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REPRESENTATION OF RUSSIAN WOMEN IN TURKISH PRESS

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## Representation of Russian Women in Turkish Press

### Türk Basınında Rus Kadın Temsili

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>LIST OF TABLES .....</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>ABSTRACT .....</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>ÖZET.....</b>	<b>ix</b>
<b>INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1. RUSSIAN WOMEN IMMIGRATION TO TURKEY.....</b>	<b>5</b>
1.1. Integration of Russian Women Living in Turkey .....	11
1.2. Mixed Marriages Between Russian Women and Turkish Men .....	14
1.3. Difficulties that Russian Women Migrants Face in the Job Market .....	18
1.4. Sexual Exploitation of Russian Women and Women Trafficking.....	23
<b>2. MEDIA AND INTEGRATION .....</b>	<b>27</b>
2.1. Definition of Integration .....	27
2.2. Relationship Between Integration and Media .....	28
<b>3. REPRESENTATION OF IMMIGRANTS IN THE PRESS.....</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>4. RESEARCH (BETWEEN THE YEARS 2009-2021) .....</b>	<b>39</b>
4.1. Content Analysis of Turkish Newspapers.....	40
4.1.1. Evrensel.....	44
4.1.2. Sözcü.....	46
4.1.3. Hürriyet .....	52
4.1.4. Sabah.....	65
4.1.5. Yeni Akit.....	76
<b>5. DISCUSSION.....</b>	<b>79</b>
<b>CONCLUSION .....</b>	<b>81</b>
<b>REFERENCES .....</b>	<b>83</b>

## LIST OF TABLES

<b>Table 1:</b> Turkish Newspapers-Total News Numbers About Russian Migrant Women .....	40
<b>Table 2:</b> Turkish Newspapers-Total News Numbers of “Russian Women”, “Russian Bride” and “Russian Girl” Keywords .....	40
<b>Table 3:</b> Turkish Newspapers-Positive Representation News About “Russian Woman”, “Russian Bride” and “Russian Girl” Keywords .....	41
<b>Table 4:</b> Turkish Newspapers-Negative Representation News About “Russian Woman”, “Russian Bride” and “Russian Girl” Keywords .....	41
<b>Table 5:</b> Turkish Newspapers-Neutral Representation News About “Russian Woman”, “Russian Bride” and “Russian Girl” Keywords .....	41
<b>Table 6:</b> News Categories of EVRENSEL- Keywords of “Russian Woman”, “Russian Bride” and “Russian Girl” .....	44
<b>Table 7:</b> News Categories of SÖZCÜ- Keywords of “Russian Woman”, “Russian Bride” and “Russian Girl” .....	46
<b>Table 8:</b> News Categories of HÜRRIYET- Keywords of “Russian Woman”, “Russian Bride” and “Russian Girl” .....	52
<b>Table 9:</b> News Categories of SABAH- Keywords of “Russian Woman”, “Russian Bride” and “Russian Girl” .....	65
<b>Table 10:</b> News Categories of YENİ AKİT- Keywords of “Russian Woman”, “Russian Bride” and “Russian Girl” .....	76

## ABSTRACT

The research topic is “representation of Russian women in Turkish press” and how different representations of Russian women are related to one another in terms of integration. The question of the research is how the Russian women immigrants in Turkey are represented by the Turkish press. Since the beginning of 1990s, Russian women immigrants have come to work in Turkey and many of them live permanently in Turkey. Therefore, some stereotypes and prejudices about Russian women have been created in the course of time. The primary stereotype about Russian women is “Natasha” stereotype which is a slang and a vulgar word used to describe a woman who is involved in prostitution and who comes from Post-Soviet countries, especially from Russia and Ukraine. It is unfair to label every Russian woman as “Natasha” since it is a stereotype created against Russian women. On the other hand, there are many Russian migrant women in Turkey whom are married to Turkish men and the word “Russian bride” became a popular phrase since marriages between Russian women and Turkish men have become prevalent. Because of this, how Russian women are represented in the media is a significant question, since their representation may have a hindering or supporting influence on integration. Throughout the study, theories from several scholarly articles will be compared and discussed in order to provide a clear understanding of how representation of migrants and foreigners in the press affects integration. In this study, how Russian women are represented in Turkish press and how their representations have a hindering or supporting influence on integration will be revealed and elaborated by analysing five Turkish newspapers (online) which are *Evrensel*, *Sözcü*, *Hürriyet*, *Sabah*, and *Yeni Akit*. The scholarly articles’ theories about integration and media representation of immigrants will be revealed. In addition to these, marriages among Russian women and Turkish men will be discussed and analyzed in the context of “cross-cultural marriages,” “adaptation to a different culture” and “being a Russian bride in Turkey.” In the end of the study, there will be a conclusion which summarizes the overall topic, including the research question and by considering the qualitative analysis of five

Turkish newspapers (which are *Evrensel*, *Sözcü*, *Hürriyet*, *Sabah* and *Yeni Akit*), a clear result for the research will be drawn. Keywords will be mentioned in the study.

**Keywords:** “Russian woman”, “Russian bride”, “Turkish press”, “representation”, “integration”, “stereotype”, “prejudice”, “discrimination”, “sexism”, “racism”.

## ÖZET

Araştırmanın konusu, “Türk basınında Rus kadınının temsili” ve Rus kadınının farklı temsillerinin entegrasyon açısından birbirleriyle nasıl ilişkili olduğudur. Araştırmanın sorusu Türkiye'deki Rus kadın göçmenlerin Türk basınında nasıl temsil edildiğidir. 1990'ların başından itibaren Rus kadın göçmenler Türkiye'ye çalışmaya gelmiştir ve birçoğu Türkiye'de kalıcı olarak yaşamaktadır. Bu nedenle zaman içerisinde Rus kadınları hakkında bazı klişeler ve önyargılar oluşturulmuştur. Rus kadınlarıyla ilgili birincil klişe, post-Sovyet ülkelerinden, özellikle Rusya ve Ukrayna'dan gelen, fuhuş yapan bir kadını tanımlamak için kullanılan argo ve kaba bir kelime olan “Natasha” klişesidir. Rus kadınlarına karşı oluşturulmuş bir stereotip olduğu için her Rus kadını “Nataşa” olarak etiketlemek haksızlık olur. Öte yandan, Türkiye'de Türk erkeklerle evli olan çok sayıda Rus göçmen kadın bulunmaktadır ve Rus kadınları ile Türk erkekleri arasındaki evliliklerin yaygınlaşmasıyla birlikte “Rus gelini” kelimesi popüler bir tabir haline gelmiştir. Bu nedenle, Rus kadınlarının medyada nasıl temsil edildiği önemli bir sorudur, çünkü temsil edilmeleri entegrasyonu engelleyici veya kolaylaştırıcı bir etkiye sahip olabilir. Çalışma boyunca, göçmenlerin ve yabancıların basında temsil edilmesinin entegrasyonu nasıl etkilediğine dair net bir anlayış sağlamak için çeşitli bilimsel makalelerdeki teoriler karşılaştırılacak ve tartışılacaktır. Bu çalışmada, Evrensel, Sözcü, Hürriyet, Sabah ve Yeni Akit gazeteleri (online) incelenerek Rus kadınlarının Türk basınında nasıl temsil edildiği ve temsillerinin entegrasyonu nasıl engelleyici veya destekleyici bir etkiye sahip olduğu ortaya konacaktır. Göçmenlerin entegrasyonu ve medyadaki temsili ile ilgili bilimsel makalelerin teorileri ortaya çıkarılacaktır. Bunlara ek olarak, Rus kadınları ve Türk erkekleri arasındaki evlilikler, “kültürler arası evlilikler”, “farklı bir kültüre uyum” ve “Türkiye'de Rus gelini olmak” bağlamında ele alınacak ve analiz edilecektir. Çalışmanın sonunda, araştırma sorusu da dahil olmak üzere genel konuyu özetleyen ve beş Türk gazetesinin (Evrensel, Sözcü, Hürriyet, Sabah ve Yeni Akit) nitel analizi dikkate

alınarak net bir sonuca ulaşılabacaktır. Çalışmada anahtar kelimelerden bahsedilecektir.

**Anahtar kelimeler:** “Rus kadın”, “Rus gelin”, “Türk basını”, “temsil”, “entegrasyon”, “stereotip”, “önyargı”, “ayrımcılık”, “cinsiyetçilik”, “ırkçılık”.



## INTRODUCTION

Since the beginning of human history, people move from one place to another in order to fulfil their physical, economic and social needs. Most of the time, people immigrate to another region because of their necessities. According to IOM's World Migration Report 2020, "the current global estimate is that there were around 281 million international migrants in the world in 2020, which equates to 3.6 per cent of the global population" (McAuliffe & Khadria, *IOM World Migration Report 2020*). The report states that over the past five decades, the estimated number of international migrants has increased. "The total estimated 281 million people living in a country other than their countries of birth in 2020 was 128 million more than in 1990, and over three times the estimated number in 1970" (ibid.). In the light of this information, it can be said that there are several migration driver dimensions and factors. Macro migration driver dimensions are demographics, economic, environmental, human development, security, supranational and politico-institutional dimensions (*Migration drivers*, 2021). Meso migration driver dimension is socio-cultural dimension and micro migration driver dimension is individual driver dimension (ibid.). Population dynamics, family size & structure are demographic driving factors of migration. Economic & business conditions, labour markets & employment, urban/ rural development & living standards, poverty and inequality are economic driver factors of migration which lead people to migrate to other regions. Since most of the immigrants migrate to other countries for economic reasons, it can be said that "economic migrants" constitute a major group among the immigrants in the entire world. The term "economic migrant" can be defined as "a person leaving his or her habitual place of residence to settle outside his or her country of origin in order to improve his or her quality of life" (Redpath-Cross & Perruchoud, *International Migration Law* 2011). It can be said that economic migrants leave their country of origin for the purpose of employment. On the other hand, education and health services (human development dimension) and escaping from conflict, war & violence and migration which is necessarily caused by political situation, repressions and

regime transitions (security dimension) are other significant migration driving factors (Czaika & Reinprecht, 2020 & *Migration drivers*, 2021).

As a result of these necessary situations, people decide to move to other countries in order to live in humanitarian conditions. After they decide to immigrate to somewhere else, people try to find different ways. Some people, especially women from the countries of the former Soviet Union, choose legal ways of moving into a different country and later they try to stay there by finding legal jobs and safe working conditions, while undocumented immigrants try to stay there without residence permit and working in undocumented jobs (Hughes, 2004, 1). One of the countries that Russian women immigrate is Turkey and Russian women try to adapt their lives in Turkey while they are facing several obstacles which are related to financial and physical security and integration. According to Ekiz Gökmen, for post-Soviet women migrants, there are several reasons of migrating to Turkey such as being of Turkish origin for the women who come from Turkic Republics, ease of language learning, historical affinity and geographical proximity. Other reasons of preferring Turkey for migration are low travel costs (because of geographical proximity), conformity to undocumented entry, width of the informal labour market, and ease of working in undocumented jobs and ease of getting visa (Ekiz Gökmen, 2011, 202). Since Turkey is located at the south of Russia and it is easier to immigrate into compared to Western countries in terms of visa flexibility, Russian women prefer to immigrate into Turkey in order to be employed in different kinds of jobs (Zhidkova & Demir, 2016, 125). Since Turkey is one of the countries that Russian women immigrate, their adaptation period in Turkish society is significant and the media, especially the press, has a great impact on their adaptation and integration in Turkey. Representation of Russian women in Turkish press may positively or negatively affect their adaptation and integration in Turkish culture. In addition to this, representation of Russian women may also indicate how Turkish people view and portray Russian women migrants in the press. Therefore, representation of Russian female immigrants in Turkish press is

crucial in order to determine their level of integration into Turkish society, as well as understanding the image of Russian women in Turkish society.

Turkish press coverage of Russian female immigrants is significant in order to analyze and understand how Russian female immigrants are represented in Turkey. In this way, it can be seen whether there is a positive correlation between the integration of Russian women and their representation in Turkish press or not. Media and news are strong indicators of how a society thinks about certain group of people, especially about immigrants and refugees (Van Dijk, 2000, 36-37). There is an interrelation between content of the press news about immigrants (negative stereotypes, generalizations) and attitudes of people who live in host society towards the immigrants in real life (Van Dijk, 2000, 39-40). The news' content is very significant, while analysing the relationship between the immigrants and the media. Since the media, especially the press news are effective tools in terms of shaping citizens' opinions and beliefs about the immigrants in a society, it is essential to examine every news article and news content related to a specific immigrant group (Van Dijk, 2000, 36). In this way, representation of this immigrant group will be revealed and how the immigrants are portrayed will be understood. There is a negative thought about immigrants that they cannot show adaptability the society's culture. It is widely believed that immigrants will disturb the society's existing identity by damaging national integrity which causes them to be perceived as threats (Van Dijk, 2000, 40-41). The media's and especially the press media's role are extremely significant while representing the immigrants to the public. Due to the power of the media, it has become necessary to research how racist and discriminative codes are produced in media texts (ibid.). If the press becomes the voice of the immigrants and gives information about what kinds of problems the immigrants face, including daily life issues, gender inequalities, social and economic problems, the press can leave its racist and sexist attitudes towards the female immigrants. When the press abandons racist and sexist discourses towards the immigrants and shows sensitivity towards them, there will be peace and harmony within the society, since people "learn racism (or anti-racism) largely through text or talk" (Van Dijk,

2000, 36). If Russian women are represented in different ways, it is important to know how they are portrayed. At this point, how Russian women are represented in the Turkish press media should be examined in a more detailed way.

News media can promote integration through its news content and representation of immigrants (Christoph, 2012, 98). In this study, representation of Russian women in Turkish press will be elaborated to assess the impact of the press on integration. The research paper is composed of three parts. In the first part, I will explain historical process of immigration into Turkey and I will analyze integration of Russian women living in Turkey. Secondly, I will examine mixed marriages between Russian women and Turkish men in terms of adaptation and integration. Then, I will explain difficulties that Russian women migrants face in the job market and I will mention sexual exploitation of Russian women in the context of women trafficking. In the second part, I will analyze media's power to enhance or impede integration. In the third part, I will examine representation of immigrants in the press. Later, in research part, I will provide a content analysis of five Turkish national newspapers (*Evrensel*, *Sözcü*, *Hürriyet*, *Sabah* and *Yeni Akit*) which have different ideological stances by including two distinct keywords as "Russian woman" and "Russian bride." The paper will deal with several topics which have a strong relationship with one another such as migration, history, law, marriage, gender issues, economic problems, adaptation and integration which will enable to approach the research in a detailed way. In the end, I will compare and discuss the theories that I will analyze throughout the paper and the results of the content analysis in order to provide a clear conclusion.

## 1. RUSSIAN WOMEN IMMIGRATION TO TURKEY

In 1920, on the eve of the establishment of the Turkish Republic, almost 150,000 Russian people reached on the shores of the Bosphorus to seek refuge after the Soviet Red Army swept into power in the Crimea (Bloch, 2010, 507). By the mid-1930s, the greater number of the Russian people had immigrated to France or other European countries. Migration of Russian people continued until the year 1937, since the Turkish government began not to admit refugees from the Soviet Union because of the anticipated Cold War anxiety (ibid.). However, Russian migration continued in the following years.

Although Turkey was a country of origin which sends Turkish immigrants to foreign countries since 1960s, (Abadan-Unat, 2011, 9) it also began to receive foreign immigrants because of “tourism related human mobility,” “migration,” “advanced communication,” “economic integration” and “globalization”. Nevertheless, the profile of immigrants and their conditions in Turkey differs from the ones who immigrate into other countries in terms of their causes to immigrate and the duration of their living (Uçar İlbuğa & Sepetçi, 2010, 31). At the same time, the term “transnational migration” has begun to come into prominence which is different from “international migration” (Deniz & Özgür, 14). "International migration" includes short-term and temporary labour migration and breaking social ties with the origin countries (sender countries) by adapting a new life in the countries which receive migrants from other countries. On the other hand, "transnational migration" refers to the formation of an active and continuous social network between the people, the origin country and the target country. Although migration is one of the significant consequences of globalization, another significant tool of globalization is tourism activities which are basically based on human mobility (ibid.).

After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the majority of Russian women began to immigrate into different countries including Western countries and Turkey for better living standards and to earn their living by seeking job

opportunities in other countries. Especially Turkey became a destination country for female migrants. “Thousands of female migrants from impoverished post-Soviet countries sought ways to work in Turkey because of its lax visa policies and relative geographical proximity” (Zhidkova & Demir, 2016, 125). In this way, Turkey has become an attractive destination for Russian migrant women from the beginning of 1990s. It can be said that Turkey which used to send immigrants to foreign countries has also become a target country for foreign immigrants.

Russian women have immigrated to Turkey since the beginning of 1990s, after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The citizens of CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States) had involved in transnational movements which caused their migration to Turkey, especially to the coast of Black Sea and Istanbul. Some of them had worked in entertainment-sex sector and shuttle trade. Particularly Russians have begun working in tourism sectors and other tourism related sectors in Antalya, since Antalya is the tourism centre of Turkey (Bayram, 2013, 80-81). Similar to other coastal regions, Antalya has a non-homogenous cultural structure which has lots of foreign immigrants and this situation brings cultural richness through economy and global communications (Uçar İlbuğa & Sepetçi, 2010, 31). The dynamics of tourism activities and globalism are the most significant factors which cause Russian women to migrate and settle down in Turkey, especially in Antalya (Filiyeva, 2018, 25).

