

HIV and AIDS Visibility in the Turkish Parliament

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Pınar Konak

1. Objective

HIV/AIDS is one of the topics with limited visibility in Turkey. The study aims to reveal from which perspective the Turkish Parliament, the GNAT, has approached this subject over the years.

2. Scope of the Study

The study covers the period between the beginning of the 22nd legislature and the end of the fifth legislative year of the 27th legislature. Parliamentary General Assembly sessions belonging to this period, motions of parliamentary inquiries, motions of parliamentary investigations submitted to the Speaker of the Parliament, and legislative proposals related to the subject were scanned.

The keywords of the study are as follows:

AIDS	AiDS
HIV	HiV
Sexual Health	Sexually Transmitted Disease
Sexual Illness	Venereal Disease

3. Methodology

This section will be examined under four categories.

3.1. Parliamentary General Assembly Sessions

In the specified period, approximately 2431 Parliamentary General Assembly Meeting Minutes were scanned with artificial intelligence and manual search for keywords. Before the data set was created, the researchers, who would prepare and control the data set, independently reviewed the same 100 General Assembly minutes and then compared the results. As a result of these comparisons, the categorization section regarding the formation was finalized. After the set was assembled, the minutes were scanned again, and another expert reviewed the results.

In the archiving process, information such as the legislative period - year, the motion's date, the declarant's proxy - party, the report link, and the text of the statement was obtained. Archived conversations were then re-evaluated within their content and distributed to the corresponding categories. The categories of the study belonging to the speeches of the General Assembly of the Turkish Parliament are listed below.

Warning or Informing	Blood Donation	International Assistance	Treatment
Comparison	Privacy	Diagnostic Tests	
Out of Context	Data	Legislative Regulations	
Libelous	Dissenting Rhetoric	Fight againts AIDS	

After the categorization was made, an additional column, which can be considered a secondary category, was prepared according to the content of the speeches. Although this column is similar to the category column, it differs in some attributes. The most significant distinction between them is that the appendix column is not required to be filled for each data. It is filled in when the content of the speech is examined in more detail in addition to the above categorization, and a further point related to the disease and virus is added. In other words, the appendix column was utilized if there was a further context in which the keywords were used.

3.2. Parliamentary Inquiries

Parliamentary Inquiries are the motions that must be voted on and accepted in the Turkish Parliament to carry out the information and audit work by a special commission formed by the Assembly to obtain information on a specific subject. They are archived through the query engine in the audit tab of the TGNA website. Keywords are registered into this search engine, and the results are archived according to specific parameters.

The motions consist of the categories in the table below.

Warning	Awareness
Fight	Awareness

3.3. Parliamentary Questions

Parliamentary Questions are motions that deputies ask questions to the presidential advisors and ministers in written form to be answered in written form. They are brief, without justification or personal opinion, and do not include personal matters.

Parliamentary Questions are categorized according to the topics of the questions they contain. These categories are listed in the table below.

Statistics	Support for Issues
Prevention	Treatment
International Agreements	Information request regarding a conference
90-90-90 program	A specific incident
Tests	AIDS from mother to child

The motions were scanned and archived by typing each keyword into the search engine section of the parliamentary questions.

Analysis can also be made on the response status of the proposals. For this reason, response statuses must be estimated and defined.

Answered: Indicates that the proposal was answered within fifteen days.

Not Answered: If the proposal is declared unanswered in the incoming papers list, the motion is deemed unanswered.

Answered After Deadline: In practice, it is seen that written parliamentary questions are not answered in due time, and answers are sent after they are published in the the items proposed to the Office of the Speaker, these responses are also sent to the deputies who submitted the motion and are published on the website. However, ministers and presidential advisors have no legal basis in this regard.

Nullified: Motions that are not answered despite the expiry of the legislative period become null and void.

4. Introduction

HIV (Human Immunodeficiency Virus) is a virus that can be transmitted sexually or through blood contact. Simply put, the virus damages the immune system by attacking the white blood cells, which are the essential actors of the immune system. Diseases such as diarrhea and flu, considered harmless when passed under typical conditions, can cause serious harm to the person who has it due to a weakened immune system.

Contrary to popular belief, AIDS and HIV do not have the same meanings.

AIDS, or Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome, is a syndrome that occurs when the immune system is weakened to a life-threatening level due to HIV.

Having HIV or being HIV positive does not necessarily mean someone has AIDS-related illnesses. Today, HIV medications developed with the advancement of medicine can enable people infected with HIV to lead a healthy life and reduce the possibility of AIDS. According to the statements of the World Health Organization, at the end of 2021, 38.4 million people in the world were carrying HIV. According to the data observed by the Ministry of Health between 1985-2021, 30,293 HIV and 2083 AIDS cases were detected in Turkey. The age group with the highest incidence of these cases is the 25-29 and 30-34 ages, with 81.2% men and 18.8% women.

5. Analysis - General Assembly Speeches

5.1. Subject-Based Evaluations

To date, sixty-one speeches containing the keywords of the study have been made at the General Assembly meetings of the Turkish Parliament. Fifty-eight conversations contain the keyword 'AIDS' or 'HIV.' The remaining three contain 'sexual health,' 'venereal disease,' and 'sexually transmitted diseases.'

When these discussions are categorized according to their contents, the following table appears:

Warning or Informing (x26)	Indicates that a notice to raise public awareness about AIDS/HIV or other sexually transmitted diseases is given.
Comparison (x11)	Indicates that the deputy uses more than one infectious disease in their speech or directly compares a disease with AIDS.
Libelous (x6)	Indicates that derogatory words are used to insult AIDS/HIV disease, people who carry it, or to target carriers and patients.
Out of Context (x6)	Indicates that the keywords are employed in speech for irrelevant examples.
Blood Donation (x3)	Indicates a conversation about causing HIV transmission due to not taking adequate precautions during blood donation.
Privacy (x3)	Indicates a conversation about the confidentiality of information about people's HIV status.
Data (x3)	Indicates a discussion about numerical data about the disease.
Dissenting Rhetoric (x2)	Indicates a speech criticizing the perspective of the government.
Fight (x2)	Indicates that the emphasis is placed on the social battle against AIDS/HIV.

Treatment (x2)	Indicates a speech about AIDS treatment.
Diagnostic Tests	Indicates a speech about HIV tests.
Legislative Regulations	Indicates a discussion about legal regulations regarding sexually transmitted diseases.
International Assistance	Indicates it is mentioned that another country can be helped in this regard

When the table is examined, “warning, informing” was the most frequently preferred topic of conversations containing keywords by the representatives. It was the main topic of 40.98% of the twenty-five speeches. Another topic that follows this is “comparison,” which has been included in 11 speeches and constitutes 18% of the topics. Unfortunately, after these two labels, the topics “libelous” and “out of context” follow, each titling six speeches.

Speeches on these topics will be evaluated according to parameters such as the party, profession, gender of the speaker, as well as the date of the speeches.

An evaluation similar to the subject column will be made in the following sections for the previously mentioned annex column.

5.1.1. Distribution by Parties and Proxies

AKP	Nevzat Doğan x2	Remziye Öztoprak	Alim Tunç	Selma Aliye Kavaf	İlknur Denizli
	Recep Akdağ x2	Mehmet Aydın	Yılmaz Tunç	Güldal Akşit	İmran Kılıç
	Mehmet Melik Özmen	Cevdet Erdöl x2	Necdet Ünüvar	Zeynep Dağı	Ömer Dinçer
	Hamit Taşçı	Alim Tunç	Kemalettin Aydın x3	Fuat Karakuş	

CHP	Züheyir Amber	İsmail Özay	Canan Arıtman	Dilek Akagün Yılmaz	Ceyhun İrgil
	Gaye Erbatır	Türkan Miçooğulları	Sacid Yıldız x4	Ümit Özgümüş	Aytuğ Atıcı
	Ali Cumhuriyet Yaka	Haluk Koç	Nurettin Demir	Binnaz Toprak	Zülfikar İnönü Tümer
	Fahrettin Üstün	Mehmet Uğur Neşşar	Aytun Çıray	Muharrem Işık	Tekin Bingöl

MHP	Necati Özensoy	Ahmet Selim Yurdakul
	Beytullah Asil x2	Ümit Yılmaz
	Reşat Doğru	Abdurrahman Başkan
	Osman Durmuş	

HDP	Hasip Kaplan
	Sibel Yiğitalp
	Mehmet Ruştü Türyaki

İYİ Parti	Aylin Cesur
	Arslan Kabukcuoğlu
	Lütfü Türkkın

5.1.1.1. Distribution by Parties and Proxies

Examining the tables above, we can notice the dominance of the ruling party and the main opposition party in the speeches about AIDS/HIV during the 20 years of the GNAT.

