



KEEPING HOPE IN THE *NEVERLAND* THROUGH RESISTANCE AND STRUGGLE: THE SATURDAY MOTHERS

Eren Alkan

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DOCTORAL THESIS

Eren Alkan

**KEEPING HOPE IN THE *NEVERLAND*
THROUGH RESISTANCE AND STRUGGLE:
THE SATURDAY MOTHERS**

Universitat Rovira i Virgili

Humanistic Studies



UNIVERSITAT ROVIRA I VIRGILI

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Supervised by Dr. Elizabeth Russell and Dr. Rasime Şebnem Korur Fincancı

Humanistic Studies



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STATEMENT OF SUPERVISION

WE STATE that the present study, entitled "**Keeping Hope in the Neverland through Resistance and Struggle: The Saturday Mothers**" presented by **Eren Alkan** for the award of the degree of doctor, has been carried out under our supervision at the **Department of English and German Studies** of this university and that it fulfils the requirements to be eligible for the International Doctorate Award.

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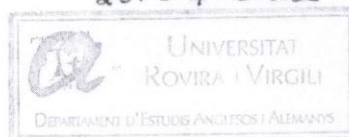
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PREAMBLE

I first would like to state that I followed *safe working practices* throughout the research, including necessary *measures* as stated on the official website of the Universitat Rovira i Virgili (URV), e.g., online meetings and interviews regarding the health of all the parties in the research because of the COVID-19 pandemic and regarding the safety of the subjects¹ by asking them whether they prefer codes instead of their real names in data analysis because of the sensitive content of the research.

All of the interviews were conducted according to the consent form, and the research content has never been shared with any third parties regarding human dignity, confidentiality, and non-discrimination which are among the declared key principles of the URV.

After completing the research², I hope I have attained all the stipulations and objectives of the programme. My research topic is an analysis of the multiple ways in which the Saturday Mothers' struggle has evolved since 1995, and which attempts to provide documentation of human experience, and more specifically, with special respect for women's perspectives. This research has helped me to acquire and develop competencies in both analytical and methodological techniques. My participation in various seminars, workshops, conferences, and meetings related to the research has enriched my knowledge of the history and politics of my country.

The doctoral research at the URV has also changed my academic and professional direction from philology to sociology. After working as an English instructor as an American Studies graduate at university for about 15 years, I have started to work in the department of sociology at Ege University, Turkey. Not only has my research changed my professional life

¹ Instead of using the term "interviewee", I prefer the word "subject" to underline that all the participants in the research are equal and actively involved in all parts of the research.

² Like all researchers, I am one of many, and my work is made up of many ideas and theories that have helped me to form my own consciousness. I am grateful for all the research past and present which has helped me with the subject of my thesis.

but it has given me a more emotional and deeper sense of parenthood, as a father of two children. To put it in a nutshell, it has made my life richer in every respect.

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I would like to thank all the women in my life who have facilitated this process for me:

My wife Hale, for her endless love and patience,

My mother Hediye, for she put me on a road pitched by love, generosity, and courage,

My mother-in-law Melek, for all her constant help and support,

My sister Seren, for she is always with me unconditionally,

My supervisor Liz, for her unceasing support, direction, and wisdom,

My supervisor Şebnem, for her modest touch in every single moment,

All the Saturday Mothers, the Saturday People, the Saturday Mothers Activists, for they have given a fresh meaning to my life and for their inspiration.

I also thank my programme coordinator Maria and the Humanistic Studies Programme Academic Committee members, as well as TİHV Academy members, specifically Güldem, for their support and detailed feedback.

My very special gratitude is to Sebla Arcan, who is one of the most important human rights activists in Turkey, and who has devoted her life to the Saturday Mothers and their struggle. She has been a very important key to all the doors that I was trying to open, and she taught me a lot. This is why I would like to dedicate this thesis to her.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS RESULTING FROM THE THESIS

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Link for the book:

https://tihvakademi.org/wpcontent/uploads/2021/11/Salgin_Sonrasi_Donemde_Insan_Haklari.pdf

Link for the video of the presentation: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eCcOfS0MVyE>

(Mins: 3:49-23:47).

TABLE OF CONTENTS

STATEMENT OF SUPERVISION	i
PREAMBLE	ii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iv
LIST OF PUBLICATIONS RESULTING FROM THE THESIS	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
FOREWORD: The Beginning of the End: <i>Peter Pan</i> Whispers to the Saturday Mothers about Resistance and Struggle	1
INTRODUCTION: This is HerStory: The Saturday Mothers	8
THE STATE OF ART	12
PART I: OBJECTIVES AND RESEARCH QUESTION	21
PART II: METHODOLOGY	22
1. A General Overview: Method Selecting Process of the Research.....	22
2. The Philosophical Background of the Research Methodology	23
2.1. Ontology.....	23
2.2. Epistemology.....	24
2.3. The Strategic Themes in Research.....	26
2.4. Qualitative Feminist Method.....	27
2.4.1. How Is Gender Dimension Included in the Research?	33
2.5. Narrative Critical Analysis Method.....	35
3. Personalizing the Research.....	36
4. Purposeful Sampling and Insider and Outsider Perspectives.....	38
5. Points of View.....	38
6. Observing What Does Not Happen.....	39
7. Tools and Techniques.....	40
8. Researcher's Position in the Research.....	41
9. Triangulation.....	42
10. Selection of the Cases.....	43
11. Interviews.....	44
12. Analytic Induction.....	44
13. Ethics.....	45
14. Conclusion.....	45
PART III: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND	46
1. Ethnicity and Gender in Turkey.....	46
1.1. General Framework.....	46
1.2. The Minorities in Turkey.....	51
1.2.1. The Kurds.....	51
1.2.2. The Main Problems That the Minorities in Turkey Face.....	51
2. Women and Minorities in Turkey.....	53

PART IV: DATA ANALYSIS, FINDINGS, AND DISCUSSION	65
1. Introduction.....	65
2. Definition of the Key Terms and Concepts.....	65
2.1. Torture.....	65
2.2. Remembering-Recall-Memory/Forgetting.....	67
2.3. Denial and Annihilation.....	68
2.4. Insistence and Resistance.....	69
2.5. Mourning.....	70
2.6. Civil Disobedience.....	71
2.7. Truth.....	71
2.8. Motherhood.....	72
3. Enforced Disappearances, Memory, and Truth and Notable Organisations in the World....	73
4. Similar Experiences to the Saturday Mothers from Other Parts of the World.....	75
PART V.I: DOCUMENT ANALYSIS	81
1. Introduction.....	83
2. Document Analysis.....	83
2.1. Documentaries	83
2.1.1. Analysis 1.....	84
2.1.2. Analysis 2.....	94
2.2. Songs.....	99
2.2.1. Analysis 1.....	99
2.2.2. Analysis 2.....	102
2.2.3. Analysis 3.....	105
2.2.4. Analysis 4.....	109
2.3. News Analysis.....	113
2.4. Analysis of the Samples from the Saturday Mothers Official YouTube Channel.....	114
2.5. Quotations from the Mothers and Relatives from Different Media.....	119
2.6. Important Pieces of Organisation Related to the Saturday Mothers' Struggle.....	123
2.7. The Saturday Mothers in Different Media.....	124
2.7.1. Docu-Drama.....	124
2.7.2. The Parliament Documents.....	125
2.7.3. Chapters in Academic Books and Papers.....	125
2.7.4. Human Rights Associations.....	126
2.7.5. Awards.....	129
2.7.6. Arts: Exhibitions and Cartoons.....	130
2.7.7. Plays.....	138
2.7.8. International Mainstream Media.....	138
2.7.9. National Media Who Release Regular News about the Saturday Mothers.....	139
2.7.10. Movies, Episodes from the Mainstream Series, Books, and Magazines.....	140
3. Discussion.....	142
PART V.II: THE SATURDAY MOTHERS ACTIVISTS	150
1. About the Researcher's Diary.....	150
2. About the Interviews: Credibility, Validity, and Reliability.....	150
3. Findings and Data Analysis.....	155
3.1. Aim of the Interviews.....	155
3.2. Interview Questions.....	155
3.2.1. The Name of the Struggle.....	157
3.2.2. The Meaning of Galatasaray and the Meetings.....	158
3.2.3. On How the Saturday Mothers Started.....	160

3.2.4. The Method of the Struggle.....	161
3.2.5. What Made It Spread?	162
3.2.6. What Made It Continuous?	163
4. Discussion.....	164
PART V.III: THE SATURDAY MOTHERS.....	168
1. About the Interviews: Credibility, Validity, and Reliability.....	168
2. Findings and Data Analysis.....	172
2.1. Aim of the Interviews.....	173
2.2. Interview Questions.....	173
2.2.1. How Their Lives Changed After the Struggle.....	174
2.2.2. The Meaning of the Galatasaray Square.....	174
2.2.3. The Meaning of the Saturday Mothers Struggle.....	177
2.2.4. The First Attending the Struggle.....	178
2.2.5. Memories.....	178
2.2.6. What Made It Continuous?	179
2.2.7. The Name: Mothers or People?	180
3. Discussion.....	180
CONCLUSION.....	187
1. Where Research Stands in the Human Rights Activism.....	187
2. Ethical Challenges in Qualitative Interviewing.....	188
3. New Definitions of the Terms after the Findings and Discussion.....	190
APPENDICES.....	206
Appendix 1: Brief History of Human Rights in Turkey.....	206
Appendix 2: Album.....	281
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	308

All children, except one, grow up. They soon know that they will grow up, and the way Wendy knew was this. One day when she was two years old, she was playing in a garden, and she plucked another flower and ran with it to her mother. I suppose she must have looked rather delightful, for Mrs. Darling put her hand to her heart and cried, "Oh, why can't you remain like this forever!" This was all that passed between them on the subject, but henceforth Wendy knew that she must grow up. You always know after you are two. Two is the beginning of the end. (J. M. Barrie, *Peter Pan*, p.3)

FOREWORD

The Beginning of the End:

Peter Pan Whispers to the Saturday Mothers about Resistance and Struggle

Neverland has been used in English as "no place", "a non-existent country", or "non-existent lands". The term first became a widely known motif in Western thought and literature by Scottish novelist and playwright James Matthew Barrie in 1904 as a play, and later in 1911 as a novel. The opus magnum, which is also titled *The Child Who Doesn't Grow*, is not only popular in children's literature, but it is also one of the canon figures of cinema, television, and the Internet³. However, before Barrie, the term *Never Never* had been used by Australian poet, Barcroft Boake in his poem titled "Where the Dead Men Lie". *Never Never* is a synonym used for the Australian Outback which is a remote and sparsely populated area and is not related to any urban places in the country. The poem summarizes how lonely men are when they are separated from their loved ones⁴. In addition, Archibald William Stirling wrote a book titled *The Never Never Land: A Ride in North Queensland* in which he claims, "Queensland some day, and above all the 'Never Never Land,'—as the colonists call the territory which lies north or west of Cape Capricorn—will be among the greatest of England's dependencies" (1884, p. vi) which implies that Never Never Land is a remote, fruitful, and

³ Neverland is a fictional island in the novel where Peter Pan, Captain Hook, Tinker Bell, and the Lost Boys live. Peter Pan, the protagonist, refuses to grow up that is why he is always a child. Thus, Neverland symbolizes eternal childhood, escapism, and immortality (Wikipedia, 2021). In the early versions of the play/novel, Barrie used the term "the Never Never Land" as well as "Peter's Never Never Never Land".

⁴ To read the poem, please refer to <https://www.poetrylibrary.edu.au/poets/boake-barcroft/poems/where-the-dead-men-lie-0089031> (Accessed 22.4.2022)

adventurous place for both colonists and Stirling. Australian writer, Jeannie Gunn, published an autobiographical book named *We of the Never Never* (1908), on her experiences in Mataranka, Northern Territory, Australia, in addition to Roza Campbell Preid, who wrote a novel titled *Lady Bridget in the Never Never Land* in 1915.

The common feature among all these works is the authors' use of the concept of *Never (Never) Land* as being remote from all civilization, which makes the place both exciting and unknown. Also, the *Never (Never) Land* transforms the characters through the experiences they have there.

Within this perspective, another term comes into the discussion: utopia⁵ because Neverland is a utopian place in *Peter Pan*. In terms of its dictionary meaning, according to the Turkish Language Association, utopia is defined as an "impossible plan or idea". In the Cambridge and Oxford Learner's dictionaries, it is defined as "an imaginary place (where) (or state in which) everything is perfect", and in the Merriam-Webster dictionary it is defined as "a place where law, government, and social situations are ideally perfect imaginary uncertain and distant place". From this point of view, Neverland where Peter Pan lives is also utopian, even though it contains pirates trying to disrupt the "perfect" order. Peter Pan, the micro-embodiment of the Neverland, also represents utopia itself, emphasizing how wonderful and superior he is throughout the novel. The reason for explaining the above is to introduce the main subject of this thesis which has become one of the longest protest movements in the world, the Saturday Mothers⁶ struggle, by metaphorically drawing an analogy between Neverland in *Peter Pan* and the Saturday Mothers' struggle in Turkey.

In Barrie's novel, what Peter Pan and the other children of Neverland have in common is that they never grow up. In Neverland, there is no frontier between fantasy and reality, and

⁵ Utopian studies have become very important in literature and the variety of utopian and dystopian texts, envisioned by women and men have entered areas of politics, sci-fi, cinema, literature, and social studies. The term "utopia" is no longer used as an impossible place of existence, but as a better place, depending on the author's definition of "better"!

⁶ I consciously use the term the Saturday Mothers although the struggle consists of fathers, wives, sisters, brothers, daughters, and sons among others. I explained the reasons in the next chapter.

children do not need to use reason to make or do whatever they think or feel. The story is about three siblings named Wendy, John, and Michael who follow Peter Pan one night to Neverland. It also narrates how the mother misses and mourns the loss of her children and desperately needs to know their whereabouts. On the other hand, Wendy adopts the role of mother to all the children in Neverland and participates in their struggles and adventures with evil pirates led by Captain Hook.

As regards the Saturday Mothers of Turkey, they have been silently asking about the fate of their forcibly disappeared⁷ children with red carnations and their children's photographs at the Galatasaray Square in Istanbul, Taksim every Saturday at 12:00 p.m. since 1995 although their protests have been blocked and banned from time to time. Inspired by the Plaza de Mayo protests in Argentina, the Saturday Mothers are trying to make their voices heard by the authorities and the whole world by demanding truth and justice. These forcibly disappeared children are like the missing children in the fictional Neverland in *Peter Pan*. The whereabouts of the most Saturday Mothers' children are unknown⁸. How they were lost and

⁷ "According to the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearances, the term enforced disappearance is '... considered to be the arrest, detention, abduction, or any other form of deprivation of liberty by agents of the State or by persons or groups of persons acting with the authorization, support, or acquiescence of the State, followed by a refusal to acknowledge the deprivation of liberty or by concealment of the fate or whereabouts of the disappeared person, which place such a person outside the protection of the law.'

For this reason, enforced disappearance is defined by three distinguishing factors that complement each other:

1. Deprivation of liberty against the will of the person.
2. Involvement of state officials, at least by acquiescence.
3. Refusal to acknowledge the deprivation of liberty or concealment of the fate or whereabouts of the disappeared person" (Hafıza Merkezi, Accessed 6.4.2022).

Enforced disappearances and unidentified murders are not synonyms. Unidentified murders can be committed by anyone; however, the perpetrator is defined as the state in enforced disappearances. According to "Türkiye'de Gözaltında Kayıplar Raporu" ("The Enforced Disappearances Report in Turkey") by Sezgin Tanrıku (human rights activist, lawyer, and Parliamentarian), there are 1,352 enforced disappearances between 1980-2020 in Turkey (Tanrıku, 2020). According to the Convention's Article 4, the victims should have the right to heal such as pecuniary and non-pecuniary damages, restitution, rehabilitation, satisfaction, and guarantees of non-repetition.

In the report titled "Kayıp İddialarının Gerçek Yüzü" ("Real Face of the Claims of Enforced Disappearances") published by the Counter-Terrorism and Operations Department of the Directorate General for Security of Turkey in 1998, it is claimed that these forcibly disappeared people either could not be found due to the lack of their ID details although the police department investigated the case broadly, or they were executed by their organisations. The report never admits that there can be any relations to the security forces and the enforced disappearances.

⁸ Some enforced disappearances were found tortured and dead. Please refer to the album in the Appendices.

what happened to them is unclear. There is no rational mechanism to respond to this. The fact that these people are the same age as the day they forcibly disappeared in their mother's eyes and never grew older can be understood from their mothers' use of the same photographs of their children during the protests that have not changed over the years. Thus, the Saturday Mothers' children are like inmates in Neverland: they never grow old.

At the beginning of the novel, motherhood is a term that is used as an organizer and a protective role for a woman:

Mrs. Darling first heard of Peter when she was tidying up her children's minds. It is the nightly custom of every good mother after her children are asleep to rummage in their minds and put things straight for the next morning, repacking into their proper places the many articles that have wandered during the day. If you could keep awake (but of course you can't) you would see your own mother doing this, and you would find it very interesting to watch her. It is quite like tidying up drawers. You would see her on her knees, I expect, lingering humorously over some of your contents, wondering where on earth you had picked this thing up, making discoveries sweet and not so sweet, pressing this to her cheek as if it were as nice as a kitten, and hurriedly stowing that out of sight. When you wake in the morning, the naughtiness and evil passions with which you went to bed have been folded up small and placed at the bottom of your mind and on the top, beautifully aired, are spread out your prettier thoughts, ready for you to put on. (Barrie, 1911, p. 9)

As the above passage reveals, a mother organizes her children's minds "naturally" as she tidies their room which points to the power of the mother on her children's development. In addition, she always protects her children from all the evils and issues that are capable of giving them harm. The night when the children followed Peter, Mrs. Darling's power to protect her children as a mother would be questioned:

Mrs. Darling quivered and went to the window. It was securely fastened. She looked out, and the night was peppered with stars. They were crowding round the house, as if curious to see what was to take place there, but she did not notice this, nor that one or two of the smaller ones winked at her. Yet, a nameless fear clutched at her heart and made her cry, "Oh, how I wish that I wasn't going to a party to-night!" Even Michael, already half asleep, knew that she was perturbed, and he asked, "Can anything harm us, mother, after the night-lights are lit?" "Nothing, precious," she said; "they are the eyes a mother leaves behind her to guard her children." (p. 20)

Yet, when Mrs. and Mr. Darling return home, they cannot find their children, symbolically meaning that the mother's eyes are blinded. This episode is very similar to one of the Saturday Mothers' experiences. Hanife Yıldız, a Saturday Mother, explains that she accompanied her son to the police station to give a statement and she was not permitted to take him back. Thus, she has been repeating for about 20 years: "Oh, how I wish that I hadn't gone to the police station that day!" a similar cry to Mrs. Darling's. Both mothers would be lifelong regretful about that day when they lost their children.

Apart from this, Peter Pan uses the issue of motherhood to convince Wendy to stay with them although he once said he does not have a mother and has no "desire to have one" (p. 23) and thinks that mothers are "very over-rated persons" (p. 23). After that, he tells Wendy that he is together with the Lost Boys "who fall out of their perambulators when the nurse is looking the other way" (p. 27) and he is also their captain. Despite his thoughts against mothering, he refers to it as a defense mechanism when he is alone and when he tells Wendy that she "could tuck [them] in at night" as well as "darn [their] clothes and make pockets for [them]" (pp. 29-30). Wendy's attitude towards both Peter and the Lost Boys is to adopt the role of mothering. On the one hand, Mrs. Darling and Hanife Yıldız lose their right to protect their children and might never see them again; on the other hand, Wendy accepts and wants to maintain what these mothers have lost. In her acceptance, there is the feeling of remembrance and the fear of forgetting. As she observes Peter, she realizes that he seems not to remember anything after he goes far away and turns back. She thinks that being able to remember is related to being alive and having an identity. In this respect, it can be said that the Saturday Mothers have rejected the position of Mrs. Darling who prefers to stay at home and wait for her children to return. They adopt the position of Wendy who sees herself as responsible for the remembrance and protects the memories of the children in Neverland.

In addition, the story of the Saturday Mothers' struggle in history also resembles Neverland.

On this evening the chief forces of the island were disposed as follows. The lost boys were out looking for Peter, the pirates were out looking for the lost boys, the redskins were out looking for the pirates, and the beasts were out looking for the redskins. They were going round and round the island, but they did not meet because all were going at the same rate. (p. 42)

Like the circle described in Neverland above, *the Saturday Mothers* in Turkey are demanding truth with the human rights activists who are asking for “justice”, *the police* are asking for “criminals and custody”, *the government* is asking to “end the protests”, *opposing political parties* are asking for setting up alternative groups such as the Mother Martyr. All these different parties *au pied de la lettre*, have been going round in circles since 1995, but the Saturday Mothers and the others could not meet because each section is going its own way. At that point, Captain Cook can be metaphorically seen as the Turkish authorities in the context of his attitude towards Wendy. He thinks Wendy is very dangerous because the Lost Boys could now find a mother which would mean that Captain Hook would no longer be able to manipulate the children on the island. The reader can see how mothering is defined as a powerful and protective phenomenon by the island residents. In other words, for Captain Hook, a mother represents remembrance, identity, and protection which results in individual power. As regards the Turkish authorities, they have always tried to block the mothers and their struggle in public. They have decided not to respond to the denial politics of the enforced disappearances and to manipulate the historical facts and politics of the Turkish state against opponents. However, Wendy’s words to the Lost Boys summarize how a mother’s love is effective: “If you had known how much and how deep a mother loves, you would never be afraid” (p. 92).

In short, the way Mrs. Darling sleeps every night without closing the window in case her children might return is like some of the Saturday Mothers refusing to lock their doors and/or never closing the curtains in their homes. The lost children of the mothers are also in an unknown land. At this point, the land becomes a symbol of hope, possibility, and expectation. That is why Mrs. Darling is very unhappy after she loses her children. Although

the Saturday Mothers mostly feel like Mrs. Darling, they always behave like Wendy by struggling against forgetting and by keeping hope in their hearts at Galatasaray which is a concrete but Never-land for them.

INTRODUCTION

This is HerStory: The Saturday Mothers

In 1995, Sezen Aksu, one of the most acclaimed pop singers and songwriters in Turkey, was interviewed on one of the most popular prime-time news programmes “ATV Ana Haber” (ATV Prime-News). She was asked why she wrote a song for the Saturday Mothers and replied:

This is my individual protest through my own area, my own language, my own style. Everybody in their own area, individually, in their own production area, should do [something] for example, they can phone, can fax, can write poems, can paint because they [the Saturday Mothers] need that kind of individual protest because this is a humanistic issue,

and then she added that nothing is important “if it is compared to the scream of a mother⁹” (Aksu, 1995). So, who are the Saturday Mothers?

The events started with an armed attack on a coffee house in Istanbul, Gazi Mahallesi¹⁰ (Gazi Neighbourhood) on March 12, 1995, where many civilians were killed, and large protest demonstrations were held throughout the city. During the days when these disturbing events continued, Hasan Ocak, a young teacher and café owner in Istanbul, was among others who were detained on 21 March 1995, yet he was never heard of again. His family and friends asked for information on the whereabouts of Hasan Ocak, together with the support of the media in the public arena of Taksim Square, the most crowded part of Istanbul. The human rights activists who were running the campaign titled “Do Not Touch My Friend”, in which they protested against the enforced disappearances under surveillance and unidentified murders by the Turkish state, listened to the press conference by Baba Ocak. He was Hasan Ocak’s father, and he denounced the case of his son. The activists decided to

⁹ “Bu benim kendi alanımda, kendi dilimle, kendi üslubumla bireysel protestom. Herkesin kendi alanında bu bireysel yani kendi üretim alanında işte telefon etsinler faks çeksinler, şiir yazsınlar, şarkı yazsınlar, resim yapsınlar ama bu bireysel protestoya ihtiyacı var çünkü bu buradaki mesele insani bir mesele yani. [. . .] Evladımı arayan bir ananın çılgılığı yanında her şey bir bahane” (trans. by me).

¹⁰ Based on İstanbul, Gazi Mahallesi is well-known with the conflicts between police officers and political groups such as communist, socialist, Marxist-Leninist, and Stalinist fractions which are labelled 'terrorists', 'separatists', and/or 'radical'. It is highly populated by the Kurdish and Alevi peoples.

protest about the politically enforced disappearances. In their next meeting, they decided to meet in front of Galatasaray High School every Saturday in silence. Thanks to the struggle of Hasan's family and friends, together with the media support, their son's tortured body was found a few weeks later in the Cemetery of the Orphans on 15 May 1995. This marked the beginning of the Saturday Mothers' struggle as it is known today.

In the beginning, their primary principle was silence, and they were influenced by the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo in Argentina. The duration of the protest was half an hour and they read a public statement. They consisted of an activist group whose NGO slogan was "Do Not Touch My Friend", together with the Ocak Family, and the Human Rights Association Istanbul Branch. They told a story of one of the forcibly disappeared under surveillance every week. They did not call themselves the Saturday Mothers because they were not just mothers but fathers, brothers, wives, sisters, and activists, as well. It was the press, e.g., highly popular newspapers in Turkey at that time such as Milliyet, Hürriyet, Cumhuriyet, and mainstream TV channels such as ATV, TRT1, and Star TV that gave them the name the Saturday Mothers, and public opinion naturalized the name for it has sensitive and sentimental connotations about motherhood. Although they have been asking the government and other official organisations where their family members were and what had happened to them, there has been no helpful response.

As of this date, every Saturday at the same time, mothers, relatives of the forcibly disappeared, and human rights activists come together to demand the whereabouts of their relatives¹¹. The struggle, which continued uninterrupted until 1999 and created wide public support, was subjected to intense police attacks when Abdullah Öcalan, the leader of the PKK¹² was brought to Turkey and put on trial. The protesters had to pause their actions due to

¹¹ Although the forcibly disappeared are from diverse political and ethnic backgrounds, they are mostly socialists or Kurdish people who oppose the government's politics against minorities and disadvantaged groups.

¹² The Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) formed by Abdullah Öcalan is a Kurdish militant political party and an armed guerrilla movement which is considered an illegal and a separatist/ terrorist group by Turkish authorities.

police violence and constant detentions. In 2009, those who had forcibly disappeared in custody were brought into the protest agenda again. This was due to the Ergenekon cases in which many officers, generals, and military personnel were detained because it was thought that they would plan a *coup d'état* against Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi) which was in power. The Saturday Mothers' struggle started again at the Galatasaray Square. This was not a coincidence because all these officers and generals were the ones who were also accused of human rights violations and were responsible for the enforced disappearances in the 1990s. Police violence and the ban on sit-ins in the area were renewed. This was the result of the Minister of Interior, Süleyman Soylu, whose statements in 2018 criminalized the Saturday Mothers' struggle. Nevertheless, the Saturday Mothers continued their protests for a while in front of the Human Rights Association. As of 2022, and because of the COVID-19 pandemic, they have had to continue their struggle online through social media tools such as Twitter, Instagram, and YouTube every Saturday at 12:00 p.m.

The Saturday Mothers perform their protests for half an hour, sitting silently, holding photos of their lost children and red carnations. In this half-hour, they silently share the story of their loved one who forcibly disappeared in custody. Their silence is to stress that their protests are peaceful and do not contain any violence as well as no relationship with any political or ideological factions. As mentioned above, their motivation for protest comes from the struggle of the Madres (Mothers) de la Plaza de Mayo, which was initiated by the grandmothers and mothers of the people who forcibly disappeared during the junta rule in Argentina in the 1970s. Similar movements¹³ emerged later in countries such as Armenia,

The Saturday Mothers have always been suspected of being integrated with the PKK especially by the nationalist political parties in Turkey because the majority of the forcibly disappeared have a Kurdish ethnic background.

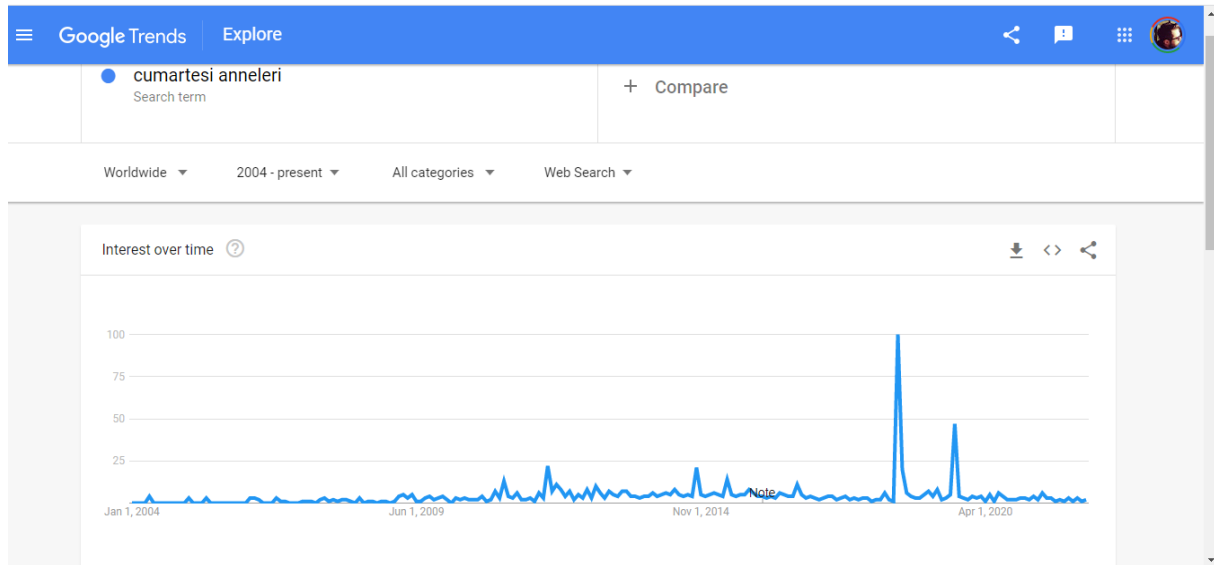
¹³ Throughout the research, the Saturday Mothers **movement**, the Saturday Mothers **protests**, and the Saturday Mother **struggle** were used interchangeably. However, I used "struggle" more than the others after I took one-year training in TIHV. The academicians studying in the human rights field emphasized that the word "struggle" has more active and powerful connotations than "movement" and "protest" showing that it covers the whole process, not just the protests at the Galatasaray Square.

Lebanon, and Iran, and mother movements gained an important place in the struggle for information about the forcibly disappeared in custody, all around the world. In this aspect, the Saturday Mothers' struggle is the longest-running protest in the history of Turkish activism.

STATE OF ART

The Saturday Mothers have always been mentioned in media but less in literature since 1995.

The trend graph below shows in what years the Saturday Mothers' struggle is the trendiest topic between 2004-2022 according to Google Trend.

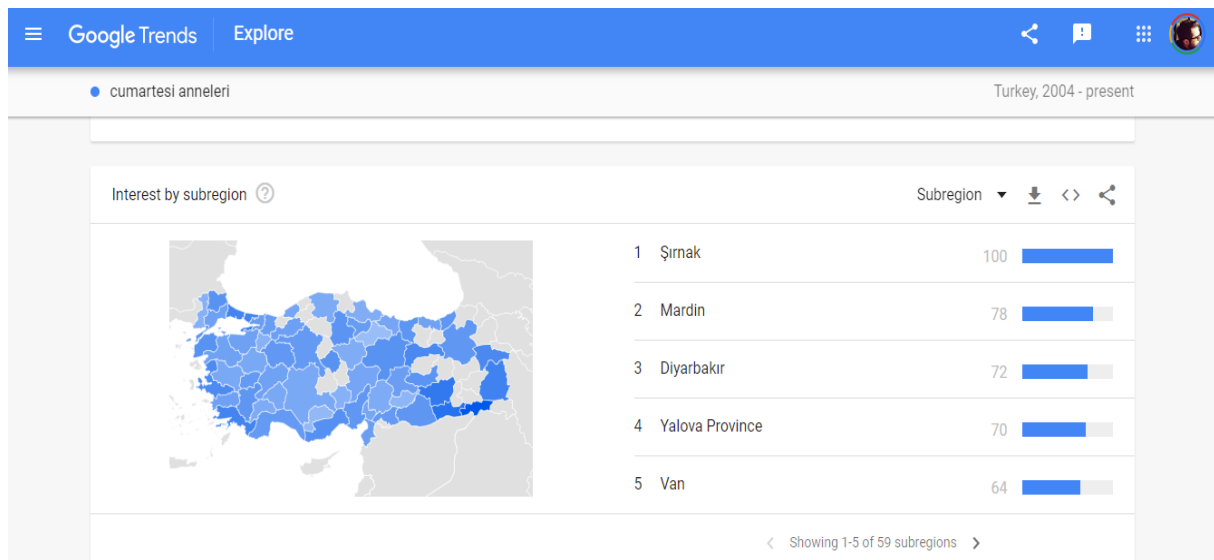


¹⁴**Table 1: The Saturday Mothers in Google Trends, Interest over Time**

The trendiest years are 2009, 2011, 2014, 2018, and 2019. 2009 is the year when the Saturday Mothers restarted their protests and 2011 is when they met the then-prime minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. However, 2018 is when they were banned from Galatasaray, and 2019 is the year when their trial started. It can be concluded that the turning points in the struggle are the years when the Saturday Mothers are trendy on Google which is the most common search engine in the world (Law, 2021).