Russians live mostly in Antalya which “has turned into a home” as one of the most significant tourism centres in Turkey. When the dispersion of Russian Federation citizens in the cities in Turkey is examined, it is seen that in the city of Antalya, the population of the Russian Federation citizens are more than the population of the Russian Federation citizens in İstanbul (Deniz & Özgür, 2010, 16). According to the Turkish Statistical Institute, “a total of 18.905 Russians currently live in the city.” (Hatice Özdemir Tosun, *Russians prefer living in resort city of Antalya*, 2021). After the year 2000, city of Antalya which is one of the most significant tourism regions of Turkey, has become a popular target for international migration. In this context, within other foreigners and immigrants

who currently live in Antalya, the increase of the visibility of Russian migrants in social life is remarkable (Filiyeva, 2018, 25). Most of the time, Russian women first come to Antalya for touristic purpose and later it turns into a permanent migration (ibid.). Although most of the Russian women first come to Turkey, especially to Antalya, for touristic purposes, a lot of Russian women migrate and decide to stay permanently in Turkey for “family reasons”, since most of them get married to Turkish men (Bayram, 2013, 109-110). Filiyeva argues that since the marriages between Turkish men and Russian women began to increase, “settled Russian women” in began to be more accepted by Turkish society in the course of them which had a positive effect on Russian women’s “image” (Filiyeva, 35-36).

Russian migrants choose to live in Antalya for various reasons. The primary reason of choosing Antalya is based on economic factors, due to Russians believe that their working conditions in Antalya are better and living in Antalya is inexpensive, compared to other cities. Other than economic factors, convenience of social life and social opportunities are significant for the Russians. The existence of relatives and friends and marriage with Turkish citizens (Turkish men) are the social factors which motive Russians to live in Antalya. At the same time, proximity to Russia, Mediterranean climate of Antalya and loving the nature of Antalya are other reasons of choosing Antalya for the migrants to spend their lives (Bayram, 2013, 72).

When the findings are considered, the great number of Russian women participants has visited Antalya after the year 2000, for the first time (86%). Their motivations for their first visit are touristic purposes (55%), visiting relatives (13%), marriage (13%), work (13%) and education (6%). It is seen that after several visits to Antalya, Russian women migrants had decided to live/stay long term in Antalya, especially after the year 2005 (Deniz & Özgür, 2013, 6). Although most of the Russian migrants cannot do their own jobs in Antalya, they work in other sectors which are not related to their education degrees in order to live permanently in Antalya (Bayram, 2013, 102-103). It is pointed out that Russian women who have come to Antalya after getting married with Turkish

men is the least risky group, since they have satisfied their economic needs (work) and needs of shelter with the help of their husbands. In last decade, it can be said that Russian women are welcomed and they are more likely to be accepted without prejudice in Turkish society, thanks to their marriages with Turkish men (Filiyeva, 2018, 87).

According to the findings of Deniz & Özgür's study, the fundamental reason of Russian women migrating to Antalya is the richness of job opportunities and the expectancy of having a good income (37%). In addition to this, the recommendation of other migrants who previously moved to Antalya (28%) and the influence of spouse/partner (23%) are the answers of why Russian women prefer to migrate to Antalya. Only a few of (5%) Russian migrant women prefer to migrate to Antalya not to face any bureaucratic obstacles (Deniz & Özgür, 2000, 23). As a result, it can be said that economic and social facts are the main motivations of Russian women to migrate to Antalya. Russian women who live in Turkey are mostly worried about their economic situation due to they need to send money to their families in Russia. Therefore, Russian women are more likely to be encouraged and motivated during the process of migration, since they are dependable about sending money to their families in their home country (Kurt, 2014, 157).

Russian migrant women in Antalya are mostly involved in entertainment and animation services, real estate agency, elderly /child care, tourism organization and in tourism services (ibid.). They are also employed in accommodation and restaurant services, food and beverage management, jewellery industry, tourism agencies and real-estate agencies. Findings related to working status of the Russian migrants reveal that contrary to popular belief about Russian migrant women, these women are not generally employed in sex industry and they are well-educated, university graduate women who can be described as "qualified labour" (Bayram, 2013, 81). However, local people have a tendency to think that Russian women may be involved in sex industry as sex workers which



have a great impact on Russian migrant women's migration experience in Antalya, Turkey (Bayram, 2013, 124).

Since Russian women immigrate into other countries independently and individually, it can be said that there is a "feminization of migration" (Kurt, 2014, 30) which is a conceptualized phenomenon (Castles & Miller, 2008). According to the findings, Russian migrant women in Antalya are actively involved in work life and during this process they reinforce their position by using some strategies such as marriage. Therefore, it is comprehensible that more Russian women are existent in this migration system. Nevertheless, although Russian migrant women have their own unique migration system and high interaction levels, they face problems because of being seen as foreigners by the local community and because of the Russian women's negative image (Filiyeva, 2018, 26). Even though these types of prejudices have partially been overcome, socio-cultural inconsistencies still exist. Therefore, Russian women migrants try not to experience any negative situation because of their physical appearance by dyeing their blonde hair to black or brown colours (Deniz & Özgür, 2013, 1).

There are an increasing number of female migrants throughout the world and this fact has various reasons. The reasons of women migration are the changes in gender roles both in "sender" and "receiver" countries, increasing demand for women labour in gender-based jobs (child/elderly care, housework, entertainment/sex industry), women's situation to satisfy their economic needs, women's desire to escape from their restrictive and oppressive social environment to have a better life and women's international marriages (Kurt, 2014, 31). Kurt argues that migrant women have a tendency to consider marriage as a solution for their poverty and an opportunity to provide a better future for their children (Kurt, 2014, 110). Especially the women in post-Soviet countries faced economical and social disadvantages after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, since they were deprived of their equal economic and social securities. After the fall of this system, Soviet women lost their jobs and they were put in a disadvantaged

position. Based on research, it was indicated that two thirds of the unemployed people were female citizens (Deniz & Özgür, 2013, 3).

As two significant components of globalization, technology and communication channels facilitate the migration of women (Demirdizen, 2013, 327). One of the most important outcomes of researches which focus on foreign people living in Turkey is the high number of women migrants (Bayram, 2013, 97). These foreign women who migrate independent of their family or husband usually work in gender-based jobs which are sex/entertainment sector, suitcase trade, child/elderly care or housework. Therefore, it can be said that there is a distinct dimension of femininity of migration which is a gender-based division of labour. It can be argued that there are more job opportunities for migrant women than migrant men in Turkey. As a result, foreign women are more likely to take part in migratory workforce (Bayram, 2013, 82).

Besides, it is highly observed that migrant women who came from the same country find employment in same employment areas based on sharing same national identity. The reason of this specific division of labour is the social networks of migrant women with the target countries which are formed through the migration process (Demirdizen, 2013, 331). Every type of social network including spouse and relatives who facilitate women's migration to target countries enable these women to find employment in the same sectors with other migrant women. Therefore, it is easier for migrant women to cope with the problems they face in the target countries with the help of these social networks (ibid.).

There are many distinct migrant groups in Turkey (Bayram, 2013, 81-82). Although Russian migrants have common features with other migrant groups, it can be said that they have a slightly different migration experience. When the age groups of the Russian migrants who live in Antalya are examined, it is seen that young population in the Russian migrant group is evident. Parallel to the increased role of Antalya in international tourism, a demand for labour force has emerged and it can be said that the young population who come from post-Soviet

countries has satisfied this demand. This situation indicates that the “transnational mobility” from Russia to Antalya is also a “young people migration” as well as “women migration” (Deniz & Özgür, 2010, 23). Within this group, there are Russian women who had come to Antalya by getting married with Turkish men and had begun to live in Antalya. From this perspective, migration from Russia to Antalya can be called as “marriage immigration” for some Russian women migrants (Bayram, 2013, 108).

### **1.1. Integration of Russian Women Living in Turkey**

The majority of the Russian immigrants are concentrated in İstanbul, Ankara and Antalya (Antonova-Ünlü, Sağın-Şimşek, Ateşman & Lozovska, 2015, 396). Although it is assumed that Russian women particularly live in Antalya, they live in every region in Turkey, even in small cities in Anatolia (Filiyeva, 2018, 25) such as Trabzon (Kurt, 2014, 70). Among these cities, the visibility of Russian women is the highest in Antalya where Russian women are involved in social and economic life by establishing Russian language courses, Russian institutions and working not only in tourism sector but in various industries as well (Filiyeva, 2018, 32). In addition to these, migrant women who work as translators and interpreters in Turkey have a higher income than the migrant women who work in other sectors (Kurt, 2014, 89). It can be argued that Russian women’s integration is easier in Antalya compared to other cities in Turkey, since Russian diaspora is stronger and more crowded in Antalya (Bayram, 2013, 81).

According to Bayram, language enables to solve communication problems between local people and foreigners (Bayram, 2013, 91). Being able to speak, write and read in different languages brings lots of advantages to migrant women, depending on the individual’s education level and the cultural structure that they live in (Kurt, 2014, 88). Russian women have strong adaptability and integration skills in Turkish society more than European and American migrants who live in Turkey since they have a better command of Turkish than European and American migrants (Bayram, 2013, 116). It can be said that Russian women who

live in Turkey have strong adaptability skills especially in terms of learning the language (Antonova-Ünlü, Sağın-Şimşek, Ateşman & Lozovska, 2015, 399). Compared to the German, Dutch and British diasporas, “the Russian immigrants seem to be more successful in retention of Turkish and are eager to communicate with and be accepted by Turkish people, which makes them more prone to social integration and acculturation to the Turkish host society” (Antonova-Ünlü, Sağın-Şimşek, Ateşman & Lozovska, 2015, 405). Although there is no government policy to teach Turkish to Russian migrants in Antalya, it is seen that the Russian migrants have reached a high level of Turkish speaking with their own efforts (Bayram, 2013, 90). Although most of the Russian migrants had nearly no Turkish knowledge before migrating to Turkey, they made a prominent progress in the language by attending a Turkish language course (59.6 percent) or by directly communicating with Turkish people near themselves (40.3 percent) in order to learn formal use of the language and to increase their chance to find a potential job in Turkey (Antonova-Ünlü, Sağın-Şimşek, Ateşman & Lozovska, 2015, 399). It is seen that Russian migrant women are talented in learning languages and it is not difficult for them to learn a new language, since their relationships with their relatives in neighbour countries increase their cultural richness and “multilingualism” (Kurt, 2014, 90). Moreover, Russian migrant women give significance to learn Turkish language in order to feel safe and comfortable in Turkey and not to experience any grievance because of their foreign identity (Antonova-Ünlü, Sağın-Şimşek, Ateşman & Lozovska, 2015, 404). Bayram’s study indicates that the migrants (especially Russian migrants) who are fluent in Turkish language and who live in Turkey for five to ten years do not see themselves as “foreigners” since they feel themselves as a part of Turkish community (Bayram, 2013, 107). At the same time, most of the settled Russian migrants (%62.1) in Antalya celebrates Turkish national holidays (Bayram, 2013, 116).

On the other hand, it can be also said that Russian migrants in Antalya are eager to maintain and reinforce their culture by establishing their own educational institutions. In Turkey, foreigners have the right to establish their own education

institutions which can be opened for primary and secondary school students and which are called as “international education institutions” (Filiyeva, 2018, 37). One of the international education institutions which are established by foreigners in Turkey is “International Russian School in Antalya” which have started giving education in the year 2000, where Russian children are educated based on Russian curriculum and they learn both Turkish and English as foreign languages. In addition to this, the students learn both the history of Turkey and the history of Antalya. In this way, Russian children are given the opportunity to learn both Russian and Turkish cultures simultaneously which enable them to integrate their lives in Antalya without being assimilated within the society they live in. In addition to the International Russian School in Antalya, associations for Russian migrants in Antalya are significant institutions for them. Associations for Russian migrants enable cooperation and solidarity among the Russian migrants. In order to benefit from these organizational structures, Russian women have established their own associations in İstanbul, Ankara, Antalya and Alanya where Russian language courses, art exhibitions and various social activities are organized (Filiyeva, 2018, 38). Other than opening language courses and organizing activities and exhibitions, these associations inform Russian migrants, especially about the solutions of their problems that they face as immigrants. In this way, these associations function as cooperation and solidarity centres which increase their communication and integration with Turkish society (Bayram, 2013, 89).

When the Russian women migrants’ learning Turkish language skills, establishing their own school and their own migrant associations in Antalya, it can be said that Russian women living in Turkey are eager to adapt and integrate into the society by both learning local culture and maintaining their “own culture” within themselves. Russian migrant women also give great importance to teach Russian language to their half- Turkish children living in Turkey, since they believe that being able to speak Russian will be significant for their children’s professional life and they want their children to be able to communicate with their relatives living in Russia (Antonova-Ünlü, Sağın-Şimşek, Ateşman & Lozovska, 2015, 401). Besides, Russian women have a constant contact with their Russian

relatives via communication technologies and they often follow Russian mass media as well as participating the activities organized by Russian-speaking communities in Turkey (ibid.). In this way, Russian migrant women easily adapt their lives in Turkey and they also maintain their cultural roots by reinforcing their relations with their relatives in Russia.

## **1.2. Mixed Marriages Between Russian Women and Turkish Men**

Marriage migration is a very specific phenomenon, since it is a distinctive and characteristic feature of female migration (Ryazantsev & Sivoplyasova, 2018, 191). Female migrants' migration experience is also affected by the complexity of motivations and emotional attachments which define their migration experience (Bloch, 2010, 503). Young Russian women began to seek life companions abroad after the collapse of the Soviet Union because of the difficult economic situation in the country, low income, massive social degradation and the possibility of obtaining citizenship of the country of migration by getting married with the host country's citizens (Ryazantsev & Sivoplyasova, 2018, 189). In order to overcome from economic and social problems, Russian migrant women prefer to marry with Turkish men. In this way, they are able to obtain a legal status by getting a Turkish citizenship (Ekiz Gökmen, 2011, 213-214). Bloch argues that Russian women usually use their romantic relationships to strengthen their legal status in Turkey by first becoming temporary residents and after waiting for three years and passing the interview, they eventually become citizens (Bloch, 2010, 509).

The vast majority of people who move to other countries to form families are women who make up 98 percent of the migration flow and are more active than men in leaving the country (Ryazantsev & Sivoplyasova, 2018, 191). The average age of Russian women migrants was twenty-eight years who have higher education, who did not have children and were not married before (Tyuryukanova, 1996, 91). Turkey is one of the most popular destinations for Russian migrant women and determining the exact number of Russian women who moved to Turkey is extremely difficult (Ryazantsev & Sivoplyasova, 2018,

200). Russian migrant women usually prefer Turkish men over Russian men and they describe their country's men as “poor, unemployed, alcoholic and unfaithful”. For Russian migrant women, the reason of marrying with Turkish men is their characteristic of being “family-oriented”. Russian women describe Turkish men as “men who are attached to home and family life” (Ekiz Gökmen, 2011, 215).

It can be said that high rate of marriages among Russian women and Turkish men created the word “Russian bride” as a popular phrase. As a socio-cultural phenomenon, a significant feature of marriage migration from Russia is the concept of “Russian wife” has become kind of brand (Ryazantsev & Sivoplyasova, 2018, 192). “This phenomenon was formed due to the fact that brides from post-Soviet countries have a similar phenotype, as well as they have similar patterns of family behavior, which attracts foreign grooms” (ibid.). It may be argued that the word “Russian bride” enables Russian migrant women to feel a sense of belonging after getting married with Turkish men since they consider themselves as a part of the society rather than being migrants. Ekiz Gökmen argues that being adapted to the society is easier for migrant women through marriage and getting married with a Turkish citizen can decrease the risk of being excluded from the society (Ekiz Gökmen, 2011, 227). Indeed, for Russian women migrants, being married to a family member of the host society and forming families with Turkish men seem to have a crucial impact in their adaptation to Turkey and it benefits their acculturation to the Turkish host society (Antonova-Ünlü, Sağın-Şimşek, Ateşman & Lozovska, 2015, 405).

On the other hand, it can be said that Russian women whom are in an intimate relationship with Turkish men generally receive help from their Turkish spouses or Turkish boyfriends in terms of financial support and the idea of stability, as well as emotional side of their relationships (Bloch, 2010, 509). According to Deniz & Özgür’s study, 31% of the Russian women participants received help generally from their partners or spouses (Deniz & Özgür, 2013, 5-6). Other Russian female migrants received help during the process of migration from their friends (24%), their families and relatives (14%) and intermediary

people/firms (7%) (ibid.). Therefore, it can be said that the forms of intimacy that migrant workers create in the countries where they usually work for years is strategic and it is encouraged by mutually appealing concerns where ‘love’, ‘romance’ and ‘material benefit’ are combined (Bloch, 2010, 510). Based on the interviews that she conducted with Russian women, Bloch expresses that majority of Russian women regard their lives with Turkish men differently. “They rarely spoke of their relationships in terms of equality but instead in terms of economic and legal stability, and sometimes romance” (ibid.). However, contrary to Bloch’s argument, Deniz & Özgür puts forward that migration of Russian women who are married to Turkish men is a labour migration and it is based on love and affection which do not depend on any obligation (Deniz & Özgür, 2013, 159).

In Turkey, mixed marriages between Russian women and Turkish men are very prevalent. “According to the Embassy of the Turkish Republic in Moscow, there are about 105,000 ‘Russian wives’ in Turkey” (Ryazantsev & Sivoplyasova, 2018, 200). After more than a decade of relatively open boundaries for post-Soviet citizens, in 2003, the Turkish government began to tighten border controls by computerizing passports and imposing restrictive measures on marriages to foreigners (Bloch, 2010, 508). In this way, foreigners who are married with Turkish citizens must patiently wait for a three-year period and later they are allowed to apply for Turkish citizenship and they face with a rigorous interview before being accepted as Turkish citizens. “This law is widely viewed as ‘protecting’ innocent Turkish men from Russian women who seek marriages of convenience” (ibid.). Since Russian women often purposefully migrate to Turkey to find a husband, the social phenomenon “Natasha” was formed for this reason (Ryazantsev & Sivoplyasova, 2018, 200). Bloch mentions that although the wording of 2003 law does not indicate certain ethnic groups, it seems that the term ‘Natasha’ has emerged as a public opinion response which disparages Russian women migrants (Bloch, 2010, 508). Even though ‘Natasha’ is a relatively widespread Russian name, in Turkey it is used as a term which equates post-Soviet women, especially Russian women, with being sex workers who are also potential ‘disease spreaders’, spies or schemers who want to get Turkish



citizenship (ibid.). In spite of the prejudice against them, Russian women who acquire citizenship through marriage is the most dynamic group in Antalya who improve the Russian community in Turkey in a widespread effect (Deniz & Özgür, 2013, 157).