The remarkable point is that despite the dominance of the AK Party and CHP, they have expressed little opinion over the course of twenty years.

The fact that the parties mentioned above paid little attention to such an influential disease reveals that the State of the Republic of Turkey does not have sufficient representation in the legislative body.

AKP and CHP dominance can be explained as follows, 21 of the 61 speeches included in the dataset were made between 2002-2007 (before the July 22, 2007 elections). During this period, the GNAT was a two-winged structure in practice. The only parties that could pass the ten percent threshold in the 2002 elections were AKP and CHP. Subsequently, it is unsurprising that these two parties, mainly CHP, have discussed the disease more times than the other parties.

The situation can be somewhat surprising when this dominance is examined on the AKP side.

Between 2002 and 2007, AKP deputies made 13 speeches on the matter. It is the most active political party in the first five years of the study; however, when the last five years are considered, AKP deputies have only one speech, of which the topic is “comparison” among the ones we have mentioned above.

These data can be cited as an example of a widespread view: the ruling party has been becoming increasingly authoritarian and restricting liberties since the day it was elected. Unfortunately, society’s general opinion is that AIDS/HIV is a disease that is specific to homosexual people. This false view is also supported by the negative view of society towards homosexuality. Regarding these factors, the degree of conservatism in Turkey is overwhelming, and the government’s attitude towards AIDS/HIV finds a response in the voter base. When we look at the collected data again, the evolution of the ruling party toward conservatism and authoritarianism comes to light again. ***It is possible to witness this hardening and conservatism of the ruling party and how they convinced half of the voters in the country with AIDS/HIV data.*** The distribution of speeches by year will be examined and analyzed in detail in the following sections.

	Warning	Comparison	Libelous	Out of Context	Blood Donation	Privacy	Data	Dis-senting Rhetoric	Fight	Diagnostic Tests	Treatment	International Assistance	Legislative Regulations
AKP	13	3	4	3	1				2		1		1
CHP	7	3	2	3	2	2	1	1		1		1	
MHP	4	4					1						
HDP		1				1	1	1					
IYI P.	2										1		
TOT.	26	9	6	6	3	3	3	2	2	1	2	1	1

When the table in question is examined, it is striking that the parties frequently made “warning and informing” speeches about the disease.

Although the least amount of discussion about the study was made by the IYI Party, two of the three speeches were within the scope of warning and information. The IYI Party was founded in 2017 and managed to enter the Parliament by receiving 9.96% of the votes in the 2018 elections. It may seem plausible that there have been few speeches about the AIDS/HIV issue, given that they have only been in Parliament for four years. Other than the warning speeches, they spoke once regarding treatments. It is noteworthy that they are one of the two parties that use the topic of treatment in their discourses. Many parties have not discussed this topic for years.

After the 2015 general elections, HDP deputies who appeared in the parliamentary seats gave a total of four speeches on the subject.

When they were in the Turkish Parliament, there was no conversation concerning the subject by parties such as the BDP (Peace and Democracy Party) and the DTP (Democratic Society Party), which can be considered the predecessors of the HDP. One of the remarkable points in the speeches of HDP deputies is privacy. When the twenty-year period is examined, only CHP and HDP have brought this issue to the agenda.

HDP’li vekillerin yaptıkları konuşmalarda dikkat çekici noktalardan birisi gizlilik hakkında yapılan konuşmadır. Yirmi senelik dönem incelendiğinde bu konuyu yalnızca CHP ve HDP gündeme getirmiştir.

“If one day, during an election period, health information about your friends, from AIDS testing, to “He ate pork, he ate this, he ate that.” starts to be used as an election propaganda tool without the need for intelligence sources, then you will see how personal rights are violated.”¹

In the said speech, attention was drawn to the situation in which the health data of the persons could be leaked to third parties.

Another striking point is that HDP deputies utilize the keywords of the study to make oppositional discourse.

“So what are you doing? You open an investigation against those who say, “What did you do with earthquake taxes?” like Şevket Çoruh and Berna Laçın, who remind you of the authority’s responsibility. Not about charlatans who say, “The earthquake was going to hit Manisa; I spoke to Allah, so it went east,” not about charlatans who say, “Divine retribution is not literature. AIDS, Ebola virus... Australia and China have sinned, and torment has come. God forbid, let us not ask for God’s punishment by legalizing adultery and sodomy, declaring marriage at an age that Allah has made lawful as rape, and ruining happy homes.” That is what we criticize.”²

This speech is made to underline that the government turns a blind eye to the claim by the conservative sector that AIDS/HIV and other diseases are punishments sent to those who deserve it but that those who express their criticisms about concrete problems face investigation. Although it was not directly about the disease or the virus, it was not considered out of context as it expressed an opinion.

Another party whose speech is included in the category of oppositional discourse is CHP. However, the speech made by the CHP deputy is not in line with the speech of the HDP deputy. In this speech, in which a general criticism of the health system is made, the increase in AIDS cases is mentioned. Meanwhile, the HDP deputy’s speech examined the issue regarding personal views.

Having made 23 speeches on the subject of the study, CHP, as mentioned above, has the title of the party that has discussed the subject the most after AKP. CHP deputies have used the “warning and informing” topic the most, namely seven

1 <https://www5.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANAK/TBMM/d24/c063/tbmm24063024.pdf>

2 <https://www5.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANAK/TBMM/d27/c034/tbmm27034049.pdf>

times.

As stated before, one of the two parties discussing privacy was CHP. This issue has come to the fore more frequently due to the increasing importance of personal data in recent years. The concept of personal data found its place in the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey with the 2010 referendum. Although it was previously included in the Turkish Penal Code, the first law on the subject (Personal Data Protection Law) entered into force on April 7, 2016. CHP has been the only party to voice the issues of diagnostic tests and international support over the 20 years.

Although three speeches were made on blood donation, only one was about donating HIV-containing blood to a person.

This issue was brought to the agenda of the GNAT as a discourse only by CHP, but as will be seen in the following years, similar questions were submitted to the Presidency of the GNAT by other parties. In two other speeches on the same subject, attention was drawn to the importance of blood donation as it can be determined whether the person has HIV + or other diseases during blood donation.

“Despite all these, besides the allegations of corruption of the Association, it was revealed that the blood given to our one-and-a-half-year-old child in the hospital in Urfa was obtained from the Red Crescent in March 2008 and that the virus that causes AIDS, HIV, was in the blood. This is a huge scandal. A similar scandal occurred twelve years ago in Urfa when a pregnant woman was given HIV-infected blood at the Kızılay blood center. It seems that even though twelve years have passed, no lesson has been learned from this grave event.”

A topic that has not been examined until the current part of the study, but is considered very important by us, has been employed twice by the CHP.

Another party that brought this issue to the agenda is the AKP. The subject in question is the insulting speeches of the deputies on the podium where they represent the public regarding AIDS/HIV.