The map below shows in which cities the Saturday Mothers are trendy. Şırnak, Mardin, Diyarbakır, and Van are the south-eastern cities that are mostly Kurdish-populated places, and these are also the cities the Saturday Mothers' struggle continues.

¹⁴ <https://trends.google.com/trends/explore?date=all&q=cumartesi%20anneleri> (Accessed 22.3.2022). Google trends dates back to 2004, the earliest.



¹⁵ **Table 2: The Saturday Mothers in Google Trends, Interest by Subregion**

In terms of academia, the Saturday Mothers have been examined since the second half of the 1990s. However, the Saturday Mothers activists claim that the Saturday Mothers have hardly ever been interested in feminist movements in Turkey which are discussed in the data analysis and concluding chapters in detail. According to the national Thesis Center of Yükseköğretim Kurulu¹⁶ (YÖK) (Council of Higher Education), there are 7 master's theses and 1 doctorate dissertation defended in various universities in Turkey as shown below:

¹⁵ <https://trends.google.com/trends/explore?date=all&geo=TR&q=cumartesi%20anneleri> (Accessed 22.3.2022)

¹⁶ YÖK, established after the 1980 coup d'état, is the national institution monitoring all the universities in Turkey and the decision-making mechanism of higher education. The president of YÖK is assigned by the President. It has been criticized by the academicians defending that the universities should be autonomous, so YÖK should be abolished.

Home	Search	Legislation	Statistics	FAQ	Legal Notice	Contact	YÜKSEK ÖĞRETİM DERGİSİ	Yeni YÜK Projesi
11 records found.								
No	Thesis No	Author	Year	Title(Original/Translation)	Thesis type	Subject		
		Filter	2000..2014 -21	Filter	Filter	Filter		
3	701723	MEHDİ ASPAR	2021	Aktif yurttaşlık örneği olarak Cumartesi Anneleri <i>Saturday Mothers' struggles as an exemplary of active citizenship</i>	Master	Siyasal Bilimler = Political Science		
1	654071	İPEK BAHAR KARAMAN	2020	Maternal activism, feminism and world politics: The case of the Saturday Mothers in Turkey <i>Annelik aktivizmi, feminizm ve dünya politikası: Türkiye'de Cumartesi Anneleri vaka çalışması</i>	Master	Uluslararası İlişkiler = International Relations		
4	508343	AYŞEM SEZER ŞANLI	2018	Günlük hayatın dönüşümünde bir imkân olarak toplumsal muhalefetin değerlendirilmesi: Cumartesi Anneleri üzerine bir araştırma <i>The assessment on social opposition as a possibility for the transformation of everyday life: A research on Saturday Mothers</i>	Doctorate	Siyasal Bilimler = Political Science		
8	530886	ANIL DERKUŞ	2018	Toplumsal hareketleri duygusal sosyolojisiyle yeniden düşünmek: Temsil açmazında yas ve melankolinin siyasal imkanları <i>Rethinking social movements with the sociology of emotions: Political possibilities of mourning and melancholia in the dilemma of representation</i>	Master	Psikoloji = Psychology ; Siyasal Bilimler = Political Science ; Sosyoloji = Sociology		
9	531944	MERVE BİLİCİ ERKEKER	2018	Sivil itaatsizlik: Dünyadan ve Türkiye'den örnekler <i>Civil disobedience: Examples from World and Turkey</i>	Master	Sosyoloji = Sociology		
10	456549	EDA TARAK	2017	Historical and political encounters with the nonhuman: Habitat II, the crisis of cohabitation, and the wit(h)nessing dogs	Master	Sosyoloji = Sociology		

11	431248	SAİME UYAR	2016	Kadın ressamların eserlerinde acı kavramının analitik bir çözümlemesi <i>Analysis of pain concept in artworks of woman painters</i>	Master	Güzel Sanatlar = Fine Arts
2	371185	ŞEHİTNUR KÜRÜM	2012	Mourning for the disappeared: The case of the Saturday mothers <i>Kayıplara karşı yas: Cumartesi anneleri üzerine bir araştırma</i>	Master	Sosyoloji = Sociology
5	190359	BERFIN İVEGEN	2004	Gendering urban space: 'Saturday Mothers' <i>Cinsiyetle etkilmiş şehir mekanı: Cumartesi Anneleri</i>	Master	Sosyoloji = Sociology ; İç Mimarî ve Dekorasyon = Interior Design and Decoration
6	143340	EVREN KOÇABIÇAK	2003	Locating Thirdspace in the specificities of urban: A case study on Saturday Mothers, in İstiklal street İstanbul <i>Kentsel mekanda Üçüncü-alamı tanımlamak: İstanbul İstiklal Caddesi ve Cumartesi Anneleri üzerine bir araştırma</i>	Master	Mimarlık = Architecture
7	127608	FUNDA FALAKACILAR	2003	Sivil itaatsizlik eylemleri ile ilgili egemen basındaki haber sunumları üzerine eleştirel bir değerlendirme Örnek olay: 'Cumartesi anneleri' <i>The Critical analysis of news representations of dominant press about civil disobedience, case event; 'Cumartesi Anneleri'</i>	Master	Gazetecilik = Journalism ; Halkla İlişkiler = Public Relations

Satırlar(Rows) 1-11 of 11

« 1 2 3 4 5 » Satırlar(Rows) Sütunlar(Columns)

17 **Table 3: Thesis Written on the Saturday Mothers in Turkey**

There are no theses written in the 1990s but several ones during the 2000s. This could be related to the political agenda of Turkey because the Saturday Mothers are seen as a highly opponent and hot topic by the academia and falsely thought to be integrated with the Kurdish issue which might cause trouble for the academicians. This is not only about the choice of the student, but it is of great importance if the attitude of the supervisor and faculty board, as well as deans and rectors of the universities, approve or not. Because the rectors are directly assigned by the President and the deans directly by the rectors, these academicians in charge try to make a distance from hot topics related to the Kurdish politics and socialism in Turkey to be able to protect their positions, which are highly opposing academic freedom and scientific autonomous knowledge.

¹⁷ <https://tez.yok.gov.tr/UlusalTezMerkezi/tezSorguSonucYeni.jsp> (Accessed 22.4.2022)

The first thesis about the Saturday Mothers is written by Funda Falakacılar in Ankara University, Public Relations and Advertising. Falakacılar analysed several mainstream newspapers using content and frequent analysis concluding that these mainstream media tools reproduce the authorities' discourse and dominant ideology by reflecting the Saturday Mothers' struggle negatively. The news about the Saturday Mothers in the newspapers is used by the researcher to show that the mainstream media in Turkey is not neutral and do not have any liberal-pluralist approach.

The second thesis is from Middle East Technical University, Architecture, Ankara in 2003 written by Evren Kocabıçak. Kocabıçak examines the Galatasaray Square as a third space and how the space is constructed as a place of resistance to transgression. The author uses the Saturday Mothers to conclude how space and politics are interrelated and how third space provides politicisation of the mothers in public.

The third one is written by Berfin İvegen from İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University (private university), Interior Architecture and Environmental Design in 2004. İvegen concludes that the Saturday Mothers deconstruct the border between house and city and how they integrate gender and space in a mutual relationship.

The fourth one is from İstanbul Şehir University (private university) (which was closed by the government in 2020), Sociology in 2012 written by Şehitnur Kürüm research on mourning studies. Through 6 interviews, Kürüm compared the Saturday Mothers to Plaza de Mayo and Bosnian women in terms of anger, grief, and mourning.

The fifth thesis is written by İpek Bahar Karaman in 2020 in İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University (private university), International Relations. Karaman asks if the Saturday Mothers struggle *serves* the feminisms in the world by locating them in the *motherhood activism* and feminism. She concludes that there is no relation between feminism and the Saturday Mothers.

The last master thesis is written by Mehdi Aspar in 2021 in Altınbaş University (private university), International Relations, İstanbul. Aspar concludes in the study that the Saturday Mothers struggle is an example of active citizenship.

Only one doctorate dissertation in Turkey about the Saturday Mothers is from Hacettepe University, Political Science, in 2018 written by Ayşem Sezer Şanlı. Şanlı examines public opposition by focusing on how protests transform the stability of daily life. She conducted interviews with 13 Saturday Mothers and 12 human rights activists. She concludes that the Saturday Mothers have become human rights activists through the public opposition process.

Apart from these theses, there are three master theses including the Saturday Mothers as a part of their sample. Saime Uyar from Istanbul Kemerburgaz University (private university) (2016) uses the photographs of the Saturday Mothers as an example to analyse how women painters include the concept of pain in their art. Eda Tarak from Boğaziçi University, İstanbul (2017) “addresses a set of questions regarding the agency of dogs, particularly the memory that the stray dogs of Istanbul may have historically performed during a specific episode of crisis and dislocation in the city; and how thinking of dogs as witnesses can help us in understanding wider social and political issues of displacement, inequality, exclusion, and democracy” (2017)¹⁸. Merve Bilici Erkeker from Kırıkkale University (2018) examines civil disobedience by locating the Saturday Mothers as an example among others. Besides, Anıl Derkuş from Yıldız Teknik University, İstanbul studies civil movements in terms of the sociology of emotions, specifically focusing on how political mourning and melancholia are by taking the Saturday Mothers as his sample. Finally, Gözde Orhan from Boğaziçi University studies in her master thesis titled “From Motherhood to Activism: A History of Women in Transformation” (2008) how motherhood transforms into activism using the Saturday Mothers as an example among others.

¹⁸ <https://tez.yok.gov.tr/UlusalTezMerkezi/tezSorguSonucYeni.jsp> (Accessed 22.4.2022)

To conclude, I can state that all the researchers except two (Mehdi Aspar and Anil Derkuş) are women showing that male researchers seem reluctant to research women's issues. Besides, hardly any state universities are on the list above all of which are from Ankara and İstanbul except one (Kırıkkale University) and are among the biggest and most acclaimed universities in Turkey. The total number shows how the Turkish academia is reluctant to do research on the Saturday Mothers although there are many theses and Ph.D. dissertations about women's movements (240 in total), women's studies (104 in total), public opposition (73 in total), women's rights (393 in total), and human rights (3,230 in total).

When I talked to the Saturday Mothers activists, they claimed that several researchers even never kept in touch with the mothers and/or the activists, just examining the documents. Moreover, they believe some of these academic studies give false information and are unreliable and invalid which exemplifies academic weaknesses and disconnection in the social sciences in Turkey. They also deny the requests for the research if they feel like the researcher uses patronizing language in their introduction emails¹⁹.

In terms of academic journal articles, I did not find many analyses. Similar to the aims and content of the theses, the journal articles mostly use the Saturday Mothers to define and analyse such concepts as mourning, public space, and civil disobedience which is problematic in terms of seeing the mothers as a scientific object instead of seeing them the subjects in the study. The "researcher" is hierarchically superior to the "researched" in most of the studies as it can be analysed through rhetorical analysis. Labelling the mothers as "samples", "objects", and/or "the researched" are nuances showing the nuclei of how the researcher patronizes unconsciously and sees her/himself as the main subject in the study. The main articles about the Saturday Mothers are as follows:

¹⁹ One of the activists told me that one researcher once asked her to do research about the Saturday Mothers. The researcher sent all the documents including the consent form showing that s/he is very sure they would accept the request because they are thought they "always have time". The activist also claimed that her email made them feel like the researcher's time was very precious but theirs was not. So, they never replied to the researcher's email.

- “Territories, Identities, and Thresholds: The Saturday Mothers Phenomenon in İstanbul” by Gülsüm Baydar and Berfin İvegen.
- “Sivil İtaatsizlik Örneği Olarak ‘Cumartesi Anneleri’ Eylemlerinin Türkiye Basınındaki Sunumu” (“The Representation of Demonstrations of the ‘Saturday Mothers’ as a Sample of Civil Disobedience in the Turkey’s Press”) by Banu Dağtaş and Erdal Dağtaş.
- “Toplumsal Hareketin Kalbinde Bir Yeni Özne: Anneler: Türkiye’de Cumartesi Anneleri ve Arjantin’de Mayıs Meydanı Anneleri Üzerine Karşılaştırmalı Bir Analiz” (“A New Subject at the Heart of Social Movements: Mothers: A Comparative Analysis on the Saturday Mothers in Turkey and the Mothers of May Square in Argentina”) by Ayfer Genç Yılmaz.
- “Remember, S/he Was Here Once: Mothers Call for Justice and Peace in Turkey” by Emine Rezzan Karaman.
- “Yasın Protestoya Dönüşümünü İncelemek: Cumartesi Anneleri Hareketi Örneği” (“To Examine the Transformation of Mourning to Protest: The Case of Saturday Mothers Movement”) by Ayşe Sezer Şanlı.
- “Brotherhood in Dispossession: State Violence and the Ethics of Expectation in Turkey” by Kabir Tambar.
- A book chapter by Meltem Ahıska (2019) titled “Memory as Encounter: The Saturday Mothers in Turkey” in Ayşe Gül Altınay, M. J. Contreras, M. Hirsch, J. Howard, B. Karaca, & A. Solomon (Eds.), *Women Mobilizing Memory*.
- A webinar by Esra Akcan titled “Right-to-Truth: Transitional Justice and an Alternative History of Beyoğlu/Taksim” (07.05.2021 through Zoom meeting organized by Istanbul Bilgi University (private university)).

The majority of the studies are written in Turkish which may cause the Saturday Mothers' voice not to spread internationally and widely known by the international academic circles which may create a disadvantage for the movement.

The main differences between this research and the previous studies are as follows:

- The inclusion of all the subjects in every single part of the research through a gender dimension: All the participants actively participated, gave feedback, and shaped the research no matter their educational background.
- One of the aims is to spread the Saturday Mothers' word in an academic context: I gave presentations about the Saturday Mothers and their demands in Ukraine (2015) and Iceland (2022). I published an article in English on one of the most popular news sites, Bianet, in Turkey about the mothers (2022). I gave a presentation at an international conference held by Türkiye İnsan Hakları Vakfı (Human Rights Foundation of Turkey) (TİHV), and the paper has been published (2021). I contacted an international organisation (ICSC) working on the human rights violations and held a meeting on how the Saturday Mothers can be included in the NGO to be able to spread their word and gave a briefing to the Human Rights Associations, Istanbul Branch (2022).
- I took part in the human rights organisations such as Amnesty Turkey and became an activist. In addition, I took several international courses on human rights, which I mentioned in my annual DAD reports, to be able to understand the struggle better
- I triangulated the findings. Through document analysis, activists, and the mothers, I gathered various and diverse sources to analyse and cross-check.
- I took part in a human rights project for a year held by TİHV. All the professors were the ones studying in the human rights field. I took feedback from most of them. In addition, I got research ethics committee approval from the TİHV Academy board.

- One of my supervisors Dr. Şebnem Korur Fincancı is one of the most acclaimed human rights activists in Turkey who supported and gave me feedback all the time and constructed a bridge between the mothers and me. My supervisor Dr. Elizabeth Russell has always made my way on the track scientific. As a gender studies expert, she consulted me on every single word and the appropriateness of the thesis.
- Dr. GülDEM Özatağan accepted to be my mentor for one year, her feedback contributed to the validity and reliability of the data gathering tools.
- The conclusion suggests new definitions for several terms frequently used in the field of social sciences and human rights.
- Most importantly, this is not just a study but a document of collective memory against forgetting the truth, structured by all the people involved in the study. Not my research but OURS.

PART I

OBJECTIVES AND RESEARCH QUESTION

There are three main aims of the thesis:

1. To be able to raise awareness by defining where the Saturday Mothers stand in the world women's peace movement.
2. To be able to contribute towards the claims of the Saturday Mothers in their struggle by defining the key terms and concepts in the field of human rights and human rights violations.
3. To be able to stress the presence of the Saturday Mothers within scientific ethics and human dignity. Unfortunately, there is very little valid and reliable research in the literature.

The research question: How do the Saturday Mothers create social reality ontologically in the public sphere?

The sub-research questions:

1. Do they transform motherhood in their struggle through memory, truth, mourning, politics of emotion, insistence, and resistance? If so, then how? If not, how do they recreate the concept of motherhood?
2. How are the Saturday Mothers interpreted by various media tools (documentaries, songs, plays, movies, series, cartoons, arts, news, books, videos, newspapers, reports, magazines, etc.)?
3. How is the Saturday Mothers' struggle interpreted by the Saturday Mothers activists (intellectuals, lawyers, journalists, etc., who are not relatives of the forcibly disappeared)?
4. How is the Saturday Mothers' struggle interpreted by the members of the Saturday Mothers' group (mothers, sisters, wives, daughters, brothers, fathers, and so on of the enforced disappearances)?

PART II

METHODOLOGY

1. A General Overview: Method Selecting Process of the Research

A fieldworker should be able to sweep the floor, carry out the garbage, carry in the laundry, cook for large groups, go without food and sleep, read and write by candlelight, see in the dark, see in the light, cooperate without offending, suppress sarcastic remarks, smile to express both pain and hurt, experience both pain and hurt, spend time alone, respond to orders, take sides, stay neutral, take risks, avoid harm, be confused, seem confused, care terribly, become attached to nothing. . . . The nine-to-five set need not apply (Michael Quinn Patton, 2002, p. 207).

The rationale behind why I preferred to do qualitative research is to find meaning, learn, and gain a deeper understanding of both my own life and my field of research by following Halcolm's law of induction, Patton's fictional character, in his qualitative research books, and by personally sharing new experiences which would undoubtedly give me new social, political, and emotional insights. Qualitative methods are research methods which mean that the aim is to examine what people "do, know, think, and feel by observing, interviewing, and analysing documents" (Patton, p. 145). "People in knowledge-intensive societies . . . prefer 'better' to 'more'" (Cleveland, 1989, p. 157) which is also essential for qualitative research.

The present research is an attempt to blend two main types of research: basic research and applied research. Patton believes that "basic [means] to contribute to fundamental knowledge and theory" (which in this case would be in women's peace studies). Also, *applied* because it aims to "illuminate a societal concern" (p. 213) in being directly related to human rights. I have used both sources of questions in this research which makes it blended. How the Saturday Mothers' struggle can be known and explained as well as how the issues related to them are understood and solved with knowledge and emotions are the main assumptions of basic research and applied research, respectively.

This research uses two kinds of qualitative data: interviews and documents. I organized the raw data into narrative descriptions with codes and themes through content

analysis to find patterns, understandings, and insights. Therefore, I used the “being-for” perspective during the research defined by Clark Moustakas, which is based on listening, being for, and with the subject. Taking care never minimizes, deprecates, or denies a person’s rights or emotions. As Moustakas points out, the interviewer has to become an advocate of the person “with reference to his or her frustrations and problems in dealing with others” (Moustakas, 1995, p. 83).

I was close enough to the Saturday Mothers and their struggle to understand them personally to be able to capture what they are saying and how they perceive the struggle, and I faithfully describe the data by reproducing direct quotations from them.

“Reality”, according to the Cambridge dictionary, is “the state of things as they are, rather than as they are imagined to be”. In terms of the reality constructed by the Saturday Mothers, there are various possibilities in defining their case, such as not all the protesters are mothers, the mothers certainly stand for the whole group but how many of those who forcibly ‘disappeared’ were there because of state violence? To what extent has the media understood and truthfully reported the situation? Has the truth been manipulated? What is the government’s ‘official’ statement regarding the protest? Clearly, the subject is complicated.

What follows is an overview of various philosophical ideas which together discuss relevant questions on the methodological aspects used in each chapter.

2. The Philosophical Background of the Research Methodology

2.1. Ontology

Even though the truth is discussed within the scope of science, it is difficult to know the exact truth of something, or even if the truth exists. Yet, every single thing is “real in its consequences” (Thomas and Thomas, 1928, pp. 571-572), so in order to gather knowledge on the Saturday Mothers, firstly, I focused on the ontological evidence of the subject matter to explain and find out the rationale behind it, in other words, posing the questions why, where, what, how, and who. In terms of social ontology, it is important to see the Saturday Mothers

as social actors who create multiple social realities. So, another question is whether “the social reality is out there and [either] independent from us or [...] dependent from us and if we are creating social reality in interaction as local accomplishments” (Moermann, 2019). The fact that the women of the group are defined as the Saturday *Mothers*, their motherhood can be discussed as a social phenomenon from the ontological objectivist point of view, for indeed, they are the mothers of those who have forcibly disappeared. At the same time, they have created a socially constructed space which is the Galatasaray Square²⁰ in Istanbul for their protests, and this space should be analysed within the scope of ontological constructivism. Lastly, as the idea of motherhood and its formation at the Galatasaray Square is created by the mothers themselves, it is possible to study them through the lenses of pragmatism. To sum up, this study evaluated two different dimensions: (1) the dimension of social reality and (2) the dimension of the independence of social actors (Moermann, 2019).

This research starts with the claim that social reality is a construct, and people create meanings that are locally accomplished realities. That is why it is important to point out that the Saturday Mothers define their protests as real, for they are real in their consequences in terms of the theorem of Thomas & Thomas. Therefore, it is more important how the Saturday Mothers create their reality no matter their rationale or stories are real or not. My position as the researcher agrees with this idea. As Hammersley and Atkinson suggest:

You [may] take a more subtle realist position. There is reality, a social reality out there. But this is partly created by you as a researcher. We are part of the social world we study, and we should not forget that. We are also co-constructing by looking at a material having a certain focus using a methodology. We partly construct the data we are studying. (2007)

2.2. Epistemology

Through basic epistemological issues I tried to understand the reality of the Saturday Mothers, and asked the question: if that reality is possible to understand, do we need to measure it? In



²⁰ To see the square on the map, please refer to the QR Code.

terms of epistemology, I used an interpretivist view in the research. Alfred Schütz claims that “people are not atoms nor are people billiard balls” (1967, p. 19). If you hit a person, the reaction differs according to the context and the personality.

Social reality has a specific meaning and relevance structure for the beings living, acting, and thinking within it. People interpret the world out there, and the focus lies on the meaning of social action. It lies with *Verstehen* in Weber’s words trying to understand subjectively and that is also the last point. The actor’s perspective is a subjective reality. An interpretivist tries to see the world from the eyes of the subjects or the people in the study (Moermann, 2019). Hence, *Verstehen* - which simply means to “understand” in German, is not so simple at all, as each person understands language, and the way politics 'construct' and use language, for many different means. I tried to see how this works with the Saturday Mothers by asking questions such as: Do they have banners, protest posters, TV interviews, or videos on YouTube? How do they describe themselves and how do they accept or refuse members into their circle? Do they accept fathers into their circle? If so or if not - why? In terms of the Saturday Mothers, how a mother describes the struggle purely is the case. The second one is the interpretation of the experience: how mothers compare their grief and loss with other types of loss. Grief and mourning have a long history of being gendered. In *The Work of Mourning* Derrida (2019) explains how he, himself, had to go through a period of mourning for a lost friend. The voice of this friend became incorporated into his own self; it altered his day-to-day thoughts and work, his opinions, and his state of being. The friend 'cannibalised' him, in a sense. When he spoke, it was his dead friend who spoke through Derrida’s mouth, similar to an experience detailed in the following chapters. Hence, in the analysis of the struggle by the Saturday Mothers, the process of knowledge came through *Verstehen* and the interaction of the mothers themselves, as well as other actors and third parties.

What became interesting was how the struggle publicly sphered the concept of motherhood. Their grief became contagious. Indeed, grief works and connects through moving (emotion has its origin in Latin: *emovere*) from one person to another (Ahmed, 2004, p. 11). All emotions such as fear, hate, love, and so on, connect and move from one person to another, not only creating a community or group of grief but also because of body language, written and spoken language, with words that stick together and create texts. The Saturday Mothers display their grief through silence – and this is the absence of speech, but it also may qualify as a language: words cannot express grief fully.

2.3. The Strategic Themes in Research

Within this philosophical framework stated above, I followed the natural inquiry by studying the Saturday Mothers in their real-world situations considering emergent design flexibility. In terms of data collection and fieldwork strategies, the present research focuses on inquiry in-depth, careful document review, and interviews with direct quotations about and from the Saturday Mothers and the activists' perspectives. This research, therefore, is based on empathic neutrality and mindfulness, that is openness, sensitivity, respect, awareness, and responsiveness, and the interviews were conducted without expressing or adopting any judgments. Finally, I tried to include context sensitivity, especially through the warnings of the mentors and the Saturday Mother activists. I also added voice, perspective ("I-Thou" perspective by Martin Buber), and reflexivity to be able to have authenticity and trustworthiness in this research (Patton, 2002, pp. 40-41 and p. 60). Especially "reflexivity reminds the qualitative inquirer to be attentive to and conscious of the cultural, political, social, linguistic, and ideological origins of one's perspective and voice as well as the perspective and voices of those [people] one interviews and those to whom one reports" (p. 44).

The interviews with the Saturday Mothers took place in their own spaces, such as their homes, offices, and the places they chose. As Patton states, social scientists have been warned

to remain to stay distant from those they studied in order to remain objective. However, objectivity can mean being cold, distant, and unemotional, but such a meeting would not encourage the subjects to open up and respond freely, according to the emotions they felt. (p. 48). For example, I drank tea or coffee with the subjects, had dinner with them, hugged each other, and/or had breakfast with the family members.

As Patton suggests “[u]nderstanding comes from trying to put oneself in the other person’s shoes, from trying to discern how others think, act, and feel” and “closeness does not make bias and loss of perspective inevitable; distance is no guarantee of objectivity” (p. 49). That is why instead of using terms such as “objectivity” or “subjectivity”, I prefer the term “empathic neutrality” conceptualized by Patton. All these characteristics made this research include *Verstehen*. “Both *Verstehen* and empathy depend largely on qualitative data. *Verstehen* is an attempt to ‘crack the code’ of the culture, that is, detect the categories into which a certain culture inscribes actions and thoughts. “Empathy in evaluation is the detection of emotions manifested in the programme participants and staff, achieved by the evaluators becoming aware of similar or complementary emotions in themselves” (Meyers, 1989, p. 180). In order to be able to develop my empathy in the evaluation of the data, I was guided by Patton’s questions in the interviews, based on a triangular relationship, concerning the Interviewer / the Subject / the Audience (2002, p. 66). These questions were based on knowledge, worldview, perception of self and others, and future perspectives, among others. In terms of these strategic themes in research, I used two methods in my research: qualitative feminist method and narrative critical analysis method.

2.4. Qualitative Feminist Method

There are many different feminist standpoints and therefore the question of one single method of analysis is likewise problematic. Although Shulamitz Reinharz (1983) conceptualizes “experiential analysis” by giving feminist methodology a unique title, Clegg (1996), Peplau and Conrad (1989), and Harding (1989) discuss that there should not be a distinctive feminist

method; however, any social science method should include feminist parameters, no matter what the aim and subject of the research are. B. D. Haig summarizes the common features of feminist research methodology as “the rejection of positivism”, “the pervasive influence of gender relations”, “the value-ladenness of science”, “the adoption of liberatory methodology”, and “the pursuit of nonhierarchical research relationships” (1999, pp. 223-224). Haig also claims that feminist scholars prefer to do qualitative and ethnographic research to be able to do their analysis in-depth and she distinguishes three types of methodology and epistemology which are “feminist empiricism”, “feminist standpoint epistemology”, and “feminist postmodernism”.

Feminist postmodernism rejects the epistemological assumptions of modernist, Enlightenment thought. Thus, it stands opposed to the foundationalist grounding of knowledge, the universalizing claims for the scope of knowledge, and the employment of dualistic categories of thought. By contrast, feminist postmodernism is an epistemology that is nonfoundationalist, contextualist, and nondualist, or multiplist, in its commitments. (Haig, 1999, p. 227).

This quotation justifies why Sarah Ahmed is one of the most referenced scholars whose discussions on politics of emotion have influenced this work.

Similarly, one of the most important qualitative feminist methodologists, Sylvia H. Guerrero, defines the principles of feminist research as follows:

(1) a sense of connectedness and equality between researcher and researched; (2) explicitly acknowledging and valuing ‘women’s ways of knowing’ including integrating reason, emotion, intuition, experience, and analytic thought; (3) participatory processes that support consciousness-raising and researcher reflexivity; and (4) going beyond knowledge generation, beyond ‘knowledge for its own sake,’ to engage in using knowledge for change, especially ‘knowledge about women that will contribute to women’s liberation and emancipation. (1999, pp. 16-17)

All these points are the main considerations that I referenced in the research, especially as a male researcher, to be able to contribute to the Saturday Mothers’ struggle to reach truth and justice. In addition, Patricia Maguire, another feminist methodologist, claims that it is of great importance to define feminisms before scientific research. She proposes four general definitions which have built the main framework of my findings and discussion chapters.

1. Feminism(s) acknowledges that women, despite their diversity, face some form of oppression and exploitation. A commonality is the diversity of women's struggles in response to these varied oppressions. These struggles and their varied agendas naturally take place in specific historical and cultural contexts in response to specific complex realities (Mohanty, 1991b). Whereas it acknowledges the diverse experiences of oppression, feminism(s) also affirms and celebrates women's diverse strengths and resistance strategies. Women are not, nor have they been, helpless, hopeless victims.
2. Women experience their oppressions, struggles, and strengths differently, given their multiple identities, which may include race, class, culture, ethnicity, sexual preference, age, physical abilities, and our nation's place in a changing international order.
3. Feminism(s) includes a commitment to uncover and understand the web of forces that cause and sustain all forms of oppression.
4. Finally, feminism(s) expects the commitment of women to work individually and collectively in everyday life to challenge and transform the many systems, structures, and relationships that sustain the varied forms of oppression. Included in this commitment is a willingness, in all women's diversity, to build alliances without surrendering or minimizing their differences. Hence feminist activism is not limited to a struggle against gender oppression, for gender oppression is not experienced or structured in isolation from other oppressions. (1996, pp.107-108)
5. "If more feminist participatory research requires that we choose to be different in the world of relationships and to be more self-reflective in all our relationships, then what does this mean for the training of participatory researchers?" (1999, pp. 114-115)

To be able to answer this question, I enrolled in a human rights research course coordinated by female academicians in TIHV. Their points of view had a variety of feminist perspectives, and I was advised on what to do or not to do as a male researcher studying with women. Likewise, Maguire questions the issue of 'power' in traditional research, and "instead of conceiving of power as domination over others and resources, feminists have been redefining power as sharing and providing energy and access to resource mobilization to others as well as to self" (1999, p. 115).

In addition, Jane Ribbens and Rosalind Edwards, two other feminist theorists, focus on how to do qualitative research and gather data on women's private, public, and personal lives according to a feminist approach. They draw a circular figure in order to show the relationship between social settings and the researcher (1998, p. 15).

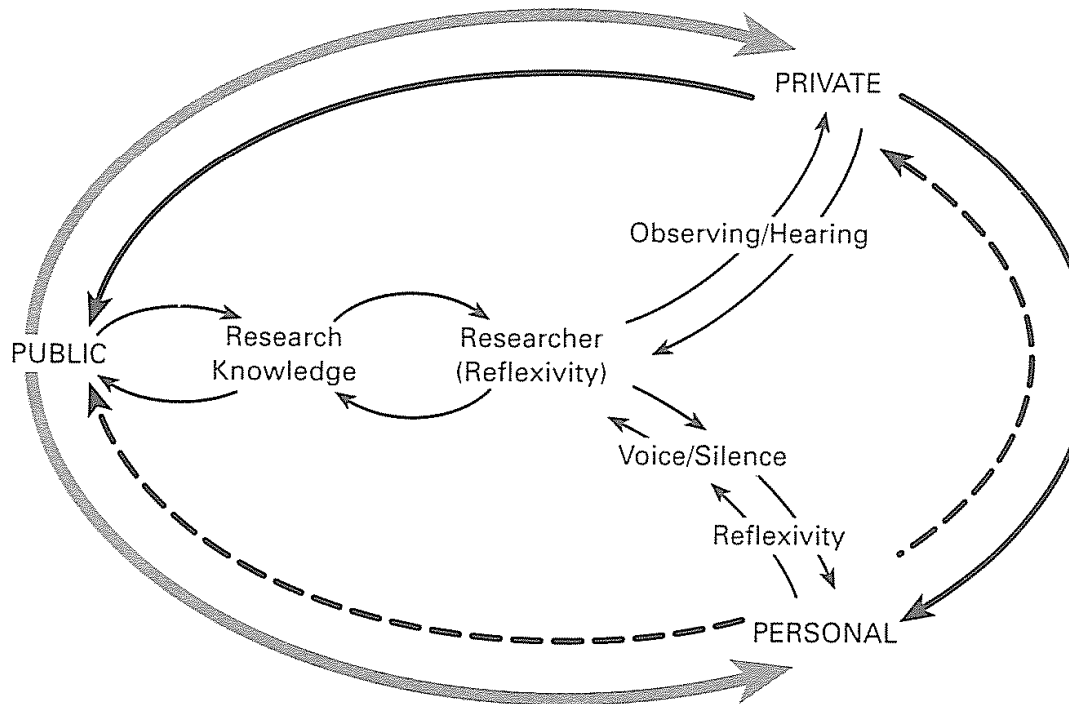


Figure 1: Social Settings and Researcher (Ribbens & Edwards, 1998, p. 2)

Within this framework, they warn researchers about the dangers of engagement with traditional methodologies because “routine public and disciplinary categories and procedures ... insistently pull [them] towards conventional understandings that reshape, in particular, women’s voice and experiences”; therefore, they advise researchers that they “need to ask about, and listen closely to accounts of, ‘mundane’ everyday domestic activities in detail, and to build more on what [they] share with [their] subjects on a personal level than on disciplinary concepts” (Ribbens & Edwards, 1998, p. 2).