According to Filyeva's research, Russian-Turkish marriages are generally successful and compatible and it is stated that the majority of Russian women convert to Islam, after getting married with Turkish men (Filyeva, 2018, 72). Russian women regard Turkey as an "appealing" country, since the mixed marriages between Russian women and Turkish men became more prevalent and these marriages are begun to be more accepted and acknowledged by Turkish society in an increasing rate. Besides, it can be said that Russian women who are married to Turkish men transfers their own marriage experiences to other Russian women which encourages single Russian women to move into Turkey through marriage (Deniz & Özgür, 2013, 159). Filyeva states that although married Russian women's integration to Turkish society is generally successful, there are some obstacles that Russian women face in Turkey such as adapting themselves to Turkish traditions (ex: kissing hands of their husbands' elder relatives) and difficulties that they experience in legal matters (Filyeva, 2018, 73). In general, Russian married migrants experience very similar problems such as facing with a language barrier, cultural characteristics of Turkish society, complex relationships with Turkish husbands' parents and differences in mentality which complicates the adaptation and integration of the Russian wives in host society (Ryazantsev & Sivoplyasova, 2018, 201). Filyeva underlines that educational background and socio-economical statue of Turkish husbands are significant, since well-educated and open-minded Turkish men are more compatible with educated Russian women which foster the the women's adaptation and integration in Turkey (Filyeva, 2018, 79). Filyeva also argues that Russian brides' integration is easier in big cities of Turkey such as Antalya, Istanbul, Ankara and İzmir compared to cities in central and eastern regions of Anatolia which are religiously conservative and where traditions are strict (Filyeva, 2018, 73). Ryazantsev & Sivoplyasova argues that despite the high rates of marriage migration, many Russian-Turkish

marriages break-up in 1-3 years after registration, since it is quite difficult for Russian women to learn Turkish, adapt in the new country and accept Turkish national traditions. However, they emphasize that despite the failure of marriages and family relationships, many Russian women successfully integrate into the society by studying the language and they remain in the host country (Ryazantsev & Sivoplyasova, 2018, 200-201).

### **1.3. Difficulties that Russian Women Migrants Face in the Job Market**

Russian women migrants in Turkey also face difficulties in the job market, apart from their integration to Turkish society, since the beginning of their regular migration to Turkey. At the beginning of 1990s, large number of the wealthy Russians has engaged in 'shuttle' or 'suitcase' trade for a short-term by purchasing clothing wholesale for resale in their home country (Bloch, 2010, 506). Besides, a long-term migration also took place including the arrival of migrant women in Turkey corresponded with a demand for low-wage labour in the service and care sectors such as cleaning homes and caring for children and elderly people (ibid.). To an increasing extent, Russian women began to be employed as sex workers, translators and sales assistants in big cities such as Istanbul and tourist destinations such as Antalya. Especially Russian migrant women who are involved in entertainment/sex industry, domestic services and child & elder care services face serious difficulties due to they work in hard conditions. It can be said that both the Russian house maids and Russian sex workers face with similar problems in terms of their irregular migration, their entrance to Turkey, their undocumented residence in Turkey and their work experiences in 'undocumented economy' (Üstübcü, 2011, 11). Russian migrant women work long hours for below average salaries and they receive no benefits as undocumented labourers. In addition to this, they have few rights to protection from exploitation by being subjected to state power (Bloch, 2010, 507).

Since they are employed uninsured by the employers, it is easier for the migrants to find jobs in the labour market and their labour force is cheaper

compared to native workers' labour market. Ekiz Gökmen highlights that in every region of the world, mostly black citizens, ethnic minorities and women are employed in tourism sector in which there is a widespread undocumented employment opportunities (Ekiz Gökmen, 2011, 203). Especially in tourism sector, there is a strong need for tourism personnel in order to communicate with tourists in their own language. Because of this, good command of foreign language is significant. This situation has increased demand for migrant women and has created various job opportunities (Ekiz Gökmen, 2011, 204). On the other hand, Russian migrant workers are preferred by the employers in Turkey, because they are more hardworking, disciplined, educated, and tolerant than Turkish workers and they have better foreign language knowledge than Turkish workers (Ekiz Gökmen, 2011, 203). In spite of their good qualities in the job market, Russian migrant women are confronted with many problems in terms of employment and their labour is generally exploited by the employers. Especially Russian women who work in entertainment/sex industry are more likely to face exploitation by their employers. Due to local thoughts related to gender and sexuality, Russian migrant women are usually employed in tourism sector as croupiers, night club dancers and sex workers (ibid.). Working as croupiers, night club dancers, sex workers, animators and masseuses are not preferred by Turkish women due to the image of these jobs (Ekiz Gökmen, 2011, 227).

As a result of this situation, “foreigners” work in the sectors which they are allowed to and the sectors where there is no native labour force. Since employment priority is given to Turkish citizens; it becomes difficult for the immigrants to get work permission in other sectors which are apart from tourism, education and domestic services. However, majority of the migrant labourers are involved in unskilled labour which can be also done by the native labour force for low wages (Coşkun, 2014, 192). The employment areas in which migrant women are allowed to work are usually described as ‘undocumented’ and ‘unskilled’ labour which has low wages and low mobility conditions.

Russian migrant women face with several problems in the labour market. One of these problems is becoming unskilled workers in the labour market. Russian migrant women who had high status occupations in their home countries before migrating to Turkey are usually began to be employed in ordinary and low status occupations in the country that they migrated to (Ekiz Gökmen, 2011, 205). One of the significant reasons of the migrant women becoming an unskilled worker is the women migrants' inadequate knowledge of English. Besides, most of the migrant women did not get a proper education for the professions that they want to be employed. However, other than having low English knowledge and not having a proper education degree, these women are not allowed to work in high status jobs because of the racist and sexist labour market. Due to the racist and sexist labour market, Russian migrant women are only allowed to work in tourism, sex/entertainment sector, child/elder care and house services. Other than these sectors, they are not given any employment opportunities (Ekiz Gökmen, 2011, 205-206).

On the other hand, it is seen that a sexist division of labour has emerged in terms of employment areas. As a result of this sexist division of labour, house work, textile and entertainment-sex sector have become basic employment areas for migrant women. Especially employing migrant women in domestic services have reinforced the sexist division of labour, since house work and child/elder care is seen as traditional responsibility of women (Demirdizen, 2013, 331). As it is known, especially in Turkey, domestic work and child/elder care are traditionally provided by women who are family members. Demirdizen argues that since these services are provided by female family members, it prevented these domestic services to be supplied by Turkish government (Demirdizen, 2013, 332). Because of this, citizens who buy house work and care services usually prefer boarding maids. This situation has increased the demand for migrant labour in domestic services. Since native labourers usually do not accept to work as boarding maids, migrant labourers are more preferred in Turkey as boarding maids (ibid.). Just like female family members who do domestic services without demanding any payment, migrant women who become boarding maids are

confronted with the invisibility of their work in the eyes of their employers and indefinite work hours (Demirdizen, 2013, 338). In addition to these, working as a boarding maid blurs the distinction between working hours and leisure time. At the same time, this situation causes the exploitation of migrant women's emotional labour; due to boarding maids have a tendency to perceive their employers as their "family". Therefore, the labour of the migrants can be controlled and exploited by their employers, since boarding maids are responsible from both house work and child/elder care (ibid.). Other than causing to exploit the migrant women's labour, indefinite working hours also cause negative effects on physical and psychological health of the boarding maids. Boarding maids usually cannot get permission for their day offs and they are usually exploited both materially and spiritually. As a result, migrant women who work as boarding maids are exposed to negative working conditions (Demirdizen, 2013, 339).

In Turkey, majority of the migrants work without working permission and as a result they are obliged to work as 'undocumented' workers. Especially migrant women in Turkey work in difficult working conditions such as working for long hours, having inadequate day-offs, earning low wages and being in an isolated working environment with limited mobility (Coşkun, 2014, 192). Due to the migrants have 'undocumented' status, they are usually preferred by the employers, since they are vulnerable to exploitation and they accept to work in negative conditions easily, compared to native labourers (ibid.). Additionally, there are widespread implementations and risks for migrant women in Turkey such as confiscation of passports, restricting mobility, sexual abuse, oppression and making them imprisoned in houses (Coşkun, 2014, 193). Although migrant women have become conscious in recent years about not giving their passports to their employers, confiscation of passports is a general practice which is done by the employers in order to keep migrant employees dependent to themselves (Demirdizen, 2013, 339-340). This dependency creates a form of working condition between the employers and the migrant employees which is close to slavery (Demirdizen, 2013, 340). All of these risks and negative working

conditions that Russian women migrants face threaten their physical and emotional safety.

However, when the concepts of ‘migration’ and ‘safety’ are used together, most of the time the safety of the state and the safety of boundaries of the nation-state come first rather than the immigrants’ personal safety needs (Üstübici, 2011, 2). Personal safety is not only limited to life safety. Personal safety also includes social security, employment security, access to health services and access to law. The meaning of access to law is not only the recognition of legal rights. It also includes enabling the immigrants to access their legal rights physically and providing a political environment in which the individuals can negotiate their rights (ibid.). In Turkey, there are more employment opportunities for female migrants in ‘undocumented economy’ than male migrants and it can be said that female migrants labour force participation is higher (Üstübici, 2011, 4). Unlike the existing undocumented migrant worker profile who are poor, uneducated and who have come from rural areas, the Russian migrants who come to Turkey are the individuals that have professional skills and who have urban life experiences (Üstübici, 2011, 8). It can be said that Turkish people regard Russian migrant women as desirable, well-educated and ‘cultured’ women (Bloch, 2010, 507). Bloch argues that Russian women are more than ordinary undocumented labourers who work in a ‘global care economy’ as sex workers, cleaners and caregivers. She says that these women are also in demand because of signifying modernity (ibid.). However, in their employment in home services and sex/entertainment sector, losing their qualifications is only one of the components of economic violence for the Russian migrant women. It is indicated that in home services, most of the employers perceive giving employments to the house maids as a grace. The common complaints of the Russian migrant women who work in home services and sex sector are employment by force in long working hours, not getting paid or getting less payment, confiscation of their passports by the employers, the fear of deportation and the sexual exploitation (Üstübici, 2011, 8). On the other hand, sex workers who get most reaction both in the media and in public opinion have a higher risk of deportation than the house workers (ibid.).

Üstübici argues that statistics indicating the nationalities of deported migrant women due to prostitution refutes that the labelling of ‘Russian Natashas’ which is widely reflected on the media. In spite of this, the created Russian female sex worker image causes stigmatization of every Russian migrant woman as ‘Natasha’ even if they are not sex workers and because of this stigmatization they are exposed to racism and abuse (Üstübici, 2011, 10). Therefore, the institution of marriage facilitates the migrants’ access to security and social protection. However, their working permissions expire when their marriage with Turkish citizens ends or when it is determined by the government that their marriage is fraudulent marriage. This situation causes migrant women’s dependency to Turkish men in order to maintain their legal status. Getting married with a Turkish citizen extricates migrant women from an unsecure area that is brought by their undocumented status. However, this situation also increases their vulnerability towards male violence in private space (Üstübici, 2011, 10), as well as their dependency to their spouses. Therefore, it can be said that Russian migrant women’s personal safety is in a risky position in Turkey, since these women have a higher risk of being deported from the country. In addition to this, they are prone to face sexual abuse, exploitation of labour and violence in domestic areas or in the streets.

#### **1.4. Sexual Exploitation of Russian Women and Women Trafficking**

Some Russian women migrants in Turkey are involved in prostitution which is a critical topic to be discussed. These women are mostly victims of women trafficking who are deceived by sex traffickers. At this point, definition of “trafficking” is significant. Trafficking can be defined as “any practice that involves moving people within and across local or national borders for the purpose of sexual exploitation” (Hughes, 2000, 2). Trafficking may be caused by conditions of inequality for women and children, as well as manipulation, deception, force, abuse of authority, coercion, initial consent, family pressure, economic deprivation and community violence” (ibid.).

After the fall of the Soviet Union, many women in the post-Soviet countries were deprived of state support programs and economic opportunities which were previously available for them. Since the women in post-Soviet countries faced economic problems, majority of the women decided to leave their communities and they chose Turkey as a better place to live (Zhidkova & Demir, 2016, 126). Economical problems such as unemployment are the main reasons which lead migrant women to migrate other regions in order to earn their living. As Zhidkova & Demir states “Poverty is accepted as the most important “push” factor for the migrant women” (Zhidkova & Demir, 2016, 124 – 125). However, the economic expectations of female migrants were usually not satisfied in Turkey which caused more difficulty for them in the process of adapting to a new and an unfamiliar social environment. Hughes underlines that ten thousands of women from the post-Soviet countries leave their home countries each year in order to migrate to different destinations all over the world (Hughes, 2004, 1). Due to poverty and unemployment in their countries, these women have motivated to immigrate to different countries with a hope of finding a better life, even though there are risky offers of employment and marriage (ibid.). Thus, this situation made female migrants more vulnerable in front of sex traffickers and making it easy to fall into their traps (Zhidkova & Demir, 2016, 126).

Apart from lack of economic opportunities for Russian women and social unrest in post-Soviet countries, it can be said that a radical change in portrayal of Russian women in 1990s also directed them to employ their bodies as a way of earning their lives. As Bloch states “The post-Soviet context from which women are migrating has seen radical shifts in the dominant gender contracts defining society” (Bloch, 2010, 505). Throughout the Soviet era, official discourses mostly portrayed women in a professional sense as working for the state and building state socialism (ibid.). However, in the 1990s discourses, Soviet women are begun to be portrayed as women who needs to be protected, appreciated and supported by men and they were no longer defined by their roles in socially productive work (ibid.). The new set of gender contracts which define post-Soviet society included



prevalent commodification of women's bodies and some women consciously began to employ their bodies (ibid.).

Russian migrant women who came to Turkey continue to live without legal permissions are exposed to every type of violence and exploitation while working (Demirdizen, 2013, 341). One of the significant reasons of the violence towards migrant workers in Turkey is the migration system of Turkey which describes them as 'illegal' and regards them as 'criminal' by pushing them to live and work as "undocumented immigrants". Therefore, in Turkey, migrant workers, especially women migrant workers have become targets of physical, emotional and sexual violence. Especially the migrant women who work in houses as domestic workers are exposed to every type of violence and exploitation both in their workplaces and in the streets (ibid.).

On the other hand, transnational networks of traffickers and pimps who earn money from women trafficking do this by hunting women who have dreams of opportunities and better living standards for the future and who seek employment abroad (Hughes, 2000, 11). Thus, the women accept the suggestions of employment in unskilled jobs at high salaries and they comply with the hard conditions in their present lives, assuming that 'it cannot be worse' than that. When the women have been arrived at the destination country, they are told by the trafficker or pimp that they are not going to work as nannies, waitresses, or in any job which is appropriate and acceptable, but they will work as prostitutes. Once the women reach the destination country, several methods are used to control them which include violence, debt bondage, threats to harm family members and confiscation of travel documents (ibid.). Even if some women know that they will be involved in prostitution and willingly travel for this reason, they do not expect the level of deception, coercion and manipulation to which they will be exposed (ibid.).

Generally, the female immigrants who came from Post-Soviet countries, especially from Russia and Ukraine are likely to become potential victims of sexual harassment and abuse. Most of the Russian female migrants who came to

Turkey for employment as waitresses, domestic workers and interpreters found jobs in the informal sectors of the labour market such as tourism and entertainment where they are defenceless to exploitation and trafficking (Zhidkova & Demir, 2016, 125). “According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the majority of women and girls who become victims of sex trafficking in Turkey come from the former Soviet Union countries” (ibid.). Russian women are involved in prostitution in over 50 countries because of women trafficking (Hughes, 2000, 3). In some regions of the world like Turkey and Israel, women who come from post-Soviet countries are widespread who are called as ‘Natashas’ (ibid.).

Since the migrant women who come from the post-Soviet countries are blonde and white-skinned, they are noticed by other people easily and they are assumed as sex workers who are called as “Natashas.” Post-Soviet female immigrants are seen “beautiful and unique” with their physical appearances by having blonde hair, blue eyes and long legs, they are more likely to be perceived as “sex objects” (Zhidkova & Demir, 2016, 128). Specifically, Russian women are more likely to be perceived as “sex objects”, since the “Natasha” stereotype is also known and considered as a truth (Demirdizen, 2013, 330). As a result of their unique appearances and prejudice against Russian migrant women, they are abused, arrested and deported by the police with no reason (Demirdizen, 2013, 341). Demirdizen also underlines the relation between prejudice against migrants and the press. She states that the press usually tells rape incidents towards Russian women with a pornographic language which can be considered as a sign of “sex worker” prejudice against them (ibid.). Even if the female immigrants are not involved in sex industry as sex workers, they are still more likely to face sexual harassment and sexual assault either in workplaces or in the streets (Demirdizen, 2013, 341).

## **2. MEDIA AND INTEGRATION**

### **2.1. Definition of Integration**

Although there is no consensus on a specific definition for integration, migrant integration may be extensively defined as “the process by which migrants become accepted into society, both as individuals and as groups” which “refers to a two-way process of adaptation by migrants and host societies” (IOM, 2015). Integration also means “consideration of the rights and obligations of migrants and host societies, of access to different kinds of services and the labour market, and of identification and respect for a core set of values that bind migrants and host communities in a common purpose” (ibid.).

“Social inclusion” and “social cohesion” are two significant concepts which are related to integration. While social inclusion involves migrants’ absolute participation into host communities in economic, social, cultural, and political areas, as well as their inclusion in the host communities, social cohesion includes significant concepts such as anti-discrimination, countering xenophobia and promoting mutual understanding (IOM, 2017).

As stated in European Union Council, at the individuals, family, community and national levels, integration ensues in the public and private realms, across generations (EU Council, 2004). There are some typical indications of successful migrant integration which are the reduction of the differences between migrants and non-migrants according to data on employment, education, health and social inclusion, among other fields (Migrant Integration, 2020).