1. *“France, who cried out that we must restrain the power of the market, fight the excesses of liberalism, and ensure the trust of our people, finds all things related to the financial world disgusting and defines all businessmen in this world as the AIDS of the world economy, is the winner?”³*
2. *“Mr. President, there is also this issue: In Silivri F Blok, patients with AIDS and tuberculosis and other prisoners are kept in the same environment. This*

is a life-threatening event both for those patients and for other prisoners. I invite the Ministry of Justice to take action to end such an unfair practice on this issue.”⁴

The speeches above are libelous speeches by CHP deputies. In order to see the difference more clearly, it would be fitting to end the chapter on the CHP here and begin examining AKP with the libelous addresses of the party deputies.

1. *“When we look at the structuring that emerged in our ministry in previous years, we see that a head office and a center have been established to resolve almost every serious health problem. This vertical structuring complicates our patients’ work from time to time. As you can see, entering a place that reads “hospital” on its door is not the same as entering a place bearing the name ‘AIDS treatment center.’ Therefore, in this regard, we plan to develop our services in a horizontal organization model from now on.”⁵*
2. *“The disconnection from ourselves and our core culture pushes our youth into depression and out of society. This repulsion can go as far as the extinction of our young people’s bodily existence. Cigarette smoking, which starts with curiosity and pretension, followed by alcohol and higher degree addictions, is the harbinger of falling into the pits of addiction. It is highly probable that living in this pit, which deprives men of their humanity, together with alcohol, will bring sexual perversion, prostitution, drug addiction, syphilis, and the most terrible disease of our age, AIDS. We know that moral values are invalid in most such environments. In an environment where moral values are frail, all value judgments have been reversed, material and moral values have deteriorated, and responsibilities have been lost. In this climate, our young people and individuals are only a source of income for drug dealers; beyond that, they cannot do anything with their own value system.”⁶*
3. *“Friends, today is World AIDS Day. This is one of the other nexus points of poverty. If I have to express this, according to the latest count, based on the findings, we have around two thousand patients with AIDS. This is a crucial figure for Turkey; unfortunately, it is increasing daily. The incidence*

4 <https://www5.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANAK/TBMM/d24/c063/tbmm24063024.pdf>

5 <https://www5.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANAK/TBMM/d22/c035/tbmm22035033.pdf>

6 <https://www5.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANAK/TBMM/d22/c039/tbmm22039047.pdf>

in children is increasing, and the incidence in young people is also increasing. Here's what I'm saying: There is a law. See, there are three main factors that cause the increase of AIDS and the spread of AIDS: contamination with blood and blood-related products; sexual transmission; and the contagion related to the use of drugs, especially intravenous drugs. Of course, I'm not counting other rare modes of transmission. Well, here, in principle, it is practically impossible for a person who is monogamous and does not have sexual relations with anyone other than their spouse to be infected with AIDS. If a person does not abuse drugs and, as said in Anatolia, avoids haram, he will have cleared two of the three elements; that is, they are protected by two out of three chances. Well, do they have a law; yes; there are many laws prohibiting illegitimate life, but it is still done. Is drug use legal in our country? No, but it is used. They have a law, but, it is not implemented, it cannot be applied, the prohibitions are broken; anyway.”⁷

4. *““They say, “What are we going to do about peace, what are we going to do about Palestine and Israel, what are we going to do about AIDS, what are we going to do about drugs as people of faith... They are not talking about Jesus Christ, Prophet Moses, or Prophet Muhammad. Or, as some people think, can we sit down and make another religion out of the three? An Abrahamic religion... Such a thing cannot happen.”⁸*

When the addresses of the deputies of the two parties, who made insulting speeches containing keywords about AIDS/HIV, are examined respectively, the apparent difference between the two will be seen.

If we examine CHP's insulting speeches, it can be thought that speech number one at the first stage will fall into the category of out-of-context. However, in his speech, the representative wants to degrade a country economically. Although there are many metaphors that he could employ while making this disparagement, he preferred to use the disease “AIDS” in a derogatory way for this lousy analogy. The date of the speech is March 15, 2005. The deputy who made the speech is the CHP deputy Fahrettin Üstün, a veterinarian. Although he fulfilled his duty as a deputy during the 22nd term of the Parliament, he did not speak on the discussed topics during these five years.

7 <https://www5.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANAK/TBMM/d22/c065/tbmm22065024.pdf>

8 <https://www5.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANAK/TBMM/d22/c104/tbmm22104035.pdf>

It can be argued that speech number two contains insults due to a well-intentioned but incomplete approach.

Of course, patients with AIDS and tuberculosis may have viruses and bacteria that may come from outside, and their immunity to harmful organisms is not as high as healthy individuals. However, putting aside the tuberculosis patients, it is difficult to understand what kind of risk there is for those who stay together with individuals with AIDS, whose transmission path is more complicated.

Contrary to what is believed in this discourse, being in the same environment with an individual with AIDS, touching the same surfaces, hugging, shaking hands, sneezing, coughing, and situations such as these do not cause HIV to be transmitted to another person. HIV is a disease that can only be transmitted through sexual fluids, blood, or from mother to baby. Therefore, being in the same prison environment does not cause HIV transmission.

The speaker is CHP deputy Dilek Akagün Yılmaz. He is a lawyer and talks about prisoners in his address as well. He did not make another speech on the subject during his attorneyship period.

When the insulting speeches of AKP deputies are examined, it will be seen that there are some differences in content. The meaning to be drawn from the number one speech is that individuals with AIDS will not want to enter a place that says 'AIDS treatment center' on its door, and other people will be disturbed by this as well. This opinion may be because AIDS is associated with prostitution or homosexuality.

In the other three speeches, homosexuality was mentioned as "sexual perversion," and it was identified with AIDS, and there were also expressions such as "avoiding haram" in the speeches. In addition, religious expressions were included in these speeches, and it was emphasized that AIDS could be protected as long as the moral rules of the government were not violated and that one should stay away from prostitution, homosexuality, drugs, and sexual life outside of marriage. Individuals with AIDS and HIV-positive individuals were accused of perversion.

The insulting speeches of the two parties differ at this point. AKP deputies brought the religious and moral dimension to the forefront and defined the disease as a disease that can happen to "deviants and degenerates."

On the other hand, CHP deputies used it in their examples by mentioning that it was detrimental because it was fatal or made an incomplete assessment because precautions were necessary. It is possible to think that this difference is because

the government has been on the political scene with a conservative narrative since its establishment.

The last insulting speech from the ruling wing was made in 2005.

The government has 24 speeches, only 12 of which were after 2005. It is understood that instead of correcting the language and bringing the subject up with the same frequency, they preferred to speak as much as they did between 2002-2005 in the following 17 years.

After touching on the necessary points, we can move on to the remarkable points in the other speeches of AKP deputies.

The only party that spoke on the fight against AIDS/HIV was AKP. One of the speeches is related to AIDS in the business world. There was a long conference on taking action in the workplace in favor of people with AIDS.

Another notable point is the speech that includes the word “venereal disease,” which is one of the keywords of the study.

The speech in question was made regarding the abolition of the complaint requirement for the investigation to be made in the case that those who carry a venereal disease infect someone else consciously or unintentionally.

Apart from this, most of the speeches of AKP deputies were made in the category of warning and information.

5.1.1.2. Distribution by Deputies

All the deputies who gave speeches in the General Assembly of the GNAT and the number of times they gave speeches in the determined period are presented in the table above.

In order to be more particular, the deputies who made more than one speech and the proxies who made insulting speeches, their professions, and the parties they belong to should be examined separately.

The table above shows that the deputy who spoke the most on the subject was Sacid Yıldız, the 23rd term CHP deputy with four speeches. He was one of the three deputies who spoke about blood donation. AKP deputy Alim Tunç, who follows him with two speeches, is another deputy who spoke about blood donation.

Even if the two deputies spoke on the same subject, their discourses were different in terms of content. Alim Tunç talked about the benefits of blood donation if made compulsory and stated that it would be easy to detect infectious diseases such as AIDS. Sacid Yıldız, on the other hand, drew attention to the transfusion of HIV-containing blood to a person during donation.