Ribbens & Edwards also claims that voice in the research is very crucial because “not only does it require much attention and care to hear [the researcher’s] voice, but it requires even more attentiveness to hear and represent the voices of others. How should we – as researchers – regard what is being said, as our subjects talk to us? Is it possible for us to provide a 'space' that would allow others to bring their *own* voices into the interview?” (1998, p. 37). Their questions are so fruitful in terms of this thesis' research question because some of

the main concerns of the Saturday Mothers is how their voices could be heard, how their stories could be recognised, and how their demands are taken into consideration. Through these questions, it is very crucial how to analyse the 'voices' of the Saturday Mothers and write the findings in the related chapters in this thesis. Kay Standing states that it is especially important to consider “the language we use when we write, and how this may play a role in sustaining hierarchies of knowledge” (1998, p. 186).

Feminist qualitative research makes social science research anti-heteronormative which helps to liberate the scientific field. Feminist methodologist Joyce McCarl Nielsen states that

These are not unique examples. Others have described feminist research as contextual, inclusive, experiential, involved, socially relevant, multimethodological, complete but not necessarily replicable, open to the environment, and inclusive of emotions and events as experienced (Reinharz, 1983). Feminist inquiry is much more than this list of characteristics, but for now, the point is that given the obvious contrast between it and textbook definitions of scientific research, the expression 'feminist research methods' does seem, to be a contradiction in terms. (1990, p. 6.)

Apart from these observations, according to Evelyn Fox Keller (1990), scientific research and thinking have a masculine character that should be reconstructed within the framework of feminism. She insists on the synonymous relationship between the adjectives “patriarchal” and “objective” in scientific research. For this reason, the term “gender dimension” has been used in this thesis, as Marcia Westcott (1986) indicates, regarding the importance of feminist research to suggest new dimensions in social sciences. Glennon (1983), Thompson (1992), and Minnich (1990) are among others showing the importance of feminist perspectives in social sciences, as well.

In terms of how innovative feminist research is, Shulamith Reinharz gives different examples from the field.

Feminist research has been innovative in its choice to study particular *groups* of women formerly ignored by social science (e.g., upper-class women, farm women, Japanese American domestics), particular *behaviours* (e.g., feeding one's family, adult adoption of orthodox religion, improving one's

community), and new *forms of data* (e.g., ‘women’s subjective social experience’ or ‘subjective self’). (1992, pp. 215-216)

The Saturday Mothers can be included in the list above, by studying their behaviour as a group’s subjective social experience. In addition, Reinharz’s list of the features of feminist research matches the aims and research questions defined at the beginning of this thesis.

However, Allaine Cerwonka discusses the problems of representation of the researcher and subjects by saying that

work on the politics of representation in research suggests there is no unproblematic, neutral way to allow others to speak for themselves (for instance, the research still remains the author’s, who receives the professional acclaim for it). Although some have tried to find ways to avoid these political problems (by listing the subjects as co-authors or giving something back to their research community), it only defers an important epistemological issue... However, surprisingly, much feminist research and discussion of methods spends a great deal of time discussing the problems of disempowering others through research representations and very little time thinking about what researchers’ creative, analytical arguments about various objects of inquiry might look like. Women’s and gender studies was at the forefront of reconceptualising the links between identity, experience and knowledge, and feminist research has helped to lead an epistemic revolution in the social sciences. (1992, pp. 71-72)

Besides, Andrea Pető and Berteke Waaldijk suggest “strategies for critical feminist inclusion of historical perspectives” (2011, p. 80) such as oral histories and memories, diaries, and fiction which are included in the document analysis chapter. They also recommend “killing the angel in the house” as quoted from Virginia Woolf’s speech first delivered in 1931 which encourages women to reject the strict patriarchal rules of the cult of domesticity. The Saturday Mothers left the *angels* in their homes and came to the Galatasaray Square for their struggle and protests, for their right to be heard, and for justice to be carried out.

In terms of the *close reading* of the Saturday Mothers’ struggle, I also used the suggestions given by feminist methodologists Jasmina Lukić and Adeline Sánchez Espinosa stating that “[i]t sets out to show that far from being neutral as conventionally assumed, or alien to feminism because of its connections with so-called formalist approaches, close

reading as a method of interpretation remains a useful tool for feminist analysis” (2011, p. 105).

As a consequence, Radhika Parameswaran examines the relationship between power, gender, and culture in social sciences. She claims that

[i]n ethnographic fieldwork, the process of conducting fieldwork involves the cultural biography of researchers and calls for negotiations of power relationships between researchers and people they encounter in the field. For feminist ethnographers especially, rigorous self-reflexivity has become an important channel to interrogate the research process and reveal power inequalities that arise in the field due to social constructions of gender, class, racial, sexual, and ethnic identities. (2001, pp. 69-70).

This is why one of the general methodologies in the research is the qualitative feminist method, which is based on the study and ethics (1) of human rights organisations, both international and those in Turkey, (2) of memory studies, (3) of motherhood, (4) of the covering and alteration of truth, and (5) of theories of resistance, insistence, and disobedience. Feminist research “provides not only conceptual and analytical direction but also methodological orientation in emphasizing participatory, collaborative, change-oriented, and empowering forms of inquiry” (Patton, 2002, p. 130) as it is seen in the redefinitions of these stated in (5) above in the conclusion chapter.

2.4.1. How Is Gender Dimension Included in the Research?

Trine Rogg Korsvik and Linda M. Rustad published a booklet about how researchers can include gender dimensions in their research irrelevant to their academic field. According to them, “[t]he rationale is that integrating sex and gender analysis enhances the quality of research and innovation. In the European Research Area (ERA), gender mainstreaming in research is one of six key priorities” (2018, p. 5). From this point of view, I state that the research is not gender blind or does not have any gender bias. They define gender dimension in research as “part of the research design and systematically controlled for throughout the research process without necessarily being the main focus of analysis” (2018, p. 12). They

also give a list of questions that should be considered by researchers if they want to include a gender dimension in their research (2018, p. 57):

Question	Researcher's Answer
Have you considered how assessments of sex/gender, including stereotypes about what is considered "female" or "male", can affect what you want to investigate, what questions you ask, and how to answer them?	Yes, with the help of my mentors and supervisors, I revised this research and interview questions.
Is sex/gender important for understanding the phenomenon you will investigate, and if so, how?	Yes. Most of the subjects are women, and the main keyword in the thesis is motherhood.
Are there other dimensions that can be considered in relation to sex/gender, such as age, ethnicity, educational level, income, occupation, geographical location, or technical competence?	Age, ethnicity, educational level, occupation, geographical location, and technical competence are other dimensions that are considered in the discussion chapter.
Have you reviewed literature and other sources relating to sex/gender in the research field?	Yes. Please refer to the qualitative feminist method part and women's rights in the Appendices.
Do the project's research topics and methods take the sex/gender dimension into account?	Yes.
Does the proposal explain how the sex/gender dimension will be handled?	Yes. It is in the methodology chapter.
Are researchers trained in gender studies included in the research group?	Yes. You may ask for my CV if needed.
Have you considered whether the results of the research can have different effects on women and men, boys, or girls?	Yes. Refer to the Discussion and Conclusion chapters.
Can the research contribute to the advancement of gender equality?	Yes. Refer to the Aims, Objectives, and Research Question chapter.
Are research methods, such as questionnaires, focus groups, etc., designed in a way that considers possible sex/gender differences and similarities between gender?	Yes, thanks to my supervisors.
Will sex/gender-differentiated data be collected? Have you ensured that samples, test groups, or others involved in the project are diverse in terms of sex/gender, age, and other background variables?	To some extent due to the main themes and aims of the research. They are the people involved in the Saturday Mothers struggle from different backgrounds.
Will sex/gender be a variable in the analysis? Will other variables be included in relation to sex/gender in the analysis?	Yes.

Are unconscious (stereotypical) assumptions about sex/gender implicit in the interpretation of data? Are there dimensions other than sex/ gender that is important to consider?	I do not think so. Their participation in the struggle.
Is the sex/gender dimension included in the presentation of findings? If the sex/gender dimension is included, is it done in a way that does not reproduce stereotypical notions about gender, but also looks at variations within the gender categories?	Yes.
Have you considered that dissemination of the research findings can be directed towards networks, institutions, journals, and conferences that address gender issues?	Yes.

Table 4: Gender Dimension in Research

2.5. Narrative Critical Analysis Method

Narrative analysis or narratology is directly related to hermeneutics and “extends the idea of text to include in-depth interview transcripts, life history narratives, historical memoirs, and creative nonfiction” (Patton, 2002, p. 115). All kinds of documents or texts are very important to analyse “individual experiences” (Graham, 1993, p. 33). The “biographical turn in social science” (Chamberlayne, et al., 2000, p. 87) or the “narrative turn” in qualitative research (Bochner, 2001, p. 133) uses personal accounts as data. Michael White and David Epston examine how narratology is important in the analysis of human experience:

I have argued that the text analogy provides a frame that enables us to consider the broader sociopolitical context of persons' lives and relationships, and that Foucault’s analysis of power/knowledge can provide us with some details of that broader context. I have also provided a summary of some of Foucault’s thought relating to power and knowledge. What are the practical implications of this for therapy? (1990, pp. 27-28)

Emotions, the past, present, and future experiences are all expressed through language, words, silences, and facial and body expressions. Foucault, however, whose theoretical framework is based on power and knowledge poses a problem for therapists and their patients. How can the power relation be overcome? Telling stories that the patient is encouraged to do and where the therapist listens, can sometimes overcome the power relationship. Language is not neutral, but the words and expressions may reveal stories that constitute the experiences of the patient – or in the case of the Saturday Mothers – their 'truths'.

Similarly, “[o]ne of the most influential orientational framework is ‘critical theory,’ which focuses on how injustice and subjugation shape people’s experiences and understanding of the world. Thus, what gives the critical theory its name – what makes it critical – is that it seeks not just to study and understand society but rather to critique and change society” (Patton, 2002, p. 130). Fonte (2001) offers an example of critical theory applied to public policy. Fonte applies the perspective of Marxist intellectual, Antonio Gramsci, to contemporary American politics, considering how dominant and subordinate groups based on race and gender struggle over power in ways that make every aspect of life political (Patton, 2002, p. 131).

3. Personalizing the Research

According to Kushner, “qualitative methods may be perceived as more humanistic and personal simply by avoiding numbers” (2000, p. 176). Further to that, Patton gives the common principles of humanistic values in qualitative research:

- (1) Each person or community is unique.
- (2) Each person or community deserves respect.
- (3) Equity, fairness, and mutual respect should be foundations of human interactions.
- (4) Change processes (and research) should be negotiated, agreed to, and mutually understood—not imposed, forced, or required.
- (5) One expresses respect for and concern about others by learning about them, their perspective, and their world—and by being personally involved.
- (6) Change processes should be person-centred, attentive to the effects on real people as individuals with their own unique needs and interests.
- (7) Emotion, feeling, and affect are natural, healthy dimensions of human experience.
- (8) The change subject, therapist, or researcher is non-judgmental, accepting, and supportive in respecting others’ right to make their own decisions and live as they choose. The point is empowerment of others, not control or judgment.
- (9) People and communities should be understood in context and holistically.
- (10) Action and responsibility are shared: unilateral action is avoided.
- (11) Information should be openly shared and honestly communicated as a matter of mutual respect and in support of openness as a value. (2002, p. 177)

The fact that Hannah Arendt once stated that “experience in thinking . . . can be won, like all experience in doing something, only through practice, through exercise” (1997, p. 4) helped me consider all the bullet points stated above. In addition, because I wished to set up

an equal and hierarchy-free relationship with the subjects, I found that Egon Guba's use of participatory language in the research was important.

It is my experience that evaluators sometimes adopt a very supercilious attitude with respect to their clients; their presumptuousness and arrogance are sometimes overwhelming. We treat the client as a 'child-like' person who needs to be taken in hand; as an ignoramus who cannot possibly understand the tactics and strategies that we will bring to bear; as someone who doesn't appreciate the questions he *ought* to ask until we tell him—and what we tell him often reflects our own biases and interests rather than the problems with which the client is actually beset. (Guba, 1991, p. 1)

This point is worth emphasizing because some—not all, to be sure, but some—resistance to participatory evaluation derives from the status associated with research expertise and an elitist or patronizing attitude toward non-researchers (they are, after all, 'subjects'). However, postmodernism, deconstruction, critical theory, feminist theory, empowerment evaluation, and constructivism, among other perspectives, share skepticism about the traditional truth-oriented knowledge paradigm. They offer, in contrast, an emphasis on interest-acknowledged interpretations articulated and discussed within an explicit context... Participatory methods have increased the access of non-researchers to both research findings and processes. In combination, constructivist, dialogical, and participatory approaches offer a vision of research and evaluation that can support deliberative democracy in the postmodern knowledge age. Such a grandiose, even bombastic, vision derives from recognition that in this emergent knowledge age, researchers have larger responsibilities than just publishing in academic journals. (Patton, 2002, p. 190)

To personalize the research, I often contacted Sebla Arcan who has been in the struggle as an activist throughout and checked the details and meanings of important concepts and issues if they are correct (such as "justice", "truth", and "struggle"). I also checked likes and dislikes and comments on social media sites such as YouTube in terms of the need for "unobtrusive measures" (Webb, 1966).

During this research period, I had the pleasure of having informal conversations with the subjects, having dinner or breakfast together, telling my own story, the reasons for this research, the way I use the language (candour and sincerity), having trustful contacts like Sebla Arcan, Prof. Şebnem Korur Fincancı, and Maside Ocak who are among the prominent figures in the struggle as well as the human rights movements in Turkey.

The units of analysis in the research are the Saturday Mothers and the Saturday Mothers activists. The documents related to the Saturday Mothers are included in the research as a unit of analysis, as well. “One of the strengths of qualitative analysis is looking at programme units holistically” (Patton, 2002, p. 124). These units are perspective/worldview based in which the Saturday Mothers and activists “share a common experience or perspective” (p. 231) and activity-focused and somehow time-based (from 1995 to 2022).

4. Purposeful Sampling and Insider and Outsider Perspectives

I used different kinds of sampling in the research such as intensity sampling consisting of information-rich cases, maximum variation sampling for the high-quality and detailed descriptions of the central themes and shared patterns in the research, typical case sampling by cooperating with the organisations like Human Rights Association Istanbul Branch, snowball sampling by asking for the key figures in The Saturday Mothers struggle before and after several interviews, confirming and discarding cases according to the ethics of this research.

Regarding insider and outsider perspectives,

Ethno-semanticist Kenneth Pike (1954) coined the terms *emic* and *etic* to distinguish classification systems reported by anthropologists based on (1) the language and categories used by the people in the culture studied (an emic approach) in contrast to (2) categories created by anthropologists based on their analysis of important cultural distinctions, (an etic approach). Leading anthropologists such as Franz Boas and Edward Sapir argued that the only meaningful distinctions were those made by people within a culture, that is, from the emic perspective. (Patton, 2002, p. 267)

5. Points of View

Rudolf Moos claims that “[t]he social climate perspective assumes that environments have unique ‘personalities,’ just like people (1975, p. 4). In terms of historical perspective, “[h]istorical information can shed important light on the social environment” (p. 184).

Language and nonverbal communication are also important in this research. “Records, documents, artifacts, and archives—what has traditionally been called ‘material culture’ in

anthropology –constitute a particularly rich source of information about many organisations and programmes. Thus, archival strategies and techniques constitute part of the repertoire of field research and evaluation” (Hill, 1981, p. 293).

6. Observing What Does Not Happen

The Saturday Mothers are not at the Galatasaray Square, at present. Their protest has continued through social media. This may affect their activism and transform it.

The Saturday Mothers’ struggle started in 1995 in İstanbul, Turkey, and has been continuing since then. Thus, the research covers specifically the years between 1995 and 2022.

As a researcher located in İzmir (see the map below), I conducted all the document analyses in İzmir. In addition, I was in İzmir when I had online interviews with the subjects. To be able to provide consistency, I had all the online interviews in my house mostly at the same place, at study. The subjects with whom I interviewed were located in different cities and countries in the world. I went to Dikili, Kuşadası, and Altınoluk which are not far from İzmir (see the map below) to have face-to-face interviews with Emine Ocak, Maside Ocak, Şhriban Tepeli, and İrfan Bilgin, respectively. All the interviews were conducted in 2021. I also conducted 10 different face-to-face interviews in İstanbul (see the map below).



²¹ **Figure 2: The Map of Turkey:** Green shows where the researcher lives, and purple shows the places where the researcher conducted the face-to-face interviews.

The scope of the document analysis is restricted to selecting the related documents on the search tool Google. The scope of the interviews is restricted to the subjects who agreed to be involved in the research and were available and feeling motivated at that time.

External matters are very important to mention here: the government is on the alert for any existence of propaganda, and even academic texts that might be banned. The COVID-19 pandemic is another limitation that prevented me from going to the south-eastern cities in Turkey where more Saturday Mothers are located and who prefer face-to-face interviews²². I could not observe any live protests because they have been banned by the government.

7. Tools and Techniques

I analysed several documents to provide background data for the thesis, which gave me interesting information about the Saturday Mothers protest. I analysed reports of human rights

²¹ The map is taken from <https://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/map/turkey-map.htm> (Accessed 22.4.2022)

²² I discussed the issue with my supervisor Prof. Dr. Şebnem Korur Fincancı who is also the head of the Turkish Medical Association (Türk Tabipleri Birliği) that if I should go to the south-eastern cities, she advised me not to go there because it would be very risky for me and also for the mothers, due to the high percentage of the COVID-19 in these cities.

associations, books, newspaper articles, and police records (when this was possible). Secondly, I conducted semi-structured face-to-face and online interviews with the Saturday Mothers and also The Saturday Mothers activists to understand their points of view. I interviewed most of the key figures in the struggle and studied press reports and online videos regarding the group and the importance of place, photography, and language: all vital elements of the struggle. The Saturday Mothers had also contacted the Madres de la Plaza de Mayo in Buenos Aires. This fact encouraged me to contact the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience about how the Saturday Mothers could be integrated with the coalition. The contact meeting was done online and was very important for the internationalization of the group in Istanbul.

8. Researcher's Own Position in the Research

The interviews were conducted throughout the year 2021. My visit to Istanbul was in October 2021, where the Saturday Mothers hold their protests. At this point, I would like to state my own personal interest in the Saturday Mothers.

My age is 37, gender (male), class (middle-upper), ethnicity (mixed), and/or religion (Islam). My identity may have affected my participation in the protests as well as my skills such as language (no Kurdish skills), mimic, explicit attention, attendant, analytical, and imaginative; note-taking, astonishment and naivety, and impression management (Goffman, 1967). All of these may have affected the quality of my material and affected my relationship with the subjects. Yet, I attempted to be “a fly on the wall” participating and taking care to prevent my personal background from affecting my interpretations and research. Also, I was aware that my focus was on the *mothers* who protest at Galatasaray about their children's enforced disappearance, and that means that my selection excluded other mothers who likewise protest to demand information on their children in different cities and countries such as the Friday Mothers in Turkey, the Diyarbakır Mothers in Turkey, the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo, or Peace Mothers in Turkey although they were also mentioned in the study.

Regarding observational paradigms (Adler and Adler, 1994), the focus was on the forms of social interaction at Galatasaray, and from the dramaturgical sociology by Goffman, it was important for me to examine how mothers act, interact, and create relationships that then create meaning and how the diverse media reflect their positions. All of these guided this research to be more flexible. By using sensitizing concepts (Blumer, 1954), it is possible to deal with data and go back to theory and back to data again. This created and produced iterative knowledge: going back and forth to prevent the research from being conducted in a one-way direction. Flexibility also gave me the chance of serendipity during this research.

9. Triangulation

The thesis benefits from the triangulation by Norman K. Denzin to check the validity of the research (1978). The first one is the triangulation by methodology in which interviews with document analysis, interviews with the activists, and interviews with the Saturday Mothers. Triangulation strengthens a study by combining methods. This can mean using several kinds of methods or data, including using both quantitative and qualitative approaches. Denzin (1978) has identified four basic types of triangulation: (1) data triangulation, the use of a variety of data sources in a study; (2) investigator triangulation, the use of several different researchers or evaluators; (3) theory triangulation, the use of multiple perspectives to interpret a single set of data, and (4) methodological triangulation, the use of multiple methods to study a single problem or programme” (p. 27). Data, design, and analysis are combined in the research. Questions to be considered in the research and my answers in terms of triangulation are as follows:

Question	Researcher’s Answers
What is the primary purpose of the study?	Basic and applied research
What is the focus of the study?	Depth
What are the units of analysis?	Individuals, documents
What will be the sampling strategy or strategies?	Purposeful sampling

What types of data will be collected?	Qualitative
What type and degree of control will be exercised?	Naturalistic inquiry
What analytical approach will be used?	Content and thematic analysis, combinations
How will the validity of and confidence in the findings be addressed?	Triangulation, multiple data sources
Time issues: When will the study occur? How will the study be sequenced or phased?	Fixed times
How will logistics and practicalities be handled?	Gaining entry to the setting, access to people and records, training, endurance
How will ethical issues and matters of confidentiality be handled?	Informed consent
What resources will be available? What will the study cost?	Personnel, suppliers, data collection, materials

Table 5: Triangulation

10. Selection of the Cases

Depending on these research questions, I selected the cases for their relevance, deviance, and variation based on certain properties, not on the number of participants in this research. Glaser and Strauss (1967) suggest theoretical sampling rather than representational sampling. In my sampling, I selected specific cases by collecting data, organizing, analysing, coding, interpreting them, and selecting new cases. When no additional data were found, properties of a category with newer data were developed; saturation was provided via redundancy in which all new data were redundant and varied. In the research, all the mothers, wives, fathers, activists, sisters, brothers, relatives, friends, men and women, children, supporters, official related documents (official documents, reports, etc.), and media are included.

There are so many families whose children have forcibly disappeared without a trace. Many of the parents of these children have passed away, and this may cause some important data to disappear. However, I have included videos recorded and uploaded on social media sites. Most important for this research has been the valuable work and comments of one of the leading activists in the struggle, the thesis co-supervisor, Professor Fincancı who previously was the coordinator of the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey, before her retirement. Also, the specialists claimed our interview questions were acceptable for the research.

11. Interviews

Beatrice Potter Webb (1932) defines the interview as a conversation with the purpose to obtain information as specific as possible. In the research, I used task-oriented semi-structured interviews to look at meanings and frameworks (Rubin and Rubin, 2005). At the beginning of the interview, I started with small talk to create rapport. Ann Oakley (1981) claims that reciprocity is important during interviews for it is a power game between two people – the interviewer and the subject –about yourself (personally) as well as an interviewer. The questions I asked were memorized by me, rather than reading from notes. I used framework analysis in coding the data developed by Jane Ritchie and Liz Spencer (2002) to standardize the coding of the transcriptions as well as MAXQDA as a digital tool. This is a case and theme-based approach. I focused on summarizing and analysing the transcriptions. The first step was to familiarize myself by reading the transcripts, listening to the audio, and watching videos. Secondly, I identified some key themes and sub-themes. Then I started indexing which means selecting the interesting fragments and summarizing what people have told me. I attempted to narrate the story of these fragments by using a framework like Miles and Huberman’s “cell entries” and “single case” (1994, p. 141) matrix. Through this matrix, I then interpreted the data by colour mapping and explanations.

12. Analytic Induction

According to Moermann, in analytic induction, you should first specify the outcome or your phenomenon; then should collect data on a small number of cases with that specific outcome. This results in some dependant variable, and you look for cases with that dependant variable. When commonalities are found in these cases, the next step is to formulate a research question, a starting point for your theory about this phenomenon about this outcome. Significant questions related to this research are: what is happening at the Galatasaray Square? What is causing the protests? How can we see the process of the protests? As a researcher, I looked very specifically for ‘deviant’ cases to redefine the position of the

mothers in the women's peace movement and thus answered and evaluated these research questions. Employing axial coding, first, open coding, and then comparing the cases with each other by taking notes on the margins of the field papers were followed. In coding, there are events, actions, and interactions to develop concepts. A guideline and categories were set out explaining their links to each other but also to four specific properties which are the following conditions: in what conditions do the protests occur? In what context do the protests occur? What are the consequences of these protests? What strategies are behind them? What action and interaction strategies can be seen? In terms of writing the thesis, I used an impressionist tale in writing out my study.

13. Ethics

I used informed consent and codes of conduct to prevent passive deception. Privacy is also another key rule to prevent harm or exploitation of the subjects of the research. Universalism and situational ethics are two elements I have considered to be our main standpoints throughout this research.

14. Conclusion

Consequently, I have tried to respond to questions of truth, justice, and resistance within the scope of human rights, specifically women's rights, by examining violations of rights and reporting those. The issue of the Saturday Mothers is systemized in its development and change processes.

PART III

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In order to contextualise the subject matter of the thesis, it is important to give details about the historical background in Turkey, specifically about ethnicity and gender, nationalisms, and nationalist discourse in Turkey. Equally important is how these concepts relate to or clash with present-day Turkey.

The modern history of Turkey has always been related to strong militarism. Ayşe Gül Altınay, one of the important women's studies scholars in Turkey, states that nation and militarism are grafted terms in the Turkish setting, and it is of great importance to analyse militarist nuances to be able to study Turkish nationalism and modern history.

In August 1999, Turkey's Minister of Culture İstemihan Talay called a press conference. His purpose was to introduce a new book titled *Türk Ordusu (The Turkish Military)*. 'Turks have been known as a military-nation throughout history,' the minister proclaimed. The Turkish military is synonymous with Turkish national identity. Our military has won great victories, glory, and honour for our nation' (Hürriyet, 11 August 1999). The use of the term "military-nation" by a state official in 1999 was hardly out of the ordinary, and, indeed, Talay was not the first Minister of Culture to invoke the idea of the military as a key and sacred institution in Turkish society and the idea that every (male) Turk is born a soldier. (2004, p. 1)

1. Ethnicity and Gender in Turkey

1.1. General Framework

Turkey is a large country²³ where major and minor ethnic groups live, making the nation a culturally diverse place. Not much comprehensive qualitative scientific research has been done on the exact population of the different communities in Turkey, yet several studies and reports by some human rights associations have tried to analyze which ethnic groups populate different regions of Turkey, how ethnic groups in Turkey are populated in the regions of

²³Turkey is described on <http://minorityrights.org/country/turkey/> as follows: "The Republic of Turkey reaches from the Balkan region of south-eastern Europe to the Anatolian peninsula in south-western Asia. It shares borders with eight countries and four seas, clockwise from its north-west border is Bulgaria, then the Black Sea, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Iran, Iraq, Syria, the Mediterranean Sea, the Aegean Sea and Greece, and the sea of Marmara, going into Turkey's Golden Horn, where the country's second city, Istanbul, straddles Europe and Asia." (Accessed 22.4.2022)

Turkey, and what kind of socio-cultural and socio-economic difficulties these people face. In order to give a general outline of ethnicity and gender in Turkey, the recent research carried out by the Minority Rights Group International and Diyarbakır Bar, authored by Dilek Kurban and titled “Quest for Equality: Minorities in Turkey” (2007) has been used as the basis for the framework of this chapter²⁴.

Turkey has hosted different ethnic and religious groups throughout its history. The Ottoman Empire was ruled by the Ottoman politicians who were generally Sunni Muslims, spoke Turkish, and generally non-Turkish *devshirmeh*²⁵ from the 14th to the 20th century. It can be stated that there was general tolerance towards ethnic and religious minorities in the empire²⁶, and these communities were protected by common laws and had autonomy in some of their domestic issues. Yet, with the effect of industrialisation, nationalism and wars in Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries, some non-Turkish communities such as the Greeks, Bulgarians, and Armenians gained their independence. This caused an anti-ethnic prejudice against minorities to develop in the new Republic politics as detailed in the Appendices.

After World War I, the Allied countries asked the Ottoman Empire for a guarantee to protect the rights of religious, linguistic, and ethnic minorities in the country while signing the peace treaties (the Treaty of Sèvres). The same guarantee was demanded with the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) after the Independence War of Turkey. With the Treaty of Lausanne, the Rums, Armenians, and Jewish peoples have been recognized as legal minorities, so their rights were guaranteed. Yet, the protection of these rights has always been relative, and the treaty has not been implemented as it should be. These minorities have been perceived as second-class citizens by the mainstream. In the 1920s, the conflicts between the Turks and

²⁴ The State Institute of Statistics has never declared the results of the statistics of native languages since 1965.

²⁵ Generally, young Christian men who were brought from the conquered lands by force and raised to serve for Ottoman army or palace after they were converted to Islam. Also, women were brought to the palace in order to 'serve' the Sultan. The emperors' mothers were originally from other conquered lands and converted to Islam when they came to the palace.

²⁶ For example, thousands of Jews arrived in the Empire in 1492 after having fled from the Holy Office of the Spanish Inquisition.

Greeks forced thousands of people to abandon their homes. Despite legal protection, it can be affirmed that there has been a systematic exclusion against these groups. For example, the Jewish people were attacked, beaten, raped, and murdered in Thrace in 1934 and İstanbul in 1955. In 1941 and 1942 conscription was announced only for the non-Muslim males to serve in labour battalion. Also, non-Muslims were obliged to pay an extra tax on their capital. In 1964, Rums of İstanbul were deported and since then, real estate properties of non-Muslim communities have been confiscated by the state, so most of the minorities left the country, and their wealth passed directly to the Muslim businessmen.



Figures 3-4: Photos from the Exhibition: The photos from the exhibition titled "20 Dolar, 20 Kilo" ("20 Dollars, 20 Kilos" (2014) by the NGO Babil that is about the Greeks living in Turkey who were forced to migrate to Greece²⁷.

On the other hand, non-Turkish Muslim ethnic groups were labelled as Turks, and there was an attempt to homogenize them. For example, in 1924 the Directorate of Religious Affairs was established by the government in order to protect and teach Sunni Islam in an accurate way while ignoring other sects of Islam such as Alevism²⁸.

In fact, the protection of the rights of the minorities in Turkey is guaranteed by the conventions prepared by the international organisations – the United Nations²⁹, the Council of

²⁷ Photo sources: <http://www.5harfliler.com/20-dolar-20-kilo-simdi-arkaniza-bakmadan-burayi-terk-ediniz/> (right) (Accessed 22.4.2022); <http://www.md1927.org.tr/icerik/eylul-2014/16-eylul-2014-sergi-20-dolar-20-kilo> (left) (Accessed 22.4.2022). For further details for the exhibition, please refer to <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UfpBnYJbAy8> (Accessed 8.3.2022)

²⁸ Many examples can be found in the Appendices.