According to the research on OECD countries, “migrants in most countries have on average worse outcomes than the native-born population in areas such as education attainment and labour market participation” (OECD, 2015 & Migrant Integration, 2020) which is interpreted as a sign of ingrained barriers to effective integration. Many factors such as the country of origin, the host community context and the skill level of immigrants have impact on integration outcomes. According

to available data, integration tends to progress with the duration of residence in most countries (OECD, 2015; Huddleston et al., 2013).

On the other hand, there are main sources for migrant integration data which are censuses, household surveys, especially labour force surveys and living condition surveys. In order to measure migrant integration across a range of areas, contained data in these main sources can be used (Migrant Integration, 2020). While measuring migrant integration, key areas are utilized such as labour market (employment rates, wages or income, occupation, activity rate, over qualification rate), education (highest level of education attainment, dropout rate, grades and skills), health (healthy life years and life expectancy), social inclusion (property ownership, housing cost overburden, child poverty and social exclusion), civic inclusion/engagement (voting rights, representation in the political arena, public employment, naturalization rate, share of longterm residence and volunteering) cultural inclusion (customs, traditions, language and religion), financial inclusion (banking, savings, credit, insurance and advice), spatial inclusion (residential segregation by socio-economic status), public opinion (ability to integrate highly heterogeneous and culturally diverse group of people) and the role of media (inclusion and diversity in public service media) (Eurostat, 2011; Huddleston et al., 2013; Cities of Migration, 2010 and OECD; 2015).

## **2.2. Relationship Between Integration and Media**

It can be said that there is a general consensus about the remarkable role of the mass media in the integration of migrants and ethnic minorities living in host societies, since the mass media has a great impact on members of the majority of the society through the representation of the immigrants and it also affects migrants through the use of mainstream and/or ethnomedia (Christoph, 2012, 98). As Luhmann says, “what we know about our society and the world in which we live, we know through the mass media” (Luhmann, 1995/ 2004; p.9, author’s translation). Christoph refers to Lippman (1922) who states that “the media (print media) create ‘pictures in our heads’ that differ from the world outside”

(Christoph, 2012, 98). The media has a deep effect on the consumers' point of views to the world and it should be attentively regarded in matters of immigration. "Often, migrants are portrayed through a negative lens by the media and most usually as a homogenous group rather than as individuals" (Christoph, 2012, 97). Christoph states that according to the studies about the representation of immigrant in the mass media, migrants are often described negatively and they are adverted as members of an "ethnic group rather than as individuals" which causes the creation of negative image of the whole group of immigrants in the host society (ibid.). Since the negative image of immigrants lead to formation of stereotypes, it also strengthens the image of "us and the others" (Christoph, 2012, 99). According to Bourdieu, the media decide to select certain topics related to societal and political events in order to inform and influence the viewers about the topics that they have chosen, thanks to its agenda-setting function (Bourdieu, 1996).

The media, public opinion and politics are interrelated topics and all these three elements effect each other in various ways (Korhan, 2008). Media's impact on public opinion is a significant research topic among scholars (Boomgaarden & de Vreese, 2006, Boomgaarden & Vliegenthart 2007), which demonstrates the negative impact of negative news framing about immigration and integration issues on public (Goldberger 2004, Boomgaarden 2006). "As the media are often the only source of information people use, especially for such subject matters, they very much influence society's representation of reality" (Früh, 1994; Bourdieu, 1996). In this way, prejudices and stereotypes are formed by means of media which lead categorization of certain groups of people, discrimination and polarization within the society. Media coverage about immigration and integration issues point out that there is a certain discourse which displays "us" versus "them" style. In this discourse style, differences between the immigrant groups and the native citizens are centralized which which bear resemblance to Orientalist discourse (Goldberger, 2004). In this way, different values and norms that belong to the immigrants are usually underlined and presented as the source of problems, while the media coverage shifts from economical issues to politics (Boomgarden,

2006). “Rather than economic news on immigration, news showing immigration as a cultural threat increases the public support for anti-immigrant parties, together with other factors like the unemployment rate and the level of immigration in a country (Boomgaarden & Vliegenthart, 2007, 413). According to Boomgaarden’s analysis on three frames related to economy, culture and security threats on Dutch newspapers, the more people are exposed to negative stories related to immigration and integration, and threat frames (particularly cultural threat frames), the more anti-immigrant attitudes are seen among them (Boomgaarden, 2006, 22). Christoph refers to Geißler, (Geißler, 1999) by saying that “from a political standpoint, negative (criminal) stereotypes contribute to the legitimization of restrictive migration policies and explain (or can even serve as an excuse for) racism” (Christoph, 2012, 104).

On the other hand, negative representation of the immigrants may cause an excessive use of ethnomedia. According to Christoph, “migrants use ethnomedia for various reasons and with different consequences” (Christoph, 2012, 101). However, an exclusive use of ethnomedia may lead to a “media ghettoization” or “media segregation”, which present priorities and perspectives of the country of origin on certain subjects that do not encourage or contribute for integration (ibid.). Moreover, Christoph stresses that the press media usually focuses on what problems that immigrants create for the majority, instead of reporting the issues that the migrants face themselves such as discrimination. Christoph advocates Fleras (2006) about the subject that individuals develop a stronger feeling of belonging and self-esteem if their cultural or ethnic group is presented positively in the media, while the individuals whose cultural or ethnic group is negatively presented in the media are more likely to develop a feeling of rejection and hostility (ibid.).

Contrary to the negative impact of negative news stories on public opinion, positive coverage of immigration and integration issues are also significant, since since it has positive effects on public opinion (Boomgaarden & De Vreese, 2006). The visibility and coverage of an issue in media has a notable effect on the public

opinion. Although Boomgaarden & De Vreese (2006) emphasized the additional influence of political sophistication and economical issues on the formation of public opinion, when issues about integration are covered in the media in a positive tone, it also positively affects public opinion. According to Boomgaarden, the formation of anti-immigrant sentiments is demonstrated to have a positive impact both on the public's opposition to European integration and enlargement (Boomgaarden, 2006, p.23-24). Other than analysing the effect of media on public opinion, elements that effect the media coverage should also be underlined (Korhan, 2008).

When the factors which influence the media are analysed, real world events, key events powerful individuals and political agenda (Vliegenthart & Boomgaarden 2007), target audience and media companies' concerns about profit are key words to be mentioned (Branton & Dunaway, 2007). In addition to these, societal factors (Dunaway & Abrajano and Branton 2007) are the most significant. It can be said that the media, public and politics affect each other in multiple times and ways. Coverage of specific issues in different countries may indicate some differences. However, in media, the coverage of immigration and integration is mostly negative (Bauder 2008, Branton & Dunaway, 2007). When a detailed analysis about the media's effect on public opinion is made, it indicates that positive coverage has a positive effect on public opinion, however, choice of negative frames and racist attitudes have a tendency to create prejudice and anti-immigrant sentiments, which may lead to support anti-immigrant parties in some European countries (such as Netherlands) and it may create oppositions to EU enlargement and European integration (Boomgaarden, 2006). Christoph refers to Esser (2000), who theorizes that the media does not influence the attitudes of the readers' who already have an immutable opinion through peer groups, socialization which are already rooted in the cognitive system at a previous time (Christoph, 2012, 101). However, even if the media consumers do not have an immutable opinion, it may be shaped and formed through the media, although "the existing opinion that has been shaped beforehand also has to originate from somewhere" (Christoph, 2012, 102). As John Hartley says, "the news itself is a

social institution and a cultural discourse which exists and has a meaning only in relation to other institutions and discourses operating at the same time” (in Hussain 2000, p.98).



### 3. REPRESENTATION OF IMMIGRANTS IN THE PRESS

According to Uçar İlbuğa & Sepetçi, a place where there is cultural diversity requires respecting differences and media reality which plays a key role on formation of people's opinions and which is an influential tool in the perception of reality (Uçar İlbuğa & Sepetçi, 2010, 31). The combination of economies and communication systems which entails information and human mobility, international companies and their regional organization, migration, tourism and international immigrants have made it more comfortable and convenient for different cultures to be present together (Williams & Hall, 2002, 16). Besides, the media have also become globalized which have created a common audience all over the world and the media content have also become globalized. However, presence of distinct cultures and immigrants in a globalized world created a new form of racism which is called as "new racism". Van Dijk explains the difference between "new racism" and "old racism" that "new racism" is a contemporary form of racism which includes slavery, lynchings, segregation and systematic discrimination. He underlines that the 'new racism' aims to be democratic and respectable, therefore it denies that it is a racism (Van Dijk, 2000, 33-34). "In the New Racism, minorities are not biologically inferior, but different" (ibid.). Minorities and immigrants have different cultures; however, it is believed that their culture have certain 'deficiencies' in many respects which are seen as 'pathologies' that be need to be fixed such as drug abuse, single parent families and lacking achievement values (Van Dijk, 2000, 34). According to Öztürk, racism has transformed into "new racism" during the process because of migration and the increased level of interaction between different cultures, since new racism is based on "cultural differences". (Öztürk, 2019, 255 – 256). Both the process of homogeneousness and cultural diversity caused togetherness of different cultures in terms of living. As a result, each cultural group began to see "others" from their own point of view which is based on their own values. Inevitably, this situation directs issues and conflicts as well as the creation and

strengthening of generalizations and prejudgments. Clearly, the media plays a key role in in this period (Van Dijk, 1995, 20-21).

The media is more than a tool of communication due to it has an enourmous effect in people's socialization. Since cultural system is represented through visual, audio and printed media, media content cannot be regarded as solely as film or TV series, a piece of news and as an advertisement, since their ideological functions are also significant. According to Chomsky, the media has a societal function; however, this function is applied for another purpose. He argues that the media serves to the purpose of educating people to be loyal to the government and its societal regulations while constructing the social mentality (Chomsky & Herman, 1988, 1-2). Central power establishes its hegemony by convincing the people who are depended on the government through the media, which is used by the central power for its ideology and benefits (ibid.). In addition to this, "consent" which is a key term in hegemony is constructed without having the need of using violence and it is effective in both ideological area and mentality of the society. The other's image is represented in the media as potential criminal, dangerous and threatening that cause 'polarization' and negative stereotypes about all of the minority groups are included in the news by the media effect societal perception and they cause the creation of prejudices (Öztürk, 2019, 262-263). Therefore, negative representation of "otherized" groups including immigrants and foreigners cause negative perceptions about them. "Representations essentialise Others as 'exotic', or even worse, as abnormal and even deviant" (Fürsich, 2010, 121). In this way, people who belong to the host society begin to learn negative information about the "otherized" groups. This process of learning takes place in family, school, and societal relationships or through the media. As a result of this process of negative learning, minorities which include foreigners and immigrants began to be excluded by the society. As Fürsich states, "often the media formed a meditated national identity in limited ways by defining the boundaries of a community considered to be part of a nation and by excluding minorities as 'Others'" (Fürsich, 2010, 113).

Van Dijk argues that there are many forms of the ‘new’ racism which are ‘discursive’ and these forms are expressed, enacted and confirmed by text and talk including political propaganda, policies, laws, news reports, movies, TV programmes and everyday conversations. Van Dijk states that “especially because of their often subtle and symbolic nature, many forms of the ‘new’ racism are ‘discursive’: they are expressed, enacted and confirmed by text and talk (Van Dijk, 2000, 34). Because of this, the media plays a significant role while constructing “the other” and “the stranger.” Therefore, the representation of “the other” is crucial (Van Dijk, 2000, 49). Mass media have to be ideological, since it plays a mediator role between the people who create the society’s ideological pattern and the people who are dependent to them in terms of living. Therefore, there is an indispensable relationship between ideology and media as publication of the status quo. It is widely accepted that language has an ideology which indicates level of meaning and latent structure (Uçar İlbuğa & Sepetçi, 2010, 31-32). At the same time, as a mediating power, the media starts to play an autonomous role while producing social power structures. The actors are represented by the media and both selection of their stories and the stories’ titles are determined by the media. “This is achieved by the language used in the news, word choices, and active and passive sentence structures” (ibid.). As Van Dijk states, immigrants and foreigners are often otherized in the media and they are not evaluated objectively by using “biased news gathering, stereotype-confirming topics, denial of racism, and the consistent semantic, stylistic, and rhetorical construction of a contrast between (good) *us* and (bad) *them*” (Van Dijk, 1995, 23). It is because that they are usually seen as the people who threaten the society’s norms and values and who do not comply with the society’s cultural and traditional values. Representation of foreigners and immigrants are crucial, since media is a significant conveyor with its produced discourses which affects the consciousness of the society. “Media representations are often entrenched and predefined ways of portraying others. At times, representations may leave out whole populations simply by ignoring them or their viewpoints” (Fürsich, 2010, 121). Van Dijk argues that the press media emphasizes ‘their’ (the immigrants’)

bad actions and ‘our’ (the native citizens’) good ones. However, ‘their’ good actions and ‘our’ bad ones are not normally emphasized. Even if they are reported, they appear less in headlines or on the front page (Van Dijk, 2000, 38). “This general strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation is prevalent in most dominant discourse about immigrants and minorities” (Van Dijk, 2000, 38-39).

Moreover, it can be said that foreign women are tend to face discrimination more than male immigrants, since female immigrants are generalized and stereotyped both as “woman” and as “foreign woman.” Generalizations are made according to foreign women’s physical features, actions, behaviours and their relationships with the society. It can be said that the media has discriminative attitudes towards minorities and women in general. The media mostly represents women to the society by the society’s own point of view to the women. Women are represented in a controversial and problematic way, since they are usually characterized as erotic objects through male gaze, or home-makers and mothers (Tuchman, 1979, 528). Therefore, it can be said that representation of migrant women is more likely to be negative, since both immigrants and women are seen as secondary.

At the same time, Turkish media plays an important role for the people while representing the news about Russian women. Özaşçılar & Ziyalar argues that Turkish press media used to cover prostitution news a lot (Özaşçılar & Ziyalar, 2015, 158). In Turkey, it can be said that the perception about Russian women is highly problematic due to the “Natasha” stereotype which is widely known and almost accepted as a truth (Coşkun, 2014, 196). With the collapse of the Soviet Union, calling of Russian migrant women who migrated to Turkey as ‘Natasha’ became widespread and it turned into a prevalent image. Russian migrant women are described as sexual objects and they are positioned as ‘the women who seduce Turkish men and do harm their families’ by separating Turkish men from their wives. However, there are no criticism and accusation towards Turkish men for their relationships with Russian women. This situation

illustrates the existence of patriarchal system and reinforces male hegemony (Öztürk, 2019, 268-269). At the same time, ‘Natasha’ discourse indicates how the ‘new racism’ is produced by discourses that otherize Russian women which causes the formation of these stereotypes on media consumers’ minds (Öztürk, 2019, 270). As Van Dijk states, “discourse as a social practice of racism is at the same time the main source for people’s racist beliefs. Indeed, we ‘learn’ racism (or anti-racism) largely through text or talk” (Van Dijk, 2000, 36). Racist expressions, jokes, phrases and discourses which find place in our language become ordinary and usual after a period of time. Thus, these racist practices in the language enable racism to be accepted as a normal thought. “They appear ‘mere’ talk, and far removed from the open violence and forceful segregation of the ‘old’ racism. Yet, they may be just as effective to marginalize and exclude minorities” (Van Dijk, 2000, 34). Van Dijk adds that racist practices in the language may hurt immigrants and minorities even more due to the people who engage in such discourse and interaction perceive this so ‘normal’, so ‘natural’ and so ‘commonsensical’, since the racist practices in the language are a form of ethnic hegemony based on legitimate ideologies and attitudes which are accepted by the majority of the people in the dominant group (ibid.). Consequently, negative representations of the immigrants in the media and otherizing minorities through a discriminative discourse affect people’s (who belong to the dominant group in a society) perceptions and attitudes towards both foreigners and the immigrants which certainly have a negative influence on the integration of immigrants in the host society.

Although it has been almost thirty years after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, it can be said that there is still a negative perception about Russian women in Turkey because of the existence of negative portrayals and stereotyping. Although the “Natasha” stereotype, common perception about Russian women in Turkey and how Russian women are represented in Turkish press are significant topics to discuss, both the possible/ potential reasons of these widespread opinions and Turkish people’s thoughts about Russian women should be discussed. It is open to the question whether the Turkish press media still covers negative news

about Russian women which includes stereotyping and prejudice or it represents Russian women in more positive ways.

#### 4. RESEARCH (BETWEEN THE YEARS 2009-2021)

The question of the research paper is how the Russian women immigrants in Turkey are represented in Turkish press. In order to indicate how the Russian women migrants in Turkey are represented in the Turkish press, a qualitative content analysis of online national newspapers is done. “Qualitative content analysis is defined as a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns” (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, 1278).

Throughout the research, content analysis of Turkish online newspapers which are *Evrensel*, *Sözcü*, *Hürriyet*, *Sabah* and *Yeni Akit* are qualitatively conducted. In order to analyze these online newspapers, their online websites are selected, including [www.evrensel.net](http://www.evrensel.net), [www.sozcu.com.tr](http://www.sozcu.com.tr), [www.hurriyet.com.tr](http://www.hurriyet.com.tr), [www.sabah.com.tr](http://www.sabah.com.tr) and [www.yeniakit.com.tr](http://www.yeniakit.com.tr). These Turkish online newspapers were chosen considering their ideological backgrounds and their political stances. While *Evrensel* is a newspaper which has a leftist & socialist ideology, *Sözcü* has a Kemalist and secular ideology and *Hürriyet* is considered as a newspaper which has a liberal ideology. On the other hand, *Sabah* is considered as a newspaper which has a conservative ideology and *Yeni Akit* is a newspaper which has an Islamist ideology. Thus, with the online newspapers which represent different ideologies, the Turkish press has been thoroughly researched. While the qualitative content analysis of these online newspapers, these newspapers were examined through their online links and three key words were chosen as “Russian woman”, “Russian girl” and “Russian bride” in order to find news related to Russian women migrants. At the same time, these three keywords enable to compare how “Russian women”, “Russian brides” and “Russian girls” are represented by the Turkish press.

