

A GRAMSCIAN ANALYSIS OF SECURITIZATION THROUGH THE
ANTAGONIST CHARACTERS IN
TURKISH TV CRIME SERIES:
İZ PEŞİNDE, YILAN HİKÂYESİ, ARKA SOKAKLAR, BEHZAT Ç., İSİMSİZLER
AND *BÖRÜ*

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JULY 2022

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ABSTRACT

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The relationship between popular culture and politics has started to attract more attention with the spread of mass media and today's world becoming a visual and auditory showground; in other words, popular culture has become more important than ever in conveying the ideology of the ruling class. Popular culture products are instrumental in the reproduction and maintenance of economic, political, and cultural values in motion. The role of TV is still important in this context, given its prevalence and broad audience. In this thesis, it is examined how securitization practices play a role in the reproduction and maintenance of common sense in the Gramscian sense, in the context of six crime series broadcast on Turkish TV. For this purpose, the criminal profiles in the TV series *İz Peşinde*, *Yılan Hikâyesi*, *Behzat Ç.*, *Arka Sokaklar*, *İsimsizler*, and *Börü* were categorized with the help of content analysis based on their names, nicknames, genders, professions, family backgrounds, educational backgrounds and the nature of the crimes they committed, and accordingly, certain stereotypes were determined. In the research, it was concluded that the criminals in the selected TV series were exposed to visual securitization through these stereotypes. In addition, it has been determined that these securitization practices are in parallel with the socio-political conjuncture of the period and reproduce common sense by repeating the dominant discourses.

Keywords: Popular Culture, Common Sense, Securitization, Crime, TV series

ÖZ

TÜRK TV SUÇ DİZİLERİNDEKİ ANTAGONİST KARAKTERLER
ARACILIĞIYLA GÜVENLİKLEŞTİRMENİN GRAMSCIAN ANALİZİ:
İZ PEŞİNDE, YILAN HİKÂYESİ, ARKA SOKAKLAR, BEHZAT Ç., İSİMSİZLER
AND *BÖRÜ*

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Popüler kültürün siyaset ile olan ilişkisi, kitle iletişim araçlarının yaygınlaşması ve günümüz dünyasının görsel ve işitsel bir gösteri alanı haline gelmesi ile birlikte daha fazla dikkat çekmeye başlamış; popüler kültür, egemen sınıfın ideolojisini taşımada her zamankinden daha önemli bir unsur haline gelmiştir. Popüler kültür ürünleri, bir devinim halinde ekonomik, siyasi ve kültürel değerlerin yeniden yaratılması ve sürdürülmesine aracı olmaktadır. Yaygınlığı ve izleyici kitlesinin genişliği düşünüldüğünde, televizyonun rolü de bu bağlamda hala önemlidir. Bu tez çalışmasında, Türk televizyonlarında yayımlanan altı suç dizisi özelinde, güvenlikleştirme pratiklerinin Gramscici anlamda sağduyunun yeniden üretilmesi ve sürdürülmesi süreçlerinde nasıl rol aldığı incelenmiştir. Bu amaçla, *İz Peşinde*, *Yılan Hikâyesi*, *Behzat Ç.*, *Arka Sokaklar*, *İsimsizler* ve *Börü* dizilerindeki suçlu profilleri, isimler, lakaplar, cinsiyetler, meslekler, aile geçmişleri, eğitim durumları ve işledikleri suçların niteliği üzerinden kategorize edilmiş ve bu doğrultuda gerçekleştirilen içerik analiziyle suçlu stereotipleri belirlenmiştir. Araştırmada, seçilen dizilerdeki suçluların belirli stereotipler üzerinden görsel güvenlikleştirmeye maruz bırakıldıkları sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Ayrıca, bu güvenlikleştirme pratiklerinin dönemin sosyo-politik konjonktürüyle paralellik gösterdiği ve hakim söylemleri tekrarlayarak sağduyuyu yeniden ürettiği tespit edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Popüler Kültür, Sağduyu, Güvenlikleştirme, Suç, TV dizileri



To my beloved family...

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank my thesis advisor Assoc. Prof. Dr. Hakan Övünç ONGUR who did not spare me his support during both my undergraduate and graduate education, for all his guidance and patience in this process. I would also like to express my gratitude to Assoc. Prof. Dr. Klevis KOLASİ and Assist. Prof. Dr. Gülriz ŞEN, who took part in my thesis jury and provided important contributions and constructive criticism.

I would like to thank all the professors and colleagues at our institute for their comments and support throughout the writing process.

I would like to thank Ali Can Özkan for always supporting and motivating me during the thesis writing process. They also deserve special thanks to my precious friends Burak Yazıcı so-called Tospik, Seçil Usta, Büşra Kesici, Hande Vural, and Batuhan Yorgancılar.

My special thanks are to all my family members who have always been by my side with their support.

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ABBREVIATION LIST

- PKK : Kurdistan Worker's Party
FETÖ : Fetullahist Terrorist Organization
ISIS : Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
ÖKK : Special Force Command
PÖH : Police Special Operations



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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) famously explained that social power is not simply the domination of society by power on one hand or the unconditional obedience or resistance of society on the other. Accordingly, the bourgeois class that hold dominance in societies under the democratic form of government in the capitalist order try to get the consent of the working class rather than directly imposing their will, and they achieve hegemony through the continuation of this consent (Jones, 2006, p.1-5). In this process, the relationship between the dominant group and society is shaped not only according to the ideology of the sovereign and its imposition on society but also to actual production conditions and the expectations and needs of the society. The sovereign power should be able to access the minds and lives of the individuals in the society it governs and show its interests and ideology as the society's free will. The hegemony established in this way continues to protect the power of the sovereign over the society in a process that reproduces and maintains itself even when the ruler cannot produce consent or intervene directly.

In this sense, Gramsci's understanding of power expresses a form of common sense in which the subordinate group is actively involved in the process but only unaware of it (Jones, 2006, p.1-5). Common sense is externalized so deeply and permeates social experiences that society's social, political, and cultural ideas, the way people live their lives, and their understanding of life are shaped by the

dominant ideology. This uninterrupted negotiation between the dominant group and society also occurs within cultural practices. It covers many areas in culture, such as eating and drinking habits, customs, morals, language, beliefs, shared feelings, and thoughts, which constitute our way of perceiving the world and permeate all social practices (Coşgun, 2012, p.839). Through culture, common sense reproduces itself at the social level and without the direct manipulation of the hegemon. In this sense, Gramsci argues that, contrary to economic determinism, culture, politics, and economy are organized in a network of mutual and regulating influences.

Security, which is associated with the survival of states in the most general sense, is another phenomenon shaped both in line with the ideology of the ruling class and depending on the historical evolution of the society. Therefore, on the one hand, it is about the redefinition of the political agenda of the nation-states, and on the other hand, it is about the concerns that exist in the minds of the society (Baldwin, 1997, p.5). In this sense, security is a part of “Gramscian common sense” as it is directly related to the cultural, political, and economic relations in the society. General perceptions of societies, such as security concerns, what they are afraid of or what they should protect, and who the enemy is, are constructed within the framework of these relations and lead to a common sense about security. Security, considered a constructed phenomenon, is embedded in social practices and shapes the way society perceives the world with the urge to survive (Buzan, Weaver, De Wilde, 1998).

In traditional security studies, although the definition of security is considered a phenomenon shaped by external military threats, the perception of security has deepened and expanded in line with Critical Security Studies after the 1980s. With

the redefinition of security, in addition to the traditional concern about security, issues such as the economy, human rights, environmental problems, epidemics, drug trafficking, crimes, and social inequality are also included in the security field (Buzan, 1983). The securitization concept put forward by the Copenhagen School of the Critical Security Studies examines how these new issues were drawn into the field of security and brought to a supra-political position. “Securitization,” which can be defined as a phenomenon of constructing a non-security issue that does not pose a direct threat to security as an *existential threat* and making it a political priority, emerges as a result of a direct persuasion/convincing relationship between decision-makers and the society by speech acts. (Buzan, Weaver, De Wilde, 1998) As a result of this persuasion relationship, a security problem should also be understood as part of a “common sense” in society.

The area where the relationship between common sense and securitization lies is most evident in the area of popular culture. The reconstruction and maintenance of a common sense on a security scale are maintained through a constant movement in daily practices mostly through the products of popular culture, even when there is no direct intervention of the hegemon, and it is placed at the center of social relations. Popular culture is composed of both cultural and entertainment-related products circulating in different sectors in daily life. Mirroring the ideology of the ruling classes, this field includes entertainment as an input to the daily reproduction of labor (Oktay, 2002). Producing standardized products for the mass market, popular culture addresses all classes of the society in varying degrees and allows the dominant ideology to manage the society by penetrating all segments (Güngör, 2005). With the power of popular culture to penetrate every layer of society and the effect of the

capitalist system, there is a struggle to encourage people to consume and to gain more consumers. Being open to continuous development by its nature and adapting quickly to ever-changing conditions have made it open to constructing a common sense in line with the ruling class's ideology and perpetually permeating people's lives. In this sense, popular culture has expanded its sphere of influence and gained power with the development of consumer society and mass media.

Today's world has become a visual field with the increase and spread of mass media (TV channels, the Internet, social media, etc.), which has begun to change and transform our perception of the world. TV, which has become a tool that appeals to the visual and auditory senses and is accessible to everyone, is still one of the most important media tools with its broad audience. The variety of TV programs can offer an option to every segment of society in line with their – mostly constructed – tastes and needs. According to Jones (2006), TV programs create and maintain hegemonic discourse in all genres, whether reality shows, news programs, series, or entertainment competitions. In another sense, “what we see on television is not the transmission of information or the reflection of what is happening in real life, but the reproduction and shaping of discourse. Television does not only produce its own discourse, but it also produces the ideas and interpretations of the audience” (Aksoy, Gül, Sen, 2018, p.114).

According to Jean Baudrillard, who claims that this new order is a new symbol of today's world and tries to explain the structure of this new mass media universe and the effects it has on people, what we define as real now becomes not what we make sense of in a direct connection with the world, but what has reflected us on TV

screens: Now TV is the world (Baudrillard, 1985). In this sense, “truth is fictional; fiction is ‘done,’ presented as if it is real. Thus, what is known as ‘real’ begins to have a fictional character. Accordingly, TV screens take the place of the world we live in, and imitation takes the place of reality” (Sarup, 2010, p.165). The images are shown on TV shape our point of view, with or without discourse, causing us to have emotions such as excitement, fear, and joy towards a phenomenon and to accept it as a reality.

In the process of determining the subject of the thesis, the feedback from the people around me has proved how these claims, that is, the perception created in the TV series or the images shown have on people, are close to truth. A friend of mine said that during his trip to the Southeast Anatolia with his younger brother, who was impressed by the terrorist image created on TV, and when he saw people wearing *poshu*, he was afraid because he thought that they were terrorists. Another friend, who was impressed by the TV series, stated that the events in the TV series reflect the truth and that there are big games played upon Turkey. When these examples are evaluated, it is undeniable that TV series not only have a fictional value in the minds of people but also shape their ideas and the way they understand the world.

Accordingly, in the thesis, the relationship between economy, politics, and culture will be examined in terms of the securitization practices through Turkish crime TV series and their reproduction in daily practices from a Gramscian perspective. The aim of the thesis is to determine whether securitization is made over the stereotypes of the criminal characters in the TV series and how a Gramscian common sense is being constructed through these shows. In the thesis, the concepts of popular culture,

common sense, and securitization are brought together and discussed simultaneously.

This research will consist of the following research questions:

- Do states try to construct “a common sense” on the axis of security through their means of “securitization”? If so, what is the place of popular culture products in this context, and how is it used?
- Can the construction of a common sense be achieved through popular cultural production? If so, which patterns can be examined when the common sense construction goals of states in cultural production are considered in the context of TV series?
- Are certain particular images of criminal characters securitized in Turkish TV series? If so, how can these securitization practices be addressed in the context of the reproduction and maintenance of the common sense?

In order to analyze the research questions and examine whether the series' characters have been securitized, six popular crime series were selected. To observe the change (if any) in the securitization practices from the 1990s to the present, the series were chosen from among the series broadcasted during different periods in this interval. These series are *Behzat Ç*, *Arka Sokaklar*, *Börü*, *Yılan Hikayesi*, *İz Peşinde* and *İsimsizler*. These TV series, which are directly related to the issue of security, will be evaluated by subjecting them to a content analysis, taking into account the current political events at the time they were broadcasted.

In this direction, in the second part of the thesis, Gramsci's concept of common sense will be discussed based on its role in the construction of hegemony and its relationship with popular culture. In addition, it will be mentioned how the

Copenhagen School's securitization concept is handled in line with Critical Security Studies to understand the relationship of a common sense with security. Since the Copenhagen School's securitization is a speech-based approach, the conceptual framework of how security emerges as a process that recreates and maintains the common sense in TV series will be presented by making use of Lene Hansen's concept of visual securitization in order to better understand the securitization practices in the series. In the third part of the thesis, there will be a literature review about the meaning of popular culture and its relation to politics. In addition, it will be examined how popular culture studies are handled in the literature from the perspective of the concepts of common sense and securitization. Accordingly, in order to understand how the securitization of the characters in TV series discussed in the thesis is carried out depending on a common sense, the methodological scope of the thesis and the methods to be used will be explained in the fourth chapter. In the fifth chapter, the series will be handled individually, and the results obtained in the data analysis will be evaluated together with the general information about the series. By making a comparative analysis of the series, it will be discussed whether a general stereotyping is detected as well as whether the securitization takes place in accordance with common sense. In conclusion, the literature, theoretical framework, and analyses of the series will be discussed together along with certain limitations and suggestions for further research.



CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1. Antonio Gramsci

Italian Marxist thinker Antonio Gramsci was born in Sardinia, a part of the Mezzogiorno, which influenced his further intellectual works (Rosengarten, 2009, p.134). While he is in the university, which he sees as a ‘harmonious development’ for his personality and liberation from social and political situations, he joined the Socialist Party in 1914 and became a well-known journalist and the leader of a proletariat strike called ‘the Turin factory council movement’ in 1920 (Gramsci, 2017). After seven years, he went to Livorno to help found the Italian Communist Party and joined the parliament. However, after the rise of the Italian fascist movement with Benito Mussolini (1883-1945), he was arrested and imprisoned. During his prison years, he started to write his famous collection of articles, to be published as *Prison Notebooks*, which secured Gramsci’s reputation as the prominent Marxist political thinker of his generation (Buttigieg, 2002, p.67).

As a political activist, politician, and thinker, Gramsci attempted to establish theories and practices that would lead to social change without reproducing monolithic and holistic thinking. In this direction, while focusing on the relations of production in his work, he also raised questions about the role of intellectuals in social change and possible political and cultural struggles. While examining how the state apparatuses work to reproduce the dominant ideology and the status quo, he was interested in how social consensus could emerge that would pave the way for social changes (Landy, 1986, p.49). He explained the perpetuation of the dominant

ideology and the subordination of the people with the concept of *hegemony* and argued that constructing *common sense* is a way to build and maintain hegemonic power.

In this direction, as an essential and practical step towards the development of the counter-hegemony he sought, he established a link between the philosophy of praxis (Gramsci's terminology of Marxism) and popular beliefs (i.e., common sense). This was commonly understood to imply that subaltern culture, constructed by the hegemonic class itself, was a substantial material force through which counter-hegemony or political opposition might be manifested (Reed, 2012, pp.561-562). Therefore, culture and its connection to politics occupied a significant portion of his work.

Apart from the aforementioned concepts and political analyses, Gramsci proposed a broad set of concepts that included many elements of the modern system, such as the war of position and maneuver, power of coercion and consent, passive revolution, historical bloc, and organic intellectuals, and brought together various components to analyze socio-political relations (Gramsci, 2007, p.xix; Bank, 2015, pp.4-5).

2.1.a. Gramsci's Concept of Hegemony

Gramsci was looking for an answer for how the dominant ideologies maintain their power and how the proletarian revolution that Marx mentioned took place in the Tsarist Russia with the Bolsheviks, but not in the West. In this sense, he used the concept of hegemony to explain the absence of socialist revolutions and the

pacification and alienation of the masses in the capitalist democracies and industrialized economic structure of the West, given the oppressive and exploitative nature of capitalism. According to Gramsci, hegemony, in its simplest sense, describes a structure in which a dominant class not only governs a group of people politically but also leads it by imposing intellectual and cultural (moral) values (Gramsci, 1986, p.73; Storey, 2009, pp.79-80). Accordingly, “that man is not ruled by force alone but also by ideas” (Bates, 1975, p.353).

Hegemony is based not only on the reproduction of class domination relations but also on the production and maintenance of the cultural, moral, and intellectual forces necessary to continue political power. Seen in this way, the class holding the administrative authority and political dominance cannot only have a sustainable hegemonic power by seizing power at the political level but also should have the ability to organize and bring the whole society under its ideology (Gramsci, 2011, p.171). In other words, “hegemony is not only about a state of superiority between classes but also about the specificity of politics and the relationship between making and shaping politics” (Dural, 2012, p.312). Based on the approach of “the ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ideas of the ruling class, the class which is the ruling *material* force of society is at the same time its ruling *intellectual* force,” which Marx mentioned in *The German Ideology* (1998, p.67), Gramsci defined the function of hegemony as “the foundation of a ruling class... is equivalent to the creation of an ideology” (Bates, 1975, p.351). However, for hegemony to be formed and carried out successfully, it had to cover – all three – economic, political, and ideological fields (Crehan, 2016, p.33).

Gramsci's most significant contribution here is to emphasize that not only the political forces of the state (i.e., the instruments of coercion, mostly accumulated in the political society) but also cultural and ideological practices (i.e., the instruments of consent, mostly accumulated in the civil society) are of great importance for the ruling class to become hegemony. Therefore, without prioritizing the political or civil society, he draws attention to the organic and mutual connection between them (Ataay, Kalfa, 2008, p.30). According to Gramsci, hegemony is a class consensus. This consensus is achieved when the ruling class manipulates and universalizes its particular interests to define the interests of the whole society, in which it dominates and convinces the public that these interests are for their own benefit, without any pressure or coercion. This state of high consensus results in the subordinate groups and classes obeying the ruling class and internalizing its values, ideals, and goals. Therefore, hegemony illustrates the negotiations of dominant and subordinate groups rather than being simply a power imposed by the political elites (Storey, 2009, p.80).

In his analysis of civil society, which Gramsci sees as a prerequisite for the existence of hegemony, he also included areas where cultural and ideological elements were created and carried out. He stated that the bourgeois hegemony is quite strong and rich in reserves, there are many groups in society such as military and civil bureaucracies, and *organic intellectuals*¹, who maintain hegemony in civil society (Gramsci, 2011, p.194). Educating society was of primary importance for both hegemony and counter-hegemony, and in this context, every institution that shaped people's minds was important to maintain it. In this context, the civil society

¹ This concept was used many times in Gramsci's writings, and Gramsci spoke of the continuity of hegemony in society through the persuasion process by organic intellectuals (academics, bureaucrats, etc.); he stated that the intellectuals, who undertake the overflow of hegemony into the field of politics and the placement of cultural and moral values in the society, have a wide range of influence from the formation of social groups and classes (Gramsci, 2011, p.38, p.48).

is mainly formed by ideological organizations such as churches, schools, universities, media (newspapers, press, and broadcasting organs, associations and foundations, audiovisual tools such as cinema, TV, theater, and radio), and many other examples have been instrumental importance in the establishment of the ideological hegemony of the ruling class (Gramsci, 1986, p.75; Ataay, Kalfa, 2008, pp.30-31; Bates, 1975, p.353).

In this sense, hegemony never has an end, and the practices that compose it must be reconstructed every day to ensure its continuity (Jones, 2006, p.48). Therefore, Gramsci attached importance to every tool and group that shape the society and the minds of individuals in the society in order to create and maintain hegemony. However, while they manipulate the minds of society and activate the consensual mechanism, they do not do this in accordance with the public's consciousness (Bates, 1975, p.353). On the contrary, the people accept the ideology, culture, morals, goals, and expectations of the ruling class as their own ideas. Gramsci explained this state of unconsciousness with the concept of common sense, which he emphasized many times in his writings.

2.1.a.i. Common Sense

Gramsci, in his article “Folklore and Common Sense” (*Notebook 8*, 2007), referred to the importance of the concept of common sense in establishing hegemony and analyzed the internalization of hegemonic ideology and culture by subaltern groups (Liguori, 2009, p.122). Gramsci focuses on how daily life works and how the relationship between society and the state is established throughout his writings. His analysis of daily practices highlights that they play a crucial role in the construction

and reproduction of the social order he as a revolutionary is trying to change. In his writings, Gramsci argues that “folklore is a key form in which people's worldviews are stored and transmitted” (Jones, 2006, p.53). The key term here is the common sense. As he stated in his *Prison Notebooks*, “a common sense creates the folklore of the future, that is as a relatively rigid phase of popular knowledge at a given time and place.” (Gramsci, 2020, p.326) In this sense, Gramsci refers to a common sense as a form of consciousness, in which the beliefs in the society are common and in which people internalize the existing (constructed) practices both intellectually and practically, instead of via critical thinking practices (Crehan, 2016, p.x).

Gramsci's conceptualization of a common sense does not mean 'practical wisdom' or 'comprehension' as used in the traditional definitions. Also, it includes more than inequalities and class conflicts (Crehan, 2016, p.x). In this sense, one of the ways that classes face is that they have a common worldview. This emerges when people internalize the narratives presented to them and make sense of the world through them (Crehan, 2016, p.xi). This common worldview, which is referred to as “senso comune” in the notebooks, is the accumulation of 'knowledge' found in every social group and accepted by individuals as an unchangeable reality. At any time and in any place where a social group is formed, this accumulation, which is affected by both the historical process and the conditions of the day, determines the elements of the social structure and the ways of thinking and living of people. In short, Gramsci defines a common sense ‘as a way of thinking shared by an entire society or social group’ (Gramsci, 2011). However, this common way of thinking does not have a homogeneous structure, on the contrary, it is heterogeneous as it contains many elements that make up the society together.

Although Gramsci generally deals with the ideology of the ruling class and how it is used as a hegemonic tool, he also accepts that every social group and class is a set of scientific or ordinary ideas that “constantly develop and enrich themselves” (Jones, 2006, p.54). In this sense, a common sense is the product of a tangle of elements that developed in the historical process. It accumulates over time and forms the dominant idea of the period. However, a common sense becomes a relatively solid practice of thinking and exercising in daily routines as different elements come together and become embedded in society and forms certain patterns. “For a common sense, it is ‘true’ that the world stands still while the sun and the whole firmament turn around it, etc. Yet, it makes the philosophical affirmation of the objectivity of the real” (Gramsci, 1996, p.190). In this sense, a common sense can be presented as an element that does not express a systematic unity in its essence but is not thought to be possible to be changed with its development in the social process and has a structure that is both influenced by the conditions of the day and accumulated from the past and that it is an element that changes the way people live in society (Crehan, 2016, p.x).

The term, a common sense, is seen as a part of a broad concept of culture in Gramsci's writings, it plays a significant role as a cultural front alongside the political and economic elements of hegemony. The most basic function of a common sense in terms of hegemony is that it carries the dominant class's culture and places it in society to ensure continuous obedience. In order for ideological ideas to have an impact on the public, they must be seen as part of everyday, normal and ordinary life that seems independent or even unrelated to politics and must be embedded in civil society through cultural institutions (Jones, 2006, p.32).

The greatest power of a common sense in the hegemonic process is that it causes the sovereign to persuade the people without using force to spread his ideology and without subduing it (Jones, 2006). In this sense, in order for an ideology or situation to prevail among the people, it must be accepted by the people as a fixed reality, in which rebellion is futile. It will be possible to talk about a common worldview as long as it is shaped around a hegemonic narrative that depicts people's worldview from the perspective of those who hold power, regardless of which part of the society they are from. This common view strengthens the consent mechanism that ensures the establishment and maintenance of hegemony along with the other instruments of consent, including popular culture (Crehan, 2016, p.102).

2.1.a.ii. Gramsci and Popular Culture

Gramsci's study of the relationship between popular culture and politics cannot be separated from his childhood in the Italian city of Sardinia. The 'Southern Question' was an undeniable issue of Italian politics and culture. The Mezzogiorno was Italy's least developed, economically exploited, socially stratified, and impoverished region. It was also a place where society, confronted with high taxes, landlord manipulations, territorial administration, and a corrupt national government, was crushed not only by political pressure but also by the tactics used to oppress the public. Based on his experiences in Sardinia, the situation he saw in the functioning of hegemony and the culture that is a part of a common sense, shaped the way people behaved (Landy, 1986, pp.50-51).

Fascism was another source for him to analyze culture and politics together. He argued that the rising of fascism made this situation far worse for rural regions

because it prevented uprisings under the liberal politics and the discourse of 'modernism.' By ignoring problems such as economic inequality, class conflict, and patriarchy, fascism has shaped the traditional structures and institutions for its purposes by manipulating and intensifying existing ideologies and practices and has blocked the way for radical changes. Gramsci thus wondered about the state's power to dominate people and modern culture's coercive oppression against resistance by reinforcing the sense of powerlessness through the masses (Landy, 1986, pp.50-51). Also, influenced by Niccolò Machiavelli's *The Prince*, Gramsci drew attention to the public importance of 'myth' and 'ideology.' He claimed that the ideological devices in the society carrying popular culture and spreading it to the public were directly related to the power of the state (Gramsci, 1986, pp.3-12).

Gramsci's analysis of culture is based on such experience and his Marxist foundations (Crehan, 2002, p.21). The organic relationship between culture and economy is the main subject of analysis in his pre-prison writings. He sees culture as a tool through which people try to make sense of the societies they live in and their place in the ongoing order, therefore, he opposes the understanding of culture as an encyclopedic knowledge and evaluates it as an element that needs to be thought about and analyzed (Crehan, 2002, p.73). Accordingly,

We must get out of the habit and stop conceiving culture as an encyclopedic knowledge vis-à-vis which man is only a container to be filled and stuffed with empirical data, raw and isolated facts... Culture is a very different thing. It is an organization and discipline of the true inner self; it is taken possession of his own personality; it is the conquest of a higher consciousness thanks to which each succeeds in understanding his own historical value, his own function in life, his own rights and his own duties... But all

this cannot come about by spontaneous evolution... Man is above all spirit, that is to say, historical creation, and not nature (Gramsci, 1916, pp.1-2).

Gramsci firstly defines culture as the means by which people know their relations in society, their own position, and the world. Then, he suggests that culture is a social element. Culture is “all the social elements that share the same mode of thinking and acting, and all people belong to some form of such a grouping” (Crehan, 2002, p.81). Therefore, culture is based both on the internalization of certain patterns imposed by the environment in which people are born and people's 'critical and conscious' questioning of their understanding of the world shaped (Crehan, 2002, p.81). These two explanations of Gramsci's culture led to two different results for subaltern groups. The first is the acceptance of the cultural norms imposed by a hegemonic power, and the second is the escape from this hegemonic domination with critical thinking in the cultural field. This latter definition leads Gramsci's understanding of culture as a means of revolution against the order he wants to change.

Another interpretation of culture focuses on that the dominant ideology instrumentalizes culture in order to establish hegemony in society. Gramsci's concept of “national-popular culture” is one of the key elements of hegemony and linking with existing cultural practices in society; its instrumentalization or manipulation and shaping enables the people to identify with the imposed national symbols. However, it is important to be aware of the social culture and reactionary/conservative aspect of hegemony. Since imposing something new by ignoring it directly will cause it to break away from the people and cause a split between the political sovereign and the

society, fine craftsmanship and implicit manipulation are required to shape the culture in line with ideological interests (Jones, 2006, p.7).

It is also very important to ensure unity among the cultural levels that make up the society and to create a single dominant culture in order to establish a hegemony at the national level. It is vital for the sustainability of hegemony that many elements such as language, religion, morality, and traditions are gathered around a single projection and the dominant culture is formed as a unifying force for the society (Jones, 2006, p.36). In this direction, it becomes one of the main purposes of hegemonic power and the capitalist system that people laugh and cry at the same thing, fear from the same threats, or shape their daily lives around certain goals and purposes. For this reason, the ruling class analyzes the needs and aspirations of the people well and manipulates their feelings and approaches in line with these analyses. Thus, this attitude targeting the feelings of the people is shaped by tools that are a part of daily consumption such as art, media, music, movies, and series, and it builds both national consciousness and common culture. In that sense, Gramsci was interested in different forms of cultural production and made analyses different types such as detective novels, modern writings, newspapers, and opera. He argued that these different products of popular culture were carried through churches, schools, unions, and the forms of entertainment mentioned, and provided the basis for legitimizing the dominant conditions (Landy, 1986, pp.52- 61).

In short, products of popular culture make room for the conscious or unconscious repetition of cultural and political values of the hegemonic classes through the construction of a common sense. Thus, the regular consumption of such products as

songs, movies, TV series etc., create a bond between the ruling class and the society without coercion and give legitimate additional power to dominant ideologies. This means the re-creation of hegemony in daily practice without the direct intervention of the ruling class. Also, their security concerns constitute a part of a common sense in terms of creating a perception of threat in society and making a distinction between the friends and the enemies. At the receiving end of the security discourse, the society is reminded of their subordinate position with respect to the high-political nature of security. However, in order for obedience to be possible, the issue must both find a legitimate basis in society and be internalized. In this sense, it is important to investigate how the security concerns of the hegemon are conveyed and which elements are referred to within the security framework in the popular culture through the formation of a common sense. In this direction, it will be evaluated below how a security problem is handled in daily practices and popular culture products by making use of the Copenhagen School's *securitization* concept.

2.2. Critical Security Studies

Security has been perceived in different ways according to the conditions of the period, but mostly it has been accepted as 'military-oriented'. In particular, during the Cold War period, international security was shaped based on the maximization of military power. In this direction, material resources, strategic superiority, and nuclear competition have been seen as the determining elements of power relations during the Cold War era (Akmanlar, 2019, p.10). Accordingly, the studies on security shaped around this approach, as Stephen Walt explained, "the study of the threat, use, and control of military force" (1991, p.212). The 'traditional security understanding' has made the perception of threat permanent and constructed an

environment for states to constantly feel themselves in an atmosphere of insecurity. However, after the end of the Cold War, like many theoretical frameworks in the literature, the need to redefine the concept of security has emerged. The inability of the traditional theory to fully capture the changes in this period paved the way for the emergence of European-centered studies as an alternative to the security studies that the US schools mainly shaped until this period (Wæver & Buzan, 2015, p.395).

Security studies carried out in Europe were influenced by the critical approach of the Frankfurt School and added a new dimension to the perception of security. During this period, security literature was divided into Feminist, Critical, Constructivist, Structuralist, etc., and with new approaches, security has started to be studied in a broader concept. Critical Security Studies, which emerged with the contributions of Robert Keohane and Barry Buzan to the literature, offers a broad spectrum covering all these new theories (Booth, 2007). These Critical Security Studies has shaped around three basic traditions: Aberystwyth/Welsh School, Paris School, and Copenhagen School.

The Welsh School, which is also known as Aberystwyth School, was formed under the critical security studies of Ken Booth and Richard Wyn Jones. Ken Booth (1991), in his article *Security and Emancipation*, introduced the concept of ‘emancipation’ and stated that people should be freed as individuals and groups from the physical and human constraints that prevent them from doing what they freely choose to do” (Booth, 1991). School also presented the framework of a deepened and expanded understanding of security, arguing that security should be fed from other theories and disciplines as a derivative concept and claiming that, unlike power-

oriented security, every issue could be turned into a security issue (Booth, 2007). They bring new agendas including poverty, terrorism, murder, political dominance, economic crises, etc. into the security studies.