²⁹ Turkey, as a member of the United Nations and a party of the conventions, is responsible for implementing the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, International

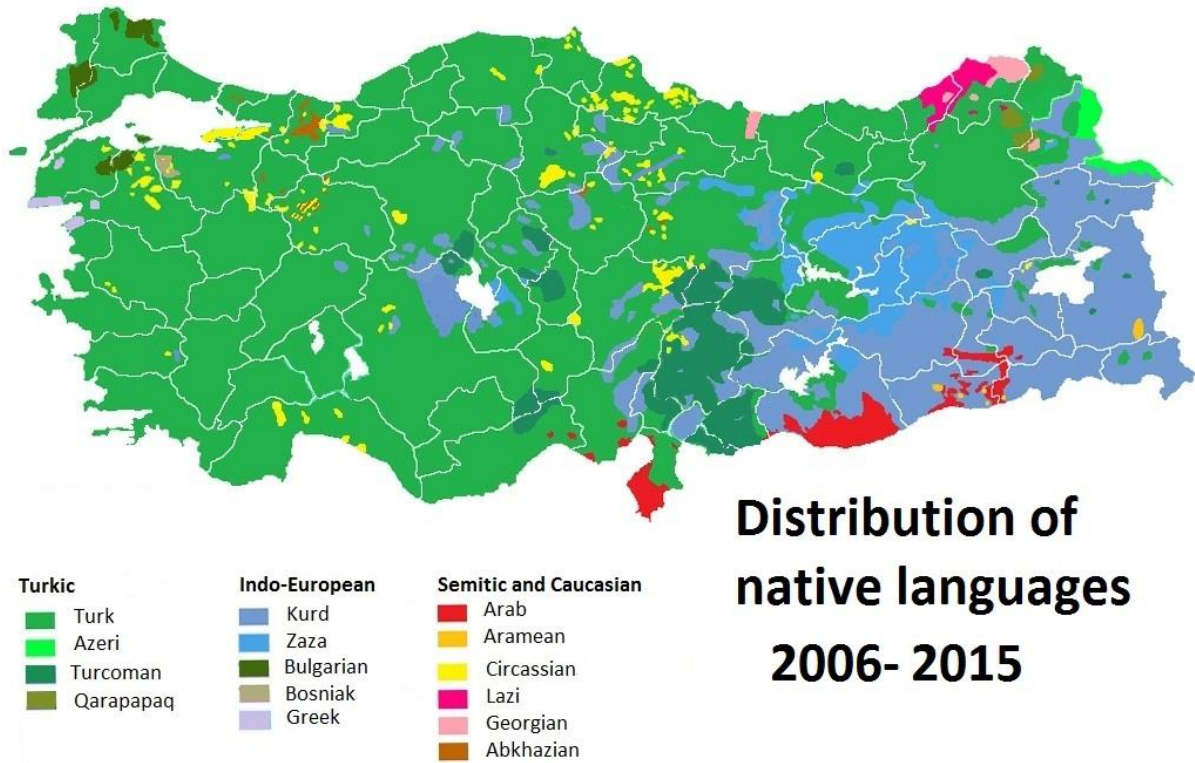
Europe³⁰, The Organisation for Security and Co-Operation in Europe³¹ (OSCE) – and signed by the Turkish government as a member of these organisations.

As for the legal framework in Turkey in terms of minority politics, the most striking treaty is the Treaty of Lausanne, 1923, in which the minorities are defined according to their religious orientation, and these refer to the Rums, Armenians, and Jews. That is why the other non-Muslim communities such as the Bahaians, Georgians, Maronite, Protestants, the Assyrian, and the Yezidi are excluded from the treaty. These latter communities are not considered to be minority peoples by the Turkish state despite the fact that the articles in the treaty refer to all the non-Muslim communities in the country. Moreover, the Turkish constitution omits reference to the term “minority” although several articles in the constitution and other legal frameworks define restrictions on the political, economic, and socio-cultural rights of the ethnic, religious, and linguistic minorities.

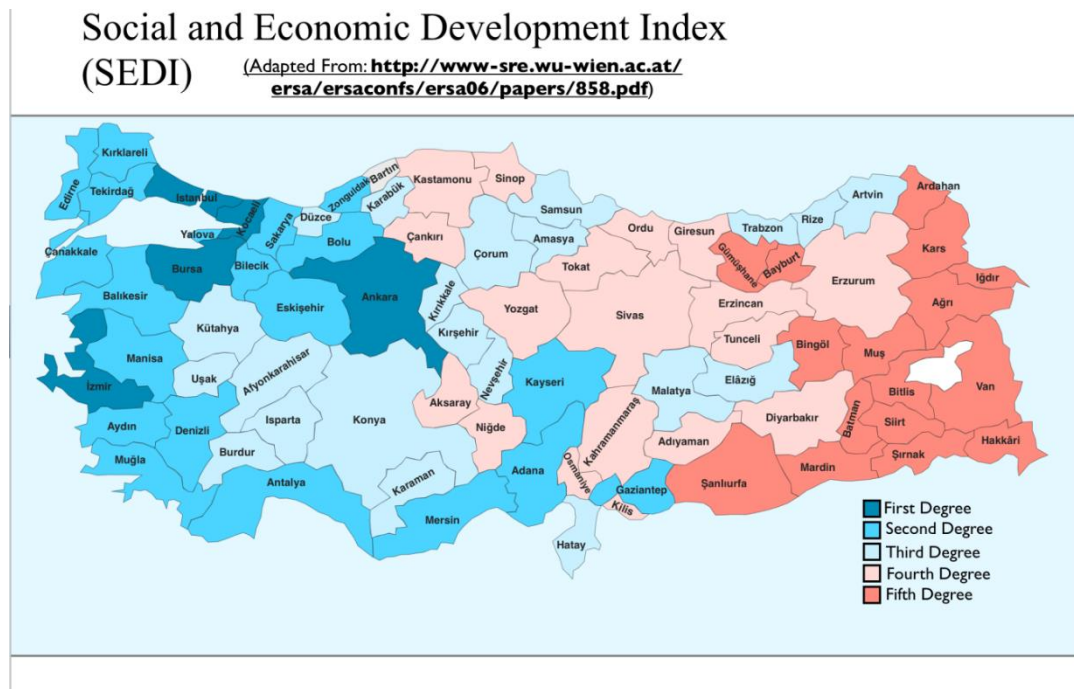
Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities in order to protect the minorities in the country.

³⁰ Turkey has not signed the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities yet. However, it is both a party, and signatory, of the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. Although Turkey signed the Additional Protocol No 12, it has not been ratified yet.

³¹ The Copenhagen Documents oblige Turkey to protect the minority rights and prevent conflicts.



³² **Figure 5: Distribution of Native Languages 2006-2015:** Native languages also show the distribution of ethnic communities in Turkey.



³³ **Figure 6: Social and Economic Index**

³² Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographics_of_Turkey (Accessed 28.2.2022)

³³ <http://www.geocurrents.info/geopolitics/elections/the-2015-turkish-election-the-unclear-economic-dimension> (Accessed 28.2.2022)

1.2. The Minorities in Turkey

Although there are many ethnic and religious minorities in Turkey, it is important to mention the Kurdish people who have the biggest population as an ethnic group in Turkey and are directly related to the research's content.

1.2.1. The Kurds

The Kurdish people have the biggest ethnic and linguistic minority in Turkey. The estimated population varies from 10% to 23% of the entire population according to some sources such as Martin Van Bruinessen (1992) and David McDowall (2014). Their language is Kurdish, and it has different dialects such as Kırmanç and Zazaish. They are mostly Sunni Muslims, yet large Alevi-Kurdish communities live in the country, too. Most of the south-eastern and eastern regions of Turkey are populated by the Kurdish communities. However, millions of Kurdish people also live in the biggest cities of the country such as Istanbul, Izmir, Bursa, and Ankara because of the immigration caused by state politics, the fight against PKK, and economic reasons, mainly unemployment.

1.2.2. The Main Problems That the Minorities in Turkey Face

The main problems that minorities in Turkey face can be grouped in the framework of these rights: linguistic rights in terms of education, media, names of place and person; and freedom of religion and thought.

There are international standards for implementing the linguistic rights of minorities. For example, there are clear definitions and articles about the educational rights of minorities in their mother tongues such as Copenhagen Document Paragraph 34, the Recommendations by the Hague Convention, and European Human Rights Convention Protocol No:1. In all of these definitions, it is stated that all minorities should have the right to education in their mother tongues in their own schools. However, in Turkey, it is forbidden to be educated in other languages, and Turkish is defined as the mother tongue of the Turkish Republic and all its citizens (Article 42, Turkish Constitution). Only a few non-Muslim schools (the Rums,

Jewish, and Armenian) provide education in other languages which are protected by the Treaty of Lausanne³⁴. In 2002, to teach minority languages, private language courses started to be taught, providing that they were not against the indivisibility of the state. The first private Kurdish course was opened in 2005. Yet, there have been a lot of bureaucratic restrictions in opening these courses such as age limits, assigning teachers, and the curricula.

Secondly, international standards in terms of media provide minorities to use the means of communication in their mother tongues. For example, OSCE Guiding Principles state that every individual can get, search, or spread information in the language s/he prefers. In the Oslo Recommendations, minorities could also establish their own radio stations and television channels. In Turkey, establishing TV channels and radio stations in minority languages was prohibited until 2002. After 2002, via some legal regulations, a few channels including the state channel, TRT (Turkey Radio Television), started to broadcast on minority channels, yet there have been strict restrictions, and they are often closed down (especially the Kurdish ones such as Media FM in Urfa, Söz [Voice] TV, Gün [The Day] TV) because of the content of the programmes which are thought to be against the government and Turkish state politics by RTÜK (Radio Television Supreme Council). After the unsuccessful coup d'état by the Gülen Movement, lots of Kurdish channels and stations have been closed down by legislative decrees although there is no direct relationship between the Gülen movement and the Kurdish political figures.

Thirdly, the names of minorities for people and places have not been allowed. The Turkish authorities have banned minorities to use the consonants “x”, “w”, and “q” which are often used in the Kurdish language in baby names as well as place names. Although the minorities were given some rights to name their children and buildings such as associations or

³⁴ In these schools, students have to take a Turkish Culture course. Also, the chief deputy director has to be “originally” Turkish which is equal to being a Muslim.

neighbourhoods in their own language, there have always been bureaucratic restrictions by the official authorities.

In addition to the linguistic rights of minorities, there are also international standards for implementing freedom of religion, freedom of thought, and liberty of conscience among minorities. Although everybody has a right to have freedom of religion and thought, the freedom of expression of these rights is, to some extent, subject to restrictions. In Turkey, everybody is equal before the law in terms of any philosophical belief, religion, and sect according to the constitution. However, some articles ruin the freedom of religion and secularism. For example, it is compulsory for students to take religion courses³⁵ in primary and secondary schools³⁶ irrespective of the student's or her/his family's religious beliefs. Also, non-Sunni communities such as the Alevi community are rarely supported and are not accepted as a different sect by the Directorate of Religious Affairs or by the Turkish state.

2. Women and Minorities in Turkey

There is seldom qualitative or quantitative literature on women and minorities in Turkey. The common problems for all women in minorities are the patriarchal suppression by male family members. Many women still lack access to full education and employment rights and unfortunately, issues of domestic violence are major sources of concern in Turkey and the whole world.

Briefly having mentioned the gap between men and women in Turkey, this can be summarized as follows: the female population in Turkey is 49.9%³⁷. According to the World Economic Forum's "Global Gender Gap Index³⁸", Turkey is ranked 133rd among 150 countries. As for literacy, the percentage of illiterate women is five times higher than men in

³⁵ The curriculum is mainly on Islam and Islamic values and history.

³⁶ This does not include the Rum, Armenian, and Jewish-oriented students.

³⁷ <https://data.tuik.gov.tr> (Accessed 23.4.2022)

³⁸ <https://www3.weforum.org> (Accessed 23.4.2022)

Turkey according to the Turkish Statistical Institute³⁹. As regards the percentage of high school female students, the Ministry of National Education, states the following⁴⁰:

Kızların liseye gitme oranı

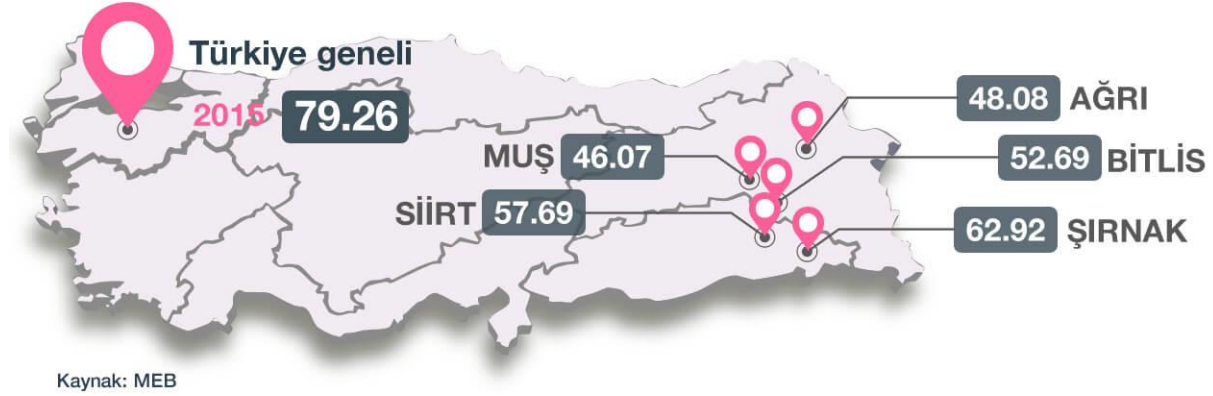


Figure 7: The Percentage of High School Female Students

According to the “Income and Living Conditions Research, 2014⁴¹” women earn much less than men at work. Also, it is much more difficult for a woman to find a job than for a man. As for bureaucracy and top management jobs, there are no women among the 26 undersecretaries; only one-woman governor in the 81 provinces; three women metropolitan municipality mayors in 30 metropolitan cities; and just one-woman president in the top judiciary system.

As regards domestic violence, four women in 10 are exposed to violence by their husbands or partners especially in the mid-Anatolian cities, according to the Research on Domestic Violence against Women, conducted by the Ministry of Family and Social Policies in 2015. Lastly, according to the “We Will Stop Femicide Platform,” 280 women were murdered in 2021, and the number is increasing day by day.

In addition to all these despairing situations, to be both a member of an ethnic group and a woman is doubly discriminating in Turkey. Some examples from ethnic women in

³⁹ <https://www.tuik.gov.tr> (Accessed 23.4.2022)

⁴⁰ <http://www.aljazeera.com.tr/al-jazeera-ozel/rakamlarla-turkiyede-kadin-olmak> (Accessed 14.4.2022) “Kızların liseye gitme oranı” means “The percentage of high school female students”, “Türkiye geneli” means “Turkey as a whole”, and “Kaynak: MEB” means “Source: MEB (Ministry of National Education)” in English. As is shown on the map, in the south-eastern cities, the percentage is below the general percentage; these cities are mainly populated by Kurdish people. (Accessed 10.3.2022)

⁴¹ https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/cache/metadata/en/ilc_esms.htm (Accessed 24.4.2022)

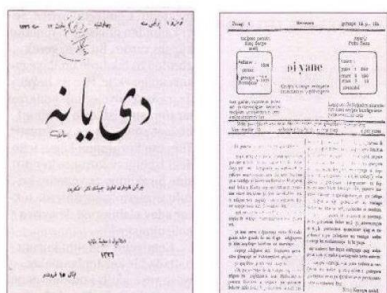
minority groups in Turkey might be helpful here. To begin with, although there is no data as regards the representation of Caucasian women, in the media and art, Caucasian women are singularly pictured and portrayed in Turkish society. For example, a Caucasian woman's magazine was published by the Association of the Caucasian Women Cooperation (Kafkas Kadınları Teavun Cemiyeti) in İstanbul in 1920 named *Diyane*. The magazine was published in the ethnic Adige language⁴². In *Diyane*, women writers discussed women's issues and the role of women in social life. They argued that the degree of civilization is directly proportionate to the role of women in society⁴³. Another example is shown in the painting below where a Caucasian woman is portrayed as a dancer entertaining men and other wealthy women. It shows both an orientalist and gendered point of view of dominant Turkish culture regarding ethnic-oriented women.



⁴⁴ Figure 8: The Exhibition of “The Caucasian Women” in the Early 20th Century. From the Kabardye-Balkar National Museum.

Gender and ethnicity are intimately related to each other as can be evidenced in an online newspaper article written by the Abkhazian writer, Mahinur Tuna Papapha. Her article

⁴² The association was closed by the Turkish government in 1923.



⁴³ Figure 9: Sample Newspapers <http://www.jinepsgazetesi.com/diyane-13874.html> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

⁴⁴<http://www.jinepsgazetesi.com/kafkasya-kadinlari-13910.html>. *Jineps* is a newspaper that discusses the mother tongue, Diaspora, history of the Caucasus people, and history of exile. (Accessed 3.3.2022)

is titled “Abkhaz Woman” where she describes their mythological and historical background and claims that they have always been strong and honourable people. She quotes “It is the woman who makes a man a man” and “The light of a man is a woman.” Both the article and these quotations show that women describe themselves through men, so women themselves place men in the centre (not a woman) even in female definitions and histories. This is an example of women internalizing patriarchal thought whilst simultaneously trying to establish a difference from such ideological issues. This could also be interpreted as being a similar ideological stance to the nineteenth-century “Angel in the House” ideal by Coventry Patmore, which pervaded British culture.



⁴⁵ **Figure 10: The Caucasian Women in Their Traditional Clothes in a Cultural Event in Kayseri Province**
Secondly, the politics of gender and ethnicity can be traced through the Assyrian women in Turkey. As the woman journalist Nilay Vardar reported, the first Assyrian Women’s Center, supported by the European Union and Human Rights Programme, was opened in 2014 in Mardin province which they claim as their homeland. The centre's aims are to make the Assyrian women – who are more silent than other women because of their language and religious beliefs to make them more visible in society and to help them integrate with society. Also, the women’s magazine *Neshe* (*Women*) began to be published once every three months. There are some training programmes such as gender equality, Assyrian language courses for children and women, dance, music, the Assyrian handcrafts, and

⁴⁵<http://www.ensonhaber.com/kayseride-kafkas-kultur-gecesi-2014-11-21.html> (Accessed 10.3.2022)

photography in the centre. The centre's project assistant Ninve Özgün claims that the Assyrian women are so introverted that they hardly ever want to integrate with the society and feel alienated because of their ethnicity and language. The project coordinator Tuma Çelik states that the Assyrian women are very introverted partly because of the trauma of the 1915 exile and genocide by the Young Turks government. That is why there is no organisation established by the Assyrian women. Another effect is the conflict between the Turkish state and PKK. Hundreds of thousands of Assyrian people had to emigrate to Sweden because of the conflict⁴⁶.



Figure 11: The Emblem of the Centre



Figure 12: The First Assyrian Woman Magazine *Neshe* and One of Its Writers

In the magazine *Neshe*, the Assyrian women writers try to use a language that does not have any masculine points of view, says women journalists Ceylan Eraslan and Esra Aydın writing articles in the magazine. In *Neshe*, Assyrian women who played important roles in Assyrian history are described and introduced⁴⁷.

⁴⁶<http://bianet.org/bianet/toplum/157338-suryanilerin-artik-kadin-merkezi-var> (Accessed 10.3.2022)

⁴⁷<http://www.usabro.net/suryani-kadinlar-icin-bir-nefes-neshe-3/> (Accessed 10.3.2022)



⁴⁸ **Figure 13: Assyrian Women in Their Traditional Clothes**

Thirdly, the Laz women are considered very strong and hardworking in the northern region of Turkey (Black Sea Region). In a panel titled “A Life Passed in the Field: The Laz Women”, feminist writers and intellectuals argued how Laz women are suppressed by both capitalism and patriarchy. The feminist Filiz Acar also stated that Laz women represent the Laz culture and tradition. She also discussed popular beliefs of female wisdom in Turkey by saying that “the woman works, and the man sits in the café and never works in the Black Sea region.” She focused on how Laz women work in the field, earn money, do the house chores, and feed their children by criticizing the inequality between women and men. She also considers a difference between a man and a woman: how a woman is close to nature⁴⁹ and a

⁴⁸http://gethashtags.com/photo/1260874132325756988_1662999187 (Accessed 10.3.2022)

⁴⁹ Black Sea region is famous for its forests and green nature.

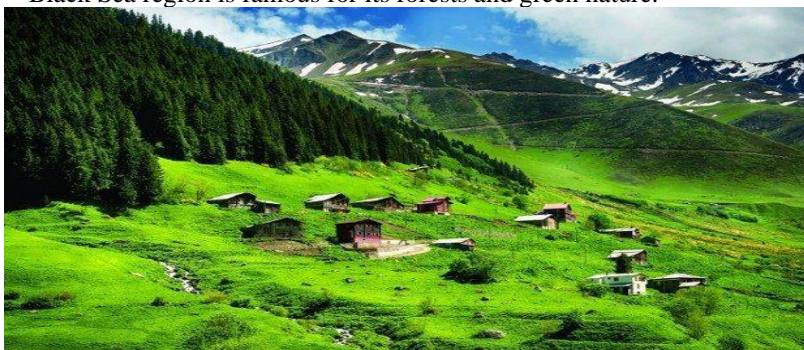


Figure 14: The Black Sea Region of Turkey

<https://indigodergisi.com/2016/03/orman-su-haftasi-tema-vakfi/> (Accessed 3.3.2022)

man is not⁵⁰. This belief was one of the main ideas of Anglo-American feminisms in the 1970s, especially the binary oppositions which Sherry B. Ortner illustrates in her work “Is Female to Male as Nature Is to Culture?”

Lastly, how both ethnicity/nationalism and feminism are melted into a political struggle in Turkey can be further analysed through the Kurdish women’s movement which is one of the strongest branches of feminism in Turkey. The year 1919 can be considered a turning point for the Kurdish women’s enlightenment when the Association of Kurdish Women Advancement (Kürt Kadınları Teali Cemiyeti) was established in order to develop Kurdish feminism within the modern ideology. Yet, according to Tanıl Bora, it could not leave a mark on the future. In the 1960s, women’s issues could not be effective in the Kurdish political awakening (2016, p. 793). It was not until the 1990s that Kurdish women were able to make their voices heard in Kurdish politics following the conflict between Turkey and the PKK after 1985. Many women began to join the PKK and went to the camping sites in the south-eastern mountains and Iraq. Although there was a strongly patriarchal and negative reaction among the male militants against women militants. The men claimed that women were womanizing the struggle, making it sentimental and weak. Nevertheless, the leader of the PKK, Abdullah Öcalan supported the women fighters. He saw them as an essential part of the general Kurdish movement. In 1993, a separate women’s army was formed that was named the “free woman’s army”. This development gave Kurdish ideology a different perspective which enabled the Kurdish people to discuss gender and ethnicity in terms of exploitation, capitalism, and slavery. For example, Leyla Zana, a Kurdish woman politician and parliamentarian asked Kurdish men to bring their wives, mothers, and daughters to the meetings held for the election tours in 1991. In the 1990s, the number of women candidates and activists increased year by year. Even the mothers of those Kurdish victims who had been

⁵⁰http://www.lazuri.com/tkvani_ncarepe/basindan_LazuriCom_SkaniMjora_Panel5_12032006_LAZ_KADINI.html (Accessed 10.3.2022)

forcibly disappeared or been murdered began to appear as protest groups in public. These Kurdish women became political subjects who spoke out, discussed, and decided for themselves.

The PKK programme of 1995 defined women as the strongest part of social dynamics (Bora, 2016, p. 794). Öcalan began to emphasize the power of women in his speeches and articles by criticizing patriarchy, which should be destroyed, and thus man should be transformed as a whole. The Free Women's Union of Kurdistan (YAJK-Yekitiya Azadiya Jinen Kurdistan) was founded, and the Union participated in the United Nations Human Rights of Women Conference held in Beijing, in 1995. Also, an accent was placed on matriarchal Kurdish women's mythology, which was based on equality and peace, and where exploitation and patriarchy were non-existent. The ancient Acadian mother goddess Ishtar was placed in the centre of that mythology and became the representative image of the Kurdish women's movement. Kurdish women have been canonized in politics and social life through the effect of mythology. For example, the woman militant, Zeynep Kınacı (Zilan, her code name) who died in her suicide attack is canonized by the Kurdish movement and Kurdish women, and she was declared a modern freedom goddess⁵¹. Other women militants were Beritan, who jumped off a cliff in order not to surrender to the soldiers in 1992, Sakine Cansız⁵² who was murdered in Paris with two other women militants in 2013; they also became symbols of power in the Kurdish women's movement. This women's movement has been praised and supported by different feminist groups, yet all this fundamentalist mythology and the cult of sacrifice have also been criticized because the idealization of women makes gender issues weaker (Bora, 2016, p. 795).

⁵¹ The famous leftist woman folk/protest singer İlkay Akkaya sang a song in the name of Zilan in which peace and sisterhood are underlined. The song can be accessed on <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SGM199utYHW> (Accessed 13.3.2022)

⁵² She was one of the leaders of the Kurdish movement, and it is claimed that she had different ideas from Öcalan.

The Kurdish women's magazines *Jiyan (Life)*, 1991; *Jin (Woman)*, 1996; *Roza*, 1996; *Jujin*, 1997; *Jin ü Jiyan (Woman and Life)*, 1998, all discussed women's issues from a feminist approach. *Roza*, for example, criticized both Turkish women who want them to forget and give up their ethnic identity, and Kurdish men who want them to forget their femininity. The writers of the magazine also criticized old Kurdish women smoking cigarettes and holding worry beads in their hands (like men) who could be respected after their menopause when they leave the housework to the younger ones in the house. They claimed that they would never leave their ethnic and sexual identities. The magazine *Jujin* criticized the patriarchal Kurdish traditions in which young girls were sold by their fathers for marriage at very early ages – the so-called “child brides” in society.

Another example is the socialist feminist KAMER (Women's Center) in the Kurdish women's movement, founded by Alevi-Kurdish woman and human rights activist, Nebahat Akkoç. The centre's aim is to protect women from both state and domestic violence and to empower them. The centre is supported by Turkish feminists in the western cities, as well. The main fields of study in the centre are awareness of women's rights, an immediate support programme, women's entrepreneurship, early childhood period education, and support for women and children asylum-seekers⁵³.

The number of women in political parties between 1994 and 2003 was reduced to one single woman, a member of the supreme board of the largest Kurdish political party HADEP (People's Democracy Party). In the party congress of 2000, the principle of positive discrimination was accepted, and this resulted in an increase in the number of women politicians. Between the years 2005-2009, the DTP⁵⁴ (Democratic Society Party) set a rule stating that in all the general and local managing bodies there should be two presidents: a woman and a man acting in “co-presidency” thereby assuring gender equality.

⁵³ http://www.kamer.org.tr/icerik_detay.php?id=270 (Accessed 14.4.2022)

⁵⁴ After HADEP was closed, DTP was opened instead of HADEP.

Both the effect of feminism and Abdullah Öcalan's concept of "women's revolution" helped the Kurdish women's movement gain momentum. A new perspective was developed that putting a woman in the centre was called "gyneology⁵⁵" which would become "the science of all sciences" as Bora claims (2016, p. 797). Thus, all the sciences developed by patriarchal paradigms could be revised and refreshed with a brand-new science. The magazines *Heviya Jine (The Hope of Woman)* 2008, and *Jineoloji (Gyneology)* 2016, have started to publish articles that criticize the patriarchal exploitation of capitalism. The paradox of this "canonization" is to insert a male leader (Öcalan) in the centre like a "messiah" and not to underline or promote any other female leaders that would accelerate the movement with their own activities and theories such as the Kurdish politician, Fatma Nevin Vargün, and the academician, Nagehan Tokdoğan, both claimed in their talk and articles respectively (Bora, 2016, p. 798).

After the year 2000, Kurdish women prisoners published a notice claiming that "all types of exploitation are carried out by patriarchy, and it is essential that they get even with masculinity in order to gain their freedom" (Bora, 2016, p. 798). In 1999, the PJKK (Kurdistan Women Worker's Party) was established as a sub-unit of the PKK. It was extended to the PJA (Women's Freedom Party) in 2000 and was transformed into the PAJK (Kurdistan Women's Freedom Party) in 2004. They united women's issues with fundamentalism and nationalism in the same pot. "In order to update the Neolithic matriarchal lifestyle 'the Noble Women's Community' was formed in 2005" (p. 799). The aim was to destroy the patriarchal and statist point of view in the society and to build a confederation in which a flexible and horizontal-style organisation took its place (p. 799). Apart from these, JINHA (Women's News Agency) was established by Kurdish women in 2011. In 2012, 2014, and 2015 gyneology conferences were organized in Germany and Kurdish populated cities. All these women's activism and movements gained support from many different peoples, especially

⁵⁵"Jin" means woman and "jîn" means life in Kurdish, and gyneology means the science of woman's life.

after the Syrian War. They have been seen as a revolutionist and democratic power against ISIS, which is considered barbarian and filtered by rapist “terrorists” in the Conflict of Rojava.



⁵⁶ **Figure 15: Kurdish Women Fighters in a PAJK Meeting**



⁵⁷ **Figure 16: Former Women Parliamentarians of the HDP (People’s Democratic Party)**

As a consequence, women from an ethnic minority face double discrimination in Turkey. Of all ethnic groups, the most politicized and activist one is that of the Kurdish women as is discussed above. Contemporary feminisms in Turkey are multi-layered. It is not possible to say that these feminisms are united or disunited because cultural diversity and geographical differences are important factors shaping the characteristics of feminisms in

⁵⁶<http://www.semduhhaber.gen.tr/guncel/kurdistan-ozgur-kadin-partisinden-pajk-ozgecan-aciklamasi-h25411.html> (Accessed 13.3.2022)

⁵⁷<http://www.telgraf.co.uk/hdp-meclise-31-kadin-gonderiyor-iste-kadin-milletvekilleri-listesi.html> (Accessed 13.3.2022)

Turkey. Most importantly, each women's organisation has its own voice while speaking in public about dress codes, religion, education, divorce, abortion, contraception, sexuality, and their bodies. It is also related to identity politics, class, and ethnic background which gives the feminisms both momentum and tension in several *political* issues and hot debates such as the Kurdish rights, the Alevi's rights, LGBTQI+ rights, child brides, sex workers rights, religious/ethnic minorities, women with a headscarf, refugees, expats, and women with special needs (the *disabled*). While discussing these issues, both Western and Eastern feminisms are used in an eclectic way thanks to globalisation. In short, feminist diversity in women's movements in Turkey enriches discussions on women's rights by gendering peace and gendering violence through questioning patriarchy within a gender dimension perspective.

PART IV

DATA ANALYSIS, FINDINGS, AND DISCUSSION

1. Introduction

I would like to start this chapter by defining the keywords and concepts used in the analysis process. These keywords/concepts are of great importance to understand, analyze, and evaluate the Saturday Mothers' struggle, specifically; and human rights/peace movements in general. After giving the dictionary and etymological definitions of these words/concepts, I did give specific academic literature on how these are used in the studies through which meanings. Instead of giving a very detailed literature review in all academic fields, I preferred to include the reviews in human rights and humanities, specifically in sociology. While analysing the data and establishing the findings, I used these meanings and definitions in the literature. After the analysis, I constructed the conclusion chapter with suggestions for the need for a redefinition of the concepts by underlining the importance of using etymological meanings to make connections with the practice and the ancient understanding of life. I believe that it might be an important contribution to the social sciences and human rights studies.

2. Definition of the Key Terms and Concepts

2.1. Torture

Torture comes from the Latin verb *torquere* meaning “to twist”. According to Dictionary by Merriam-Webster, torture is “the infliction of intense pain (as from burning, crushing, or wounding) to punish, coerce, or afford sadistic pleasure, something that causes agony or pain; anguish of body or mind; distortion or overrefinement of a meaning or an argument⁵⁸”. In the Cambridge Dictionary it is “the act of causing great physical or mental pain in order to persuade someone to do something or to give information, or to be cruel to a person or animal; to cause great physical or mental pain to someone intentionally a very

⁵⁸ <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/torture> (Accessed 23.03.2022)

unpleasant experience⁵⁹.” In the Oxford Dictionary, it means “the act of causing somebody severe pain in order to punish them or make them say or do something; (*informal*) mental or physical pain; something that causes this⁶⁰.” Besides, Amnesty International defines torture as “when somebody in an official capacity inflicts severe mental or physical pain or suffering on somebody else for a specific purpose. Sometimes authorities torture a person to extract a confession for a crime, or to get information from them. Sometimes torture is simply used as a punishment that spreads fear in society⁶¹.” Likewise, in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, torture is “the infliction of severe physical or mental pain or suffering for a purpose, such as extracting information coercing a confession, or inflicting punishment. It is normally committed by a public official or other person exercising comparable power and authority⁶².”

In regards Turkish language, *işkence* (torture) is “excessive physical or moral harassment; to persecute in order to learn someone’s thoughts; excessive tension, distress, torment⁶³.” Etymologically, it is a Persian-rooted word meaning “mechanical press, harassment, trouble, to break, to press⁶⁴.”

As an ancient practice, torture has always been used by authorities for punishment and intimidation aiming to break the victims’ will and dehumanize them although it was generally abolished in the 19th century. It is a general idea that torture is a state-sponsored violation and is prohibited under international law such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Article: 5), The United Nations Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (Articles: 1, 2, 3, and 16), Inter-American Convention to Prevent and Punish Torture, and 1998 Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court as it is seen as a direct violation of human dignity. As a peremptory norm, *jus cogens*, no state is allowed torture under any circumstances. As regards academic literature, there is broad

⁵⁹ <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/torture> (Accessed 23.03.2022)

⁶⁰ https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/torture_1 (Accessed 23.03.2022)

⁶¹ <https://www.amnesty.org/en/what-we-do/torture/> (Accessed 23.03.2022)

⁶² <https://www.britannica.com/topic/torture> (Accessed 23.03.2022)

⁶³ <https://sozluk.gov.tr/> (Accessed 23.03.2022)

⁶⁴ <https://www.nisanyansozluk.com/kelime/i%C5%9Fkence> (Accessed 23.03.2022)

research, discussion, and debate on torture discussing its scope, when and how torture is defined, what makes action torture, and whether torture is individual or collective, physical or psychological (Barnes, 2017; Young & Kearns, 2020; Hajjar, 2013; Celermajer, 2018; Collard, 2018; Pérez-Salez, 2016; Rejali, 2019; Wisniewski, 2010; Evans, 2020; Blakeley, 2007). All these studies can be considered within the framework of the definitions stated above.

