of the unknown object by formerly mentioned phases, by anchoring them to something known, objectifying them, and eventually by naturalizing them. What social representations actually does is bring those unknown, unfamiliar and uncertain new objects from afar to close or from outside to inside. Closeness is a key factor here, since people decide what the new concept or object belongs to by classifying it into the closest class they associate it with (Öner, 2002). This classification thus gives us an idea of what the studied people “see” in the new concept. What they “saw” may direct us to what they “care” about, how they think and which values they are concerned about the most. These can be seen as the functions of the social representations from the perspective of the researchers.

From another perspective - the societies’ perspective - social representations have two main functions. One is to establish order amongst the masses, by enabling people to act in their own environment in a common manner and exert control over it.

The second function is quite close to the first one – social representations provide necessary elements for understandable communication. This enables social interaction since the majority of the studied society uses the same or at least similar naming and categorizing strategies for the new object. This allows the construction of the common language. (Moscovici, 2000). These functions can also be thought of in a different way as Lahlou does by suggesting that an important function of the social representations is to give society pragmatic survival skills. The society can detect threat and alarm others or share the information on beneficial things in the environment (Lahlou, 2001).

In short, social representations are vital for the construction of the social realities of societies (Moscovici, 2000). Social representations provide conventions for bonding the new objects and prescribe some formulas for dealing with them (Sayılan, 2013). These functions also prove the dialectical nature of the social representations.

4.2 Nucleus Theory: A Structural Approach to Social Representations

As mentioned before, social representations had been conceptualized because of their main function - familiarizing the unfamiliar. Social representations present useful visions of the world to the group, and with their help, individuals and groups share some “filters” which allow them to give meaning to their actions. In order to understand and interpret the “reality”, individuals and groups can use their own social representations which also become their own system of references. By doing so, individuals and groups adapt to reality and can define their place in it (Abric, 2001).

The elements that constitute the social representations are a body of information, beliefs, opinions, and attitudes, which are organized and structured so as to establish a particular social – cognitive system (Abric, 2001). This social-cognitive

system does not only represent current realities, but also defines and ascertains the roots of the ideologies, aims, motivations and historical factors that cause the group to form.

Nucleus theory examines the dynamic and dialectical system of the formation of the social representations in a structural approach.

4.2.1 Definitions and Functions of the Nucleus Theory of Abric

Jean Claude Abric first mentioned a structural approach to social representations in 1993. In the article he prepared, emphasis was given on the dynamics of the social representations. He mentioned a two-level structure of social representations in society: The central system and the peripheral system.

The central system is also known as the “central core” of the social representations. When defining the central system, Abric likened it to the structure of an atom, with a core in the middle and the electrons bounded to it, spinning around that core. This metaphor is quite useful to understand the two-level structure. Abric stated that the central system of the social representation is directly linked to and determined by the historical sociological and ideological conditions of the group, it is marked by the collective memory of the group and the system of rules that orientates and functionalizes it (Abric, 1993).

The group here is the subject that social psychologists work on, and the “unfamiliar” is the object that “the subject” works on to locate or dislocate it to their system. Therefore, the “central core” of the representation is determined by the nature of the object, the type of relationships bound to the object or something relatively

similar to it as well as by the values system and social norms that this object belongs to. These are expected to be in a sort of conformity and harmony with the ideological environment of the subject (Abric, 2001). The central system constitutes the basis of social representation. The central system basically has two essential functions: one is the generation of the social representation by enabling other constitutive elements of representations to acquire a meaning or a value. That meaning is supposed to be consensual among the group members. More details about it will be given when explaining the peripheral system. The second function of the central system is organization of the social representation by determining the nature of the connections that unite the elements of the representation to each other. By doing so, it unifies and stabilizes the meaning of the representation for everyone. Therefore, the central core of the social representations generates meanings, orders these meanings by placing the connections of the elements of the representations and stabilizes the representation in the cognitive environment of the subject (Abric, 1993, 2001).

By being ideologically conditioned and historically rooted, the central systems of the social representations are quite resistant to change. Each representation has its own central cores and the differences among the central cores are considered to be qualitative. The central core therefore is stable, coherent, historically marked, consensual and relatively independent from the current social and material context (Abric, 1993).

Peripheral system, on the other hand, is much more relaxed and reflective of the environmental changes when compared to the central system. The peripheral systems are organized around the central systems and have indispensable

complementary functions (Abric, 1993). Peripheral elements can be thought of as the “anchoring” of the representations to the immediate reality. They create an interface between the dealt situation (the object) and the central core with the prescribed formulas, such as comprehension and transmission of the “new” to the natural. Thus, it can be accepted that if the central systems regulate in normative terms, then the peripheral systems follow a more functional fashion (Abric, 2001).

There are three functions of peripheral systems described by Abric in his work in 1993. The first function is to objectify or concretize the central core against the object by taking a position or course of action. This function explains the relationship between the peripheral elements and the anchoring function of the representations. The second function is to provide the adaptation processes of the new, while it integrates the periphery, by questioning its foundation. Peripheral elements can also be thought of as functioning like car bumpers of vehicles – they absorb the destructive qualifications of the unknown information to prevent it from directly challenging the core. The third function is regulation of the new by marginalizing its presence in the beginning, and then permitting some parts of the subjects to modulate the representation. With this regulation function, the individual variations can have a chance to link the new object to the history of the subject in a way that the central core can tolerate the interindividual differences. This function is the key factor for the moving and evolving aspects of the social representations (Abric, 1993, 2001).

Therefore, the elements of the peripheral system are flexible, adaptive, relatively heterogeneous, accessible, lively and concrete. These elements update the

central core when necessary and prevent it from the external environment when there is a threat to the major values of the central core.

4.2.2 The Matrix Nucleus Theory of Moliner

Moliner opposed Abric on the matter of consensual aspect of central systems. According to Moliner core elements exist, but they only hold symbolic connections with the object of representation. Moliner suggested that mentioning the object to the subject activates the core element of the social representation and this activation of the core elements evokes the object in the cognitive system (Moliner, 2016).

Moliner suggested two different interpretations of the structural approach to the nucleus theory. The first is about the central core and the second is about the peripheral elements.

Moliner stated that core elements are not as rigid and stable as Abric suggested. In the Matrix Nucleus Theory of Moliner, these are not non-negotiable beliefs for everyone in the group. He categorized his interpretation as the “consensus problem” of the core nucleus theory. The second opposition was regarding the peripheral elements. Contrary to what Abric suggested, Moliner stated that elements of the nucleus acquire a specific meaning during genesis or, in other words, the formation of the social representations. Peripheral elements are the ones that have the most stable meanings. He suggested that the *meaning generation function* of the central core actually belongs to the periphery system. He used a “language metaphor” to explain his idea: The consensus is not vital, since, for the communication of two people it is not essential for them to master every single word in the language – only a partial accordance can ease their connections and enable them to understand that they speak

the same language. Likewise, accepting social representations as the languages of the social groups, the consensus and the meaning generation are not vital in these terms. Hence they cannot be a part of the central core (Moliner, 2016).

Moliner's Matrix Nucleus Theory, therefore, questioned the traditional functions which were attributed to the central core. He suggested that meaning-making, ordering and stabilizing are *not* the functions of the core nucleus, instead we can use denoting, aggregating and gathering instead of these traditional terms (Moliner, 2016). So, what were these new terms?

In the same article, Moliner described these terms and attributed functions to them. Denoting is defined as symbolizing in the dictionary. Moliner suggested that the informative capacity of verbal labels is more efficient than their inherent meanings, so denoting actually means resting on the core elements' symbolic properties. In his example, the word "degree" evokes the institutionalized education among the students and excludes other sorts of education. Aggregating is linked to the semantic potential of the core elements. According to his theory, what gathers individuals under the same word is the ambiguous elements. Lastly, the gathering is the common matrix that allows all the variation to co-exist. Members would generate a consensus and integrate their individual experiences in the conceptual framework.

For this study, the structural approach of Abric will be taken as a guide for two reasons. The first reason is that the definitions and functions of the core-nucleus theory of Abric is more applicable to the concept of the central and peripheric structure of the concept of sex work. Sex work is related to both - the values of the society which the socialist organizations aim to lead and guide, and the values of the socialist ideology

which promises that all the suppressions of the workers will be overcome, labor force will belong to the producer of the labor and all the moral, ideological and financial restrictions of capitalist lifestyle will also be overcome. This study aims to spot the central representation and the peripheral representations of the sex work for socialists to discover the distance between the center and the periphery, because this difference may explain the ignorance of sex workers' suppression among the other workers, and may also present a valid reason for the inconsistency of the performance and the representations/claims of the socialists. There is a huge gap between the socialists and the struggle of the sex workers. There is great ostracization, ignoring behavior and even a bit of hostility among the results that this aims to point out, but, as Bertold Brecht states: "*Because things are the way they are, things will not stay the way they are.*"

4.2.3 On Rejection, Change and Dialectical Growth

Abric asks the question that is always on our minds: "What happens when social actors end up developing social practices, which are *contradictory* to their system of representations?" And to answer this, he suggests checking the *notion of reversibility of the situation*.

To explain this, it is important to recall the basic function of the social representations one more time: familiarizing the unfamiliar. When a group encounters a new situation there are two main responses that the actors may give. One is considering the situation as a reversible one, in which actors may see the presented situation as a temporarily and exceptional one, therefore, returning to the usual past practices is possible for them. In reversible situations, new and contradictory practices

may only generate some modifications in the representations. However, on the other condition, actors may be committed to a situation and develop practices in it, that, it becomes an irreversible situation. In this case, new and contradictory practices will lead to serious consequences concerning the modification of the representation (Abric, 1993).

For a deeper understanding, an example can be useful. For an ideal and healthy family, parents never use physical or psychological violence to their children. This causes a “confidential and respectful” representation of the parents in the cognitive minds of the children. A reversible contradictory condition can be exemplified as a light slap from one of the parents to the child after the child curses or uses swear words. After that incident, parents may apologize to the child and explain what is wrong with cursing or using swear words. By doing so, the representation of the family in the mind of the child can remain confidential and respectful, but the child can recognize some sort of anger management problem for the specified parent. That can only cause modifications. On the other hand, an irreversible contradictory condition would be, following the same example, a continuous, regularized, causeless physical harassment of the child, after a certain age, usually when the child develops the self-awareness and starts to question the parents’ decisions or instructions. When the child recognizes no signs of regret or botheration from the parents even after the beatings, crying of children or bruises on the body, then the social representation of parenthood may become something scary, non-trustable, brutal and inconsistent.

According to Abric, there are three types of transformations of the central core, with the lead of the contradictory and non-consistent acts of the periphery. These are, *resisting* transformations, *progressive* transformations and *brutal* transformations.

Resisting transformations are generally based on defense mechanisms of the central cores. New contradictory practices are managed by the peripheral system, but the central core reacts to these practices with ad-hoc interpretations and justification of the self, rationalization of the situation and giving continuous reference to the norms. In order to protect the central core from being challenged by the attacks of the new conditions, the elements of the central core may recall the normal, may designate the foreign element from the environment, may use the affirmation of the contradiction between the new and the central terms and may propose a rationalization which helps to bear the contradiction (Abric, 1993).

An example of this can be from one of the traditional challenges of marriage in Turkey, the one between Sunni and Alevi people. The parents of one of the couples may refuse the marriage stating that Alevi only marry to Alevi and Sunnis only marry Sunnis (recalling the normal). If the couple insists, then parents may refuse to meet or refuse to give permission to the wedding (designation of the foreign element). If the couple still insists, every parent would talk to their children about how different their traditions, their values, and their religious practices are (affirmation of the contradiction between terms). Lastly, the parents can give their children a choice between them and their lovers by stating if the couple gets married then they will never communicate again (proposing a rationalization to bear the contradiction).

The second type of transformations is the progressive transformation. In this condition, the new is not totally contradictory with the central core. With a certain amount of modification, the new condition can be accepted to the representation without splitting the central core (Abric, 1993). For example, in a school, if children do not like the bell ring that alarms the class and break times, they may ask for the removal of it. But the school management must find a way to alarm the whole school in break times. The social representation of that bell ring carries a negative connotation for the children. To “modify” it, the school management may change the bell-ring to the most famous songs among children and can even let them choose the songs by rating it in the morning. By doing so, the social representation of the bell ring is being modified in the minds of the children, becomes something fun and controllable from something boring and controlling.