#### 4.1. Content Analysis of Turkish Newspapers

**Table 1.** Turkish Newspapers-Total News Numbers About Russian Migrant Women

<b>EVRENSEL</b> <b>(Leftist)</b>	<b>SÖZCÜ</b> <b>(Secular)</b>	<b>HÜRRİYET</b> <b>(Liberal)</b>	<b>SABAH</b> <b>(Conservative)</b>	<b>YENİ AKİT</b> <b>(Islamist)</b>	<b>TOTAL</b> <b>NEWS</b>
8	67	114	123	15	<b>327</b>

**Table 2.** Turkish Newspapers-Total News Numbers of “Russian Woman”, “Russian Bride” and “Russian Girl” Keywords

<b>Keywords</b>	<b>Evrensel</b>	<b>Sözcü</b>	<b>Hürriyet</b>	<b>Sabah</b>	<b>Yeni Akit</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>“Russian Woman”</b>	8	55	82	85	7	<b>237</b>
<b>“Russian Bride”</b>	0	11	31	38	8	<b>88</b>
<b>“Russian Girl”</b>	0	1	1	0	0	<b>2</b>

In this research, representations of “Russian women”, “Russian brides” and “Russian girls” are analyzed and the representations are categorized as “positive representation”, “negative representation” and “neutral representation”. Negative representation is the representation where migrants are portrayed as terrorists, sex workers, thieves or the people who are portrayed as unbalanced and immoderate. On the other hand, positive representation is where migrants are portrayed as the people who have high qualities (such as being successful, benevolent and civilized) and they are usually portrayed as the people who have strong adaptability skills in the society they live in. Neutral representation is the representation where migrants are portrayed as ordinary people or the people who are victimized of the crimes that are committed against them.



**Table 3.** Turkish Newspapers-Positive Representation News About “Russian Woman”, “Russian Bride” and “Russian Girl” Keywords

<b>Keywords</b>	<b>Evrensel</b>	<b>Sözcü</b>	<b>Hürriyet</b>	<b>Sabah</b>	<b>Yeni Akit</b>	<b>Total Positive News</b>
<b>“Russian Woman”</b>	2	2	11	20	2	<b>37</b>
<b>“Russian Bride”</b>	0	7	17	28	7	<b>59</b>
<b>“Russian Girl”</b>	0	0	0	0	0	<b>0</b>

**Table 4.** Turkish Newspapers-Negative Representation News About “Russian Woman”, “Russian Bride” and “Russian Girl” Keywords

<b>Keywords</b>	<b>Evrensel</b>	<b>Sözcü</b>	<b>Hürriyet</b>	<b>Sabah</b>	<b>Yeni Akit</b>	<b>Total Negative News</b>
<b>“Russian Woman”</b>	1	21	22	13	0	<b>57</b>
<b>“Russian Bride”</b>	0	1	0	1	0	<b>2</b>
<b>“Russian Girl”</b>	0	0	0	0	0	<b>0</b>

**Table 5.** Turkish Newspapers-Neutral Representation News About “Russian Woman”, “Russian Bride” and “Russian Girl” Keywords

<b>Keywords</b>	<b>Evrensel</b>	<b>Sözcü</b>	<b>Hürriyet</b>	<b>Sabah</b>	<b>Yeni Akit</b>	<b>Total Neutral News</b>
<b>“Russian Woman”</b>	5	32	49	52	5	<b>143</b>
<b>“Russian Bride”</b>	0	3	14	9	1	<b>27</b>
<b>“Russian Girl”</b>	0	1	1	0	0	<b>2</b>

When general representation of “Russian women” is regarded in all national newspapers, it can be said that negative representations of “Russian women” (in 57 news stories) are more than positive representations (in 37 news stories) of “Russian women”. On the other hand, positive representations of “Russian brides” (in 59 news stories) are extremely higher than negative representations of “Russian brides” (in 2 news stories). In spite of this, there are more news stories about “Russian women” in all the newspapers (237 news stories in total) than the news about “Russian brides” (88 news stories in total). In general, news stories about “Russian women” is extremely higher than “Russian brides” and “Russian girls” in all the newspapers. It can be seen that there are only 2 news stories about “Russian girls” in all the newspapers, because “Russian girl” keyword usually directs news stories about Russian young girls who are not adults. These news stories about “Russian girls” are covered in *Sözcü* and *Hürriyet* and their representations are neutral, since the news stories are about death and crime in which “Russian girls” are represented as “victims”.

In all the national newspapers, the highest number of the news stories about “Russian women” are featured in *Sabah* (85 news stories) and in *Hürriyet* (82 news stories). Among all the newspapers, the least news stories about “Russian women” are featured in *Evrensel* which do not include any news stories about “Russian brides”. Following *Evrensel*, *Yeni Akit* features few news stories about both “Russian women” (7 news stories) and “Russian brides” (8 news stories). It is significant that there are less news stories about “Russian brides” in *Evrensel* and in *Sözcü*. Within these newspapers, majority of the news stories are about “Russian women”. Contrary to *Evrensel* and *Sözcü*, majority of the news stories about “Russian brides” are featured in *Sabah* (38 news stories) and in *Hürriyet* (31 news stories). Following *Sabah* and *Hürriyet*, it is seen that more than a half of the total news stories in *Yeni Akit* are about “Russian brides”. However, it is seen that in among total news numbers in *Hürriyet* (114 news news stories), majority of the news stories are about “Russian women” (82 news stories) and the number of the news stories about “Russian brides” (31 news stories) are less than a half of the total news stories. Similar to *Hürriyet*, *Sabah* features 85 news stories

about “Russian women” and 38 news stories about “Russian brides” which indicates that more than a half of the news stories are about “Russian women”. Contrary to *Hürriyet*, it is seen that in *Yeni Akit*, the news stories about “Russian brides” are more than a half of the total news stories about “Russian migrant women” in general. *Yeni Akit* includes 8 news stories about “Russian brides” and 7 news stories about “Russian women”. Regarding this information, it can be argued that ideological stances of the newspapers play a great role on the number of “Russian bride” representation, due to conservative and Islamist newspapers are more likely to feature news stories about “Russian brides” than leftist and secular newspapers (*Evrensel* and *Sözcü*) which are less likely to feature news stories about “Russian brides”. Since, marital status of women is given importance by religiously conservative political ideologies, the news stories about “married Russian women” are highly covered by *Sabah* and *Yeni Akit*. These news stories are about the “married Russian women” whom are married with Turkish men. Another significant information is that “Russian women” are represented generally in a neutral way in all the newspapers and their neutral representations are higher, because in all the newspapers, “Russian women” are generally represented in death news and crime news where they are portrayed as “victims”. Surprisingly, it is regarded that there are not many news stories about prostitution related to “Russian women”. In *Evrensel* and *Yeni Akit*, news stories about prostitution are not mentioned. There is only 1 prostitution news story in *Sabah* and there are only 2 prostitution news stories both in *Sözcü* and *Hürriyet*. Although there are few numbers of prostitution and theft news stories about “Russian women”, it is seen that news stories about prostitution and theft are not covered by any newspapers, under the keyword of “Russian bride”. Besides, there are small numbers of death and crime news stories about “Russian brides”, unlike the great numbers of death and crime news stories about “Russian women”.

#### 4.1.1. Evrensel

**Table 6.** News Categories of EVRENSEL- Keywords of “Russian Woman”, “Russian Bride” and “Russian Girl”

Keywords	Death News	Crime News	Prostitution News	Political News	Sport News	Accident & Security News	Theft News	Integration/ Life Style News	Converting to Islam
“Russian Woman”	3	2	0	2	1	0	0	0	0
“Russian Bride”	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
“Russian Girl”	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

In *Evrensel*, under the category of “Russian woman”, there are only 8 news stories and the news stories are generally about death of Russian tourist women and the crimes which are committed against them. Some of the death news stories are also related to crime. For example, there is an online news story which is about a Russian woman who was found dead at her house in Ankara and who was exposed to violence from her Turkish husband (*Boşanmak istediği erkeğin şiddetine maruz kalan Vera Chikareva evinde ölü bulundu*, 2020). Another online news story is about a murder of a Russian female dancer who was murdered by her Turkish boyfriend in Antalya (*Belaruslu Anastasia Yazerskaya, Ahmet Oğuz Özgür tarafından darbedilerek öldürülmüş*, 2020). On the other hand, crime news stories are about violence against Russian women where Russian women are portrayed as victims of male violence. One of the news reports is about a Ukrainian model who went to a popular nightclub in Çeşme where she and her female friends were beaten by the bodyguards (*Çeşme’de turist kadınlara şiddet: Daria Kyryliuk ve arkadaşları darbedildi*, 2020). Russian women are neutrally

represented in these news articles and their grievances are highlighted. Because of this, it can be said that these types of news reports do not directly have a supporting or a hindering effect on integration. However, it may create anxiety in Russian migrants who live in Turkey, since they may consider Turkey as an unsafe country where they are more likely to be potential subject of violence.

When it comes to negative representations of Russian women, it can be said that in *Evrensel*, there is only one news report where Russian women are negatively represented. In this political news report, a political surveyor's words about Russians imply the sexual relationship between Turkish men and Russian women while discussing political relationships between Turkish and Russian governments (*Adil Gür'den ırkçı ve cinsiyetçi sözler: Ruslardan başka türlü dost olur*, 2020). Although *Evrensel* criticizes the political surveyor's words about Russian women, it can be said that this political news report is an example of a negative representation of Russian women which has a negative affect on the integration, since the political surveyor's words construct "the other" and "the stranger" (Van Dijk, 2000, 49) by dividing the society as (good) *us* vs. (bad) *them* (Van Dijk, 1995, 23). Other than the news about death, crime and politics, there is one sport news story which can be considered as a positive representation of "Russian women". The news story is about the success of Russian women in sports & athleticism, since the beginning of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (*SSCB'de Spor Anlayışı ve Temelleri -3: Çarlık Rusyası ve Sovyetler'de Sporcu Kadın*, 2016).

When it comes to the online news stories about "Russian brides" in *Evrensel*, it is seen that there are no online news stories about "Russian brides." The absence of the news stories about "Russian brides" may indicate a small number of news stories about integration, since marriage among Russian migrant women and Turkish men is a crucial factor for integration. At the same time, there are no news stories about Russian women's integration and their lives in Turkey. Besides, there are no news stories about Russian women who converted to Islam.

#### 4.1.2. Sözcü

**Table 7. News Categories of SÖZCÜ- Keywords of “Russian Woman”, “Russian Bride” and “Russian Girl”**

Keywords	Death News	Crime News	Prostitution News	Political News	Magazine News	Accident & Security News	Marriage News	Integration/ Life Style News	Converting to Islam
“Russian Woman”	11	19	2	7	10	4	0	1	1
“Russian Bride”	0	2	0	0	0	0	5	3	1
“Russian Girl”	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

It can be said that representation of Russian women in *Sözcü* is neutral in majority of the news stories (32 news stories), since most of the news stories about “Russian women” are death and crime news where Russian women are portrayed as victims and represented in a neutral way. Following this, negative representation of Russian women (in 21 news stories) is more than their positive representation (in 2 news stories).

In *Sözcü*, under the category of “Russian woman”, there are mostly crime (19 news stories) and death news stories (11 news stories) about Russian women in Turkey. Most of the death news stories feature murder of Russian women and Russian women’s deaths caused by accidents, (*Otomobilin çarptığı Rus kadın öldü*, 2017) drowning (*Cesedi 84 gün sonra bulundu*, 2019) or death by unknown causes (*Rus asıllı Türk vatandaşı kadın, evinde ölü bulundu*, 2018), (*Rus kadının ölümünde alkol ve ecstasy izi*, 2017). However, some of the crime news stories also feature sexual assaults towards Russian women. For example, there is a news story which is about a Russian woman who was raped and murdered by a Turkish

man (*Zorla ilişkiye girmek istediği Rus kadını tek eliyle boğmuş*, DHA, 2019). Another news story related to crime is about an assault committed against a Russian tourist woman who was beaten by a Turkish man in Alanya whom she met in a disco (*Diskoda Tanıştığı Rus Turisti Feci Dövdü*, 2015). In another news story, it is said that a Russian tour guide was beaten by Turkish tour bus drivers because of an argument between them in Antalya Airport (*Tur midibüsü şoförlerinden Rus rehberine feci dayak!*, 2018). Similar to this incident, there are other news stories which are about snatching a Russian woman's hand bag in an apartment entrance in Antalya (*Rus kadının çantasının gasp edildiği anlar kamerada*, 2018, DHA) and about a Russian woman lawyer who was shot by a Turkish man (*İşte Rus avukatı vuran meslektaşı*, 2015, DHA).

Following death and crime news stories about “Russian women”, there are magazine news stories (10 news stories) such as (*Rus top model Kate Grigorieva İstanbul'a geliyor*, 2019), political news stories (7 news stories) such as (*Canlı yayında Rus kadınları aşağılayan Türk araştırmacıya şok!*, 2020) and news stories about accident & security (4 news stories) such as (*Rus kadın turist, boğulma tehlikesi atlattı*, 2016). Although magazine news stories about “Russian women” do not always include negative representation of Russian women, these news stories have sexual content about Russian women where they are sexually objectified. For example, there is an online news story which is about a young Russian woman who got fired from her job in government institution due to her naked photo which was sent to Playboy magazine (*Bu fotoğraf nedeniyle hayatı karardı*, 2019). It is highlighted that she is not regretful about sending her naked photo to Playboy magazine for a competition of Playboy Russia which was arranged on the internet. According to the online news story, after her naked photo has spread on social media, the young woman was requested to quit her job in government institution. The same news story was covered twice by using another news title (*Devlet memurunun çıplak pozları ortalığı karıştırdı*, 2019). In this online news story, although it has the same statements with the other online news story, it is written that the young woman received negative comments from many Russian citizens on social media. Another online news story is about a

young Russian model that was attracted attention with her long legs and big feet on social media (*Rus modelin ayakları sosyal medyayı salladı*, 2018). Similar to this, another online news story sexually objectifies Russian sportswomen who competed in Winter Olympic's in Sochi, Russia (*Rus sporculardan ateşli pozlar!*, 2014).

Besides, there are also some online news stories about Russian women soldiers who are sexually objectified. In one of the online news articles, it is stated that Russian women soldiers and Russian women police officers “attract attention due to their beauty” and because of this, their photos are one of the most shared photos on social media (*Rusya'nın kadın neferleri*, 2015). In addition to this, there is another online news story which is about a naked photo scandal in the Russian military (*Rus ordusunda Instagram skandalı: Çıplak selfie paylaştılar*, 2018). In this online news story, it is written that a scandal sharing was made through an Instagram account which belongs to the Russian military. It is stated that in this Instagram account, the photos of Russian soldiers, the Russian military vehicles and the Russian military's weapons are posted and the Instagram account has ten thousands of followers. In all the magazine news stories, Russian women's beauty is emphasized. Although Russian women's beauty is highly praised, it can be said that these kinds of news stories do not contribute integration, since the news stories emphasize on Russian women's sex appeal which may create “Natasha” image on the readers' minds.

Related to “Natasha” image, there are some online news stories which create and strengthen this image. These news stories are examples of negative representation of Russian women, since they portray Russian women as “sex workers”. There are two prostitution news reports about “Russian women” (*İstanbul'da dev fuhuş operasyonu*, 2015), (*Adana'daki fuhuş operasyonunda 30 gözaltı*, 2016). Besides, some political news reports also represent Russian women in a negative way (*Adana'da IŞİD operasyonu: 13'ü yabancı 17 gözaltı*, 2016), (*Interpol'ün aradığı 2 kadın turist Türkiye'ye girerken yakalandı*, 2019). Another online political news report about negative representation of Russian women



reveals discrimination against Russian women in Turkey (*Canlı yayında Rus kadınları aşağılayan Türk araştırmacıya şok!*, 2020). In this online news report, it is stated that a Turkish surveyor insulted Russian women during a live broadcast about the political relationships between Turkey and Russia, by saying that “I apologize to all women but Russians can only be friends in a different way. Otherwise, it is not possible to see Russians as friends in terms of politics”. In this way, he implied that Russian women can only be friends for sexual relationships with Turkish men. It can be argued that this online news report has a direct negative impact on integration, since Turkish surveyor’s words create prejudice, hatred and hostility by pointing Russian citizens and Russian women as open targets.

When it comes to positive news stories about “Russian women”, it can be said that there are two positive news stories about Russian women which strengthen integration. For instance, there is a news story about Russian women which is about Russian women’s strong characters and their valuable qualities (*Rus kadınların güçlü olmasının nedeni açıklandı*, 2018). It is emphasized that Russian women are powerful, they respect traditions, they give significance to family values and they fight both for their rights and for their families’ rights decisively.

Another news story is about a Russian woman who converted to Islam (*Yerleşik Rus kadın Müslüman oldu*, 2017). In the news story about converting to Islam, it is highlighted that the thirty-year-old woman became Muslim with her Islamic confession of faith and she will change her name as “Elif”. According to the news story, the woman saw beauty in Islam and she felt herself close to Islam. Besides, she states that although Islam and terrorism are usually mentioned together in the world by politicians, Islam has no relation with terrorism. These news stories are examples of positive representation of “Russian women” which have a positive effect on integration.

When *Sözcü*’s online news stories about “Russian brides” in Turkey are considered, it can be said that most of the news stories about “Russian brides” in

Turkey are positive (in 7 news stories) which approach to Russian brides with sympathy. In *Sözcü*, there are mostly news stories about marriage (5 news stories) and there are news stories about integration (3 news stories) under the keyword of “Russian brides”. Some of the news stories about marriage and integration represent “Russian brides” in a neutral way (*İngiliz damat ve Rus gelin Olimpos’ta evlendi*, 2016), (*Rus krizi yabancı gelinleri de etkiledi*, 2017), (*Şırnak’a yerleşen Rus gelin Olya: Alışacağım*, 2021). There is only one news story which has a negative representation of “Russian bride” in Turkey who tortured her daughter and who is usually drunk and mentally unstable (*Vücudunda sigara söndürdüler!*, 2013).