Two of the six deputies who made insulting speeches at the General Assembly of the GNAT are doctors, and one of them was a former Minister of Health, Recep Akdağ. One of the remaining deputies is a veterinarian, one a theologian, and the last is a lawyer. It is perplexing to see doctors make insulting assertions about a disease. Despite the repetition, the demeaning speeches of the two doctors will be shown below.

AIDS/HIV hakkında anahtar kelimeleri içeren hakaretimiz konuşmalarda bulunan iki parti vekillerinin konuşmaları sırasıyla incelendiğinde konuşmalar arasındaki bariz fark görülecektir.

*Cevdet Erdöl: “Friends, today is World AIDS Day. This is one of the other nexus points of poverty. If I have to express this, according to the latest count, based on the findings, we have around two thousand patients with AIDS. This is a crucial figure for Turkey; unfortunately, it is increasing daily. The incidence in children is increasing, and the incidence in young people is also increasing. Here’s what I’m saying: There is a law. See, there are three main factors that cause the increase of AIDS and the spread of AIDS: contamination with blood and blood-related products; sexual transmission; and the contagion related to the use of drugs, especially intravenous drugs. Of course, I’m not counting other rare modes of transmission. Well, here, in principle, it is practically impossible for a person who is monogamous and does not have sexual relations with anyone other than their spouse to be infected with AIDS. If a person does not abuse drugs and, as said in Anatolia, **avoids haram**, he will have cleared two of the three elements; that is, they are protected by two out of three chances. Well, do they have a law; yes; **there are many laws prohibiting illegitimate life, but it is still done**. Is drug use legal in our country? No, but it is used. They have a law, but, it is not implemented, it cannot be applied, the prohibitions are broken; anyway.”*

*Recep Akdağ: “When we look at the structuring that emerged in our ministry in previous years, we see that a head office and a center have been established to resolve almost every serious health problem. This vertical structuring complicates our patients’ work from time to time. As you can see, **entering a place that reads “hospital” on its door is not the same as entering a place bearing the name***

'AIDS treatment center.' Therefore, in this regard, we plan to develop our services in a horizontal organization model from now on."

In his speech, Cevdet Erdöl took AIDS/HIV to a purely moral dimension and stated that it was possible to stay away from it by "avoiding haram." He also stated that he was uncomfortable with sexual intercourse outside of marriage and that this should be prevented. Recep Akdağ, on the other hand, stated that, as we have mentioned before, people think that they will avoid entering a place bearing the name 'AIDS treatment center' and that such a naming should not be used.

At this point, we think that a particular focus should be placed on Kemalettin Aydın, AKP's 23rd, 24th, and 25th term Gümüşhane deputy. The speech should be scrutinized, as the deputy in question draws attention to the issues not noticed in one of the two speeches during the process.

"When we speak of HIV-AIDS, we know that it was first recognized as a disease of homosexuals in the 1980s, and in later years it was discovered that it was also transmitted by male-female relations, which we call heterosexual relations. We know these are also the diseases of people who use intravenous drugs. It is also transmitted from mother to child; some people are born with this microbe and die with it as soon as they are born. Furthermore, I am responsible for sharing with you that there are 23 children like this in the zero-age group in our country. Of course, while there are many measures to be taken regarding the transmission routes of HIV-AIDS, our primary social responsibility is to discuss how the citizens of the Republic of Turkey and the world, who have HIV and AIDS, are not infected and that it is necessary to be protected from social isolation. Of course, as it is contagious at many points, we need to know that this microbe is not transmitted by handshaking, kissing, eating together, or using the same fork, same knife or sink, same toilet bowl, which is related to social life. We must allow these people to live among us as regular Turkish citizens. In addition, I am responsible for sharing with all of you that it is necessary to protect these people from social isolation and to reach the knowledge that will enable them to work in a peaceful environment in their working conditions. Only in the time after these people got this disease - about 4 million in the world today receive treatment. In other words, while there are 33.4 million people, 4 million of them receive treatment- and in line with our country's responsibility, it is helpful to know that today everyone in Turkey, everyone who has this disease, has an infrastructure that can provide medication and that the social security institutions cover the medicine of everyone who has this disease. However, with this infrastructure provided by the state, besides sharing that all of the first treatment options in the world, which we

call “primary treatment,” exist in Turkey, and that all social security institutions cover their treatment, due to our social responsibility, knowing that everyone who carries the microbe can be someone like us and that any of us can get it, even with a blood transfusion at any time. I share with you that we need to fulfill our knowledge and social responsibility so that they do not have any difficulties in their living spaces and social areas, in business settings, working environments, sports, and all other environments.

In 2009, sharing the password of the World Health Organization and UNAIDS, I want to emphasize that access to treatment, care, prevention, and support for HIV is an integral part of human rights. Furthermore, all of the Republic of Turkey’s public institutions provide sufficient support in access to care, prevention, and support, which are essential parts of these human rights. However, it is necessary to protect these people from social isolation by accessing this knowledge of the social units that deliver them to society and help them at all points. I express that it is time to stop AIDS by keeping our promises, and I present my respects.”

This speech, which we have not come across in the 20 years examined, was made by Kemalettin Aydın on World AIDS Day on 01.12.2009. Aydın, who is a doctor himself, expressed in this speech the situation of AIDS transmission from mother to child, which was not on the agenda of the General Assembly of the GNAT.

In addition, he stated that the perception of “homosexual disease” in both the society and the ruling party is false and that the disease has various transmission routes.

Interestingly, he made such a speech despite being a ruling party member. This is intriguing because four of the insulting speeches came from the ruling party, and homosexuality was mentioned as “sexual perversion” in these speeches.

It is also interesting that a deputy who made this speech was a member of the ruling party for three legislative terms. This speech is remarkable, especially since the AKP has almost entirely stopped speaking about AIDS, especially in recent years, and some of the speeches made by the deputies in such positions are not very heartening.

Although an evaluation has been made in the above paragraph regarding compatibility with the ruling party, the number of speeches by deputies from other parties that come close to this speech is very few.

The speech made by CHP deputy Binnaz Toprak on 19.11.2014 can be shown as a speech that comes close to this. Toprak mentioned in her speech that the prejudices about AIDS and that the disease belongs to specific groups are wrong.

“...Prejudice or misinformation that AIDS patients are limited to specific groups. So who are these groups? It is thought to be gay men, sex workers, drug addicts, prisoners, refugees, black people, etc. So it is not a disease that can be transmitted to others. However, this is false, completely false, and biased information because research shows that those most affected by AIDS are heterosexuals. In other words, a significant part of AIDS patients - there are AIDS patients among the first groups, of course - either catch the virus through sexual intercourse between men and women or through blood. The most heartbreaking of those is the one passed from mother to baby. Now, because of this misinformation and socio-psychological biases, people living with HIV and AIDS face serious human rights violations daily. Positive Living Association estimates these violations of rights reported to them in Turkey; stigma, social isolation, that is, “Oh, he has AIDS, do not go near him,” as if it is the plague of our age, exposure to degrading treatment, violation of patient privacy and medical data, violation of the right to treatment, to health - which is very, very important, of course - failure to show medical attention, denial of the right to marry, denial of the right to travel. However, AIDS is a curable disease today. There are many survivors of this, and it is now possible for HIV-infected mothers to give birth to healthy babies.”

5.1.2. Distribution of Speakers by Occupational Groups

When the stated distribution is examined, the results will not be surprising. However, as will be seen later, this title was necessary because there is a contradiction with the parliamentary questions.

This table will examine which professions the deputies who talk about our subject belong to and which subjects these professions come into contact with more frequently.