The third type of transformation is the brutal transformation, in which, the new condition directly challenges the central core, without any help from the defense mechanisms mentioned above. It causes a direct, total transformation in the central core and has an irreversible feature (Abric, 1993). To exemplify it, one can think about an imaginary situation, the movie *Toy Story*. In the social representations of all of us, toys are just some plastic, wooden or metallic shapes that entertain children. In the movie, the toys were alive, but pretended to be inanimate when people were awake. When the child realized that, his whole attitude, opinions, beliefs, and behaviors about toys changed since the social representation of the “toy” is brutally transformed with the new experience.

This chapter was about the structure and the transformations about the social representations. There are tolerable and non-tolerable new conditions that the new conditions may encounter. The possible reactions and the differences between the center and the periphery of the nucleus of the representation have been summarized.

4.3 Representation for the Audience: Representation and Performance Theory of the Theater

In the social representation studies, the researchers generally work on the internal dynamics of the studied group and the studied representation. This study aims to open the curtain around the aimed group and the representation. By doing so, apart from the known function of the social representation, which includes leading the actions, the *introductory functions* of the social representations are aimed to be investigated.

What do the social representations of a certain group tell about that group to the others? Answering this question is the main motive of this chapter. An example may be given to objectify this question. If, for a certain group the social representation of ISIS (Iraq-Sham Islamic State) is a bunch of “brave soldiers who fight for honoring their religion”, then, others would assume that this certain group is pro-ISIS, supportive of their brutal attacks and most probably have a radical-Islamist ideology.

That function is already known in social representations theory but mostly mentioned in in-group dynamics, such as in the well-known example of introducing the relatively new concept to a relatively new member. By introducing a new concept with social representations of the concept, the group re-applies the basic function of social representations – familiarizing the unfamiliar. That can also be valid for the

outer circles – the social representations of one group may be introductory to other groups when declared.

This part aimed to explain that our social representations do not only function to manage our internal dynamics, but they also declare specific information about our positions in society. In this case, *external functions* of social representations can also be named as *introductory functions*.

4.3.1 Nietzsche and Tragedy

In his valuable work about the historical beginning of the theater, Nietzsche mentions the need for expression. In order to communicate within the borders of society, to create and sustain a set of beliefs, values, guidelines, and information for the society, and to introduce their beliefs, values, guidelines, and information to the other communities, people started to re-present them on special occasions. For Nietzsche, it was hard to express these abstract concepts, and as a philosopher, he formularized those process of expression as Dionysian essence and the Apollonian mask. In contrast to the widely assumed concepts, the “idea”, the “essence”, so-called *the spirit* are not completely opposite of the “act”, the “concrete”, so-called *the body*. In fact, those are two functional elements of the expression that complete each other, and one cannot function without the existence of the other. A widely given example for their relationship is the balloon metaphor. A balloon is essentially a plastic bag, but when it is filled with air it becomes a balloon. Without the mask (the plastic shell of the balloon) the air cannot show its existence, and, without the essence (the air that fills it) the mask cannot be fully functional. These two elements do need each other for a complete form of expression (Nietzsche, 1999).

These Dionysian and Apollonian can also be coded as a male and a female, who, when came together can make something different than each other – a baby. A baby is not the sum of its parents, but, at least for now, it needs both elements to become what it is.

Nietzsche claims that the cartesian dualism of the Western thinking system is not quite able to completely understand the holistic integrity of the Apollonian and the Dionysian thoughts. According to his claims, the form, the performance, and the Apollonian features predominated the Dionysian essence. Societies began to give more credit to the Apollonian masks, therefore they had lost the “essence”, the representation itself (Nietzsche, 1999). One can think about after-death ceremonies or the weddings of our times. For instance, in the earlier times, those ceremonies belonged to the kinships, people who came to cry at the funerals, or the ones who came to dance in the weddings, were familiar people who were “close” to the main actors. Nowadays, those had been transformed into some sort of “performances” that people only perform to meet up the necessities, so people can “hire” professional mourners to cry in the funerals and professional dancers to dance in the weddings. The Dionysian essence, the real representation, the necessity, or in the scope of this thesis, the motivation for the performance becomes indistinct and vague. The representation and the performance, the mask, and the existence must match to obtain a fully functioning and convincing total.

4.3.2 Goffman and Social Interaction

According to Erving Goffman, in the case of social interaction, everybody “performs” in order to successfully transfer an aimed message, so, any information

about the presenter helps to define the situation that will most accurately transfer the aimed message. This condition also allows the audiences to know what to expect from the presenter in advance (Goffman, 1990). For example, thinking about a birthday party, assume a child who invited all its best friends. If another child, who was not invited comes to the party, and had recently had trouble with the birthday girl, this will probably cause a problem for the party. Only the children, who know the “history” behind those two – the birthday girl and the non-invited child- would expect and foresee the upcoming problem. Therefore, some information about the actors and their roles would enable the audience to predict the current situation.

In this case, the expression of the presenter, a.k.a. the performer had major importance in the situation. Goffman states that there are two radically different types of expressions, one is that the performer *gives*, and the other is that the performer *gives off* (Goffman, 1990). The first one is the misinformation given by the performer to deceit the audiences. A fake death scene that can make the audiences cry can be the theatrical example of expressions given. Some real-life examples can be given from the real cheaters, such as some pretending-to-be-cripple beggars on the sidewalks sitting and crying, claiming that they cannot walk, until the city polices comes to chase them. For this case, the performer should believe in the role. The second is also misinformation but in that case, it is given off by the performer. Those are generally non-verbal, presumably unintentional information passed to the audience. A theatrical example for this situation can be a slight smile in the face of the performer while doing a “sad” act. The real-life example can be a detectable role-play, such as the “sad” reaction people give when they have learnt that, their cheating ex-partner is cheated

by the new partner. In those cases, the performers are also cynical about their own acts and that will reduce the convincing of the action.

But, why do the situation and the motivation of the performer matter? A situation that is projected by the performer provides a sort of a plan, for the activity that follows. That activity is aimed to co-operate with the aim of the performance. It is not as complicated as it sounds, it can also be to go to the market to purchase some liquor. The situation of liquor-purchase requires one to reach the market, choose the liquor and pay for it. It is the decision and the plan to reach the aim. As Goffman states, what makes the activity “social” is that any projected definition of a situation has a distinctive moral character. Every performer, in a way or another, possesses certain social characteristics. And when they claim their social characteristics as a part of their social identity, they have a moral right to expect that others will treat or value them in an appropriate way. Following the purchasing-the-liquor example, if the performer has a social identity of someone who has recently been rehabilitated for alcohol addiction, someone who has a very limited income and must feed a family of four with that limited income, then the decision of purchasing the alcoholic beverage becomes an extremely moral issue that contradicts with the expected moral character. Society is organized on this principle, knowing that an individual who claims some specific social characteristics automatically demands those moral, and therefore, that individual should perform as who s/he is (Goffman, 1990).

Performances matter. They matter since they are all the activities of a given group which serves to influence others in some way. Performing the aimed reality provides convenience (Goffman, 1990). Therefore, there are at least two conclusions

which can be derived from the result of the performance: The convenient act and the cynical act. In the condition of reaching the aimed influence on the others, the act becomes convenient. If there is a failure to reach the aimed reality, performance becomes cynical.

Performances usually require a suitable front, which is as Goffman stated, the total of expressive equipment of a standard kind employed by the performers doing their performances (1990). On the stage, it includes the décor, costumes and all the necessary equipment to fulfill the convenient reality. The setting is everything that supplies the scenery and the personal front is the expressive equipment that the audiences identify with the performer. The appearances of the performers are also a part of the front, such as their temporary ritual states and their social status in the action. Manners of the performers are also divided into two categories according to their interaction roles, either the initiator of the performance or the follower of the lead of the others. Under the scope of this thesis, it may be helpful to imagine a street protest of the socialists. The front should be a crowded street to be seen and heard. The setting should be attention-grabbing, usually provocative with sound-makers or banners. In the personal fronts of the activists there will be flags and pennants stating their identities. The spokesperson would hold the megaphone and arrange the timing with respect to the requirement of its appearance and the manner. Audiences need a confirming consistency between the appearance and the manner. Going back to Nietzsche, the Apollonian mask must perfectly match with the Dionysian aim to acquire convention and consistency while claiming an existing social representation and accomplishing its *external* and *introductory function*.

4.4 The Present Study

These theories of social psychology and theater provide a perfect base for understanding the social representations of sex workers among socialist women. To address the baselines that these approaches provide it can be useful to summarize all of them once again.

This study aims to understand the social representations of sex work and workers among socialist women. Therefore, it is important to understand the familiarizing process of the concepts of sex work and workers among the socialist parties. Social representation is a macro-reduction process where the socio-cultural facts, in this case the existence of sex work and workers, are transposed and translated into forms of thinking. The familiarizing process of the floating ideas related to concepts of sex work and sex workers, where does it anchor, how is it objectified and how did the naturalization process occur will be examined according to the results.

The nucleus theory of Abric presents a structural approach to the social representation of the examined phenomenon, in this case, the sex work and workers. As it is distally explained in the beginning, women 's movement and socialism had a complicated relationship in the history. It is important to understand which terms stand in the central core and which of them construct the peripheral elements among the sexuality of women, empowerment of women, sex work, defending workers' rights, exploitation of women and sexual taboos of the socialist movement. As another approach, Moliner focuses more on the construction of the language of the social representation. It is also particularly important when naming sex work industry and sex workers are still an identifier among different socialist parties. Lastly, Abric's

resisting, progressive and brutal transformations are also a useful guide when examining sex work which is a relatively new discussion among socialists to understand what sort of transformations this “unfamiliar” concept may lead to when it is familiarized.

To understand these in detail, the definition of sex work, the typology of sex workers, the general idea about who is considered more likely to be sex workers, whether the participants ever met with a sex worker or was a customer to them and the participants’ knowledge of the legal status of sex work is asked. Also, the society’s perspective about sex work and whether it is necessary in this society is interrogated. These had provided a general representation of sex work and workers for the socialist women.

The contribution of the theatrical approach is planned to bring a relatively new perspective to the theory of social representations. As mentioned in Section 4.3, the *introductory* functions of social representations are taken into consideration in the scope of this thesis. Social representations of one group can be introductory to others when declared or transformed into acts. Nietzsche had detected the ideas and the masks that makes the ideas visible. The transformation of this point is the cognitive representations and its reflections of these ideas to performances. Therefore, the representation-performance dilemma is an important matter to discuss in social representations. Again, as Moscovici stated, ideas, when spread, are and become the material forces. Goffman’s contribution seems more focused in the consistency between the aimed representation and the presented performance. The convenience between the representation and the performance provides confidence among the

audiences in a theater saloon and among other social groups in social psychology. In the scope of this thesis, apart from the representations of the sex work and workers among socialist women their party policies have also been discussed with the participants. How does the party define the work and workers, and whether there is a difference in the placement of sex work among other works, whether themselves or their comrades can be the customers of sex workers, what are the plans of the revolutionists about sex work and workers after reevaluation of what they think about the organization of sex workers and their predictions about providing public support for the right-claiming protests of sex work and workers are some of the questions which aims to understand the predicted performances of the participants. The issue related to convenience of their representations and the performances is widely discussed in the Section 7.

CHAPTER 5

METHOD OF THE STUDY

A semi-structured in-depth interview method had been used to complete the interviews. In this section, I will first introduce my participants, then, will briefly mention the data-collection procedure. In the end, I will mention the structure of the interview.

5.1 Socialist Political Parties in Turkey

For this study, all the legally established political parties and their regulation codes were reviewed. There are, currently, 84 active political parties in Turkey. Initially, the ones, who had claimed the idea of “socialism” in their regulation codes were selected and those were 17 of the total parties (%20.23 of the total). Some of those legally established socialist parties were not active for a while, therefore, I had chosen the parties with the definition of the active party considered as having more than 150 active and recorded participants, which amounted to 10 political parties according to the data gathered from the Supreme Court.

Among the politically active, legally established socialist parties, one had refused to join the interview. The reason for the refusal of the party was that they were only active in the Eastern Anatolia and South-East Anatolia region, among the Kurdish population, and had no active members living in Ankara. One of the remaining 9

parties was established in 2017 and they did not claim their total number of official members to the Supreme Court yet, however they had claimed to have more than 200 active members. Another had only 43 members on paper, but they were going through a process of splitting, in which the “other half” is not yet legally established and since they are the only “legal” representatives of that tradition, I had included the legal part to the study.

5.2 Participants

I had interviewed 9 women, who defined themselves as socialists and who were active in their parties for more than two years.