One of the positive news stories about “Russian brides” which directly has a positive impact on integration, is about a Russian bride in Antalya who distributed ballot papers to people in front of an elementary school while demanding vote for her mother-in-law (*Oy kullanma hakkı olmayınca bunu yaptı!*, 2019). It is stated that the Russian bride does not have the right to vote, because she has not gained a Turkish citizenship yet, however she wanted support for her mother-in-law from both Turkish citizens and Russian citizens living in Antalya. There is another news story which is about a Russian young woman who got married with a Turkish man in Kars who accepted to live in Kars as well (*Putin’e rağmen ‘evet’ dediler*, 2016). In this online news story, it is stated that the Russian bride got married with a Turkish man, although there is a “plane crisis” between Russia and Turkey which negatively influenced the political relationship between the two countries. This news story also has a great positive impact on integration which underlines the strong relationship with two different cultures through marriage, in spite of a serious political crisis between the two countries.

There is also another online news story about “Russian brides” which is about a “Russian bride” in Turkey who helps poor Turkish citizens (*Rus gelin ihtiyaç sahiplerine umut oldu*, 2018). It is said that the Russian bride materially supports poor Turkish families in Kemer, Antalya by buying food and furniture to them. Besides, it is emphasized that the Russian bride feels herself as a Turkish

person and she thinks that Turkish people are very charitable. This news story also enables and strengthens integration, since the news story both praises the “Russian bride” for her favour to Turkish family and it also gives the message that a Russian woman married to a Turkish man can successfully adapt her life in Turkey.

In another online news story, it is said that a Russian woman and a Turkish man got married in Manisa, Turkey in spite of the “plane crisis” between Russia and Turkey (*Rus gelin: Türkiye’ye hayranım*, 2016). In this news story, it is emphasized that although there is a political crisis between Russia and Turkey, there are many people who come from Russia to Turkey. Besides, it is stated that love between two people overcomes from boundaries, since love does not have any limits. However, another online news story states that the political crisis between Russia and Turkey had a negative effect on the marriages amongst Russian women and Turkish men which affected the number of Russian brides negatively (*Rus krizi yabancı gelinleri de etkiledi*, 2017). On the other hand, it is highlighted that in spite of the political crisis between the two countries, the number of the Russian brides is the highest compared to other foreign women who got married with Turkish men. Similar to this, another online news story covers a Russian-Turkish marriage which underlines that the couple got married in spite of “plane crisis” between Russia and Turkey (*Putin’e rağmen ‘evet’ dediler*, 2016). Besides, there is another positive news story about “Russian bride” which is about an actress who converted to Islam, after living in Turkey (*Müslüman olduktan sonra...*, 2014). With the other news stories about marriage and the news stories about integration/life style, this news story also contributes integration positively.

### 4.1.3. Hürriyet

**Table 8.** News Categories of HÜRRIYET- Keywords of “Russian Woman”, “Russian Bride” and “Russian Girl”

Keywords	Death News	Crime News	Prostitution News	Political News	Magazine News	Accident & Security News	Theft News	Integration/ Life Style News	Converting to Islam
“Russian Woman”	14	24	2	6	15	12	2	6	1
“Russian Bride”	2	3	0	2	8	1	0	14	1
“Russian Girl”	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

In *Hürriyet*, “Russian women” are generally represented in a neutral way (in 49 news stories), however, there are also significant numbers of news stories about negative representation of “Russian women” (in 22 news stories). Russian women are represented neutrally in death and crime news stories; however, they are negatively represented in news stories about prostitution and theft news stories. Besides, some political news stories also represent Russian women negatively.

In *Hürriyet*, under the category of “Russian woman”, there are mostly crime news stories (24 news stories) about Russian women in Turkey and other online news stories about Russian women are magazine news stories (15 news stories), death news stories (14 news stories), accident & security news stories (12 news stories), news stories about integration (6 news stories) and political news stories (6 news stories). In crime news stories, it is seen that there are some online news stories which are about murder (*Rus kadın, eşi ve arkadaşının cesetleri uçurum kenarında bulundu*, 2012) and sexual assaults towards Russian women (*Rus turisti*

*taciz etti, tutuklandı*, 2009). Crime news stories which are about crimes committed against Russian women also cover financial crimes. One of the news stories is about a young Russian woman who was deceived and defrauded by her Turkish boyfriend (*Rus kadına Türk sevgiliden şok: "Polisim" dedi, her şeyi yalan çıktı*, 2017). Another crime news story is about a snatching incident (*Antalya'da akıl almaz olay!, 5 yıldızlı otelde Rus turiste dehşeti yaşattı*, 2019). It is written that a young man sneaked into a hotel in Antalya who attempted to steal a Russian woman's bag by using force and got arrested by the police.

In majority of the crime news stories where crimes committed against Russian women are featured, Russian women are represented in a neutral way and they are portrayed as victims of the crimes. However, in one of these news stories, the victim's representation is close to the negative which features a Russian woman who was harassed and murdered by a Turkish man (*Rus kadını boğarak öldürmüştü! Şoke eden sözler...*, 2020). The same news story is also covered by *Sözcü* which used similar statements with *Hürriyet* while describing the incident. However, it is seen that different from *Sözcü*, *Hürriyet* added a sexist statement while describing the incident. In *Hürriyet*, it is stated that the murderer explained why he murdered the woman, saying that the Russian woman first approached him sexually and then she 'insulted his masculinity'. It is also highlighted that the murderer was offended because of the woman's insult and the way that she laughed at him to make fun of 'his masculinity'.

In another online news article, victimization of a "Russian woman" is covered. The news story is about a Russian woman who was arrested in a nightclub in İstanbul due to her fake ID and who asserted that she was raped by a policeman (*Kadın hakimlerden tartışılan karar*, 2015). It is stated that after the woman's assertion, the policeman was judged in the law court, however he was later released after two women judges decided him to be released. It is underlined that the two women judges said that the Russian woman had consent during the intercourse and she did not scream and fight back against the policeman. It is highlighted that there are evidences that the young Russian woman was raped by

the policeman in the police station, however the women judges claimed that the evidences are inadequate and the woman had consent for sexual intercourse due to she did not fight back against the policeman and she is over the age of eighteen. Although *Hürriyet* slightly criticizes the court's decision, it can be argued that "Russian woman" who entered the nightclub with a fake ID is represented as a woman who is responsible of the negative treatment.

When it comes to the death news stories, most of the death news stories about Russian women in Turkey features drowning (*Rus kadın turist boğuldu*, 2017) and accidents (*Kemer'deki su sporu kazasına soruşturma*, 2015), (*İstanbul'da dehşet! Rus sürücünün otomobili refüje girdi*, 2016). Besides, there are also news stories about death from unknown causes (*Rus kadın turist otelde ölü bulundu*, 2017) and suicide (*Rus kadın, işlettiği kafede intihar etti*, 2018).

Other than crime and death news stories, magazine news stories are featured as well which are related to tourism sector. One of the online news stories is about famous Russian women bloggers who promotes Samsun on social media in order to increase the city's tourism revenues (*Ünlü Rus kadın bloggerlar Samsun'u tanıtıyor*, 2018). In the online news story, it is told that thirty famous Russian women bloggers were invited as special guests by the city's municipality. It is stated that the bloggers promote the city through their social media accounts by posting their photos in the hotels and in the places where they travel in order to attract Russian tourists to the city. This news story contributes the integration positively, as well as increasing sympathy and acceptance for Russian female tourists. Apart from magazine news stories related to tourism, there are also some magazine news stories about "Russian women" which highlight Russian women's beauty (*Rus ajan Chapman Angelina'ya rakip*, 2010), (*Onlar Rusya'nın en güzel polisleri!*, 2017), (*'Kaslı Barbie' sosyal medyayı kasıp kavuruyor!*, 2018). These magazine news stories do not represent Russian women negatively, however they portray Russian women as "sexy and attractive women" which can lead to sexual objectification of Russian women. In another online news story, it is said that a Russian policewoman who is described as "Facebook beauty" posted her sexy

photos with her police uniform on Facebook (*Rus polisin başı dertte*, 2010). It is highlighted that the woman who posed with her uniform and mini skirt received many friend requests on Facebook and she also posted her photos with beer cans and cigarettes. This news story is an example of negative representation of Russian women which cannot contribute integration, since Russian women are sexually objectified in these types of news stories.

In *Hürriyet*, accident & security news stories about Russian women are also covered. In these news stories, Turkish policemen and armed forces are praised and their successes are highlighted. One of the news stories is about a Russian woman who was rescued from drowning (*Rus turistin mucize kurtuluşu!*, 2016). Besides, there are two online news stories which are about a Russian tourist and a Russian journalist who were found by Turkish policemen in the woods (*Kaybolan Rus turist bulundu*, 2009), (*Kahramanmaraş'ta kaybolan Rus gazeteci bulundu*, 2012). In these online news stories, Russian migrant women are represented neutrally which do not have a direct impact on integration. However, the news stories about accident & security may affect Russian women living in Turkey in a positive way, since these kinds of news stories present Turkey as a secure place to travel and to live in.

Moreover, in *Hürriyet*, there are also online news stories about Russian women which can be described as “sexist” and “discriminatory”. One of these online news stories is about a Turkish state radio program which was about the topic of cheating on Turkish wives with Russian women (*Meteoroloji radyosuna “Rus kadın” uyarısı*, 2012). According to this online news story, the radio program was informed against RTÜK which later gave a warning and a punishment to this program because of the discriminatory words of two program presenters about Russian women. According to the news, two program presenters (a male and a female presenter) emphasized on cheating Turkish women with Russian women. According to the dialogue, the male program presenter said that a married man can go to a dinner with a woman unless she is a Russian. It can be said that this news story has a negative impact on integration, since Russian

women are sexually objectified and negatively described during the radio program by using sexist statements. Sexist statements about Russian women usually imply “Natasha” stereotype which is used to describe sex-workers. It can be said that prostitution news stories which are covered by Turkish press are more likely to strengthen this image. For instance, there are few online news stories about Russian women who are involved in prostitution (*Grup seks görüntüleriyle karakola koştı*, 2010), (*Albayı sehven kadın satıcısına gönderdiler*, 2011). The prostitution news stories have a negative impact on integration, since these news stories imply that every Russian-speaking woman is a sex-worker. Besides, there are few news stories about “Russian women” who came to Turkey as tourists and stole something from hotels and souvenirs (*Rus turistin çantasından çıkanlar hayrete düşürdü! Çok yanlış anlamış...*, 2018), (*Marmarisli esnaf hırsızlıktan bıktı*, 2017). These news stories have a negative impact on integration, since they create prejudice about Russian migrant women.

Another “sexist” and “discriminatory” online news story is about a woman who told that her husband is very fond of Russian women while she was telling her husband’s negative qualities in a Turkish competition show among married couples (*Ben Bilmem Eşim Bilir’de “Eşim Rus düşkünü” İsyanı*, 2014). Other than this, there is also an online news story about a Turkish political surveyor who insulted Russian women during a TV program by using sexist words (*Adil Gür hakkında o sözleri nedeniyle suç duyurusu*, 2020). According to the news story, the male surveyor said that Russian people cannot be allies with Turkish people in politics but Russian women can be “friends” with Turkish men in another way. By using these words, it is understood that the Turkish surveyor implied Russian female sex workers and he generalized all Russian women as being sex workers. This news story, as mentioned before, has a hindering effect on integration. However, there is also a column written by Fulya Soybaş which is about the Turkish surveyor’s words about Russian women (*Çirkin ima, büyük tepki*, 2020). In the column, the Turkish surveyor who insulted Russian women in a TV program is criticized and five people were interviewed with about this topic. A half Russian- half Turkish university student, two Russian women who are



chairperson of Russian Associations in Turkey, a Turkish male journalist living in Moscow and a Turkish female lawyer were interviewed about this news story where these people shared their thoughts about the topic and they emphasized on women rights, patriarchal structure and discrimination. Although the Turkish surveyor's words are discriminative against Russian women, it can be said that Fulya Soybaş's column and the people who were interviewed for the topic have a facilitating effect on integration.

Contrary to negative news stories about "Russian women" which include sexism and discrimination, there is an online news story which is about integration and Russians living in Antalya (*Antalya'daki Rusya*, 2013). This news story discusses the integration of Russian people in Antalya in both positive and negative aspects. In this way, it can be said that the news story has a realistic point of view. In this online news story, it is written that Russian immigrants are quite visible in daily life in Antalya and they are seen in almost every place which are open to the public such as parks, banks, streets, shops and markets. It is stated that Russian immigrants are noticed due to their blonde hair, their tall and athletic physical appearances and their Russian accents while speaking Turkish. In the news story, they are described as "New Antalyaians" (Yeni Antalyalılar), pointing out that these new residents of Antalya have the characteristic of the Slavic race. Besides, it is stated that these new residents describe Antalya as "the country of sun, health and happiness." It can be said that both the Russian immigrants and their children are praised in this online news story, saying that they are clever, beautiful, disciplined and successful. It is highlighted that the Russians who first came to live in Antalya permanently were the Russian women who got married with Turkish men in the beginning of 2000s and nowadays also married Russian couples migrate to Antalya in order to live permanently. The news story stresses that Russians who live in Antalya have at least one university degree and these people are composed of scientists, doctors, engineers and artists. At the same time, it is emphasized that Russians formed their own community, since they live in two main neighbourhoods in Antalya; they have their own church, their own consulate, their own elementary schools and kindergarten which educate children

in Russian. Besides, it is pointed out that the numbers of Russian immigrants who live in Antalya are high and their number steadily increases. At the same time, opening bureaus of two mainstream Russian newspapers in Antalya which are Komsomolskaya Pravda and Moskovskaya are also mentioned. These newspapers began to write about Russians who live in Antalya. Another significant information that the news story provides is that the people who belong to Russian diaspora arrange meetings where the members of Russian diaspora participate. It is emphasized that the people who belong to the Russian diaspora are well educated, university graduate Russian women, however they cannot find jobs in Antalya.

Moreover, the same news story shares a Russian man's words who says that Turkish people's "communist" prejudice about Russian people disappeared after the end of the Cold War and when tourism began between two countries. It is also highlighted that the Russians migrated to Turkey as groups for different reasons in different period of times and there are four migration waves. In the first wave, the Russians migrated to Turkey after the First World War; the second group migrated to Turkey while they were escaping from the Bolshevik Revolution. Third group migrated to Turkey after the Second World War in order to escape from Stalin government. The Russians who migrated to Antalya form the fourth migration wave. In this group, some of them migrated to Antalya for summer holiday and job opportunities and stayed there permanently, while some of them migrated to Antalya by getting married with Turkish men who migrated to Russia for working, got married with Russian women and then came back to Antalya with their wives. It is stated that nowadays Russian couples also migrate to Antalya in order to buy property from Antalya and stay there permanently. In the online news story, it is also underlined that according to Russian Art and Culture Association, some problems are seen in some of the marriages between Russian women and Turkish men in Antalya. According to the information provided by the association, some of the Russian women who are married with Turkish men are not allowed to speak Russian with their children, since their Turkish husbands do not want their wives to communicate with their children in Russian language.

Because of this, these children grow up without knowing their mother tongues. Besides, in some of the “mix marriages”, Russian women and Turkish men make a decision before getting married that they are going to raise their son as a Muslim and they are going to raise their daughter as a Christian. The news story stresses that among these “mix marriages” between Russian women and Turkish men, only half of the couples are able to reflect their countries’ own cultures equally in the marriage while raising their children. Besides, it is underlined that most of the time the Russian women’s understanding of equality contradicts with the Turkish men’s cultural values. Therefore, divorces between educated Russian women and uneducated Turkish men increase and marriages between educated Russian women and uneducated Turkish men are no longer seen prevalently. It is also underlined that in the marriages between Russian women and Turkish men, Turkish husbands usually work outside while Russian women look after their children at home. Although most of these Russian women have university degree, they get depressed because of being unemployed. It can be said that this news story positively regards “Russian migration” to Turkey, Russian diaspora’s events, organizations (including religious gatherings) and their cultural institutions (such as Russian School of Antalya, orthodox church, etc.) are highly welcomed. On the other hand, the news story also mentions “integration problems” about marriages between Russian women and Turkish men due to cultural differences.

Moreover, there are also some online news stories about Russian sportswomen which mention their successes in sport competitions (*Kapadokya maratonunun galibi Rus kadın atlet oldu*, 2017). These kinds of news stories contribute the integration positively, since it has a facilitating effect on integration. Another *Hürriyet* news story which has a positive contribution to integration is about Russian women artists in Turkey who opened an art exhibition where they exhibit city of İstanbul’s paintings (*Rus kadın ressamlar ‘İstanbul’u dinliyor!*, 2017). In this news story, Russian women are represented positively, stating that these high-educated women came and settled down in İstanbul, since they fell in love with the city’s beauty. It is also highlighted that the name of the

exhibition is Turkish (“*İstanbul’u Dinliyorum*”) and the Russian painters inspired by Turkish poet Orhan Veli Kanık’s favourite poem while naming the exhibition.

When it comes to the news stories about “Russian brides” in *Hürriyet*, it can be said that the news stories about Russian brides show sympathy and acceptance to them and they are not discriminatory. In *Hürriyet*, there are mostly integration news stories (14 news stories) about “Russian brides”. Following this, there are magazine news stories (8 news stories), crime news stories (3 news stories), death news stories (2 news stories), political news stories (2 news stories) and there is also a news story about a “Russian bride” who converted to Islam. Unlike some of the negative news stories about Russian women, there is no negative representation in any of the online news stories about “Russian brides”. Although there are some death news stories (*Rus gelinin ölümü Tarsus’u yasa boğdu*, 2010), (*Rus gelin, eşine mektup yazıp intihar etti’ iddiası*, 2017) and crime news stories (*Rus gelin ve yanındakilere bıçakla saldıran şüpheli yakalandı*, 2016) about “Russian brides”, majority of the news stories about “Russian brides” are featured in integration/ life news stories and magazine news stories which facilitate integration. Under this category, there is only one news story about converting to Islam (*Nihat Hatipoğlu’nu dinleyince hayatım değişti*, 2017) which also affects integration positively. In addition to this, the news stories about the “Russian brides” mostly emphasize on love between Russian women and Turkish men, the effect of political crisis (especially “plane crisis”) between Russia and Turkey to the marriages among Russian women and Turkish men. It is usually highlighted that harmony and friendship between Russian and Turkish cultures are strengthened through marriage. In most of these online news stories, it is stressed that the Russian brides adore Turkish culture and they easily adapt to both Turkish culture and Turkish society. They are portrayed as the women who are suitable for Turkish family structure and who are happy with their marriages and their lives in Turkey. Besides, there are some online news stories which mention the Russian brides who got married with Turkish politicians’ sons or Turkish journalists (*Marmaris Basınına İkinci Rus Gelin*, 2018), (*Eski Vekilin Torun Sevgisi*, 2016).