On the other hand, The Paris School, which is influenced by the post-structuralist tradition, is based on the studies of Michael Foucault, Pierre Bourdieu, and Didier Bigo. The Paris School (Political Anthropological Research for International Sociology) is used to refer to the academics of the Science Po Research Institute operating in Paris at that time (Dedemen, 2019, p.17). Studies are based on the professionalization of the security field, where security practices occur. They expanded the actors in the Copenhagen School's 'securitization' process and focused on political elites, bureaucrats, expert teams, etc. Also, they criticized Copenhagen School's 'discourse-based' approach and suggested an analysis of the policies and choices made by decision-makers actively involved in the securitization process.

Established at the University of Copenhagen in 1985, the Copenhagen School started to operate within the 'Peace and Conflict Studies Center' with the project 'Non-Military Dimensions of European Security' (Akgül, Açıkmeşe, 2011, p.57). The study, titled *People, States, and Fear: The National Security Problem in International Relations* by Barry Buzan (1983), which deals with the emphasis on security from the social side, is the basis for the Copenhagen School of Academic Thought. The thinkers who made the most important contributions to the school are Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver, and Jaap De Wilde. The three most important innovations the school brought to the security literature are securitization, regional security block, and five security sector approaches. Wæver introduced the concept of

securitization, and Buzan defined the regional bloc and security sectors. In Bill McSweeney's article published in 1993, in which he criticized Barry Buzan *Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe*, the name 'Copenhagen School' was used for the first time and started to be mentioned in this way in the literature (Şemşit, 2010, p.44).

The Copenhagen School offers a broad theoretical and methodological perspective to security studies as a combination of neo-realist, social constructivist, and post-structuralist approaches. It also provides a middle ground for the traditional/critical theory debates in security studies, as it feeds on both traditional and alternative approaches. This theoretical framework, unlike traditional theory, is not state-centered. With the changing conditions, the importance of the individual and international actors has been understood, and the individual has been brought to the center of security – although the state is still considered an essential element. In addition, security relations in the international system did not only read through the phenomenon of 'military power' (Balzaq, Leonard, Ruzicka, 2016, p.456). According to the Copenhagen School thinkers, the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the bipolar system did not mean the end of the threats in the international system. On the contrary, international relations evolved into a unique new system, and new security problems emerged. Therefore, concepts such as international migration, human rights, environmental problems, poverty, drug threat, economic problems, global warming, epidemics, etc., which until now have been considered 'soft security issues', have been included in the field of security. Accordingly, security has deepened and expanded, which would later involve the dimension of (popular) culture (Şemşit, 2010, p.45).

2.2.a. The Concept of Securitization

Contrary to traditional theory's acceptance of security as given, the Copenhagen School treats security as a constructed concept (Özmen, 2014, p.9). As Buzan states, “securitization is when something is successfully constructed as an existential threat to a valued referent object, and that construction is then used to support exceptional measures in response” (Buzan, 2018, p.553). The concept of securitization was first introduced by Ole Weaver. He expressed securitization as constructing a security issue and drawing it into the security field, even if the problem is not directly related to security, rather than solving a problem in the political arena (Weaver, 1993). In short, 'securitization' is presenting a non-security issue as a security problem in line with the prevailing ideological goals. As decision-makers identify some political issues as an existential threat and attach critical importance to the issue through securitization, these issues are taken to a higher level and become a priority on the political agenda. To put it another way, “by stating that a particular referent object is threatened in its existence, a securitizing actor claims a right to extraordinary measures to ensure the referent object’s survival” (Taureck, 2006, p.54). Securitization thus gives power to political elites to justify their actions outside normal limits. This legitimacy provides significant flexibility to decision-makers and directly affects the formation of policies.

When analyzing securitization, the Copenhagen School focuses on its discursive construction. According to Balzaq, something becomes a security problem through discursive politics, and to reference the Wæver, he adds ‘the word “security, ‘is the act . . . by saying it something is done... Security is basically a speech act’ (2011, p.1). Rather than whether a securitized phenomenon poses a real threat, it is

important to see how the discourse relationship that frames the phenomenon is socially constructed. Here 'language' cannot be seen as just a means of communication; it is seen as an area where meaning is produced and transformed by linguistic practices. It is important that a linguistic practice performs an action, is 'performative', rather than being right or wrong and defining a certain 'reality' (Balzaq, 2011, p.1). In this sense, Wæver pointed out that security does not refer to a real phenomenon, but to a speech act that provides reality (Buzan, Weaver, De Wilde, 1998; Şemşit, 2010, p.48). In this direction, metaphors, stereotypes, gestures, lies, and even manipulations targeting emotions are applied, and the communicative bond is tried to be transformed into functionality (Balzaq, 2011, p.2). Taken in this way, the main theme of securitization is to construct the discourse instrumentally in a way that appeals to the emotions in order to gain the approval of the target audience.

The security discourse must be consciously framed by certain actors. In addition to the traditional security's main actor, the state; persons and institutions also directly affect the target audience, such as the reference object, which is another critical component of securitization. These elements include national identity, and culture, stated to be under threat and whose existence is essential (Mandacı & Özerim, 2013, p.108). The securitizing actor, the object that is stated to be under threat, the subject of the referrer, the target audience, and the context and the relationship between them are important for the securitization discourse to be effective.

Although securitization has been defined together with the 'speech act' as mentioned above, in line with the Copenhagen School's studies, its axis has been broadened with different methodological approaches. As Balzaq stated; "thanks to

empirical studies, securitization theory has significantly developed beyond its initial focus on the speech act” (Balzaq, 2016, p.494). Also, the development of technology has led to diversity in the instrumental elements of securitization with visual images.

2.2.a.i. Visual Securitization

The Copenhagen School's emphasis on security as a speech act has often overlooked the role those visual elements can play in the securitization process. In this sense, it can be mentioned that this approach “potentially limit the framework as it neglects other ways in which security is presented that could have securitizing effects, such as visual representations in the media” (Bourne, 2014, p.56; Williams 2003). Especially, considering that the place of communication tools in modern political discourse is undeniable and the weight of visual communication getting increased, the importance of examining the place of visual elements in the securitization process has emerged in many critical studies (Hansen, 2000; McDonald, 2008; Williams, 2003; Stritzel, 2007).

The development of modern technologies and the products of popular culture has also changed the way people perceive, see and produce meaning about a subject. The 24-hour dominance of TV, social media tools, the digitalization of magazines and newspapers, and the ease of consumption has become more effective than ever in two-way relationship such as transferring and accessing images. Ease of visual consumption has also become more powerful than reading a text or listening to oral narration in terms of meaning production (Schalg, 2012; Bleiker, 2015). In particular, it has been emphasized in some studies that remembering visual images is stronger in the face of discourse and the rate of being perceived as “objective

evidence” is higher (Cisneros, 2008; Gilens, 1996). Accordingly, more visual content, such as short films, public service announcements, and advertisements, and the transmission of messages are started to use as an important element of the policy-making process (Dedemen, 2019, p.51). In this sense, Visual Security Studies (VSS) emerged as a new area to examine the role of images in the security context. VSS focuses mostly on analyzing the direct or hidden significance and surplus meanings of security-related images and objects using a variety of techniques (Andersen, Vuori, 2018).

When this newly developing discipline of VSS is examined within the scope of the Copenhagen School's securitization concept, the studies of Lene Hansen, who introduced the concept of visual securitization to the literature, and Michael C. Williams, are very important. Williams emphasized that in addition to evaluating pictures and comprehending the processes of meaning development, their compatibility with the discourse practices of the era in which they were published should also be explored since discourse and images generate stronger meanings when used in tandem (2003). On the other hand, Hansen explains the power of images in comparison to the discourse; “for the simple reason that they can reach more audiences than words” (Hansen, 2011, p.7). In this sense, she criticizes the Copenhagen School’s discourse-based analyses and states that “when images constitute something or someone as threatened and in need of immediate defense or when securitizing actors argue that images speak security,” this form of securitization cannot be examined only with discourse, the meaning of the ‘visual images’ gains importance in the context of discourse (Hansen, 2011, p.1). Accordingly, she provides a framework to examine images with the concept of

‘visual securitization.’ In order to detect the relationship between images, she offers an analyzing process of visual securitization consisting of four components: “the visual itself, its immediate intertextual context, the wider policy discourse, and the constitutions of the image” (Hansen, 2011, p.1).

Questioning whether images alone mean anything according to these components, Hansen states that they cannot gain meaning that includes threat or danger and that they gain meaning by the context and political discourse. The political and social context, values, and discourses also shape how the visual is perceived. The construction of visual securitization, as in discursive practices, is affected by context, people, and 'collective memory.' As Bourne states, the visual securitization process “tap[s] into already existing themes [of] what we recognize as security issues” (Bourne, 2014, p.53). For example, she states that affixing the “swastika” symbol to a place visually will cause to call many historical-social factors, such as the Nazi concentration camps and lessons to be learned to be associated with evil in the minds of those who see it (Hansen, 2011, pp.4-5). In this context, “by making an inter-visual reference, an image is situated within an intertextual context, too” (Hansen, 2011, p.5). She further states that the high circulatory and ambiguous nature of the images make securitization actors, not just the power holders or political elites, and increase their number and sphere of influence (Hansen, 2011, p.10).

CHAPTER III

LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1. Introduction

The 1960s' cultural upheavals in the West prompted attempts to reconsider and reinterpret the phenomena of popular culture. Popular culture, which was previously seen as only a leisure activity or as an 'inferior', 'lower' result of people's need to escape from their daily problems, emerged as a major subject for social and political study and critique towards the end of the 20th century (Apaydın, 2011, p.1). In the past twenty years, popular culture has been an increasingly researched aspect of global politics, and how to comprehend International Relations (IR) through the lens of popular culture products has become the focus of academic research (Shepherd, Hamilton, 2016, p.3). Especially with the spread of mass media, when examining how interactions take place on "personal, political, local, and global" levels, our perspective of the world as a whole, as well as international politics, has been broadened (Shepherd, Hamilton, 2016, p.3). "Taking popular cultural sources seriously as sources of knowledge about world politics – and as practices of world politics – has served to remind us that world politics take place in a vast multitude of places and involve a greater variety and number of actors than has been conventionally acknowledged by a significant amount of research into the international politics" (Shepherd, Hamilton, 2016, p.4).

In this context, this literature review will first focus on what popular culture is and how its conceptual framework is drawn, and theoretical discussions on popular

culture will be examined. After that, studies on how the relationship between popular culture and politics are established will be discussed from different perspectives. After understanding the meaning of popular culture and its relationship with politics, the concepts and specific studies that will be discussed with popular culture in the literature will be mentioned.

3.2. What is Popular Culture?

To define popular culture, the most obvious place to begin is by stating that popular culture is simply the culture that is widely favored or enjoyed by a large number of people (Storey, 2018, p.1). It has emerged as a product of the modernized society after industrialization and urbanization. The examination of popular culture is conducted not just for academic reasons - that is, to strive to comprehend a process or practice - but also for political reasons, namely, to investigate the power relations that comprise this type of daily life and so disclose interest configurations (Storey, 2018, p.4; Turner, 1996, p.6). However, there are several disagreements in the literature about the concept of popular culture, although most of them agree that describing it precisely is very difficult.

Tonny Bennet (1980) expresses the difficulty of studies on popular culture as follows: “as it is, the idea of popular culture is almost meaningless, a melting pot of muddled and contradictory notions capable of misleading inquiries into a variety of theoretical blind alleys” (p.18; Storey, 2018, p.1). This difficulty arises from many aspects that cannot be agreed upon, such as theoretical definition, scope, policy relevance.

Some studies refer to popular culture studies as “folk culture, mass culture, dominant culture, working-class culture, etc.,” claiming to be comprehensive and broad in scope. Accordingly, Bennet (1980, p.27) argues that “popular culture is a culture that originates from the people, is born as part of the society,” objecting to the approach that popular culture is a culture imposed from above on the people (Storey, 2018, p.9). Popular culture is thus frequently linked with a highly romanticized vision of working-class culture interpreted as the principal source of symbolic resistance within modern capitalism.

On the other hand, Street, Inthorn, and Scott (2013) argue that although popular culture, by its very nature, encompasses many forms of mass production and entertainment, popular culture products should not be considered as part of 'folk culture' but as a larger-scale production and consumption process. Accordingly, modes of production that are 'popular' among the public do not always fall within the definition of popular culture. Having the power to reach larger audiences and influence consumption and production relations is one of the most important features of popular culture (p.8).

One of the most systematic works on defining popular culture and explaining the conceptual framework has been done by John Storey by extending Bennet's four uses approach. In his book *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: An Introduction*, he developed six approaches to defining popular culture (Parker, 2011, p.148). In the first approach, ‘popular culture’ refers to any kind of culture that is popular with the general public. Secondly, the culture remains after determining what constitutes ‘high culture.’ Also, by reference to Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, he

directly associates popular culture with mass culture. In the fourth definition, opposite to the third, he mentioned that popular culture is a culture that ‘originates directly from the people.’ The fifth approach, conceptualized regarding Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony, is the negotiation between high culture and folk culture. At last, the sixth definition of popular culture has been shaped under the discussions of postmodernism, including the approach that does not recognize the difference between high and low culture and not accepting the existence of popular culture (Storey, 2018, p.12).

Parker (2011) attempts to add to Storey's six-approaches concept in his article “Toward a Definition of Popular Culture.” He argues that capitalism, while trying to transform people into uniform consumers with their greedy purchasing practices, also traps us in the idea that we can be different from others by consuming with an illusion; that is, it provides an opportunity for us to define ourselves through objects and statuses by using popular culture as a tool. Therefore, his seventh dimension should be available both in terms of production and consumption and require very little cultural capital. Movies, sports events, etc. are examples of this.

3.3. Popular Culture and World Politics

When we consider the question of where the relationship between popular culture and politics began, the first question we encounter is 'When did they not happen?' will be. Platon drew attention to the seductive power of cultural products produced for entertainment purposes such as music and poetry in his book ‘Republic’, in which he discussed state forms and ideals of governance and warned about the dangers of distracting them from rational thought (2011, pp.368-370). Thinkers such as

Rousseau and Nietzsche continued this tradition in their works (Street, Inthorn, Scott, 2013, p.9). Further studies in this area have mostly read popular culture from a Marxist perspective and focused on the instrumentalization of popular culture. Accordingly,

The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e., the class, which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it.

(Marx, Engels, 1998, p.67)

John Fiske (1991) argues that popular culture has “always been essentially political.” It is at the center of power games in politics and society, and it emerges and benefits from social subordination. As can be seen, Fiske further approaches the relationship between popular culture and politics by focusing on the class structure of culture. Popular culture is the culture of the powerless and includes violence, which represents the unequal distribution of power. In addition, Fiske states that popular culture has a structure that includes resistance as well as imposed needs, and in this respect, it is deeply contradictory in societies where power is not distributed equally, especially along the axes of class, gender, race, and other categories, where social differences are made meaningful (Storey, 2018).

One of the studies suggesting that popular culture is an inseparable part of politics belongs to Raymond Williams (1977). He noticed that culture was a crucial arena of class conflict, where the ruling class and the opposition were determined. On the

other hand, he saw culture as an emotional and moral arena where effort is felt and has meaning. According to him, we can only appreciate how culture and politics have been intimately linked by examining these two aspects of culture: moral and material. His study of the three-dimensional description is representative of the cultural studies tradition. In the first dimension, Williams (1981) argues that 'culture' encompasses our shared understanding of creative output as representations of ourselves and our environment.' On the other hand, culture consists of the "form of life," which is unspoken and undocumented, as well as the rules that govern the cohabitation of societies (Street, Inthorn, Scott, 2013, pp.10). This definition includes not only intellectual and aesthetic factors but also the development of literacy, festivals, sports, and religious holidays (Storey, 2018, p.2). Ultimately, culture refers to getting "cultured" via educational procedures. In this sense, it means the enhancement of human life via the cultivation of sensibility and emotions. These three aspects of culture provide the foundation for the possibility of a lasting interaction between popular culture and politics (Street, Inthorn, Scott, 2013, pp.10-11).

Many other studies examining this interaction from a Marxist perspective belong to the Frankfurt School thinkers. Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer (1979), in their book *The Dialectics of Enlightenment*, which is published in 1944, brought the term 'Culture Industry' to the debate of the political significance of culture, acknowledging that we are dealing with mass-produced culture and not 'folk culture.' As Adorno stated, the culture industry "is a matter of something like a culture that arises spontaneously from the masses themselves, the contemporary form of popular art" (Adorno, Rabinbach, 1975, p.12). Accordingly, the production of

popular culture is part of industrial standardization and has an ideological function (Street, Inthorn, Scott, 2013, pp.11-12). By gaining knowledge through the popular products they consume, individuals comprehend what they should and should not do, shaping both their daily lives and their political thoughts. Consequently, the function of the cultural industry is to control leisure time in the same way that industrialization regulates people's labor hours. Similarly, as working in a capitalist system inhibits the senses, the culture industry maintains this process via popular culture and encourages people to forget about drudgery in their life (Storey, 2009, p.65).

Theodor Adorno mentioned in his article *Essays on Music* (2002) that capitalism's potential for self-sustainability originates from culture's ability to touch the innermost portions of human emotions and control them so that they are accepted by capitalism rather than questioned. He mentioned that popular music is the 'cement of society' (Storey, 2009, p.72). Music enables the needs of the sovereign and its dominant ideology to be conveyed. This is to distract people from their subordination or to keep them from noticing it (Street, Inthorn, Scott, 2013, p.12). In this view, culture and politics are ideologically intertwined.

In the *One-Dimensional Man*, Herbert Marcuse (1968) argues over the products of the entertainment and culture industry, carrying with them predetermined emotional reactions, attitudes, and habits. These products encourage a false consciousness by manipulating society. It imposes on people the 'good lifestyle' that 'should be'. Thus, "the normal behavior" emerges in which ideas, goals and aspirations, and much of life is made one-dimensional (Storey, 2013, p.63). This

behavioral cover, which is the foundation of capitalism, directs specific 'needs' and prevents people to evolve political criticism and the dominance imposed on them. Also, according to Horkheimer (1978), popular culture has taken the utopian function of religion; envisioning a better world beyond the present, the prison of capitalism, and keeping people's desire to achieve it. However, at the same time, the culture industry limits taking action to attain this goal by manipulating people as mentioned, not through denial and rejection of 'cultural values,' but by their broad assimilation into the existing order, replication, and mass presentation (Marcuse, 1968, p.58; Storey, 2009, p.65).

One of the other proponents of the idea that political thoughts and actions are shaped by popular culture is Italian thinker Antonio Gramsci. However, Gramsci rejected to embrace pessimism of the Frankfurt School thinkers and the economic determinism of Orthodox Marxism. While adopting the idea that popular culture conveys ideologies and ideas in the exercise of power, he claimed that it can also be a vital instrument to challenge power. The concept of 'hegemony' used by Gramsci (1998) to explain power relations presents culture as a field of struggle. This conflict is between the ruling class' attempt to maintain its hegemony by creating a common sense that supports the status quo and a competing narrative that threatens the current order (Street, Inthorn, Scott, 2013, p.12).

Walter Benjamin, in his article titled *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, adopts a more optimistic approach than Adorno, who comes from the same tradition, and says that eventually, capitalism will create the conditions for its own end. Here, he refers to the transformative aspect of popular culture (1973, p.219;

Kellner, Durham, 2006, p.xviii.). Benjamin believes that changes in technological reproduction with industrialization have altered the function of culture in society: "Technical reproduction can put the copy of the original into which situations would be out of reach for the original itself" (1973, p.222; Storey, 2009, p.68). This range of reinterpretations enables them to be used for other purposes and in other contexts. Moreover, unlike Adorno, who claims that the meaning of the product emerges in the process of its production, Benjamin argues that the meaning of the cultural product emerges in consumption. In this direction, it is possible to create a 'counter-meaning' for the ruling class and its dominant ideology. In culture, problems of meaning and consumption evolve from passive contemplation to active political conflict and democratization (Storey, 2009, p.69). In that sense, Popular culture can become a field of rebellion and escape route from capitalism.

Another criticism on this issue has come from studies conducted at the Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) at the University of Birmingham. Richard Hoggart, Raymond Williams, and Stuart Hall, to name a few, developed methodological ways for the analysis, interpretation, and criticism of popular culture products by combining the discussed theoretical frameworks with literary analysis methods (Kellner, Durham, 2006, p.xxiv). While accepting the industrialized mass culture, they have conducted studies focused on subcultures. According to the CCCS thinkers, the subcultures of society such as punks, hippies, etc., has the potential to oppose the dominant ideology. They saw subaltern groups' routine cultural practices as forms of political resistance: Subcultures that use a particular style to undermine and subvert capitalist norms represent the culture's ability to positively interact with the prevailing political system (Street, Inthorn, Scott, 2013, p.12). In addition, they

argued that social transformation is possible through an active audience, by making studies that focus on the audience's processes of making sense of popular culture products, contrary to the attitudes of the Frankfurt school that pacify the audience (Kellner, Durham, 2006, p.xxv).

The study published by Grayson, Davies, and Philpott in 2009 pioneers the current literature that relates popular culture and world politics. They specifically offer nine key phases in such research. First, they identify “the meaning-making and daily practices of popular culture” (2009, p.158) as texts that should be understood as important areas in which politics take place. Popular culture research must be recognized as a legitimate and important research resource for IR researchers, whether they are working on security, political economy, or various other fields of study. The second is to use culture and related disciplines to create new areas of research and integrate popular culture into policy analyses. The next related issue is that gaining understanding of what is occurring is essential for overcoming hegemony and altering our perspective of resistance. This brings us to the fourth phase, questioning and critiquing the justification for global interactions through popular culture. In the fifth phase, where the method of how popular culture should be investigated, they underline the need to address the perspective of the audience and suggest that "how the audience interprets the works of popular culture" should be investigated by methods such as social media analysis, interviews, and ethnography (2009, p.159). Incorporating these studies into the ideas and methods of International Relations, such as globalization and securitization, and analyzing popular culture with notions that directly explain politics is the other. In this area, the relationship between popular culture and concepts such as race (Howard, Jackson II, 2013),

sovereignty (Dodds, 2013), militarism (Bos, 2018), and national identity (Endersor, 2002) has been examined and interdisciplinary contributions have been made (Crilley, 2021, p.169). The seventh phase covers the relationship between popular culture and pedagogical education. The authors stated that it is possible for especially young children and adolescents to start learning politics through popular culture and to be aware of issues such as gender, race, and globalization. Finally, in the last two phases, Grayson, Davies, and Philpott emphasized the necessity for academics to evaluate their public relations and return to society and suggested that cultural producers such as photographers, musicians, and filmmakers be included in this scope (pp.155- 161). (see also Deylami, Havercroft, 2015; Munster, Sylvest, 2015; Hamilton, Shepherd, 2016; Merson, 2020; Caso, Hamilton, 2015)

3.4. Media and Popular Culture

As discussed so far, popular culture fosters attitudes and behaviors that encourage people to consent to constructed “normal” in societies. “Forms of media culture such as TV, film, popular music, magazines and advertising provide role and gender models, fashion tips, lifestyle images and personality icons” (Kellner, Durham, 2006, p.x). These narratives constructed by media present socially appropriate or inappropriate patterns of behavior, moral messages, and ideological conditioning accordingly, as “social and political ideas with pleasurable and seductive forms of popular entertainment”. Media and consumer culture, together with sports, Olympics, concerts, and many other popular events such as these, provide people with pleasure, while constructing social meanings and identities, and making individuals voluntary participants in activities that integrate them into the constructed society (Kellner, Durham, 2006, p.x).

In this context, there are several studies in the literature that seeks to comprehend how media and culture impact our current lives and political relationships. In order to make sense of the link between popular culture and the media, several approaches from various academic disciplines have been proposed (Boyle, 2009; Burgess, Gold, 2015; Stahl, 2009). Studies have examined specific examples of popular culture and its impact on the political and social field, mainly through examples such as movies (Hassler-Forest, 2016; Engert, Spencer, 2009; Necmettin, Ilgıt, 2021), TV series (Aycan, Caliskan, 2021), telenovelas, football (Eelsey; 2011), photographs (Hartley, 1992;), cartoons (Conners, 2007), music (Railton, Watson, 2011; Davies, Franklin, 2005; Nyairo, Ogude, 2005) etc. In addition, there is a representation of gender (Milestone, Meyer, 2020; Spiegel, McRobbie, 2007; Uberoi, 2006; Griswold; 2017) and race issues (Dolby, 2001; Sturgeon, 2009) through the concept ‘power conflict’ on these platforms. Finally, a link between popular culture and national identity construction has also been gradually popular in recent years. The integration of “banal”² reminders of nationality into the products of popular culture, here, plays the most critical role in shaping national identities of the audience (Beezley, 2008; Markoff; 1994, Aydos, 2017).

3.4.a. Popular Culture and TV Series

When it comes to constructing and spreading popular culture, TV is considered an important tool because of its ability to reach a vast majority of people with its different channels and programs available. TV alters the audience for performance from a ‘relatively small, local, and specific group’ into a group of millions whose interests and preferences are no longer bound to a certain place, social class, or

² Michael Billig, 1995

ethnicity. Due to its low cost per person, it reaches a wider audience. TV series, on the other hand, are the most significant shows in TV. People are exposed to many TV series willingly or unwillingly because of its wide range of broadcasting and content. “The series is fiercely pluralist in its approaches to the study of popular culture and world politics and is interested in the past, present, and future cultural dimensions of hegemony, resistance, and power” (Deylami, Havercroft, 2015, p.x). Therefore, series are significant as an ideological tool and method of promoting certain ideas. Consequently, it has a major role in the examination of the relationships between politics and popular culture.

According to Jones (2010), for decades, TV broadcasts made an artificial distinction between popular culture and politics, and programs that entertained people and programs made for political propaganda, criticism, or information were handled separately. However, this distinction disappeared over time, and satirical criticisms of politics began to emerge with programs such as *'Comedy Central'*, *South Park*, *The Daily Show*, and *Larry King*, and even politicians began to appear in these programs. A new era has begun in which entertainment TV changes and transforms the forms of political communication and even directly challenges them. Jones has called this transformation the 'new political TV era' (pp.3-16). Jones's approach includes the deliberate incorporation of politics into popular culture as a 'genre'. However, contrary to this idea, there are other approaches that deal with the relationship between TV as a popular culture tool and politics without any discrimination. These approaches are fed by the above-mentioned theoretical perspective, and they claim that popular culture and politics cannot be separated from the very beginning. Gitlin (1979), in his article “Prime Time Ideology: The

Hegemonic Process in Television Entertainment” on American TV entertainment, explains in line with Gramsci's concept of hegemony and sees TV as a tool of hegemonic structure that transmits the dominant discourses in politics and makes them a part of consumption (p.251). There are also several studies in the literature that examine the TV series through different concepts. Heroic science fiction series (Frezza, 2009; Villa, 2021), situation sitcoms (Sebro, 2019; Westwood, 2007) and telenovelas (Ribeiro, 2010; Moura, 1991; Artz, 2015) are examples of these analyses.

3.4.a.i. Security TV Series

In DEMOSERIES1, which is a part of Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne University's European Research Council project funded by the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation project, carries out studies on how security is handled in TV series. “The objective of the DEMOSERIES project is to study the ways in which security series can offer viewers ideological frameworks for understanding moral and ethical issues and can even shape their understandings of democracy and national security” (Féré, 2021, p.1). They suggest that TV series have pedagogical tools to construct shared moral values (Lauger, 2021). Within the scope of the project titled “Shaping Democratic Spaces: Security and TV Series”, TV series such as *24* (Touret- Dengreville, 2022) and *Homeland* (Bilistène, 2021), which handle the events of 9/11 and the war on terrorism, *The Americans*, which is about Cold War and intelligence, *The Boyz* and *Jessica Jones*, which deal with security issues through superheroes (Allouche, 2022) are analyzed.

In this direction, Fédé mentioned in the report of the conference titled 'Women and Gender in Security TV Series' held in March 2021, referring to ‘the Africa in

Security TV Series' conference held in 2021, that the representation of women in security series varies according to the time of the broadcast. In the TV series, it is stated that while the image of a strong woman is portrayed who is fighting with the enemy and displaying a heroic attitude in wartime, they then are reverted to doing their daily work in normal times. Also, it is mentioned that torture is justified as an important element in the war against terrorism through the TV series 24 (2021, pp.1-3).

In addition, series have been studied in many different ways outside of this project. The TV series *Homeland*, which is regularly mentioned in TV series studies, has been evaluated several times in terms of how security problems are conducted (Guarinos, Berciano- Garrido, 2022; Meyer, 2017; Simon, 2017). Mahdizadeh and Vahidi (2019) focus on how the Iranian identity was built over Fara Sherazi, the Iranian immigrant character in the series, and state that the 'us and the other' distinction here is used to construct a new enemy determination strategy for the USA. On the other hand, Ameli and Namazi (2018) focus on how Islamophobia is reproduced in the context of the US security issues and terrorism, and how 'religion' is transformed into a hostile element. In this context, Deba and Boudjelit (2016), in their thesis, analyze the images associated with Islam such as mosques, live-bomb attacks, hijab, etc. to construct an attitude opposing Islam.

When it comes to the literature on the relationship between politics and TV series in Turkey, *Kurtlar Vadisi* takes the lead. The series that went in air between 2003 and 2016 in different channels has been analyzed in terms of concepts such as security, masculinity (Bora, Bora, 2010; Özsoy, 2006; Türk, 2011), terrorism (Ataş,

2011) and violence (Ulusoy, 2008; İbrahim, 2020) According to Günerbüyük (2009), *Kurtlar Vadisi* functions as a propaganda tool of the dominant ideology and following the agenda, the security problems of that day, nationalist discourses, etc. Also, the movie sequels of *Kurtlar Vadisi* have also been studied by Anaz (2017) and it shows how Turkey's geopolitical goals were used in *Kurtlar Vadisi - Filistin*. In this direction, it has been determined that the discourse and images in the series are compatible with and carry the dominant ideology. According to Selçuk (2006), in his analysis regarding the, construction of 'national identity' through the movie, *Kurtlar Vadisi- Irak*, the identities of American, Jewish, and Kurdish people were constructed as enemies who are unrespectful to other cultures and religions, opposite the Turkish people. Also, Medin (2019) examined the 'national identity' and concept of 'us vs. them' via *Kurtlar Vadisi -Vatan and* found that there was a representation of the anti-Western attitude after the July 15 Coup Attempt.

Yenigün (2018) studied the *Söz*, *İsimsizler*, and *Savaşçı* through the nationalist discourse and found that all three series construct and carry the national and religious discourses and images such as flag, folk music, etc., which are dominated by hegemonic ideology. Also, Uğuroğlu (2019) examined *Börü*, *Savaşçı*, and *İsimsizler* in the context of nationalism and the media representation and stated that there is a re-construction of national discourses overall.

Behzat Ç. is another favorite of scholars. The most striking concept regards with masculinity and its representation in this show (Subaşı, Subaşı, 2021; Köseoğlu, 2019, Erdemir, 2011; Köseoğlu, 2014, Akkaya, 2018). Apart from this, police representation (Yener, 2021; Yener, Geçer; 2021) and stereotypes (Ağın, 2015) were

studied. Another TV series, *Arka Sokaklar* has been studied through the representation of the police image (Kıvrak, 2013; Yener, 2021; Doğan, 2017) and violence (Gedik, 2014). Also, the series, *İsimsizler* and *Börü*, have been studied within the scope of nationalist discourses (Altın, 2018; Uğuroğlu, 2019).

Thus far, discussions on the relationship of popular culture and politics as well as the place of politics in popular culture have been included. In addition, in this context, the way politics and security are handled in TV series has been examined. However, the discussion of popular culture debates in the literature will be examined in terms of the Copenhagen School's concepts of *securitization* and Gramsci's *common sense* as discussed previously.