I had interviewed with only female members of those socialist parties, since, as explained in the beginning, the idea of a separate women struggle is relatively new when compared with the history of the socialist movement in Turkey. As Abriç suggests, I assume that women and women organizations are relatively new to the socialist organizations in Turkey, therefore, they are dealing with the relatively peripheral representations, the new ideas and carefully handling “sensitive” issues.

As mentioned above, those women are still actively participating in their parties’ political organizations and are active members of their parties for at least two years. Four of the participants of the study were between the ages of 30 and 45, while five participants were between 20 and 30. The participants above 30 years old were in the organized struggle of socialism for more than 10 years, while other participants were in their parties from 4 to 10 years. The chart given below explains their age and years spent in the struggle. More specific information about their exact ages and years

in their organizations – purposefully – were not taken, due to their concerns about security.

Table 1. Ages of the Participants and Years Spent in Organizations

Participants Below 30 Years Old	Participants Above 30 Years Old
1 – Organized for 4 - 9 years	1 – Organized for 10 or more years
2 – Organized for 4 - 9 years	2 – Organized for 10 or more years
3 – Organized for 4 - 9 years	3 – Organized for 10 or more years
4 – Organized for 4 - 9 years	4 – Organized for 10 or more years
5 – Organized for 4 - 9 years	
Total: 9 Participants	

All the participants also mentioned that they had been familiar with the idea of socialism since their families or the neighborhood they grew in were close to the socialist tradition.

5.3 Procedure

I had arranged two of the interviews with the help of people gatekeepers. I did not inform those intermediary people about my study and only asked them to give my number to my aimed participants, who are active in their socialist organizations and are organized for at least two years. For the rest of the participants, I directly called the Central Offices of parties that I had decided by the standards I had given above. I had introduced myself as a master’s student from METU, from the Department of Social Psychology who wanted to have an interview with one of the women from their organization, who was organized for more than two years. In every occasion, the first question was about the context of the interview. I had briefly explained it with the sentence that I had stabilized: “I am looking for a representation among all the socialist women, therefore, I would like to add yours to my study.” I had guaranteed the

confidentiality of the participants and their expressions. I had also stated that I will not expose the participants' ideas as a declaration of the party. It was, and it is about getting a common idea from socialist women who are coming from different traditions of the socialist struggle. I had also added that, if possible, I would like to speak to a female spokesperson or someone with equal/near experience or qualifications. Every people I had spoken with met those criteria.

As a fieldnote, I should state that, without any exception, the people who had answered the phones of the Central Offices of the parties were male. When they understood my aim, all of them asked for my phone number and stated that "*they should carry this request to the women's organization so that they can decide in their internal dynamics*". They had answered my request either on the same day that I called them or the next day. The arrangement of the meeting took more time, due to the tight schedules of my participants and the busy political agenda of the country.

The places where we did the interviews were always determined by the participants. Three of the interviews were done in public places – in three different coffee shops. One of those coffee shops belonged to the party that she was working in, while the other two were completely random and chosen for their safe and silent atmospheres. The rest of the six interviews were done in their Central Offices, in a room where I could be alone with the interviewee and would not be disturbed by the intervention of others. All the participants were active smokers and they had arranged the interview place so that they could smoke.

The interviews took about an hour on average. The participants were informed that they could leave the conversation any time they wanted, but all of them completed

the interview. In the table below, the timings of the interviews are given in the chronological order:

Table 2. Duration of the Interviews

ID Number of the participant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Average
The timing of the interview	43 min	60 min	54 min	65 min	45 min	48 min	56 min	78 min	61 min	56.6 min

When each of the interview ended, I had asked my participant whether she had any questions in her mind about the study or about my questions. All of them had stated that sex work and sex workers are *sensitive and controversial issues* among the socialists.

5.4 Questions of The Interview

I have prepared my interview questions under three main themes. Those themes helped me to keep track of the conversation in the aimed direction and maintain the interview in a natural way. In this part, I will introduce my themes and the sub-questions they refer to.

The initial theme is about getting the general information about my participant and about her party. It includes ice-breaker questions, such as “*Can you please tell me about yourself? Who X is, what does she do...*” etc. After this brief introduction, I asked her about her party, what the party’s understanding is about the struggle of women. The answers I gathered from those questions were already presented under the Participants section.

The first theme is about the participants' knowledge in relation to sex workers. I asked them what the definition of sex work is, which people are more likely to be sex workers, how the general image of the sex worker is, what the legal status of the sex work in Turkey is, whether they have ever met with a sex worker in person and whether they were ever a sex worker's customer.

The second theme is about society's perspective on sex work and workers. I asked how society sees sex work and workers and whether sex work meets a need in the society or not.

The third and the last theme is about the attitude of their parties towards sex work and workers. I asked how her party defines a laborer and a worker; and the red-lines or distinctive standards that define someone as a laborer or a as a worker. I also asked her whether she had any problems about these terminologies, whether she agrees with the party's general opinion, whether there is a discussion or a policy on sex work and workers, what the reaction would be if a comrade was a sex worker's customer, the situation of sex workers after a possible socialist revolution, the possibility of the sex workers getting organized, and whether the party would support any protests of the sex workers.

To sum up and clarify, under these three main themes, I asked all the questions to all my participants. Sometimes, in the natural flow of the conversation, the order of the questions and themes did differ. Also, I had added the question "Why?" to almost anywhere necessary and possible.

During the interviews, most questions were asked in the most general manners. When needed, some additional questions were added in the flow of the interviews to deepen and open the details of the answers as broad as possible.

Table 3. Themes of the Questions

Knowledge on Sex Work	Society's Perspective	Party Policy On Sex Work
What is sex work?	How does society see sex workers?	How do you define work and worker in your organization?
Which people are more likely to be sex workers?	Do you think sex work meets a need in society?	Do you have a party policy on sex work in your organization?
What is the image in your mind, when I say, "sex worker?"		What would your reaction be, if your comrade was a customer?
Is sex work legal in Turkey? Should it be legal or not?		What would happen to sex work and workers after revolution?
Have you ever met with a sex worker?		Can sex workers be organized?
Have you ever been a sex worker's customer?		Would your party support the protests of sex workers?

CHAPTER 6

RESULTS OF THE STUDY

In this part, each theme is studied with respect to the answers given by the participants. The percentage of the common answers and the unique and specific interpretations were also indicated and explained in their own context.

6.1 Knowledge About Sex Work and Workers

This part aimed to measure the knowledge and the social distance of the participants to the sex work and workers. It includes the sub-themes, like the definition of sex work, the typology of a usual sex worker, the people who are more likely to be sex workers, whether my participants ever met with a sex worker and/or be a sex worker's customer and the legal status of sex work in Turkey. The questions related to each sub-theme was asked to the participants and the transcripts of their answers were studied with MAXQDA Data Analysis Program.

6.1.1 The Definition of Sex Work

This sub-theme includes diverse answers. Only 4 out of 9 participants directly defined sex work as an occupation (Participants 1, 2, 3 and 4), while 2 others were stating it as a job, but they avoided naming it as a job in order not to legitimate or justify it (Number 5 and 8). 1 participant stated it is different from all other jobs

(Number 6). The last two participants (Number 7 and 9), directly rejected to classify it as a form of work or job.

The most frequent points that the participants repeated while defining sex work are about its relations with the use of body and the potential of harming one's physical integrity and safety. They also pointed that sex work transforms the "most humane" and "most intimate" forms of relationships to something which could be obtained in exchange for money. One example of each statement is given below:

#2 ...Benim açımdan bu insani ilişkileri biz, Engels de diyor ya, yani erkekle erkek, kadınla erkek arasındaki her türlü ilişkinin paradan azade pür-i pak, sadece ve sadece sevgi üzerine kurulu olması gerektiğini düşünüyorum. Ve isteyen istediğiyle sevişsin kardeşim, şu para bir kalksın yani ortadan. O yüzden seks işçiliğinin, yeryüzünde bu insani ilişkiler içerisinde yer almaması gerektiğini düşünüyorum.

From my point of view and as Engels states, I think that every relationship between two men or a man and a woman must be free from money, whiter than white, and should only be founded on love. Anyone can make love with any people they want – I just want the money to be removed from that. That is why I consider sex work should not actually be among humane relationships on earth.

#5 ...Para karşılığı, belki, cinsel haz satın almak..." gibi bir tanım kullanabiliriz. Ama bu, cinsel haz satın alma meselesi işte, az önce söylediğim, insanı parçalama meselesine denk düşen bir şey. ... "Seks satın alma" da diyebiliriz. Ama bunlar çok, insanın, bedensel bütünlüğünü de içeren şeyler olduğu için, her tanımlama bana kalırsa biraz eksik kalıyor. Yani "para karşılığı biriyle birlikte olmak", o bütünlüğü biraz içeriyor ama, yeteri kadar açık bir tabir değil bence. Diğerleri de dediğim gibi, çok işi soyutlayan ve yani, seks "şurada" bir

...Maybe, we can use a definition, such as buying sexual pleasure for money... But this certain issue of "buying sexual pleasure" corresponds to tearing people apart. We can also call it "buying sex". But since all these are things that include the integrity of human body, every definition comes a bit short of something. I mean, "being together with someone for money" sort of closes that gap but it is not clear enough, I think. The other definitions are, as I mentioned, approaches the word in an abstract

şeymiş, insan “burada” bir şeymiş gibi ele alan bir şey oluyor.

manner, as if, sex is something “there” and human is something “here”.

All the answers and different explanations are gathered and combined in Table 4 given below:

Table 4. The Definition of Sex Work

Answers	ID Numbers of Participants
It is a job	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8
• It is a respectful job	1, 4
• An honest job	1, 3
• Selling labor of body	4
• Being together for money	1, 3, 5
• Selling sex or sexual pleasure	4, 5, 8
• Emotionally compelling field	2, 5
It is not a job	2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9
• Transforming a humane relationship into money	2, 5, 7
• A form of servitude	2, 9
• Selling body/Using body as meta	4, 6, 8, 9
• A “different” job	2, 5, 6, 8
• Doesn’t include production or value	7, 8, 9
• No labor force	7
• Humiliation to women	6, 9
• Corruption	9
• Problematic field about physical integrity	2, 3, 5, 6, 8
• Problematic field about the right to live	2, 3
Service Sector	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8

Table 4. (continued)

Prostitution Sector	6
No sector	7, 9

6.1.2 Typology of Sex Workers

This subtheme was one of the subthemes whose answers were most similar to each other. The exact question asked to the participants was “Can you describe the image that comes to your mind, when I say *sex worker*?” There were two different ways to answer it, one was to start off by describing the image mostly over dressing styles (#2, #4, #6, #7, #8,) and the other was to state that there is no typology in their minds (#3, #5, #9). Almost all the participants stated that they are familiar to the typology from the media tools. Two of them (#3 and #9) stated that the image in their minds changed in recent years from the previous image injected by the media. Also, while 6 of the participants started to define the clothes directly, one mentioned the difference between them and the rest of the society (#1), and the other two mentioned their self-care and body shape. (#3 and #5).

These answers denote that, the image of sex workers is usually gathered from sex workers working on the streets or from media. Street sex workers are much more visible than the ones working in brothels, or their own houses. Therefore, the image that usually corresponds to the sex workers can be street sex workers. Usage of the jests and mimics and some specific words such as “aşırı /*extreme*”, “ağır makyaj / *heavy make-up*”, and the adjectives as “çok kısa /*very short*” and “çok uzun / *very long*” point towards a more “clownesque” and “grotesque” figures that come to the participants’ minds when thinking of sex workers.

Another quite important point which is common in all the answers was that the entire description that the participants come up with were directly related to the image of a woman. While the participants were trying to describe the details, the images they described were either of women or people with women-like images. Some of the common details they talked about were the attention seeking/grabbing bodily features, long and thin legs, long and colorful hair, nails and big breasts, and although there are also stereotypical features combined with male sexuality, there was absolutely no mention of six-pack-abdominal men or strong and big biceps.