2.2. Remembering-Recall-Memory/Forgetting

In Latin, remember and recall come from *remorari* meaning “call to mind.” In Cambridge Dictionary, remember means “to be able to bring back a piece of information into your mind or to keep a piece of information in your memory⁶⁵”; likewise, recall is defined as “to bring the memory of a past event into your mind and often to give a description of what you remember⁶⁶.” Both verbs are very related to *memory*, etymologically coming from the Proto-Indo-European root *(s)mer-* which means “to remember.” In various languages, it has interrelated meanings such as *smarati* (remembers) in Sanskrit, *mimara* (mindful) in Avestan, *merimna* (care, thought) and *mermeros* (causing anxiety) in Greek, *memoria* (memory, remembrance) and *memor* (mindful) in Latin, *Mimir* (the giant guarding the Well of Wisdom) in Old Norse, *gemimor* (known) and *murnan* (to mourn, remember sorrowfully) in Old English, *mijmeren* (to ponder) in Dutch. In Turkish, there are four synonyms meaning “memory”: (1) *hafiza* (hider or protector thing or woman) comes from *hifz* in Arabic (to hide, to protect), (2) *bellek* comes from *bel-* (shovel), and (3) *anı* comes from *an-* (to remember), (4) *hatır(a)* (heart and conscious) in Arabic⁶⁷.

Memory studies have been popular since the 20th century with the effects of world wars and their destruction in people’s minds as well as the collapse of modernity. It “captures simultaneously the individual, embodied, and lived side and the collective, social, and

⁶⁵ <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/tr/s%C3%B6zl%C3%BCk/ingilizce/recall> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

⁶⁶ <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/tr/s%C3%B6zl%C3%BCk/ingilizce/remember> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

⁶⁷ <https://www.nisanyansozluk.com/> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

constructed side of our relations to the past” and it is “the source of its powerful creativity, its ability to build new worlds out of the materials of older ones” (Rothberg, 2009). In terms of identity “our relationship with the past only partially determines who we are in the present but never straightforwardly and directly, and never without unexpected or even unwanted consequences that bind us to those whom we consider other” (Huysen, 2003). Memory studies is defined with the concept of “transitional justice” meaning “a field of activity and research focused on societies confronting past human rights violations, large-scale massacres or other violent social traumas in order to build transitional justice and a more democratic, just and peaceful future” (Hafıza Merkezi, 2022).

As regards forgetting, the word etymologically means “loss of being able to” rooted from *for-* and *get*. Social psychologists put it against “collective memory”. The concepts of “social forgetting”, “social amnesia”, and “total oblivion” are mostly interchangeable and are related to public silence, exclusion, and denial (Burke, 1989; Beiner, 2018, Hirst & Yamashiro, 2018). In Turkish, *unutmak* (to forget) comes from the Old Turkish word *un* (meaning “flour” in Modern Turkish) meaning “bit”, “to pulverise”, and “to make it very little pieces”.

2.3. Denial and Annihilation

In Cambridge Dictionary, denial means “a statement that something is not true or does not exist; the fact of not allowing someone to or have something; a state in which someone will not admit that they have knowledge, responsibility, or feelings. From psychoanalytic theory, denial is seen as a defense mechanism of a person or a group claiming that any information or statement is not true. In terms of political science and sociology, denial is related to the state’s mechanism to construct the past if any violence has occurred due to the authorities such as war crimes, holocaust, genocide, and mass murder. In human rights literature, all the human rights violations committed by the state can be examined through denial studies. Social solidarity, collective peace, and cultural diversity can be possible with the anti-denial

approach of the state and its mechanisms (Cohen, 1993; Ben-Naftali & Shany, 2014; Welch, 2004; Bakiner, 2010; Guttstadt, 2014).

As regards annihilation, it is “complete destruction, so that nothing or no one is left⁶⁸.” These two words in Turkish (*inkâr* and *imha*) have the same meanings in English⁶⁹. Etymologically, *inkâr* comes from Arabic meaning “he did not recognize.” So does *imha*, meaning “he destroyed⁷⁰.” Apart from this, denial comes from *negare* (to refuse) in Latin. Similarly, annihilation comes from the Latin language meaning “reduce to nothing” (*annihilare*⁷¹).

Annihilation is a word mostly used in physics; however, in terms of cultural sociology and social psychology, it started to be discussed with the Holocaust in academia after millions of people were mass murdered in the Nazi camps. These camps were named “annihilation camps”, synonymously “death camps” because the aim was to annihilate masses due to their identities such as religious/ethnic background and/or sexual orientation. That is why annihilation is seen as state politics implemented by the authorities against the opponent and/or minorities (Akçam, 2013; Yeomans, 2012; Meiches, 2019; Amir, 2017).

2.4. Insistence and Resistance

İsrar (insistence) in Turkish comes from the Arabic root *şrr* and *şarra* meaning “creaked, sang like a tree cricket⁷².” In Cambridge, it is defined as “an occasion when you demand something and refuse to accept opposition, or when you say firmly that something is true.” As for *direnış* (resistance) in Turkish, it means “sit tall on the saddle” rooting from *tik*, and “alive” from *tirig*. In the Turkish Dictionary (TDK), resistance has negative connotations. It is defined as “to jib, to be stubborn when something is asked for⁷³.” However, in English it

⁶⁸ <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/denial> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

⁶⁹ <https://sozluk.gov.tr/> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

⁷⁰ www.nisanyansozluk.com (Accessed 14.4.2022)

⁷¹ <https://www.etymonline.com/search> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

⁷² www.nisanyansozluk.com (Accessed 14.4.2022)

⁷³ <https://sozluk.gov.tr/> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

seems more neutral: “the act of fighting against something that is attacking you or refusing to accept something⁷⁴.”

In terms of academic studies in social sciences, the term “civil resistance” is mostly used interchangeably with “nonviolent resistance” against authorities’ or power’s use of violence (Bartkowski, 2013; Carter, et al, 2015). Civil resistance examples such as Mahatma Gandhi’s civil disobedience is associated with democracy (Chenoweth, 2021; Nepstad, 2011). Similarly, insistence is studied in political sciences to analyse civil movements such as labour, minority, and women’s movements, and tension between states and the oppressed (Gallardo & Medella, 2019; Kirwan, 2012).

2.5. Mourning

In Turkish, there are two words for mourning: *yas* and *matem*. *Yas* is related to death and despair etymologically; likewise, *matem* is derived from the Arabic root of *atm* meaning “funeral”, specifically “women mourning in funeral” (*matam*). In Cambridge Dictionary, mourning is defined as “great sadness felt because someone has died⁷⁵.”

Mourning is examined in different fields of academia such as psychology, sociology, literature, medicine, psychiatry, and neuro-science. In mourning studies, researchers focus on feelings, emotions, and physical reactions of the body such as hormones by contextualising grief. The experience of grief generally consists of five periods in psychology: shock denial, anger, bargaining, depression, and acceptance. Negotiation mostly starts with bargaining following a great depression and distress and in the end reorganisation of life through acceptance (Kübler-Ross, 1969). The relationship between mourning and healing, depression, reorganizing life, psychological disorders have always been related to consciousness, identity, and memory (Ahiska, 2006; Butler, 2003).

⁷⁴ <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/resistance> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

⁷⁵ <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/mourning> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

2.6. Civil Disobedience

Civil disobedience does not have a definition in the Turkish Dictionary. However, in Cambridge Dictionary, civil disobedience is defined as “the act by a group of people of refusing to obey laws or pay taxes, as a peaceful way of expressing their disapproval of those laws of taxes and in order to persuade the government to change them⁷⁶.”

Civil disobedience refers to a refusal of law or governmental demand by a citizen through non-violence. Examples from history are Henry David Thoreau, Saad Zaghloul, Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr., and James Bevel. In Turkey, the boy playing the guitar and the boy reading a book in front of the police barricade during the Gezi Park protests in 2013 are two examples among others. In literature, Sophocles’ *Antigone* and Herman Melville’s *Bartleby* are two powerful figures who resist and disobey social norms, laws, and authorities in charge. In civil disobedience, there is generally a conflict between the state and the citizen: demand vs denial/refusal; violence vs non-violence and conscience (Scheuerman, 2018; Escudero & Pallares, 2021; Pineda, 2021, 2021; Durdu, 2018; Çatikkaş, 2018; Bayram, 2021; Kılınç, 2020; Bilici Erkeker, 2018).

According to Ronal Dworkin, civil disobedience can occur in three types: integrity-based, justice-based, or policy-based all of which are directly related to the actions against written laws (Kress & Anderson, 1989). It is also debatable if civil disobedience is revolutionary or not, collective or personal, and violent or non-violent. The common feature is its relation to the law.

2.7. Truth

According to the Turkish Dictionary, truth is defined as real and reality. In Islamic mysticism, truth is the third step to be able to reach the essence of knowledge⁷⁷. *Hakikat* in Turkish is derived from the root of *hkk* in Arabic meaning legitimate and lawful. Similarly, in Hebrew,

⁷⁶ <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/civil-disobedience> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

⁷⁷ The first one is sharia, second one is cult, the last one is ingenuity.

hukka means the thing carved in stone, law, and rule. Besides, in Old Turkish and Middle Turkish of Kipczak, *kirtü* means true, reliable, and trustworthy. In English, the Cambridge Dictionary defines truth as “the quality of being true⁷⁸.”

Truth has been defined and analysed since ancient times and by different geographies of the world as one of the most debatable concepts of philosophy and religious studies. The main branches of conceptualisation of truth are correspondence theories claiming that true statements are compared with concrete actions as it can be exemplified in ancient Greek philosophers Socrates, Platon, and Aristotle and Middle Ages philosopher Thomas Aquinas; coherence theories underlying truth is a property and it can be meaningful if it is part of a whole among propositions which can be seen in the works of Spinoza and Leibniz. Pragmatism is also important in the studies on truth. William James and John Dewey are important pragmatists among others. For example, James and Dewey relate truth with quality and expedience through practice. In constructivism, truth is believed to be constructed by social processes as Giambattista Vico, G. W. Friedrich Hegel, and Karl Marx discuss truth in their works as *Ipsum factum*. Another truth theory is the consensus theory of truth defined by Jürgen Habermas. According to Habermas (1984), if a group agrees upon an *ideal speech situation*, the truth may occur. Truth can also be performative (Strawson, 1955) through acceptance and endorsement of the statement.

2.8. Motherhood

One of the prominent feminists in Turkey, Nükhet Sirman claims that “on the one hand, motherhood is a unique condition of creating, directing, underlining a beginning; on the other hand, a model of commitment and dependency. Not only is it repression or power of making a wound but ‘a strange power’ or the condition of dressing a wound. It is both a choice and a need; both public and unique and private” (2020, p. 558). She insists these oppositions create the opportunity for new dimensions in feminisms discussions.

⁷⁸ <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/truth> (Accessed 22.4.2022)

Motherhood is one of the most debated issues in feminisms in terms of women's experiences such as pregnancy, child-care, and/or abortion and how they are integrated with gender roles. Challenging feminist points of view can be followed through the definitions of motherhood. On the one hand, motherhood is seen as a power through which a woman is labelled as a life-giver. On the other hand, it is used to claim social rights or to oppress women inside the home.

Ann Oakley (1974) also challenges the 'myth of biological motherhood' created by the discourse of the 19th-century cult of true womanhood. According to Oakley, motherhood is acquired by the daughter while her mother is teaching her the expectations of society from a woman. Thus, motherhood is not a natural and fundamental part of a woman, but it is a constructed and acquired process. The belief that every child needs her mother's protection, and mother's care is instinctive is a faux perception. A woman is not born as a mother but becomes a mother. She argues that fathers or other people such as relatives can give care to children which she conceptualises as 'collective motherhood'. Like Oakley, Simone de Beauvoir, Shulamith Firestone, Kate Millett, and Betty Friedan discuss motherhood as an obstacle to a woman's freedom because of the gender roles given to a woman as a mother. However, Adrienne Rich, Nancy Chodorow, Sara Ruddick, Juliet Mitchell, Luce Irigaray, and Julia Kristeva think that motherhood can free a woman and be a unique experience for a woman. Rich (1995) makes a distinction between motherhood as an institution and motherhood as an experience and, she suggests alternative motherhood which can be cleared from patriarchy and is formed only by experience. To conclude, motherhood has been defined in social sciences through patriarchy and power relations.

3. Enforced Disappearances, Memory, and Truth and Notable Organisations in the World

To begin with, there are NGOs where human rights activists work and do research on torture, memory, justice, human dignity, and truth. One of these organisations is ICTJ (Justice, Truth,

Dignity) established in 2001 and organized in more than 50 countries works with “victims to obtain acknowledgment and redress for massive human rights violations, hold those responsible to account, reform and build democratic institutions, and prevent the recurrence of violence or repression⁷⁹.” They do not have any current projects in Turkey. Although there are projects and news about the mothers whose children are forcibly disappeared such as Algerian mothers, there is no news about the Saturday Mothers of Turkey. The second one is Euromed Rights founded in 1997 and encompassing 70 organisations from 30 countries, which is a network of human rights organisations in the Euro-Mediterranean region. It aims at “promoting and protecting human rights and democracy in the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean regions⁸⁰.” Citizen’s Assembly and Human Rights Association are two members of the organisation from Turkey. That is why there are reports and news about the Saturday Mothers. The third one is a network named Regional Network for Historical Dialogue and Dealing with the Past (RNHDP) established in 2013 aiming “to contribute to the historical dialogue and reconciliation efforts in the Caucasus and the Middle East. Based in İstanbul, Hafıza Merkezi acts as the coordinator of the network in cooperation with the Alliance for Historical Dialogue and Accountability Programme in Columbia University’s Institute for the Study of Human Rights and Columbia Global Centres, Turkey⁸¹.” There are 53 centres in the network 19 of which are from Turkey: Anatolian Culture, Association for Solidarity and Support for Relatives of Disappeared, Columbia Global Centres, Turkey, DISA (Diyarbakır Institute for Political and Social Research), Diyarbakır Bar Association, Düşünce Suçuna Karşı Girişim (Initiative Against Thought Crime), Hafıza Kaydı (Memory Record), Hafıza Merkezi (Memory Center), Helsinki Citizens’ Assembly, History Foundation, Hrant Dink Foundation, Human Rights Association, TİHV, Justice for Roboski Peace for Earth, Nonviolent Education and Research Center, Tarlaşaşı Community Center, The Association

⁷⁹ <https://www.ictj.org/vision-mission> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

⁸⁰ <https://euromedrights.org/about-us/who-we-are/> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

⁸¹ <https://dealingwiththepast.org/participants/> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

for the Human Rights of the Oppressed, Women's Initiative for Peace, and Sabanci University Center for Excellence for Gender and Women's Studies. All these centres aim to eliminate the violations against the minorities, women, and the oppressed most of whom support the Saturday Mothers' struggle through their participation in the protests, articles, and reports published on their websites and/or newspapers⁸².

4. Similar Experiences to the Saturday Mothers from Other Parts of the World

Although there have been unique examples of mourning by women for their beloved ones and their protest and opposition against the authorities since ancient times, such as Antigone, Elektra, Niobe, or Mourners in Greek tragedies, there are not many groups consisting of mothers who protest against the authorities, claiming justice, truth, and dignity. Possibly the most well-known group in the world is Las Madres de la Plaza de Mayo (Mothers of May Square). Women in Black, Damas de Blanco, Wall of Moms, The Mothers and Widows of Ukrainian Servicemen, Mothers of Russian Soldiers, March of Dignity of Mexico, Mothers of the Movement, Madres de Primera Linea of Sri Lanka, Mothers in Black of Armenia, Chilean Mothers, Iranian Mothers, Peace Mothers of Turkey, Moroccan Mothers, and Algerian Mothers are among other groups from different parts of the world.

The Mothers of Plaza de Mayo first started their struggle on April 30th, 1977, in Argentina in response to the military dictatorship led by Jorge Rafael Videla of the National Reorganisation Process. The mothers have demonstrated in Plaza de Mayo in Buenos Aires demanding their forcibly disappeared children from the authorities despite excessive police attacks. They shared their children's stories in Plaza every week and wore their children's

⁸² There are more similar organisations in the world. Among these are <https://voixdefemmes.org/fr/archives> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

<https://www.actforthedisappeared.com/> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

<https://www.algerie-disparus.org/le-cfda/qui-sommes-nous/> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

<http://www.memorial-algerie.org/?q=fr%2Fnode%2F3319> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

<https://lawrencemigration.phillipscollection.org/> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

<https://www.sitesofconscience.org/en/who-we-are/about-us/> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

<https://gijtr.org/> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

<https://www.justice.gov.za/trc/> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

<https://trc.gov.np/> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

diapers as white headscarves with the slogan of 'Alive reappearance'. The white scarves symbolize children, hope, and life that is why they do not wear black ones which symbolize mourning. During the military junta in Argentina between 1976 and 1983, military forces forcibly made thousands of opponents disappear, who were left-wing Peronists, socialists, and many criticizing the authority⁸³.

After the 1983 elections, democracy in the country was re-established, yet the mothers continued their struggle to ask for sentences for the junta officials who committed human rights crimes and were responsible for the forcibly disappeared which resulted in the Trial of the Juntas in 1985. They were acclaimed by the international agenda and public support. Today, there are two sub-branches of the movement: Mothers of Plaza de Mayo Association coordinated by Hebe de Bonafini (the radical one who never accepts any help from the government), and Mothers of Plaza de Mayo-Founding Line (who trust legislation).



⁸⁴ Figure 17: Mothers of Plaza de Mayo

The mothers gather every Thursday at 15:30 around May Pyramid and give their speeches at 16:00. The movement aims to ask what happened to their children during the military junta. Two founders, Esther Ballestrino and Maria Ponce de Bianco, were also forcibly disappeared. The mothers in the movement were stigmatized as *las locas* (the madwomen). Also, the mothers were asking whereabouts of the babies who were born in the prisons or concentration

⁸³ These years are named “Dirty War”, “Operation Condor”, and/or “Argentine Anticommunist Alliance (AAA). Among the most notable kidnappings and disappearances are Azucena Villaflor, Esther Ballestrino, and Mari Ponce de Bianco.

⁸⁴https://papelitos.com.ar/nota/la-prensa-internacional-y-las-madres-de-plaza-de-mayo?z_language=en
(Accessed 22.4.2022)

camps whose mothers were pregnant when they were forcibly disappeared. They demanded the truth about the illegal adoptions. After the 1980s, through the developments in DNA research, the grandmothers claimed their grandchildren who were adopted illegally to be found. Although approximately 200 grandchildren were found, some of them refused to reunite their biological grandmothers and learn their hidden history. Although the Association ended its annual protest march in 2006 announcing that “the enemy is not in the Government House anymore” referring to the then-President Nestor Kirchner and his politics of repealing the “full stop law” and “law of due obedience although they continue weekly Thursday march about other human rights violations⁸⁵. However, the Founding Line continues their struggle to commemorate their long-term resistance to the military junta. They established a newspaper (*La Voz de las Madres*), a radio station, a university (Popular University of the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo), and a housing programme (*Shared Dreams*) in the slums.



⁸⁶ Figure 18: Black Sash



⁸⁷ Figure 19: Ladies in White

⁸⁵https://papelitos.com.ar/nota/la-prensa-internacional-y-las-madres-de-plaza-de-mayo?z_language=en (Accessed 22.4.2022)

⁸⁶ <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/black-sash> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

Among other groups are Black Sash founded by six middle-class white women in South Africa in 1955 to end apartheid and draw attention to human rights violations during the apartheid; Ladies in White (Damas de Blanco) founded in 2003 by the wives and relatives opposing the enforced disappearances⁸⁸ in Cuba by walking silently in white dresses every Sunday after religious activity Mass; Mourning Mothers (Mothers of Laleh Park), the mothers



⁸⁹ **Figure 20: Mourning Mothers**

whose children were killed or forcibly disappeared by the Iranian government during the 2009 elections and mass executions in the 1980s, demanding accountability for the arrests and enforced disappearances gathering every Saturday in Laleh Park, Tehran; Mothers of Khavaran asking for their children's and relatives' whereabouts during the 1980s mass executions in Iran since the beginning of the 1980s; Women in Black (Nashim BeShahor)



⁹⁰ **Figure 21: Mothers of Khavaran**

⁸⁷ https://elpais.com/internacional/2014/09/02/actualidad/1409689851_094827.html (Accessed 14.4.2022)

⁸⁸ Human rights activists, journalists, and librarians who were accused of being funded by the USA authorities.

⁸⁹ <http://www.payvand.com/news/12/mar/1093.html> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

established in 1988 in Jerusalem, Israel mourning for the victims of the war between Israel and Palestine by underlining the human rights violations in the Occupied Territories;



⁹¹ **Figure 22: Women in Black**

Tiananmen Mothers led by Ding Zilin after the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests and massacre in China demanding “the right to mourn peacefully in public, to accept humanitarian aid from organisations and individuals inside and outside China, no more persecution of victims, the release of all people still in prison for their role in the 1989 protests, and a public investigation



⁹² **Figure 23: Tiananmen Mothers**

into the crackdown” (Stichele & Penner, 2005, p. 200)⁹³;

⁹⁰ <https://www.iranhumanrights.org/2014/05/khavar-an-2/> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

⁹¹ <http://www.wloe.org/women-in-black.262.0.html> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

⁹² <https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-tiananmen-mothers-never-forget-11559602990> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

⁹³For other examples from other parts of the world, please refer to <http://www.memorial-algerie.org/documentaire/> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

https://www.imdb.com/title/tt9206516/?ref_=ev_nom (Accessed 14.4.2022)

<https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2020/08/16/does-america-need-a-truth-and-reconciliation-commission-395332> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Equity_and_Reconciliation_Commission (Accessed 14.4.2022)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FsDy8nbw-vk> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

https://books.google.com.tr/books?hl=en&lr=&id=vYdjAe6plpAC&oi=fnd&pg=PA152&ots=gI94ZM7W9I&sig=Ikz5ODukv1Oxp_h7GchNlrl6xvY&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false (Accessed 14.4.2022)



⁹⁴ **Figure 24: Mothers in Black of Armenia**

and Mothers in Black of Armenia who started their struggle in 2009 asking the Armenian government and the President why their sons died/were killed while they were doing their military service⁹⁵.

⁹⁴ <https://www.agos.com.tr/en/article/14641/mothers-in-black-of-armenia> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

⁹⁵ Several human rights associations focus on enforced disappearances, truth, and justice worldwide such as International Center for Transitional Justice, CFDA (Collectif des Familles de Disparus en Algérie), YAKAYDER of Turkey (Association for Solidarity and Support for Relatives of Disappeared Persons) in which there are four Saturday Mothers (Hanım Tosun, Zübeyde Tepe, Pervin Buldan, and Hasan Karakoç [male]) in the founding team, and Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. In addition, there are examples from academic literature such as “Women Organizing for Change: A Study of Women’s Local Integrative Organisations and the Pursuit of Democracy in Bosnia-Herzegovina” by Cynthia Cockburn with Rada Stakic-Domuz and Meliha Hubic in 2001; “Transitional Justice and Social Movements in Post-War Lebanon: The Families of the Missing and Forcibly Disappeared of the Lebanese Civil War, A Thesis” by Omar Mansour in University of California, Santa Barbara in 2020.

PART V.I

DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

Midnight, our sons and daughters
Cut down, taken from us
Hear their heartbeat
We hear their heartbeat

In the wind, we hear their laughter
In the rain, we see their tears
Hear their heartbeat
We hear their heartbeat

Night hangs like a prisoner
Stretched over black and blue
Hear their heartbeat
We hear their heartbeat

In the trees, our sons stand naked
Through the walls, our daughters cry
See their tears in the rainfall
(U2, *Mothers of the Disappeared*, 1987)

1. Introduction

I started doing research about the Saturday Mothers in 2014. Because I was a Western literature graduate, I read the main sources in the field of sociology and Turkish modern history. Both reading these and the Saturday Mothers research took four years for me. I also participated in Amnesty International and started activism in Izmir, Turkey, my hometown, and took some human rights training programmes. All these helped me understand Turkish history well. I did not meet anyone involved in the Saturday Mothers struggle in order not to be affected directly. Besides, I did not feel confident enough to meet them without knowing the movement in detail. Namely, I did detailed research between 2014 and 2018 and then I organized my notes and classified them. There are thousands of documents about the Saturday Mothers, especially written in Turkish in every medium such as movies, documentaries, scenes in the series, poems, songs, exhibitions, dramas, sculptures, news, articles, dissertations, magazines, research, etc. When I googled the Saturday Mothers, I could reach 1,070,000 results (27.03.2022) which means very huge data. That is why I chose data in the

document analysis according to the frequency in the search engine meaning that these are seen/watched/listened to/read by a wider audience.

Before document analysis, I want to give brief information about motherhood and literature in Turkey. In mainstream Turkish literature, there is a rich source for poems about motherhood. This is due to how motherhood is sacred to the new nation's ideology. Mothers are all celebrated in these poems, and there is not any criticism of the concept of motherhood. Besides, Turkish literature is mainly male-dominated proving that mothers are described within the male perspective which can be exemplified in Ahmet Haşim's *Sensiz (Without You)*, Necip Fazıl Kısakürek's *Anneçığım, (Dearest Mum)*, Haydar Ergülen's *Anne (Mother)*, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar's *Annem İçin (To My Mother)*, Ahmet Kutsi Tecer's *Annem (My Mummy)*, Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı's *Anacığım (Dearest Mother)*, Atıf Behramoğlu's *Unuttum Nasıldı Anamın Yüzü (I Forgot My Mother's Face)*, Yahya Kemal Beyatlı's *Ufuklar (Horizons)*, Sezai Karakoç's *Anneler ve Çocuklar (Mothers and Children)*, Ahmet Erhan's *Oğul and Bugün de Ölmedim Anne (The Son and I Have Not Died Today Either, Mother)*, Ceyhan Atuf Kansu's *Uyuyan Güzel Anneye (To Sleeping Beauty Mother)*, Orhan Veli Kanık's *Rüya (Dream)*, and Ümit Yaşar Oğuzcan's *Anacığım*⁹⁶ (*Dearest Mother*). All these poems tell the symbiotic relationship between a son and a mother who is sacred, protective, and noble. Similarly, in stories and novels, mothers are portrayed as the nucleus of the nation and family who help to construct both children and nation's identities exemplified in Halide Edip Adıvar's *Ana Hisleri (Mother Feelings)*, Halikarnas Balıkcısı's *Yol Ver Deniz! Bir Ana Taşıyoruz (Let Us Go, Sea! We Are Carrying a Mother)*, Necati Cumalı's *Annemin Yüzü (My Mother's Face)*, Tahsin Yücel's *Dokuz Ay On Gün (Nine Months and Ten Days)*, Tarık Dursun K's *Anneçliğini Hatırlayınca Bak (Look at This When You Remember Your Mummy)*, and Yaşar Kemal's *Sarı Sıcak*⁹⁷ (*Yellow Hot*)⁹⁸.

⁹⁶ <http://www.leblebitozu.com/15-unlu-sairimizin-anne-siirleri/> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

⁹⁷ <http://www.leblebitozu.com/12-onemli-yazarimizin-anne-hikayeleri/> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

There are also poems about the Saturday Mothers although the poets are not included in mainstream and popular Turkish literature. Some of them are Aydın Öztürk, İzzettin Coşkun, Celal Işık, Tamer Oğuzcan, Haydar Metin, Erdal İrfan, Nafiz Erten, Hacı Ali Salman, Hasan Aksoy, Behçet Aysan, Tekmile Kirlioğlu, and Gülşah Ökçü⁹⁹. All of these poets are males except Kirlioğlu and Ökçü. These poems all celebrate the Saturday Mothers' struggle, some of them consecrate them and some falsely make them be part of the Kurdish movement.

2. Document Analysis

2.1. Documentaries

Documentaries are one of the ways in which the Saturday Mothers cleave open the space for struggle and reject de-politicization and delegitimization. Affective and emotional dimensions of their politics are constitutive of the Saturday Mothers' political subjectivity which transforms it into an external life of politics in terms of securitization and delegitimization.

⁹⁸ For women's literature, please refer to the Appendices.

⁹⁹ <https://www.antoloji.com/cumartesi-annfeleri-7-siiri/> <https://www.antoloji.com/cumartesi-anneleri-berfo-ana-siiri/> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

<https://www.antoloji.com/cumartesi-anneleri-12-siiri/> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

<https://www.antoloji.com/cumartesi-anneleri-10-siiri/> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

<https://www.antoloji.com/cumartesi-anneleri-4-siiri/> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

<https://www.antoloji.com/cumartesi-anneleri-9-siiri/> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

<https://www.antoloji.com/cumartesi-anneleri-6-siiri/> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

<https://www.antoloji.com/cumartesi-anneleri-8-siiri/> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

<https://www.antoloji.com/cumartesi-anneleri-11-siiri/> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

<https://www.antoloji.com/cumartesi-anneleri-2-siiri/> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

<https://www.antoloji.com/cumartesi-annelerine-siiri/> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

<https://www.antoloji.com/cumartesi-anneleri-13-siiri/> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

https://www.siir.gen.tr/siir/b/behcet_aysan/beyaz_basortulu_kadinlar.htm (Accessed 14.4.2022)

<https://www.antoloji.com/cumartesi-anneleri-siiri/> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

2.1.1. Analysis 1¹⁰⁰

Title	“Cumartesi anneleri: 25 yıldır çocuklarını arıyorlar - DW Türkçe” (<i>Saturday mothers: Seeking for their children for 25 years – DW Turkish</i>)
Date Published	May 27, 2020
Likes / Dislikes	304 / 30
Comments	56
Views	10,015
Last Accessed by me	04.04.2022 / 14:37
Published by	Deutsche Welle (DW) Türkçe (DW Turkish)
Written Introduction	<i>“They came together to question the enforced disappearances of their loved ones on 27 May 1995. It was then, in those days, that they would say: “You took them alive; we ask you to return them alive”. As time passed, they asked for their loved ones’ remains and their graves and for those officials, who had been involved in their enforced disappearance, to be punished. For 25 years, they have been protesting this impunity with red carnations and their loved ones’ photos in their hands. Emine Ocak, Hasan Ocak's mother, embodied the beginning of the protests, and together with the younger sister Maside Ocak, and older brother Hüseyin Ocak, they speak to Deutsche Welle (DW Turkish)¹⁰¹. ”</i>
Method of development	Description of the voice-over Narration by the other speakers Process analysis by the activists in the video Compare and Contrast: two opposing points of view by the application on the Saturday Mothers

Table 6: Analysis 1

I think it is surprising to see that in the introduction there is no mention of the name of the Saturday Mothers. Instead, the pronoun “they” is preferred. Maybe this is to underline the anonymity of the struggle or to make their actions more visible by underlining the verbs instead of the subjects. But, in all the sentences, the subjects are apparently mothers. The “red carnations” symbolize that their protests are peaceful and DW Turkish uses this to underline the empathy and humanity of the protesters. The very last sentence also emphasizes that the

¹⁰⁰ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CAQA6t42tOY&t=8s> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

¹⁰¹“Gözaltında kaybedilen yakınlarının akıbetini sormak için 27 Mayıs 1995’te bir araya geldiler. O günlerde “Sağ aldınız, sağ istiyoruz” diyorlardı. Zaman geçtikçe yakınlarının kemiklerini ve mezarını, onları kaybeden kamu görevlilerinin cezalandırılmasını istediler. 25 yıldır ellerinde kırmızı karanfil ve yakınlarının fotoğrafıyla cezasızlığa itiraz ediyorlar. Eylemin başlamasındaki simge isim Hasan Ocak’ın annesi Emine Ocak, kardeşi Maside Ocak ve ağabeyi Hüseyin Ocak DW Türkçe’ye konuştu” (Trans by me).

subjects in the video will not be the reporters of DW Turkish but Hasan Ocak's family members.

The introduction also seeks to deliver the fact that those guilty of ordering their loved ones' enforced disappearance have not been judged or punished. Besides, the comments below the video on YouTube are mostly supportive and criticize the Turkish state due to its politics regarding human rights. A few of the comments claim that the Saturday Mothers are "terrorists", but the response to this comment asks if they have a heart or conscience to comment like that. Those who stigmatise the Saturday Mothers as "terrorists" are clearly rare.