3.5. Visual Securitization Studies and Popular Culture

With the continuous development and spread of technology and mass media, studies that refer to the importance of images in popular culture products within the scope of security studies are increasing (Bleiker, Kay, 2007; Campbell, Shapiro, 2007; Schlag, 2015). With the increase in visual representation, states also started using images, photographs, videos, etc. to increase the visibility of security issues among the public and to shape them in line with their own ideologies. Accordingly, although it does not provide a theoretical perspective on its own, Visual Securitization Studies (VSS) have recently started to be used as a new approach in the examination of securitization processes. VSS divides visual images into three dimensions: 'representations and signs of security,' 'images that directly affect the establishment of security,' and 'a method for researching security.' These include

identifying images and objects that refer to security and analyzing their direct or hidden meaning with different methods.

Also, Andersen and Vuori (2018) argue that when compared to their linguistic interpretation, visual representations always have a 'surplus meaning,' regardless of whether they are static, moving, caught, processed or drawn. However, this redundancy is politically productive, regardless of whether we are considering it in the context of everyday interactions between people and security infrastructures or in the context of representations of politics (p.3).

Michael C. Williams was the first to examine the study of images in popular culture within the scope of Security Studies. In his article, "Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics" (2003), Williams underlined that in addition to examining images and understanding the processes of meaning production, their compatibility with the discourse practices of the period in which they were published should also be investigated and that discourse and images produce stronger meanings together.

One of the original studies criticizing Copenhagen School concept of 'securitization' which means constructing any issue into a security issue through speech-act, was done by Lene Hansen with the concept of 'visual securitization'. According to Hansen, the securitization approach of the Copenhagen School through discourse analysis is incomplete in terms of explaining how these practices are used today. Photos, cartoons, videos and movies, that is, products of popular culture that appeal to our visual senses, also contribute greatly to the securitization practices In

her article published in 2011, in which she analyzed Prophet Muhammad's Cartoon Crises through visual securitization, she both conceptualized visual securitization and examined how a cartoon drawn in a magazine made room for an international problem through the course of securitization. 'Image' is deemed insufficient for visual securitization; images and visuals must also be supported by discourse. In line with Hansen's concept, there are several studies in the literature that analyze visual images from a security perspective (Scannell, 2011; Lengauger; 2016). Kearns (2017) studied gender and violence via several photographs from the 2001 war in Afghanistan. She attempts to underline that the war in Afghanistan is a 'just struggle' through intentional Western images of Afghan women. On the other hand, Coskun (2012), in her study examining the global policy of the War on Terror and Islamophobia through the *9/11* and *Spooks* TV series, came across many images and discourses aimed at portraying the 'Islamic terrorist' in the presentation of Islam as a threat and the securitization of terrorism.

3.6. Gramsci, Securitization and Popular Culture

As mentioned above, Gramsci's contribution has an undeniable place in the approaches related to the definition of popular culture. However, there are more specific studies in the literature on hegemony and a common sense, which Gramsci put forward and form the theoretical framework of this thesis. Considering the Gramscian studies and securitization concept of the Copenhagen School relation through the popular culture, securitization and hegemony/counter-hegemony were examined together in the literature and the securitization of revolution or protest movements were explained. The securitization of the Muslim Brotherhood movement in Egypt (Pratt, Rezk, 2019), the Yellow Vests movement in France

(Hallegger, Gertz, 2019), and the Mapuche movement in Chile (Essel, 2019) are some examples of these studies.

Weisdorf's article (2007), "Imagining the Day After Tomorrow: Popular Culture, Legitimacy and Environmental Securitization", is another paper that examines the relationship between popular culture and securitization from a Gramscian viewpoint. According to him, popular culture conveys a sense of future anxiety, similar to securitization. Also, popular culture and securitization offer credibility to each other and are mutually beneficial. Popular culture provides visibility and legitimacy for the securitization of an act (p.48).

In general, such studies focus on how a common sense justifies the securitization process. In their article, Toohey and Taylor (2012) discuss the securitization of the international sports in the framework of the Australian Olympics in 2000, which point out to the increase in security measures to the extent that it violates private life. In this direction, they claimed that the Australian government rationalized the rhetoric about 'protecting the interests of the nation' and their ideological vision, in which they prioritized the Australian identity through Olympics by building a source for a common sense.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

Based on the conceptual background discussed in the theoretical framework, this research aims to analyze the re-construction and maintenance of a common sense via the securitization process integrated into the products of popular culture. To understand this relationship, six Turkish TV series will be chosen as a case study. A data set will be created on these series to establish the research's quantitative dimension and perform content analysis.

4.1. Content Analysis

Content analysis became popular “to measure the accuracy of new mass media” (Rose, 2001, p.54). It is “a set of procedures to make inferences from the text” (Weber, 1990, p.19) and provides with a map to “use or manipulate symbols and invest communication with the meaning” (Perry, Moyser, Wagstaffe, 1987, p.20). Therefore, it gives an understanding of certain patterns and their meanings in the context examined. Content analysis provides a systematic, objective, and quantitative guidance for examining TV commercials, movies, newspaper covers, novels, etc. This examination is mainly based on linguistic dimension (Nuendorf, 2002, p.1). However, as Margaret G. Hermann mentioned “anything that is intended to communicate a message is usable as material for content analysis. Moreover, the material does not need to involve words. Content analysis can also be used to examine nonverbal behavior” (2008, p.151). Therefore, it will be possible through content analysis to examine the *structuralist* or *semiotic analyses* which provide

deeper meanings of messages in the chosen context through images, symbols, or signs. Therefore, it contributes to the examination of popular cultural products through semiotic images. This type of research claims to draw inferences on themes central to culture and society. However, it also assumes that “the researcher is a competent member of the culture” (Nuenndorf, 2002, p.6).

Since this research aims to examine how the visual images construct the securitization process in popular cultural products and is interested in the maintenance of a Gramscian common sense, it will be useful to conduct content analysis over the chosen TV series. According to Gillian Rose (2001), there are four steps for any content analysis. The first one is finding the images through random sampling; secondly creating a descriptive system with specific and comprehensive categories; the third is evaluating each image and coding through chosen categories; and finally analyzing the correlations and frequencies between codes. In this research, these four steps will be followed in order to analyze the content of the chosen series and to examine the securitization practices through images. How to deal with the first three stages will be discussed below, but the last part of the findings will be discussed in the next chapter together with the case studies.

4.1.a. Sampling

In order to facilitate the detection of securitization practices and to create a large data set, the series will be selected within the “crime genre.” There are already several TV series of this genre shot in Turkey; however, mafia and military TV series focusing on one type of crime were excluded from this scope, and examples were rather selected among detective TV series in order to deal with different types

of crime. Accordingly, six detective/crime series that were popular at the time they were broadcasted will be selected to analyze whether the series were securitized over the characters. To observe the change (if any) in the securitization practices from the 1990s to the present, these series will be selected from among the series broadcasted during different periods in this interval. These series are *İz Peşinde* (1990, TRT), *Yılan Hikayesi* (1999, Kanal D), *Arka Sokaklar* (2006, Kanal D), *Behzat Ç.* (2010, Star), *İsimsizler* (2017, Kanal D) and *Börü* (2018, Star).

All episodes of the four of six series will be taken under consideration to collect data on the series. However, two of them posit certain exceptions. First, the 3rd season (re-make) of *İz Peşinde*, broadcasted on STAR TV, could not be included in the data set because it could not be found in the TV archives. Furthermore, the sequel movies of *Börü* and *Behzat Ç.* that were not broadcasted on TV and the new season of *Behzat Ç.* will not be included into the data. Second, since *Arka Sokaklar* is a continuing show that lasts for sixteen years, a certain selection criteria will be applied for this specific series. So that, it will be watched as four episodes from each season starting the sixth episode, with an interval of 10 episodes, and will be analyzed over 64 episodes in total. Series will be accessed from different online platforms such as *Youtube* (*Arka Sokaklar*, *İsimsizler*, *Yılan Hikayesi*), *TRTArşiv* (*İz Peşinde*), *PuhuTV* (*Behzat Ç.*) and *Netflix* (*Börü*).

4.2.b. Categorizing

Since a wide range of episodes was chosen for the content analysis of the series and a total of 306 episodes will be discussed, the examination is limited to examining only the characters who committed the crime. The “crime” was understood as shown

in the series, and the characters that they did not consider a crime or were released were not included. Accordingly, profiling will be discussed under six headings to derive a basic “stereotype” of the characters in the series. These are the character’s name, nickname (if any), characteristic features, profession, family background, education status, and nature of the crime. The “names of the characters” will be added to the data research to investigate whether they form a certain pattern, and it will be tried to determine whether there are similarities in certain types of crime. In addition, attention will be paid to whether there is a “nickname” as a code name or nickname suitable for the nature of the crime or the character’s typology, apart from the character’s name. By considering “gender,” it will be tried to determine the ratio between the sexes of those who commit crimes. To understand whether it follows a pattern while evaluating their characteristic features, their clothes will be focused on, and it will be examined whether clothes suitable for certain types of crimes are preferred. In addition to the clothes, attention will be paid to accessories such as *poshu*, beads, big rings, weapons, snow masks, etc. for different reasons. While examining the characteristic features, it will also be investigated to understand whether it creates a certain stereotype according to the features, such as whether the character is brunette or blonde, whether they have a beard or not, and if so, how is the beard/moustache shape. In addition, attention will also be paid to the information about “family background” and “educational status” in order to understand whether the reasons that push the characters to commit crimes are given and whether these are connected to the background of the character. Finally, in the “nature of the crime section”, the scope of the crime will be examined, and the types of crimes will be evaluated under certain headings in order to facilitate data conversion.

Considering that six TV series will be examined in the data collection part on the nature of the crime, it is expected that the TV series will provide a wide data set in terms of crime types. For this reason, it would be more beneficial to categorize the findings under specific topics related to the nature of the crime. In this respect, all crimes associated with terrorism, such as suicide bombing, gunfights, arson, etc., will be discussed under the title of “terrorists.” However, terrorist acts associated with Fetullahist Terrorist Organization (*FETÖ*) will be discussed under that specific nickname in order to distinguish it from the actions of the Kurdistan Workers’ Party (*PKK*) and other terrorist organizations. In crimes unrelated to terrorism, the nature of the crime will be transferred to the findings as it is. In addition, crimes such as drug smuggling, drug dealing, and drug manufacturing will be gathered under the title of “drug dealer,” and it will be tried to make it easier to turn into data. In crimes committed by organized crime gangs, the nature of the crime will not be examined under sub-headings such as smuggling, drug smuggling, extortion, and armed conflict but will be examined collectively under the heading of “organized crime.” Furthermore, crime types such as bank robbery, snatching, car robbery, etc., will be discussed under the title of “theft.” The classification related to murder, such as committing murder, aiding the murder, and covering up the murder, will be examined under the general title of “murder.” However, “incitement to murder” and “attempted murder” will be dealt with separately. In addition, to distinguish the findings related to honor (*töre*) from other causes of homicide, the expression of “honor killings” will be used instead of “murder.” Lastly, crime types that fall outside of these categorizations will be written as they are.

4.1.c. Evaluating

After collecting data under the specified headings mentioned above, the properties that construct the stereotype will be shown as a table, and the information about the criminals in the sections will be entered into the excel sheet one by one (as seen in table 4.1), which will be available in the Appendix. However, in order for the collected data to be suitable for analysis, the outputs in the table will be subjected to word density analysis to form a Word Cloud. This way, for each series, the most common crime type, characteristic features, names, etc., will be obtained visually to get easily analyzed. In addition, the number of times the words expressing these features in each series will also be demonstrated to facilitate the analysis.

EPISODE	NAME	NICKNAME	GENDER	CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES	PROFESSION	FAMILY	EDUCATION	NATURE OF CRIME

Table 4.1. Excel Template

4.1.d. Analyzing

Data results will be evaluated on the features associated with what is considered “crime” in this study and they will be highlighted individually with word-clouds. In this direction, some questions such as whether a certain stereotype has been created, if so, does this stereotype fit the dominant ideological discourse of the period, and whether stereotypes have changed depending on political events will be answered. The stereotypes which are identified through word-clouds will be evaluated according to their fit with the Gramscian common sense, depending on the political and social conditions of the period in which each series were broadcast.

CHAPTER V

CASE ANALYSIS

5.1. Background Information and Word Cloud Analysis of Series

5.1.a. İz Peşinde – Background Information

Between January 22, 1990, and August 25, 1991, *İz Peşinde* (*Chasing After*), which was broadcast on TRT1 screens for two seasons and 23 episodes, is one of Turkey's first detective series. It was produced by the TRT, written by Avni Güler and directed by Hüseyin Karakaş.³ As the leading actors, Erol Taş (Chief Inspector Ömer), Mehmet Aslantuğ (Tuncer), Gülen Karaman (Naşide), and Osman Yağmurdereli (Esat) played the main police officers.⁴

One of the most popular TV series on TRT1 at the time it was aired, the main subject of *İz Peşinde* is homicide detectives Tuncer, Naşide, and Esat's struggle with crime and criminals. In the series, each episode deals with a different subject matter and the characters change in each episode; many other crimes and criminals, apart from murder, are also on the radar of the police department. Since the crimes are committed separately in each episode, there is no general perception of the enemy or a general type of crime that dominates a season. In addition, crimes are generally handled in a separate context.

When considering the significant political events that occurred in Turkey during the broadcast of the TV series *İz Peşinde*, the existence of the coalition government

³ trt.arşiv.com

⁴ [https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/İz_Peşinde_\(dizi\)](https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/İz_Peşinde_(dizi))

comes to the fore.⁵ In addition, the consequences of neoliberal policies that emerged during the transition to a free-market economy since the beginning of the 1980s can be also observed. Plus, most of the daily political discourse was preoccupied mostly with the continued activities of the terrorist organization PKK.⁶ Moreover, considering the period in which the series was aired, it is clear that “political correctness” is not taken into account, at all. In particular, direct discourses on female characters are a secondary stand out, and these discourses are not presented as an element of criticism. As seen in the eighth episode, for instance, while two male police officers talk about a female officer, one of them says, “she would be a very good cop if she was not a woman.” Also, *İz Peşinde* generally stayed away from the political perspective and did not establish a direct discourse on nationalism, being ‘us,’ or who the enemy was. However, although there was no direct political or ideological discourse in the series, considering that TRT1 is a state channel, it could be said that it was directly affected by the ideological attitude of the government and had an important place in the construction and maintenance of the common sense. Accordingly, the research on the securitization of criminals is important for understanding this relationship.

5.1.a.i. *İz Peşinde* – Analysis

The data brought about for *İz Peşinde* consists of a total of 23 episodes and accordingly, six categories could be maintained to explain the findings of the analysis. Accordingly, when the first category, “the character names”, is considered, it has been determined that the names are chosen from common Turkish names and do not show any difference except for a few foreign criminals (Andrei, Judith,

⁵ <https://www.star.com.tr/yazar/90li-yillarin-bitmez-tukenmez-huk-fbmet-arayislari-yazi-1044477/>

⁶ [https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/PKK_saldirıları_ve_çatışmaları_kronolojisi_\(1990%27lar\)](https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/PKK_saldirıları_ve_çatışmaları_kronolojisi_(1990%27lar))

Albert, Robert, and Giovanni). Also, it has been determined that the “nicknames” that are used in some episodes did not give any references to a certain crime. Nicknames are commonly used, such as “Bıçak Necmi,” “Çekirge Nazım,” and “Kara Mahmut” or addressed in regards with their jobs such as “Çiçek Tülin” and “Ebe Sebehat.” For foreign criminals, it is seen that references are made to where they are from, such as “Johnnyler” and “Beyrutlu Selim” (Selim from Beirut). Therefore, characters’ names or nicknames do not show specific stereotypes related to a crime.

Figure 5.1. *İz Peşinde* word-cloud



When the role of “gender” is examined, it is seen that those who are associated with crime are mostly men. While 88 of the criminal characters are played by men, 29 are women. When the prominent words are examined under the category of “characteristic features,” the men’s appearance stands out, such as “beards (51),”

“beardlessness (25),” “mustaches (12),” and “trousers (34),” “shirts (43),” “suits (37),” “ties (25)” (Table 5.1). In this direction, a basic criminal stereotype depending on the gender and appearance of the characters is determined.

Image 5.1. İz Peşinde- Stereotype of Male Characters



When the male characters are examined, more classical clothing styles emerge; as mentioned above, a perception is created that more middle-class or rich people commit crimes, who are also bearded and wearing suits or classical shirts. These characters are mostly businessmen and white-collar workers who are corrupted or use their power to force other people to commit a crime. Also, the securitization of such men through stereotyping mostly includes the criminalization of the “mafia” in the guise of a bully (*kabadayı*). In this way, the securitization of this profile of men diverts from the common sense, which emphasizes that mostly poor people commit crimes.

The characteristic features commonly seen in female characters are “perm hair,” “dress,” “make-up,” and “golden jewelry,” in line with the fashion trend of the period (Table 5.2). Contrary to this look, which expresses a modern one, there is less emphasis on rural style, and through this appearance, the images of “the innocent” and “the victimized” women are drawn in only a few scenes. In this direction, it is seen that mostly rich and modern-looking women are securitized over patriarchal ideology. When evaluated in terms of common sense, it can be said that this attitude reflects a general perception, contrary to the perception over men.

Image 5.2. *İz Peşinde* – Stereotype of Modern Looking Women



According to studies on Turkish TV series, “it is seen that the series show women who are strong and assertive and who have achieved economic independence as aggressive, dominant, and sickly” (Ercan, Bikiç, 2019, p.166). Likewise, in *İz Peşinde*, the reasons for women committing crimes stem from their desire to become

rich and famous and greed for money. In the portrayal of female characters, it is shown that innocent women are victims, they are naive, and they can be easily deceived, while it is also shown that women with “money greed” are “bad women” and they are already inclined to commit crimes. It is seen that these bad women stereotypes are mostly divorced or widowed women or young university students who have nightlife. Thus, certain stereotypes were created in this way and these categories were securitized. Even in episode nineteen, Yener tries to make money by cheating because of his wife’s dream of getting rich and her pressure in this direction. So, it shows that the greedy women also enforce male characters to commit crimes. In accordance with the common sense in the series, sex workers are presented as criminals, but at the same time, they are seen as “convicts of fate” and conspicuously not securitized. For example, it is stated that the character of sex worker Şule in the nineteenth episode “did everything for her son.”

In *İz Peşinde*, according to the categories of “education” and “family status,” the common sense that suggests that people who are uneducated and without family/raised in bad families are more inclined to commit crimes fails, and such characters were not securitized through these categories. However, in a few specific scenes, unlike what the common sense suggests, university students were focused and educated youth were securitized. However, this securitization is based on another element that dominates common sense, and it has been shown that young people who study at the university, attend parties, and have nightlife are inclined to commit crimes and go astray. These crimes, which are associated with drugs and sex, maintain a common perception of “bad friendships” and draw attention to the potential of young people who have bad friends to commit crimes.

In the category of “nature of the crime”, “fraud (42)” is the most prominent type of crime in the series. This is followed by “murder (24),” “smuggling (13),” and “drug dealing (12),” respectively. Also, there are some scenes and discourses on “violence against women” in the series. However, domestic violence, which was given in short scenes or as a side subject, is not securitized and remained at the warning level, and the men who beat their wives were sent home only with a warning by authorities and a promise of “not doing it again,” and their wives were suggested to not complain. The situation that constitutes a crime and gets securitized is expressed as being killed for the sake of “honor killing.”

Overall, although there is a basic perception that the people who commit crimes will come out of the poor people, and crime is concentrated in the regions where the economic situation is worse in the common sense, those who commit crimes in *İz Peşinde* are mostly rich men. These antagonist characters appear as people who try every way to get even richer, usurp the rights of poor people, and defraud them. As noted, these characters are vulgar types securitized around particular stereotypes. On the contrary, in the series, a dominant discourse stands out on the fact that poor criminals “had to” commit crimes. For example, in the ninth episode, Mustafa, who was known to be an honest and good person, stole money to cover his wife’s surgery expenses and committed suicide afterwards because he could not cope with this burden and could not replace the money. Also, in the fifth episode, Erol Çokses, who has been in a difficult situation due to his wife’s illness, had to become a drug dealer. Therefore, while there is an emphasis on the securitization of a certain type of men, the crimes committed by poor men were presented as “obligatory” in the series, and

the crimes committed by rich men – which make up ninety percent of the text – were handled as intentional acts.

5.1.b. Yılan Hikâyesi – Background Information

Yılan Hikayesi (The Endless Story), which was broadcasted in Kanal D for three seasons and consisted of 90 episodes between October 7, 1999, and May 23, 2001, is one of the detective productions that raised a lot of attention and obtained the highest ratings at the time it was broadcast. Series was directed by Nihat Durak and produced by *Yağmur Ajans* and Osman Yağmurdereli, while its script was written by Tayfun Güneyer. The leading roles were shared by Mehmet Ali Alabora (Commissioner Mehmet Ali; a.k.a., Memoli), Meltem Cumbul (Zeyno; a.k.a. Köylü Kızı) and Emre Kınay (Erkan Çolakoğlu).⁷

The main theme of the series is Memoli's encounter with Zeyno, who escaped from her village in Elazığ to find her husband, Erkan, for the sake of taking blood revenge (*töre*). Memoli and Zeyno go after the mafia, which includes Erkan Çolakoğlu, and they experience many adventures in the meanwhile. Memoli, on the other hand, as a successful police officer in the Organized Crime Bureau, has destroyed many organized crime gangs and mafia, so he has made many enemies. After his son Can was killed by the mafia, he went after the gang leader who killed his son to take revenge. In the series, the main criminals are dubbed as Hasan Ağa, who is the boss of the mafia that deals with the smuggling of weapons, historical artifacts, and drugs, and the leader of the criminal gang, nicknamed the King, who is

⁷ https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yılan_Hikâyesi

ruling all other organized crime gangs. Therefore, organized crime gangs are mostly involved in the series in connection with the main characters.

In 1999, when broadcasting of *Yılan Hikayesi* began, the capture of Abdullah Öcalan, the leader of the PKK, was perhaps the most significant event in Turkish politics (CNN, 2021).⁸ In addition, economic instability in Turkey was a major issue, which came along with high rates of inflation and unemployment and caused important social consequences and disruptions. In *Yılan Hikâyesi*, although it touches on a socio-political issue that has been on the agenda of Turkey for a long time and still continues to have an impact, such as *töre*, it has stayed away from a truly political perspective in general. Also, much like *İz Peşinde*, in *Yılan Hikâyesi*, too, there was no consideration of “political correctness” in some issues, especially on women. For instance, in the second episode, there is a scene about rape, and while criminals and police commissioner Memoli are talking about it, they do not show any sensibility about the victim and discuss how they a “real rape” must be like.

5.1.b.i. Yılan Hikâyesi – Analysis

In the data analysis of *Yılan Hikâyesi*, except for Greek criminals in the episode 83, the names of the characters were chosen from common Turkish names and they did not show any criminal-related pattern. In the “nicknames” that are used, there are a few crime-related nicknames such as “Yılan (*Snake*),” which refers that he is a bad person, “Kral (*King*),” as a leader of a mafia organization, and “Dinamit (*Dynamite*),” because he professionalized in bomb-making, but they did not show a

⁸ <https://www.cnnturk.com/video/turkiye/ocalan-22-yil-once-bugun-yakalandi>

Image 5.3. Yılan Hikayesi- Stereotypes of Organized Crime Affiliated Characters



When the “family” background and “education” status are considered, there is basically no information about those, except for the issue of *töre* and the childhood of Kürşat, who is another antagonist criminal in the series. It was emphasized that because Kürşat grew up in an orphanage, his mother was indifferent, and he was raised by Hasan Ağa, who turned him into a criminal. The reference was made to the fact that it was his destiny to be a criminal. Through his unfortunate past, this attitude and its securitization is linked with a common sense that if someone is not growing up in a good family, he can be criminalized easily. Also, the way traditions is handled has been a dominant subject since the beginning of the series, and events such as Erkan Çolakoğlu’s taking revenge on Zeyno for the sake of honor and Zeyno’s going out to seek her to take revenge on him are also portrayed. As a matter of fact, in episode 60, while Zeyno was marrying Erkan in order to end *töre*, she got the victim of an honor killing, and it was underlined that he *töre* could not be completed. In the dominant patriarchal discourse, the handling of women and their

problems remained as a side issue, and the attitude that women’s traditional roles would not change, even though there were rebellions against traditions and customs, was riveted (Pişkin, 2008). Accordingly, while *töre* is securitized in this sense, the characters related to the tribe are depicted as brunette, and bearded, who wear shirts, vests, salwars, and *poshu* and have distinctive Eastern Anatolian accents (Table 5.4.)

Image 5.4. Yılan Hikayesi- Stereotypes of Honor Crimes Affiliated Characters



The second subject of the series is regarding the way the crime is organized in the mafia. When the category of the “nature of the crime” is examined, “organized crimes (138)” form the general criminal profile, while crimes such as “drug dealing (21)”, “smuggling (29),” “counterfeiting money (14)” and “extortion (14)” are handled in relation to the organized crimes. The general profile of these criminals consists of wealthy businessmen wearing suits, with or without beards. The way businessmen earn money is mainly by establishing drug networks in the city and

smuggling historical artifacts and weapons through front companies. In this direction, characters such as Hasan Ağa, Kürşat, Kral, Gülsüm and other mafia gangs associated with them were securitized. Also, the “guards” working for these people are securitized as people who do the main deeds. In *Yılan Hikâyesi*, therefore, contrary to the common sense that rich people will have a lower potential to commit crimes than those who have economic difficulties, they are portrayed as actual criminals and securitized. However, it should be noted that while it is the rich people who induce of committing the crime, the people who commit the crimes are the poor men, who work for these people.

5.1.c. Arka Sokaklar – Background Information

Arka Sokaklar (Back Streets), whose first episode was aired on July 31, 2006, has been broadcast for sixteen seasons on Kanal D with its 632 episodes thus far. In this sense, it is the longest-running weekly series in the Turkish TV history. *Erler Film* has undertaken the production of *Arka Sokaklar*. It is directed by Orhan Oğuz, and its screenwriters are Ozan Yurdakul and Sinan Yurdakul. The leading roles in the series are shared by Zafer Engin (Rıza Baba), Şevket Çoruh (Mesut Güneri), Özgür Ozan (Hüsnü Çoban), İlker İnanoğlu (Engin Balkan), and many recurring characters.⁹

The main theme of *Arka Sokaklar* deals with the fight against crime in the back streets of İstanbul by a special team of plainclothes police officers under the leadership of Superintendent Rıza Baba, within the body of the Public Security Branch of the İstanbul Police Department. The police officers handle many types of crimes, from murder to smuggling and the fight against terrorism. Although each

⁹ [https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arka_Sokaklar_\(dizi\)](https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arka_Sokaklar_(dizi))

episode pursues a separate crime and criminal, in certain seasons, a specific criminal profile and a type of crime dominate the entire season.

The first twelve seasons of the series were shot under the *Doğan Group*, and with the acquisition of Kanal D by the *Demirören Group* in 2018, the broadcasting rights of the series passed to the latter group. Considering the length of the series, it is expected that the content and characters should be affected by important socio-political events in Turkey since the 2000s. Since *Arka Sokaklar* began, there have been many developments in the socio-political life of Turkey. The PKK's ongoing activities both in the East and in inner-city structures are the first of these. In the following period, with the so-called *Çözüm Süreci*¹⁰ (*Resolution Process*) that started in 2009, certain attempts were made to end PKK terrorism and solve the Kurdish Question. During this period, the PKK's actions decreased, but after a few years, with the *Hendek Savaşları*¹¹ (*Trench Wars*) in 2015, the PKK's activities accelerated. After the 2011 Syrian civil war, there was the migrant crisis and the global threats of the ISIS. The ISIS has carried out terrorist acts in many cities of Turkey. In addition, economic and social discussions have started regarding the integration of 3.6 million refugees who came to Turkey (UNHCR, ND),¹² and there has been increasing opposition to Syrian refugees. Again, in this period, many cross-border operations were organized on the grounds of protecting Turkey's borders from terrorist activities. Another event that caused social disintegration was the *Gezi Park* protests that took place in May and June of 2013. Then, “the Corruption and Bribery Operation,” also known as the 15-25 December events,¹³ was organized in 2013, and

¹⁰ https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Çözüm_Süreci

¹¹ https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hendek_operasyonları

¹² <https://www.unhcr.org/tr/turkiyedeki-multeciler-ve-siginmacilar>

¹³ https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/17-25_Aralık_Yolsuzluk_ve_Rüşvet_Operasyonu

discussions on intra-state structures began. In the process that followed, a coup attempt was carried out by the FETO on July 15, 2016. In that sense, political events that deeply affected Turkey, such as the 17-25 December events, the resolution process with Kurds, the Gezi Park protests, and the coup attempt of 15 July 2016, were all integrated into the text of the series in one way or another. As a matter of fact, it has also been stated by the screenwriters of the series that the series constantly follows current events (Episode Dergi, 22 April 2021). They attribute the success of *Arka Sokaklar* to trying to keep the topics alive and fresh. In this sense, it can be said that the series strives to capture current events and establish a bond with the audience.

5.1.c.i. Arka Sokaklar – Analysis

Before moving on to the findings related to the series in the data analysis, an examination of the general topics in line with the crimes that dominate the seasons will provide an important roadmap in terms of understanding the relationship between the show and the current events. This analysis is also important in terms of understanding which dominant discourse the securitization practices are based on.

Since the series generally deals with the crimes shaped around the public order branch, the general pattern of crimes in the first seven seasons has been shaped by topics such as smuggling, murder, organized crime, and drugs. However, especially in 2014, the topics covered in the series shifted to practical political events, and the fight against terrorism was placed at the center of them, right after the so-called resolution process ended. In 2014, PKK-related crimes, which were committed by

the former members of the Police Special Operation Team (PÖH) and defected by corruption, constituted the main topic of the season. In the following seasons, the character, Mesut, who is constantly sent to the Eastern Anatolia due to his former PÖH connections, has also gained priority in the context. The fight against terrorism was carried on both in the rural areas in the East and in the city of İstanbul through the inner-city structures of the PKK. While terrorists were stereotyped with “shirts,” “salwars,” and “*poshu*” in the sections representing the East, the city story was stereotyped with “shirts,” “jeans,” “coats” and “beards” and turned into a security problem through these profiles (Table 5.5).

Image 5.5. Arka Sokaklar- Stereotypes of PKK- Affiliated Characters



In 2015, as a result of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) actions, which started to increase at that time, the topics dealing with this particular terrorist group were included in the series. The securitization of the ISIS-affiliated characters has also found a place in their actions and discursive practices apart from their appearances. The following dialogue taken from episode 342 between terrorists

planning suicide bombings is noteworthy: “We can't stay idle while our brothers are fighting in Syria and Iraq, you will be martyred.”

In 2016, in the period following the July 15 coup attempt – with the beginning of the season in September – the subjects targeting the FETÖ organization had become popular in the series. Although there is no direct reference to the FETÖ, these episodes focus on corruption in the police and military. The FETÖ-related characters are securitized through characteristic features such as “suits,” “shirts,” “ties,” and “beards”. Rıza Baba’s wrongful accusation and imprisonment through networks infiltrating the police organization is one such example. In addition, it has been determined that a degenerate colonel was stereotyped not only by his appearance but also in terms of instrumentalizing the religious views. The time when the police raided the corrupt colonel, which took place while his assistant was praying (*namaz*), showed this with a particular emphasis in episode 412. In addition, there are references to the idea that FETÖ and PKK worked together and carried out actions from different branches.

The issue of refugees, on the other hand, has become popular in the latest seasons of the series in line with Turkey’s socio-political agenda. Along with the episodes on Syrian refugees, the issue of migration is handled with direct or indirect references to illegal migration, unregistered workers, and marriages. While Syrian immigrants are securitized with crimes such as illegally arriving at Turkey, working unregistered, and committing murders, the reasons behind these crimes are legitimized by discursive elements. On the contrary, characters, who persecute refugees, deprive

them of their rights, and dehumanize them have also been dubbed as criminals. This distinction could be seen in the following dialogue from episode 434 in the series.