In the table given below, the answers are collected and summarized:

Table 5. The Typology of Sex Workers

Answers	ID Numbers of Participants
Interpretation of appearance and outfit	2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9
• Leather boots or outfits	2, 6
• Miniskirts and mini-dresses	2, 6, 7
• Colorful outfit, flamboyant	2, 7, 8, 9
• Cleavage or decollate	2, 3, 4, 7, 8
• Wigs, colored and long hair	2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8
• Stockings and leggings	2, 4, 7
• Make-up and nails	2, 4, 7, 8
• Sexy	2, 8
Other Interpretations	1, 3, 5
• Contrarian	1, 2
• Self-Care	2, 3
• Body Shape	4, 5, 7, 8

Table 5. (continued)

• Free, Relax, Expressionist	1, 6
• Any women who cheat on her husband	9

6.1.3 People Who Are More Likely to Be Sex Workers

This sub-theme aims to discover the observations and prejudices against sex work and workers. When analyzed, the answers gathered under four main directions. Firstly, the participants who consider it related to the sexual orientations of people (#1, #2, #3, #6, #7 and #9), another is the participants who relate being a sex worker to the economic status of the people (#4, #5, #6, #8 and #9), another is the participants who seek the reasons in the familial or relational problems of the people (#4, #5) and last one is the participants who interprets the role of the choice, stating that people who had no other option (#2, #4, #6, #7, #8 and #9) and people who choose to be a sex worker (#1, #2, #4, #6, #7 and #8).

Most of the answers were gathered under the first two directions – the sex and sexual orientation of people and their economic conditions. It is important to mention that, mostly, the option of “choosing sex work as an occupation with free will” comes to the minds of the participants after they had met with a sex worker or and a sex work activist. All the different judgments and ideas can be seen in the table below:

Table 6. People Who Are More Likely to Be Sex Workers

Answers	ID Numbers of Participants
Sexual Orientation	1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9
• Women	1, 2, 3, 6, 7
• LGBTI	1, 7, 9
• Transsexuals	1, 2, 3, 6, 7
Economical condition	2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9
• Poor people	4, 5, 6, 8, 9
• People who want to earn more	2, 7, 8
Choice	1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9
• Free will	1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8
• Obligation and force	2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9
Familial or Relational Problems	4, 5, 9
• Traumas	4, 9
• Familial Problems	4, 5
• Relational Problems	5
Psychological and Physiological Hormonal Imbalance	9
Other reasons	2, 5, 6, 9
• Criminalized environment	5
• Lack of Education	6
• Ostracization	2, 6
• Corruption	9

6.1.4 Participants Meeting with a Sex Worker

All my participants stated that they had met a sex worker. Only, one participant stated that she had learned that her friend was a sex worker (#5), one had stated that

the sex worker was her client (#9). Others had met with a sex worker in social conditions like bars and streets.

6.1.5 Being a Sex Worker's Customer

It was the one sub-theme, without any exception, all my participants answered "No". None of them hesitated or seemed confused.

6.1.6 The Legal Status of Sex Work

In this sub-theme, I asked participants what they know about the legal status of sex work and workers in Turkey and what was their opinion about it being legal or not. 6 of the participants stated that sex work is only partly legal in Turkey, that is only in brothels (#1, #3, #4, #5, #6 and #8) and the rest of the participants stated that it is legal (#2, #7 and #9).

When it comes to the approaches about the legality of sex work, while 7 of the participants was supporting the idea of sex work being legal (#1, #2, #3, #4, #5, #7, #8), two of them opposed to the legalization (#6, #9). The proponents of the legalization were usually approaching the issue from a more protective point of view, like the provision of social rights to the sex workers such as health insurance and retirement, while the common argument for an opponent was not justifying it – since it will be forbidden in the socialist system. Only one of the participants (#9) clearly stated that with the impact of sharia laws and medieval conservatism, sex work is being legalized and cannot be accepted, therefore she and her party are also fighting for the legal status of prostitution.

All these various answers and point of views are gathered in the two tables given below:

Table 7. The Legal Status of Sex Work

Answers	ID Numbers of Participants
Sex Work is Legal	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9
• Partly Legal	1, 4, 5, 6, 8
• Totally Legal	2, 3, 7, 9

Table 8. Opinions on Sex Work Being Legal

Answers	ID Numbers of Participants
Sex work should be legal	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8
• Insurance	1, 3, 5, 7
• Health coverage	2, 3, 5, 8
• Better living and working conditions	1, 2, 8
• Work safety	1, 3, 7
• Life safety	2, 3, 7
• Preventing uncontrollable illegality	4, 7
• Psychological support	8
• Right for an easy approach to abortion	8
Sex work shouldn't be legal	6, 9
• It is forbidden in socialism	6, 9
• The human body cannot be sold	6
• Sharia and Medieval Conservatism may become a threat	9

6.2 Society's Perspective

This part aimed to analyze what the participants think about society's perspective about sex work and workers. There are two sub-themes under this title; the first one is related to the general approach of society according to the participants and the second one is related to the necessity of sex work in this society.

6.2.1 General Approaches of Society on Sex Work and Workers

This subtheme has only two different ideas in general. The first idea is that society does not like or accept sex work and workers (#1, #2, #3, #4, #5, #6, #7, #8), and the second idea is, prostitution being normal and interiorized by the society, but sex workers are not (#9).

The answers are categorized and summarized in Table 9 given below:

Table 9. General Approaches of Society on Sex Work and Workers

Answers	ID Numbers of Participants
About Work	
• It is not a job.	1, 3, 7, 4
• People feel pity for it.	3, 4, 5
• It is seen as immoral and despised.	2, 3, 5, 7, 8
• It is already internalized, and women bear it.	9
About Sex Workers	
• People use swear words while mentioning.	1, 3, 4, 7
• Contempt and despise.	1, 6
• Dehumanization (must be killed or hurt)	2, 4, 6
• Disease carriers/illness of society	2, 3, 4, 7, 8

Table 9. (continued)

• Ostracization	1, 2, 3 5, ,6, 7, 9
• Poor	3, 5, 8
• Non-trustable	3
• Harmful and guilty	2, 3, 6, 7

6.2.2 Necessity of Sex Work in This Society

In this sub-theme, there were two different opinions related to sex work being necessary or not. Also, another important distinction in the statements was about whether sex work increases and legitimizes or decreases the rates of rape and harassment in society and it can be considered under the second title of “the function” of sex work.

Two of the participants (#2, #3) stated that it would be more politically correct to call the sex work as “an expected result, a normal outcome” of the capitalist system rather than calling it necessary or functional. While the idea of the necessity of sex work had repeated with the suppressed society and sexuality, the idea of the functionality of sex work had bounded with decreasing the sexual crimes and feeding the need of the sexual education and experience. Therefore, the main reason behind the necessity of sex work in the country was mostly justified with lack of sexual freedom and excessive suppression. The answers are categorized in the table given below:

Table 10. The Necessity of Sex Work in This Society

Answers	ID Numbers of Participants
It is necessary	1, 2, 4, 5, 7
• for sex workers.	1, 4
• because of suppressed sexuality.	1, 2, 4, 7
• only for men.	5
It is not necessary	3, 6, 8, 9
• It is a result of capitalism.	2, 3, 6, 5
• It legitimizes rape and harassment.	4, 5, 7, 9
• It is a sort of corruption.	6, 9
Removal of sex work would increase sexual crimes.	2, 4, 7
Removal of sex work wouldn't increase sexual crimes.	3, 8

6.3 Party Policy on Sex Work

This part aimed to understand the participants' parties' perspective, attitude, and approach to sex work and workers. Under this theme, there are six sub-themes, namely, the definition of work and worker according to the party, whether there is any policy or discussion on sex workers in the party, what would the reaction be if a comrade was a sex worker's customer, how they predict the future of sex work after revolution, their opinion on organization of the sex workers and whether or not their parties would support any protests of sex workers in open public.

The diversity and variability of answers were surprising, but normal when the countless of fractions in the Turkish left were considered. The answers and approaches changed due to the traditions of the parties.

6.3.1 Definition of Work and Worker

In this sub-theme, participants answered the question of how their party defines work and worker. The answers were generally on the same path with the classic Marxist terminology. Only, including the service sector or not was a source of hesitation for some of the participants (#3, #5, #7), although there was no question that signifies or questions any distinction among sectors. Participants defined who a worker is and added that what a worker do is work. Since there is a specific Marxist terminology on the definition of worker – such as creating surplus value, now owning the means of production, selling the labor force... etc – the answers usually followed the same path.

The table given below only focuses on minor distinctions.

Table 11. Definition of Work and Worker

Answers	ID Numbers of Participants
People who sell labor/labor force	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8
Specifically mentioning non-physical production	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8
Not having any means of production	2, 5
Not being a boss	3, 6
Stating using Marxist terminology	2, 6, 8, 9
Creating a surplus value	3, 7, 9

6.3.2 Party Policy on Sex Work

This part aimed to discover whether there is any policy of the participant’s party on sex work and workers or not. One of the main differences was on naming the

sector, whether the parties call it as a work or not. This question is important for understanding the initial standpoints of the party to understand whether sex workers can be considered as workers for these socialists or not. Other main difference is whether the parties have a separate women organization or not. The reason behind this distinction is, the policies related to “delicate” issues and women issues are usually made by the women in the party, especially after ’70s, since it is mentioned in the related part 1.1.3.2. Therefore, after the issues find a place for themselves in the politic discussions in Turkey with the Third Wave Feminism, (issues related to LGBTI rights, sex workers... etc) the decision systems on these “delicate” subjects are mostly left to women organizations to decide. The agreement between the party and the socialist women organizations matters since they both share the idea of socialism, and they have a common goal to *perform*.

The main points of the answers are gathered and summarized in Table 12 given below:

Table 12. Party Policy on Sex Work

Answers	ID Numbers of Participants
There is a naming problem	1, 2, 5, 6, 7
• There is/was a discussion on it	1, 2, 5, 6, 8
• Workers call it “sex work”	1, 2, 3, 5, 8
• Party call it “sex work”	1, 2, 3, 4, 5
• Party is not sure about the policy	5, 6, 8
• Party do not call it “sex work”	6, 7, 8, 9
• Party call it prostitution	6, 9

Table 12. (continued)

• Party never call it prostitution/selling body	3, 4, 7, 8
Women Organizations	
There is an autonomous women organization	1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8
There is a women committee/bureau	5, 6, 9
<i>All the parties have a women organization in their scope.</i>	

6.3.3 Comrade Being A Sex Worker's Customer

This sub-theme aimed to discover whether the participants know if any of their comrades was a sex worker's customer. All the participants stated that their comrades had never told them a story about it. Then, they answered the hypothetical question of "What if a comrade was a sex worker's customer?" The answers were grouped around wondered the reason and questioning (#3, #4, #5, #7) and being angry at them and punishing them (#6, #7, #8, #9). One of the most common mentions was about the agreement on the sexual relationship, so, if the price is agreed on and paid and if the action doesn't include coercion (like rape) it was acceptable for some of the participants. Participant #1 ad #9 stated quite certainly that it is not a bit likely for any of their comrades to be sex worker's customer. Generally, women told that they do not expect such an act from their comrades, and they would be quite surprised. They had stated that "needing a sex worker" is a sort of humiliating and a sign of lack of social and behavioral skills. They had also stated that they would be concern about the security issues – the possibility of state forces finding it out was a common concern. One other concern was about sexually transmitted diseases and the health of their

comrades. Participants who opposed the possibility stated that after a serious warning, the comrade would be dismissed from the party for supporting this system.

The summary of the main parts of the answers are given in Table 13:

Table 13. Comrade Being a Sex Worker’s Customer

Answers	ID Numbers of Participants
It is not likely.	1, 9
Wondering the reason for going	3, 4, 5, 7
Considering it as a security problem	3, 5, 8
Considering it as a health problem	4, 8
Considering it as a moral problem	3, 6, 8, 9
Being angry or punishing the comrade	6, 7, 8, 9
Having no problem with it.	2, 4

6.3.4 Predictions for After-Revolution Process

This sub-theme aims to understand the predictions of these socialist parties about sex work and workers after the revolution process. Most of the participants predicted a process of societal change in the understanding of sexuality and women rights, while only two of the participants expected a sudden change with the declaration of revolution (#6, #9). Almost all the participants stated that they predict sex work will be reduced and ended in the new socialist society, except Participant #4, who stated that she cannot be sure, but she cannot see a reason for ending this sector.

For the expectation of the societal change process, all women stated that it would be important to provide the social rights, taking security precautions, and ensuring that the only reason for being in this sector is the free will itself.

To understand the position of the sex work's standing among other occupations, some of the common answers received, right after I had asked the participants if any other jobs will be slowly or suddenly demolished after the revolution, were that any job who exploits the workers mentally and physically will be demolished, however, naming those other jobs was quite hard for them. Modeling and advertising sector were two of the most common answers. One of the participants even stated that the field-practice of clinical psychology should also be ended since there will be no need to "hire" a person to tell the problems or the depression.