There are many positive news stories about “Russian brides” in Turkey which have a facilitating effect on integration. One of these news stories is about a Russian bride in Turkey who began to bake and sell traditional Russian cookies and cakes for Russian speaking people in Ankara (*Mutfakta Rus gelin*, 2018). It is highlighted that the Russian bride got married with a Turkish man five years ago before moving to Ankara and she has two little children. In the online news story, it is said that the Russian bride began to contribute to family economy by turning her hobby into business. It can be said that she is portrayed as a domestic woman who is happy with her life in Ankara. Besides, it is underlined that there are many Russian brides who live in Ankara and who demand for Russian pastry products. In this way, Russian diaspora in Ankara is also mentioned in a positive way.

Another online news story is about an organized event by Kemer municipality for Russian Victory Day on May 9 which is celebrated by Russian people in every year (*Kemer’de Rusya Günü Kutlamaları*, 2018). It is underlined that Russian brides and Russian tourists in Antalya were very pleased and they thanked to the municipality for the celebration. This news story has a facilitating effect on integration, since it supports integration by focusing on contentment of Russian people in Antalya for the event which is arranged by Turkish municipality. In addition to this, there is another positive news story about Russian brides which is about a Russian bride’s gratitude to Turkish policemen after a snatching incident (*Rus gelinden Antalya polisine teşekkür....*, 2018). In this news story, Russian bride is shown as a sympathetic way and Turkish armed forces are praised.

There are also some online news stories which are about the effect of plane crisis on Russian brides in Turkey, as a political crisis between Russian and Turkish governments. In one of these online news stories, it is written that most of the Russian brides in Turkey did not go to their countries and they preferred to stay in Turkey with their husbands, since they love Turkey and their Turkish husbands (*Rusların Türkiye aşkı kriz dinlemedi*, 2017). It is also highlighted that even some of the Russian brides went out to the streets on July 15 2016 in order to

protest coup attempt and to defend Turkish state. Besides, two of these Russian brides' full names are given who talked about the effects of the political crisis and why they decided to stay in Turkey. Another online news story is about the Russian brides who returned to Antalya with their half-Russian half-Turkish children after the end of the political crisis between Russia and Turkey (*Antalya'nın Rus gelinleri evlerine geri döndü*, 2017). It is said that the plane crisis between Russia and Turkey in 24 November 2015 had negatively affected majority of the Russian diaspora in Antalya. It is said that as a result of this situation, the marriages between Russian women and Turkish men were affected negatively and nearly two thousands of Russian brides in Antalya had returned their homes in Russia with their children. After the political crisis between Russia and Turkey was solved, the Russian brides began to return their homes in Antalya with their children. It is underlined that they are very happy with their lives in Antalya and tensions in their marriages with Turkish men began to be solved. It is also mentioned that the Russian diaspora in Antalya began to prepare themselves for Russian Language Olympics in Antalya and they also prepare a Russian play which is going to be played in the state theatre. However, in another online news story, it is said that the political crisis between Russia and Turkey affected the number of Russian brides in Antalya and the number of Russian brides decreased after the plane crisis (*Rus krizi yabancı gelinleri de etkiledi*, 2017). It is highlighted that although the number of Russian brides is the highest among the number of foreign brides in Antalya, the political crisis between two countries affected the marriage rate. All of these news stories about Russian brides contribute the integration positively.

There are also some online news stories which emphasize on Russian-Turkish marriages and how it affects harmony and peace between Russia and Turkey. In one of these online news stories, it is said that a group of Russian and Ukrainian brides organized an event which is called as "peace cocktail" in Bodrum after the political crisis emerged between Russia and Turkey (*Rus gelinlerden "barış kokteyli"*, 2015). It is said that the brides gave the message of peace and friendship and they expressed their worries about the tension between

the two countries, saying that it will affect family relationships and tourism between the two nations. This news story has a facilitating effect on integration, since it supports peaceful relationships between the two countries and it also emphasizes why peace between Russia and Turkey is significant. In another online news story, it is written that foreign brides of Turkey, including Russian brides, learn Turkish in Ankara by attending Turkish classes of the municipality (*Yabancı gelinler Türkçe öğreniyor*, 2015). It is written that the brides learn Turkish in order to communicate with their neighbours and their Turkish friends and to help their children for their homework. Since, learning the host country's language is a beneficial way to integrate the host society, it can be said that this news story promotes integration through learning language. At the same time, it is highlighted that the Russian brides want peace between the two countries after the plane crisis and they give peace messages for both of the countries.

There is also an online news story about the increased number of Russian brides in Antalya which underlines the high marriage rate between Russian women and Turkish men (*En çok Rus gelin aldık*, 2015). It is written that Turkish men got married with foreign women from different countries in 2014, including Russia, Ukraine, Germany, Tunisia, Norway and England. According to the head of Russian Language Speakers Cooperation and Solidarity Association, the negative image of Russian women has disappeared thanks to Russian women who began to live permanently in Turkey by getting married with Turkish men. Another online news story features words of Russia's consul general in Antalya who states that Russian tourists are impressed by Antalya's nature, climate and its sea. He points out that three hundred fifty Russian women on average get married with Turkish men per year and these marriages did not decrease even after the plane crisis between the two countries (*Antalya'ya yılda 350 Rus gelin*, 2010). At the same time, love relationships between Russian women and Turkish men are emphasized, as well as supporting integration of Russian brides and harmony between two cultures.

On the other hand, it can be said that political news stories play a significant role on integration. One of the significant political news stories about integration is Ahmet Davutoğlu's (as Minister of Foreign Affairs) praiseful words about "Russian brides". In this news story, Ahmet Davutoğlu says that he wants the number of Russian brides to increase, since Russian brides are suitable for Turkish family structure (*"Rus gelinlerin sayısı artsın istiyorum"*, 2012). Davutoğlu states that the increase of the number of Russian brides is significant and both Russian family culture and Turkish family culture are similar to each other. Other than this political news story, there is another online news story about the Russian and Ukrainian brides. According to this news story, the municipality of Antalya and some of the Russian and Ukrainian Associations in Antalya organized The Fifth Festival of Russian, Ukrainian and Turkish Cultures Friendship. It is written that Russian and Ukrainian brides competed to knead raw meatballs in the festival (*5. Rus, Ukrayna ve Türk Kültürleri Dostluk Şenliği*, 2014). It is said that after the end of the competition, the brides served their raw meatballs to the citizens. It is also added that the Russian and Ukrainian brides prepare a traditional Turkish food every year in the festival. It can be said that Russian brides are portrayed as "sympathetic foreign women who are suitable for Turkish society" and who are eager to adapt Turkish culture. As it is mentioned previously, these kinds of news stories about Russian brides facilitate integration, since these news stories enable tolerance and understanding between Russian and Turkish cultures. At the same time, these news stories maintain harmony between Russian and Turkish people by increasing sympathy towards Russian brides.



#### 4.1.4. Sabah

**Table 9.** News Categories of SABAH- Keywords of “Russian Woman”, “Russian Bride” and “Russian Girl”

Keywords	Death News	Crime News	Prostitution News	Political News	Magazine News	Accident & Security News	Theft News	Integration/ Life Style/Success News	Converting to Islam
“Russian Woman”	8	31	1	4	8	13	2	14	4
“Russian Bride”	2	5	0	2	2	1	0	21	5
“Russian Girl”	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

As a conservative newspaper, *Sabah* has the highest number of news stories about “Russian women” among all the analyzed newspapers. In *Sabah*, under the category of “Russian woman”, there are 85 news stories in total and most of them cover high numbers of crime news (in 31 news). Following this, there are integration news stories (14 news stories) about Russian women, accident & security news stories (13 news stories), magazine news stories (8 news stories), political news stories (4 news stories) and news stories about converting to Islam (4 news stories). There are small numbers of theft news stories (2 news stories) and only one news story about prostitution.

Majority of the crime news stories are about the crimes which are committed against Russian women (*Boynundan vuruldu*, 2013), (*Antalya’da Rus Kadını Silahla Yaralayan Avukat, Diyarbakır’da Yakalandı*, 2015), (*Rus kadına dayak attı*, 2015), (*Rus kadına dehşeti böyle yaşatmıştı! O zanlı yakalandı...*, 2018). These news stories represent Russian women in a neutral way, since

Russian women are portrayed as victims. On the other hand, there are only two news stories about Russian women which are about the crimes committed by Russian women which feature negative representation of Russian women (*Çeşme’de sıcak operasyon! Rus kadın gözaltında*, 2016), (*Karlov cinayetinde gizemli Rus kadın tutuklandı*, 2017). These news stories have a negative impact on the integration, since Russian women are portrayed as criminals. Besides, there are few news stories about Russian women who stole some goods from hotels (*Her şeyi dahil zannetmiş*, 2018), (*Rus kadın turistin bavulundan neler çıktı neler*, 2018) which affect integration negatively. Although majority of the news stories about Russian women are crime news, there are some death news stories about Russian women as well (8 news stories).

It is seen that most of the death news stories about Russian women are about murder and there are also death news stories which are about drowning. In one of the death news stories about the Russian women, it is written that a Russian tourist woman was drowned in the sea in Antalya and lost her life (*Denizde fenalaşan turist kurtarılamadı*, 2017). In another online news story, it is written that a Russian woman was abused and murdered by a Turkish man in Antalya (*Rus kadını tek eliyle boğmuş*, 2019). The same online news story is also given with a different title which gives the murderer’s word about the incident, saying that “the woman insulted his masculinity” (*Rus kadını öldüren katil: “Alkolden bir şey yapamadım, erkekliğime laf etti”*, 2020). In this online news story, both in the news story’s title and in the news story, it is highlighted that the Russian woman insulted the murderer’s masculinity and he murdered the woman due to he got offended by her words. On the other hand, there is only one news story about prostitution which is about two detectives who went to a nightclub in Fatih, İstanbul in order to raid prostitution where they arrested Russian, Ukrainian and Moldovan sex workers (*“İçeride doğum günü var” dediler, fuhuş çıktı*, 2011).

Other than death, crime and prostitution news stories, there are also news stories about integration/life style and success news stories about Russian women (in 14 news stories) which play a positive role on integration. For instance, there

is an online news story which is written by a Russian woman who permanently lives in Antalya with her two children. Throughout the news story, she states that she is happy with her life in Antalya and she came to Antalya in order to raise her children in a better way and in a better place (*Çocuklarımı iyi yetiştirebilmek için geldim*, 2010). In this online news story, the Russian woman says that she left her rich life in Moscow in order to raise her children in a better and a safer place. She states that Moscow is a dangerous place to raise children due to use of narcotic became a great problem in schools in Russia and she wants to raise her children with Turkish culture which teaches the concepts of “family” and “respect”. In addition to this, she says that she works as a writer in a newspaper which is called as “Antalya Times”. She says that the newspaper is not sold to the readers; it is free and it is distributed to the tourists in Antalya per month. The newspaper is written in English, German and Russian. She states that she and her co-workers introduce Turkish culture and traditions in “Antalya Times” and the newspaper is supported by the Ministry of Culture in Turkey. While sharing her living experience in Antalya, she says that she heard about the negative image about Russian women; however, she says that she did not face any discriminatory or negative attitude, since her social environment was different. She says that the women are not involved in business life in Antalya and she underlines that she did not come to Antalya to get married. However, she states that Turkish men are better than Russian men due to they are more connected to their families and they take care of their children, unlike Russian men. She highlights that although there are some inadequacies in Antalya in terms of life style and religious services; Antalya is a great place to live. Similar to this news story, there is another online news story which is about a Russian woman living in Antalya who migrated to Turkey with her daughter ten years ago (*Rusya’dan 10 yıl önce birlikte geldiğim kızım Bilkent’te burslu okuyor*, 2010). In the news story, Russian woman states that she became a Turkish citizen and she is happy to spend her life in Antalya, since she feels herself as one of the local people in Antalya, rather than a foreigner. She also mentions prejudice about Russian women in Turkey. Although she expresses sadness about this situation, she states that Russian women’s image

has positively changed in the course of time. At the same time, there is an online news story about a twelve-year-old Russian girl who migrated with her mother from Russia (*12 yaşındaki Elizaveta emniyet müdürü oldu*, 2014). In the news story, it is stated that twelve-year-old Elizaveta celebrates 23 April National Sovereignty and she expresses her love both for Turkey and Atatürk. This online news story directly contributes the integration. It can be said that Elizaveta is a positive example of integration, since she maintains her Russian roots while she shows adaptability to Turkish society. In addition to the news stories about successful integration of Russian women, there are few news stories about Russian women in Turkey which feature their success. One of the news stories is about Russian female firefighters who gained a massive success in a competition in İzmir (*Rus kadın itfaiyeciler dünya rekoru kırdı*, 2017).

There are also some online news stories and opinion columns which can be considered as positive news about Russian women. In these online news stories and opinion columns, there are positive opinions about Russian women in Turkey. In *Sabah*, there are some online newspaper columns which write positive thoughts about Russian women. Especially in one of the online newspaper columns which were written by Ayşe Özyılmazel, a Turkish female columnist in *Sabah*, it is seen that Russian women are both supported against negative prejudices and they are praised due to their beauties and their way of communicating with Turkish men in romantic relationships (*Akıllı erkek Rus'la evlenir!*, 2007). Throughout the article, she compares Turkish women with Russian women, saying that Russian women are better than Turkish women due to their beauties and their behaviours in romantic relationships. In another news story of her, Ayşe Özyılmazel criticizes the negative perception and attitudes towards blonde women in Turkey and she states that Russian women are generalized negatively in Turkey due to their blonde hair (*Sarı saçlarından sen suçlusun*, 2009). She says that Turkish people are narrow-minded and the Russian women in Turkey are seen as “wicked women” due to the negative stereotype about them. Throughout the newspaper column, Özyılmazel criticizes discriminatory attitudes against Russian women. It

can be said that Ayşe Özyılmazel's columns has a positive effect on integration, since she criticizes negative stereotype about Russian women.

Moreover, there are also some online news stories which are about Russian-Turkish marriages. One of the news stories is about Turkish men who get married with foreign women more than past years in Antalya and it is stated that Turkish men mostly get married with Russian, Ukrainian and Moldovan women (*Yabancılarla evlilikler artıyor*, 2013). The numbers of the foreign brides are given by categorizing their nationalities and it is written that the number of the foreigners which majorly includes women is approximately one hundred thousand in Antalya. According to the news story, the number of the marriages with foreign brides constantly increases. It is stated that love between the foreign brides and Turkish men usually starts in holiday towns. It is stated that many Russian women who come to Antalya to earn their living fall in love with Turkish men and they permanently stay in Antalya after getting married with Turkish men. It is highlighted that Russian women prefer Turkish men because they are honest and they are connected to their family. On the other hand, Turkish men prefer Russian women due they are well-groomed and educated. Besides, it is written that the President of Antalya Russian Culture Association said that the marriages between the Russian women and Turkish men form happy families due to they bring two rich cultures together. It is also highlighted that a specific sector for marriage tourism has emerged in Antalya and a wedding organization company in Antalya promote Antalya for foreign couples in order to attract them to Antalya for getting married. Besides, it is also underlined that many online dating platforms for getting married with foreign women have emerged and these online dating websites are used by Turkish men who want to get married with foreign women. It is said that in these online platforms, two countries' cultures and potential problems which can be faced after marriage are discussed. At the same time, the news story underlines that the thoughts and comments of foreign brides who are married with Turkish men are given in these online dating platforms. It can be said that news stories about Russian-Turkish marriages also provide integration,

since it may motivate people from different cultures to get married which enables a multicultural environment.

Furthermore, it can be argued that converting to Islam is a significant way of integration and showing adaptability to Turkish society for some Russian women. There are online news stories about Russian women in Turkey who converted their religion to Islam. In one of the news stories, it is written that a Russian woman converted her religion to Islam for her Turkish boyfriend before getting married (*Rus kadın aşkı uğruna Müslüman oldu*, 2016). In the online news story, it is highlighted that both the Turkish boyfriend and his family introduced her to Islam and they wanted her to convert to Islam. According to the news story, the Russian woman was happy since she converted to Islam and she changed her name after she became a Muslim. In another online news story, it is written that a Russian woman of Uzbekistan origin converted her religion to Islam due to she was affected by her husband's and his family's Islamic lifestyle (*Özbekistan asıllı Rus kadın Müslüman oldu*, 2013). It is stated that the woman changed her name after converting to Islam by confessing her belief in God and reciting the Islamic confession of faith. It is also highlighted that the Russian woman found happiness and peace in Islam.

Moreover, there are also magazine news stories about Russian women which usually emphasize the Russian women's beauty. It can be said that Russian women are sexually objectified in these news stories. In one of these magazine news stories, it is written that the Russian female polices and security forces posted their photos on social media and their sexy poses got a great reaction from the people in both positive and negative ways (*Rus polisler sosyal medyanın gündeminde! Öyle pozlar verdiler ki...*, 2020). It is written that the photos of the Russian policewomen received thousands of likes on social media and it is underlined that their sexy poses got negative reaction from some of the Russians. Another similar news story is about Russian female polices who graduated from the Police Academy in Russian Federation in which beauty of the Russian female polices is emphasized (*Mankenlik ajansı değil Rus Polis Akademisi! Rus kadın*

*polisleri görenler şaşkına döndü...*, 2019). There is also another magazine news story which is about beauty secrets of Russian women where Russian women's natural beauty is praised (*Rus kadınların akıl almaz güzellik sırları ortaya çıktı!*, 2018). In the online news story, Russian women's beauty tips are shared with the readers. It can be said that this type of news stories do not have a great positive impact on integration, since the news story is only focused on Russian women's physical appearances but not their relationship with Turkish people and their integration/adaptability skills.