“Boss: ... If you don't like it, go away, even get the hell out of your country. You're packed like a puppy.

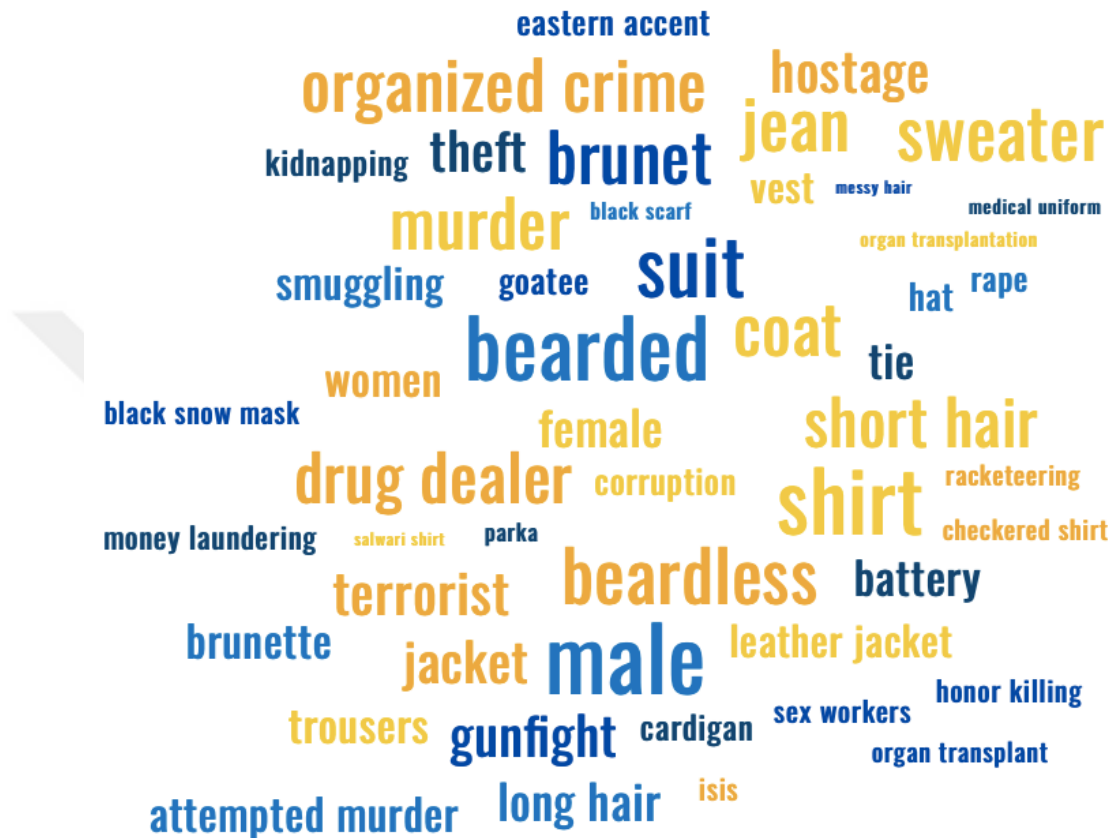
Refugee: ... You will be human, and you will not be despised as a migrant. Why does a person leave his country and come?... Do you know what despair is?”

In this sense, the immigration issue could be said to be handled in line with the common sense that while Syrian refugees were securitized on the one hand and their arrival was also legitimized for being necessary on the other. Apart from these issues, many current issues, such as the “White Fish” game, which caused the death of children, were also covered in the series. In this sense, it can be said that the series frequently includes current events with an attitude towards maintaining a common sense shaped by both past and present conditions.

When examining the data created about the series, no pattern could be found in the categories of names and nicknames unlike the other series in comparison. Common Turkish names were highlighted, with a few exceptions; no discrimination was made between terrorists or other criminals. Considering the family background, educational status, and occupation of the criminals, no data was reached to form a general pattern. Two types of crimes have been identified for which the category of occupations can be filled as organized crime and intrastate structures. In the part about organized crime, we come across wealthy businessmen and the officials who

protect them. In intra-state structures, corrupt people working in the field of security, such as police and military personnel, were emphasized.

Figure 5.3. *Arka Sokaklar* word-cloud



Considering the gender, the majority of the characters who commit crimes in the series are male. Although there are very few female characters associated with crime, it has been seen that women also commit various crimes. Therefore, no direct link has been established between the female characters and a particular type of crime. In the securitization of male characters, it has been seen that a distinction is made based on the nature of the crime dealt with, and a criminal profile is created according to the crime. Dominant types of crime in the series are organized crimes such as smuggling, drug dealing, organ transplantation; petty crimes such as battery, murder

and theft; and terrorism. In line with these crime types, certain profiles are formed. Characters associated with organized crime are stereotyped with “suits,” “shirts,” and “beards” (Table 5.6).

Image 5.6. Arka Sokaklar- Stereotypes of Organized Crime-Affiliated Characters



On the other hand, ordinary crimes are profiled through a broader category, including “shirts,” “sweaters,” “jeans,” “trousers,” and “bearded” or “beardless” criminals (Table 5.7). When it comes to organized crime, the characters securitized through certain crime types and characteristics, such as clothes and being rich businessmen, show an attitude contrary to common sense. On the contrary, in the perspective of ordinary crimes and terrorism, common sense is maintained, and reference is made to the dominant ideological discourse.

Image 5.7. Arka Sokaklar- Stereotypes of Ordinary Crime-Affiliated Characters



In general, it can be said that the security concerns in *Arka Sokaklar* vary in terms of crimes, depending on the broadcast time of the episodes and the political developments throughout airtime. Although the series was not filmed with a particular ideological perspective, security concerns were reproduced using banal images, and the threat discourse was securitized through imaginary elements.

5.1.d. Behzat Ç. (Bir Ankara Polisiyesi) – Background Information

Behzat Ç. (Bir Ankara Polisiyesi) (Detective Stories from Ankara) was broadcasted on Star TV for three seasons with 96 episodes between 19 September 2010 and 17 May 2013. The re-make of the series, which was shot in 9 episodes in 2019, was produced and broadcasted on the *BluTV* platform. The script of the series was written by Ercan Mehmet Erdem, based on Emrah Serbes's novels *Her Temas İz Bırakır (Every Contact Leaves A Trace, 2006)* and *Son Hafriyat (Last Excavation, 2008)*. Serdar Akar was the general director, and *Adem Film* and Tarkan Karlıdağ

produced the whole series. The leading roles were shared by Erdal Beşikçiođlu (Behzat Ç.), İnanç Konukçu (Sabri Özey; a.k.a., Hayalet), Fatih Artman (Harun Sinanođlu), and Berkan Şal (İsmet Arif Karasu; a.k.a., Akbaba).¹⁴ The subject of the series is shaped around the Homicide Bureau chief Behzat Ç. and his team. Each episode deals with a separate murder case, but the story develops around season-dominating crimes, including organized crimes, femicide, and individual felonies.

During the broadcast of *Behzat Ç.*, the PKK's actions decreased substantially, and the effects of the *Çözüm Süreci* that had started in 2009 persisted. Social disintegration has started to occupy Turkish politics, together with the discussions about intra-state structures and corruption. Although *Behzat Ç.* is a series that was broadcasted before the events of 17-25 December, the Gezi Park protests, and the coup attempt of July 15, its several episodes refer to the social unrest, intra-state structures, and anti-government protests to emerge in Turkey later on. Regarding this, Erdal Beşikçiođlu, who plays the character of Behzat Ç., stated in an interview that the character was removed from the Homicide Bureau, and the story axis began to focus on the fight against the “deep state” (Independent, 31 December 2019). Although there is no direct ideological attitude in the series, the reaction against social inequalities and violence against women are often emphasized. In this sense, a clear oppositional attitude is exhibited in *Behzat Ç.*, unlike the other TV series, in question. Berke Üzrek, who plays the character of Lieutenant Cevdet in the series, underlines this issue in an interview about the series, mentioning that the series has an oppositional attitude, and that the series has a brave scenario that refers to the events that everyone knows (Popüler Sinema, n.d). It is also safe to say that *Behzat*

¹⁴ https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Behzat_Ç._Bir_Ankara_Polisiyesi

Ç. evolves around the questioning of the concept of justice within the social events. In another interview, Beşikçioğlu talked about the murder of the character of Prosecutor Esra and stated that “We needed to explain something as a metaphor there, that is, we needed to show how much justice was hurt” (Odatv, 14 July 2019).

5.1.d.i. Behzat Ç. - Analysis

There is no securitization pattern found in Behzat Ç. when it comes to the “character’s names” and “nicknames” categories. As the names were chosen among common Turkish names, the nickname category was left blank, except for some code names and nicknames. These nicknames, on the other hand, do not have any criminal or group connotation. When the gender category is considered, it is seen that the antagonists are generally chosen from male characters, and the percentage of female characters committing crimes is low. Although the crimes committed by the female characters do not differ from the males, and the subject of the series focuses on murder, the profile is “modern-looking” women in general.

Image 5.8. Behzat Ç.- Stereotypes of Organized Crime-Affiliated Characters



When it comes to the nature of the crime, the characters who commit ordinary crimes such as murder, drug dealing, rape, and battery are reflected to have lower incomes in economic terms, on which social pressure is dominant (honor). Apart from this, although there are characters, such as wealthy businessmen, academics and actors, who commit common crimes, the intensity is given to these characters more in the series. In this sense, the securitization of these characters through certain features was launched in accordance with the common sense, considering both their position in society and their economic situation.

Image 5.9. Behzat Ç.- Stereotypes of Ordinary Crime-Affiliated Characters



Those who involve in the organized crimes are securitized in three ways. The first of these are the characters stereotyped with “suits” and “beards,” and they are involved in gambling, organizing illegal fights, pimping out women, drug trafficking, and other organized crimes, as well as murder. The difference between the organized criminals and those who got into regular crimes is that the former are portrayed as *kabadayılar*, who do not hesitate to usurp other people’s rights and use crime as a material resource.

The other two categories related to organized crime are criminal profiles, which are shaped by the influence of socio-political events and present an imaginary element of in-state structures and corruption. In particular, the character of Ercüment Çözer, who is a serial killer in the first season and later understood that he is protected by the deep-state, is one example of this. While this structure, which protects Ercüment Çözer, infiltrates different institutions of the state, especially the police organization, and covers many characters from the undersecretary to the chief

of police, is imaginatively securitized with “suits” and “beards.” When the elements of the regular and deep state are examined, we come across police officers together with high-level officials. In this sense, “police uniform” has been securitized in the series.

There are no certain patterns found in the categories of “family background” and “educational status” in the series. However, based on general observations, when ordinary crimes are considered, it can be said that the general pattern of criminals reflect uneducated people, who have family problems. As mentioned, when the professions of the characters are taken into consideration through the crimes with political connections, it has been determined that they are educated people who work in high positions in the state’s organizations.

The oppositional approach in *Behzat Ç.* is encountered both in the criticism of the intra-state structures before the resolution process and in the handling of the anti-government protests. Anti-government protests as a form of crime were not included in the data analysis as the data analysis in the thesis deals with the securitization of crime and criminals through the eyes of the main characters. However, examples such as the removal of Behzat’s friend Bahar and accompanying activists from custody by Behzat each time they are arrested and the team’s discomfort when they were sent to duty during the protests show this particular attitude. In this sense, when the securitization of intra-state structures and the de-securitization of anti-government protests are evaluated from the perspective of the main characters, it can be said that they reflect the common sense.

Apart from justice and deep state structures, the other issue discussed in the series in detail is the problem of violence against women. Although many topics such as honor killing, domestic violence and customs are discussed in the series, violence against women, which is shown through the character of Suna in the end of the second season, is very important in terms of examining the subject. In the final episode of the second season, Suna's monologue refers to this particular point.

“...Do you know how much femicide has increased in the last seven years?... You don't know... 1400 percent... I just wanted to live for five more minutes. Like all the murdered women,”

The character underlined the need to raise awareness and showed a reaction against this problem. On the other hand, the fact that she committed suicide after this speech is important as a metaphorical element in terms of evoking the feeling of helplessness and the urgency of the issue. In this sense, it was tried to create a perception that the subject should be evaluated in a high political manner. Therefore, it can be said that violence against women in *Behzat Ç.* is securitized both imaginatively and discursively via the characters, and this securitization is in accordance with the common sense.

5.1.e. İsimsizler – Background Information

İsimsizler (The Nameless) is a detective, war, action, and military genre series that aired on Kanal D between March 27, 2017, and December 16, 2017, for two seasons and 27 episodes, under the *Doğan Group* ownership. The production of the first season was undertaken by the *ES Film* and *Barakuda Film*; the script of the first season was written by Mustafa Burak Doğu, Serkan Birlik, Ayça Mutlugil, and Hale Çalab, and the script for the second season was written by “İki Kelime Yazı Grubu.”

The directors of the series were Osman Kaya, Emre Konuk and Volkan Kocatürk, respectively. The leading roles were shared by Uğur Güneş (Governor Fatih Keskin), Bülent Alkış (Hasan Bozkırlı, a.k.a. Dayı) and Çağkan Çulha (Murat Gürcan).¹⁵

İsimsizler begins with Fatih Keskin, a successful and young diplomat, volunteering to be appointed as the district governor of Virankaya after the martyrdom of Virankaya District Governor Orhan Yağız. With the order of the ‘Başkan’ (intelligence chief), he starts to work with a special team of seven people. The team includes the counter-terrorism chief Ahmet Akıncı, the former Maroon Beret (ÖKK) Olcay Captain, the intelligence officer Kürşat, the official driver Derman, and two PÖH officers, Dayı and Murat. While focusing on the team’s fight against the PKK, *İsimsizler* also deals with issues such as trying to decipher the deep state structure infiltrating the state’s institutions and revealing the external links of the organizations that support them.

İsimsizler was broadcast after many events in the 2010s that were also referred to within the series, such as the operations of 17-25 December in 2013, the coup attempt on July 15, 2016, the murder of the Mardin District Governor in 2016 (HaberTürk, 11 November 2016), the exposure of intra-state structures and corruption, the MİT trucks operations (BBC, 15 June 2016), and the ongoing activities of the ISIS and the PKK. The first episode of *İsimsizler* started with the death of District Governor Muhammed Fatih Safitürk, who lost his life as a result of the explosion of an explosive device in his office in the Derik district of Mardin. While continuing with the newly appointed district governor’s struggle with the PKK

¹⁵ <https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/İsimsizler>

and the terrorist incidents in the region, series focused on trying to decipher the secret structure behind the attack. In the series, which was broadcast after the July 15 coup attempt, the relationship between FETÖ and the PKK, and the support of external links to both, were highlighted. The FETÖ-linked people who infiltrated the state and settled in high offices are held responsible for events that took place in Turkey's recent history, such as the deciphering of the National Security Organization (MIT) trucks, the bombing of illegal citizens on the Syrian border, the revealing and killing of Turkish intelligence officers, who had infiltrated the PKK, the shooting down of the former Grand Unity Party leader Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu's helicopter, and the bombings in different cities of Turkey between 2015 and 2017. The discourses and scenes about these events are abundantly repeated in the series. Although nationalist discourses are dominant, many references have been made to binaries like good-vs.-bad and us-vs.-them. The basis of these binaries is the populist discourses such as the "great games" played on Turkey by foreign countries and the attempt to weaken and disintegrate the Turkish state.

5.1.e.i. İsimsizler – Analysis

In *İsimsizler*, most of the criminal "character's names" are not mentioned. However, when the given names are considered, there is a pattern in them chosen for terrorists, which resemble to those with Kurdish origins, such as Berfin, Heja, Pozan, Baran, Saver, Bedo, and Biruske. Therefore, it is safe to say that a direct securitization of the Kurdish identity could be detected in the series. On the other hand, when the nickname category is examined, a certain pattern is also found with nicknames such as "heval" (*friend* in Kurdish) and "abi" (*brother*), which is directly associated with securitization. Heval has been frequently repeated as the way

terrorists address each other whereas “abi” represents those who are associated with the FETÖ, ensuring that people stay loyal to the organization (Kadem, 2017, p.7). With reference to these concepts, it was aimed to trigger this perception in the common sense of the people called “brother” and “heval,” and the characters were securitized through their forms of correspondence. The character, Sabbah, on the other hand, appeared as a reference to the claims that FETÖ was inspired by the assassinations of Hasan Sabbah (aHaber, 2016) and was used to address Kudret Yıldırım, who carried out FETÖ’s activities in Istanbul.

In terms of gender references, *İsimsizler* prioritizes men as being more exposed to securitization. While the number of male criminals in the series was more than 326, the number of females was only limited to 11 people. Interestingly, all these female criminals are associated with the PKK terrorism and foreign powers, but none with the FETÖ. When the securitized women are examined, two important characters emerge. The first of these is Heja Bedirhanoglu, who is the co-mayor, and the other is the character of Berfin, who is the middle-level commander within the PKK. Heja Bedirhanoglu was portrayed with reference to the Peoples’ Democratic Party’s (HDP) co-presidential regime as well as with a provocative, anti-Turkish, and anti-state stance. While giving briefings to the Kurdish people trying to explain the atrocities of the Turkish state within the discourse of peace, it has also been securitized as it aids and abets terrorists. As a matter of fact, she had argued with the police who wanted to search her car with a terrorist and stated that they did not have the right to search because independent deputy Saliha Filiz had the vehicle and did not allow the vehicle to be searched. During the discussion, he tried to slap the anti-terrorism police officer Ahmet Akıncı, but Akıncı referred to the incident in 2011,

when the HDP deputy Sebahat Tuncel slapped the police in Şırnak, saying “it only happens once” (Birgün, 2022). The character of Berfin appears as an important figure in the armed actions of the PKK terrorist organization and the lay ambushes against the security forces.

Figure 5.5. *İsimsizler* word-cloud



Since the series generally focuses on the PKK, the FETÖ and the external links, it would be more appropriate to combine the nature and characteristics of the highlighted crimes in order to analyze whether there is a basic stereotype in the series. Accordingly, there are two dominant stereotypes in the series, along with the major themes and discourses. The first is the stereotyping of the PKK terrorists. They

are stereotyped with “beards,” “Eastern Anatolian accent,” “vests,” “salwars,” “belts,” “shirts,” and “poshu” (Table 5.10) In addition, expressions such as *öz denetim* (*self-automation*) and *tece* (short for Turkish Republic) are included and they are securitized through both discourses and images.

Image 5.10. İsimsizler- Stereotypes of PKK- Linked Characters



The securitization of terrorists, which are related to the FETÖ, was based on three basic characteristics: “beardlessness,” “suits,” and “ties.” (Table 5.11.) In addition, although there is no information on the family and educational status of the criminals in general, it is seen that the FETÖ-linked terrorists are educated and hold important positions such as prosecutors, polices, police chiefs, businessmen, and district governors. The FETÖ-linked terrorists, who use their positions and cause intelligence weakness, have been associated with recent events such as the stopping of MİT trucks on January 1, 2014, the disclosure of MİT members, who carry out intelligence activities abroad and within the PKK, and the bombing of illegal

immigrants trying to cross the border at the Syrian border. In the series, these events were expressed as the FETÖ's activities to disrupt the order in Turkey by using the PKK as a tool. In the last part of the first season, the helicopter on which the District Governor Fatih Keskin was boarding to go to Ankara was shot down by the FETÖ and there was a reference to the helicopter accident, where Muhsin Yazıoğlu died on March 25, 2009. In accordance with the prevailing common sense, the perception of the FETÖ, which infiltrates the institutions within the state and creates a deep state structure, is imaginatively recreated.

Image 5.11. İsimsizler- Stereotypes of FETÖ- Linked Characters



In addition, the ISIS and Al-Mukhabarat militias and foreign supporters also appear in the series in connection with terrorist organizations. When examining how foreign supporters are handled, it is important to evaluate the scene in the first episode in order to understand the securitization that prevails in the rest of the series. In the first part, it is seen that there are foreign powers sitting at the table with the high order names of the terrorist organization and collaborating with targets such as

the Greater Middle East Project, the energy corridor, and the disintegration of Turkey. These foreign powers, including those in military uniforms, are stereotyped as “blonde,” “in suit,” “beardless,” and “speaking poor Turkish.” While this stereotyping is reinforced by the discussion of the targets on Turkey, the American character tells the PKK commanders, “don't worry; our guest in Pennsylvania and his loved ones will not spare you help.” It was stated that they were in cooperation not only with the PKK, but also with the FETÖ. The expression “Pennsylvania” here is an expression that refers to the current political events and is frequently used by politicians. Similar to the President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's statements including “parallel state” and “the person in Pennsylvania,” a reference is made to the FETÖ leader Fetullah Gülen. This rhetoric is also strengthened by the expression which is featured in first episode, “the traitor in Pennsylvania is not resting.” Therefore, foreign characters are securitized through both their images and discourses.

The ISIS and the Syrian militias, which are considered as members of Al-Mukhabarat in the series, have also been securitized through their relations with the PKK. ISIS militants are stereotyped as characters with “beards,” “vests,” “salwars,” “shirts,” and “black poshu” as well as with the use of Arabic phrases. The connection between the ISIS and the PKK was made through foreign powers, and it was expressed in the dialogue between the PKK members and foreign powers, who were digging the big tunnel to facilitate the passage to Turkey in episode 4. The PKK commander stated that PKK members will be passed through the tunnel to Turkey and said, “your illegitimate children who were beheaded will also help us.” Thereupon, the American supporter said, “our soldiers will also be on the alert in the Greek Cypriot part.” He stated that they would provide total support. Al-Mukhabarat

militias, on the other hand, were imaginatively securitized through “military uniforms,” “Arabic expressions” and engagement in conflict with the PKK against the Turks.

Considering the securitized criminal profiles and the scenes associated with the events in Turkey's recent history, it is seen that *İsimsizler* clearly recreates the common sense and tries to perpetuate it. In addition, the series has been instrumental in creating a common sense and reinforcing the discourse about the FETÖ by using visual elements. As Lene Hansen stated that images must be handled together with the dominant discourse in order to be effective (2011), the images constituting the general stereotype of criminals in *İsimsizler* are strengthened by repeating the dominant discourses or by referring to the current events.

5.1.f. Börü – Background Information

Börü (The Wolf), which was broadcasted as a six-episode mini-series on Star TV between February 28, 2018, and April 11, 2018, completed its final episode with a movie under the same name. Alper Çağlar created and produced the series and he shared directorship with his fellows, Can Emre and Cem Özüdü. In the lead roles, there are names such as Serkan Çulha (Kaya Ülgen), Mesut Akusta (İrfan Aladağ), Murat Arkin (Kemal Boratav), Ahu Türkpençe (Asena Tümer), and Emir Benderlioğlu (Turan Kara).¹⁶

The main subject of *Börü* is the fight of the PÖH team against terrorism and terrorists. After the organizations that infiltrated the administration began to emerge

¹⁶ <https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Börü>

in 2014, the PÖH team, code-named “Börü,” started to fight both internal structures and terrorist organizations for the defense of the country. Team members, each of whom is specialized in different subjects, are trying to cope with the terrorist incidents in Turkey’s recent history.

The series deals with the current political events in Turkey from the 17-25 December events to the 15 July 2016 coup attempt. The first episode of the series started by dealing with an event similar to the ISIS terrorist organization’s attack on the nightclub Reina in 2017 and continued with the operation against the incident, in which the PKK terrorists took students and parents hostage in Diyarbakır in 2014. While the operations in the East were the main subject in the series, the imprisonment of İrfan Aladağ, one of the first founders of the PÖH unit, with false evidence in the so-called *Balyoz Davası*, and the FETÖ structuring, which started to come to light in this direction, became important. The commanders who were unfairly dismissed and imprisoned with false documents were also featured in the series. Although there are rumors that this structure is planning something and that very bad things will happen in the near future, no one has fully realized the process leading to the 15 July coup attempt. Apart from the PKK and the FETÖ, the series also focused on the ISIS terrorist organization and the actions of the ISIS in Turkey with the reference to the Reina (2017) and the Atatürk airport attacks (2016), which is similar to the plaza attack. It is hinted in the series that foreign powers are the supporters of the games played on Turkey. In this sense, it would not be unfair to say that the series is deeply ideological, with both discursive and imaginary emphases. Alper Çağlar, too, confirms this by stating that “our story begins in 2014, when the internal threats of the Republic of Turkey increased as much as the external threats,

Since there is no general reference to the professions, family, and educational status of the criminals in the series, no data could be generated about these issues. When the distribution of crime by gender is examined, however, more than thirty of the criminals in the series are men and only two of them are women. Male characters are securitized over two dominant stereotypes according to their affiliations and the nature of their crimes: the PKK members and the FETÖ members. The PKK terrorists are securitized through this imagery depicted as “bearded,” wearing “salwars,” “shirts,” “vests,” “belts,” “poshu” and “brunette” male, mostly in terrorist uniforms in East. However, in the city, they are represented by “beards”, “jeans”, “coats”, “shirts” and “brunette” male (Table 5.12.).

Image 5.12. Börü- Stereotypes of PKK- Linked Characters



Terrorists presented in connection with the FETÖ, on the other hand, are not shown directly throughout the series, but their existence is expressed via discourses that there is an undercurrent and “bad things” will happen in Turkey. However, with

the onset of the July 15 coup attempt, the FETÖ-linked people were stereotyped with “military uniforms” and “beardlessness,” (Table 5.13) as they were handled together with the corruption of the soldiers in the Turkish Army Forces.

Image 5.13. Börü- Stereotypes of FETÖ- Linked Characters



Apart from these basic stereotypes, the actions of the ISIS are also featured in the series. In these scenes, although the ISIS militants are depicted with PKK-like characteristics, such as “beards,” “salwars,” “shirts,” “vests,” “belts,” “poshu” and being “brunet”, some differences are noted. The poshu they wore were not used as black and white checkered as in the PKK, but plain black. In addition, the imagery of the ISIS militants with long hair and beards and the use of “Arabic words” in their speech are striking.

In addition to the visual securitizations mentioned in the series, the dominant discourses and verbal connotations used by the political elites are also included. The

discussion that took place in episode 5 between the Special Forces Lieutenant General Osman Alan and PÖH team leader Behçet Orbay, in which they implied that something is planned for Turkey, is an example of this:

“Osman Alan: Soon, the faults will move. They will evacuate İrfan.

Kemal: Why would they release the Chairman of İrfan?

Osman Alan: When they make a move, they will want their troubles to be in the open because it is an easy target.

Turan: What's the move?

Osman Alan: I'm not sure. They did everything they could. This country has spent ten years lying; there are not many options left. They will attack openly.

Turan: Who?

Osman Alan: To whom? To the real state, to us. There is no easy sleep for us anymore, friends”

In other scenes of series there are also direct or implicit expressions were used so as to whom wanted to perform the “great play” planned on Turkey. Such as,

"Osman Alan: ... One day, a plane will come, a talkative jester who smells like *maklube* will land, and he will take over the state, and we will remain silent and say, 'Thanks to the Homeland'? (Episode 5)

...

“Kemal: ... A cowardly puppeteer hiding in mansions in the far away country.”

“Foreign officer: ... This will be your last summer.” (Episode 5)

...

“Kemal: ... I'm here to see if you're part of a malicious group that has infiltrated all over the country.”

“Kemal: ... They are calculating. They behave like insect larvae, waiting until they emerge from their cocoons like a scorpion.” (Episode 3)

...

“İrfan: You are the only one they can't infiltrate; Fethullah's dogs will target you.” (Episode 6)

With these expressions, which emphasize the structure of the FETÖ, its leader, and where it hides and refers to “maklube,” a type of food that has been associated with the FETÖ, a securitization process has been launched towards the enemy. Then, with the July 15 coup attempt, the characters were visually securitized, as stated above, by establishing a relationship with these discourses. Therefore, securitization is done through both discursive and imaginary points in *Börü*, and these are realized within the framework of the dominant ideological discourses. The securitization of the character stereotypes used in *Börü* is similar to the discursive securitization practices of the political elites in the reproduction and repetition of common sense.

5.2. General Analyses of the Chosen Series

All six TV series chosen for the current analysis show similarities that can be categorized as binaries. Since these similarities were shaped from the standpoint of political events in the periods the series were aired, they present a reflection of the respective common senses regarding the perception of security that dominated their periods. To be more specific, *İz Peşinde* and *Yılan Hikâyesi* stayed away from the ideological and political perspectives; they only took a stance on domestic violence.

In *Arka Sokaklar* and *Behzat Ç.*, although they were not filmed with an ideological attitude, they were affected by the political events of the period. This was also reflected in the nature of the crimes committed in the series. It has to be still noted here that although *Behzat Ç.* does not reflect one specific ideological disposition, its apparent oppositional tone and critical stance differ clearly from the neutrality of *Arka Sokaklar*. *Börü* and *İsimsizler*, on the other hand, made direct use of ideological references and included images that directly reflected the dominant security discourse as they dealt with the ongoing terrorist acts in Turkey and the July 15 coup attempt as a subject.

Instead of securitization with direct reference to political events and discourses, in *İz Peşinde* and *Yılan Hikâyesi*, securitization has been made over specific typologies by using “banal” indicators. In both series, the mafia and organized crime gangs were heavily involved in the nature of the crime, and securitization was done through mostly male characters. The appearance of their characters reflects basic characteristic features such as “beardlessness,” “suits,” and “ties.” In both series, the securitization through these characters was made with reference to the corruption of the wealthy businessmen and their crimes by usurping the rights of the innocent people. In addition, in *Yılan Hikâyesi*, focusing on the subject of *töre*, the implementation and maintenance of the ceremony of *töre* are processed through male and oriental types that are securitized through basic characteristics such as “vests,” “shirts,” “beards,” “Eastern Anatolian accent,” and “poshu.” Contrary to the common sense that poor men will be more prone to commit crimes, a connection between wealth and gangs has been established. On the other hand, in crimes related to *töre*,

securitization is made over men with an accent, who wear traditional clothing and live in Eastern Anatolia, representing yet another common sense.

İsimsizler and *Börü*, as series openly based on a political stance and reflecting nationalist-rightist ideologies, have implemented securitization practices based on both discourse and visual images by repeating the dominant rhetoric instead of banal or latent elements. While both TV series deal with the recent political events in Turkey, the political connections of the events are evaluated in regards with the ISIS and foreign powers, the PKK and the FETÖ as the main actors, and in line with the prevailing discourse. The securitization practices featured in both shows are similar. The PKK-linked terrorists have been stereotyped and securitized on their characteristic features such as “beards,” “vests,” “poshu,” “salwars,” and “shirts” in order to reinforce the already constructed common sense of the terrorist image. While the FETÖ-linked terrorists dominated the discourse of deep-state structure infiltrating the official state institutions, the apparently educated people working in high positions, such as prosecutors, police chiefs, police officers, and district governors, were securitized. The securitization of these characters was also made through characteristic features such as “suits,” “shirts,” “ties,” and “beardlessness,” and the specific word “abi” was frequently used as a reference to the connection with the FETÖ structure. Whereas no pattern could be determined over the names in *Börü*, the names of the terrorists were chosen conspicuously from among the names from Kurdish origin in *İsimsizler*. In this sense, it has been seen that Kurdish names have been securitized in accordance with the prevailing common sense.