The main and common points were summarized in Table 14:

Table 14. Predictions for After-Revolution Process

Answers	ID Numbers of Participants
Sex work will reduce and end.	1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Since it won't be necessary. 	1, 2, 3, 5, 7
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Since it is harmful 	6, 8, 9
It can only continue in the fantasies.	2, 5
It will end suddenly.	6, 9
No accurate prediction can be made.	4

6.3.5 Organization of Sex Workers

This sub-theme is aimed to focus on two points, namely the possibility of sex workers being organized and the possibility of sex workers being a part of the organized struggle of revolution. All the participants had stated that sex workers already have some level of organization among themselves mostly based on taking care of each other, backing up when in need and showing solidarity. Participants who claimed that sex workers can get organized were usually mentioning that they have one agenda and that they would follow only that agenda. The common motivations for sex workers to get organized were listed as solidarity, gaining the basic social rights and fighting against the systematic violence in the field. Transsexual sex workers were mentioned to be in leading positions in the organizations. Generally, the participants were categorizing the sex workers as opponents, like themselves, but sex workers were not “fitting” to their organizations because of different reasons. The main points of answers were summarized and gathered in Table 15:

Table 15. Organization of Sex Workers

Answers	ID Numbers of Participants
Transsexuals seem more organized.	2, 3, 8
They can get organized for their own agenda.	1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8
Sex workers can get organized in socialist organizations.	5, 6, 9
Participant wants them to join them to their party, the party would not accept.	1, 4, 7, 8
They cannot get organized to participant’s party:	1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9
• Because of the standards of the party	5, 7, 9
• Because of the possible attitudes of male comrades	3, 4, 8
• Because of the critiques of the society	1, 3, 4

6.3.6 Supporting Protests of Sex Workers

This last subtheme contains one of the major points of the study by focusing on the question of the reaction of the participant's parties if they were invited to the public protests of sex workers. Apart from one (#2), none of the participants stated that they can surely join the protests of sex workers with their parties. One of the major concerns was the possible critiques of their political bases. The participants were also divided for supporting the protests in terms of the content of the protest, which means, whether the protest is about their complaints about the work, such as forced labor, union rights, victimization of the violent attacks, or about demanding better working conditions, legal rights, equality with all other workers. The former idea got more support.

As a remarkably important interpretation, some of the participants defined "giving visible support" to sex workers as something that the public would deeply criticize and disapprove, and while exemplifying it with other "publicly criticized" possible actions of socialists, concrete examples such as "burning a bank", "fighting on the mountains with Kurdish guerilla forces" were given. Some people who also follow socialist/communist ideology perform these actions without considering the public criticism since such actions are more "defendable", "valiant and brave" actions. One of the participants directly defined this as "a terror, something like an earthquake among socialists and would be spoken for years.

The reactions of such support were one of the basic concerns among the socialist women who support sex workers' rights, independent from their parties. These expected reactions of public, of older generations of the party, and of their own

current members were given as the fundamental reasons for hesitating or refusing to support sex workers’ protests. These participants also shared their complaints about the problems related to “ongoing” patriarchal stereotypes of the socialist parties.

The table below (Table 16) quite briefly summarizes the common points of the answers:

Table 16. Supporting Protests of Sex Workers

Answers	ID Numbers of Participants
Support Their Protests	2, 5, 6, 8
• In any condition	2
• Only for union rights	5, 6, 8
• Only women’s organization will support	4, 5, 8
The participant would support but the party wouldn’t support	1, 3, 4, 7
Only Invisible Support	
• Giving signature, making a written statement... etc.	1, 3, 4
Not Support Their Protests	1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9
• For moral reasons and society critiques	1, 3, 4, 9
• For being against sex work	6, 7, 9

CHAPTER 7

INTERPRETATIONS OF THE RESULTS AND THE DISCUSSION OF THE STUDY

This study aimed to understand the representation of sex workers among socialist women. Sex work has always been a controversial issue both in society and among right-defender movements. As can be seen from the analysis, even the description of the job, the naming of the field and the positioning of the people in this sector are controversial and polemical to reach a general agreement and have a common representation of sex work and workers.

Participants had already stated that the historical placement of the socialist women organizations is quite valid, and that they have their own internal mechanisms for decision making. The socialist women organizations are relatively new structures both in the world and Turkey, and the responsibilities given to women comrades and the expectations from the socialist women organizations do not seem to significantly differ from the ones in social life: dealing with the “sensitive issues”. Sex work and workers are one of these sensitive issues. Problems in brothel houses, streets, their houses, call centers, and now with the online sex work services are rarely noticed and mostly ignored. Society and seemingly the socialist organizations tend to forget their existencies until it is brutally reminded with an issue of murder or severe violence

incident. Sex workers have been showing their organized power on the Pride Parades among LGBTI people for years. Even though it is strictly forbidden for last few years, there was an insistence and a strong resistance from LGBTI people and sex workers to be on the streets. Sex workers also showed their organized power during Gezi protests as mentioned above.

As Moscovici stated in his notes, there are three main ways of representation to become social. One is *hegemonic representations* which are shared by all members of society and is not questioned. Other is *emancipated representations* which are more flexible and can have changes in the different segments of society. The last one is the *polemical representations* which are usually created in a controversial atmosphere, where antagonistic arguments can confront each other (Moscovici, 1988).

In the scope of this study, a hegemonic representation, i.e., the prostitution which usually anchored on the moral values of society was investigated. The statements of the participants revealed that there is either an ongoing or a newly finished discussion on this field, therefore, a hegemonic representation became a polemical representation. As in the example given by Üzelgün, the hegemonic representation can be re-discussed with the dialect flow of everyday life. Üzelgün gave the example of pregnancy, which has a hegemonic representation associated with shame and hiding in certain environments, but the issue is re-discussed with the objections of women rights defenders (Üzelgün, 2015). A similar example can be given in the case of sex workers, when its organized struggle became more visible and the violence towards them became more brutal and undeniable (as in the examples of Hande Kader, Esra Ateş and many others), and of course, the confrontation and unification during the 2013

Gezi Protests. With these turning points, either secretly or openly, sex workers started to claim a place in the agendas of socialists. Therefore, a hegemonic representation became a polemical one, since the groups never live in isolation and they are always being “disrupted” by inevitable changes (Wagner et al., 1999).

The social representation theory had been structurally investigated by Abric and Moliner. Abric stated that the core of the social representations is *stable, coherent, historically marked, consensual and independent from social and material context*. Therefore, looking at the data presented above, the core of the social representations of sex and sex work can still be considered as anchored at, objectified by and naturalized on the moral values of society. Sexuality is suppressed and strongly bounded with moral values in the ongoing patriarchal system. The peripheral representation of sex work and workers is *more relax and reflective to the social agenda* as Abric suggests: they are peripherally called as workers, suppressed group, victimized people who need support and help; and it is also known that they have a degree of awareness and anger against the ongoing capitalist system since they are getting organized (Abric, 1993, 2001).

At this point, it seems like a decent hope for the official acceptance process of sex workers is Moliner’s comment on the peripheral social representations. Moliner claims that the meaning of generation function belongs to the peripheral representations rather than center/core representations. That comment also suits to the dialect growth of the language and categorization, therefore, now, apart from accepting that sex work as a legitimate work, the parties and women organizations tend to use that peripheral

approach while naming this societal phenomenon. Consequently, naming may shape the core, eventually (Moliner, 2016).

Here are some of the quotations that explain the noticed differences between the central and the peripheral representations of sex workers:

- #1 “...Daha önce seks işçiliği kavramını sosyalistler kullanmıyordu. Kadın mücadelesi bakımından, kadınlar bakımından daha çok “bedenini satmak zorunda kalan kadınlar” diye bir ifade geliyordu. (Kadın Örgütü)’nün kuruluşuyla birlikte seks işçiliği kavramı kolektif içerisinde tartışılmaya başlandı. Ama bu konuda hala, böyle bire bir, “artık seks işçisi diyoruz” diye kolektifin bir tanımlaması olmasa da (Kadın Örgütü) içerisinde de, hani “Seks işçisi denmeli mi?” diye bir tartışma yürütülmüştü. Ve bu devirde “seks işçiliği” kavramını kullanmak gerektiğini ifade ediyoruz.
- ... *Previously, socialists were not using the concept of sex work. There was a statement as “woman who were obliged to sell her body” among women, for women’s struggle. With the establishment of the (Women’s Organization) the term of sex work had been started to be discussed in the collective. There was a discussion in the (Women’s organization) about “whether we should call it sex work or not” before it was decided among the collective. And now, we express that the term “sex work” should be used in this day and age.*
- #3 ...(seks işçisi terimini kullanırken) ahlakçı normlar nedeniyle zorlanıyorum. Ama politik olarak da iknayım.
- ...*(while using the term sex work) I have difficulty because of the moralistic norms, but I am politically convinced.*

Shared ideas are seen as the core of social representation. These ideas can also be judgmental and action – directing elements of social representations (Wagner & Hayes, 2005). That generates an expectation among the audiences, i.e., the society , that the declared idea and upcoming action is consistent and coherent with each other (Goffman, 1990).

As I have mentioned in the Section 4, social representations can be associated with the macro-reduction processes when approached from a cognitive perspective (Wagner & Hayes, 2005). If one reads the macro-reduction process of sex work among socialist women, it can be seen from their statements that it is not directly related to the concept of *work*, rather, it is more related to the sexuality and the perception of the *privacy of one's body*, which initially connects with the moral taboos of the society. To objectify this stream, considering the *possible critiques of the society* or their own masses before the worker-rights can be given as an example. Socialists, by definition, are people who are on the side of the work and the workers, but, about this specific issue, the moral concerns come before the socialist ideals. All type of working in the capitalist system contains a certain amount of exploitation of the worker both mentally and physically. However, when the discussion comes to the point of confronting and contradicting with the moral values of the society, socialist women predict that their socialist parties would take the side of the society, rather than the workers. The following quotations may present a more concrete example for this contradiction:

#1 ...kurban olduğum, bizim toplumda yaşıyoruz kız. Bu toplumda yaşıyoruz. Bizim devrimcilerin de kalıpları var. Bu toplumda yaşıyoruz. Ben şuna inanmıyorum Cansucuğum, biz bunları aştık, bu konuları aştık, şunu bunu... değil. Bizim de devrimciler olarak kendi kalıplarımız var. Kendi toplumun kendinin, nasıl değer yargıları varsa, şudur budur varsa, bizim de kendimize biçtiğimiz kurallar kaideler, şudur budur, onun da bir

... *God's sake, girl, we are living in our society. In this society. We, as revolutionists, we also have stereotypes. I do not believe it, dear Cansu, we did not get over those issues. We, as revolutionists, we also have stereotypes. They are the same as this society's stereotypes, values, judgments, this and that... and ours are rules, norms, and their items. Revolutionists will not take any steps out of those items (norms and rules.)*

dizi maddeleri var. O maddelerin dışına çıkmazlar.

#3 ...Bir seks işçisiyle oturuyorum, seks işçisiyle eyleme gidiyorum, diyelim yani bu, eee, şöyle söyleyim, Kürdistan özgürlük hareketine katılabilirsin, derler ki “dağda savaşıyor, yiğitmiş” derler, yani şimdi toplum, “orospularla ne işi var bunun” olur, ya çok başka bir şey. Ne kadar seni bilmem ne, bilmem ne, bilmem ne de görse, Kürt hareketine işte çok, gerillalara çok kötü gözle de baksa, şöyle görüyor yani: bunlar yiğitler, bir yerden meşruluğu var. Öbürüne hiç öyle bakmıyor. Bu sıkıştırıyor yani.

Let's say, I am sitting together with a sex worker, going to a protest with a sex worker, it means, eee, think it this way: you can join the Kurdish freedom movement and they will say “she is fighting on the mountains, she is brave, valiant”, and on this situation the society will say “what is she doing with those whores?”, that is completely different. even though society put you somewhere, even though they disapprove the Kurdish movement and guerillas, they see it legitimate, because they are valiant. It is never the same with the other (disapproval). It is a sort of pressure.

#4 ...O noktada görünürlük, onlarla (seks işçileriyle) birlikte görüntü vermek çekince oluyor tabii yani. Bir düşünsene... Sosyalist kamuoyunda bir dehşet, bir deprem! Bir deprem olur yani gerçekten. O yüzden net bir şey söyleyemiyorum ama bu konu bayağı bir tartışılır, onu biliyorum.