The Structure of the Video

The video is in Turkish with optional Turkish subtitles. There is no option for other languages which makes it difficult to reach an international audience. The video is no longer so popular when the percentage of views is considered for a channel that has 499 K subscribers. Yet, it should not be underestimated for there are many channels on the Saturday Mothers on YouTube. Also, the "likes" are many more than "dislikes" which may show that the viewers consist of many more sympathizers than the ones who disapprove of the struggle.

Introduction: The video starts with a scene of a crowded protest from the 600th week. The focus is on the large black cover on the floor in a square having lots of red carnations and the photos of forced enforced disappearances on it. On the screen background, there is a big DW logo, too (Screen Shot 1). Voice-over speaks: "For 25 years, they have been demanding the whereabouts of their loved ones' graves and the punishment of the perpetrators of the crime."

Narrative: One of the photos shows Emine Ocak in her forties or fifties (Screen Shot 2), and the other as much older (Screen Shot 3). The focus is centred on Emine Ocak and her son Hasan Ocak. The voice-over is giving information about how Hasan Ocak forcibly disappeared in custody in 1995 which caused the Saturday Mothers to come together and protest. The voice-over states that "she is the symbol of impunity in Turkey, as well."

Claims: Emine Ocak is speaking at her house. There are Turkish subtitles probably due to her strong local accent. Then, several photos of Hasan Ocak take place on the screen most of which portray him smiling, playing the *saz* (Turkish folk music instrument), playing chess, hugging his relatives and friends, etc. (Screen Shots 4). This helps the audience sympathize with Hasan Ocak and shows how compassionate and humane a man he was. After this, Maside Ocak, his sister, gives information about how the Saturday Mothers' struggle started and how their peaceful protests were violated in 1999 and stopped with arrests, and they were tortured by the police. After Maside Ocak's testimonies, Hüseyin Ocak, the older brother, tells of enforced disappearances and the rationale behind their protests. He gives three basic objectives: (1) the state is to end unidentified murders and enforced disappearances, (2) the state is to explain the fate of the enforced disappearances, (3) the state is to judge those who ordered the enforced disappearance of their loved ones. This scene is then followed by another: the police attack in 1999, in the 170th week of the Saturday Mothers' protests (Screen Shot 5).

DW shows some photos from the newspaper pages showing this attack. Maside Ocak speaks again about how they were tortured, blackjacked, and how they mourned together at Galatasaray. She stated that when she first went there, she was 19, and now she brings her son to the protests who is 11 years old. It shows how their family life is integrated with the protests, and it is important to show how the family relationship is publicly constructed at the Square. The most important political statement of support is from a video clip in which then-prime minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan (as of 2022 the president) is speaking publicly about the Saturday Mothers and specifically about Berfo Ana (Mother Berfo) who was then 105 years old and seeking her son Cemil Kırbayır who forcibly disappeared in 1980. His speech shows how he sympathizes with the Saturday Mothers and after this speech in 2009, Sebla Arcan who is a human rights activist stated that in the Assembly, a 350-page-report was published, and the Galatasaray Square opened to the Saturday Mothers again after ten years.

However, Sebla Arcan claims that little happened after Erdoğan's positive approach. Sebla Arcan then informs of unidentified murders everywhere in Turkey, and it is impossible to give an exact number, but an estimated number is 1,200 people in the past 20 years and 16 since 2016. Another confirmation is from Hüsnü Öndül who is the former president of the Human Rights Association. He claims that the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo in Argentina (1977) inspired the Saturday Mothers. He talks about his own experience in Buenos Aires in 2016 recognising that the law is acting there but not in Turkey.

The Minister of Interior, Süleyman Soylu, in his speech in the video clip, states that the mothers are being exploited by terrorism and the terrorist organisation (inferring the PKK in these protests and that is why the authorities prohibited the protests at Galatasaray in their 700th week (25 August 2018). This shift from Erdoğan's clip to Soylu confirms Sebla Arcan and Emine Ocak who stressed that little had changed since 1995.

Conclusion: Maside Ocak says "the defeated struggle is the abandoned struggle. To abandon Galatasaray means to abandon our forcibly disappeared. It is there, Galatasaray, every inch of it, it is there that the voice of our forcibly disappeared is to be heard. Our yearning." At the end of the video, a woman activist claims publicly that "we have been asking for a state of law. For 666 weeks."

Occasion, Context, and Exigence

The video was uploaded on May 27, 2020, on YouTube which is one of the top popular social media tools in the world by DW Türkçe. DW Türkçe might choose YouTube to share the video due to the popularity of the website all over the world.

"At a marketing event in May 2019, YouTube CEO (Chief Executive Officer) Susan Wojcicki revealed that YouTube currently counts 2 billion monthly active users- which would represent a 5% increase on the 1.9 billion logged-in users reported in July 2018. Going further

back, this compares to 1.5 billion YouTube users in June 2017¹⁰².” (In Turkey, YouTube ranks second place after Google in June 2020 with 11 million visits just in one month according to Alexa (We Are Social, 2020¹⁰³),). 74% of the Internet users, 64% of social media users, (90% of these social media users use YouTube in the first place) are among all other social media tools which is the first place in Turkey.

All these statistics offer some clues why most news subjects have seats on YouTube: to be able to reach a wider audience and extend their sphere of influence. DW Türkçe (Deutsche Welle) is a branch of DW broadcasting in Turkey, established in Germany, and it has been broadcasting in many countries in different languages. This may be a reason why DW was able to produce this video much more easily than any national media in Turkey, where the media may be suppressed. The DW is an international European-based company and can bypass national laws.

The video was uploaded in 2020 which was a time in Turkey of oppression and authoritarian rule of government. One of the results is the prohibition of peaceful protests of the Saturday Mothers at the Galatasaray Square. Because it is a human rights violation-related issue and it cannot find a place in mainstream Turkish media, DW would like to make the Saturday Mothers’ voices louder on their platform. They claim on their website that “Through our audience approach, we tell stories close to the hearts of our users, viewers, and listeners and their everyday reality¹⁰⁴.” DW may underline the impunity in Turkey by giving reference to the Saturday Mothers as an important issue and also as a violation of human rights in Turkey.

Subject

There are 8 speakers in the video, and 7 of them are positively talking about the Saturday Mothers and the enforced disappearances, but the Minister of Interior, Süleyman Soylu, is

¹⁰² <https://www.businessofapps.com/data/youtube-statistics/#1> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

¹⁰³ <https://dijilopedi.com/2020-turkiye-internet-kullanimi-ve-sosyal-medya-istatistikleri/> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

¹⁰⁴ <https://www.dw.com/en/about-dw/profile/s-30688> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

claiming that these protests are an act of “terrorism” in the name of motherhood, and that is why the state forbids them in their 700th-week protest.

Underlying ideas are memory, remembering, impunity, and most importantly the demand for justice in the video. The main idea of the video is to underline how impunity is continuing in Turkey through the example of the Saturday Mothers' protests and their claims.

Tone

The most basic shift in the tone in the video is the shift between Erdoğan’s and Soyly’s speeches. It both shows the hypocrisy of the state on human rights violations and impunity issues in Turkey and the discursive change within the state according to the mood of the time. In 2009, the state is in favour of the solution to the Kurdish issue and becoming a member of the EU. But after 2016, the government formed a coalition with the nationalist party (MHP) and turned its discourse into an ultra-nationalist and security one. This shift apparently has affected the government’s point of view on the Saturday Mothers protests.

In the video, two of the basic rhetoric devices are anaphora and epistrophe to underline and emphasize statements. For example, throughout the video, the concepts “justice/ law/ forcibly disappeared/ mother” could be heard many times.

An interesting aspect is that the red carnations and the photos of the men who had forcibly disappeared are related to each other. This analogy gives a clear message that the Saturday Mothers’ protests are peaceful.

The reference to the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo mentioned by Öndül is to give the different approaches of Argentina and Turkey to their forcibly disappeared and mother protestors.

After hearing Erdoğan’s speech as the head of the Parliament, and then watching Soyly’s speech, the audience may be distressed about the government/state’s response.

Erdoğan and Soyly’s speeches are important to show the audience as being each other’s antithesis.

All the interviews with the family members by DW Turkish may be considered examples of candour because of their open and honest communication.

Audience

The audience is YouTube users who want to hear about the Saturday Mothers. I do not have any concrete information about the audience's biases and values, but as for me, I feel that I should support human rights and I am trying to be active in the human rights movement that is why I have chosen this topic as my Ph.D. research. I think it is about being a conscientious person, and conscientiousness is the key to my understanding of life. That is why I am open to the message given in the video that the Saturday Mothers' rights are violated, and they should be supported for their peaceful protests and claim. I think the collective character trait the audience members share is their position in the human rights struggle. While watching the video, I felt sad about Emine Ocak, felt furious when I saw the hypocrisy of the statesmen, and energetic that something can still be done by speaking, writing, demonstrating, etc., about the Saturday Mothers because they need it. So, I think the human rights movement itself forms the collective background of the audience if the other 7,000 viewers think and feel like me.

Evidence

This video was selected because it contains many interesting characteristics, such as recordings, newspaper quotes, details of Galatasaray and police attacks (photos), personal observations/experiences/testimonies (Maside Ocak, Hüseyin Ocak, most importantly Emine Ocak), statistics (the number of enforced disappearances by Human Rights Association (HRA), and anecdotes (Sebla Arcan's and Hüsnü Öndül's).

Photos





Cumartesi anneleri: 25 yıldır çocuklarını arıyorlar - DW Türkçe

Screen Shot 3



Cumartesi anneleri: 25 yıldır çocuklarını arıyorlar - DW Türkçe



Cumartesi anneleri: 25 yıldır çocuklarını arıyorlar - DW Türkçe



Screen Shots 4



Screen Shot 5 (The heading says, "Saturday Mothers' are blocked again.")

Figures 25-32: Screen shots from Documentary 1

2.1.2. Analysis 2¹⁰⁵

Title
“Cumartesi anneleri: Hepsini devlet yaptı” (“ <i>Saturday mothers: The state did it all</i> ”)
Date Published
August 23, 2019
Likes / Dislikes
846 / 128
Comments
188
Views
106,280
Last accessed by Eren Alkan
04.04.2022
Published by
+90
Written Introduction
<i>“The Saturday Mothers have been demonstrating for their loved ones who were forcibly disappeared in custody, in the heart of Istanbul, Taksim every week since 1995.” The majority of the forcibly disappeared are Kurdish and leftists. The siblings İkbal, Cemile, and Faruk Eren tracing their forcibly disappeared older brother Hayrettin, are the ones awaiting a reply from the government, as well. Their older brother was arrested by the police 38 years ago, and nobody has heard about him since then. However, the state never admits that he was arrested by the police. The peaceful protests of the Saturday Mothers in front of Galatasaray High School for long years have been prohibited by the Erdoğan’s government in August 2018. Several protestors including Faruk Eren were taken into custody for a day on charges of having relations with the terrorist organisation. The family Eren could not succeed in the struggle with the state, and they lost their faith in law state after their 38-year-struggle¹⁰⁶.”</i>
Method of Development
Description of the voice-over Narration by the other speakers Process analysis by the Saturday Mothers

Table 7: Analysis 2

In contrast to video 1, the name of the Saturday Mothers is mentioned both in the title and introduction of the video. Yet, similar to video 1, the subjects of the sentences are either the

¹⁰⁵ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UFtrWLTfYg&t=13s> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

¹⁰⁶ **Original video introduction on the video page:** “Cumartesi Anneleri 1995’[t]en beri her hafta yıllar önce gözaltında kaybolan yakınları için İstanbul’un göbeği Taksim’de gösterilerini sürdürüyor. Kaybolanların büyük bir bölümü Kürtler ve solculardan oluşuyor. Kayıp abileri Hayrettin’in izini sürenlerden İkbal, Cemile ve Faruk Eren kardeşler de hükümetten cevaplar bekleyenlerden. Abileri bundan 38 yıl önce polis tarafından tutuklanmış ve kendisinden bir daha haber alınamamış. Devlet ise Hayrettin’in polis tarafından tut[u]klandığını hiçbir zaman kabul etmemiş. Cumartesi annelerinin Galatasaray Lisesi’nin önünde yıllarca devam eden barışçıl gösterileri, Ağustos 2018’de Erdoğan hükümeti tarafından yasaklandı. Faruk Eren’in de aralarında bulunduğu bazı göstericiler terör örgütüyle bağlantıları oldukları iddiasıyla bir günlüğüne göz altına alındılar. Eren ailesi devlet ile olan mücadelesini kazanabilmiş değil ve 38 yıl süren bu mücadelenin ardından da hukuk devletine inancını yitirmiş” (Trans. by me).

Saturday Mothers or their relatives. Besides, not only are there the Saturday Mothers in both videos but their male relatives such as the older brother (video 1) or the younger brother (video 2) of the enforced disappearances. Their position in the sentences as subjects may underline their active roles in these protests. However, “the Erdoğan government” and “the police” are used in passive sentences not to hide the subjects but make them more visible as doers although the mothers' lives have been affected badly by the government and the police. The mood of the paragraph is pessimistic, especially through the ending. It shows the current oppression of the government on these protestors and not having any kind of protection by law.

The Structure of the Video

The video is in Turkish with optional Turkish subtitles. There is no option for other languages which makes it difficult to reach an international audience as in Video 1.

The video is much more popular than video 1. On the other hand, as in Video 1, the “likes” are many more than “dislikes” which may show that the viewers consist of many more sympathizers than the ones who are against them.

The video is mainly about the situation of the Saturday Mothers after 2018, and the prohibition of protests at the Galatasaray Square. As in Video 1, we see a Saturday Mother (Elmas Eren) who cannot participate in the protests due to her age and speaking in her home. She states that she worries about her daughter and younger son when they are outside for the protests. She also says that her daughter is protesting instead of her as the Saturday Mother.

İkbal Eren tells her older brother why they are protesting. She says that she has been struggling for 38 years and she spent her 38-year searching and asking for information on her older brother from the state. She seems old now due to the wrinkles on her face and white hair (Screen Shot 1).

Faruk Eren talks about his book (then-newly published) which is about his older brother and how he has forcibly disappeared and after. He tells how it has been difficult for

him to write such a book and how he suffered while writing the book. Although it is stated that the video is on the Saturday Mothers, we watch some scenes from the commemoration of Hrant Dink who was a Turkish-Armenian journalist assassinated in Istanbul, and from the trials of Faruk Eren on a case of his involvement as an editor in chief in an opposition Kurdish newspaper, *Özgür Gündem (Free Agenda)* which has been stigmatized as a part of the PKK by the government - at that time, many well-known leftist journalists and activists supported the newspaper by being an editor in chief symbolically for a single day to show how the government was suppressing the free press. Faruk Eren was one of them while he was working as a journalist and chief editor in one of the most popular leftist newspapers, *Cumhuriyet (Republic)* in Turkey. Both Dink's and trial scenes are highly hot issues about the human rights violations in Turkey but are not directly related to the struggle of the Saturday Mothers. That is why these scenes can be seen as off-topic which weakens the main purpose of the video which is the Saturday Mothers.

The Saturday Mothers activist, Gülseren Yoleri (their lawyer), tells how they plan the agenda of the protests, and the audience sees the place they gathered for a pre-protest organisation. Hence, it can be said that the Saturday Mothers are advised by lawyers and human rights activists before their protests. The advisors are women, as can be seen in both videos.

Although the written introduction is pessimistic, as stated above, at the end of the video, İkbal Eren tells that they will never stop and leave Galatasaray and continue to hope that they will learn the whereabouts of her older brother and see the trials of the ones who enforced the disappearance of their loved family members.

Although it seems to be generally about the Saturday Mothers, it is much more like a documentary of a family of an enforced disappearance instead of the Saturday Mothers as a group.

Occasion, Context, and Exigence

The video was uploaded on August 23, 2019, on YouTube by +90. This is a news channel broadcasting only on YouTube and supported by DW. It says on their home page that it is created for “the ones who would like to follow the newest and hottest topics in Turkey¹⁰⁷.”

That is why video 2 might be very similar technically to the Video 1 by DW Turkish.

The video is uploaded in 2019, which is a time in Turkey of oppression and authoritarian rule of government. One of the results is the prohibition of peaceful protests of the Saturday Mothers at the Galatasaray Square. Like DW, +90 may underline the impunity in Turkey by giving reference to the Saturday Mothers as an important issue and also as a violation of human rights in Turkey as it supported the sub-heading of the video given at the beginning of the video which is “On the Track of the Forcibly Disappeared: The Families’ Struggle to Keep Them Alive” (Screen Shot 1).

Subject

There are 6 speakers in the video, and all of them are positively talking about the Saturday Mothers and the enforced disappearances. Underlying ideas are memory, not forgetting, impunity, and most importantly the demand for justice in the video. The main idea of the video is to underline how the government turns into an obstacle against the human rights issues in Turkey and how it uses its force to oppress the human rights activists including the Saturday Mothers.

Audience

The audience is YouTube users who want to hear about the Saturday Mothers. When the comments are read between the lines, it can be easily seen that there are two opposing views. On the one hand, there are comments who support the Saturday Mothers and think that they are right in their struggle; on the other hand, there are comments who strongly oppose the Saturday Mothers. Through highly hate speech examples, their comments indicate that these

¹⁰⁷ <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCUnwimZIOXfAedrmRfguS1g> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

are the terrorists' mothers and they do not believe that the state has never been involved in the disappearance of these men. Also, they ask why these channels, like +90, never talk about the Diyarbakır Mothers (who protested HDP [the opposing Kurdish party] in front of the main building of the party asking for their children who became guerrilla members in the PKK. These women were strongly supported by the government but there was not enough evidence to prove that they were mothers or telling the truth.) Apparently, the Diyarbakır Mothers might have been used as a tool by the government against HDP to be able to get more popularity among the nationalist fractions in the country according to such national human rights organisations like HRA and TİHV. There are lots of slang and bad language in the comments, as well which creates political polarization between the opposing groups.

Evidence

This video was selected because it contains many interesting characteristics, such as recordings, newspaper quotes, details of Galatasaray and police attacks (photos), personal observations/experiences/testimonies, and anecdotes. The claims, facts, and anecdotes support the ones described in the Analysis 1.

Photos

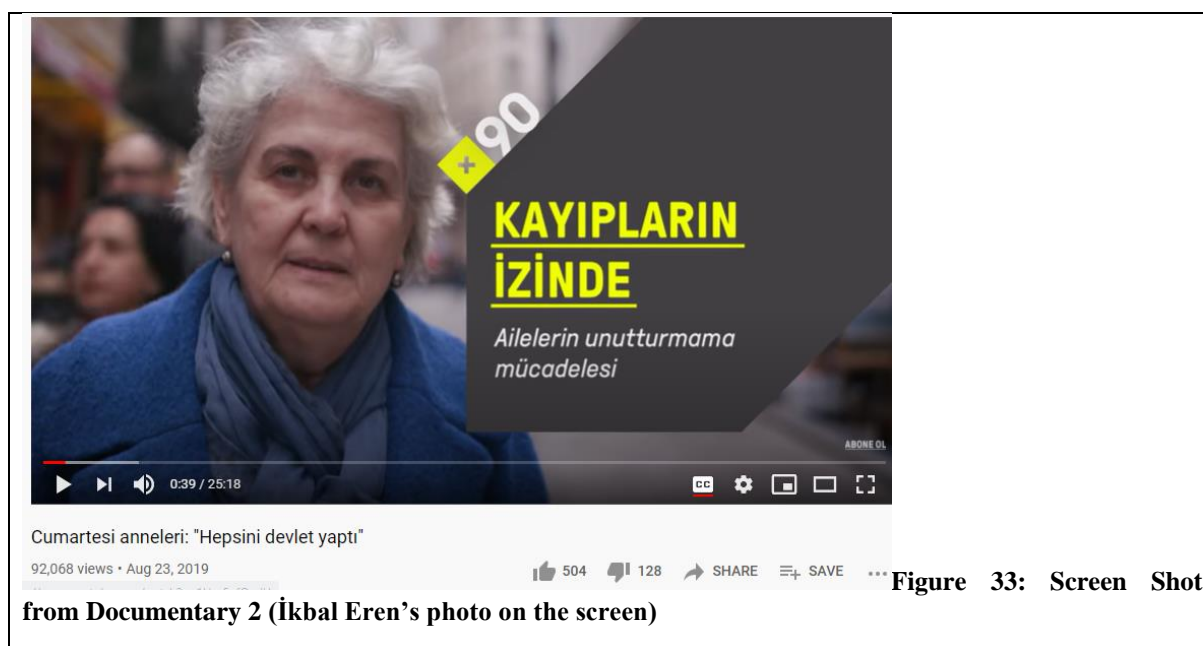


Figure 33: Screen Shot from Documentary 2 (İkbal Eren's photo on the screen)

2.2. Songs

2.2.1. Analysis 1

The very first song to be analysed is “Benim Annem Cumartesi¹⁰⁸” (“My Mother is Saturday”) (2009) released and sung by a band from Turkey named Bandista¹⁰⁹. 2009 is the

¹⁰⁸ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R6ofdXht3vc> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MWIPxtAsCrY> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

¹⁰⁹ Lyrics in Turkish:

Benim annem pazarları
Uyandırmaz yavrusunu
Benim annem pazartesi
Demlikte bir çay tanesi
Benim annem salı günü ya
Hüzün ya düğün tülü
Benim annem bir çarşamba
Görmesen de sen aldanma
Benim annem perşembeyi
İyi bilir işkenceyi
Benim annem cumaları
Gezer bütün kuytuları
Benim annem cumartesi
Her bir dilde çıkar sesi
Benim annem cumartesi
Elinde solmuş bir resim
Benim annem cumartesi
Hesap soracak öfkesi
Benim annem cumartesi
Benim annem cumartesi
Kör kuyularda bul beni
Bul beni bir sahilde çıplak
Bir işkence gemisinde elektrikle ayık
Bir kışlada kayıp
Anne, bir sokak başında
İsimsiz, yüzüz bir kimsesiz mezarında
“Kaybedenler kaybetti” yazan mezar taşının altında bul beni
Anne bul beni Arjantinli annelerin arasında
Plaza del Mayor'da
Anne bul beni Galatasaray Meydanı'nda
Bul beni Ramallahlı annelerin
Gazzeli annelerin
Anne bul beni Varşova gettosunda
Anne bul beni Nico'nun Bart'ın İtalyan annelerinin gözlerinde
Anne, bul beni
Bul beni
Anne bul beni bir sokakta
Akranlarım bağıırken hala
Anne bul beni, bul beni bir sabah
Bir sabah bir sabah diyen adamın gözlerinde bul beni
O sabahı kuran kadının sözlerinde
Anne bul beni Ahmet Kaya'nın gözlerinde
Anne bul beni
Benim annem pazarları
Uyandırmaz yavrusunu
Benim annem pazartesi
Demlikte bir çay tanesi

year the Saturday Mothers restarted their struggle at the Galatasaray Square after a ten-year break. Bandista portrays the mothers trying to find their forcibly disappeared children in public. The band underlines how common enforced disappearances are in the world by giving reference to the countries Argentina and Poland to prove that it is a universal issue. On the one hand, the mothers are naïve and sensitive towards their children; on the other hand, they can be rebellious when they lose their children.

The song demonstrates how motherhood transforms from a domestic and naïve issue to a public and tough term. A mother is very sensitive at home and "doesn't wake up her kiddie on Sundays" to make her child relaxed at the weekend. "Tea", "teapot", and "wedding veil" are the metaphors showing the traditional motherhood codes of a woman in the house. However, that naivety disappears as soon as her child is forcibly disappeared. The disappearance forces her to leave her safe and traditional 'comfort zone' and finds herself in spooky and dangerous places outside such as "dump wells", "barrack", "side of a street",

Benim annem salı günü
Ya hüzün ya düğün tülü
Benim annem bir çarşamba
Görmesen de sen aldanma
Benim annem perşembeyi
İyi bilir işkenceyi
Benim annem cumaları
Gezer bütün kuytuları
Benim annem cumartesi
Her bir dilde çıkar sesi
Benim annem cumartesi
Elinde solmuş bir resim
Benim annem cumartesi
Hesap soracak öfkesi
Benim annem cumartesi
Benim annem cumartesi
Benim annem cumartesi (Yo yo yoo)
Benim annem cumartesi
Benim annem cumartesi (Yo yo yoo)
Benim annem cumartesi
Benim annem cumartesi (Yo yo yoo)
Benim annem cumartesi (Yo yo yoo)
Benim annem cumartesi
Yo yo yoo
Benim annem cumartesi (Yo yo yoo)
Benim annem cumartesi
Yo yo yoo
Benim annem cumartesi
Yo yo yoo

"tombstone", and "on the street". However, the mother is now the doer and in the active position and together with the other mothers in public whose children are forcibly disappeared in different parts of the world such as Argentina, Gaza, Galatasaray, Ramallah, Italy, and Warsaw. That underlines how enforced disappearances, as well as the struggle against them, are internationally common in the world. The call for mothers to find their children can be interpreted as the traditional role of a woman as a mother. However, a mother is seen as the biggest power to handle all these human rights violations and enforced disappearances if they are organized. Thus, the song celebrates the struggle as a whole, with references to all the similar struggles in the world.

Lyrics in English¹¹⁰

MY MOTHER IS SATURDAY

My mother doesn't wake her kiddie up on Sundays
My mother is a piece of tea in the teapot on Mondays
My mother is either grief or a wedding veil on Tuesdays
My mother is Wednesday, don't fall for it even if you don't see
My mother is Thursday, knows well what torture is
My mother looks around every blind corner on Fridays
My mother is Saturday, her voice comes out in each language
My mother is Saturday, a faded picture in her hand
My mother is Saturday, her wrath will call to account
My mother is Saturday, my mother is Saturday
Find me in the dump wells
Find me naked on a beach
On a ship of torture, sober with electric
Lost in a barrack
Mom, at the side of a street
In the potter's field without any names or faces
Find me under the tombstone that says "Losers have lost"
Mom, find me among the Argentinian mothers
At Plaza del Mayor
Mom, find me at the Galatasaray Square
Find me among the mothers from Ramallah
The mothers from Gaza
Mom, find me in the Warsaw ghetto
Mom, find me in the eyes of the Italian mothers of Nico and Bart
Mom, find me
Find me
Mom, find me on a street
While my peers are still shouting

¹¹⁰ <https://www.antiwarsongs.org/canzone.php?lang=en&id=58797> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

Mom, find me, find me in a morning
In the eyes of the man who says “one morning”
In the words of women who built that morning
Mom, find me in the eyes of Ahmet Kaya
Mom, find me

Table 8: Lyrics of "Benim Annem Cumartesi" in English

2.2.2. Analysis 2

The second song to be analysed is Seyda Perinçek’s “Beyaz Toroslar-Cumartesi Anneleri” (“White Tauruses¹¹¹-The Saturday Mothers”) ¹¹².

The form of the video is a song in which the enforced disappearances and the Saturday Mothers are described. The song is video clipped via animation in which the lyrics are picturized. The number of comments and views show that the song is very popular although it was uploaded in 2020. This helps contribute to making the Saturday Mothers’ voices louder. The comments have lots of hate speeches by the ultra-nationalists which are very far from human rights. There is also some Kurdish slang, bad language as well as peaceful discourse. Yet, the comments support the view that there is a strong political and ethnic polarization among people in Turkey.

The Structure of the Video-Clip

At the beginning of the video clip, there is an epigraph saying “The White Tauruses known as the patrol cars of the shadow powers in the 90s are known to have caused a lot of patriots and revolutionists to be murdered in our country... The people who were taken into that car could not come back. To all the brave ones who were gone and to the Saturday Mothers who never forget them. Seyda Perincek, Mardin¹¹³, 2020¹¹⁴.”

¹¹¹ It is a Turkish car brand. Especially the white-coloured ones are memorized today with the state officials or shadow powers who are claimed to have forcibly disappeared the people after they had taken them into these cars.

¹¹² https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7_Zk-PPeh80 (Accessed 14.4.2022)

¹¹³ Mardin is a city located in the south-eastern region of Turkey and highly populated by the Kurdish people.

¹¹⁴ “90’lı yıllarda derin güçlerin devriye aracı olarak bilinen Beyaz Toroslar, Ülkemizde birçok yurtsever ve devrimcinin katledilmesiyle bilinir... O araca bindirilen insanlar, bir daha geri dönememişti. Giden tüm yiğitlere ve onları unutmayan Cumartesi Annelerine. Seyda Perincek, Mardin, 2020”

Subject

This video on YouTube is the most viewed video on the Saturday Mothers. The singer Perinçek is a popular Kurdish singer and songwriter among Kurdish populated cities in Turkey but not a well-known star in the mainstream media. His popularity among the Kurdish population explains why this video is the top among others on the Saturday Mothers.

The song is mainly about how a man is forcibly disappeared by the Turkish shadow powers, not specifically about the Saturday Mothers although the title of the song includes the Saturday Mothers.

At the beginning of the video clip, we see white pigeons symbolizing peace who are flying over a village. The setting is very gloomy and dark symbolizing that there will most probably be bad turns in that village. Then several balaclava-clad men take a man from his home, and we see that the man's clothes are torn. In the following scene, we see them in the white Taurus. A man's moustache is long indicating that he is a nationalist. Also, we see a Turkish flag ornament in the car which supports that the car belongs to Turkish nationalists. While being tortured in custody, we see the man smiling and then his death in an acid hole. All these scenes summarize the news and reports published in the 90s that declared that lots of men were kidnapped, tortured, and killed in acid holes by the shadow powers of the Turkish state. At the end of the video a woman, probably the mother of the kidnapped man, is crying and throws her white scarf towards the sky, and it turns into a white pigeon. All the lyrics describe that kidnapping and enforced disappearance of the man by the nationalists such as "The home is surrounded by the men with the boot [boot refers to the soldiers, or state officials] / Your name is on the list, the murderers shoot [the list refers to the real name list of the people who should be taken into custody, killed, and forcibly disappeared by the people in

charge; the list occupied the Turkish agenda for years, but little was investigated by the state]¹¹⁵."

Both the video clip and the lyrics of the song are descriptive and use metaphors such as pigeon, white, Turkish flag emblem, Taurus, long moustache, acid holes, boots, and balaclava-clad to refer to the basic characteristics of the enforced disappearances in the 90s in Turkey. The singer juxtaposes the tortured man and his mother and the torturers by using the contrast between the white (head scarf, white pigeons above the man) and black (the setting, the clothes of the torturers). Another juxtaposition is between the white car and white pigeons. On the one hand, the white Taurus symbolizes death and enforced disappearance, white pigeon means peace. Therefore, the negative connotations overlap the shadow powers; however, the positive and humanist ones are used for the man and his mother. The song has highly heroic, accrediting that heroism to the tortured man as seen in the discourse of the epigraph.

As for the Saturday Mothers, the singer whose gender is male shows the mother in a passive mood (just waiting, and not in action) except in the scene at the end. In the end, the mother goes out, takes off her headscarf, and walks into the village. And her white scarf turns into a pigeon which may symbolize the Saturday Mothers' peaceful protests with their carnations at Galatasaray and their struggle of remembering and opposing forgetting their loved ones. The woman could only get out with her grief after all these men's actions and politics. Namely, motherhood could turn into a protest outside (not indoors) for a woman when the grief is added to her role.

¹¹⁵ "Evin etrafını botlular sarar. / Adın var listede, caniler vurur."

Lyrics in English¹¹⁶

Dogs bark at three in the morning
Boots surround the house
Glasses are broken with butts (yadê)
Your name's on the list, thugs hit
Hawar yadê hawar, my voice is not heard
I'm in a white Taurus, no news
Say goodbye to me with mourning (yadê)
Don't let the enemy rejoice, always bless me
Tortured, I'm on hangers
They say name it, I'm on the plots
The valiant ones don't give secrets (anê), they die nobly
Brings good news to acid wells.

Table 9: Lyrics of "Beyaz Toroslar-Cumartesi Anneleri" in English

2.2.3. Analysis 3

"Beni Bul Anne¹¹⁷" ("Find Me, Mother") is one of the most popular songs in Turkey sung by Ahmet Kaya, the leading protest singer from Turkey who died when he was in exile in Paris.

Method of Development

The form of the video is a song in which the enforced disappearances and the Saturday Mothers are described. This song was also played by the CHP İstanbul local branch via speakers, which is located at İstiklâl Street opposite Galatasaray High School.

Subject

The song is by Ahmet Kaya who is one of the most credited protest singers in Turkey. He was forced to leave the country after he delivered a speech at an award ceremony saying that he

¹¹⁶ Lyrics in Turkish (some words are in Kurdish):

Sabahın üçünde köpekler havlar
Evin etrafını botlular sarar
Dipçikler ile (yadê) camlar kırılır
Adın var listede, caniler vurur
Hawar yadê hawar, sesim duyulmaz
Beyaz Torostayım, haber alınmaz
Zılgıtlar ile (yadê) uğurla beni
Düşman sevinmesin, hep kutsa beni
İşkencelerde, askılordayım
İsim ver diyorlar, kumpaslardayım
Yiğitler sır vermez (anê), asilce ölür
Asit kuyularına müjde götürür
Hawar yadê hawar, sesim duyulmaz
Beyaz Torostayım, haber alınmaz
Zılgıtlar ile yadê (anê) uğurla beni
Düşman sevinmesin, hep kutsa beni (trans. by me).