The foreign powers represented in *İsimsizler* and *Börü*, on the other hand, are securitized through characteristic features such as “being blonde,” “speaking poor Turkish,” “suits,” and “military uniforms” while using discursive elements to imply that they work together with the FETÖ, the ISIS, and the PKK inside and play a distinctive role in setting up Turkish politics. While referring to “the external forces,” a dominant discourse frequently used by the Turkish politicians, the securitization continues by recreating the prevailing common sense. On the other hand, the ISIS is securitized in terms of its relationship with the PKK and foreign powers, instead of its own potential hazards. While the terrorist acts undertaken by the ISIS in Turkey are handled directly in *Börü*, only their relationship with foreign powers is emphasized in *İsimsizler*. The ISIS-affiliated terrorists are differentiated from those of the PKK through the colors and patterns of their “poshu.” Whereas the PKK terrorists use black and white checkered poshu, the ISIS terrorists are represented with black ones. Beards and hair are another distinctive matter; as the ISIS militants are depicted as “long-bearded” and “long-haired,” unlike the PKK terrorists.

Arka Sokaklar and *Behzat Ç.* are similar to *İz Peşinde* and *Yılan Hikâyesi* in the sense that they do not have an open ideological disposition. In these series, too, securitization was made through banal referents, and the securitization of criminals was not carried out with direct reference to the prevailing political discourses. While each episode focuses on crimes that are far from a political perspective, it is still seen that political events are represented as a framework or a stage where these crimes are shaped and executed in both series. In particular, their storylines evolve over the corruption and restructuring in the police organization around illegal names connected mostly to the FETÖ.

In both series, it has been determined that securitization is made through specific typologies in connection with the already existing practices in the dominant discourses against the PKK, the FETÖ, and the ISIS, especially after 2014. The impact of events such as the July 15 coup attempt and the PKK or the ISIS related terrorist actions that happened during the broadcasting of the series is also striking. Although the events of 17-25 December had not yet taken place when *Behzat Ç.* was aired, there was a great deal of focus on the deep state structures, the corruption of the police, and the anti-governmental actions. In both series, the characters associated with organized crime are stereotyped based on “beardlessness” or “beards,” “suits,” “shirts,” and “ties.” In contrast, those associated with ordinary crimes are represented with “striped t-shirts,” “shirts,” “trousers,” and “stubble beards.” Criminals who commit organized crimes are shown as wealthy businessmen, as in *İz Peşinde* and *Yılan Hikâyesi*, whereas the characters who commit ordinary crimes are portrayed as poor people from the general public. Although *Behzat Ç.* has a more politically correct attitude, the characters who commit ordinary crimes (murder, theft, honor killing, etc.) are expressed in both series by pointing to their family ties or economic backgrounds more than those who commit organized crimes. Accordingly, it has been expressed through justifications that ordinary crimes had to be committed and that this was in their destiny.

From the gender perspective, the majority of crimes is committed by men than women in all series. While women are portrayed as innocent people who are victimized and need to be protected by men, the so-called patriarchal discourse prevailing in Turkey has been reproduced in the TV series. The common point of all

TV series is the perception that women must be guarded by men to protect themselves. In addition, although the female characters do commit crimes, they are portrayed as criminals out of necessity. In this sense, it has been determined that the securitization through women in the TV series is not done except for a few characters. Therefore, a remarkable pattern could not be followed in the Turkish crime shows except for *İsimsizler*, which securitized the district's female mayor regarding the HDP's co-presidency regime and the PKK commander. However, this approach is discussed from a different perspective in *İz Peşinde*, which leaves space for more female criminals than other series do. In *İz Peşinde*, securitization has been made through Western-looking women and it is implied that they have a greater potential to commit crimes than other "regular" women. These women are generally portrayed as greedy for money, who are divorced or widowed, and college students affected by bad friendships. Other than this, women who are more suitable for the "Anatolian woman" profile as part of the common sense are expressed as victims, who need protection as in other TV series.

While it is seen that political correctness with regards to women roles is not paid attention to in the earlier TV series of *İz Peşinde* and *Yılan Hikayesi*, violence against women is generally shown as a dominant crime or discourse in later shows. Therefore, it could be said that the whole issue has been brought to a high political matter through the practices of visual securitization. For example, although domestic violence is handled in a milder language, like an unwanted but still tolerable matter in the family, in the TV series *İz Peşinde*; the increase in violence against women, the inability to find a political solution and the victimization of women in *Arka Sokaklar* and *Behzat Ç.* are expressed discursively through different lines. To be

more specific, a woman who was a victim of violence in *Arka Sokaklar* was about to commit suicide and said about his husband's imprisonment "... Is there a guarantee? Don't we read in the newspapers? What if I can't escape this time," and she criticized the lack of legal and political sanctions for violence against women.

Overall, it could be summarized that criminal antagonist characters are securitized over certain stereotypes in the six selected TV shows and that the common sense is reproduced and maintained through securitization practices depending on the dominant socio-political conditions and discourses in the period when they are broadcasted. Therefore, it is safe to argue at this point that there is a direct relationship between the nature of the crime, gender, and certain characteristic features in the visual securitization practices, which are basically carried out over these three stereotypes, but name, nickname, profession, family background, and educational status are generally ignored.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, the relationship between popular culture and politics has been studied with the help of the Gramscian concept of “common sense” and the Copenhagen School's notion of “securitization.” Going beyond the notion of “speech act” in the traditional securitization literature, it is discussed in detail the contribution of conventional media tools to the social security dimension, using the visual securitization theory defined by Lene Hansen. The main purpose of the thesis is to analyze the perception of security in Turkish crime TV series through the construction of criminal antagonist profiles and to understand how the common sense of security and/or insecurity is tried to be imposed on the Turkish society through the media. Accordingly, the main research question could read as such: “Does visual securitization of criminals re-construct and maintain a common sense of security through Turkish TV series?” In order to answer this question, six popular crime series broadcasted at different times since the 1990s were selected: *Arka Sokaklar*, *İsimsizler*, *İz Peşinde*, *Yılan Hikâyesi*, *Behzat Ç.*, and *Börü*. In these series, the criminal portrayals in each episode were handled individually, and their profiles were categorized over names, nicknames, genders, characteristic features, professions, family backgrounds, educational statuses, and the nature of the crimes they committed. Based on this data, content analysis has been conducted and basic stereotypes of criminals have been presented.

When the TV programs are taken as elements of analysis, it is seen that they offer a variety of appearances and processing of different genres. Many TV channels

broadcasting such as sports programs, news, soap operas, quizzes, and documentaries are part of the entertainment industry, which is mostly considered independent from politics. However, within a Gramscian perspective, all these are said to serve for the hegemonic discourse and dominant values. In the Gramscian sense, TV becomes an important instrument in terms of imposing historical identities, cultural elements, lifestyles, and friends-vs.-foes binaries through visual images. This exemplifies the conscious or unconscious repetition of cultural and political values by (re-) constructing “a common sense.” Thus, the daily consumption of popular culture products and experiences creates a bond between the ruling class and society without coercion and give further power and legitimacy to dominant ideologies. From this viewpoint, this thesis also highlights security as a phenomenon shaped by the ideological perspective of the ruling class and considered a part of the cultural and political life that constitutes a common sense. In addition, Copenhagen School’s concept of “securitization” is also employed to explain how certain matters are attached with security significance and thus gain further dimension of consent in the society. In other words, it is proposed in this thesis that securitized images or discourses construct the security concerns of the ruling class as the “normal” security concerns of the people and create the perception of threat and fear internalized by the society. The results of examining how such security concerns of hegemony are conveyed and which elements are referred to in the formation of a common sense in the crime series represent the major arguments within the confines of this study.

In the chosen TV series, criminal stereotypes were created mostly based on three of the eight categories – characteristic features, gender, and nature of crime – and securitization was mostly made over these categories. Depending on the nature of the

crime, the four basic stereotypes securitized in the TV series have been detected with respect to organized crimes, ordinary crimes, the connections with the PKK and with the FETÖ. Criminal profiles associated with organized crime (including mafia, gang, etc.) are stereotyped through “suit,” “shirt,” and “bearded” or “beardless” and securitized over a specific “bully” profile. The other character type that dominates the TV series is the criminals who mostly grew up in low-income families. They are stereotyped with “shirts,” “striped t-shirts,” “jeans,” or “trousers,” and “stubbly bearded.” These criminals are represented as people who commit ordinary crimes but mostly have “no choice but” to commit them for economic or social reasons. As part of the third stereotype, the appearance regarding the PKK has been securitized over specific images of “salwars,” “shirts,” “vests,” “poshu,” “beards,” and “being brunet.” This uniform-like image is represented as an image of insecurity, in opposition to the image of security created by the wearing of a police/soldier uniform. The characters associated with the FETÖ, on the other hand, are securitized with “suits,” “shirts,” “ties,” and “beardlessness (sometimes mustaches).” For the FETÖ members, being educated and employed as high-ranking professionals also seem to be important features. In addition, the patriarchal discourse has been reproduced in almost all the series given the fact that male characters have a higher potential to commit crimes than female characters and women are mostly portrayed as victims who need to be protected. Although certain crimes are connected and securitized, in the remaining categories – such as the character's name, nickname, family history, educational status, and profession –, a general pattern has not been found. Some expectations include the securitization of Kurdish names and their association with PKK-linked terrorists, as well as the reference to the professions of

FETO-linked terrorists as persons holding high positions within the state organization.

In short, according to the eight characteristics of the criminal characters, it has been found that a certain form of securitization is conducted through certain stereotypes in the TV series under question and this securitization of antagonist characters reproduces the dominant ideological discourse about security depending on the political and social structure of the analyzed period. They maintain the dominant conservative approach in the TV series through both discursive and visual elements and in general there is no criticism against it. In this context, the TV series can be said to function as a tool to reproduce and maintain the common sense.

Finally, there should be a discussion on the deficiencies, limitations and how this can be improved in future studies. In this thesis, all episodes of *Arka Sokaklar* series were not included in the data analysis, and only 64 episodes were evaluated, four episodes from each season. The last season of *Behzat Ç.* is beyond the scope of the thesis, as it was broadcast on *Blu.tv* along with the films under the same title. The film with the same name, which connects the last episode of *Börü*, was also not evaluated in the data analysis. The re-make of *İz Peşinde (Kanundan Kaçılmaz)* could not be included in the data set because it could not be found in the Internet archives.

Some of the crimes in the category of the nature of the crime have been tried to be made easier in terms of examination by limiting them under the headings such as “terrorism” and “organized crimes”. In addition, another limitation of the thesis is

that, apart from certain lines, the purely discursive practices that point to visual securitization and reproduce the dominant ideological discourse are excluded from the analysis. Since the evaluation of discourse and visual images together will create a wide range of data over 302 episodes, the thesis is limited to the analysis of visual elements only. In this direction, the relationship between speech act and visual securitization, which reproduces the dominant ideological discourse, can be examined in further studies in more depth.

This study thus provides important insights for future analysis of the relationship between popular culture and politics. Accordingly, studies on how society is influenced by the security perspective of the dominant ideology through popular culture can also be discussed in the context of Adorno and Horkheimer's "Culture Industry." In this context, how industrial standardization of popular culture products ideologically shaped social thinking can be examined.

In this thesis, how the perception of security is reflected in the crime series has been examined through a limited number of TV series from the 1990s to the present. In this respect, a broader perspective might be presented regarding the changing perception of security in Turkish TV history by considering further series from a wider range. In addition, similar to the analysis of the antagonistic characters discussed in this thesis through the relationship of common sense and securitization, this relationship can also be discussed through different genre series. Accordingly, this study can be expanded by examining the mafia and military TV subject series, which are also directly addressed to security. Furthermore, considering that the common sense applies to all daily practices, it is possible to examine the security

discourse through popular culture products that deal with different subjects. Through the relation of discursive and visual images, it is possible to study the visual securitization of various broadcasts such as TV dramas, entertainment shows, news programs, films, and newspapers.



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APPENDIX

Annex 1.1. İz Pesinde - Data

EPISODE	NAME OF THE CHARACTER	NICKNAME	GENDER	CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES	PROFESSION	FAMILY	EDUCATION	NATURE OF CRIME
Episode 1	Kadir		Male	suit, vest, tie, beardless	Advisor	Unknown	University degree	Fraud, murder
Episode 1	Mustaffer		Male	suit, tie, scarf, coat, hat, mustached, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Fraud
Episode 1	Mustafa		Male	suit, tie, mustached, beardless, permed hair	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Fraud
Episode 1	Sami		Male	leather jacket, black sweater, mustached, messy hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Fraud
Episode 1	Semiha		Female	fur coat, high heels, dress, gold jewelry, permed hair, make-up	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Fraud, murder
Episode 2	Unknwon		Male	suit, tie, mustached, short hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling
Episode 2	Unknwon		Male	suit, tie, mustached, short hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling
Episode 2	Hayrettin Durman		Male	suit, mustached, short hair	Businessman	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling
Episode 2	Vedat		Male	suit, shirt, white t-shirt, gold necklace, bearded, permed hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling
Episode 2	Unknwon		Male	suit, sweater, bearded, bald	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Violence against women
Episode 2	Bülent		Male	blues, permed hair, beardless, mustached	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Spy
Episode 2	Necmi	Bıçak Necmi	Male	unseen	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling
Episode 2	Unknwon		Male	suit, tie, mustached, short hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Murder
Episode 2	Unknwon		Male	suit, tie, bearded, short hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Murder
Episode 2	Unknwon		Male	suit, tie, bearded, short hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Murder
Episode 2	Zerrin		Female	suit, tie, bearded, short hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Murder
Episode 2	Zerrin		Female	polo shirt, bearded, mustached, young	Small business man	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling
Episode 2	Canan Tan		Female	fur coat, permed hair, make-up, gold jewelry, high heels	Singer	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling
Episode 3	Füsun		Female	trousers, singlet, blonde hair	University student	Unknown	University degree	Blackmail, drug dealer
Episode 3	Okan		Male	short-sleeved shirt, trousers, beardless, permed hair, rich, drug	University student	Unknown	University degree	Blackmail, drug dealer
Episode 3	Serdar		Male	short-sleeved shirt, trousers, bearded, brunette	University student	Unknown	Unknown	Blackmail, drug dealer
Episode 3	Funda		Female	shirt, trousers, jean jacket, permed hair	University student	Unknown	University degree	Drug dealer
Episode 3	Unknwon		Male	suit, bearded, permed hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer, murder
Episode 3	Unknwon		Male	suit, bearded, permed hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer, murder
Episode 4	Unknwon		Male	suit, shirt, bearded, long hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Spy
Episode 4	Unknwon		Male	suit, tie, white hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	spy
Episode 4	Judith		Female	trousers, singlet, scarf, wig, blonde hair, French	Spy	Unknown	Unknown	spy
Episode 4	Albert Yaşar		Male	trousers, short-sleeved shirt, glasses	Specialist	Unknown	University degree	spy
Episode 4	Unknwon		Male	short-sleeved shirt, white bearded, messy hair, brunette, alcoholic	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	theft
Episode 4	Unknwon		Female	long skirt, singlet, blonde hair, gold jewelry, make-up	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	sex worker
Episode 4	Unknwon		Female	long skirt, t-shirt, brunette, make-up	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	sex worker
Episode 4	Unknwon		Female	polo shirt, bearded, mustached, young	Small business man	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling
Episode 5	Erol Çökse		Male	trousers, short-sleeved shirt, stubble beard, bearded, old	Actor	Unknown	Unknown	Fraud
Episode 5	Haydar		Male	short-sleeved shirt, permed hair, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Fraud
Episode 5	Asuman		Female	women suit, permed hair, gold jewelry, high heels	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Fraud
Episode 5	Nahit Güner		Male	striped shirt, bearded, permed hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Fraud
Episode 5	Selami		Male	short-sleeved shirt, trousers, bearded, permed hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	fraud, attempted murder
Episode 7	Tülin	Çiçek Tülin	Female	black dress, blonde hair, gold jewelry	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	pimp out women, murder
Episode 7	Turan		Male	suit, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	pimp out women, murder
Episode 7	Kamber		Male	suit, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Sex worker, theft
Episode 7	Güluy		Female	singlet, skirt, make-up, under 18,	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Sex worker, theft
Episode 7	Unknwon		Male	short-sleeved shirt, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Battery
Episode 8	Kemal		Male	pilot uniform, beardless, striped shirt	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Fraud
Episode 8	Hikmet Derinkök		Male	striped shirt, trousers, brunette, police uniform, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Fraud, murder
Episode 8	Nedim Akça		Male	shirt, trousers, brunette, permed hair, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Fraud
Episode 8	Nilay		Female	women suit, make-up, blonde hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Fraud
Episode 8	Araf		Male	short-sleeved shirt, trousers, glasses, beardless	Jeweler	Unknown	Unknown	Fraud, selling stolen goods
Episode 8	Recep		Male	shirt, trousers, sweater, hat, bearded	Fisherman	Unknown	Unknown	Selling stolen goods
Episode 9	Salih		Male	shirt, trousers, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Instigator of murder, chicane
Episode 9	Erdal		Male	striped shirt, trousers, gold necklace, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Murder, chicane
Episode 9	Unknwon		Male	shirt, trousers, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Chicane
Episode 9	Mahmut		Male	shirt, trousers, bearded, permed hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Embezzling
Episode 9	Mustafa		Male	shirt, trousers, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Embezzling
Episode 9	Ilan		Male	sweatsuit, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Chicane
Episode 10	Serwet Kuyumcu		Male	suit, tie, bearded, permed hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Perjury
Episode 10	Bahattin Kuruoğlu		Male	suit, tie, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Mafia, conspiracy
Episode 10	Ziya Demir		Male	suit, tie, bearded, old	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Mafia, conspiracy
Episode 10	Nazım	Çekirge Nazım	Male	unseen	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Mafia, conspiracy
Episode 10	6 kişi		Male	shirt, vest, bearded, short hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Battery
Episode 10	Cafar		Male	shirt, trousers, beardless, short hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Mafia
Episode 10	Unknwon		Male	shirt, cardigan, short hair, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Gumman
Episode 10	Unknwon		Male	suit, bearded, short hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Gumman
Episode 11	Nedla		Female	women suit, make-up, permed hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Fraud, pimping out women
Episode 11	Akın		Male	trousers, shirt, jacket, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Fraud, pimping out women
Episode 11	Basri Güven		Male	suit, tie, beard, permed hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Fraud
Episode 11	Gülşin Karaday		Female	singlet, gold jewelry, make-up, short hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Fraud
Episode 12	Melih		Male	suit, tie, bearded, permed hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Blackmail, murder
Episode 12	Sevim		Female	black dress, make-up, gold jewelry, brunette, bun	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Blackmail, murder
Episode 12	Azmi		Female	shirt, red bearded, bun, make-up, gold jewelry	driver	Unknown	Unknown	Blackmail
Episode 12	Unknwon		Male	shirt, trousers, bald, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Fraud
Episode 12	Unknwon		Male	striped shirt, trousers, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Fraud
Episode 12	Unknwon		Male	long-sleeved shirt, trousers, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Violence against women
Episode 13	İrfan Şahin		Male	shirt, trousers, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Instigator of murder
Episode 13	Zafer		Male	shirt, coat, brunette, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Instigator of murder
Episode 13	Umit		Male	shirt, sweater, blonde, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Serial killer, assassination
Episode 13	Erdal		Male	dress, short hair, make-up, gold jewelry	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Fraud
Episode 13	Unknwon		Female	shirt, trousers, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Fraud
Episode 14	Unknwon		Female	dress, blonde hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Sex worker
Episode 14	Mahmut	Kara Mahmut	Male	short-sleeved shirt, trousers, tie, bearded	Businessman	Unknown	Unknown	Fraud
Episode 14	Osman		Male	suit, tie, bearded, short hair	Accountant	Unknown	Unknown	Fraud
Episode 14	Unknwon		Male	suit, tie, bearded, short hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Fraud, battery
Episode 14	Unknwon		Male	suit, tie, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Fraud, battery
Episode 14	Unknwon		Male	suit, tie, bearded, short hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Fraud, battery
Episode 15	Nezir		Male	striped shirt, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer, smuggling
Episode 15	Hiseyin		Male	short-sleeved shirt, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer, smuggling
Episode 15	Unknwon		Male	short-sleeved shirt, jacket, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer, smuggling
Episode 15	Unknwon		Male	short-sleeved shirt, tie, mustached, gold jewelry	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer, smuggling
Episode 15	Unknwon		Male	short-sleeved shirt, tie, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer, smuggling
Episode 15	Belkis		Female	shirt, blonde hair, make-up, gold jewelry	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer
Episode 16	Sinem		Female	shirt, women suit, permed hair, brunette, make-up	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Fraud
Episode 16	Asım		Male	coat, striped shirt, trousers, beardless	driver	Unknown	Unknown	Murder
Episode 17	Hatice		Female	sweater, scarf, dark eyeliner	Fortune teller	Unknown	Unknown	Theft, fraud
Episode 17	Sabahat Kaçar	Ebe Sabahat	Female	blouse, bun hair, old	Midwife	Unknown	Unknown	Murder, kidnapping
Episode 17	Nilgün		Female	sweater, skirt, brunette	Midwife	Unknown	Unknown	Murder, kidnapping
Episode 17	Necati		Male	suit, tie, bearded, short hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Kidnapping
Episode 17	Robert	Johnnyler	Male	shirt, cardigan, trousers, permed hair, bearded, British	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Kidnapping
Episode 18	Metin		Male	suit, tie, bearded, old	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Fraud
Episode 18	Behiç		Male	short-sleeve shirt, bearded, young	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Fraud
Episode 18	Aysel		Female	black dress, brunette, make-up	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Fraud
Episode 18	Cavidan		Female	singlet, skirt, permed hair, gold jewelry, make-up	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Fraud
Episode 19	Şule		Female	white padded shirt, blonde hair, make-up	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Sex worker
Episode 19	Giovanni		Male	unseen	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Fraud
Episode 19	Selim	Beyrutlu Selim	Male	brunette, bearded, striped polo shirt, trousers, lebanese	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Fraud
Episode 19	Unknwon		Male	suit, beardless, blonde	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Murder
Episode 19	Unknwon		Male	suit, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Murder
Episode 19	Unknwon		Male	suit, tie, beardless, bag, blonde, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Murder
Episode 19	Yener		Male	trousers, shirt, cardigan, glasses, bearded, permed hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Fraud
Episode 19	Yunus		Male	trousers, polo t-shirt, beardless, permed hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Fraud
Episode 20	Adem Çulha		Male	shirt, trousers, tie, beardless, short hair	Businessman	Unknown	Unknown	Rape, smuggling
Episode 20	Serhat		Male	shirt, trousers, beardless, mustached, permed hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Rape, murder
Episode 21	Davut		Male	campshirt, trousers, beardless, permed hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Violence against women
Episode 21	Nevzat		Male	campshirt, trousers, mustached, old	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Murder
Episode 21	Leyla Acar		Female	black dress, red bearded, make-up, gold jewelry	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Theft, fraud
Episode 22	Unknwon		Female	stripe shirt, long hair, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Theft, fraud
Episode 22	Haydar		Male	leather jacket, jean, glasses, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Kidnapping
Episode 23	Yavuz		Male	shirt, permed hair, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Murder
Episode 23	Neslihan		Female	acket, skirt, short hair, make-up	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Instigator of murder
Episode 23	Seyfi		Male	suit, permed hair, drunk	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Violence against women

Annex 2.1. Yılan Hikayesi - Data

EPISODE	NAME	NICKNAME	GENDER	CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES	PROFESSION	FAMILY	EDUCATION	NATURE OF CRIME
Episode 1	Kürsat	Yengeç, Karabatak	Male	suit, shirt, long hair, goatee, glasses, gold necklace	Businessman	No family	Unknown	Smuggling, extortion, drug dealer, murder
Episode 1	Erkan Çolakoğlu	Yılan	Male	suit, shirt, mustached, short hair, Eastern accent	Businessman	Tribe	Educated	Smuggling, extortion, drug dealer
Episode 1	Yusuf		Male	suit, shirt, beardless	Businessman	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling, extortion, drug dealer
Episode 1	Hasan Çolakoğlu	Hasan Ağa	Male	shirt, trousers, bearded, gold necklace, mustached, ring, Eastern accent	Businessman	Tribe	Unknown	Smuggling, extortion, drug dealer
Episode 1	Hüsam Çolakoğlu		Female	black dress, gold jewelry, red-headed, make-up, puppy	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling, extortion, drug dealer, murder
Episode 1	Dündar		Male	shirt, jacket, glasses, curly hair, mentally unstable, gum	Street trader	Unknown	Unknown	terrorist
Episode 1	Unknown		Male	shirt, trousers, gold jewelry, mustached, Eastern accent	Hotel Manager	Unknown	Unknown	harrassment
Episode 1	Unknown		Male	sweater, vest, trousers, black snow mask, gun	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Murder
Episode 2	Unknown		Male	shirt, t-shirt, jeans, bearded, young, drunk	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Rape, knife attacking
Episode 2	Unknown		Male	t-shirt, jacket, jean, beardless, young, drunk	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Rape, knife attacking
Episode 2	Unknown		Male	shirt, beardless, jeans, young, drunk	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Rape, knife attacking
Episode 2	Unknown		Male	trousers, sweater, vest, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Murder, theft
Episode 2	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, glasses, old	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling
Episode 2	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, stubble bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling
Episode 2	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling
Episode 2	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, blonde	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling
Episode 3	Unknown		Male	shirt, suit, stubble bearded, brunet, gold necklace, gelled hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Battery, theft
Episode 3	Unknown		Male	shirt, trousers, beardless, brunet	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Battery, theft
Episode 4	Sinan	Kral	Male	suit, tie, shirt, mustached, short hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling
Episode 4	Unknown		Male	checkered shirt, jacket, jeans, stubble bearded, gun	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Murder
Episode 5	Unknown		Male	shirt, stubblebeard, young, punk	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Theft
Episode 5	Unknown		Male	sweater, cap, stubble bearded, young	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Theft
Episode 5	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling, extortion, drug dealer
Episode 6	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, glasses, goatee, gum	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling, extortion, drug dealer
Episode 6	Süleyman	Sülo	Male	checkered shirt, mustached, bald	Florist	Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer
Episode 6	Unknown		Male	checkered suit, cardigan, jeans, stubble bearded, gelled hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer
Episode 6	Serkan		Male	checkered shirt, t-shirt, jeans, goatee, long hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer
Episode 6	Unknown		Male	t-shirt, shirt, leather vest, long hair, masculinity	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Sex worker
Episode 6	Unknown		Male	dress, jewelry, red-headed, make-up	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Sex worker
Episode 6	Unknown		Male	dress, high heels, jewelry, brunet, make-up	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Sex worker
Episode 6	Unknown		Male	dress, singlet, blonde hair, eyeliner	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Sex worker
Episode 6	Unknown		Male	singlet, trousers, beardless, tattoo	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling, extortion, drug dealer, gunfight
Episode 7	Unknown		Male	shirt, trousers, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling, extortion, drug dealer
Episode 7	Unknown		Male	fisherman coat, hat, glasses, gum	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Murder
Episode 7	Unknown		Male	shirt, tie, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling, extortion, drug dealer, gunfight
Episode 7	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, glasses, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling, extortion, drug dealer, gunfight
Episode 8	Sami		Male	suit, tie, mustached	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling, extortion, drug dealer
Episode 8	50 >		Male	suit, tie, mustached, glasses	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Mafia
Episode 8	Unknown		Male	leather jacket, jeans, stubble bearded, bald	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	hostage-taking, suicide bombing
Episode 9	Unknown		Male	shirt, sweater, stubble bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Theft
Episode 9	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, stubble bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling, extortion, drug dealer, gunfight
Episode 9	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, stubble bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling, extortion, drug dealer, gunfight
Episode 10	Unknown		Male	shirt, jeans, blonde, gelled hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Hostage-taking
Episode 10	Unknown		Male	shirt, tie, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 10	Unknown		Male	shirt, vest, suit, tie	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 10	Unknown		Male	shirt, tie, stubble bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 11	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, tie, stubble bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 11	Okan		Male	suit, tie, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 11	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 12	Yaşar		Male	shirt, sweater, trousers, stubble bearded, Eastern accent	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 12	Unknown		Male	sweater, worker uniform, stubble bearded	Water seller	Unknown	Unknown	Break-in
Episode 12	Unknown		Male	sweater, worker uniform, beardless	Water seller	Unknown	Unknown	Break-in
Episode 13	Unknown		Male	sweater, coat, bruise, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Theft
Episode 13	Unknown		Male	sweater, shirt, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Theft
Episode 13	Unknown		Female	dress, high heels, make-up, blonde	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Sex worker
Episode 14	İbrahim	Ibo	Male	suit, tie, shirt, mustached	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime, attempted murder, battery
Episode 14	Hilmi	Hamsi Hilmi	Male	turtleneck sweater, fisherman coat, bruise, mustached	Fisherman	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling
Episode 14	Suavi	Sinek Suavi	Male	shirt, gold necklace, long hair, goatee	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling
Episode 14	Vecdi		Male	unseen	Accountant	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling
Episode 15	Unknown		Male	service uniform, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Sabotage
Episode 15	Unknown		Male	service uniform, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Sabotage
Episode 15	Unknown		Male	jacket, shirt, jeans, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Sabotage
Episode 15	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 15	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 15	Unknown		Male	loincloth, beardless, gun	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 15	Unknown		Male	loincloth, beardless, gun	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 15	Unknown		Male	loincloth, goatee, gun	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 15	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 15	Rıza		Male	suit, shirt, mustached, hat, coat, scarf	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling
Episode 15	Unknown		Male	police uniform, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 16	Tarik Çolakoğlu		Male	shirt, jacket, cap, mustached, Eastern accent	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Instigator of murder
Episode 16	Ahmet Çolakoğlu		Male	shirt, cap, jacket, young, Eastern accent, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Honour killing
Episode 17	Unknown		Male	doctor uniform, shirt, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Attempted murder
Episode 17	Unknown		Male	coat, jeans, beardless, young	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Kidnapping
Episode 17	Unknown		Male	coat, trousers, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Kidnapping
Episode 17	Genço		Male	suit, shirt, tie, bearded	Businessman	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 19	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, long hair	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 19	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, tie, blonde, stubble beard	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 19	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 19	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 19	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 19	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, stubble bearded	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 19	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 20	Unknown		Male	service uniform, mustached, goatee, glasses, blonde	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Murder
Episode 20	Unknown		Male	dress, tie, shirt, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 21	Unknown		Male	suit, coat, stubble bearded, gun, bruise, thin socks	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Theft
Episode 23	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, stubble bearded, tie, leather jacket, blonde, gold necklace	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 23	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, goatee, long hair, trench coat	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 23	Unknown		Male	checkered jacket, goatee, long hair	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 23	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, coat, tie, glasses	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 23	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, tie, glasses	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 23	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, tie, glasses	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 23	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, tie, glasses	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 23	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, tie, glasses	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 23	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, goatee	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 23	Unknown		Male	shirt, leather jacket, gelled hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Theft
Episode 24	Hamit Güncan	Dinamit Hamit	Male	sweater, mustached, bearded, bald	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Bomb attack
Episode 24	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 24	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 24	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 24	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 24	Unknown		Male	worker uniform, shirt, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 24	Unknown		Male	worker uniform, shirt, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling
Episode 24	Unknown		Male	worker uniform, shirt, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling
Episode 24	Unknown		Male	worker uniform, shirt, mustached	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling
Episode 24	Unknown		Male	worker uniform, shirt, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling
Episode 24	Unknown		Male	worker uniform, shirt, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling
Episode 25	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, bow-tie, long hair, goatee	Musician	Unknown	Unknown	Bomb attack
Episode 25	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, bow-tie, bearded, glasses	Musician	Unknown	Unknown	Bomb attack
Episode 25	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, tie	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 25	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, tie	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 25	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, tie	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 25	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, goatee	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 26	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, shirt, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 26	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, shirt, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 26	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, shirt, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 26	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, shirt, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime

Episode 27	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, shirt, beardless, trench coat	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Murder
Episode 27	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, shirt, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Murder
Episode 28	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, shirt, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 28	Unknown		Male	t-shirt, shirt, leather jacket, bearded, old	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Gunfight
Episode 28	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, shirt, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 28	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, shirt, beardless, gum	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 28	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, shirt, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 28	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, shirt, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 28	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, shirt, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 28	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Gunfight
Episode 28	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, shirt, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Gunfight
Episode 28	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, goatee	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Gunfight, hostage-taking
Episode 28	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, shirt, glasses	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 29	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, shirt, mustached, glasses	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 29	Süleyman Duman	Sülo	Male	suit, mustached, old	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer, forgery, murder
Episode 29	Unknown		Male	sweater, stubble bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Episode 30	Unknown		Male	leather jacket, t-shirt, stubble bearded	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 30	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, shirt, goatee, long hair	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 30	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, shirt, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 30	Şefik		Male	suit, tie, shirt, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 31	Unknown		Male	checkered shirt, coat, stubble bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 31	Unknown		Male	shirt, coat, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 31	Unknown		Male	t-shirt, coat, mustached, gelled hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 31	Unknown		Male	coat, sweater, long hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 31	Kadir		Male	trousers, sweater, leather jacket, long hair, bearded, mustached	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Printing counterfeit money
Episode 31	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, shirt, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Printing counterfeit money
Episode 31	Unknown		Male	t-shirt, jacket, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Printing counterfeit money
Episode 31	Unknown		Male	suit, t-shirt, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Printing counterfeit money
Episode 31	Unknown		Male	coat, trousers, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Printing counterfeit money
Episode 31	Ali	Aliş	Male	coat, trousers, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Printing counterfeit money
Episode 31	Unknown		Male	shirt, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Printing counterfeit money
Episode 31	Unknown		Male	shirt, sweater, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Printing counterfeit money
Episode 31	Unknown		Male	shirt, sweater, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Printing counterfeit money
Episode 31	Osman		Male	shirt, sweater, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Printing counterfeit money
Episode 31	Unknown		Male	sweater, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Printing counterfeit money
Episode 31	Unknown		Male	checkered shirt, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Printing counterfeit money
Episode 31	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, tie, stubble bearded, long hair	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 31	Unknown		Male	suit, t-shirt, long hair	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 31	Unknown		Male	leather jacket, t-shirt, goatee	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 31	Unknown		Male	checkered shirt, jacket, glasses	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 31	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, shirt, bearded	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 31	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, shirt, bearded	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 31	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, shirt, bearded	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 31	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, shirt, bearded	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 31	Unknown		Male	t-shirt, shirt, long hair, glasses	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Gunfight
Episode 31	Unknown		Male	t-shirt, leather jacket, glasses	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Gunfight
Episode 31	Unknown		Male	worker uniform, t-shirt, bruise	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 32	Erol		Male	sweater, stubble bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Printing counterfeit money
Episode 32	Unknown		Male	worker uniform, sweater, beardless, child	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Printing counterfeit money
Episode 33	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, shirt, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 33	Mehmet	Kılıç Mehmet	Male	trousers, shirt, bead, stubble bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling
Episode 35	Zafer		Male	shirt, trousers, child	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Attempted murder
Episode 36	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, shirt, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 37	Unknown		Male	cargo pants, t-shirt, blonde, stubble bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Hostage-taking
Episode 40	10 >		Male	suit, shirt, tie, beardless, bearded	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 41	Unknown		Male	worker uniform, stubble bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 41	Unknown		Male	worker uniform, goatee, mustached	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 41	20 >		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, tie, jacket, long hair, short hair	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 43	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, shirt, beardless, Eastern accent	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Attempted murder
Episode 43	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, shirt, beardless, Eastern accent	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Attempted murder
Episode 43	Muflit		Male	suit, shirt, tie, coat, glasses, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 44	Nezâf		Male	suit, shirt, tie, hat, bearded	Antique dealer	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 44	Unknown		Male	checkered shirt, stubble bearded	Antique dealer	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 44	Unknown		Male	checkered shirt, beardless	Antique dealer	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 44	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, mustached	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 44	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, sweater, goatee	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 44	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 44	Unknown		Male	suit, sweater, glasses, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 44	Unknown		Male	sweater, coat, glasses, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 45	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, stubble bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 45	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, goatee, long hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 47	Unknown		Male	sweater, coat, jeans, bruise, stubble bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Rape, murder
Episode 47	Unknown		Male	sweater, coat, jeans, stubble bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Rape, murder
Episode 47	Unknown		Male	street child, dirty, sweater, trousers	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Blackmail
Episode 47	Unknown		Male	street child, dirty, checkered shirt, trousers, bruise, sling	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Blackmail
Episode 47	Unknown		Male	street child, dirty, sweater, trousers	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Blackmail
Episode 47	Unknown		Male	street child, dirty, checkered shirt, trousers, bruise, sling	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Blackmail
Episode 47	Mustafa		Male	street child, dirty, sweater, trousers, sling, hat	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Blackmail
Episode 47	Mert		Male	street child, dirty, sweater, trousers, sling	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Blackmail
Episode 48	Unknown		Male	sweater, coat, scarf, blonde, stubble bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 48	Demir		Male	coat, stubble bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 48	Unknown		Male	leather jacket, sweater, gold necklace, stubble bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 48	Unknown		Male	leather jacket, sweater, stubble bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 48	Unknown		Male	shirt, tie, coat, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 48	Unknown		Male	shirt, trench coat, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 48	Unknown		Male	shirt, suit, beardless, Eastern accent	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Attempted murder
Episode 48	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, Eastern accent	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Attempted murder
Episode 49	Unknown		Male	suit, trench coat, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 49	Unknown		Male	sweater, jacket, glasses, stubble bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 49	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 49	Unknown		Male	sweater, coat, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 50	Unknown		Male	shirt, trench coat, goatee	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 52	Unknown		Male	jeans, leather jacket, sweater, goatee, long hair, blonde	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Kidnapping
Episode 53	Unknown		Male	jeans, leather jacket, sweater, long hair, goatee	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Kidnapping
Episode 54	Unknown		Male	sweater, coat, gold necklace, gelled hair, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Kidnapping
Episode 54	Rıza		Male	shirt, suit, bead, bearded, gold necklace	Prisoner	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 54	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, mustached	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 54	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, shirt, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 54	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, stubble bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 54	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, stubble bearded, mustached	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 56	Unknown		Male	suit, coat, bearded	Businessman	Unknown	Unknown	Gunfight, fight
Episode 56	Ahmet		Male	coat, sweater, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Fight
Episode 56	Unknown		Male	sweater, suit, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Fight
Episode 56	Unknown		Male	sweater, suit, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Fight
Episode 59	Unknown		Male	checkered shirt, t-shirt, vest, hat, bearded, long hair	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 59	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 59	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 59	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 59	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 60	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 60	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 60	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 61	Unknown		Male	salwar, shirt, vest, jacket, cap, Eastern accent	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Honour killing, attempted murder, hostage-taking
Episode 61	Unknown		Male	salwar, shirt, vest, jacket, cap, Eastern accent	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Honour killing, attempted murder, hostage-taking
Episode 61	Unknown		Male	salwar, shirt, vest, jacket, cap, Eastern accent, poshu, stubble bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Honour killing, attempted murder, hostage-taking
Episode 65	Unknown		Male	salwar, shirt, vest, jacket, cap, Eastern accent, poshu, stubble bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Honour killing, attempted murder, hostage-taking
Episode 65	Unknown		Male	salwar, shirt, vest, jacket, cap, Eastern accent, poshu, stubble bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Honour killing, attempted murder, hostage-taking
Episode 65	Unknown		Male	salwar, shirt, vest, jacket, cap, Eastern accent, poshu, stubble bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Honour killing, attempted murder, hostage-taking
Episode 66	Unknown		Male	shirt, stubble bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Honour killing, attempted murder, hostage-taking
Episode 66	Unknown		Male	shirt, poshu	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Honour killing
Episode 67	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, tie, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 68	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, stubble bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Gunfight

Episode 68	Unknown	Male	suit, shirt, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Gunfight
Episode 69	Mustafa	Male	suit, shirt, vest, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 69	Unknown	Male	trousers, shirt, leather jacket, stubble bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 69	Coşkun	Male	checkered shirt, t-shirt, jeans, leather vest, stubble bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer, gunfight
Episode 69	10 >	Male	sweater, coat, shirt, worker uniform, bearded, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer, gunfight
Episode 71	Unknown	Male	suit, shirt, goatee	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime, gunfight
Episode 71	Unknown	Male	suit, shirt, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime, gunfight
Episode 72	Unknown	Male	suit, shirt, mustached	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime, hostage-taking
Episode 72	Unknown	Male	suit, shirt, mustached, goatee	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime, hostage-taking
Episode 73	Unknown	Male	checkered shirt, jacket	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Theft, gunfight
Episode 73	Unknown	Male	shirt, jacket, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Theft, gunfight
Episode 73	Unknown	Male	jeans, t-shirt, leather jacket, long hair, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer, gunfight
Episode 73	Unknown	Male	leather jacket, shirt	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 73	Unknown	Male	jacket, shirt, jeans, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 73	Unknown	Male	sweater, jacket, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 76	Belgin	Female	dress, scarf, make-up, bun, old	Actor	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 81	Firat	Male	leather jacket, sweater, stubble bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Theft
Episode 81	Unknown	Male	polo t-shirt, jacket, hat, long hair, goatee	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Theft
Episode 82	Unknown	Male	checkered shirt, bruise, fisherman coat, bearded	Fisherman	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime, gunfight
Episode 82	Unknown	Male	sweater, fisherman coat, bearded	Fisherman	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime, gunfight
Episode 82	Unknown	Male	sweater, coat, bearded, glasses	Doctor	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime, gunfight
Episode 82	Unknown	Male	sweater, fisherman coat, bearded, bruise	Captain	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime, gunfight
Episode 82	Kostas Trakas	Male	sweater, jacket, stubble bearded, Greek	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime, gunfight, hostage-taking
Episode 82	Yanis Kiklas	Male	sweater, jacket, stubble bearded, hat, Greek	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime, gunfight, hostage-taking
Episode 82	Unknown	Male	sweater, coat, goatee	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime, gunfight, hostage-taking
Episode 82	Unknown	Male	sweater, trench coat, stubble bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime, gunfight, hostage-taking
Episode 87	Vedat	Male	sweater, bruise, fisherman coat, beardless	Fisherman	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime, gunfight
Episode 87	Unknown	Male	sweater, fisherman coat, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime, gunfight
Episode 87	Unknown	Male	suit, shirt, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime, gunfight
Episode 87	Unknown	Male	suit, shirt, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime, gunfight
Episode 87	Unknown	Male	suit, shirt, bearded	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime, gunfight
Episode 87	Unknown	Male	suit, shirt, bearded	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime, gunfight
Episode 87	Unknown	Male	suit, shirt, beardless	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime, gunfight



Annex 3.1. Arka Sokaklar – Data

EPISODE	NAME	NICKNAME	GENDER	KARAKTERİSTİK ÖZELLİKLERİ	PROFESSION	FAMILY	EDUCATION	NATURE OF CRIME
Episode 6	Ahmet		Male	suit, shirt, goatee, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Hostage, ransom
Episode 6	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, stubbly bearded, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Hostage, ransom
Episode 6	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, blonde		Unknown	Unknown	Hostage, ransom
Episode 6	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Hostage, ransom
Episode 6	Dursun		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Hostage, ransom
Episode 6	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Hostage, ransom
Episode 6	Ayhan		Male	jacket, jean, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Ransom
Episode 6	Kerim Bafрак		Male	suit, shirt, stubbly bearded, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Gunfight, organized crime
Episode 6	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, tie, beardless short hair, brunet	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Gunfight, organized crime
Episode 6	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Gunfight, organized crime
Episode 6	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, tie, beardless, short hair, brunet, glasses	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Gunfight, organized crime
Episode 6	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, mustached, short hair, brunet	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Gunfight, organized crime
Episode 6	Nihat		Male	suit, shirt, tie, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Violence against woman
Episode 6	Sulhi		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 6	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, stubbly bearded, short hair, brunet	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 6	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, mustached, short hair, brunet	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 6	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, stubbly bearded, short hair, brunet	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 6	Unknown		Male	shirt, black snow mask, stubbly bearded, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Theft
Episode 6	Unknown		Male	sweater, black snow mask, stubbly bearded, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Theft
Episode 6	Unknown		Male	jean, sweater, black snow mask, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Theft
Episode 16	Mustafa	Musti	Male	jean, t-shirt, cardigan, hat, bearded, brunet	Police	Unknown	Unknown	Gunfight
Episode 16	Unknown	Kod adı: Haydar	Male	jacket, jean, t-shirt, stubbly bearded, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Gunfight
Episode 16	Unknown		Male	shirt, leather jacket, bearded, messy hair		Unknown	Unknown	Pimp out women, violence against woman
Episode 16	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Pimp out women
Episode 16	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Pimp out women
Episode 16	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Pimp out women
Episode 16	Erol		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Hostage
Episode 16	Unknown		Male	suit, sweater, mustached, beardless, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Hostage
Episode 16	Guröl		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Hostage
Episode 16	Seyfi	Day	Male	robe, singlet, mustached, goatee		Unknown	Unknown	Rape
Episode 26	Cevat		Male	shirt, scarf, coat, bearded, young, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Pimp out women
Episode 26	Mehmet Cansel		Male	shirt, sweater, beardless, leather jacket		Unknown	Unknown	Murder
Episode 26	Kadir		Male	shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Violence, hostage
Episode 26	Halit Kurt	Kurt Halit	Male	leather jacket, scarf, beardless, long hair		Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling
Episode 26	Cem		Male	sweater, jacket, long hair, earring, stubbly bearded		Unknown	Unknown	Murder
Episode 36	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, stubbly bearded, Eastern accent		Unknown	Unknown	Gunfight
Episode 36	Unknown		Male	jeans, shirt, jacket, stubbly bearded, Eastern accent		Unknown	Unknown	Gunfight
Episode 36	Hilal		Female	sweater, red-headed, young		Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 36	Rafet		Male	sweater, jacket, stubbly bearded, Eastern accent		Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 36	Necmi		Male	t-shirt, checked shirt, beardless, Eastern accent		Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 36	Oğuz		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Murder, hostage, violence against woman
Episode 49	İlhan		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer, smuggling
Episode 49	Fevzi		Male	suit, shirt, mustached, beardless, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer, smuggling
Episode 49	Bilinniyot		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer, smuggling
Episode 49	Bilinniyot		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet	Police	Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer, smuggling
Episode 49	Aykut		Male	sweater, jacket, bearded, blonde		Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer
Episode 49	David		Male	t-shirt, shirt, beardless, Black		Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer
Episode 49	20 >		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer
Episode 49	Unknown		Female	skirt, t-shirt		Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer
Episode 49	Unknown		Female	trousers, t-shirt, beardless		Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer
Episode 49	Nevzat		Male	shirt, jeans, bearded		Unknown	Unknown	Theft, murder
Episode 49	Davut Serice		Male	striped sweater, mustached	Worker	Unknown	Unknown	Hostage
Episode 49	Male		Male	shirt, leather vest, long hair, beard		Unknown	Unknown	Murder
Episode 49	Hatem		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer
Episode 59	Hüseyin		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer
Episode 59	Nergis		Male	shirt, brunet, make-up		Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer
Episode 59	Muharrem		Male	sweater, leather jacket, goatee		Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer, hostage
Episode 59	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, stubbly bearded, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Gunfight, hostage
Episode 59	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, stubbly bearded, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Gunfight, hostage
Episode 59	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet, coat		Unknown	Unknown	Gunfight, hostage
Episode 59	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, stubbly bearded, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Gunfight, hostage
Episode 59	Unknown		Male	cardigan, sweater, beardless	Taxi driver	Unknown	Unknown	Murder
Episode 59	Erol		Male	sweater, jeans, beardless, glasses		Unknown	Unknown	Rape
Episode 59	Sude		Male	sweater, blonde, make-up		Unknown	Unknown	Murder
Episode 69	Unknown		Male	sweater, jeans, brunette, make-up		Unknown	Unknown	Theft
Episode 69	Unknown		Male	sweater, jeans, brunette, make-up		Unknown	Unknown	Theft
Episode 69	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, stubbly bearded, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Theft
Episode 69	Unknown		Male	jeans, sweater, stubbly bearded, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Theft
Episode 69	Bahar Aslan		Male	suit, shirt, brunet, bearded		Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling
Episode 69	Rapit		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 69	Üstün		Male	suit, shirt, bearded		Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime, murder
Episode 69	Kasim		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, long hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 69	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, bearded		Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 69	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, mustached, beardless		Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 69	Unknown		Male	sweater, leather jacket, bearded		Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 69	Solmaz		Male	sweater, jeans, jacket, beardless		Unknown	Unknown	Hostage, theft
Episode 69	Hidayet		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Pimp out women
Episode 79	Tahir		Male	shirt, vest, mustached, bearded		Unknown	Unknown	Hostage
Episode 79	Kamil		Male	suit, bearded, long hair		Unknown	Unknown	Fraud
Episode 79	Bora		Male	sweater, beardless		Unknown	Unknown	Fraud
Episode 79	Unknown		Male	sweater, jeans, stubbly bearded		Unknown	Unknown	Fraud, violence
Episode 79	Tamer		Male	suit, shirt, mustached		Unknown	Unknown	Fraud, violence
Episode 79	Muhsin		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Attempted murder
Episode 79	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, stubbly bearded, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Murder
Episode 79	Seray		Male	dress, make-up, brunet, jewelry	Singer	Unknown	Unknown	Murder
Episode 92	Kemalettin Zarifoğlu, Kemo		Male	shirt, leather jacket, jeans, bearded	Manager	Unknown	Unknown	Usury, murder
Episode 92	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, tie, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Usury, murder
Episode 92	Unknown		Male	jeans, t-shirt, shirt, coat, mustached, beardless		Unknown	Unknown	Counterfeit money printing, fraud, theft
Episode 92	Samet		Male	jeans, t-shirt, coat, goatee, mustached		Unknown	Unknown	Counterfeit money printing, fraud, theft
Episode 92	Bulent		Male	shirt, sweater, stubbly bearded		Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer, hostage
Episode 92	Kerem		Male	t-shirt, mustached, goatee		Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer, hostage
Episode 92	Otmar		Male	shirt, worker uniform, mustached		Unknown	Unknown	Theft
Episode 92	Akif		Male	shirt, stubbly bearded, long hair		Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer
Episode 92	Unknown		Male	cargo pants, t-shirt, cardigan, long hair, stubbly bearded		Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer
Episode 92	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, stubbly bearded, blonde		Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer
Episode 102	Unknown		Male	coat, trousers, black snow mask, stubbly bearded		Unknown	Unknown	Theft, murder
Episode 102	Baran		Male	jeans, t-shirt, leather jacket, stubbly bearded		Unknown	Unknown	Murder
Episode 102	Ziya		Male	suit, shirt, tie, beardless, brunet, mustached, beardless		Unknown	Unknown	Murder
Episode 102	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Murder
Episode 102	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, stubbly bearded, short hair, brunet	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Murder
Episode 102	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, brunet, bearded, Eastern accent, beard		Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime, gunfight
Episode 102	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, stubbly bearded, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Gunfight
Episode 102	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, mustached, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Gunfight, organized crime
Episode 102	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, stubbly bearded, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Gunfight, organized crime
Episode 102	Sadık		Male	suit, shirt, brunet, bearded, mustached, long hair, beard		Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 102	Efruz		Male	suit, shirt, tie, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 102	Adnan Elibol		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 102	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 102	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Organized crime
Episode 112	Unknown		Male	sweater, coat, hat, beardless		Unknown	Unknown	Gunfight
Episode 112	Vural		Male	sweater, coat, stubbly bearded		Unknown	Unknown	Battery, drug dealer
Episode 112	Macit		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer
Episode 112	Unknown		Male	sweater, coat, beardless	Eski polis	Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer
Episode 112	Refik		Male	suit, shirt, tie, beardless, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Gambling
Episode 112	Noyan		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Gambling
Episode 112	Sinem		Female	sweater, jeans, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Fraud
Episode 112	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Hostage, gambling
Episode 112	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, tie, beardless, short hair, brunet	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Hostage, gambling

Episode 112	Mecit		Male	t-shirt, jeans, stubbly bearded		Unknown	Unknown	Honor killings
Episode 112	Hüsem	Ağa	Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet, glasses		Unknown	Unknown	Honor killings
Episode 112	Cafer		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Honor killings, hostage
Episode 112	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, mustached, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Murder
Episode 112	Salih Mermer		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Racketeering, murder
Episode 112	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, stubbly bearded, short hair, brunet	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Racketeering, murder
Episode 112	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Racketeering, murder
Episode 112	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Racketeering, murder
Episode 112	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, goatee, short hair, brunet	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Racketeering, murder
Episode 112	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Theft, gunfight
Episode 112	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Theft, gunfight
Episode 112	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Theft, gunfight
Episode 112	Kartal		Male	sweater, jeans, stubbly bearded, short hair, earring		Unknown	Unknown	Theft
Episode 112	Turgay		Male	shirt, trousers, beardless		Unknown	Unknown	Theft
Episode 112	Unknown		Male	jacket, shirt, stubbly bearded, earring, blonde		Unknown	Unknown	Theft
Episode 112	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, bearded, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Honor killings, hostage
Episode 112	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Honor killings, hostage
Episode 112	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, stubbly bearded, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Honor killings, hostage
Episode 112	Sezer		Male	t-shirt, jeans, beardless		Unknown	Unknown	Attempted murder
Episode 112	Arda Yaşar		Male	shirt, jeans, t-shirt, stubbly bearded		Unknown	Unknown	Battery, hostage
Episode 131	Mustafa Bayram		Male	jeans, coat, mustached		Unknown	Unknown	Murder
Episode 131	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, bearded, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Murder
Episode 131	Rahmi		Male	suit, shirt, bearded, long hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer
Episode 131	Kemal		Male	suit, shirt, bearded, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer
Episode 131	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, bearded, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer
Episode 131	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, bearded, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer
Episode 131	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer
Episode 131	Sadik		Male	suit, shirt, stubbly bearded, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer, battery
Episode 131	Unknown		Male	t-shirt, jeans, bearded, brunet, Eastern accent		Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 131	Seko		Male	sweater, long hair, beardless		Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 131	Unknown		Male	sweater, long hair, beardless		Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 131	Unknown		Male	checkered shirt, bearded, Eastern accent		Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 141	Mirza	Serog	Male	coat, sweater, long hair, Eastern accent		Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 141	Fatih		Male	coat, sweater, beardless		Unknown	Unknown	Theft
Episode 141	Ferhan		Male	suit, coat, beardless, mustached		Unknown	Unknown	Theft
Episode 141	Aykut		Male	shirt, coat, bearded		Unknown	Unknown	Theft
Episode 141	Unknown		Male	coat, sweater, beardless		Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 141	Sami		Male	shirt, coat, bearded		Unknown	Unknown	Theft
Episode 141	Haydar		Male	shirt, coat, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Theft
Episode 141	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, bearded		Unknown	Unknown	Theft
Episode 141	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Theft
Episode 141	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Theft
Episode 151	Ihsan Soydan		Male	sweater, cardigan, mustached, ring, old		Unknown	Unknown	Murder
Episode 151	Ekrem		Male	sweater, coat, bearded, messy hair		Unknown	Unknown	Rape
Episode 151	Can Soydan		Male	sweater, bearded, blonde		Unknown	Unknown	Attempted murder
Episode 151	Unknown		Male	shirt, vest, beardless		Unknown	Unknown	Theft
Episode 151	Unknown		Male	coat, sweater, bearded		Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer
Episode 151	Kamil		Male	coat, sweater, bearded		Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer
Episode 151	Adil		Male	coat, sweater, stubly bearded		Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer
Episode 151	Unknown		Male	coat, sweater, bearded		Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer
Episode 151	Unknown		Male	coat, sweater, bearded		Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer
Episode 151	Unknown		Male	coat, sweater, bearded		Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer
Episode 151	Unknown		Male	coat, sweater, bearded		Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer
Episode 151	Unknown		Male	coat, sweater, bearded		Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer
Episode 151	Nihat		Male	suit, shirt, bearded, brunet	Police	Unknown	Unknown	Battery
Episode 161	Nuri		Male	shirt, jeans, black snow mask		Unknown	Unknown	Murder, hostage
Episode 161	Hasan		Male	t-shirt, jeans, black snow mask, stubbly bearded		Unknown	Unknown	Murder, hostage
Episode 161	Unknown		Male	checkered shirt, trousers, mustached, bearded		Unknown	Unknown	Rape, murder
Episode 161	Ivan		Male	t-shirt, jeans, goatee, bald		Unknown	Unknown	Hostage, gunfight
Episode 161	Sergei		Male	suit, sweater, bearded, bald		Unknown	Unknown	Hostage, gunfight
Episode 161	Cevdet		Male	suit, shirt, necklace, long hair, bearded, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Hostage
Episode 172	Unknown		Male	jeans, shirt, beardless, young		Unknown	Unknown	Theft, battery
Episode 172	İsmet		Male	jeans, t-shirt, bearded		Unknown	Unknown	Theft, battery
Episode 172	Sersar		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling, money laundering
Episode 172	Tarik		Male	suit, shirt, stubbly bearded, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling, money laundering
Episode 172	Cafer Üstün		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling, money laundering
Episode 172	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling, money laundering
Episode 172	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, mustached, short hair, brunet	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling, money laundering
Episode 172	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling, money laundering
Episode 172	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, goatee, short hair, brunet	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling, money laundering
Episode 172	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling, money laundering
Episode 172	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, tie, beardless, long hair, brunet	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling, money laundering
Episode 172	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, stubbly bearded, long hair, brunet, necklace	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling, money laundering
Episode 172	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, mustached, beardless, short hair, brunet	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling, money laundering
Episode 172	Unknown		Female	Medical uniform		Unknown	Unknown	Murder, theft
Episode 172	Eyüp		Male	Medical uniform		Unknown	Unknown	Murder, theft
Episode 172	İsmail		Male	Medical uniform		Unknown	Unknown	Murder, theft
Episode 172	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, stubbly bearded, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Murder, gunfight
Episode 172	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Murder, gunfight
Episode 172	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, bearded		Unknown	Unknown	Murder, gunfight
Episode 182	Şakir		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Battery
Episode 182	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer
Episode 182	Unknown		Male	t-shirt, jeans, bearded		Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer
Episode 182	Caner		Male	checkered shirt, trousers, bearded		Unknown	Unknown	Hostage
Episode 182	Unknown		Male	jacket, t-shirt, hat		Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer
Episode 182	Servet		Male	sweater, vest, beardless		Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 182	Halit		Male	sweater, parka, beardless, mustached		Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 182	Unknown		Male	sweater, stubbly bearded		Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 182	Unknown		Male	sweater, bearded		Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 182	Unknown		Male	sweater, bearded		Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 192	Nevzat Arman		Male	hoodie, coat, bearded		Unknown	Unknown	Murder, drug dealer
Episode 192	Metin		Male	suit, shirt, stubbly bearded, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Murder, drug dealer
Episode 192	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, goatee, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Murder, drug dealer
Episode 192	Recal		Male	shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Human trafficking, drug dealer
Episode 192	Unknown		Male	coat, t-shirt, goatee		Unknown	Unknown	Human trafficking
Episode 192	Unknown		Male	coat, t-shirt, goatee		Unknown	Unknown	Human trafficking
Episode 192	Tarik		Male	shirt, sweater, goatee, long hair		Unknown	Unknown	Human trafficking, gunfight
Episode 192	Serkan Kuyumcu		Male	sweater, leather jacket, bearded		Unknown	Unknown	Gambling, attempted murder
Episode 192	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, stubbly bearded, short hair, brunet	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Gambling, attempted murder
Episode 192	Nihat		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Gambling, attempted murder
Episode 192	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, stubbly bearded, short hair, brunet	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Gambling, attempted murder
Episode 192	Harun		Male	suit, shirt, mustached	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Gambling, battery
Episode 192	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, mustached		Unknown	Unknown	Gambling, battery
Episode 192	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Gambling, battery
Episode 192	Unknown		Male	striped sweater, coat, beardless		Unknown	Unknown	Gunfight
Episode 192	Selim		Male	suit, tie, shirt, beardless, glasses		Unknown	Unknown	Organ transplantation
Episode 192	Bulent		Male	doctor uniform, coat, long hair, beardless		Unknown	Unknown	Organ transplantation, murder
Episode 192	Unknown		Male	coat, shirt, bearded		Unknown	Unknown	Gunfight
Episode 202	Unknown		Male	shirt, jeans, bearded		Unknown	Unknown	Racketeering, gunfight, battery
Episode 202	Unknown		Male	hoodie, t-shirt, bearded		Unknown	Unknown	Racketeering, gunfight, battery
Episode 202	Unknown		Male	sweater, bearded, blonde		Unknown	Unknown	Racketeering, gunfight, battery, harrassment
Episode 202	Tarik		Male	suit, shirt, tie, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Theft, murder
Episode 202	Serkan		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet		Unknown	Unknown	Instigator of murder
Episode 202	Erdiç		Male	suit, mustached		Unknown	Unknown	Theft, murder
Episode 202	Okan		Male	t-shirt, coat, beardless, young		Unknown	Unknown	Murder, mafia
Episode 202	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, bearded	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Murder, mafia
Episode 202	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Murder, mafia
Episode 202	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, stubbly bearded, short hair, brunet	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Murder, mafia
Episode 202	Niyazi		Male	suit, shirt, stubbly bearded, long hair, brunet	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Murder, mafia
Episode 202	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer

Episode 202	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer
Episode 202	Unknown		Male	shirt, coat, bearded	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer
Episode 202	Taylan		Male	shirt, coat, bearded		Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer, murder
Episode 202	Adem Kuloğlu		Male	t-shirt, coat, bearded, foreigner		Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer
Episode 202	Eric		Male	suit, shirt, earring, stubbly bearded, short hair, brunet	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer
Episode 202	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, short hair, brunet	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer
Episode 202	Erkan		Female	coat, short hair, make-up		Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer
Episode 202	Unknown		Male	sweater, coat, goatee		Unknown	Unknown	Drug dealer
Episode 215	Erhan		Male	sinlet, jeans, beardless, long hair				Fraud
Episode 215	Gülaj		Female	singlet, jeans, jewelry, make-up				Fraud
Episode 215	Salih		Male	jean, polo t-shirt, brunet				Murder
Episode 215	Önder		Male	jeans, shirt, mustached, brunet				Murder
Episode 215	Unknown		Male	shirt, jeans, goatee				Murder, kidnapping
Episode 225	Şahin Pala		Male	leather jacket, shirt, stubbly bearded				Violence against woman
Episode 225	Emel		Female	nurse uniform, Brunette	Nurse			Organ transplantation
Episode 225	Unknown		Male	doctor uniform, bearded				Organ transplantation
Episode 225	Unknown		Female	doctor uniform, make-up, blonde				Organ transplantation
Episode 225	Unknown		Male	coat, shirt, beardless				Selling bombs
Episode 225	Unknown		Male	jeans, coat, bearded				Gunfight
Episode 225	Unknown		Male	jeans, coat, bearded				Gunfight
Episode 225	Savaş		Male	suit, shirt, beardless				Murder
Episode 225	Fatih		Male	jeans, sweater, stubbly bearded, brunet				Murder
Episode 235	Unknown		Female	dress, make-up, Brunette				Sex worker
Episode 235	Unknown		Female	dress, make-up, Brunette				Sex worker
Episode 235	Unknown		Female	dress, make-up, Brunette				Sex worker
Episode 235	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, tie, beardless short hair, brunet				Prostitution
Episode 235	Unknown		Female	sweater, leather jacket, make-up				Pimping out women
Episode 235	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, brunet				Prostitution
Episode 235	Unknown		Male	jean, shirt, coat, beardless				Sex worker
Episode 235	Unknown		Female	dress, leather pants, blonde				Sex worker
Episode 235	Unknown		Female	dress, Brunette				Sex worker
Episode 235	Faik		Male	shirt, jeans, sweater, bearded				Murder
Episode 245	Harun		Male	jeans, t-shirt, beardless				Rape
Episode 245	Murat		Male	suit, shirt, bearded, brunet				Murder, battery
Episode 245	Sumru		Female	sweater, jeans, Brunette, make-up				Murder
Episode 256	Ogun		Male	shirt, trousers, bearded, long hair				Honor killings
Episode 256	Ridvan		Male	shirt, jeans, beardless, mustached				Accepted honor killings
Episode 256	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, jeans, bearded				Kidnapping
Episode 256	Arif		Male	t-shirt, beardless				Kidnapping
Episode 256	Unknown		Male	shirt, jeans, bearded				Kidnapping
Episode 256	Ilhan		Male	school uniform, beardless, under 18				Accepted honor killings
Episode 256	Hallil	Ağa	Male	shirt, vest, cap, bearded				Instigator of honor killings
Episode 256	Unknown		Male	hoja uniform				Under age marriage
Episode 256	Kerim		Male	shirt, jeans, goatee				Harassment, battery
Episode 256	Levent		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, mustached, short hair, brunet				Pimping out women
Episode 256	Rahmi		Male	suit, shirt, bearded				Battery
Episode 256	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, bearded	Guard			Fight
Episode 256	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, bearded	Guard			Fight
Episode 256	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, bearded	Guard			Fight
Episode 256	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, bearded	Guard			Fight
Episode 256	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, bearded	Guard			Fight
Episode 256	Seda		Female	t-shirt, jeans, Brunette	Sex worker			Murder
Episode 266	Ezgi		Male	jeans, coat, hat, stubbly bearded				Gunfight
Episode 266	Yigit		Female	jeans, trenchcoat, Brunette				Gunfight
Episode 266	Orcun		Male	sweater, jeans, bearded				Drug dealer
Episode 266	Salih		Male	sweater, jeans, bearded				Drug dealer
Episode 266	Serdar		Male	coat, jeans, bearded				Drug dealer
Episode 266	Nihat		Male	coat, shirt, jeans, beardless				Drug dealer
Episode 266	Unknown		Male	black outfit, black snow mask				Theft
Episode 266	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, bearded				Gunfight, rape, corruption
Episode 266	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, bearded				Gunfight, rape, corruption
Episode 266	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, bearded				Gunfight, rape, corruption
Episode 266	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, bearded				Gunfight, rape, corruption
Episode 266	Hanefi		Male	suit, t-shirt, shirt, beardless				Gunfight, rape, corruption
Episode 266	Ikram		Male	suit, shirt, stubbly bearded				Rape, corruption
Episode 266	Unknown	Müdür	Male	coat, suit, shirt	Municipal Employee			Gunfight, rape, corruption
Episode 266	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, mustached				Gunfight, rape, corruption
Episode 266	Tamer		Male	suit, shirt, beardless				Gunfight
Episode 276	Veysel		Male	checkered shirt, trousers, bearded, long hair	Pavillion Manager			Violence against woman
Episode 276	Savaş		Male	sweater, coat, stubbly bearded				Hostage
Episode 276	Unknown		Male	jeans, coat, sweater, bearded				Hostage
Episode 276	Unknown		Female	coat, jeans, sweater, blonde				Hostage
Episode 276	Unknown		Male	jeans, coat, sweater, hat, bearded				Hostage
Episode 276	Unknown		Male	jeans, coat, sweater, hat, bearded				Hostage
Episode 276	Unknown		Male	jeans, coat, sweater, beardless				Hostage
Episode 276	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, bearded				Murder
Episode 276	Sadik		Male	lawyer uniform, suit, shirt, tie, mustached, beardless				Hostage
Episode 276	Unknown		Male	sweater, coat, jeans, blonde				Organ transplant
Episode 276	Unknown		Male	coat, jeans, sweater, beardless				Organ transplant
Episode 276	Hayri		Male	coat, jeans, sweater, bearded, mustached				Organ transplant
Episode 276	Unknown		Male	coat, jeans, sweater, beardless				Organ transplant
Episode 276	Unknown		Male	coat, sweater, jeans, mustached				Organ transplant
Episode 276	Unknown		Male	shirt, t-shirt, cardigan, Brunette				Organ transplant
Episode 276	Unknown		Male	surgery uniform, beardless				Organ transplant
Episode 276	Unknown		Male	surgery uniform, Brunette				Organ transplant
Episode 276	Unknown		Male	shirt, coat, jeans, beardless				Fraud
Episode 276	Unknown		Male	sweater, coat, shirt, Jean, beardless				Fraud
Episode 276	Unknown		Male	shirt, tie, trousers, beardless	Bus driver			Drug dealer
Episode 286	Unknown		Male	sweater, coat, shirt, Jean, stubbly bearded				Drug dealer
Episode 286	Unknown		Male	shirt, tie, trousers, beardless	Asisstant			Drug dealer
Episode 286	Cevdet		Male	leather jacket, shirt, bearded				Theft
Episode 286	Hasan		Male	suit, shirt, mustached, bearded				Theft
Episode 286	Unknown		Male	shirt, coat, stubbly bearded				Theft
Episode 286	Unknown		Male	shirt, coat, stubbly bearded				Theft
Episode 286	Hüsni		Male	shirt, suit, beardless, mustached				Murder
Episode 286	Selim		Male	suit, shirt, beardless				Murder
Episode 286	Pelin		Male	skirt, sweater, blonde, make-up				Murder
Episode 286	Cemil		Male	shirt, Jean, mustached, stubbly bearded				Attempted murder
Episode 286	Sakir		Male	shirt, stubbly bearded				Murder
Episode 286	Unknown		Male	shirt, trousers, beardless				Murder
Episode 286	Unknown		Male	shirt, trousers, bearded				Murder
Episode 299	Servet		Male	striped sweater, jeans, mustached				Violence against woman, murder, bombing
Episode 299	Taci Çalışkan		Male	suit, jeans, stubbly bearded				Drug dealer
Episode 299	Ragıp		Male	shirt, trousers, bearded, long hair				Pimping out women
Episode 299	Unknown		Male	sweater, jeans, bearded, messy hair				Murder
Episode 309	Adnan Çekiç		Male	Unseen				Terrorist, organized crime
Episode 309	Cevher		Male	Sweater, jeans, hat, bearded, poshu	Ex police			Terrorist, organized crime, battery
Episode 309	Muhsin		Male	Sweater, bearded, blonde, coat	Ex police			Terrorist, organized crime, battery
Episode 309	Ökkeş		Male	Sweater, cardigan, jeans, coat, bearded				Terrorist, organized crime
Episode 309	Unknown		Male	Sweater, coat, jeans, bearded				Harassment
Episode 309	Nurgül		Female	Skirt, parka, sweater, Brunette, live bomb vest				Terrorist
Episode 309	Ekrem		Male	sweater, cardigan, coat, bearded, Eastern Accent				Terrorist, organized crime
Episode 309	Unknown		Male	sweater, cardigan, coat, bearded, Eastern Accent				Terrorist, organized crime
Episode 309	Ramazan		Male	sweater, cardigan, coat, bearded, Eastern Accent				Terrorist, organized crime
Episode 309	Unknown		Male	coat, jeans, bearded				Battery
Episode 309	Unknown		Male	coat, jeans, bearded				Battery
Episode 309	Unknown		Male	coat, jeans, bearded				Battery
Episode 309	Unknown		Male	coat, jeans, bearded				Battery
Episode 319	Abdülmalik Asfa		Male	sweater, bearded, brunet, bead				Terrorist, organized crime
Episode 319	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, tie, beardless, mustached				Terrorist, organized crime

Episode 319	Soydan		Male	sweater, beardless				Terrorist, organized crime
Episode 319	Zekeriya		Male	striped sweater, jeans, mustached				Terrorist, organized crime
Episode 319	Fazlı		Male	shirt, beardless, beardless				Terrorist, organized crime
Episode 319	Korkut		Male	shirt, coat, mustached, beardless, brunet		Police		Terrorist, organized crime
Episode 319	Arif	Müdür	Male	suit, shirt, tie, beardless		Chief of Police		Corruption
Episode 319	Unknown		Male	sweater, cardigan, beardless				Terrorist, organized crime
Episode 319	Unknown		Male	salwari shirt, vest, bearded, poshu, gun				Terrorist, organized crime
Episode 319	Unknown		Male	salwari shirt, vest, bearded, poshu, gun				Terrorist
Episode 319	Unknown		Male	salwari shirt, vest, bearded, poshu, gun				Terrorist
Episode 319	Unknown		Male	sweater, police vest, bearded, long hair				Organized crime
Episode 329	Cem		Male	leather jacket, sweater, bearded				Hostage
Episode 329	Kasim		Male	shirt, bearded				Drug dealer
Episode 329	Unknown		Male	leather jacket, t-shirt, bearded				Drug dealer
Episode 329	Ayhan		Male	suit, shirt, bearded				Drug dealer
Episode 329	Unknown		Female	shirt, jeans, cardigan, jewelry, blonde				Organized
Episode 329	Unknown		Male	coat, beardless				Organized crime
Episode 329	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless				Drug dealer
Episode 329	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless				Drug dealer
Episode 329	Sadik Gürçan		Male	t-shirt, coat, jeans, bearded				Drug dealer
Episode 329	Unknown		Male	medical uniform, stubbly bearded				Murder
Episode 329	Unknown		Male	medical uniform, stubbly bearded				Gunfight
Episode 342	Mahir		Male	suit, shirt, bearded				Violence against woman
Episode 342	Unknown		Male	shirt, coat, beardless				Hostage
Episode 342	Unknown		Male	shirt, long jacket, black scarf, bearded, brunet				ISIS
Episode 342	Unknown		Male	shirt, vest, bearded, brunet, scarf				ISIS
Episode 342	Unknown		Male	shirt, cardigan, bearded, turban				ISIS
Episode 342	20>		Male	shirt, salwar, trousers, vest, bearded				ISIS
Episode 342	Unknown		Male	salwar, shirt, vest, black scarf, bearded				ISIS
Episode 342	Unknown		Male	salwar, shirt, vest, black scarf				ISIS
Episode 342	Unknown		Male	salwar, shirt, vest, black scarf				ISIS
Episode 342	Unknown		Male	salwar, shirt, vest, black scarf, bearded, Eastern Accent				ISIS
Episode 342	Unknown		Male	salwar, shirt, vest, black scarf, bearded				ISIS
Episode 342	Unknown		Male	shirt, beardless				ISIS
Episode 352	Sidar		Male	sweater, bearded				Drug dealer
Episode 352	Ilyas		Male	leather jacket, bearded, messy hair				Violence against woman, drug dealer
Episode 352	Unknown		Male	sweater, bearded				Drug dealer
Episode 352	Fikri		Male	sweater, beardless				Drug dealer
Episode 352	Oflaz Topal		Male	suit, shirt, beardless				Drug dealer
Episode 352	Yakup		Male	sweater, coat, bearded				Drug dealer
Episode 352	Unknown		Male	sweater, coat, bearded				Drug dealer
Episode 352	Unknown		Male	sweater, coat, bearded				Drug dealer
Episode 362	Sami Kaplan		Male	coat, sweater, jeans, bearded				Murder
Episode 362	Esat		Male	sweater, jeans, stubbly bearded				Fake ID
Episode 362	Haşim Koral		Male	suit, shirt, tie, coat, beardless				Murder
Episode 362	Cahit Çınar		Male	suit, shirt, bearded				Organized crime
Episode 362	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, bearded		Guard		Organized crime
Episode 362	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, bearded		Guard		Organized crime
Episode 362	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, bearded		Guard		Organized crime
Episode 362	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, bearded		Guard		Organized crime
Episode 362	Unknown		Male	jeans, t-shirt, coat, bearded		Guard		Organized crime
Episode 362	Bekir		Male	sweater, coat, bearded		Guard		Organized crime
Episode 362	Unknown		Male	shirt, coat, jeans, beardless		Guard		Organized crime
Episode 362	Unknown		Male	shirt, coat, jeans, beardless		Guard		Organized crime
Episode 362	Unknown		Male	parka, jeans, bearded		Guard		Organized crime
Episode 362	Unknown		Male	suit, sweater, bearded		Guard		Organized crime
Episode 362	Suphi		Male	coat, suit, shirt, beardless, mustached				Organized crime
Episode 362	Baki Derince		Male	striped sweater, jeans, stubbly bearded				Drug dealer
Episode 362	Unknown		Male	jeans, t-shirt, coat, bearded				Attempted murder
Episode 372	Unknown		Male	shirt, trousers, bearded, brunet				Organized crime
Episode 372	Serkan		Male	suit, shirt, stubbly bearded, mustached				Organized crime
Episode 372	Unknown		Male	checkered shirt, trousers, bearded, long hair				Murder
Episode 372	Unknown		Male	shirt, jeans, bearded				Hostage
Episode 372	Unknown		Male	shirt, jeans, bearded				Hostage
Episode 382	Timur		Male	suit, shirt, tie, beardless				Organized crime
Episode 382	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, stubbly bearded				Drug dealer
Episode 382	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless				Drug dealer
Episode 382	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, bearded				Gunfight
Episode 382	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless		Manager		Drug dealer
Episode 382	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, long hair, brunet		Guard		Organized crime
Episode 382	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, stubbly bearded		Guard		Organized crime
Episode 382	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, stubbly bearded		Guard		Organized crime
Episode 382	Unknown		Male	parka, sweater, jeans, shirt, beardless				Pimping out women
Episode 382	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless				Pimping out women
Episode 382	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless				Pimping out women
Episode 382	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless				Pimping out women
Episode 382	Mert		Male	sweater, jeans, bearded				Pimping out women
Episode 392	Unknown		Male	leather jacket, bearded, long hair				Terrorist
Episode 392	Unknown		Male	shirt, jacket, bearded				Terrorist
Episode 392	Sancar		Male	sweater, jacket, bearded, long hair				Murder, terrorist
Episode 392	Civan Dayı		Male	suit, shirt, sweater, cap, bearded				Terrorist
Episode 392	Unknown		Male	sweater, cardigan, bearded				Terrorist
Episode 392	Gündüz		Male	suit, tie, shirt, bearded				Smuggling
Episode 392	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, shirt, bearded		Guard		Murder
Episode 392	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, shirt, bearded		Guard		Smuggling, Russian mafia
Episode 392	Unknown		Male	suit, tie, shirt, bearded		Guard		Smuggling, Russian mafia
Episode 392	Abdulkadir Turna		Male	suit, shirt, mustached, beardless, Syrian		Bussinesman		Smuggling
Episode 392	Unknown		Male	sweater, beardless, mustached				Murder
Episode 392	Nefet		Male	suit, shirt, bearded				Smuggling
Episode 392	S>		Male	suit, shirt, bearded		Guard		Smuggling
Episode 402	30>		Male	sweater, jeans, bearded		Prisoner		Battery
Episode 402	Cavit		Male	suit, shirt, bearded, brunet				Organized crime
Episode 402	Unknown		Male	suit, sweater, beardless, mustached, brunet				Organized crime
Episode 402	Mağruf		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, mustached				Organized crime
Episode 402	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, mustached				Smuggling
Episode 402	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless				Smuggling
Episode 402	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless				Smuggling
Episode 402	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, stubbly bearded				Smuggling
Episode 402	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless				Smuggling
Episode 402	Unknown		Female	women's suit, shirt, high heels, blonde, make-up				Organized crime
Episode 408	Maksut		Male	shirt, trousers, bearded				Organized crime
Episode 408	Deniz K		Male	sweater, jeans, beardless, under 18				Attempted murder
Episode 408	Unknown		Male	polo t-shirt, trousers, bearded				Hostage
Episode 408	Unknown		Male	t-shirt, trousers, stubbly bearded				Hostage
Episode 408	Unknown		Male	sweater, worker uniform, brunette, Eastern accent				Terrorist
Episode 408	Unknown		Male	t-shirt, worker uniform, bearded, brunet				Terrorist
Episode 408	Unknown		Male	t-shirt, worker uniform, bearded, brunet				Terrorist
Episode 408	Sado		Male	shirt, trousers, bearded, speaks Kurdish				Terrorist
Episode 408	Unknown		Male	sweater, worker uniform, brunette				Terrorist
Episode 414	Koray		Male	suit, shirt, bearded				Kidnapping, murder
Episode 414	Unknown		Male	leather jacket, t-shirt, shirt, bearded				Kidnapping, murder
Episode 414	Unknown		Male	shirt, bearded				Kidnapping, murder
Episode 414	Unknown		Male	shirt, bearded				Kidnapping, murder
Episode 414	Sadi Çetin		Male	shirt, hoodie, bearded, necklace				Terrorist
Episode 414	Seyit		Male	leather jacket, t-shirt, bearded				Terrorist
Episode 414	Kerim		Male	t-shirt, coat, jeans, bearded				Terrorist
Episode 414	Unknown		Male	sweater, bearded				Terrorist
Episode 414	Unknown		Male	sweater, bearded				Terrorist
Episode 414	Unknown		Female	sweater, coat, Brunette				Terrorist
Episode 424	Sırma Sezgin		Female	sweater, coat, jeans, bearded				Terrorist
Episode 434	Cengiz		Male	sweater, coat, jeans, bearded				Mafia

Episode 434	Veysel		Male	suit, shirt, mustached, beardless	Police		Corruption
Episode 434	Halit		Male	suit, shirt, tie, mustached, beardless	Police		Corruption
Episode 434	Aynir		Female	dress, jacket, shirt, Brunette	Police		Corruption
Episode 434	Gökçe		Female	hoodie, blonde, make-up	Prisoner		Corruption
Episode 434	Vural	Başkan		shirt, parka, bearded, long hair, scarf			Terrorist
Episode 434			Male	sweater, parka, bearded, hat			Terrorist
Episode 434			Male	sweater, parka, bearded, hat			Terrorist
Episode 434	Ender		Male	suit, coat, tie, beardless			Terrorist
Episode 434			Male	sweater, jacket, bearded			Terrorist
Episode 434			Male	sweater, coat, bearded			Attempted murder
Episode 434			Male	sweater, coat, bearded			Attempted murder
Episode 434			Male	sweater, bearded			Kidnapping
Episode 434			Male	coat, jeans, black snow mask			Theft
Episode 434			Male	coat, jeans, black snow mask			Theft
Episode 434			Male	coat, beraded			Terrorist
Episode 434			Male	coat, beraded			Terrorist
Episode 434			Male	coat, beraded			Terrorist
Episode 434			Male	coat, beraded			Terrorist
Episode 434			Male	sweater, coat, bearded			Terrorist
Episode 434			Male	sweater, coat, bearded			Terrorist
Episode 434			Male	coat, beraded			Terrorist
Episode 434			Male	leather jacket, sweater, bearded, long hair			Kidnapping
Episode 434			Male	jeans, sweater, coat, beardless			Attempted murder
Episode 434			Male	leather jacket, t-shirt, bearded			Violence against women
Episode 434	Tuncay		Male	suit, shirt, beardless			Harassment, blackmailing
Episode 444	Gürçan		Male	shirt, jeans, bearded			Organized crime
Episode 444	Harun Kansu		Male	suit, shirt, bearded			Organized crime
Episode 444	İlhan Kansu	Patron	Male	suit, shirt, bearded			Organized crime
Episode 444	Tankut		Male	suit, shirt, bearded			Organized crime
Episode 444	Sabri		Male	coat, shirt, jean, black snow mask			Theft, murder
Episode 444			Male	suit, shirt, bearded			Organized crime
Episode 444	Dündar		Male	suit, bearded			Gunfight
Episode 444			Male	shirt, bearded			Gunfight
Episode 444			Male	shirt, bearded			Gunfight
Episode 444			Male	shirt, suit, beardless			Organized crime
Episode 444			Male	shirt, suit, beardless			Organized crime
Episode 444			Male	shirt, beardless			Organized crime
Episode 444			Male	shirt, beardless			Organized crime
Episode 444			Male	shirt, suit, beardless			Organized crime
Episode 453	Bedran		Male	suit, bvest, bearded, Eastern accent			Attempted murder
Episode 453			Male	shirt, t-shirt, jean, bearded			Kidnapping
Episode 453			Male	suit, shirt, beardless			Violence against women, torture
Episode 463	Erdal		Male	sweater, coat, bearded			Drug dealer
Episode 463	Harun		Male	checkered shirt, trousers, mustached, beardless			Kidnapping
Episode 463			Male	coat, sweater, jeans, bearded			Kidnapping
Episode 463			Male	sweater, coat, bearded			Drug dealer
Episode 463			Male	sweater, coat, bearded			Drug dealer
Episode 463			Male	sweater, coat, bearded			Drug dealer
Episode 463			Male	sweater, coat, bearded			Drug dealer
Episode 463			Male	shirt, beardless			Hostage
Episode 463	Sinem Güneş		Male	shirt, cardigan, beardless			Organized crime
Episode 463			Male	women's suit, high heels, blonde, make-up			Blackmail
Episode 463			Male	jeans, sweater, coat, bearded			Drug dealer
Episode 463			Male	dress, Brunette			pimping out women
Episode 463			Male	sweater, jeans, necklace, earring			Pimping out women
Episode 463		Buse	Male	dress, make-up, leather jacket			sex worker
Episode 473			Male	jacket, t-shirt, jeans, bearded			Battery
Episode 473	Numan		Male	suit, coat, shirt, bearded			Organized crime
Episode 473	Cemil		Male	suit, coat, shirt, bearded			Organized crime
Episode 473			Male	suit, shirt, beardless			Organized crime
Episode 473	Yıldırım		Male	sweater, coat, bearded			Murder
Episode 473			Male	sweater, coat, bearded			Murder
Episode 473			Male	shirt, beardless			Organized crime
Episode 473			Male	suit, coat, shirt, bearded			Organized crime
Episode 473			Male	suit, coat, shirt, bearded			Organized crime
Episode 473			Male	suit, coat, shirt, bearded			Organized crime
Episode 473			Male	suit, coat, shirt, mustached			Organized crime
Episode 473			Male	suit, coat, shirt, mustached			Organized crime
Episode 473	Yusuf		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, ü brunet			Drug dealer
Episode 473	İpek		Male	swaeter, coat, Brunette			Drug dealer
Episode 473	Cüneyt		Male	sweater, jeans, coat, bearded			Drug dealer
Episode 473			Male	suit, sweater, bearded			Organized crime
Episode 473			Male	suit, shirt, bearded			Organized crime
Episode 473			Male	suit, shirt, tie, stubbly bearded			Organized crime
Episode 473			Male	suit, shirt, bearded			Organized crime
Episode 473			Male	suit, beardless			Organized crime
Episode 473			Male	suit, shirt, tubbly bearded			Organized crime
Episode 483	Ufuk		Male	checkered shirt, bearded, t-shirt			Theft
Episode 483	Toygır		Male	sweater, jeans, stubbly bearded, mustached, stubbly bearded			Theft
Episode 483	Nilay Şener		Male	sweater, jeans leather jacket, blonde			Theft
Episode 483	Erdaner		Male	suit, shirt, bearded, long hair			Organized crime
Episode 483			Male	suit, shirt, beardless			Organized crime
Episode 483			Male	suit, shirt, bearded			Organized crime
Episode 483			Male	suit, shirt, bearded			Organized crime
Episode 483	Semih Uluç		Male	shirt, t-shirt, jean, bearded			Drug dealer
Episode 483	Şanlı		Male	suit, shirt, vest, bearded			Organized crime, violence against women
Episode 483	Atakan		Male	shirt, bearded			Murder
Episode 483			Male	suit, bearded, shirt			Organized crime
Episode 491			Male	jeans, coat, bearded			Kidnapping
Episode 491			Male	shier, coat, bearded, drunk			Murder, gunfight
Episode 491			Male	shier, coat, bearded, drunk			Murder, gunfight
Episode 491			Male	sweater, jeans, bearded			Corruption
Episode 491	Altan		Male	shirt, suit, bearded			Organized crime, drug dealing
Episode 491			Male	shirt, suit, bearded			Organized crime, drug dealing
Episode 491			Male	shirt, suit, bearded			Organized crime, drug dealing
Episode 491			Male	shirt, suit, bearded			Organized crime, drug dealing
Episode 491	Muaz		Male	shirt, coat, stubbly bearded, mustached			Murder
Episode 491			Male	suit, shirt, stubbly bearded, mustached			Murder
Episode 491			Male	jeans, sweater, coat, bearded, Syrian			Murder
Episode 491			Male	jeans, sweater, coat, bearded			Murder
Episode 491			Male	jeans, sweater, coat, bearded, Syrian			Murder
Episode 491			Male	jeans, sweater, coat, bearded, Syrian			Murder
Episode 491			Male	jeans, sweater, coat, bearded, Syrian			Murder
Episode 491			Male	jeans, sweater, coat, bearded, Syrian			Murder
Episode 491			Male	suit, shirt, bearded			Murder
Episode 491			Male	suit, shirt, bearded			Murder
Episode 501			Male	sweater, jeans, shirt, bearded, brunet			Drug dealer
Episode 501	Şaban	Dayı	Male	jeans, coat, beardless			Drug dealer, violence against women
Episode 501			Male	jeans, shirt, coat, bearded			Drug dealer
Episode 501			Male	suit, shirt, bearded			Murder
Episode 501			Male	suit, shirt, bearded			Murder
Episode 501			Male	shirt, suit, bearded			Murder
Episode 501	Nizam		Male	suit, shirt, bearded, coat			Torture, drug dealer
Episode 501			Male	jeans, shirt, jacket, bearded			Torture
Episode 501			Male	suit, shirt, bearded, coat			Torture
Episode 501			Male	suit, shirt, bearded, coat			Torture
Episode 501			Male	shirt, jeans, coat, bearded			Gunfight
Episode 501			Male	shirt, jeans, coat, bearded			Gunfight
Episode 501			Male	shirt, jeans, coat, bearded			Gunfight

Episode 501			Male	sweater, coat, bearded, hat, scarf, old			Murder
Episode 501	Ender		Male	suit, shirt, tie, beardless			Murder
Episode 501	Bülent		Male	sweater, mustached			Murder
Episode 501			Male	black outfit, beardless			Theft
Episode 501			Male	shirt, t-shirt, jean, bearded			Murder
Episode 501	Taylan		Male	jeans, sweater			Battery
Episode 501	Etkrem		Male	sweater, bearded, jeans, coat			Organized crime
Episode 501	Dilan		Female	sweater, blonde, make-up			Organized crime
Episode 501			Male	suit, shirt, mustached, beardless			Organized crime
Episode 511	Ferhat		Male	black outfit, beardless, Middle Eastern, immigrant			Theft, organized crime
Episode 511	Olçay		Male	sweater, jeans, coat, stubbly bearded			Drug dealer, battery
Episode 511	Adem		Male	suit, shirt, bearded			Drug dealer
Episode 511			Male	suit, sweater, bearded			Drug dealer
Episode 511	Sirri		Male	shirt, jeans, beardless, mustached	Police		Murder
Episode 511	Haşim		Male	shirt, jeans, bearded			Murder, drug dealer
Episode 511	Asaf		Male	shirt, shirt, bearded			Drug dealer
Episode 511	Nezir		Male	shirt, jeans, stubbly bearded			Drug dealer
Episode 521			Male	shirt, trousers, beardless			Aid to murder
Episode 521	Adem		Male	shirt, jeans, beardless			Battery
Episode 521			Male	sweater, jeans, bearded			Battery
Episode 521	Tolga		Male	shirt, t-shirt, jeans, bearded			Murder
Episode 521			Male	shirt, suit, bearded			Organized crime
Episode 521	Nejat		Male	shirt, bearded			Organized crime
Episode 521	İsmet		Male	trousers, shirt, bearded			Organized crime, drug dealer, murder
Episode 521	10>		Male	suit, shirt	Guard		Organized crime, drug dealer
Episode 521			Male	shirt, white uniform, beardless			Organized crime, drug dealer
Episode 521			Female	t-shirt, uniform, blonde			Organized crime, drug dealer
Episode 521			Female	t-shirt, uniform, brunette			Organized crime, drug dealer
Episode 521			Female	t-shirt, uniform, brunette			Organized crime, drug dealer
Episode 527	Rafet		Male	jeans, shirt, coat, long hair			Theft
Episode 527	İsmeail		Male	hat, jeans, hoodie			Murder
Episode 527			Male	under 18, jeans, sweater			Theft
Episode 527			Male	under 18, jeans, sweater			Theft
Episode 527	Yasemin		Male	jeans, brunette, t-shirt			Battery, conspiracy
Episode 527	Nihat		Male	suit, beardless			Conspiracy
Episode 527			Male	t-shirt, hoodie, jeans, bearded			possessing unlicensed gun
Episode 527			Male	shirt, jeans, bearded			Drug dealer
Episode 527			Male	shirt, jeans, bearded			Drug dealer
Episode 527			Male	shirt, jeans, bearded			Drug dealer
Episode 527			Female	shirt, jeans, brunette			Drug dealer
Episode 527	Fethi		Male	sweater, jeans, bearded			Battery, drug dealer
Episode 527			Male	sweater, jeans, bearded			Drug dealer
Episode 527			Male	sweater, jeans, bearded			Drug dealer
Episode 527	Erkan Yıldırım		Male	suit, shirt, tie, beardless	Prosecuter		Corruption
Episode 527			Male	suit, shirt			Organized crime, drug dealer
Episode 527	Nadir Alaca		Male	suit, shirt, bearded	Bussinesman		Organized crime, drug dealer
Episode 527	Serpil		Male	suit, brunette	Lawyer		Organized crime
Episode 527	Vladimir		Male	suit, t-shirt, beardless, Russian			Organized crime, drug dealer
Episode 527	Bülent		Male	suit, bearded, shirt			Organized crime
Episode 527			Male	suit, shirt, tie	Guard		Organized crime
Episode 527			Male	suit, shirt, tie	Guard		Organized crime
Episode 537	Hermann		Male	t-shirt, coat, jeans, beardless			
Episode 537			Male	coat, jeans, bearded, t-shirt, hat			Harrastment
Episode 537	Meriç		Male	sweater, stubbly bearded, jeans			Harrastment
Episode 537			Male	swaeter, coat, jeans, bearded, brunette			Harrastment
Episode 537	Taci		Male	sweater, bearded, jeans			Harrastment
Episode 537	Tarik		Male	leather jacket, sweater, bearded, long hair, hat, t-shirt			Murder
Episode 547	10>		Male	shirt, suit, bearded, long hair, short hair, tie	Guard		Drug dealer
Episode 547			Male	shirt, bearded, jacket			Murder
Episode 547			Male	shirt, bearded, jacket			Murder
Episode 547	Yusuf		Male	suit, shirt, bearded			Drug dealer
Episode 547	Aslı		Female	blonde, leather jacket, t-shirt	Police		Drug dealer
Episode 547	Tahsin		Male	suit, shirt, bearded			Drug dealer
Episode 547	Kadri		Male	suit, shirt, bearded			Drug dealer
Episode 547	İlyas		Male	leather jacket, shirt, jeans, bearded, long hair			Drug dealer
Episode 547	Carl		Male	sweater, jacket, beardless, blonde, bad Turkish, German			Attempted murder, organized crime
Episode 547			Male	sweater, coat, jeans, bearded			Attempted murder, organized crime
Episode 547			Male	sweater, coat, jeans, bearded	Ajan		Attempted murder, organized crime
Episode 547			Male	sweater, coat, jeans, bearded	Police		Attempted murder, organized crime
Episode 547			Male	sweater, coat, jeans, bearded	Soldier		Attempted murder, organized crime
Episode 547	Nadya		Female	sweater, jacket, blonde, bad Turkish, blonde			Attempted murder, organized crime
Episode 547	Nedim		Male	jacket, sweater, jeans, bearded	Police		Drug dealer
Episode 547			Male	sweater, bearded			Murder
Episode 557	Erol		Male	jacket, t-shirt, jeans, bearded			Hostage
Episode 557			Male	jacket, shirt, trousers, bearded			Drug dealer
Episode 557			Male	jacket, shirt, trousers, bearded			Drug dealer
Episode 557			Male	shirt, trousers, bearded	Captain		Drug dealer
Episode 557	Ragıp		Male	suit, shirt, bearded			Organized crime
Episode 557	Kemal		Male	shirt, bearded, long hair			Hostage
Episode 563	Coşkun		Male	suit, shirt, bearded			Hostage
Episode 563	5>		Male	suit, shirt, bearded			Hostage
Episode 563	Ekrem		Male	shirt, t-shirt, jeans, bearded			Hostage
Episode 563	Civan Yıldız	Başkan	Male	shirt, trousers, bearded			Terrorist
Episode 563			Male	shirt, trousers, bearded			Terrorist
Episode 563			Male	shirt, trousers, bearded			Terrorist
Episode 563			Male	shirt, vest, bearded, brunet			Terrorist
Episode 563			Male	shirt, trousers, bearded			Terrorist
Episode 563			Male	shirt, vest, trousers, bearded			Terrorist
Episode 563			Male	sweater, beardless			Terrorist
Episode 563	10>		Male	suit, shirt, bearded			Organized crime
Episode 563	Aykut		Male	suit, shirt, bearded			Organized crime
Episode 563	FeYZa		Female	dress, blonde			Sex worker
Episode 563	10>		Female	dress, blonde, brunet, skirt, t-shirt			Sex worker
Episode 573	Bekir		Male	sweater, coat, hat, bearded			Murder
Episode 573	İrfan		Male	shirt, jacket, beardless, mustached			Attempted murder
Episode 573			Male	sweater, coat, bearded			Gunfight
Episode 573	Ekber		Male	sweater, coat, bearded			Gunfight
Episode 573			Male	sweater, coat, bearded, jeans			Battery
Episode 573	Cabir		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, Syrian			Gunfight
Episode 573	Aybars		Male	jeans, sweater, jacket			Pimping out woman, violence, drug dealer
Episode 573	5>		Female	blonde, dress, sweater, jeans			Sex worker
Episode 573	Zafer		Male	shirt, jeans			Pimping out woman
Episode 583	Bekir		Male	sweater, jacket, jeans			Battery
Episode 583			Male	sweater, bearded			Hostage
Episode 583	Giray		Male	t-shirt, jeans, jacket, long hair, bearded			Murder
Episode 583			Male	jeans, sweater, bearded, hat			Murder
Episode 583	Nebahat		Female	coat, sweater, blonder, make-up			Aid to criminal
Episode 583	5>		Male	suit, shirt, bearded, beardless, mustached	Guard		Aid to criminal
Episode 593	Rauf Atay		Male	shirt, leather jacket, long hair, bearded, blonde			Drug dealer, rape
Episode 593			Female	jeans, sweater, brunette			Drug dealer
Episode 593	Sami		Male	shirt, bearded			Drug dealer
Episode 593	5>		Male	jeans, shirt, t-shirt, bearded			Drug dealer
Episode 593	Ferhat		Male	suit, shirt, bearded			Organized crime
Episode 593	10>		Male	suit, shirt, bearded	Guard		Organized crime
Episode 593	Kudret		Male	suit, shirt, bearded, blonde			Organized crime
Episode 593	İsmail		Male	suit, bearded, shirt			Organized crime
Episode 593	Bekir		Male	suit, bearded, shirt			Organized crime
Episode 593	Ender		Male	shirt, trousers, bearded			Organized crime
Episode 593	Ünal		Male	suit, bearded, shirt			Organized crime