At that point, being seen together (with sex workers) is a source of the drawback, of course. Think of it... A terror, an earthquake in the socialist public! There would literally be an earthquake. That is why I cannot say something certain, but I am sure that it would be discussed a lot.

#5 ...Ama yani, herhangi bir hak ihlalinde, ya da herhangi bir hak mücadelesi durumunda, bunu haliyle gündem etmek durumunda oluyorsun. Bir iddian olduğu için. Ama şöyle, seks işçiliğini, doğrudan, çok, yani kapitalist

... But, I mean, in any condition of violation of rights or a struggle for rights, you are being obliged to put it in your agenda. Because you have such a claim. But, I can say, it is not something people approach positively that, talking

sistemle bir ilişkisi kurulmadan, direkt, hani, “insanlar istiyor, o halde okey”, denilmesi yaklaşımına da çok sıcak bakılmayan bir durum olduğunu da söyleyebilirim.

about sex work with an approach such as “people want it then it is okay” without connecting it to the capitalist system, directly, in the first hand.

The most contradictory part of the study is related to the formation process of social representation. In the process of anchoring, at least the half of the socialist society (See Table 11) agrees on naming them as workers, and the majority categorizes it in the Service Sector (Table 4). This situation is mostly explained with the aim of being politically correct, stating that as the sex workers call themselves so, the socialists would agree on this decision. Therefore, while the naming was politically correct, the anchoring process was still made based on the moral values and criticisms of others. About the objectification process, the image-representations of sex workers are not significantly different from the society’s general ideas, so, sex workers are not objectified as workers – but immoral and inappropriate people of this society. As a result of this contradiction, the naturalization process cannot happen as expected.

However, there is also an almost general rejection of the socialist parties on the hegemonic representation of the sex workers. In the lead of women and women organizations, the emancipated representation exists, but they are significantly silent when compared to the rest of the party. Therefore, there is an ambivalence in the polemical representation.

As Üzelgün (2015) stated in his study, hegemonic representations transforming into polemical representations makes a path for social psychology being more critical and stimulating. While the hegemonic representation of sex work and workers

transformed into the polemical representation, the real anchoring mechanisms revealed and the inconsistency between naming, anchoring and objectification were discovered. When it is combined with Nietzsche's ideas on "representation and performance" (Nietzsche, 1999), and Goffman's expectations about consistency between them (Goffman, 1990); this combination added an "*introductory function*" to the social representation, which was detailed in Section 3.3, with the question of "What does the social representations of a certain group tell about that group to the others?".

As the result of this part and this study, it can be said that the answer of the question of "Why socialists do not behave as we expected?" can be given as socialists not considering this discovered introductory function of their representations. Introductory function of socialism permits socialists to be on the side of the exploited and the suppressed groups and workers, however, despite of calling the sex workers as workers and adding them into the existing sectors, 8 out of 9 of the socialist parties (%88.8) stated that it is not likely for their parties to support sex work and workers in public.

The stage /introductory/external representations of socialist organizations must be constructed on their social minds, their aimed representations are the ones they would like to *give* as Goffman stated earlier. The distance between the central and peripheral representations of sex work and workers in the eyes of socialist parties clearly causes an inconvenience in their minds, and that effects the ongoing and expected performances of socialist groups about sex work and workers. The stage representation of socialists, in other words, claims to be with the workers and labor forces, trying to free the world from capitalist lifestyle, finance, morality, and its restrictions. Furthermore, supporting the suppressed and victimized people who *do not match* with

their premised performances about sex work and workers. The performances of socialist organizations seem to be based on the expectations and approval of “this” society rather than their ideology. Therefore, here becomes a crack in the aimed representations and the performances of the socialist.

7.1 Limitations and Future Directions

This study had intended to understand the social representations of sex work and workers among socialist women. As explained in detailed in the Method section, a woman from each active legal socialist party had been invited to the study. It is a limitation that socialist society has more branches than its representation in the legal parties. The socialist periodicals, websites, organizations, and federations were left out from this study. Including them may result in some variety in answers.

As a direction for future studies in this inter-discipliner field, the sex worker’s point of view about the socialists can also be studied. Also, apart from the difference between women organizations and the party, the difference between generations of the parties (youth organizations, etc.), different cities and the dynamics of those cities, and of course, studies on different main subjects other than sex work and workers can be done.

In the end, it can be useful and eye-opening to *remember* Marx’s statement on prostitution:

“Prostitution is only a specific expression of the general prostitution of the labourer, and since it is a relationship in which falls not the prostitute alone, but also the one who prostitutes – and the latter’s abomination is still greater – the capitalist, etc., also comes under this head.”

(Marx, 1844).

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APPENDICES

A. HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER



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07 KASIM 2017

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (IAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Yrd.Doç.Dr. Banu Cingöz ULU ;

Danışmanlığımı yaptığınız yüksek lisans öğrencisi Cansu YUMUŞAK'ın "SOCIAL REPRESENTATION OF SEX WORKERS AMONG SOCIALISTS" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülerek gerekli onay 2016-SOS-166 protokol numarası ile 14.11.2017 - 30.09.2018 tarihleri arasında geçerli olmak üzere verilmiştir.

Bilgilerinize saygılarımla sunarım.


Prof. Dr. Ş. Halil TURAN
Başkan V


Prof. Dr. Ayhan SOL
Üye


Prof. Dr. Ayhan Gürbüz DEMİR
Üye

BULUNAMADI
Doç. Dr. Yaşar KONDAKÇI
Üye


Doç. Dr. Zana ÇITAK
Üye


Yrd. Doç. Dr. Pınar KAYGAN
Üye


Yrd. Doç. Dr. Emre SELÇUK
Üye

B. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKCÖ ÖZET

SOSYALİST KADINLARDA SEKS İŞÇİSİ VE İŞÇİLİĞİNİN SOSYAL TEMSİLLERİ

Türkiye’de Sosyalist Kadın Hareketi Hakkında

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti, kadın hareketi bakımından oldukça eski bir geçmişe sahip olmasına karşın, sosyalist kadın hareketi oldukça geç başlamıştır (Sancar, 2012). 1975 yılında İlerici Kadınlar Derneği’nin kuruluşuna kadar gerçekleşen süre içerisinde, sosyalist bir kadın hareketine dair bir atılımdan söz etmek pek de olası değildir (Talay Keşođlu, 2010). İlerici Kadınlar Derneği’nin kuruluşu ile başlayan süreç içerisinde sosyalist kadınlar öncelikle hem tüm dünyada hem de Türkiye içerisinde yavaş yavaş yükselmekte olan feminist kadın hareketine mesafeli durmuşlardır (Tekeli, 2004). Bu mesafenin temel sebebi, sosyalizm ideolojisinin “yenilmesi gereken düşman” olarak gördüğü kapitalizm fikrinin, feminist ideoloji içerisinde ataerkil toplum ile yer deđiştirmiş olmasıdır. Mücadele rotasının iki farklı yöne doğru savrulur gibi görünmesi, iki grup arasında ayrıma sebebiyet vermiştir. Hatta uzunca bir süre, feminizm ideolojisi ve feminist kadınlar, sosyalist kadınlar tarafından sınıf mücadelesini bölmeye çalışan burjuva hareketler olarak adlandırılmışlardır (Talay Keşođlu, 2007).

Dönemin önde gelen sosyalist partilerinden TKP (Türkiye Komünist Partisi) tarafından yapılan kadın açılımı, sosyalizm ve kadın sorunu ya da başka bir deyişle kadın özgürlük mücadelesi arasındaki mesafenin daraltılması açısından hem önemli bir mihenk taşı hem de öncü bir hareket olmuştur. Türkiye Komünist Partisi'nin ardından, Türkiye İşçi Partisi (TİP) ve Türkiye Sosyalist İşçi Partisi (TSİP) de kadınların gündelik yaşamda ve sosyalist mücadele içerisinde karşılaştıkları sorunlara değinmişler ve bunlara ilişkin fikir üretmeye aktif bir şekilde başlamışlardır (Talay Keşoğlu, 2007).

Sosyalist ve feminist kadınlar aynı çatı altında buluşturan eylemler ise, yaklaşık olarak 1980'li yılların sonu ile 1990'lı yıllara denk gelmektedir. 1980 Askeri Darbe'sinin ardından toplu bir şekilde büyük bir yürüyüş gerçekleştirebilen ilk grup kadınlar olmuştur. Bu yürüyüş, Çankırı'da eşinden şiddet gören bir kadının açtığı boşanma davası için, davaya bakan hakim tarafından verilen kararı protesto amacıyla gerçekleşmiştir. Sözü geçen hakim, ortak değerlerimiz olarak öne sürdüğü atasözlerinden biri olan “Kadının sırtından sopayı, karnından sıpayı eksik etmeyeceksin” sözünü gerekçe göstererek boşanmayı gerçekleştirilmemiş ve kocaya herhangi bir ceza vermemiş olduğu için, kadın örgütleri çok hızlı bir şekilde örgütlenmişler ve 17 Mayıs 1987 yılında “Dayağa Karşı Dayanışma” adıyla on binlerce kadının katıldığı bir yürüyüş düzenlemişlerdir. Ardından, 1990lı yıllarda süregelen uzun gözaltı süreçleri, gözaltında kayıplar ve işkence iddiaları için bir araya gelen sosyalist ve feminist kadınlar, 1998 yılında ilk defa gözaltında tecavüze uğradığını yüksek sesle söyleyerek buna karşı savaş açan genç bir kadın olan Asiye Zeybek Güzel için dayanışma amacıyla yeniden bir araya gelmişlerdir (Zeybek Güzel,

2003). Son olarak, 1997 yılından 2000 yılına dek gündemde kalan Konca Kuriş vakasına da değinmek faydalı olacaktır. Kuriş, eski bir Hizbullah sempaticanı olan Müslüman bir kadındır ve 90'lı yılların ortasında, Hizbullah'ın İslam'ı sadece erkek bakış açısıyla ve taraflı bir şekilde yorumladığını dile getirerek buna karşı mücadele etmeye başlamıştır. Birçok kentte kadınlarla dayanışma ağları örmüş, hatta bir seks işçisine yardımcı olarak onu intihardan vazgeçirmesi gazete manşetlerine çıkmıştır. Bu aykırı davranışları ve açıklamaları Hizbullah'ın dikkatini çeken Kuriş, 1997 yılında eşiyile birlikte sokaktayken Hizbullah üyelerince kaçırılmıştır. 555 gün boyunca adı “kayıp insanlar” listesinde kalan Kuriş için de, hem feminist hem de sosyalist kadınlar dayanışma ağları örmüş olsalar da Kuriş 2000 yılında Hizbullah'a ait olduğu bilinen bir zindanda domuz bağıyla bağlanarak öldürülmüş bir şekilde bulunmuştur (“Her şey ne çabuk unutuldu,” 2011; Şakir, 2017).

Bu akış içerisinde dikkat çekici olan şey, kadınları bir araya getiren olay dizilerinin genellikle kadın bedenine dair bir tehdit, saldırı ve aşağılama içermesi olarak belirlenebilir. Buüç olay örneğinde de, erkek sosyalistlerden gelen belirgin bir tepki görülmezken, beden özeldir görüşüne, cinsellik ve cinsel saldırılara ilişkin süregelen tabulara ve bunların neredeyse hiç konuşulmayan başlıklar olmasına karşın kadınlar bir araya gelerek hak mücadelesi yürütmeyi başarmışlardır.

Seks İşçiliği Üzerine

Seks işçisi ve seks işçiliği terimleri, günümüzde yeni yeni kullanılmaya başlanan ve hatta halen birçok kesim tarafından politik olarak doğru kabul edilse de benimsenme kısmında belirgin sorunlar bulunan kavramlardır. Seks işçisi ve seks işçiliğine karşın birçok farklı tanım ve yaklaşım bulunmaktadır. Kimi teorisyenler

bunun dünyanın eski mesleği olduğunu iddia etmektedirler, kimileri ise bunun dünyanın en eski baskı aracı olduğunu öne sürmektedir (Basserman, 1967). Emek harcanan ve karşılığında para kazanılan sıradan bir meslek diyen ve hatta bu mesleği ataerkil düzene karşı bir başkaldırı olarak gören görüşlerin yanı sıra (Chateauvert, 2013), bunu kadınlara yönelik ciddi bir aşağılama biçimi olduğunu dile getirenler de vardır (de Beauvoir, 2011).