¹¹⁷ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jwb1tUdSt3M> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

would like to sing in Kurdish and say hello to the Saturday Mothers. A lot of hate speeches in the ceremony by the celebrities took place in the Turkish paparazzi programmes. These speeches included some sayings that "it is Turkey", and "the official language is Turkish"; "we are against terrorism". Due to the oppression, Ahmet Kaya fled to Europe and died there.

Lyrics in English¹¹⁸

I dreamt last night
I miss you, mom
Your hand is in mine again
Your eyes are tearful
I wiped your tears, mom
The glass fell to the ground
My hand is covered in blood
Come to me mommy
Two cops next to me
My hands are in handcuffs
Find me, find me, mom
I dreamt last night
I miss you, mom
I'm the one running from your eyes
I fell on your chest
Tell me, are you hurt, mom?
The glass fell to the ground
My hand is covered in blood
Come with me, mom.

Table 10: Lyrics of "Beni Bul Anne" in English

This song was sung/covered by Ceylan Ertem (Photograph 1) who is one of the leading pop singers in Turkey now (2022) and by some of the relatives of the forcibly disappeared (Besna

¹¹⁸ Dün gece gördüm düşümde
Seni özledim anne
Elin yine ellerimde
Gözlerin ağlamaklı
Gözyaşlarını sildim anne
Camlar düştü yerlere
Elim elim kan içinde
Yanıma gel yanıma anne
İki yanımda iki polis
Ellerim kelepçede
Beni bul beni bul anne
Dün gece gördüm düşümde
Seni özledim anne
Gözlerinden akan bendim
Düştüm göğsüne
Söyle canın yandı mı anne
Camlar düştü yerlere
Elim elim kan içinde
Yanıma gel yanıma anne.

Tosun, Maside Ocak, Serpil Taşkaya, and İkbal Eren) for the 700th week Saturday Mothers' struggle. We also hear the voice of Ahmet Kaya in the song's back vocal¹¹⁹. The video clip starts with a photo of a red carnation and a piece of the white scarf which symbolizes the white scarf of a mother (Photograph 2) before the caption "my yearning has never lessened" ("*Eksilmedi özlemim*") on the screen. After that, we see some photos of the Saturday Mothers with photos of their forcibly disappeared sons. Other captions in the video clip include: "I never stopped waiting [for you]" ("*Bitmedi bekleyişim*") (this caption is seen twice in the clip which underlines their long waiting for their forcibly disappeared loved ones), "My resistance has never diminished" ("*Azalmadı direncim*"), "My hope has never given out" ("*Tükenmedi umudum*"), "My belief has never been lost" ("*Kaybolmadı inancım*") (Photograph 3), and "My red carnation has never faded" ("*Solmadı karanfilim*"). We see an announcement of the 700th protest on 25th August 2018, at 12:00 at Galatasaray which was later forbidden by the State of Interior. We also see the emblem for the Saturday Mothers which symbolizes birds, a woman's head, and a red carnation (Photograph 4). This video has been seen more often than Ahmet Kaya's video on YouTube (624K). All the captions refer to how the Saturday Mothers are determined in their struggle.

Photos from the Video Clip



Photograph 1

¹¹⁹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RKSKBHHRl98> (Accessed 14.4.2022)



Figures 34-35-36-37: Photographs from the video clip "Beni Bul Anne"

2.2.4. Analysis 4¹²⁰

The last song to be analysed is “Cumartesi Türküsü” (“Saturday’s Ballad”)¹²¹ composed and sung by Sezen Aksu. The form of the video is a song in which the enforced disappearances and the Saturday Mothers are described.

Subject

The song is by Sezen Aksu who is one of the most credited and famous singers in Turkey. She is named the queen of Turkish pop music that is why few negative comments might be written in the video. The song tells a mother’s mourning for her forcibly disappeared child and blesses motherhood. At the end of the video which has lots of photos from the protests as seen below, it writes (“For the Saturday Mothers of Turkey, The Saturday Mothers Are Our Source of Pride...”) This song tells a Saturday Mother waiting for her son and mourning “my bone and flesh are on the doorstep; life is lost”. However, she says that "you cannot make me lose my hope, even when I pass away, my lament will blacken history.”

Lyrics in English

The days are passing while waiting
Deaf and dumb is the day; mockingbirds are all silent.
My bones and flesh are on the doorstep
My life has disappeared; my life has disappeared.
I am not burnt even when they put me in flames
You cannot make me lose my hope
Even when I pass away, my lament will blacken history¹²².

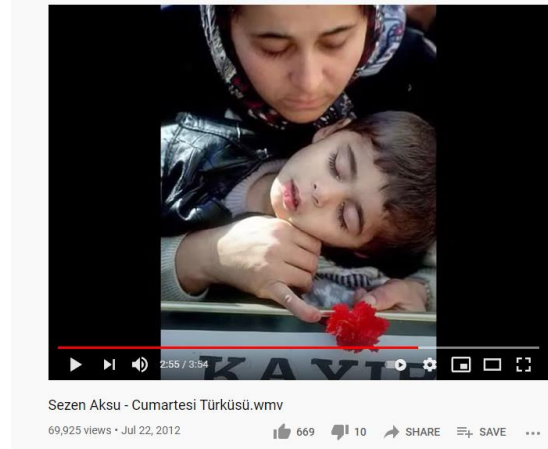
Table 11: Lyrics of "Cumartesi Türküsü" in English

¹²⁰ I have preferred to analyse the most popular and viewed songs on the Internet. These songs have been used in the meetings and video-clips created by the Saturday Mothers activists. There are many other songs composed for the Saturday Mothers. Among these songs are: "Diren Anne" ("Resist Mother") by Selahattin Demirtaş, the former head of HDP; "Cumartesi Anneleri" ("The Saturday Mothers") by Ömer Sönmez; "Cumartesi Anneleri" ("The Saturday Mothers") by Ozan Mensur; "Cumartesi Anneleri" ("The Saturday Mothers") by Grup Vardiya; "Addition to #Susamam" ("#I Cannot Be Quiet") by Ege Çubukçu; and "Kuşların Kanadına Sarıldım" ("I Hugged the Birds' Wings") by Hasan Sağlam. Most of these songs were released in the composers' own social media channels.

¹²¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cEkfA-zO-R8> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

¹²² "Bekleye bekleye geçiyor günler
Gün sağır dilsiz sustu bülbüller
Kemiğim etim kapı önlerinde
Can kayıp can kayıp
Yanmaz canım dışardan kora koysalar
Ümidimi kaybedemezsiniz
Ölsem de ahım tarihi karalar" (trans. by me).

Photos from the Video Clip

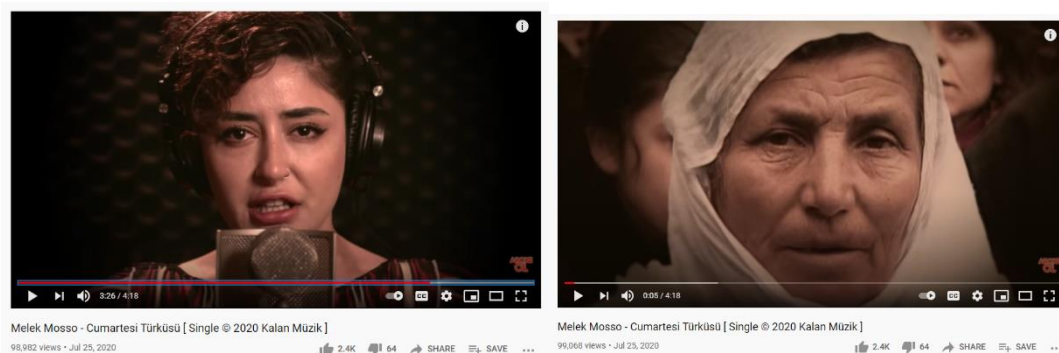


(Above in Turkish: "If I find my son's remains, I will carry them on my back.")

Figures 38-39-40-41-42-43: Photographs from the video clip "Cumartesi Türküsü"

This song was sung/covered by Melek Mosso¹²³ (Photograph 1) who is one of the leading pop singers in Turkey now (2022). Uploaded by Kalan Music, the leading music company, especially for the alternative, intellectual, ethnic, and folk music, this video has been viewed more than Sezen Aksu's (98,982). The video clip consists of very short scenes from the protests demonstrated since 1995.

Photos from the Video Clip



Photograph 1

Figures 44-45: Photographs from the video clip "Cumartesi Türküsü" by Melek Mosso

In addition, on her YouTube channel, Sezen Aksu shared a mainstream news programme channel¹²⁴, ATV in which Ali Kırca, then one of the most famous anchor-men of Turkey, hosted Sezen Aksu after she released her Saturday Mothers single as a gift through a popular magazine *Aktüel*. In this video, Ali Kırca asks how she composed the song and what she thinks about the Saturday Mothers. Both Kırca and Aksu are in favour of the Saturday Mothers. Ali Kırca opens the talk by saying, “[. . .] Two days later, it is Saturday again. Two days later, it is again Istanbul. Two days later it is again Galatasaray. And two days later it is again the Saturday Mothers at Galatasaray. The Saturday Mothers are not alone this week, this Saturday because there will be a scream wandering for them around the sky. The scream by a famous singer.” After that, the audience sees a short video clip mounted by Mehmet Polat in which there are Sezen Aksu's photos together with scenes from the protests and the

¹²³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wej1xXifm2o> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

¹²⁴ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UBpmmCvXaUc> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

song. To the question asked by Kırca about why and how she felt about the Saturday Mothers struggle, Sezen Aksu says that it is not about her famous identity, but that she is a mother, and adds that every mother in Turkey feels the same. She defines her song as “an individual protest” and suggests that everybody be part of this protest by using their style such as “writing poems” and “painting”. She claims that this is a humanitarian issue, and the reason behind these anti-human forced enforced disappearances is the state itself, people do not ask them for help, but should create their unique protests. Kırca adds that it is a social disgrace. She also says that it is not a matter of giving birth; it is a natural born instinct. In this short interview, the struggle is seen as a humanitarian issue including motherhood.

Photos from the Video



Figures 46-47-48: Photos from the video by Sezen Aksu

2.3. News Analysis

Channel	Title	Content/Findings
BBC Türkçe ¹²⁵ (News, 2019)	“Cumartesi Anneleri’nin 700. hafta buluşmasına polis müdahalesi” (“Polis attack against the 700 th meeting of the Saturday Mothers”)	In the news, we see how the police spray orange gas at the protestors. They are coughing. They are shouting “why?” They are trying to prevent them. A woman says, “Soylu (Secretary of Interior) bans our protests. How dare they!” Another man answers the question “why is it banned?” by saying that “this is the directive from the Palace (referring to Erdoğan, the president). Main finding is the police attack against the Saturday Mothers. The diction of the news is in favour of the Saturday Mothers.
30 Artı ¹²⁶ (News, 2018)	“Halkbank’ta Dolar 3,72!...İhracat dibe vurdu...Zam yağmuru...Cumartesi Anneleri’ne yasak...Apple kaza yaptı...” (“Dollar 3,72 at Halkbank!... Export hits bottom...Markup rain...Ban to Saturday Mothers...Apple has an accident.”)	The news is about the ban of the 701st week of protests. It is also stated that Diyarbakır and Batman protests are also banned. Because the streets are closed by the police, the mothers ask where their children are and sit on the side streets. We see a lot of men and women gathered together. In Diyarbakır, a police officer tells an HDP deputy: “I don’t recognize you.” Street is the main symbol of the struggle. The diction of the news is in favour of the Saturday Mothers.
Neşe Ozan İHD ¹²⁷ (Docu-news, 2009)	“Cumartesi Anneleri tarihçesi” (“History of the Saturday Mothers”)	After giving a historical background of the Saturday Mothers and the very first weeks of the movement, Neşe Ozan says, it is much more difficult to come to the Galatasaray Square from the OHAL region than coming from Argentina. The main finding is how the struggle has ties with enforced disappearances from south-eastern region. The diction of the news is in favour of the Saturday Mothers.
Ruşen Çakır mediascope ¹²⁸ (Editorial, 2018)	“Devlet Cumartesi Anneleri’ne neden 700. haftada saldırdı?” (“Why did the State Attack the Saturday Mothers in their 700 th week?”)	Çakır talks about the legitimacy of the struggle. He gives information about how Erdoğan accepted the mothers when he was Prime Minister in 2011. Çakır claims that he was on the organising committee. He says, “this is the most honourable and lasting movement, and it is prestigious.” Because Erdoğan changed his political route to ultra-nationalism after 2015, he turned into a supporter of orthodox state politics. The police attack also gave momentum to the struggle in the media. It is a symbol of how Erdoğan loses his power according to Çakır. In 2011, he was powerful, he says. The diction of the news is in favour of the Saturday Mothers.
Tele1 ¹²⁹ (News editorial, 2018)	“Cumartesi anneleri tartışması – 18 dakika (27 Ağustos 2018)” (“The Saturday Mothers issue-18 minutes [27 August 2018]”)	Opponent TV men and journalists Merdan Yanardağ and Prof. Dr. Emre Kongar are discussing the ban. They are strongly criticizing Soyly for he has said “paço” which means “old prostitute who lost her beauty” “wearing worse, dowdy” in Turkish, and “you cannot exploit the motherhood and nationalism.” Yanardağ says that “this is

¹²⁵ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a2VrWvjN2kA> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

¹²⁶ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QakAQVWrxJA> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

¹²⁷ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9L8GamAh9bs> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

¹²⁸ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u4rUpmTu__0 (Accessed 14.4.2022)

¹²⁹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OZNEJeMJ1xk> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

		<p>violence. Soylu cannot decide who a mother is and how motherhood is defined. Law is very important in a state.” Also, he criticizes that social media emits messages such as “they are terrorist mothers.” “They showed themselves on us.” Kirbayır’s sibling says “Soylu should come here and listen to us. They have to protect us.” The diction of the news is in favour of the Saturday Mothers.</p>
<p>Pir Haber Ajansı¹³⁰ (News, 2018)</p>	<p>“Cumartesi anneleri eyleminde milletvekillerine polis müdahalesi” (“Police intervention against the parliament members during the Saturday Mothers protests”)</p>	<p>It is about how the police attacked the peaceful protestors specifically Arat Dink who is the assassinated Turkish Armenian journalist, Hrant Dink’s son. The parliament members did not allow the police to take Arat into custody. At the end of the video, a woman shouts, “The anger of mothers will choke you.” The diction of the news is in favour of Saturday Mothers.</p>

Table 12: News Analysis

All these videos of news reflect how the police force is used to prevent the Saturday Mothers' struggle. In the news, the common pattern is the attacks by the police force. It shows human rights violations and intolerance of the government against the mothers. There is no attack by the mothers or any violence against the police; however, their faces reflect anger against the authorities. Although there are a few negative comments about the Saturday Mothers claiming that they are ‘terrorists’ or ‘tools’ in the hands of PKK, most comments celebrate the mothers and activists. It can therefore be concluded that the Saturday Mothers’ struggle is highly acclaimed by journalists and news channels, specifically, if they are opponents or left-wing ones.

2.4. Analysis of the Samples from the Saturday Mothers Official YouTube Channel

Title	Data	Findings
<p>“Cumartesi Anneleri 400. Haftaya Çağrı” (“The Saturday Mothers, Call for the 400th Week”) Nov 16, 2012¹³¹</p>	<p>(a) Candle (some interviews from 43rd-week protests) (b) Hasan Ocak’s father “I chose the front of Galatasaray High School which is a home to knowledge and science for today’s memory and sitting.” (c) Birsen Gülünay, the wife tells that “He</p>	<p>(a) Candle symbolises hope which is one of the leading feelings in the movement. (b) Baba Ocak’s claim is important to show why Galatasaray is chosen for the struggle. Knowledge is acquired through science and education, and Galatasaray High</p>

¹³⁰ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v6mlC3Bwmqg> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

¹³¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nSUKH5vFa2U> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

	<p>is under custody because of his thoughts and because he is a revolutionist and democratic person.”</p> <p>(d) Some women are speaking in the Kurdish language.</p> <p>(e) A mother is shouting “I want my son from the state.” Another says, “they have forcibly disappeared my son. They made him lost.”</p> <p>In the video, a woman’s voice says that in this 40th week, relatives of the forcibly disappeared from Diyarbakır and other Kurdish cities are with us here. They will talk about their children.</p> <p>(f) 157th week: a male’s voice tells the police attack against the mothers. Between 170 and 200 police attacked. 1,093 custody.</p> <p>(g) A mother [Hediye Coşkun] says “[...] we are in search for our remains. We will continue to search for our remains.” (Kurdish)</p> <p>Hayrettin Eren’s mother asks, “why do they bury them in the cemetery of the nameless?”</p> <p>“I am a terrorist if searching for my son means terrorism.”</p> <p>(h) We understand at the end of the video that the Istanbul Branch of İHD, the Commission against the Enforced Disappearances in custody organizes the event.</p> <p>(i)</p>  <p>Figure 49: A Photo of an Argentinian Mother at the Galatasaray Square</p>	<p>School is famous for its high-quality education. Baba Ocak associates memory and knowledge with the school.</p> <p>(c) The reason behind the enforced disappearances is believed to be freedom of thought and democratic claims.</p> <p>(d) Kurdish language is seen as a threat and separatist claim by the Turkish government, yet millions of people in Turkey speak Kurdish as their first language. The language is politicised although these women use it just as their first language. Several Kurdish Saturday Mothers learnt to speak Turkish after they participated in the struggle.</p> <p>(e) The mothers accuse the state of enforced disappearances. A lot of relatives participated in the struggle from different cities especially south-eastern cities in which most forcibly disappeared cases were recorded. This made the struggle spread to other cities.</p> <p>(f) It is clear that the police violate the right to demonstrate.</p> <p>(g) The mothers’ claims show how they resist the authorities. They question the government and reverse the meaning of terrorism. Questioning makes them doers and arbiters in the public sphere.</p> <p>(h) That proves the importance of İHD in the movement.</p>
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	Carlotto is one of the leading figures in Plaza de Mayo.	(i) The screenshot shows how international solidarity occurs in the movement.
“Cumartesi Anneleri 400. Hafta – Hanım Tosun” (“The Saturday Mothers 400 th Week”) Nov 18, 2012 ¹³²	“Have you ever been a Saturday Mother?” Tosun asks. “We have never given up.” This video calls for support and shares the call via Twitter.	The quotation shows insistence and questions how being a Saturday Mother is a tough issue. The question also helps the audience to emphasize the mothers.
“Cumartesi Anneleri 400. Hafta” Mother Hanife (“The Saturday Mothers 400 th Week”) Nov 18, 2012 ¹³³	Murat Yıldız’s mother says, “You took my right to be a mother. [...] Why hasn’t your heart ever turned to here? [...] Give us a cemetery.”	The quotation shows how motherhood is defined by a mother. She claims that it is a right to be a mother, and enforced disappearance is a violation of this right. Saying that your son is not here metaphorically means that you do not have a son, so you are not a mother which helps the authority to legitimise that they do not see these mothers as “real” mothers.
“Cumartesi Anneleri 400. Hafta” Mother Hediye (“The Saturday Mothers 400 th Week”) Nov 18, 2012 ¹³⁴	Abdurrahman Coşkun’s mother says “[...] we are in search for our remains. We will continue to search for our remains.” (Kurdish)	The mother’s claim shows how they try to make their motherhood concrete. Finding remains also means that they have children, in addition to their right to mourn.
“Cumartesi Anneleri 400. Hafta” Mother Emine (“The Saturday Mothers 400 th Week”) Nov 18, 2012 ¹³⁵	Hasan Ocak’s mother says “[...] if you don’t find the murderer of my son, I will never give up Galatasaray. I am sitting at the Galatasaray.”	Another insistence is clear in the quotation. Galatasaray is seen as a “call out” square.
“Cumartesi Anneleri 400. Hafta” Mother Berfo (“The Saturday Mothers 400 th Week”) Nov 18, 2012 ¹³⁶	Cemil Kırbayır’s mother says “How can my son run away? Why did he (referring to Kenan Evren) do that? I leave my house door open if Cemil Kırbayır comes. Kenan Evren, in front of me, come before me, and let’s see how you are. How are you? Where is Cemil Kırbayır? Tell me. He will give me an answer. He will give me an answer.”	Mother Berfo calls out then-President Kenan Evren who was in-charge-general in the 12 September coup d’état period. Leaving her house door open is a symbol of hope.
“Cumartesi Anneleri	“We have experienced this grief. Let there	One of the reasons for the struggle is to prevent

¹³² <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kn45vf4jNRQ> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

¹³³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rSVxsejIdU> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

¹³⁴ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pQIyOAFg1kQ> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

¹³⁵ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fz-WKsraT1k> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

¹³⁶ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LcDUvRIG2W0> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

<p>ve Aydınlarından Çağrı” (“The Saturday Mothers and Call from the Intellectuals”) Nov 23, 2012¹³⁷</p>	<p>be no grief anymore.” Intellectuals, journalists, and actresses, actors call the authorities for action in their 400th week for their demands.</p>	<p>future enforced disappearances and human rights violations. This is directly related to collective memorisation.</p>
<p>“Nurettin Yedigöl için buluşuyoruz (Cumartesi Anneleri, 471. Hafta, 5 Nisan 2014)” “We are meeting for Nurettin Yedigöl [the Saturday Mothers, 471st Week, 5 April 2014]”¹³⁸</p>	<p>Zeycan Yedigöl declares what she said to the prime minister Erdoğan “you will investigate our case.” She also compares herself to a wounded gazelle.</p>	<p>Her claim shows the responsibility of the state. “Wounded gazelle” is a literary folk metaphor. Gazelle is hunted by hunters and symbolizes innocence and naivety.</p>
<p>“Hasan Ocak için buluşuyoruz (Cumartesi Anneleri, 469. Hafta, 22 Mart 2014)¹³⁹” “We are meeting for Hasan Ocak [the Saturday Mothers, 469th Week, 22 March 2014]”</p>	<p>“Oh, child! Whose smile is the most beautiful one in the world! They took you from us on a Newroz day. Without you, we are left without spring. Our spring will come with the trial and punishment of the ones who forcibly made you disappear. For us, spring is the name of the reunion of our resistant and grieving mothers with their children. Rose-faced boy! Nineteen winters passed without you. Today we are walking to a new Newroz. As long as the murderers and their castles are protected, the <i>cemre</i> of justice does not fall on nature. Spring will not come to our house either! Not only did we not miss your beauty that turns into a rose garden only when you laugh or the words that commemorate Bedreddin, the timbre of the saz that screams the shriek of the Pir Sultan but like Börklüce Mustafa we also missed the warmth and abundance of the ‘Table of the Sun’ you set up! We are looking for his ingenuity, which adds another blessing to that Table every day, and that makes room for one more soul at that Table every day. ‘Iriş Dede Sultan</p>	<p>This letter celebrates Hasan Ocak showing how the Ocak Family resists forgetting. Letters and literary language help to keep their memory permanent.</p>

¹³⁷ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q61HfpbaA5Y> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

¹³⁸ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3ItkJ1fcsqo> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

¹³⁹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L6_TGxHuPZE (Accessed 14.4.2022)

	Iriş!’ The anger you blaze against cruelty, lies, and plunder is our anger! Your hope for a just, free, and equal world is our hope. You are always with us; we are always with you.” Family Ocak ¹⁴⁰	
“Cumartesi Anneleri – 600. Hafta Çağrı ¹⁴¹ ” (“The Saturday Mothers – Call for the 600 th Week”) 2016	“This is not a mourning place. We do not mourn here. We are in a place where we call out. We will call out.”	Although most of the subjects defined Galatasaray as a mourning place in the interviews, this quotation is a deviant example showing that calling out is much more important than mourning which underlines the “active” feature of the struggle.
“Bizde Yok” (“He is Not with Us”) May 16, 2018 ¹⁴²	Documentary by Anıl Olcan-Fatma Baçaru The documentary is told through the metaphor of a microphone.	The microphone is used as a strong metaphor for memory. The personification of the microphone makes the mothers ‘voice’ (phone) bigger (macro) by underlining the importance of feelings at the Square. Every single feeling inside the mothers increases and thickens by coming together with other mothers’ feelings. Namely, the microphone turns into a louder “macrophone” through which the struggle makes the transformation possible.
“700. Hafta Çağrı” (“Call for the 700 th Week”) Aug 14, 2018 ¹⁴³	Elmas Eren (Hayrettin Eren’s mother): “I am searching for my son’s remains. His remains. If found it, I would say okay. A piece of bone. I would be okay. Even I don’t have it. It is not easy. Every single	All the mothers’ sentences show both hope and how they are tired of resistance for long years.

¹⁴⁰ “Gülüşi dünya güzeli çocuk! Bir Newroz gününde aldılar seni bizden. Sensiz, baharsız kaldık. Baharımız, kaybeden-kayledenlerin yargılanıp cezalandırılmasıyla gelecek. Direngen ve kederli annelerimizin evlatlarına kavuşmasının adıdır bizim için bahar.

Gül yüzlü çocuk, 19 zemheri geçti sensiz. Yeni bir Newroz’a yürüyoruz bugün. Katillerin ve kaleleri korundukça, Adaletin cemresi düşmez doğaya. Bahar da gelmez hanemize! Sadece gülünce gül bahçesine dönen cemalini, Bedreddin’i yad eden kelamını, Pis Sultan’ın feryadını haykıran Sazının tınısını özlemedik! Börklüce Mustafa misali; Kurduğun ‘Güneşin Sofrası’nın Sıcaklığını ve bereketini de özledik! Her gün o Sofra’ya bir nimet daha katan, Her dem o Sofra’da bir cana daha yer açan Hamarathlığını arıyoruz. “İriş Dede Sultan’ın iriş!” Zulme, yalana, talana Harladığın öfke öfkemizdir! Adil, özgür, eşit bir dünyaya dair Beslediğin umut, umudumuzdur. Daima bizimlesin, daima seninleyiz. Ocak Ailesi” (trans. by me).

¹⁴¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WT5-b2T74Co> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

¹⁴² https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e_5-2syKUe (Accessed 14.4.2022)

¹⁴³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ufg-mVquXAU> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

	<p>day. Every day. Every day. But it can't be helped. A child makes you get in everywhere. The child's suffering is very bad. God forefend.”</p> <p>“I cannot speak. I cannot tell. My teeth crash. I am now unspeakable. I am confused about what I should say.”</p> <p>Zübeyde Tepe (Ferhat Tepe's mother): “My son has been kidnapped in front of our house.”</p> <p>Emine Ocak: “I waited and waited until the evening, but he didn't arrive.” “Everybody knows. What else should I tell? I am done. I am done. Enough. I am completely done.” “We call everybody. We call everyone. For... [Desperately sighs].”</p> <p>Sabriye Maltu (Mehmet Şirin Maltu's mother): “They protected him and tortured him behind the house all night.” (Kurdish) “Every week we go to the Galatasaray Square with the hope that we may get some news from our children.”</p>	
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Table 13: Analysis of the Samples from the Saturday Mothers Official YouTube Channel

2.5. Quotations from the Mothers and Relatives from Different Media

Quotations	Findings
<p>Emine Ocak (Hasan Ocak's mother¹⁴⁴):</p> <p>"I went everywhere. I knocked on all the doors. I went to Tansu Çiller; went to Demirel, went to Erbakan, went to Ecevit. I went to every one of them. Nobody helped me. We go to Galatasaray every week. They did not care about us for one or two weeks. Two weeks later, they took us under custody. Every week, tear gas, hitting, backbiting. My neck is bruised."</p> <p>"My dear Hasan has been found dead. But we found</p>	<p>Galatasaray is the place where the mothers make their voice louder after they have tried every way such as politicians, government, and authorities including the law. Çiller (then-prime minister), Demirel (then-president), Ecevit (left-wing part, DSP, leader), Erbakan (Islamist party, RP, leader) were all key figures in politics in the 1990s Turkey.</p> <p>Ocak underlines how she is strong as a mother. Her insistence can be understood via her use of the subject "I" in her sentences.</p>

¹⁴⁴ “Ben her türlü her kapıya gittim. Her, kaç tane var ben onun kapısını vurdum. Tansu Çiller'e gittim. Demirel'e gittim. Erbakan'a gittim. Ecevit'e gittim. Herkese gittim. Bize yardımcı olmadı. Galatasaray'a her hafta gidiyoruz. 1-2 hafta bize karışmadılar. 2 hafta sonra bizi aldılar. Her hafta gaz, tekme, böyle bu kolum molum her bir şey çekti. Boynumda çürük yara duruyor.”

“Hasan'ım bulundu ama zorla bulundu.”

Ben senelerdir arkadaşlarımla kocaları çocuklarının mezarını istiyorum. Hasanımın katilini istiyorum. Hiç bir şey değişmedi. Hiç bir şey değişmedi. Çocuklarımızın kemiklerini istiyoruz. Çocuklarımızın mezarını istiyoruz. Çocuklarımızın katilini istiyoruz.”

“Hiçbir güç adalet isteyen bir anneyi susturamaz.” “25 senedir Hasan için yola çıktım. Herkesin mezarı bulunsun. Ben adalet istiyorum.” Ali Ocak “geçmişle yüzleşme yasaları çıkarılsın. Örgütlü zulüm var. Örgütlü kötülük. Örgütlü adaletsizlik. Örgütlü vicdansızlık. Devlette süreklilik esastır” (790th week) (trans by me).

<p>him under compulsion."</p> <p>"I have been asking for my friends' husbands' and children's graveyards with them for years. I want the murderer of my son. Nothing changed. Nothing changed. We ask for our children's remains. We want the murderers of our children."</p> <p>"No power can prevent a mother from demanding justice."</p> <p>"I have taken the road for Hasan for 25 years. Let the graveyards of all the forcibly disappeared be found. I want justice." (790th week)</p>	<p>She is very clear in her demands. Solidarity is another key term in her speech that motivates the Saturday Mothers' struggle.</p>
<p>Ali Ocak (Hasan Ocak's brother¹⁴⁵):</p> <p>"There should be laws for memory work. There is organized persecution. Organized evil. Organized unjustness. It is a common principle to be imprescriptible in the state." (790th week)</p> <p>"To be silent equals to destroy memory." (2020)</p>	<p>Ocak underlines how the state violates fundamental human rights. Memory is one of the most important keys to struggling with these violations.</p>
<p>Aniss Al-Moukadem (a Lebanese relative of forcibly disappeared):</p> <p>"Because you are the strongest mothers."</p> <p>Nora de Corin�as: Galatasaray means "memory, truth, and justice."</p>	<p>Apart from them, Khavaran Mothers, Christina Patsia (a Cypriot relative of 1974 forcibly disappeared), Moroccan mother of forcibly disappeared, Nassera Detour, Miguel Angel Mu�oz, the grandchild of forcibly disappeared in the fascist era of 1939.</p> <p>All this support from different countries shows that the Saturday Mothers are known and supported worldwide.</p>
<p>Deniz G�l�nay (Hasan G�l�nay's daughter¹⁴⁶):</p> <p>"The children and grandchildren who grew up there were in place of the mothers who cannot breathe anymore."</p> <p>(799th week)</p>	<p>G�l�nay's sentence shows the Saturday Mothers' continuity with second and third generations.</p>
<p>Mehmet Salim Acar (�hsan Acar's son¹⁴⁷):</p> <p>"Granny, did you forget our father's pain?" (803rd week)</p>	<p>Acar said that sentence after her grandmother's death. He meant that this pain can only be forgotten when you die. Also, it means that her grandmother has always been in pain until she dies.</p>
<p>Beritan Aksoy (Edip Aksoy's daughter¹⁴⁸):</p> <p>"Our biggest dream was to have a graveyard for my father. I do not want to die before finding his remains."</p> <p>(842nd week)</p>	<p>Aksoy underlines one of the most important motivations of the struggle.</p>
<p>Besna Tosun (Fehmi Tosun's daughter¹⁴⁹):</p>	<p>Tosun shows how important the struggle is</p>

¹⁴⁵ "GemiŐle y zleŐme yasaları ıkarılsın.  rg tl  zul m var.  rg tl  k t l k.  rg tl  adaletsizlik.  rg tl  vicdansızlık. Devlette s rekliлик esastır." "Sessiz kalmak belleĐi yok etmektir" (trans by me).

¹⁴⁶ "SoluĐu yetmeyenin yerini o meydana b y yen ocuklar ve torunlar almıŐ durumda" (trans by me).

¹⁴⁷ "Nene sen bizim babamızın acısını unuttun mu?" (trans by me).