Episode 593			Female	jacket, t-shirt, brunette				Organized crime
Episode 600	Kerim Aslan		Male	suit, shirt, bearded, long hair, blonde, necklace				Organized crime
Episode 600		Esmir	Male	suit, shirt, bearded, glasses				Organized crime
Episode 600	Sacit Gündüz		Male	shirt, coat, bearded				Organized crime
Episode 600			Female	suit, brunette, make-up				Organized crime
Episode 600	S>		Male	suit, shirt, bearded, beardless				Organized crime
Episode 600	Harmit		Male	shirt, long hair, bearded				Attempted murder
Episode 600	Harun		Male	suit, shirt, tie, long hair, bearded				Organized crime
Episode 600	Osman		Male	sweater, bearded				Attempted murder
Episode 610	John		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, bad Turkish				Organized crime
Episode 610	Samir		Male	suit, shirt, bearded				Organized crime
Episode 610	10>		Male	leather jacket, t-shirt, bearded, beardless, cap, motorbike				Organized crime
Episode 610	Victoria		Female	leather jacket, t-shirt, motorbike, bad Turkish				Organized crime
Episode 610	Kudret		Male	sweater, coat, bearded				Gunfight
Episode 610	Veli		Male	sweater, coat, bearded				Gunfight
Episode 610			Male	suit, shirt, bearded				Organized crime
Episode 610			Male	suit, bearded, shirt				Organized crime
Episode 610			Male	suit, bearded, shirt				Organized crime
Episode 610	Ilyas		Male	sweater, coat, bearded				Gunfight
Episode 610	Idil		Female	sweater, jeans, brunette, make-up				Drug dealer
Episode 620	Poyraz		Male	sweater, coat, blonde, bearded				Hostage
Episode 620			Male	jeans, sweater, coat				Hostage
Episode 620	Serdar		Male	coat, sweater, jeans, hat				Hostage
Episode 620	Sacit		Male	suit, shirt, bearded				Hostage
Episode 620	Musa		Male	trousers, coat, bearded				Hostage
Episode 620			Male	sweater, coat, jeans				Hostage
Episode 630	Şahin		Male	suit, shirt, vest, bearded				Hostage
Episode 630			Male	shirt, jeans, bearded				Organized crime, murder
Episode 630	Enes		Male	shirt, jeans, bearded				Organized crime, murder
Episode 630	Çınar		Male	shirt, jeans, bearded, t-shirt				Organized crime, murder
Episode 630	Harun		Male	suit, shirt, bearded				Attempted murder
Episode 630	Aybars		Male	suit, shirt, bearded				Attempted murder
Episode 630			Male	suit, shirt, bearded				Attempted murder
Episode 630			Male	suit, shirt, snow mask		Guard		Attempted murder
Episode 630			Male	suit, shirt, snow mask		Guard		Attempted murder
Episode 630			Male	suit, shirt, snow mask		Guard		Attempted murder
Episode 630	Turan		Male	t-shirt, bearded				Gambling
Episode 630			Male	suit, shirt, bearded				Organized crime
Episode 630			Male	shirt, bearded				Organized crime
Episode 630	Ilyas		Male	shirt, trousers, beardless				Organized crime
Episode 630	Caner		Male	jeans, shirt, jacket, bearded				Organized crime

Annex 4.1. Behzat Ç. - Data

EPISODE	NAME	NICKNAME	GENDER	CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES	PROFESSION	FAMILY	EDUCATION	NATURE OF CRIME
Episode 1	Hayrettin		Male	glass, short hair, beard	intelligence agency			Solicitation, murder
Episode 2	Mithat		Male	short hair, middle age, sweater	company owner			Organized crime, murder
Episode 3			Male	shirt, trousers, beard, bearded				Murder
Episode 3			Male	suit, shirt, bearded				Gambling
Episode 3			Male	t-shirt, jeans, beardless				Gambling
Episode 3	2D-		Male	jeans, shirt, t-shirt, bearded, beardless				Gambling
Episode 3	Kemal		Male	bearded, jeans, striped shirt				Gambling
Episode 3	Aref		Male	mask, black outfit, stubbly bearded				Murder
Episode 4	Orhan		Male	hoodie, mustached		Bad relationship with his father		Murder
Episode 4	Özge		Male	shirt, trousers, jacket, stubbly bearded				Complicity in murder
Episode 5	Arda		Male	bearded, young, shirt, trousers		Murdered father		Murder
Episode 5	Talat		Male	bearded, shirt, jacket, bad language	Taxi driver			Pimping out women
Episode 6			Male	bearded, hoodie, trousers				Gunfight
Episode 6	Yılmaz		Male	coat, shirt, stubbly bearded	Unemployed			Honor killing
Episode 6	Selma		Female	dress, make-up, curly hair, make-up, hair accessories	Pavilion singer			Murder
Episode 7	Kamil		Male	brunet, bearded, shirt, suit, old			University degree	Rape
Episode 7	Sedat		Male	brunet, bearded, young, jeans, t-shirt	Unemployed	Raped daughter		Murder
Episode 7	İhsan		Male	brunet, young, hoodie		Orphan, raped		Rape
Episode 7	Serkan		Male	brunet, beardless, suit, tie, shirt	Teacher		University degree	Harassment
Episode 8	Ahmet	Sarı Ahmet	Male	coat, bearded, t-shirt, masculinity, brunet				Drug dealer
Episode 8	Çınay		Male	suit, beardless, shirt	Businessman			Murder
Episode 9	Yasin		Male	stubbly bearded, brunet, jeans, esmer, sweatshirt, kot	Footballer			Murder
Episode 10	Cengiz Hastal		Male	t-shirt, jeans	Police, TEM team supervisor			Murder, torture, conspiracy
Episode 10		Büyük Müdür	Male	suit, beardless, shirt	Emniyet Müdürü			Conspiracy
Episode 10			Male	suit, beardless, shirt, old	Senior official			Conspiracy
Episode 10	Maksut Kaya		Male	beardless, police uniform, young	Police			Murder, torture
Episode 10	Tufan Gülerözü		Male	beardless, police uniform	Police			Murder, torture
Episode 10		Rambo	Male	bearded, police uniform, young	Police			Murder, torture
Episode 10			Male	suit, police uniform, beardless	Station chief			Murder, torture
Episode 10	Fuat Sandağ		Male	leather jacket, goatee, young	Police			Murder
Episode 11	Merve		Female	t-shirt, jacket, young	Student			Murder
Episode 11	Berk		Male	t-shirt, jeans, young	Student			Murder
Episode 12	Firat		Male	hoodie, goatee, hat, young				Murder
Episode 12	Çınay		Male	suit, shirt, mustached, drug addict	School manager			Investigator of murder, drug dealer
Episode 13	Hakan Gedik	Tayyar	Male	Puffer jacket, t-shirt, jeans, bearded	Unemployed			Kidnapping
Episode 13	Ercüment Çözer		Male	coat, ring, trousers				Murder
Episode 14	Leyla		Female	skirt, suit, make-up, high heels	Bureaucrat			Instigator of murder
Episode 14	Serkan		Male	suit, shirt, coat	Guard			Murder
Episode 14			Male	Coat, hoodie, mask, bearded				Murder
Episode 14			Male	suit, shirt, coat, mustached				Kompo
Episode 15	Efe		Male	jean, sweater, goatee				Murder
Episode 15			Male	sweater, jeans, brunette				Murder
Episode 16	Fatih		Male	hat, coat, puffer jacket, jeans, blonde, young, under 18				Murder
Episode 16	Ayhan		Female	brunet, bearded, jacket, sweater	Association leader			Instigator of murder
Episode 17	Mehmet		Male	striped shirt, stubbly bearded, masculinity, coat, toxic masculinity				Murder
Episode 17	Nuri		Male	jeans, striped sweater, coat, stubbly bearded, toxic masculinity	Greengrocer			Murder, violence against women
Episode 18			Male	polo shirt, jacket, bearded				Murder
Episode 18	Nuri Yaman		Male	jeans, striped sweater, hoodie, stubbly bearded			Middle school degree	Murder
Episode 19	Selami		Male	suit, shirt, sweater, mustached	Manager			Perjury
Episode 19	Haydar		Male	sweater, shirt, jacket	Vender			Perjury
Episode 19			Male	stubbly bearded, black snow mask, black outfit				Murder, theft
Episode 19	Güngör		Male	suit, shirt, stubbly bearded, scarf, leather jacket, jeans	Manager			Murder, bebe, smuggling
Episode 19	Erdi		Male	shirt, trousers, jacket, stubbly bearded	Vender			Theft
Episode 20	Memduh Başgan		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, rich, ring				Organized crime
Episode 21			Female	skirt, cardigan, make up				Denim sandblasting
Episode 22	Ayhan		Male	suit, striped shirt, stubbly bearded, brunet				Denim sandblasting
Episode 22	Sami		Male	suit, sweater, shirt, old, bearded, brunet				Murder, theft
Episode 22	Osman		Male	jeans, t-shirt, coat, earrings, stubbly bearded, brunet	Police			Organized crime
Episode 23	Orhan		Male	jeans, polo t-shirt, coat, stubbly, stubbly bearded, beard, brunet				Rape, murder
Episode 23	Sedat		Male	jeans, shirt, coat, stubbly bearded, brunet				Murder
Episode 24	Selami		Male	Police uniform, beardless, brunet	Police			Corruption
Episode 24			Male	Police uniform, beardless, brunet	Police			Murder
Episode 24	S >		Male	Police uniform, beardless, brunet	Police			Murder
Episode 25	Emre		Male	sweater, trousers, bearded, brunet	Radio broadcaster			Murder
Episode 26	İsmail		Male	jeans, hoodie, mask, shirt, sweater, bearded, masculinity				Murder
Episode 27	Serkan		Male	polo t-shirt, coat, jeans, beardless	Radycou			Battery
Episode 27	Meltem		Female	jeans, leather jacket, scarf, blonde, young, make-up				Battery
Episode 27	Yılmaz		Male	jeans, shirt, sweater, beardless				Kidnapping
Episode 28	Fevzi		Male	jeans, t-shirt, coat, bald, stubbly bearded, tattoo, bruises, brunet	Boxer			Yasa dışı dövüş
Episode 28	Süreyya		Female	suit, shirt, gold necklace, stubbly bearded, old, brunette				Yasa dışı dövüş organize etmek
Episode 28	Şahin		Male	trousers, coat, mask, t-shirt, bearded, brunet				Murder, theft
Episode 28			Male	jeans, shirt, leather jacket, stubbly bearded, brunet				Illegal fight
Episode 28			Male	jeans, shirt, leather jacket, stubbly bearded, brunet				Illegal fight
Episode 28			Male	track suit, singlet, necklace, brunet, muscled	Boxer			Illegal fight
Episode 28			Male	jeans, singlet, sportsman, brunet,	Boxer			Illegal fight
Episode 28	Erkan		Male	jean, t-shirt, shirt, coat, blonde, beardless, bruises	Boxer			Illegal fight, murder
Episode 28	30 >		Male	jean, shirt, leather jacket, t-shirt, bearded, brunet, young				Battling
Episode 28	10 >		Male	suit, shirt, trousers, beard, brunet				Gambling
Episode 28	Suat		Male	checkered shirt, cap, jacket, old, bearded, brunet				Gambling
Episode 29	Cem		Male	jean, coat, black snow mask, stubbly bearded, blonde				Murder, attack
Episode 30	Süha		Male	suit, tie, mustached, brunet				Murder, theft
Episode 30			Male	suit, beardless, brunet				Attempted murder
Episode 31		Müştaşar	Male	suit, tie, mustached, brunet	Undersecretary			Corruption
Episode 31	Fuat		Male	jeans, t-shirt, coat, poor, bearded	Worker			Violence against women
Episode 31	Kanber		Male	suit, shirt, tie, mustached, brunet	Politician			pimping out women
Episode 31	Zafer		Male	underwear, messy hair, beardless				Murder, pimping out women
Episode 31			Male	skirt, bra, make-up, fishnets	Sex worker			Murder
Episode 31			Male	suit, brunet, bearded, beard				Pimping out women
Episode 31			Male	jean, jacket, shirt, necklace, beard, bearded				Pimping out women
Episode 31	S >		Male	black outfit, black snow mask	Guard			Organized crime
Episode 31	Unknown		Male	shirt, tie, suit, beardless	Guard			Organized crime
Episode 31	Zekai Büyükkay		Male	suit, tie, mustached, beardless	Guard			Corruption
Episode 32	Firat		Male	shirt, tie, leather jacket, bearded				Murder
Episode 33	Seyfi		Male	checkered shirt, jeans, hoodie, bearded				Murder
Episode 33	Ümit Yurtlu		Male	suit, bearded, scarf	Academician			Murder
Episode 34	S >	Abi	Male	track suit, hat, glasses, old	Retiree soldier			Corruption, organized crime
Episode 34			Male	suit, tie, glasses	Guard			Organized crime
Episode 35	Güray		Male	checkered shirt, beardless	Butcher			Gambling, murder
Episode 36	Eyüp		Male	trousers, shirt, hoodie, black snow mask, gloves				Murder
Episode 37	Cem		Male	uniform, brunet, beardless	Police			Corruption
Episode 37	Tekin		Male	t-shirt, jeans, necklace, stubbly bearded	Police			Corruption
Episode 37	Hallil		Male	leather jacket, t-shirt, jeans, beardless	Police			Corruption
Episode 37			Male	leather jacket, t-shirt, jeans, stubbly bearded	Police			Corruption, gunfight
Episode 37			Male	Sweater, jeans, goatee	Police			Corruption
Episode 38	Ender Mürsel		Male	Military uniform, beardless	Colonel			Corruption
Episode 38			Male	suit, shirt, long hair	Guard			Kidnapping
Episode 38			Male	suit, beardless, brunet	Guard			Kidnapping
Episode 39	Murat İyik		Male	puffer coat, gloves, shirt, trousers, bearded				Murder, conspiracy
Episode 39	Sevda		Female	leather jacket, t-shirt, long hair, no make-up	Nurse			Murder, conspiracy
Episode 40			Male	police uniform, beardless	Police			Murder, corruption, cleaner
Episode 40		Reis	Male	shirt, suit, messy hair, bearded	Manager			Drug dealer
Episode 40			Male	checkered shirt, jeans, stubbly bearded, young				Drug dealer
Episode 40	Çetin		Male	sweater, jeans, stubbly bearded, young				Drug dealer
Episode 41			Male	leather jacket, trousers, gloves, knife	Archivist			Kidnapping
Episode 41			Male	checkered, jeans, goatee, glasses, coat				Murder
Episode 41			Male	shirt, tie, goatee	Guard			Corruption
Episode 41			Male	suit, shirt, stubbly bearded, glasses	Guard			Corruption
Episode 41			Male	suit, stubbly bearded, glasses	Guard			Corruption

Episode 41			Male	suit, shirt, beardless	Guard		Corruption
Episode 41			Male	striped shirt, trousers, stubbly bearded			Murder
Episode 41			Male	suit, shirt, long hair, stubbly bearded, mustached			Drug dealer
Episode 42			Male	suit, shirt, bearded			Drug dealer
Episode 42	Kazım		Male	leather jacket, jeans, bearded, lon hair			Murder
Episode 43	Ahmet Emin		Male	beardless, well-dressed, short hair	retired police chief		Murder
Episode 44	Zeki		Male	cap, jacket, long hair	apprentice		Murder
Episode 45	Zaim		Male	jacket, shirt, short hair, beard			Battery, murder
Episode 45			Male	cap, sweater, jacket, short hair, beard	wiseman		Murder
Episode 45			Male	sweater, beardless, middle age			Murder
Episode 46	Aiilla		Male	bald, beardless, middle age, sweater	gardener		Murder
Episode 47	Ayşekin		Male	beardless, formal uniform	Police		Murder
Episode 48	Seyfettin		Male	mustache, jacket, shirt			Suicide
Episode 49	Necati		Male	beard, jacket, sweat, short hair	Mafia		Murder
Episode 50	Memduh Bağcan		Male	suit, shirt, beardless, rich, ring	Mafia		Kidnapping
Episode 51	Filizet Süreyya Arat		Male	long hair, earring, sweater, beard	Writer		Murder
Episode 52	İrfan		Male	short hair, suit, beardless	CEO		Murder
Episode 53			Male	bald, beardless, middle age, sweater, jacket			Murder
Episode 54	Ceyhan		Male	bald, beardless, middle age, sweater, jacket, jean	Merchant		Murder
Episode 55	Kerim		Male	beardless, sweater, coat, jean	Craftsmen		Thrift, murder
Episode 56	Larissa		Female	foreign, kievle, colored eyes, sweater, jean	Dancer		Murder
Episode 57			Female	curly, shabby clothes, brunette, middle age			Murder
Episode 58	Burhan		Male	young, beardless, sweater, coat	Musician, nightclub employee		Murder
Episode 59	Bora		Male	suit, beardless, young age, Brunette			Murder
Episode 60	Ahmet		Male	beard, jacket, shirt, Brunette	Merchant		Murder
Episode 61	İker		Male	beardless, jacket, shirt, older age	Building contractor		Murder
Episode 62	Tayfun		Male	Suit, beard, middle age, shirt	Car dealership		Murder
Episode 63	Muzaffer		Male	mustache, suit, middle age, Brunette	Insurance agent		Murder
Episode 64	Sezgin		Male	beardless, middle age, jacket, shirt, Jean	Taxi driver		Murder
Episode 65			Male	beardless, young, suit, Brunette			Murder
Episode 66	Suna		Female	Brunette, jacket, young, short hair	Police		Murder
Episode 71	Gökhan		Male	Suit, middle age, sho hair, Brunette	Security Agent		Murder
Episode 72	İsmet Arif Karasu	Hayalet	Male	long hair, earring, casual, Brunette	Police		Murder
Episode 74	Bekir		Male	short hair, middle age, jacket, Brunette, shirt	Construction worker		Murder
Episode 75	Muzaffer		Male	middle age, short hair, mustache	Police, cleaning worker		Murder
Episode 76	İsmail		Male	short hair, mustache, sweater, Jean			Murder
Episode 79	Barbaros		Male	short hair, middle age, jacket	Police, cleaning worker		Murder
Episode 80	Ömer		Male	pouch, beard, Brunette, Kurdish language	Activist		Murder
Episode 81	Hikmet		Male	long hair, t-shirt, Jean, beard			Murder
Episode 82	Ali ve Derya		Male/Female	Male: short hair, sweater, beard Female: sweater, long hair	Taxi driver		Murder
Episode 83	Esmâ		Female	sweater, Jean	Secretary		Murder
Episode 84	Umut		Male	Brunette, short hair, beard			Murder, kidnapping
Episode 85	Burak		Male	young, short hair, sweater, t-shirt	Craftsmen		Murder
Episode 86	Muzaffer		Male	middle age, short hair, mustache	Cleaning worker		Murder
Episode 87	Turgut		Male	beard, long hair, sweater, Jean	Story writer		Murder
Episode 88	Ekrem		Male	beard, short hair, jacket	Company owner		Murder
Episode 91	Yılmaz		Male	short hair, beardless, uniform	Military office		Murder
Episode 92	Kadir		Male	short hair, beardless, suit	Security Agent		Murder
Episode 93	Saadet		female	blonde, nose ring, dress	Dancer		Murder
Episode 94	Özgen Sütçü		Male	short hair, beardless, suit	Personal guard		Murder
Episode 95	Muzaffer		Male	short hair, middle age, jacket, mustache	Police, cleaning worker		Murder
Episode 96	Barbaros		Male	short hair, middle age, jacket, mustache	Police, cleaning worker		Murder

Episode 16	Unknown		Male	sweater, jeans, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	FETO
Episode 16	Hamit		Male	suit, shirt, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	FETO
Episode 16	Unknown		Male	shirt, jeans, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	FETO
Episode 16	10>		Male	black outfit, black snow mask	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	FETO
Episode 17	Unknown		Male	checkered shirt, coat, bearded, Eastern accent	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 17	Unknown		Male	checkered shirt, coat, bearded, brunet	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 17	Unknown		Male	sweat, bearded, brunet	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 17	Unknown		Male	sweater, west, stubby bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 17	Unknown		Male	checkered shirt, bearded, brunet	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 17	Unknown		Male	shirt, coat, bearded, brunet	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 17	Unknown		Male	polo t-shirt, vest, brunet, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 17	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	FETO
Episode 17	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	FETO
Episode 17	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	FETO
Episode 17	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	FETO
Episode 18	Unknown		Male	sweater, hoodie, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	FETO
Episode 18	Unknown		Male	sweater, hoodie, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	FETO
Episode 18	Unknown		Male	sweater, hoodie, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	FETO
Episode 18	Unknown		Male	sweater, hoodie, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	FETO
Episode 18	Unknown		Male	sweater, hoodie, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	FETO
Episode 18	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, tie, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	FETO
Episode 18	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, tie, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	FETO
Episode 19	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, tie, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	FETO
Episode 19	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, tie, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	FETO
Episode 19	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, tie, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	FETO
Episode 19	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, tie, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	FETO
Episode 19	Angela		Male	women's suit, blonde, make-up	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	FETO
Episode 19	Unknown		Male	salwar, shirt, belt, vest, stubby bearded, mustached, brunet	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 19	25>		Male, female	salwar, shirt, vest, poshu, bearded, brunet	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 20	5>		Male	sweater, hoodie, show mask	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	FETO
Episode 20	20>		Male, female	salwar, shirt, vest, bearded, poshu, brunet	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 20	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, unsean face	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	FETO
Episode 20	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, unsean face	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	FETO
Episode 20	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, unsean face	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	FETO
Episode 20	10>		Male	salwar, shirt, belt, poshu, vest, brunet	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 21	50>		Male	salwar, shirt, belt, poshu, vest, brunet	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 21	Gys		Male	salwar, vest, shirt, bearded, poshu, brunet	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 21	Unknown		Male	sweater, jeans, bearded, brunet	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 21	Unknown		Male	sweater, jeans, bearded, brunet	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 21	Unknown		Male	sweater, jeans, coat, cap, bearded, brunet	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 22	Unknown		Male	shirt, leather jacket, cap, glasses, brunet, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 22	Unknown		Male	checkered shirt, bearded, brunet	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 22	Unknown		Male	sweater, jeans, bearded, brunet	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 22	20>		Male, female	salwar, shirt, belt, poshu, vest, brunet	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 22	Biruse		Female	salwar, shirt, belt, poshu, vest, brunette, Eastern accent	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 23	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 23	Unknown		Male	shirt, coat, hat, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 23	Unknown		Male	shirt, jeans, coat, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 23	Unknown		Male	shirt, jeans, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 23	Unknown		Male	jeans, coat, black snow mask, goatee	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 23	Unknown		Male	jeans, coat, black snow mask, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 24	Unknown		Male	checkered shirt, worker uniform, bearded, brunet	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 25	Unknown		Male	black outfit, vest, black snow mask	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	FETO
Episode 25	Unknown		Male	scarf, kandura, bearded, Arabic	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Aid to terrorism
Episode 25	Nefi Ammar		Male	coat, bearded, brunet	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 25	Unknown	Ejder	Male	salwar, shirt, belt, vest, bearded, brunet	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 25	Unknown		Male	salwar, shirt, belt, vest, bearded, brunet	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 25	Unknown		Male	salwar, shirt, belt, vest, bearded, brunet	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 25	Ömer Karakoçuk		Male	suit, shirt, tie, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling, FETO
Episode 25	Unknown		Male	sweater, jeans, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Smuggling
Episode 25	Unknown		Male	military uniform, vest, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 25	Unknown		Male	military uniform, vest, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 25	Unknown		Male	military uniform, vest, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 25	Unknown		Male	military uniform, vest, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 25	10>		Male	shirt, jeans, under 18	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 26	Unknown		Male	t-shirt, jeans, leather jacket, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Murder
Episode 26	Unknown		Male	t-shirt, jeans, leather jacket, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Murder
Episode 26	10>		Male	jeans, coat, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	FETO
Episode 26	Unknown		Male	shirt, leather jacket, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	FETO
Episode 26	Unknown		Male	jeans, shirt, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 26	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, bearded, tie	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	FETO
Episode 26	Unknown		Male	shirt, suit, bearded, tie, mustached, beardless	Prosecutor	Unknown	Unknown	FETO
Episode 26	30>		Male	military uniform, vest, bearded, beardless	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 27	Unknown		Male	military uniform, vest, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 27	Unknown		Male	military uniform, vest, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 27	Unknown		Male	military uniform, vest, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 27	Unknown		Male	military uniform, vest, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 27	Unknown		Male	military uniform, vest, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 27	Unknown		Male	military uniform, vest, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 27	Unknown		Male	military uniform, vest, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 27	Unknown		Male	military uniform, vest, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 27	Unknown		Male	military uniform, vest, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 27	Unknown		Male	military uniform, vest, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 27	Unknown		Male	salwar, shirt, belt, vest, bearded, brunet	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 27	Unknown		Male	salwar, shirt, belt, vest, bearded, brunet	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 27	Unknown		Male	salwar, shirt, belt, vest, bearded, brunet	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 27	Unknown		Male	salwar, shirt, belt, vest, bearded, brunet	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 27	Unknown		Male	salwar, shirt, belt, vest, bearded, brunet	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist

Annex 6.1. Börü - Data

EPISODE	NAME	NICKNAME	GENDER	CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES	PROFESSION	FAMILY	EDUCATION	NATURE OF CRIME
Episode 1	Unknown		Male	black outfit, hoodie, gun	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 1	10 >		Male	salwar, shirt, vest, heavy guns, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist, hostage
Episode 1	Unknown		Male	jeans, sweater, bearded, gun	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 1	Unknown		Male	jeans, sweater, bearded, gun	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 1	Unknown		Male	jeans, sweater, bearded, gun	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 1	Unknown		Male	jeans, sweater, bearded, gun	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 1	Unknown		Female	Unseen	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 1	Unknown		Female	Unseen	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 1	Riza		Male	Brunette, bearded, salwar, shirt, black outfit, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 2	10 >		Male	salwar, shirt, vest, heavy guns, mask, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist, gunfight
Episode 2	Bahoz		Male	green jacket, shirt, bearded, Eastern accent	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 3	10 >		Male	poshu, salwar, vest, bearded, mask, heavy guns	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist, gunfight
Episode 4	Halil		Male	checkered shirt, bearded	Shipper	Poor family, gambling deb	Unknown	Smuggling
Episode 4	Şahin		Male	checkered shirt, brunet, bearded	Coffee shop manager	Living in streets	Unknown	Promoting terrorism, smuggling, gambling
Episode 4	Resul		Male	unseen	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 4	Ekem		Male	checkered shirt, brunet, bearded	Unknown	Living in streets	Unknown	Promoting terrorism, smuggling, gambling
Episode 4	Unknown	Ghost	Male	unseen	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 4	Unknown		Male	polo t-shirt, jeans, beardless, black	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Theft, fight
Episode 4	Unknown		Male	t-shirt, jeans, bearded, Black	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Theft, fight
Episode 4	Unknown		Male	leather jacket, t-shirt, cardigan, jeans, long hair, bearded	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Theft, fight
Episode 4	Unknown		Male	cardigan, t-shirt, jeans, bearded, hat, blonde	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Theft, fight
Episode 5	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, tie	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	FETO
Episode 5	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, tie	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	FETO
Episode 5	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, tie	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	FETO
Episode 5	Unknown		Male	suit, shirt, tie	Guard	Unknown	Unknown	FETO
Episode 5	Ramazani		Male	suit, tie, scarf, coat, bearded, old	Senior police	Unknown	Unknown	FETO
Episode 5	Unknown		Male	German, blond, black outfit, cap, goggles	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Foreign fighter, FETO
Episode 6	Zaid		Male	black outfit, brunet, bearded, Eastern accent, AK-47	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 6	Faisal		Male	bruise, coat, bearded, speaks Arabic	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 6	10 >		Male	coat, jeans, bruise, scarf, brunet, long hair, bearded, AK-47, spi	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terrorist
Episode 6	Unknown		Male	military uniform	Colonel	Unknown	Unknown	FETO
Episode 6	Tolga		Male	shirt, jeans, bearded, silver necklace	TEM, intelligence officer	Unknown	Unknown	FETO, murder