Nevertheless, there are also some online news stories which are about discrimination against Russian women. These types of news stories have a hindering influence on integration. In one of these online news stories, it is written that a Turkish political surveyor was denounced to the police because of his words about Russian women on TV (*Adil Gür hakkında o sözleri nedeniyle suç duyurusu*, 2020). The male surveyor's words about Russian women are not mentioned in the online news story. Besides, it is written that the lawyer "put forward" that the political surveyor insulted Russian women on TV. Since, the political surveyor's words about Russian women are not given in the online news article; there is no evidence about his insulting and discriminating attitude. Although the lawyer's explanation in his petition for complaint is given in the online news article, it can be said that the Turkish political surveyor was protected by the newspaper itself due to his discriminating words are not included in the news article. Other than this, there is another discriminatory online news story about Russian women which can also be considered as a misogynistic point of view (*Ay'a varmadan saç baş birbirlerine girerler*, 2015). In this online news story, it is written that six Russian female cosmonauts were selected for an experiment during their travel to the moon for eight days and the aim of this experiment is to observe the psychological and physiological effects of the moon travel on women's body. However, it is highlighted that many "amusing comments" were written on social media which make fun of the Russian female cosmonauts. These "amusing comments" are not criticized by *Sabah* and they are even considered as "entertaining". Even one of these jokes was mentioned in the

online news story which says that “these women will get into a cat fight before arriving to the moon”. Besides, it is seen that the same online news story was also given by using a different news story title in the newspaper website (*Rus kadın kozmonotların Ay deneyi espri konusu oldu*, 2015).

Among the Turkish newspapers which are analyzed in detailed, the news stories about “Russian brides” are the highest in *Sabah* (38 news stories). Although number of positive representations of “Russian bride” news stories (28 news stories) are higher than the number of positive representations of “Russian woman” news stories (20 news stories), it can be said that in *Sabah*, total positive representations of Russian migrant women (48 news stories) is more than their total negative representations (14 news stories). Within all the newspapers analyzed, in spite of the presence of sexist news stories about “Russian women”, positive news stories which are related to both “Russian women” (20 news stories) and “Russian brides” (28 news stories) are the highest in *Sabah*. Therefore, it can be said that among all the newspapers, *Sabah* is the newspaper which has the most positive attitude about Russian migrant women which supports integration. In *Sabah*, majority of the news stories are integration news stories (21 news stories). Following this, there are crime news stories (5 news stories), news stories about “Russian brides” converting to Islam (5 news stories), news stories about death (2 news stories), political news stories (2 news stories) and magazine news stories (2 news stories). Unlike other newspapers, prostitution and theft news stories about “Russian brides” are not covered in *Sabah* and there are small numbers of death news stories, crime news stories and accident & security news stories about “Russian brides”. One of the crime news stories about “Russian bride” is a about financial crime committed against a “Russian bride” by her Turkish husband (*Rus gelin Galina’ya Türk usülü kazık*, 2014). However, the same news story is covered in a different way as well, which accuses the Russian bride of leaving her Turkish husband, after he lost all his money (*Para bitince aşk da bitti*, 2014). In spite of this, majority of the news stories about “Russian brides” are about integration/ life style news stories (21 news stories). Following this, there are news stories about “Russian brides” who converted to Islam (5 news



stories). Both integration/ life style news stories and news stories about converting to Islam have positive impact on the integration. Among all the newspapers analyzed, news stories about integration and converting to Islam are the highest in *Sabah*.

When it comes to the news stories about “Russian brides” in *Sabah*, it is seen that there are positive news stories about Russian brides in Turkey which shows sympathy and support to them. Most of these online news stories are about the Russian brides who converted to Islam after getting married with Turkish men. It is highlighted that the Russian brides are suitable for Turkish families and Turkish culture. In one of the online news stories, it is written that foreign brides who are from Russia, England and Germany in Alanya and Fethiye work as tourism ambassadors of Turkey (*Tanıtım elçisi gelinler*, 2019). Besides, it is written that one of the Russian brides was stood for 2019 Municipality Elections in Alanya as an independent candidate. It is highlighted that the foreign brides love Turkey so much and they promote Turkey when they visit their countries. They say that although there are lots of negative news stories about Turkey in their countries, they introduce Turkey by saying positive things about Turkey. At the same time, foreign brides, especially Russian brides are highly mentioned in a news story, which is about learning Turkish language in Ankara (*Yabancıların Türkçe hayali*, 2018). In another online news story, it is written that foreign brides in Manavgat (Antalya) prepared dinner for ‘iftar’ and they served it for citizens who fast in Ramadan (*Yabancı gelinler sokakta iftar verdi*, 2018). According to the news story, the district governor of Manavgat states that the citizens are glad about their foreign friends, since they live in the frame of Turkish culture and traditions. Besides, it is underlined that the intention of the organization is to introduce Turkish and Muslim culture to the foreign brides. It is also added that a Russian bride expressed her happiness for serving the ‘iftar’ dinner. Regarding this news story, it can be said that the news story contributes integration, however, it can be described as one-sided integration, since there is no cultural exchange between two distinct cultures but a one-sided way of adapting the host society.

On the other hand, there is an online news story which is about a model-actress who played the leading role in the Turkish film “Russian Bride” and who later became a Muslim (*Tatsyana Tsikivekiç: Nihat Hatipoğlu sayesinde Müslüman oldum*, 2015). It is stated that the model-actress told her process of being a Muslim and it is stated that she changed her name after she converted to Islam. In another news story, the actress explains how she decided to become a Muslim, saying that she decided to convert to Islam after she listened to the azan in Diyarbakır (*Tatsyana'nın Müslüman olmasını sağlayan olay*, 2013). Similar to the former news story, there is another online news story about a foreign woman who converted to Islam (*Rus gelin Julia Müslüman oldu*, 2013). In this online news story, it is said that a Russian bride became a Muslim and changed her name after getting married with a Turkish man in Urfa. It is highlighted that the Russian woman was so happy for converting her religion. It is also added that her husband and her husband's family was also glad because of her choice of converting to Islam. Another online news story states that both a Russian woman and her mother-in-law converted to Islam and changed their names in Alanya where they visited for summer holiday (*Gelin-kaynana Müslüman oldu*, 2013). Thus, it can be said that converting to the host country's religion is also a significant way for integration.

Since marriage is considered as an effective way of integration, news stories about marriage play a great role on integration. These news stories are mostly about Russian brides who got married with Turkish men from different regions of Turkey in a traditional Turkish marriage ceremony (*Artvin'e Rus gelin*, 2013), (*Seydikemer'e Rus gelin geldi*, 2016), (*Rus geline Türk düğünü*, 2013). Similar to these news stories, there is a news story about a Russian-Turkish marriage in Kars (*“Aşkımıza Putin bile engel olamadı”*, 2016). In this online news story, it is written that the Turkish man went to Russia for working where he met his Russian wife. It is underlined that the Russian bride both adores Turkey and her husband's hometown. According to the news story, the Turkish bridegroom said that even Putin could not prevent the love between them. There is another news story about marriages between Russian women-Turkish men which highlights that political

crisis do not affect “love” between different cultures (*Aşk kriz tanımadı*, 2017). In another online news article, it is written that a married Russian-Turkish couple talked about the “plane crisis” between Russia and Turkey and they express that they want peace between the two countries, requesting a political solution for this conflict (*Rus gelinle Türk damattan barış çağrısı*, 2016). It can be said that sometimes “marriage” between two cultures may lead to peaceful relationships between two countries.

For instance, the political conversation between Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Patrik Kirill (who is the high priest of Russian Orthodox Church) is a significant example of integration that how Russian-Turkish marriages contribute to peace, harmony, understanding and tolerance (*Patrik Kirill'in 'Rus gelin' sohbeti*, 2009). Besides, there is also an online news story about Russian brides which says that Russian brides are very suitable for Turkish family structure and they are very loyal and respectful to their Turkish husbands. It is also highlighted that the marriages between Russian women and Turkish men are significant to develop political and cultural relationships between the two countries (“*Ruslar Türk aile yapısına çok uygun*”, 2012). Moreover, *Sabah* also covers success stories of “Russian brides” in Turkey who contribute to Turkish society either by opening businesses in Turkey (*Rus gelin sanayici oldu*, 2019) or educating talented Turkish children in ballet and classical music for international competitions (*Bu kadına dikkat*, 2013), (*'Rus gelin' piyanoda Türk yetenekleri keşfediyor*, 2017). These success stories of “Russian brides” are significant examples for integration, since the migrant “Russian brides” in Turkey both financially and educationally giving service to the host country of Turkey. At the same time, the news stories about success of “Russian brides” also supports and promotes cultural diversity in Turkish society which has a facilitating effect on integration.

#### 4.1.5. Yeni Akit

**Table 10.**News Categories of YENİ AKİT- Keywords of “Russian Woman”, “Russian Bride” and “Russian Girl”

Keywords	Death News	Crime News	Prostitution News	Tourism News	Magazine News	Accident & Security News	Theft News	Integration/ Life Style News	Converting to Islam
“Russian Woman”	3	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
“Russian Bride”	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	1
“Russian Girl”	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

In *Yeni Akit*, under the category of “Russian woman”, there are 6 online news stories about Russian women which are mostly about death news stories and the news stories which feature crimes committed against Russian women in Turkey (*Lüks sitede Rus kadının sır ölümü*, 2020). In these news stories, Russian women are represented as neutrally since they are subjects of the crimes (*Antalya’da eski eşinin silahla vurmaya çalıştığı iddia edilen kişi tutuklandı*, 2020). None of the news about “Russian women” are about integration, since the news stories about death and crime do not have a great impact on integration. On the other hand, there is an online news story which is about a Russian woman who converted to Islam (*Sivas’ta yaşayan 41 yaşındaki Rus kadın İslamiyet’i seçti*, 2020). This news story contributes integration, since converting religion is a significant factor for integration. There is also a news story about tourism, which is about a sports event held in İstanbul where Russian athletes participated (*İstanbul maratonuna yabancı atlet damgası*, 2020).

When it comes to the news stories about “Russian brides”, it is seen that there are 8 online news stories about Russian brides which show sympathy, acceptance and support towards them. It can be said that these news stories directly have a positive impact on the integration. For instance, there is a news story about a “Russian bride” (Anastasia Petrova Çetinkaya) living in Alanya who became an independent candidate for Alanya municipality in local elections (*Rus gelin Anastasia, Alanya Belediye Başkanlığı’na resmen aday oldu*, 2019). In this news story, Anastasia Petrova Çetinkaya states that she loves Alanya and she wants to give service to this place by leading its local governance. Petrova Çetinkaya also states that she does not see herself as “disadvantaged” and she regards Turkey as a great country which “provides equal opportunities for everyone”, no matter what people’s nationality and religion is. This news story is a positive example of the integration, since it shows that there are political opportunities for Russian brides as well, as long as they are willing to be a part of the community. Another news story about Anastasia Petrova Çetinkaya is about her praising for Turkish government due to the government’s precautions for Covid-19 pandemic (*Rus gelin Anastasia’dan Türkiye’nin Kovid-19 tedbirlerine videolu övgü*, 2020). Besides, there is a news story about a Russian bride who converted to Islam after getting married with her Turkish husband (*Amasyalı genç ile evlenen Rus gelin Müslüman oldu*, 2020).

It is significant that both the news stories about “Russian women” and “Russian brides” do not include sexist, racist or any kind of discriminatory statements against Russian women in *Yeni Akit*. On the other hand, it can be said that the news stories about “Russian women” are written in a neutral tone while the news stories about “Russian brides” are written in a sympathetic and a friendly tone. For instance, one of the news stories state that “Russian brides” love Turkish language and they are eager to learn it (*Yabancı gelinlerin Türkçe aşkı*, 2019). In another news story, it is said that Russian and Ukrainian brides competed with each other to make the best Turkish coffee in an organization in Antalya (*Yabancı gelinler Türk kahvesi yapmak için yarıştı*, 2019). Another news story features a Russian woman who helped her Turkish mother-in-law during her political

campaign before the local elections in 2019 (*Rus gelin muhtar adayı kayınvalidesi için oy istedi, 2019*). It can be said that similar to *Sabah*, *Yeni Akit* also supports integration for “Russian brides”, however, it does not support integration for “Russian women” as much as “Russian brides”.

## 5. DISCUSSION

When the online national newspapers are regarded, it is seen that the online news stories written about “Russian women” are seen in *Sabah* (85 news stories) at most, while the least online news stories written about “Russian women” are seen in *Yeni Akit* (7 news stories). On the other hand, the online news stories written about “Russian brides” are seen in *Sabah* (38 news stories) at most, while there are no online news stories written about “Russian brides” in *Evrensel*. Besides, there are very few online news stories about “Russian brides” in *Sözcü* (11 news stories). The reason of the high numbers of online news stories about “Russian brides” in *Sabah* may be caused by its conservative ideology. Moreover, the high presence of positive representations (including Russian brides converting to Islam) of “Russian brides” in *Sabah* and *Yeni Akit* may indicate the effect of their political stances, since conservative and Islamic ideologies give value to foreigners and immigrants who choose converting to Islam, especially through marriage. At the same time, *Sabah* and *Yeni Akit* also positively represent non-Muslim “Russian brides” who are married with Turkish men. On the other hand, positive representations of “Russian women” and “Russian brides” are less in *Evrensel* and in *Sözcü*. There are only 2 positive news stories about “Russian women” and there are no positive news stories about “Russian brides” in *Evrensel*, since there are no news stories about them. On the other hand, in *Sözcü*, there are only 2 positive news stories about “Russian women” and there are only 7 positive news stories about “Russian brides”. It can be said that these newspapers are less likely to promote integration, unlike *Hürriyet*, *Sabah* and *Yeni Akit*. Considering the analyzed Turkish newspapers, it is seen that majority of the representations of Russian women are neutral (in 143 news stories) in total news stories, although there are some discriminatory and sexist statements in some newspapers, except the newspapers *Evrensel* and *Yeni Akit*. At the same time, negative representations of “Russian women” in total news stories (in 57 news stories) are more than the total news stories where “Russian women” are positively represented (in 37 news stories). On the other hand, in all the analyzed

Turkish newspapers, it is seen that majority of the representations of “Russian brides” are positive (in 59 news stories). Following the news stories about positive representations of “Russian brides”, there are 27 news stories where “Russian brides” are neutrally represented and there are only 2 news stories within all the newspapers which represent “Russian brides” negatively. Therefore, it can be said that except the newspaper *Evrensel*, in all national newspapers, the online news stories about “Russian brides” are more sympathetic and indulgent than the online news stories about “Russian women” who are more likely to be represented negatively. Therefore, it can be argued that there is more sympathy and acceptance towards “Russian brides” than “Russian women” and the news stories about “Russian brides” have a positive contribution on integration, more than the news articles about “Russian women”. Moreover, it can be highlighted that news stories about “Russian-Turkish marriages”, “success stories of Russian migrant women”, “Russian migrant women who learn Turkish”, “local events organized for Russian people” and the news stories about “converting to Islam” have a facilitating influence on integration both for “Russian women” and “Russian brides”.



## CONCLUSION

In this paper, the subject of integration is examined by analyzing representation of Russian migrant women in Turkish press. Both integration and the representation of Russian women in Turkish press was discussed in the context of the theories of Abadan-Unat, Tuchman, Van Dijk, Fürsich, Korhan, Chomsky & Herman, Bloch, Hughes, Coşkun, Deniz & Özgür, Ekiz Gökmen, Demirdizen, Üstübcü, Özaşçılar & Ziyalar, Zhidkova & Demir, Antonova-Ünlü & Sağın-Şimşek, Ateşman & Lozovska, Bayram, Filyeva, Kurt, Boomgaarden, De Vreese, Vliegthart, Bourdieu, Luhmann, Lipmann, Christoph, Ryazantsev, Sivoplyasova, Früh, Bauder, Hussain, Huddleston, Branton, Dunaway and Abrajano. To find the relationship between integration and the press, a qualitative content analysis of five national newspapers was conducted. During the qualitative content analysis, all news stories are divided into categories such as death news, crime news, prostitution news, political news, magazine news, accident & security news and integration/life style news. At the same time, representation of Russian migrant women is classified as positive representation, negative representation and neutral representation. Positive representation is where migrants are portrayed as the people who have high qualities (such as being successful, benevolent and civilized) in which they are portrayed as the people who have strong adaptability skills in the society that they live in, while negative representation is the representation where migrants are portrayed as terrorists, sex workers, thieves or the people who are portrayed as unbalanced and immoderate. On the other hand, neutral representation is the representation where migrants are portrayed as ordinary people or the people who are victimized of the crimes that are committed against them. It could be shown, that the results of the qualitative content analysis are similar to the theories which were discussed in the paper. It can be said that the online news stories about “Russian brides” are more sympathetic and indulgent than the online news stories about “Russian women” who are more likely to be represented negatively. As it is provided in research and discussion sections of the research, the news stories about “Russian brides” in all

the analyzed newspapers have a positive contribution on integration, more than the news articles about “Russian women”. Besides, it is seen that news stories about “marriage” and “converting to Islam” are more likely to facilitate integration than the other categories of news stories. However, it is seen that generally Turkish press media do not support or facilitate integration. Since the media is a very powerful tool on influencing the people’s point of views about foreigners and immigrants, the Turkish press media should feature more news stories about Russian migrant women in Turkey which have a facilitating effect on integration. The press media’s positive role on integration enable to improve understanding, harmony and tolerance between Russian and Turkish cultures, as well as strengthening peace and political relationships between Russia and Turkey. In addition to this, the press media’s positive representation of immigrants also enables to remove negative stereotypes about immigrants and to overcome from prejudices against them. Especially after the war between Ukraine and Russia, number of Russian citizens continue to increase in Turkey and Turkish press should give significance to feature news stories about Russian diaspora in Turkey. However, it is seen that Russian diaspora in Turkey is not given enough importance by Turkish press can be regarded quantitatively and qualitatively. This paper contributes to the research of representation of Russian migrant women in Turkish press and how representation of Russian migrant women in Turkish press are related to integration, but the paper can be regarded as the initial point to further research.

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