32-Doctor	1-Dentist	2-Chemical Engineer	1-Food Engineer	1-Industrialist
5-Lawyer	1-Veterinarian	1-Chemist	1-Business Person	

5-Teacher	2-Theologian	2-Political Scientist	1-Pharmacist	
1-Industrial Engineer	2-Civil Engineer	2-Business Manager	1-Agricultural Engineer	

	Legal regulations	Data	Warning or Informing	Libelous	Uluslararası Destek	Treatment	Diagnostic Tests	Fight	Comparison	Blood Donation	Privacy	Out of Contextance	Dis-senting
Doctor		1	16	2		2		1	5	3	2	2	1
Lawyer	1			1							1	1	1
Teacher		1	2	1					2				
Dentist			1										
Pharmacist			1										
Industrial Engineer.			1										
Food Engineer			1										
Theologian				1					1				
Business Person												1	
Business Manager		1						1					
Chemical Engineer			2										
Chemist							1						
Industrialist			1										
Political Scientist			1									1	
Veterinarian				1									
Agricultural Engineer									1				

When the tables above are examined, it is understood that the occupational group with the most speeches about the matter is doctors. Since 2002, doctors have spoken 32 times in the General Assembly of the GNAT. Following them, lawyers and teachers come with five addresses each.

Doctors gave place to the “warning and information” label 16 times in their speeches. Two of the insulting speeches that are emphasized more in the study belong to doctors.

The other four insulting speeches are by a lawyer, teacher, theologian, and veterinarian. These speeches were presented above. Contrary to the libelous speech made by Mehmet Aydın, a professor of theology, in 2005, another theologian, İmran Kılıç, gave a speech on comparison in 2020 and underlined the need to take precautions against infectious diseases.

“Epidemics have been one of humanity’s greatest fears throughout history, humanity was surrounded by many dangers, and there were 24 major epidemics. The plague of Athens, the plague of Justinian, the black plague, the plague of the Native Americans, the great plague of London; 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, seventh cholera pandemics, Russian flu, modern plague, Spanish flu, Asian flu, HIV/AIDS, Hong Kong flu, The SARS epidemic, the swine flu, the West African meningitis epidemic, the Haiti cholera epidemic, the Congo measles epidemic, the West African Ebola epidemic, and the coronavirus epidemic have claimed and are causing countless deaths. We should take action; we did; We have to be cautious; we are. Thank you to all concerned. “There is no sense like precaution, no nobility like a good character.”

Only doctors took the floor for the topic of treatment. We believe there should have been more talk about the treatment of the disease over the 20 years. These conversations should not only be about treatment methods but also the extent to which people can access treatment. However, neither this nor any further discussion has been made.

In general, the speeches made by deputies in professions unrelated to the subject belong to warning, information, and comparison categories.

5.1.3. Distribution of Speakers by Gender

Forty-nine of the speeches made between 2002-2022 belong to male representatives. Only twelve speeches were made by women. This difference stems from the inequality in the parliamentary seat distribution. As a result of the 25th Term elections, 98 women and 452 men; as a result of the 26th Term elections, 81 women and 469 men deputies; and as a result of the 27th Term elections, 104 women deputies and 496 men found a place in the Turkish Parliament.

Five of the six insulting speeches belong to the male representatives, and one belongs to the female representatives. The woman deputy's speech concerns tuberculosis and AIDS patients in the prisons, as quoted above. Compared to other insulting speeches, it can qualify as a well-intentioned speech.

	Legal regula-	Data	Warn- ing or	Libel- ous	Inter- na-	Treat- ment	Diag- nostic	Fight	Com- parison	Blood Dona-	Privacy	Out of Con-	Dis- senting
Men	1	2	19	5	1	2	-	1	10	3	3	4	2
Women	-	1	7	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	2	-

5.1.4. Distribution by Date of Speeches

41 of the 61 speeches made in the GNAT on the subject between 2002-2022 were made in the first ten years of the scope of the research.

Although it is clear that it was not an issue that came to the fore excessively between 2002 and 2011, it was brought to the agenda of the GNAT only 20 times by the deputies in the remaining 11 years.

As mentioned in the title of discrimination according to parties, although there were insulting statements, the ruling party did not hesitate to talk about AIDS/HIV in the first years, and speeches that drew attention to the disease and the virus were also made. However, this situation has changed in recent years.

Since the speech of AKP deputy İlknur Denizli on May 23, 2013, the issue has only been brought to the agenda by the AKP on March 11, 2020, by İmran Kılıç. However, it would be difficult to say that İmran Kılıç drew attention to AIDS/HIV with his speech. The date of the speech is near the entrance of the Covid-19 pandemic into the borders of Turkey. İmran Kılıç used the word AIDS while naming other epi-

demographic diseases in his talk on Covid-19. We determined the subject of the talk as a comparison. The study keywords were used while listing the diseases, not aiming to draw attention to the disease.

“Epidemics have been one of humanity’s greatest fears throughout history, humanity was surrounded by many dangers, and there were 24 major epidemics. The plague of Athens, the plague of Justinian, the black plague, the plague of the Native Americans, the great plague of London; 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, seventh cholera pandemics, Russian flu, modern plague, Spanish flu, Asian flu, HIV/AIDS, Hong Kong flu, The SARS epidemic, the swine flu, the West African meningitis epidemic, the Haiti cholera epidemic, the Congo measles epidemic, the West African Ebola epidemic, and the coronavirus epidemic have claimed and are causing countless deaths. We should take action; we did; We have to be cautious; we are. Thank you to all concerned. “There is no sense like precaution, no nobility like a good character.”

A few issues not encountered in the first 10-year period of the study have emerged as of 2013. One of these issues is confidentiality. Two speeches on privacy were given in 2013, and one was made in 2016. One of these speeches was made by HDP deputies, and the others by CHP deputies. As explained earlier, conversations labeled ‘privacy’ are related to the confidentiality of people’s health information and disease states. While this issue was being discussed, the words sexually transmitted disease or AIDS found their place in the deputies’ speeches.

5.2. Distribution by Appendix Column

Drugs x9	Speeches pointing to drugs as the most critical mode of transmission of AIDS
Health Workers x4	Conversations about the risk of healthcare workers being exposed to communicable diseases while performing their duties
Gender Inequality x2	Speeches that indicate that one gender is at a disadvantage in terms of AIDS/HIV compared to the other.
LGBTQI+	Speeches that regard AIDS as a homosexual disease
Injection x2	Speeches stating that transmission is experienced during injections other than drug use

Transmission Routes	Conversations involving the transmission routes of AIDS
Criticism of the Healthcare System	Speeches pointing to the inadequacy of the healthcare system
Religion/Islam	Speeches that view AIDS and HIV as heresy, and argue that they are against religion
Prejudices x2	Speeches that mention prejudices about AIDS
Sexual Protection	Speeches underlining that the most basic way of protection from AIDS is sexual protection
Sexual Life of the Unmarried	Speeches about the avoidance of AIDS by living in monogamy through marriage
Deliberately transmitting venereal diseases	Conversations about deliberate sexual transmission
Alcohol x2	Conversations about the harm of alcohol to individuals with AIDS
Prisoners	Speeches about prisoners suffering from AIDS
Mother - Child x2	Conversations about HIV transmitted from mother to child

The titles in question were created in order to see the context in which the speeches were made, apart from the main topic. As the research team, we think it is unnecessary to make this distinction for every address as such a specific subject is not touched on in every speech. As seen before, in some conversations, representatives only give warnings, talk about treatments and end their conversations.

The appendix column will not be examined similarly to the subject headings. Additional columns have been created to make a general assessment, and the headings considered to be explained by the research team will be examined as separate titles.

5.2.1. Drugs, Ways of Sexual Protection

In the speeches made on the subject in the agenda of the Parliament, the most common issue in the appendix column was drugs. Deputies declared that a significant part of the transmission of AIDS/HIV is due to drug use.

“...High levels of drug use bring along high rates of violence and crime, and cause the formation of some diseases, especially AIDS....”