Türk Dil Kurumu Güncel Türkçe Sözlük içerisinde ne yazık ki “seks işçisi” terimi için bir karşılık bulunmamaktadır. Ancak daha yaygın bir kullanım olan “hayat kadını” ibaresinin karşılığı olarak *“Para karşılığında erkeklerin cinsel zevklerine hizmet eden ve bu işi meslek edinen kadın, orta malı, kaldırım çiçeği, kaldırım süpürgesi, kaldırım yosması, sürtük”* ibaresi kullanılmaktadır (“hayat kadını,” n.d.). Ayrıca, Türk Ceza Kanunu’na dahil olan ve 1961 yılında kabul edildikten sonra hiç değiştirilmeyen “Genel Kadınlar ve Genelevlerin Tabi Olacakları Hükümler ve Fuhuş Yüzünden Bulaşan Zührevi Hastalıklarla Mücadele Tüzüğü” içerisinde, genelerde çalışmakta ve ikamet etmekte olan kadınlar için “genel kadınlar” ibaresi kullanılmaktadır. Genel kadın ibaresinin tanımı için *“Başkalarının cinsi zevkini menfaat karşılığı tatmin etmeyi sanat edinen ve bunun için değişik erkeklerle münasebette bulunan kadınlara (Genel kadın) denir”* şeklinde bir açıklama bulunmaktadır. (*Genel Kadınlar Ve Genelevlerin Tabi Olacakları Hükümler Ve Fuhuş Yüzünden Bulaşan Zührevi Hastalıklarla Mücadele Tüzüğü*, 1961). Bu ibare oldukça önemlidir, zira kadınların cinselliğinin kontrol altına alınması durumu yaklaşık olarak özel mülkiyet kavramı ile birlikte başlamıştır. Özel mülkiyet kavramı içerisinde, miras yoluyla mülkiyet aktarımının kontrolünün yapılabilmesi için, kadının cinselliğinin

kontrol altına alınmasına ve toplumun çocuğun babasının kim olduğundan emin olmasına ihtiyaç duyulmuştur (Engels, 2003; Marks, Engels, & Lenin, 1976). Duyulan bu ihtiyaç, evli olan kadınları bir haliyle kocasının “özel mülkiyeti” kılarken, diğer kadınlar için ise “genel kadın ibaresini ortaya atmıştır.

Bu tez kapsamında seks işçiliği insanların, diğer insanlara iki tarafın da rızası doğrultusunda para karşılığında seksüel hizmet sunması olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Bu tanım içerisindeki en önemli nokta karşılıklı rıza kavramıdır. Karşılıklı rıza koşulu, seks işçiliği konseptini insan ticareti, zorla çalıştırılma veya çocuk işçilik gibi birçok suç ögesi teşkil eden durumdan ayırmaktadır.

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti içerisinde seks işçiliği ya da fuhuş yasaldır. Bu iki yolla yapılmaktadır. Birinci yol, yukarıda da adı geçen “Genel Kadınlar ve Genelevlerin Tabi Olacakları Hükümler ve Fuhuş Yüzünden Bulaşan Zührevi Hastalıklarla Mücadele Tüzüğü” kapsamında belirtilen genelevlerde çalışmak, ikinci yol ise bu mesleği serbest bir şekilde icra etmek üzerine kuruludur. Genelevlerde çalışan kadınlar için vesika çıkarılması zorunlu olup, dışarıda çalışan kadınlar için ise aracı bulundurulmaması ciddi bir koşuldur. Fuhşa aracılık etmek Türkiye Cumhuriyeti kanunlarına göre yasaktır.

Gerek genelevlerde çalışmakta olan kadınlar gerekse sokakta çalışanlar için ciddi sorunlar ve engeller vardır. Genelevlerde çalışan kadınlar hayatları boyunca orada çalışmış olmak vesikalarına işlenmiş bir şekilde yaşamaya mecburdurlar. Sağlanmış bir emeklilik hakları ya da çalışmak için bir yaş üst sınırları yoktur. Ödemeler konusunda tamamen patronlarına bağımlıdırlar. Çalıştıkları evlerde remi zorunluluk gereği her 20 günde bir zührevi hastalıklar açısından doktor kontrolüne

çıkarılmaktadırlar. Ancak müşterilerin sağlık durumlarına dair hiçbir önlem alınmamakta, müşterilerin sağlıklı bireyler olup olmaması dikkate alınmamaktadır. Kondom kullanımı dahi, müşterinin rızasına bağlıdır ve para karşılığı temin edilmektedir. Dışarıda çalışan kadınlar için ise farklı tehlike ve sorunlar söz konusudur. Elbette onların da herhangi bir sosyal güvencesi yoktur, aynı zamanda müşteriler tarafından sıkça şiddete maruz kalmaktadırlar. Ayrıca, serbest çalışan kadınlara herhangi bir sosyal güvence sağlanmadığı için gerçek bir vergilendirme de yapılamamaktadır. Bu nedenle Kabahatler Kanunu aracılığı ve Trafik Kuralları çerçevesinde “kaldırım işgali” gibi sebeplerle yüksek para cezaları ile karşılaşmaktadırlar (Ördek, 2014).

Seks işçileri gerek Türkiye’de gerekse dünya çapında kendi aralarında belirli bir örgütlülük düzeyine sahiptirler. Haklarını koruyabilmek ve birbirlerine destek olmak için kurulmuş bu örgütlenmeler, en genel anlamıyla küçük dernekler ve federasyonlar aracılığıyla gerçekleşmektedir. Sendikalaşma talepleri büyük ve genel sendikalar tarafından hoş karşılanmamakta ve genellikle kabul görmemektedir. Bu da içlerinde buldukları toplumsal dışlanma pratiklerini vücut bulmuş hallerinin en açık örnekleri arasında sayılabilir.

Bu tez, işçi haklarını savunmakta olan ve ideolojileri gereği bunu bir misyon edinmiş sosyalistlerin seks işçilerine dair edindikleri sosyal temsilleri araştırmaktadır. Tezin kapsamında, tarih boyunca bunun gibi “hassas” konular sürekli olarak kadınlara ya da kadın örgütlenmelerine atfedildiği için görüşmeler sosyalist kadınlarla yapılmıştır. Çalışmanın teorik arka planı, sosyal temsiller teorisi (Moscovici, 2000), çekirdek teorisi (Abric, 2001; Moliner, 2016) ve tiyatro tarihi ve teorisi bağlamında

ele alınan temsil ve performans tutarlılığı (Goffman, 1990; Nietzsche, 1999) dikkate alınarak şekillendirilmiştir. Sonraki bölümde bu teorilerden kısaca bahsedilecek ve çalışma verileri anlatılacaktır.

Teorik Arkaplan

Sosyal Temsiller Teorisi

İlk olarak Durkheim tarafından kolektif temsiller adıyla ortaya atılan sosyal temsiller teorisi, bir grup ya da topluluk üyeleri tarafından paylaşılan değerlerin, fikirlerin, metaforların, inançların ve pratiklerin bir çeşit envanteri olarak değerlendirilebilir. (Cirinlioğlu, Aktaş, & Öner Özkan, 2006). Sosyal temsiller adını alması, Moscovici'nin kolektif temsilleri sosyal psikoloji bağlamında ele alabilmesi ile mümkün olmuştur (Moscovici, 2000). Sosyal temsiller, paylaşılan fikirleri ele aldıkları için oldukça önemlidirler, çünkü Moscovici'nin de belirttiği gibi, düşünceler bir kez yayıldıklarına materyal güçlere dönüşürler ve öyle davranabilirler (Moscovici, 2000). Bir grubun ortak düşünme biçimi sosyal temsiller aracılığıyla anlaşılabilir.

Sosyal temsillerin oluşum süreci temel olarak üç aşamadan meydana gelmektedir. Bu aşamalar çapalama, nesneleştirme ve doğallaştırma olarak adlandırılırlar. Yeni bir konsept bir gruba geldiğinde, sosyal temsillerin asıl işlevi olan “tanınmayan bir şeyi tanınır hale getirmek” devreye girer. Yeni bir konseptle karşılaşan bir grup, öncelikle çapalama yöntemi ile o konsepti halihazırda bildikleri başka bir konseptle benzeterek anlamlandırmaya çalışırlar. Örneğin baş ağrısı kavramını birisine anlatmak için duyulan başka bir ağrı ile benzetme yapılabilir.

Nesneleştirme süreci, yeni konseptin oluşmaya başlayan anlamını güçlendirmek için somut örnekler verebilmek ile açıklanabilir. Yine baş ağrısı örneğine dönecek olursak, bir kişi, başının sanki çatlayacak gibi olduğunu belirterek, başında hissettiği ağrının baskısını somutlaştırabilir. Doğallaştırma sürecinde ise, artık yeni konsept insanların zihinlerine adım atmıştır ve görünce tanınabilecek bir hale gelmiştir. Biri eline başına götürdüğünde başının ağrıdığını anlayabiliriz.

Çekirdek Teorisi

Çekirdek teorisi, sosyal temsiller teorisine yapısalcı bir yaklaşım olarak ele alınmaktadır. Abric, sosyal temsillerin iki katmanlı bir yapısının olduğunu söyler (Abric, 2001). Bu katmanlar merkezi ve çevresel olarak adlandırılmaktadır. Abric, bu katmanları bir atom modeli ile “nesneleştirmektedir”. Bir temsilin merkezi, genellikle sabit, tutarlı, tarihsel olarak belirlenmiş, değişime açık olmayan kısmı, temsilin çekirdeğidir (atomun çekirdeği gibi). Çevresel temsiller ise, daha esnek, görece daha çeşitli, yine merkeze ideolojik olarak bağlı ama dışarıya çekirdek temsillerden daha açıktır. Çevresel temsiller, çekirdek temsilleri doğrudan zorlayabilecek olan farklı fikir ve yaklaşımları yumuşatarak, çekirdek temsile uygun hale getirirler.

Moliner de merkez ve çevre temsiller kavramlarını ele almıştır, ancak Moliner’e göre, merkez temsiller o kadar katı ve “pazarlıksız” değildir. Ayrıca Moliner, genel olarak anlam üretme işlevini çevresel temsillerin üstlenmiş olabileceğini öne sürmektedir. Sonuçta, bir dili konuşabilmek için o dildeki bütün kelimeleri harfiyen bilmeye gerek olmadığını, daha genel bilgilerle de iletişim kurulabileceğini söyleyen Moliner, çevresel temsillerin merkez temsilleri sadece korumadığından, aynı zamanda onları sürekli güncellediğinden de söz etmektedir

(Moliner, 2016). Yaşamın değişken diyalektiği içerisinde hiçbir şey aynı kalmaz ve yeni kelimeler eklendikçe, dil de zenginleşecektir.

Tiyatro: Temsil ve Performans Teorisi

Bu teoriyi bu tezin kapsamında özellikle kullanmamın sebebi, sosyal temsiller teorisinin “temsil” fikrine çokça ait olarak temsilin bir sonraki ayağı olan performans kısmında bir açık bıraktığını fark etmem üzerine şekillenmiştir. Yaşamın kendisinin bir sahne olduğu metaforu sıkça kullanılmaktadır. Bu sahne üzerinde her insan bir topluluğun temsilcisi olarak belli bir temsili ortaya koymak için çeşitli performanslar sergilemektedirler. Bu konuda, bu kısmın özel sorusu olarak “grupların ya da toplulukların bir konsept hakkındaki temsilleri, o grup ya da topluluk hakkında neler söylemektedir?” sorusu ele alınabilir. Eğer, diyelim, Grup A için, çocuklara aşı yaptırmak konsepti, çocuklarına zarar vermek temsili ile özdeşleşmişse, Grup A, diğer gruplar tarafından “aşı karşıtı” olarak etiketlenebilir. Bir grubun herhangi konuda ortaya koyduğu sosyal temsil, aynı zamanda o grup için tanıtıcı bir işleve de sahiptir. Bu tanıtım sonucunda, diğer gruplar, o gruptan bu temsille tutarlı davranışlar beklemektedirler.

Nietzsche, Tragedyanın Doğuşu adlı eserinde, apollonik ve diyonizyak olarak adlandırdığı iki kavramdan söz etmektedir. Apollonik kavramlar, bir temsilin görülen, somut dış tarafıdır. Diyonizyak olan ise görülmeyen ama orada olduğu bilinen öz, ruh, esanstır. Bu iki konsept birbirlerine aykırı gibi görünseler de aslında oldukça tamamlayıcı bir şekilde hareket ederler (Nietzsche, 1999). Bu birliktelik için verilen en yaygın örneklerden biri, balon metaforudur. Bir balon, kendi şeklini gösterebilmesi için içini dolduran havaya muhtaçtır, aynı zamanda hava, kendi miktarını

gösterebilmek için kendisini saracak bir kalıba ihtiyaç duymaktadır. Benzer şekilde, bir temsil, kendini görünür kılabilmek için performansa ve performans amacına ulaşabilmek için uyumlu bir temsile gereksinim duyar.