“...The spread of infectious diseases, which is my area of expertise, especially AIDS, is rapidly spreading among drug addicts...”

Examples of such speeches can be multiplied. The topic of drug abuse, which was mentioned in a total of nine speeches, is perhaps not inaccurate. However, it concludes that the disease's main transmission route is mainly ignored in the GNAT.

HIV is transmitted in two main ways through drug use. The first is the transmission of HIV through blood after sharing needles while using intravenous drugs. This path is directly related to drug use. The second way is that drugs reduce people's cognitive abilities, making them more likely to have unprotected intercourse. This reason is technically related to HIV transmission through unprotected sexual intercourse, not drug use.

According to the data announced by the Ministry of Health, 45.6% of HIV cases are transmitted sexually, 0.97% of them are transmitted through intravenous substances or drugs, and the transmission route of 53.08% is unknown. Based on the statistics announced by the ministry, the direct effect of drug use on HIV transmission is minimal compared to the impact of unprotected sexual intercourse on HIV transmission. In other words, contrary to the general belief in the GNAT, unprotected sexual intercourse causes HIV formation much more than drug use.

We come across the topic of protection during sexual intercourse in only one of the 61 conversations. In this speech delivered by AKP deputy Mehmet Melik Özmen on December 2, 2003, the importance of protection during sexual intercourse and the use of condoms were highlighted. The fact that a vitally important topic has been mentioned only once in 20 years shows that the deputies do not take the disease and the virus very seriously.

In cases where exposure to HIV is known, the risk of contracting HIV is significantly reduced with drugs called PEP (Post-Exposure Prophylaxis). However, this medicine should be taken 72 hours after contact with HIV. Informing the public on

this topic has the potential to make a significant difference in preventing HIV-positive and AIDS development. However, it would be delusional to demand that the proxies, who refrain from discussing protection during sexual intercourse, inform the public about these medications.

For these reasons, it will be challenging to say that the valid points have been touched by the proxies trying to raise awareness about AIDS/HIV. Of course, the use of drugs is a critical point in terms of the transmission of the virus, but the main preventive methods have not been sufficiently handled.

5.2.2. Prejudices, LGBTQI+, Gender Inequality, Sex Life of the Unmarried

Since the four additional topics in the title are related, they will be examined under a single title.

In his speech dated December 1, 2009, AKP deputy Kemalettin Aydın and in her speech dated November 19, 2014, CHP deputy Binnaz Toprak drew attention to prejudices about AIDS/HIV and stated that they were not true.

Kemalettin Aydın stated in his speech that when the disease was discovered, there was a general belief that only homosexuals could have this disease. However, it was later learned that the disease could also be transmitted through heterosexual intercourse. Although this fact was realized years ago, unfortunately, there is still the perception that AIDS is a homosexual disease, which continues in societies today. In his speech, Aydın also pointed out the HIV transmission from mother to child, which was not mentioned before, and the fact that social isolation is not a solution because being in the same environment with an HIV+ person does not carry the virus.

Binnaz Toprak, on the other hand, covered the prejudices more broadly and underlined the need to stop seeing the disease as belonging to specific groups. While talking about these groups, he mentioned homosexuals, sex workers, drug addicts, prisoners, refugees, and black people and emphasized that this disease is not unique to these groups. Continuing his speech, he stated that most of those affected by this disease are heterosexual men.

At the same time, Binnaz Toprak talked about HIV transmission from mother to child and stated that social isolation is not the solution, that AIDS should not be stigmatized as the “plague of our age,” as worded by other representatives, and

that AIDS patients should not be treated with discrimination.

Another missing point among the parliamentary discourses is information about HIV-positive parents having children. Today, HIV-positive parents can have HIV-free children with various testing and treatment methods.

Within the scope of our research, this issue only came up in the speech of Binnaz Toprak in the GNAT.

“...Prejudice or misinformation that AIDS patients are limited to specific groups. So who are these groups? It is thought to be gay men, sex workers, drug addicts, prisoners, refugees, black people, etc. So it is not a disease that can be transmitted to others. However, this is false, completely false, and biased information because research shows that those most affected by AIDS are heterosexuals. In other words, a significant part of AIDS patients - there are AIDS patients among the first groups, of course - either catch the virus through sexual intercourse between men and women or through blood. The most heartbreaking of those is the one passed from mother to baby. Now, because of this misinformation and socio-psychological biases, people living with HIV and AIDS face serious human rights violations daily. Positive Living Association estimates these violations of rights reported to them in Turkey; stigma, social isolation, that is, “Oh, he has AIDS, do not go near him,” as if it is the plague of our age, exposure to degrading treatment, violation of patient privacy and medical data, violation of the right to treatment, to health - which is very, very important, of course - failure to show medical attention, denial of the right to marry, denial of the right to travel. However, AIDS is a curable disease today. There are many survivors of this, and it is now possible for HIV-infected mothers to give birth to healthy babies.”

The term “plague of the age” was used twice for AIDS in the parliamentary seats. One of these uses belongs to AKP deputy Nevzat Doğan, and the other belongs to AKP deputy Remziye Öztoprak. Another speech described it as the most terrible disease of the age.

Despite the statements of the two representatives mentioned above stating that the disease should not be equated with homosexuality, there are also deputies who see this disease as something that happens to those who commit “sexual perversion” or have an illegitimate relationship.

The appendix to these insulting speeches is the sexual life of LGBTI+ and unmarried people. These speeches were made by AKP deputies Hamit Taşçı and Cevdet Erdöl. Since all speeches are included in the previous sections of the report, quo-

tations will be added as a reminder in this section.

"...will bring sexual perversion, prostitution, drug addiction, syphilis, and the most terrible disease of our age, AIDS."

"...If a person does not abuse drugs and, as said in Anatolia, avoids haram, he will have cleared two of the three elements; that is, they are protected by two out of three chances. Well, do they have a law; yes; there are many laws prohibiting illegitimate life, but it is still done."

There is no medical basis that homosexual relationships, which are described as sexual perversion in these discourses, increase the likelihood of AIDS compared to heterosexual ones. Since the transmission of HIV is through the contact of sexual fluids, having heterosexual or homosexual sexual intercourse does not increase or decrease the probability of HIV transmission. According to the data announced by the Ministry of Health, it is known that 68.6% of HIV cases reported to be sexually transmitted are heterosexual sexual intercourse. In other words, the possibility of HIV transmission in sexual intercourse increases with the contact of sexual fluids due to unprotected sex.

When the additional subject and main subject categories are examined in general, although we expect the deputies to talk more about AIDS/HIV prevention, the AIDS treatment process and the role of the state in this process, the ways of transmission of the virus, and to use educational and awareness-raising statements about the disease, the picture that emerges does not seem fit this expectation.

We have seen almost one conversation each about treatment, contamination, and prevention topics, which shows that the disease does not have significance in the eyes of the representatives. Although hundreds of GNAT General Assemblies have been held yearly for over 20 years, regardless of the subject headings, as stated at the beginning of the study, reaching only 61 speeches in 2431 sessions reveals the situation alone.

6. Analysis - Parliamentary Questions

Twenty-nine parliamentary questions were submitted to the Presidency of the GNAT within the scope of the study. We have stated that an issue such as AIDS/HIV, which affects public health profoundly, is not sufficiently on the agenda in the General Assembly speeches of the Turkish Parliament. The same situation is pres-

ent in the parliamentary questions and the parliamentary inquiries we will examine later.

In the same period, while 29 questions on AIDS/HIV were submitted, more than 30 questions on carpets in the Parliament and some ministries were submitted to the Presidency of the GNAT.

6.1. Distribution by Parties and Subjects

CHP	HDP	MHP	Independent
20	5	2	2

In the speeches of the General Assembly of the GNAT, the ruling party appeared as the party that spoke the most. The ruling party was followed by the main opposition party, CHP. In the parliamentary questions, there is no motion belonging to the government. Although this situation may seem strange at first glance, this picture should be considered typical in a country like Turkey, where democratic tradition is not very well established.

Statistics x8	Motions that request numerical data on AIDS/HIV
Prevention/Fight x8	Motions on measures taken or to be taken against AIDS/HIV
Support for Issues x6	Recommendations about the problems of patients or HIV+ people
Specific Event x4	Motions about an AIDS/HIV-related incident
Treatment x3	Motions on AIDS/HIV treatment
Information on a Conference	Motions containing a request for information about a conference on AIDS/HIV
90-90-90	Motions with questions about UNAIDS “90-90-90” strategy targets

International Agreements	Motions on international AIDS/HIV agreements
Tests	Motions about diagnostic tests

	Statistics	Support for Issues	Prevention	Treatment	International Agreements	Information on a conference	90-90-90	Specific Event	Tests
CHP	4	2	7	2	1	1	-	3	1
HDP	1	2	1	-	-	-	1	1	-
MHP	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Independent	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

When the motions are compared with the General Assembly speeches, the most striking difference is that a matter such as support for problems was not discussed in the General Assembly.

When the motions on “support for problems” are examined, it will be understood that questions about the problems experienced by AIDS patients or HIV+ individuals and their solutions are directed to the ministers. Six of the 29 motions presented are about this issue. In the General Assembly speeches, this issue was not brought to the agenda with such frequency.

The topic of precaution/struggle in parliamentary questions came to the fore more frequently than a similar subject in the General Assembly. Eight of the 29 proposals presented are about prevention and fight. These issues should be discussed more frequently in the Parliamentary Agenda, but the deputies preferred to talk about the risk of the disease, its high contagiousness, and fatality. We have stated in the previous sections of the article that the topics on which the General Assembly speeches were made were not very accurate.

Motions on statistics were submitted by all three parties, but independent representatives do not have any motions on this subject.

Although there were motions by independent deputies about “support for the problems,” the MHP deputies preferred not to present a motion on this issue. It can be considered a bizarre situation that MHP, the party that made the most speeches after AKP and CHP, with eight speeches in the General Assembly speeches, presented only two parliamentary questions.

Another point that should be noted under this section is that a parliamentary question about the 90-90-90 targets was presented.

90-90-90 announced by UNAIDS, the United Nations AIDS program is a global program and awareness campaign that aims to ensure:

- At least 90% of people with HIV worldwide will be diagnosed and aware that they are HIV carriers by 2020.
- at least 90% of these individuals will have access to uninterrupted anti-retroviral therapy (ART),
- and sustained virologic suppression will be achieved in at least 90% of individuals on HIV medication.

HDP MP Filiz Kerestecioğlu Demir asked questions about the 90-90-90 targets in the motion submitted to the Presidency on December 1, 2020. No other data was found on this subject, neither in the General Assembly speeches nor in the parliamentary inquiries.

6.1.2. Distribution by Dates

The distribution of the 29 motions over the years is not in line with the speeches of the General Assembly. While the conversations intensified in the first ten years, parliamentary questions gained frequency in the last ten years. The reason for this can be the low number of parties that will resort to these control methods since only two parties were in the parliamentary seats until 2007. As party diversity grew, an increase was observed in the number of motions. While ten questions were submitted to the Presidency of the GNAT in the first 10-year period, 19 questions were presented in the last ten years.

6.2. Distribution by Parties and Appendix Column

Number of Individuals with the Virus x7	Under the title of statistics, Motions about the number of individuals infected with HIV
Number of AIDS Diagnoses x4	Under the title of statistics, Motions on the number of individuals with AIDS
Discrimination x4	Motions on discrimination against people with AIDS or HIV+
Blood Transfusion x3	Motions on HIV transmission during blood transfusion
Number of Deaths x2	Under the title of statistics, Motions about the data on the number of deaths from AIDS
Refugees x2	Motions about refugees carrying HIV into the country
Awareness x2	Motions on raising awareness about AIDS and HIV
Case Increases x2	Motions on the increase in AIDS cases.
Covid-19 x2	Motions on the condition of AIDS patients during the Covid-19 pandemic
Sex Education	Motions for nationwide sexual education in order to protect against AIDS
Women	Motions about women with HIV
Penal Institutions	Motions on AIDS/HIV in penitentiary institutions
HIV+ pregnancies	Motions on the HIV+ status of pregnant individuals
HIV testing before surgery	Motions about HIV tests before surgery

The Ministry's inadequacy and discriminatory attitude towards LGBTI, Women, Refugees and Sex Workers	Motions about the Ministry's discrimination on AIDS/HIV
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Many of the above-mentioned issues were presented to the Speaker of the Grand National Assembly by CHP deputies. Rarely noticed issues such as pre-operative HIV testing, sexual education, and HIV+ pregnant women found their place through CHP proxies.

HDP was the only party to ask questions about the discriminatory attitude of the Ministry. Filiz Kerestecioğlu Demir's motion on 90-90-90, which was mentioned before, also requests information about the discriminatory attitude with other questions it contains. In another motion of HDP, discrimination against HIV+ people is mentioned. The additional column of the motions of MHP deputies consists of the number of deaths and the number of AIDS diagnoses. Independent attorney Sebahat Tuncel also touched on the new issues. Tuncel mentioned the additional issues of Women and Penitentiary Institutions in their proposal dated February 7, 2011.

6.3. Distribution by the Deputies

Mustafa Sezgin Tanrikulu x6	Nevin Gaye Erbatur x4	Filiz Kerestecioğlu Demir x2	Melda Onur x2
Özcan Yeniçeri x2	Sebahat Tuncel x2	Sibel Yiğitalp x2	Tansel Barış x2
Bülent Baratalı	Durmuş Fikri Sağlar	Gamze Taşçier	Levent Gök
Ömer Fethi Gürer	Şafak Pavey	Züleyha Gülüm	

When the table is examined, it will be noticed that the deputy who submitted the most parliamentary questions in the specified years was Mustafa Sezgin Tanrikulu, the deputy of the CHP. Tanrikulu, a deputy since the 2011 elections, submitted 24,354 questions to the Speaker of the GNAT. For this reason, it would not be strange if the number of his motions was dominant in any subject studied. Approximately 13.8% of the 176.424 motions submitted since the 2011 elections belong to Tanrikulu.

The motions of M. Sezgin Tanrikulu are on prevention, treatment, statistics, and a specific event. Another noteworthy point is Tanrikulu's profession other than being a deputy. Tanrikulu, a lawyer himself, presented more proposals than the attorneys practicing medicine in the parliamentary questions section of the study. The subject of professions will be examined in detail in the rest of the article.

6.3.1. Professions

Lawyer x11	Health manager x2	Manager, Farmer
Chemical Engineer x4	Tourism x2	Pharmacist
Mapmaker x2	Journalist x2	Industrial Engineer
Doctor x2	International relations graduate	

Another difference in the proposals section is about the professions of the deputies. While the number of deputies whose profession is a doctor is relatively high in the section where the General Assembly speeches are examined, the same situation does not exist in this section.

Eleven of the 29 proposals submitted to the Presidency of the GNAT were presented by lawyers. Chemical engineers take second place with four speeches. Health administrators, tourism professionals, cartographers, journalists, and doctors follow chemical engineers with two motions each.

It should be noted that we have difficulty revealing why doctors remain in the background in terms of motions. It is beneficial to examine the motions presented by the doctors in order to examine the issue. At the same time, other motions should also be read, but they will not be included in order not to overwhelm the article with motions.

- Regarding the situation of a child and his family who contracted AIDS with the blood delivered at the hospital in Şanlıurfa

- Regarding the adequacy of the measures taken against HIV

The proposals presented by the other deputies were generally about statistics, the treatment of the disease, the measures taken against the disease, and the difficulties experienced by patients. It can be assumed that doctors have a certain level of knowledge about these fields due to their profession. When we look at the motions submitted by the doctors, it is seen that one of them is a request for information about an incident in Şanlıurfa, and the other is about the existing measures.