Bu konuda, Goffman ise, sosyal etkileşim sırasında güvenli ve tutarlı bir iletişim sağlayabilmek için bu temsil ve performansın birbirleriyle maksimum uyumluluk içerisinde olması gerektiğini belirtmiştir (Goffman, 1990). Bir insan, karşısındaki insana çok kızgın olduğunu söylüyorsa, çatık kaşlar ve uzak hareketlerle bunu performatif olarak da desteklerse bu uyumlu bir sosyal etkileşim olarak kodlanabilir.

Bu tez kapsamında, iddia edilen temsil ile ortaya konması beklenen performansın tutarlılığı da araştırılmıştır. Sosyalistler, kendi tanımlarına göre ezilen ve sömürülen işçilerin yanındadırlar. Seks işçileri de onların ortaya koydukları iş tanımına uymaktadır. Ancak sosyalistlerin seks işçilerini hak mücadelesine toplumsal protestolarına karşı oldukça mesafeli oldukları gözlemlenmiştir. Bu sebeple, sosyalist kadınlar arasında seks işçilerinin ve seks işçiliğinin sosyal temsili araştırılmıştır.

Çalışmanın Yöntemi

Çalışmanın katılımcılarını belirleyebilmek için Yargıtay'a ait veri tabanından Türkiye'deki siyasi partiler incelenmiştir. Toplamda 84 tane aktif siyasi parti bulunmaktadır. Bu partilerin tüzükleri incelendiğinde ise, 17 partinin tüzüklerinde sosyalizm iddiasını taşıdığı görülmektedir. Tüzüklerinde sosyalizm iddiasını taşıyan bu 17 parti içerisinde bir kısmı çok eskiden kurulmuştur ve artık gerçek bir temsiliyetleri bulunmamaktadır. Yalnızca gerçekten aktif olan partilere ulaşabilmek

için çalışmaya dahil edilecek partilerin en az 150 aktif üyesi olması koşulu getirilmiştir. Bu koşul sonucunda 17 partiden 10'u çalışmaya dahil edilmiştir.

Katılımcılara ulaşabilmek için 10 partinin tamamının genel merkezleri telefonla aranmıştır. Araştırmacı olarak kimliğin tanıtılmasından sonra, partiden en az iki yıldır örgütlü ve partiyi temsil edebileceğine inandıkları bir kadın yoldaşlarının “sosyalist kadınlarda bir sosyal temsili araştırın” bu çalışmaya katılıp katılmayacakları sorulmuştur. 10 partinin 9’undan olumlu yanıt alınmış, bir parti ise Ankara içerisinde hiç aktif üyeleri olmamasını ve Kürt nüfusu yoğunluklu illerde çalışmalar sürdürdüklerini ifade ederek çalışmaya katılmayacaklarını bildirmiştir. Böylece 9 katılımcıya ulaşılmıştır.

9 kadın katılımcı ile yarı yapılandırılmış derinlikli görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Bu görüşmelerin yapılacağı yerler katılımcılar tarafından belirlenmiştir, Genel merkezlerde ya da rastgele seçilmiş kafelerde yapılan görüşmeler ortalama 56.6 dakika sürmüştür. Bilgilendirilmiş onay formundan sonra ses kaydı eşliğinde yapılan görüşmeler deşifre edilmiş ve MAXQDA Data Analizi Programı ile işlenmiştir.

Sonuçlar

Görüşme soruları genel olarak üç temel başlıktan oluşmaktadır. Birinci başlık, katılımcıların seks işçisi ve seks işçiliği kavramlarına ilişkin genel bilgi düzeylerini belirlemeyi amaçlamıştır. Bu kapsamda, seks işçiliğinin tanımı, yasal durumu, seks işçilerine dair genel bir tipoloji, kimlerin seks işçisi olmaya daha yatkın olabileceğine dair öngörüler ve katılımcıların daha önce hiçbir seks işçisiyle tanışıp tanışmadıkları ya da bir seks işçisinden hizmet satın alıp almadıkları sorulmuştur.

Bu konulardaki en genel yanıtlar, seks işçiliğini bir meslek olan görenler ve görmeyenler üzerinden ikiye ayrılmıştır. Seks işçiliğinin yasal durumu hakkında 9 katılımcıdan 4'ü doğru bilgiye sahipken, geri kalan 5 katılımcı yalnızca genelevlerin yasal olduğundan söz etmiştir. Seks işçilerinin genel tipolojileri hakkında toplumun geri kalanından çok da farklı olmayacak bir şekilde, deri çizmeler, mini kıyafetler, dekolte, uzun renkli, file çoraplar ve seksi bir dış görünüş üzerine yorumlar yapılmıştır. Bunların dışında seks işçilerinin ne kadar rahat, dışavurumcu, özgür ve asi olduklarından da söz edilmiştir. Seks işçisi olmaya daha yatkın olarak görülen insanlar ise, cinsel yönelimlerine, ekonomik koşullarına, psikolojik geçmişlerine ve çevresel etmenlere göre değerlendirilmiştirlerdir. Katılımcıların tamamının hayatının bir döneminde en az bir seks işçisiyle tanışmış olmaları ilginç bir tesadüf olmakla birlikte, hiçbiri daha önce bir seks işçisinden hizmet satın almadıklarını belirtmişlerdir.

Görüşmenin ikinci kısmında, katılımcılara toplumun seks işçileri ve seks işçiliği hakkındaki görüşleri sorulmuştur. Katılımcılar toplumun seks işçiliğini tamamen kötü, yozlaşmış ve ahlaki değerlere aykırı gördüğünü, seks işçilerini ise hastalık taşıyıcı, zararlı, insan olmayan, suçlu ve yoksul insanları olarak kodlayıp onları dışladıklarını belirtmişlerdir. Ardından, bu toplumsa seks işçiliğinin ne kadar gerekli olduğu sorulmuştur. 5 katılımcı, bastırılmış cinsellik, seks işçilerinin işsiz kalmaması ve erkeklerin ihtiyaçları doğrultusunda seks işçiliğinin bu toplum için gerekli ya da işlevli sayılabileceğini söylerken, 4 katılımcı bunun kapitalist sistemin yarattığı bir sorun olduğunu, yozlaşmanın bir şekli olduğunu ve taciz ve tecavüzü meşrulaştıran bir yerde durduğunu ifade ederek gerekli olmadığını dile getirmişlerdir.

Üçüncü kısımda ise katılımcılara ait oldukları partinin seks işçiliğine ve seks işçilerine dair bir politikaları olup olmadığı sorulmuştur. Neredeyse hiçbir partinin bu konuda sabit bir politikasının olmamasına karşın bu tartışma neredeyse bütün partilerde geçmiştir. Partiler, iş ve işçi kavramlarını Marksist terminoloji üzerinden kurduklarını belirtmişlerdir. Artı değer üreten, üretim araçlarına sahip olmayan ve emek gücünü satan herkesin işçi olduğunu dile getirmişlerdir. Seks işçisi tanımını kullanıp kullanmamak konusunda ise aslında tam bir kafa karışıklığı hakimdir. 5 kurum bu kavramı kullandıklarını dile getirirken, 4 kurum kullanmadıklarını belirtmiştir. Kullanmayan kurumlardan iki tanesi seks işçiliği yerine fuhuş ya da fahişelik demektedir, toplamdaki kurumlardan 4 tanesi ise, fuhuş ya da fahişelik kavramlarını kesinlikle kullanmadıklarını ifade etmektedirler. Katılımcılara, yoldaşlarının birinin bir seks işçisinden hizmet satın almaları koşulunda verecekleri tepkiler de sorulmuştur. İki katılımcı bunun hiç mümkün olmadığını belirtirken, 4 katılımcı eğer böyle bir durum olursa sebebini merak edeceklerini söylemişlerdir. 4 katılımcı bunu ahlaki bir sorun olarak ele alacaklarını, 3 katılımcı bunu bir güvenlik sorunu olarak görececeklerini, 2 katılımcı ise bunun bir sağlık sorunu olarak değerlendirilebileceğini söylemiştir. 9 katılımcıdan 4 tanesi, böyle bir durum olursa yoldaşlarına sinirleneceklerini ve yoldaşlarının cezalandırılacağını, 2 tanesi ise bununla hiçbir sorunları olmayacağını ifade etmiştir. Devrimden sonra, seks işçiliği ve seks işçilerine ne olacağı parti politikalarını anlamak için yöneltilmiş sorulardan bir başkasıdır. 6 katılımcı, devrimden sonra bu sektörün artık gereksiz olacağı ya da zaten tehlikeli/zararlı bir sektör olduğu için azalarak biteceğini söylemişlerdir. 2 katılımcı devrimin hemen ardından bıçak kesigi gibi ortadan kalacağını ifade ederken, 1 katılımcı ise hiçbir tahmin yürütülemeyeceğini, sürecin nasıl gelişeceğine bağlı

olduğunu belirtmiştir. Seks işçilerinin örgütlenmelerine dair sorulan soru ise, bu çalışmanın belirleyici sorularından birisidir. 6 katılımcı, seks işçilerinin kendi gündemleri doğrultusunda örgütlenebileceğini dile getirirken, 3 katılımcı sosyalist bir kurumda da örgütlenebileceklerini söylemiştir. Katılımcılardan 4'ü seks işçilerinin kendi kurumlarında örgütlü olmasını isteyeceklerini, fakat partilerinin buna sıcak bakmayabileceğini ifade etmiştir. Toplam 9 katılımcıdan 8 tanesi seks işçilerinin kendi kurumlarında örgütlenemeyeceklerini söylemişlerdir. Bunun sebepleri olarak da partinin standartlarına uymamaları, erkek yoldaşlarının muhtemelen tutumları ve toplumdan ya da kendi kitlelerinden gelebilecek eleştiriler öne sürülmüştür. Son olarak, seks işçileri hakları için sokağa çıkarlarsa, onlara eylemlerinde destek olunup olunmayacağı sorulmuştur. 4 katılımcı destek olunabileceğini belirtmiştir. Bu dört katılımcıda yalnızca 1 tanesi her koşulda destek olunabileceğini, 3 tanesi yalnızca sendikal hak talebi söz konusu olursa destek olunabileceğini, o desteğin de yalnızca kadın örgütlenmeleri tarafından sunulacağını ve ağırlıklı olarak görünmez destek olacağını (imza vermek, bildiri yayınlamak... gibi) söylemişlerdir. Toplamda 7 katılımcı, partilerinin destek olmayacağını bunun sebepleri olarak da seks işçiliğine karşı olmanın ve toplumdan ve kendi kitlelerinden gelebilecek potansiyel eleştirilerden çekinmenin sunulabileceğini belirtmişlerdir.

Tartışma

Görüldüğü üzere, seks işçiliğine dair sosyal bir temsil oluşurken, sosyalist kadınlar arasında çapalama süreci “işçilik” kavramından ziyade “seks” odaklı olarak algılanmaktadır. Ancak adlandırma, yine sosyalist kadınlar öncülüğünde seks işçiliği şeklindedir. Nesneleştirme süreci, özellikle seks işçilerinin tipolojileri açısından

verilen yanıtlar incelendiğinde yine bir işçiden ziyade bir cinsel objeye çağrışım yapmaktadır. Bu ikilem sebebiyle doğallaştırma süreci de beklendiği gibi gerçekleşmemektedir.

Bunu yanı sıra, partiler tarafından hegemonik temsillerin genel bir inkârı da söz konudur. Kadın örgütlerinin öncülüğünde özgürleşmiş temsiller daha yaygın ama görece daha sessizdir. Bu da hegemonik temsillerin artık polemik temsillere dönüşebileceğini, böylece sosyal psikolojinin işlevlerinden biri olarak daha kışkırtıcı ve eleştirel bir şekilde bu konunun yeniden ele alınabileceği öne sürülebilir.

Başta da belirtildiği gibi, sosyalistlerin iddia edilen temsilleri işçilerin yanında olmak iken, seks işçilerini hak arama mücadelesine uzak durmaktadırlar. Bu da iddia edilen temsil ile ortaya konan performans arasında bir yarığa sebep olmaktadır. Bu da sosyalistlerin kendi temsillerini zedeleme potansiyeli taşımaktadır.

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