Although it can be assumed that having a certain level of knowledge will affect the number of motions, it can also be thought that this information should push them to more accurate questions. With more accurate questions, the ministers could be provided with more precise and straightforward responses, but this way was not preferred by the doctors.

	Support for Issues	Statistics	Prevention	Specific Event	Information on a conference	Treatment	Tests	International Agreements	90 90 90 program
Lawyer	2	3	5	3	-	1	-	-	1
Doctor	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
Chemical Engineer	-	-	1	-	1	1	1	-	-
Pharmacist	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mapmaker	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Journalist	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Industrial Engineer	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Health Manager	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Tourism	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
International Relations	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Manager, farmer	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-

Included in this section are summaries of the proposals. The contents of the motions are easily understood when the summaries are read, and we believe that including the parliamentary questions in the article will reduce the readability.

6.3.1. Professions

There is also a contrast in this matter with the General Assembly speeches. Of the 29 proposals presented, 14 were prepared by men and 15 by women deputies. The number of women in the Turkish parliament throughout the years was included in the previous parts of the article. It was unexpected that the table changed this way without a change in the number of women deputies.

Respondent/Response Status	Answered	Answered after the deadline	Not answered	Null and void
Presidential Advisor Fuat Oktay	1	-	1	-
Former Foreign Minister Abdullah Gül	-	-	1	-
Former Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu	-	-	1	-
Former Prime Minister Binali Yıldırım	-	-	2	-
Former Minister of Justice Sadullah Ergin	-	-	1	-
Former Minister of Health Ahmet Demircan	-	-	1	-
Former Minister of Health Mehmet Müezzinoğlu	-	3	1	1
Former Minister of Health Recep Akdağ	3	1	6	1
Minister of Health Fahrettin Koca	-	1	4	-
Total	4	5	18	2

Of the 29 parliamentary questions submitted to the ministers and presidential advisors on the subject, nine were answered, four on time, and five after the deadline. The remaining 20 proposals were left unanswered. One of those who responded to the proposals was Presidential Advisor Fuat Oktay, who answered that the questions were out of his jurisdiction. Although this entry is taken as answered, we cannot speak of a satisfactory or unsatisfactory answer.

As a result of the paragraph above, we can say that apart from Fahrettin Koca, Mehmet Müezzinoğlu, and Recep Akdağ, no minister or advisor responded to the motions. The answers the three ministers gave were also examined according to whether they had satisfactory answers to the questions. This is because, as we approach the present day, it is possible to say that the answers given to the questions are only for the sake of answering them.

	Response Evaluations		
Former Minister of Health Mehmet Müezzinoğlu	Former Minister of Health Recep Akdağ	Former Minister of Health Fahrettin Koca	
Unanswered	Unanswered	Brief information	
Brief information	Brief information		
No access to response details	Unanswered		
	Unanswered		

Mehmet Müezzinoğlu answered three of the five questions addressed to him after the deadline had passed. One of the questions he answered was about statistics and treatments, and Müezzinoğlu answered the statistics part with tables and the treatment part shortly and clearly. He answered another proposal with concise and straightforward answers.

Recep Akdağ, on the other hand, gave satisfactory answers in other motions except for one motion that he answered briefly.

Fahrettin Koca preferred to answer all six questions in the motion under a single heading. He wrote a reply to share the data about AIDS cumulatively, not by years, and to bypass the parts about discrimination or did not write at all.

Except for the response given by Presidential Advisor Fuat Oktay, Fahrettin Koca's response to the motion dated December 1, 2020, has been recorded as the last motion answered. The last motion answered before Koca's reply was the motion submitted to the Presidency on November 29, 2013. Mehmet Mezzinođlu answered this proposal. Between these two motions, nine motions remained unanswered.

While four of the ten motions submitted between 2002-2011 were answered, only five of the 19 motions submitted between 2012-2022 were answered.

Seven of the answered motions belong to CHP. One of them belongs to HDP, and the other belongs to MHP.

7. Analysis - Parliamentary Inquiries

As a result of the searches made with keywords, it was determined that only five of the 14,285 research proposals within the scope of the study were related to AIDS/HIV and included keywords.

Four of the five parliamentary inquiries came from CHP desks and one from HDP desks. Only one doctor among the representatives submitted a motion to open a parliamentary inquiry. This deputy is Murat Emir, who is also a lawyer. The establishment of a committee was not accepted for any of the five motions submitted. The topics of the proposals are mainly similar. Four of them are for warning, information, and awareness-raising, and the remaining one is about the fight against AIDS.

8. Committee Reports & Bills

In this section, without categorizing and presenting numerical data, the context in which the research keywords are used will be conveyed directly or indirectly.

8.1. Committee Reports

In the report “Committee Established to Determine the Measures to be Taken by Investigating the Problems of Children, Especially the Missing Children,” numbered 589, belonging to the 23rd legislative period, the fourth legislative year, working areas of the Youth Counseling and Health Services Center, UNICEF, and the UN on children and young people were presented. Protecting children and young people from sexually transmitted diseases was also listed among these topics.

“UNICEF strives to help 13 million adolescents in Turkey acquire the life skills that will enable them to lead healthy and productive lives, protected from HIV/AIDS.”

“...Informing, training and consultancy, diagnosis and treatment services related to diseases provided for young people in Youth Counseling and Health Service Centers mainly include the following subjects:

- 1. Physical growth, sexual and psychosocial development*
- 2. Family counseling for adolescents/young people*
- 3. Psychological problems*
- 4. Diagnosis and treatment of common systemic diseases*
- 5. Vaccination services*
- 6. Sexual and Reproductive Health Counseling*
- 7. Adolescent pregnancy (including pregnancy tests)*
- 8. Sexually transmitted diseases, HIV/AIDS, and prevention*
- 9. Sexual abuse and violence*
- 10. Family planning*
- 11. Counseling and guidance for unwanted pregnancies*
- 12. Counseling and guidance for smoking and substance abuse*
- 13. Health services during and after pregnancy....”*

“UNFPA supports governments to use population data in the development of poverty reduction policies, works to ensure that every pregnancy is desired, every birth is safe, and every young person is protected from HIV/AIDS, and supports women and girls with the respectful treatment they deserve.”

The use of the keywords of the study subject in this report has been on institutions that are interested in preventing and treating the disease. Apart from this report, this is not the case in the two reports mentioned below. Drug use and AIDS/HIV, which we drew attention to in the discourse analysis section of the article, were among the subjects that the other two reports touched upon.

Commission reports numbered 592, published on 24/4, and numbered 558, published on 26/3, report on drug use, and drug use is mentioned as one of the critical transmission routes of HIV in these reports. Opinions and data on this subject have been given in the previous sections of the article.

8.2. Bills

“For example, by calling a person ‘blind,’ ‘squint,’ ‘lame,’ ‘humpback,’ ‘bald,’ or calling a person ‘psychopath,’ ‘syphilis,’ or ‘aids,’ one commits a criminal libel. The above sentence is taken from the justification of the offense of insult (art. 125) in the section on crimes against the honor of the Turkish Penal Code, which entered into force on June 1, 2005. Throughout the justification, the situations and words that will constitute the offense of libel are counted by example.

The point that will draw attention here is not the situations in which the crime of insult will occur since calling a person with their existing physical characteristics or illness may leave that individual in a difficult situation in society. However, while the legislator exemplifies the situations in which this crime will occur, it is striking that two of the three examples are sexually transmitted diseases.

The situation reveals that the government expresses that these diseases are diseases to be ashamed of and that individuals with them should hide their condition. This problem was not noticed during the General Assembly discussions, and the negotiations continued unresponsively by the opposition.

It is among our greatest wishes for the coming years that these perceptions about sexually transmitted diseases, especially AIDS, settle on a more accurate and respectful ground in the public’s mind.



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