¹⁴⁸ "En b y k hayalim babamın bir mezarı olmasaydı. Onun kemiklerini bulmadan  lmek istemiyorum" (trans by me).

¹⁴⁹ "782 haftadır ısrarla g zaltında kaybetmelerin cezasızlık sisteminin var olduĐu insan haklarını sistematik ve yaygın ihlal edildiĐi yerde olduĐunu s yl yoruz. Devlet sorumluluĐunda iŐlenen ihlalleri g venli toplum

"We have been declaring for 782 weeks that enforced disappearances are based in the same place with impunity and violations of human rights systematically and extensively. The state cannot form a secure society if there are violations by the state. We try to form a public opinion for accountability and superiority of law. We can end impunity. We never give up Galatasaray which is our meeting point with our forcibly disappeared." (782nd week)	and to what extent the state is responsible for the forcibly disappeared.
Zeynep Güney (Veysel Güney's mother ¹⁵⁰): "I painted my son's face inside my eyes. I wrote his name on my tongue. I dug out his grave in my heart." (794th week)	Güney's description shows the embodiment between the son and the mother.
Şükriye Bilmen (Hizni Bilmen's wife and Mehmet Emin Altuğ's niece ¹⁵¹): "We are religious fellows. Are they not afraid of God? Don't we have the right to survive?" (792nd week)	Bilmen does not understand how people believing the same religion behave like that. Because in Islam, there should not be any harm against one from the same religion.
Family Türkoğlu (Talat Türkoğlu's family ¹⁵²): We fit into our homes. Our pain does not fit into our rib cage."	It shows how pain is embodied in their lives.
Hatice Toraman (Hüseyin Toraman's mother ¹⁵³): "We were paralyzed. We lost our life." (814th week)	It describes how they feel after the enforced disappearance.
Fatma Morsümbül (Hüseyin Morsümbül's mother ¹⁵⁴): "Have you ever been a Saturday Mother? Don't! We have been struggling so that not you never experience being a Saturday Mother."	Morsümbül defines what being a Saturday Mother means. The struggle's aim is also to end enforced disappearances and human rights violations which emphasizes the struggle's dynamism and activism.
Maside Ocak (Hasan Ocak's sister ¹⁵⁵): "We never give up the struggle of rising from our ashes." (823rd week)	Despite the police attack, nothing can prevent them from continuing the struggle.
Emine Kaya (Halit Kaya's niece, Ahmet Kaya's daughter ¹⁵⁶): "We have been claiming the same thing for 25 years. Are we to talk to the same thing forever?" (824th week)	Kaya emphasizes impunity.
Menekşe Aydınlar (Cüneyt Aydınlar's mother ¹⁵⁷): "They ruined us in our best youth." (829th week)	Aydınlar underlines how enforced disappearances have changed their life, especially at their young ages. For being young equals to fun and happiness metaphorically, Aydınlar refers that she has not been happy and had no fun anymore.
Hanife Yıldız (Murat Yıldız's mother ¹⁵⁸):	Yıldız emphasizes how painful it is to be a

oluşturmaz. Hesap verebilen hukukun üstünlüğü için kamuoyu oluşturmaya çalışıyoruz. Cezasızlığı sonlandırabiliriz. Kayıplarla buluşma mekânımız olan Galatasaray'dan vazgeçmeyiz" (trans by me).

¹⁵⁰ "Ben oğlumun resmini gözüme çizdim. İsmi dilime yazdım. Mezarını kalbime kazdım" (trans by me).

¹⁵¹ "Biz aynı dindeniz, Allah'tan korkmuyorlar mı? Bizim de yaşama hakkımız yok mu?" (trans by me).

¹⁵² "Evlerimize sığdık, göğüs kafesimize sığmayan acılarımız" (trans by me).

¹⁵³ "Biz de felce uğradık. Hayatımızı kaybettik" (trans by me).

¹⁵⁴ "Siz hiç Cumartesi Annesi oldunuz mu? Olmayın. Siz Cumartesi Annesi olmayın diye mücadele veriyoruz" (trans by me).

¹⁵⁵ "Küllerimizden yeniden doğma çabasından vazgeçmeyeceğiz" (trans by me).

¹⁵⁶ "25 yıldır aynı şeyi konuşuyoruz. Sonsuza kadar aynı şeyi mi konuşacağız?" (trans by me).

¹⁵⁷ "En gençlik zamanımızda bizi mahvettiler" (trans by me).

¹⁵⁸ "Ey baş saraylı. Biz yaralıyız. Yaralı. Mezarlarımızı arıyoruz. Çek polisini buradan. Aç meydanımızı."

<p>"Hey! The chief courtier! We are wounded. Wounded! We are searching for our beloved without graveyards. Go back, you police! Open our square!"</p> <p>"The biggest persecution for a mother, the biggest pain, the biggest hit."</p> <p>"I have been eroded. My body has been eroded. So have my feet. My two eyes have been eroded on the roads. But time should not lapse¹⁵⁹." (2021)</p>	<p>Saturday Mother because of the enforced disappearances. Having been wounded shows that the mother is not healthy, neither alive, nor dead, but refers to her being in purgatory.</p>
<p>Deniz Demir (İbrahim Demir's daughter¹⁶⁰):</p> <p>"We lack our father's love. Let there not be any children like us." (2020)</p>	<p>Demir also underlines one of the most important motivations of the struggle.</p>
<p>İkbal Eren (Hayrettin Eren's sister¹⁶¹):</p> <p>"The Saturday Mothers are conscience of this country." (2020)</p>	<p>Eren's quotation is important because the use of "conscience" shows that the struggle is not related to rationality but very related to emotions which made it possible to continue for very long years.</p>
<p>Halime Aydoğan (Nihat Aydoğan's wife¹⁶²):</p> <p>"We have been searching for him. We are going to search for him for another 25 years." (2020)</p>	<p>She exemplifies what insistence means.</p>
<p>Zübeyde Tepe (Ferhat Tepe's mother¹⁶³):</p> <p>"We will get rid of the bans. We never give up Galatasaray. Galatasaray is our children's voice, our voice." (2020).</p>	<p>She emphasizes the importance of Galatasaray as space because they think they meet their children there. They can embody their children at Galatasaray.</p>
<p>Elmas Eren (Hayrettin Eren's mother¹⁶⁴):</p> <p>"My mind is always there. I turn on the TV. What will happen? What will I see on which channel? I always watch. I transferred it to her (referring to her daughter İkbal Eren). God bless her. She never stops. However, I am afraid in case they take her, something bad happens. I feel terrified. One of my arms had already gone. If she was gone, I'd... I wish I had my son alive. Or they showed where he was. I would feel okay. Did they murder him? Did they cut him? Did they chainsaw him? I don't know what happened to him. I have been wandering like that for years and years."</p>	<p>Although Eren is anxious about her other children, she is proud and happy to transfer her 'responsibility' to the second generation. Darkness (obscurity) shapes her very tiring life and devouring.</p>
<p>Elif Tekin (Düzgün Tekin's mother¹⁶⁵):</p>	<p>Tekin's quotation shows desperation and determination together in a mother's words.</p>

" Bir anaya yapılmış en büyük zulüm, en büyük acı, en büyük darbedir." (830th week)

"Adalet peşinde koşarken ben aşındım. Bedenim aşındı, ayaklarım aşındı. Yollarda kalan iki gözüm aşındı. Ama zaman aşınmamalı" (trans by me).

¹⁵⁹ "Lapse" and "erode" are homonymous (*aşınmak*) in Turkish. Yıldız uses rhetorical language here.

¹⁶⁰ "Baba sevgisinden mahrum kaldık başkaları kalmasin" (trans by me).

¹⁶¹ "Cumartesi Anneleri bu ülkenin vicdanıdır" (trans by me).

¹⁶² "25 senedir arıyoruz. 25 sene daha arayacağız" (trans by me).

¹⁶³ "Biz yasakları aşacağız. Galatasaray'dan vazgeçmeyeceğiz. Orası bizim çocuklarımızın sesi, bizim sesimizdir" (trans by me).

¹⁶⁴ "Aklım orada. Televizyonu açıyorum. Hangi kanaldan çıkacak ne olacak ne bitecek. Hep bakıyorum. Şimdi buna devrettik. Allah razı olsun. Hiç dur otur yok. Ama korkuyorum bir taraftan da alırlar, götürürler bir şey olur diye ödüm kopuyor. O giderse benim bir kolum gitti artık. Oğlum keşke sağ olarak elime geçseydi. Yahut da burası deselerdi yeri gene razıydım. Öldürdüler mi? Kestiler mi? Biçtiler mi? Bilmiyorum ne olduğunu. Yıllar yılı böyle geziyorum" (trans by me).

¹⁶⁵ "Gelin, ben bir senedir burada Düzgün için oturuyorum. Soğuğun, kışın, karın, burada Galatasaray'da yavrumu istiyorum. Üç gün sonra Düzgün'ün senesi tam oluyor ki Düzgün kayıptır. Dağlar, taşlar, kuşlar, geyikler, bana yol verin; ben oğluma kavuşayım. Vah xaney, vah xaney" (trans by me).

"Come here, I have been sitting here for Düzgün for a year, no matter it is cold, winter, snow; here at Galatasaray, I want my son. Three days later, it will be one year that Düzgün has disappeared. Hey! Mountains! Rocks! Birds! Deer! Help me, to come together with my son! Ah xaney! Ah xaney!"	
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Table 14: Quotations from the Mothers and Relatives from Different Media

2.6. Important Pieces of Organisations Related to the Saturday Mothers' Struggle

ICAD International¹⁶⁶ (International Committee Against Enforced disappearances) was established on 17-19 May 1996. The First International Congress of Enforced disappearances was held by the human rights associations and relatives of the forcibly disappeared, in Istanbul. ICAD's prominent aim is to create an international organized human rights mechanism to prevent enforced disappearances. ICAD places the news on the Saturday Mothers and the forcibly disappeared on their website. The Saturday Mothers struggle is also supported by many institutions and organisations such as UMAG, İlerici Kadınlar Derneği, Küresel Bak, Çatlak Zemin, and Hafıza Merkezi¹⁶⁷.

¹⁶⁶ <https://icadinternational.wordpress.com/> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

¹⁶⁷ <http://www.umag.org.tr/tr/ugur-mumcu/11/24-ocak/61/toplumsal-bellek-platformu> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

<https://ilericikadinlardernegi.org.tr/?s=cumartesi+anneleri> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

<http://www.kureselbak.org/?s=cumartesi+anneleri> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

<https://catlakzemin.com/cumartesi-anneleri-neden-cumartesi-babalari-olmazdi/> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

<https://hakikatadalethafiza.org/?s=cumartesi+anneleri> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

2.7. The Saturday Mothers in Different Media¹⁶⁸

2.7.1. Docu-Drama

Directors Dilek Çolak and Metin Yeğin shoots a docu-drama titled “Çocuklarından Doğan Anneler¹⁶⁹” (“Mothers Who Are Born from Their Children”) in 2007 by comparing two mothers from Argentina and Turkey, Mother Juanita and Mother Sakine, respectively. Mother Juanita underlines that they are never afraid of authorities because they bear their children for nine months which makes them powerful. Similarly, Mother Sakine claims that she could be an ordinary person, but thanks to her daughter Sibel, she transformed into another person who struggles, and to struggle is a very good thing. The docu-drama is important to show how motherhood is very related to resistance to struggle through emotions.

İstanbul'un Kaçık Kadınların (The Mad Women of Istanbul) directed by Bernard Debord in 1996, is another docu-drama showing police brutality against the Saturday Mothers and questioning what and why these women are doing at the Galatasaray Square. The docu-drama was awarded to 1997 Grand Award in FIPA (Festival International de Programmes Audiovisuels).

¹⁶⁸ There are numerous examples of enforced disappearances in popular culture, arts, and literature. In international media and literature, there are numerous popular culture examples on the enforced disappearances.

Among the movies are *Missing* by Costa-Gavras (1982, USA), *Night of the Pencils* by Héctor Olivera (1986, Argentina), *The Official Story* by Luis Puenzo (1985, Argentina), *A Wall of Silence* by Lita Stantic (1993, Argentina), *Death and the Maiden* by Roman Polanski (1994, USA), *The Disappearance of Garcia Lorca* by Marcos Zurinaga (1997, Spain-USA), *Imagining Argentina* by Christopher Hampton (2003, Spain-UK-USA), *The Year My Parents Went on Vacation* by Cao Hamburger (2006, Brazil), *Rendition* by Gavin Hood (2007, USA), *Dukot* by Joel Lamangan (2009, Philippines), *The Simpsons* "Season 12, Episode 6: The Computer Wore Menace Shoes" by Mark Kirkland (2000, USA), *Clandestine Childhood* by Benjamin Avila (2011, Argentina-Spain-Spain-Brazil), and *The Day I Was Not Born* by Florian Cossen (2011, Germany-Argentina). Among the documentaries are *Nostalgia for the Light* by Patricio Guzman (2010, France-Germany-Chile-Spain-USA) and *Our Disappeared* by Juan Mandelbaum (2008, Argentina).

Among the literary books are *Catch-22* by Joseph Heller (1961), *Darkness at Noon* by Arthur Koestler (1940), *The Disappeared* by Kim Echlin (2009), *Information for Foreigners* by Griselda Gambaro (1995), *When Darkness Falls* by James Grippando (2007), *Death and the Maiden* by Ariel Dorfman (1991), *My Daughter Dagmar* by Hagelin Ragmar (1984), *Widows* by Ariel Dorfman (1981), *José* by Matilde Herrera (1987), *Dirty Secrets*, *Dirty Wars: Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1976-83: The Exile of Editor Robert J. Cox* by David Cox (2008).

Among the songs are "Hay Una Mujer Desaparecida" by Holly Near with Barbara Higbie, "Desaparecidos" by Little Steven and the Disciples of Soul, "Desapariciones" by Rubén Blades, "Mothers of the Disappeared" by U2, "They Dance Alone" by Sting, "The Circle" by Kris Kristofferson, and "Undercover of the Night" by The Rolling Stones.

¹⁶⁹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ffPvyxqhQ9w> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

For another similar documentary about the Saturday Mothers and how they struggled despite the police attack, please refer to the docu-homework “Lost Saturday-The Saturday Mothers” prepared by Ece Nur Biçer, Melis Ecem Biner, and Ömer Berkay Kurnaz. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4xecc69JsQM> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

2.7.2. The Parliament Documents

On the official website of TBMM, there are approximately 400 official and accessible reports and minutes related to the Saturday Mothers. Most of these documents are in favour of the struggle given by opposition parties, specifically HDP, the Workers' Party of Turkey, and CHP. There is not any support from right-wing parties although they always claim on Mothers' Day that motherhood is sacred. In the documents, human rights are emphasized, and the government is asked to investigate the whereabouts of the forcibly disappeared. In addition, the Saturday Mothers are described with the adjectives of "dignity" and "honour"¹⁷⁰.

2.7.3. Chapters in Academic Books and Papers

In academic books and journal articles, the Saturday Mothers are used as an example of activism and the civil rights movement. Among these books and articles are "Théorie et construction des rapports de genre dans la guérilla kurde de Turquie" by Olivier Grojean (2013), "The Park, the Penguin, and the Gas: Performance in Progress in Gezi Park" by Aslı Öztürkmen (2014), "Remember, S/he Was Here Once: Mothers Call for Justice and Peace in Turkey" by Emine Rezzan Karaman (2016), "The Dark Side of War" by Mehmet Gürses (2018), "Against All Odds: The Resilience and Fragility of Women's Gender Activism in Turkey" by Deniz Kandiyoti (2019), "A Militant Rather than Scientific Research Object: Social Movement Studies in Turkey" by Ayşen Uysal (2016), "Women and the Paternal State: A Maternalist Frame for Gender Equality" by Pınar Melis Yelsalı Parmaksız (2017), "'These are ordinary things': Regulation of Death under the AKP Regime" by Onur Bakıner (2019), "The Politics of Art and Censorship" by Banu Karaca (2021), "Documentaries of Outrage" by Olivia Landry (2021), and "Public Memory as Political Battleground: Kemalist and Islamist Versions of the Early Republic" by Esra Özyürek (2006).

¹⁷⁰ <https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/Arama/Sonuc?q=cumartesi+anneleri> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

These book chapters and articles have in common defining the Saturday Mothers as either being in the Kurdish movement or civil rights activism – both of which are debatable and have important differences from the interviews conducted in this research as is discussed in the previous chapter.

2.7.4. Human Rights Associations

There are numerous documents about the Saturday Mothers in the archives of İHD. In the archive of İHD, there are 75 reports and public releases in Turkish¹⁷¹. There are also 30 documents and reports in English¹⁷². On İHOP's website, there are five contents on the Saturday Mothers all of which are about how illegitimate the Saturday Mothers struggle is in terms of human rights¹⁷³. All these documents are prepared by human rights activists and lawyers containing legal details such as court quotations. Not only did the relatives of the forcibly disappeared who have Kurdish or left-wing backgrounds apply to İHD but the relatives of non-political disappearances, the ones who have ultra-nationalist backgrounds such as MHP, who are from ultra-Islamist sects such as Gülenism and Hezbollah, who are official village guards and specialised sergeants. It shows the Saturday Mothers' struggle is not a homogenous group but a diverse one, focusing on fundamental human rights. Although TIHV supports the Saturday Mothers' struggle in public, there are not many reports and statements on their website (only 3 pieces of news¹⁷⁴).

Failibelli.org (Perpetrator Not-Unknown) is a website that monitors trials on human rights. On the website, there are numerous monitoring reports about the forcibly disappeared and/or unidentified murders. They watch the trials including the Saturday Mothers' cases and write reports about them. There are five reports on the website giving details about the Saturday Mothers trial after 2018¹⁷⁵.

¹⁷¹ <https://www.ihd.org.tr/?s=cumartesi+anneleri> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

¹⁷² <https://ihd.org.tr/en/?s=saturday+mothers> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

¹⁷³ <https://ihop.org.tr/?s=cumartesi+anneleri> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

¹⁷⁴ <https://tihv.org.tr/?s=cumartesi+anneleri> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

¹⁷⁵ <https://www.failibelli.org/?s=cumartesi+anneleri> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

Although they are mostly specified with the LGBTQI+, gender, and queer issues, KaosGL published a release criticising the ban of Galatasaray Square for the meetings by the authorities on the grounds that it is a touristic place. The Saturday Mothers are seen as the people whose rights are violated which proves that KaosGL supports the struggle¹⁷⁶.

Another human rights association in Turkey, MAZLUM-DER, never mentions the Saturday Mothers especially after 2014 when the association was integrated with the government. The government's official human rights organisation TIHEK's website also does not have any information about the Saturday Mothers' struggle. Both organisations show that if an organisation is under the effect of the government or is directly constructed by the government, it is impossible to include your voice and criticism against the authorities. For example, the Diyarbakır branch of MAZLUM-DER was closed, and all the opponents such as Ayhan Bilgen and Ömer Faruk Gergerlioğlu were forced to leave the association. It is an important sign in demonstrating how the hypocrisy of the authorities is. Both organisations have been working mostly on the issues related to Islamophobia and liberal rights, such as children's rights and women and work in terms of human rights.

Amnesty International supports the Saturday Mothers, as well. It shares reports and joint public statements on the trials to inform the international media about the Saturday Mothers and the violation of their rights. Amnesty International tries to put pressure on the government to force it to provide the right to demonstrate and the right to live as well as their freedom of speech. Moreover, there are more reports and statements on Amnesty International Turkey's website in Turkish underlining the importance of the right to demonstrate¹⁷⁷.

Lastly, Hakikat, Adalet, Hafıza Merkezi (Center for Truth, Justice, Memory) has a big archive of the enforced disappearances. Not only does the centre publish reports, news, and

¹⁷⁶ <https://kaosgl.org/haber/kronoloji-adinda-insan-haklari-ve-esitlik-olan-bir-kurumun-lgbti-haklari-karsitligi> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

¹⁷⁷ <https://www.amnesty.org/en/search/cumartesi%20anneleri/> (Accessed 14.4.2022)
<https://www.amnesty.org/en/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/EUR4438902021ENGLISH.pdf> (Accessed 14.4.2022)
<https://www.amnesty.org/en/search/saturday%20mothers/page/2/> (Accessed 14.4.2022)
<https://www.amnesty.org.tr/arama?q=cumartesi%20anneleri&page=2> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

statements but educational videos and booklets on various human rights and how to be an activist. Regarding the Saturday Mothers, they organize/coordinate training programmes such as documentation training programmes for human rights violations¹⁷⁸, memorial, museum, and memory workshops, and human rights monitoring. They also publish their scientific research findings on their website.

The Center works in four main fields: memory and peace studies, tackling impunity, supporting human rights defenders and organisations, and international cooperation and solidarity. All of their projects are somehow related to the Saturday Mothers' struggle including “Memory and Youth”, “Strengthening Advocacy and Youth”, “Increasing the Role and Protection of HRDs in Turkey”, “Memorialize Turkey”, “Defending Peace in Difficult Times”, “Any Hopes for Truth?”, “Video Series: Documentation for Rights Defenders”, “Hackathon: Telling Stories of Enforced Disappearances”, “Database on Enforced Disappearances”, “Regional Network for Historical Dialogue and Dealing with the Past”, “Poster Campaign: Where Are the Disappeared?”, “Curfews and Civilian Deaths in Turkey”, “Towards a Blueprint for Reconciliation: Engaging the Civil Society and Capacity Building I-II”, and “Learning from the Past, Changing Today”. All these contribute both to the development and capacity building of human rights in Turkey and definitions of the concepts of truth, memory, reconciliation, dialogue, and disappearances. It can be said that the Center has been doing much more scientific research in the field of human rights in theory and practice than human rights centres at universities. Specifically, the research titled "A Comparative Analysis of Enforced Disappearances and the Missing in Middle East, North Africa, and the Caucasus" is a comparative one describing the enforced disappearances giving the background, patterns of crime, legal situation, memorialisation efforts, and individual stories which makes the research comprehensive and valid¹⁷⁹.

¹⁷⁸ With participation of the activists from Afghanistan, Nepal, and Turkey, 2011.

¹⁷⁹ <https://enforceddisappearances.dealingwiththepast.org/turkey/> (Accessed 22.4.2022)

2.7.5. Awards

There are several international and local awards given the Saturday Mothers for their struggle. Carl von Ossietzky Human Rights Medal was one of them awarded to the Saturday Mothers in 1996 for their courage¹⁸⁰. In addition, the Saturday Mothers were awarded by PEN in 2019 claiming that “we thought it would very natural and meaningful to present the award to the Saturday Mothers for their resistance as a women's protest and its continuity¹⁸¹.” SODEV (Social Democracy Association) awarded Berfo Kırbayır in the name of the Saturday Mothers by giving Human Rights, Democracy, Peace, and Solidarity Award in 2013. SODEV explained the rationale by stating that the Saturday Mothers have been continuing their struggle for an issue that is on people's conscience. The Saturday Mothers also took the International Hrant Dink Award in 2013 for their contribution to the human rights movement in Turkey. In addition, Ötekilerin Postası (The Mail of the Others) awarded the Saturday Mothers with the Pomegranate Seeds Award by describing them as "the mothers who are far from discrimination, marginalisation, racism, violence and who work for a freer and fairer world, who risk themselves for their ideals, who are game changers using the language of peace, and who give inspiration and hope to the ones who are struggling in the human rights movement¹⁸²."

Apart from these, the protest folk singer Ahmet Kaya took his award for the "Best Male Singer of Turkey" in the category of folk music in the name of the Saturday Mothers in 1996. Also, the director of the movie *Mold*, Ali Aydın dedicated the Lion of the Future Award at Venice Film Festival in 2012 to the Saturday Mothers for they never give up searching for their children¹⁸³.

¹⁸⁰ In the official website, the mothers are defined as "The Saturday Women of İstanbul". It shows the term "mother" is added and admitted internationally later.

¹⁸¹ <http://www.pen.org.tr/kategori/oduller/2015/2019-pen-duygu-asena-odulunun-cumartesi-annelerine-verdik>. (Accessed 14.4.2022)

¹⁸² The website has been banned by the government.

¹⁸³ <https://bianet.org/biamag/yasam/159433-cumartesi-ye-oduller-muzikler-filmler-kitaplar> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

2.7.6. Arts: Exhibitions and Cartoons¹⁸⁴

The first example of the exhibition is "Yürüyen Sergi" ("Live Exhibition That Walk") for the 477th week in 2014. The Saturday Mothers and activists walked from Galatasaray to İHD by keeping the photos of forcibly disappeared people in their hands. To walk as an action verb refers that the people in the photos exist and are embodied with the photo holder.

Similarly, Ahmet Murat Aytaç, a photographer from Turkey, relates photography with rights activism. A photographer makes human rights violations visible through photographs showing that all these exist. In order to be able to construct a collective memory, visual images are important. In the photographs, the forcibly disappeared are represented by their faces which are the most recognizable parts of their bodies (Aytaç, 2019¹⁸⁵). That is why the photographs are crucial elements in the Saturday Mothers' struggle.

Another example of the exhibitions about the Saturday Mothers is "The Disappeared under Custody: The Saturday Mothers/People Documentary Photographs" (2013-2014) organised by AFSAD (Social Realist Atelier of Documentary Photography) and Human Rights Association, Istanbul Branch the Commission against the Forcibly Disappeared¹⁸⁶ and prepared by Mehmet Özer.

¹⁸⁴ For a photo archive, please refer to <http://www.bianet.org/galeri/400-kez-galatasaray-da> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

¹⁸⁵ Ahmet Murat Aytaç, 2019, "Kayıpların yüzleri: İnsan haklarını fotoğraflamak" Gazete Duvar. <https://www.gazeteduvar.com.tr/yazarlar/2019/07/25/kayıpların-yüzleri-insan-haklarını-fotoğraflamak> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

¹⁸⁶ The project was coordinated by Mehmet Özer, and many artists participated: Alpaslan Koçak, Aygün Doğan, Birgül Şahin, İliz Sönmez, Gökhan Eren Kamer, Hasan Aytekin, Herdem Doğrul, Kadir Celep, Kemal Çankaya, Lale Bektaş, Mazlum Örmek, Murat Kıcı, Mustafa Eser, Mustafa Özol, Özlem Eser, Sinem Esengen ve Zeynep Yıldız



Figure 50: A Photo from the Exhibition

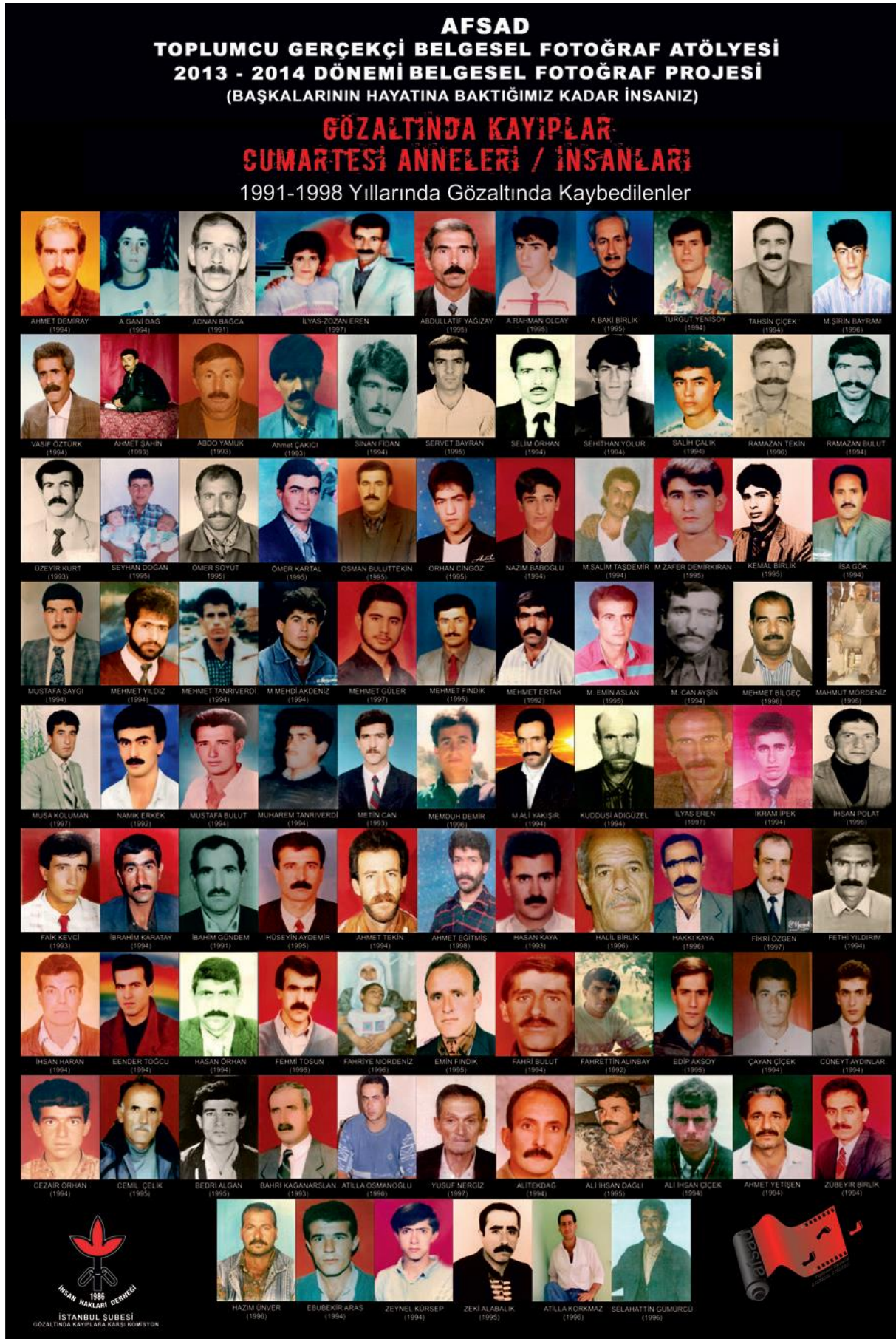


Figure 51: From the Book: The Forcibly Disappeared between 1991-1998

The subtitles are “History Mourns”, “The forcibly Disappeared of 1915”, “The Disappeared in the Darkness of September”, “The Disappeared Children under Custody”, “The Disappeared Women under Custody”, “Those Growing Up in the September Square”, “A Saturday Story”. However, another example, The Enforced Disappearances: The Saturday Mothers” exhibition was banned in Datça in 2018. Süleyman Bülbül, the Parliament member of CHP, declared a parliamentary question asking why it has been banned by the Turkish authorities although the exhibition was held before in Diyarbakır, Ankara, and İstanbul¹⁸⁷. The book of the exhibition can be evaluated as an archive of memory studies in terms of enforced disappearances.

In addition to these, the exhibition titled "Fotoğrafi Kaldırmak" (Putting Aside the Photo") by Hafıza Merkezi in 2014 portrays the Saturday Mothers who bring their beloved ones' photos with them to the Galatasaray Square. The focus is on what these women do with these photos when they return to their homes, e.g., where they put them and how they feel then about the photos. Namely, the exhibition investigates the relationship between the women, emotions, and photos as their forcibly disappeared relatives' replicas.

All these exhibitions contribute to the Saturday Mothers' struggle by making their protests permanent through arts.

¹⁸⁷ <https://susma24.com/cumartesi-annelerinin-yasakli-sergisi-meclis-gundeminde/> (Accessed 14.4.2022)
For the poster of the exhibition please refer to <https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=2182512891818793&set=afsad-toplumcu-ger%C3%A7ek%C3%A7i-belgesel-foto%C4%9Fraf-at%C3%B6lyesi-ihd-istanbul-%C5%9Fubesi-g%C3%B6zaltind> (Accessed 14.4.2022)



Figure 52¹⁸⁸: Cartoon by Carlos Latuff (2009)

Regarding the cartoons, Carlos Latuff's cartoon can be the first example. In Latuff's cartoon in 2009, the crying and desperate mother, red carnation, and faceless photo symbolize the Saturday Mothers' struggle. The police officer with bloody hands is portrayed in dark, although the mother wears a white scarf. Despite the fact that Latuff sympathizes with the Saturday Mothers, the symbolism does not reflect the struggle well. The mothers hold their beloved's photos every Saturday in their hands with their faces. Showing their faces is an important motive in the struggle to make them exist, and they were alive. They have

¹⁸⁸ <https://twitter.com/latuffcartoons/status/729364283109322753> (Accessed 22.4.2022)

identities. However, in the cartoon, there is no face underlining the lack of identity. In addition, it can be perceived that all the forcibly disappeared are men although there are women who were forcibly disappeared, as well. Similarly, the white scarf does not symbolize the Saturday Mothers but the Peace Mothers who are different from the Saturday Mothers and are related to the Kurdish issue. Finally, although pain, grief, and mourning are among the key terms in the struggle, they are not mainly desperate but hopeful, insistent, and active. They are never afraid of the police force.

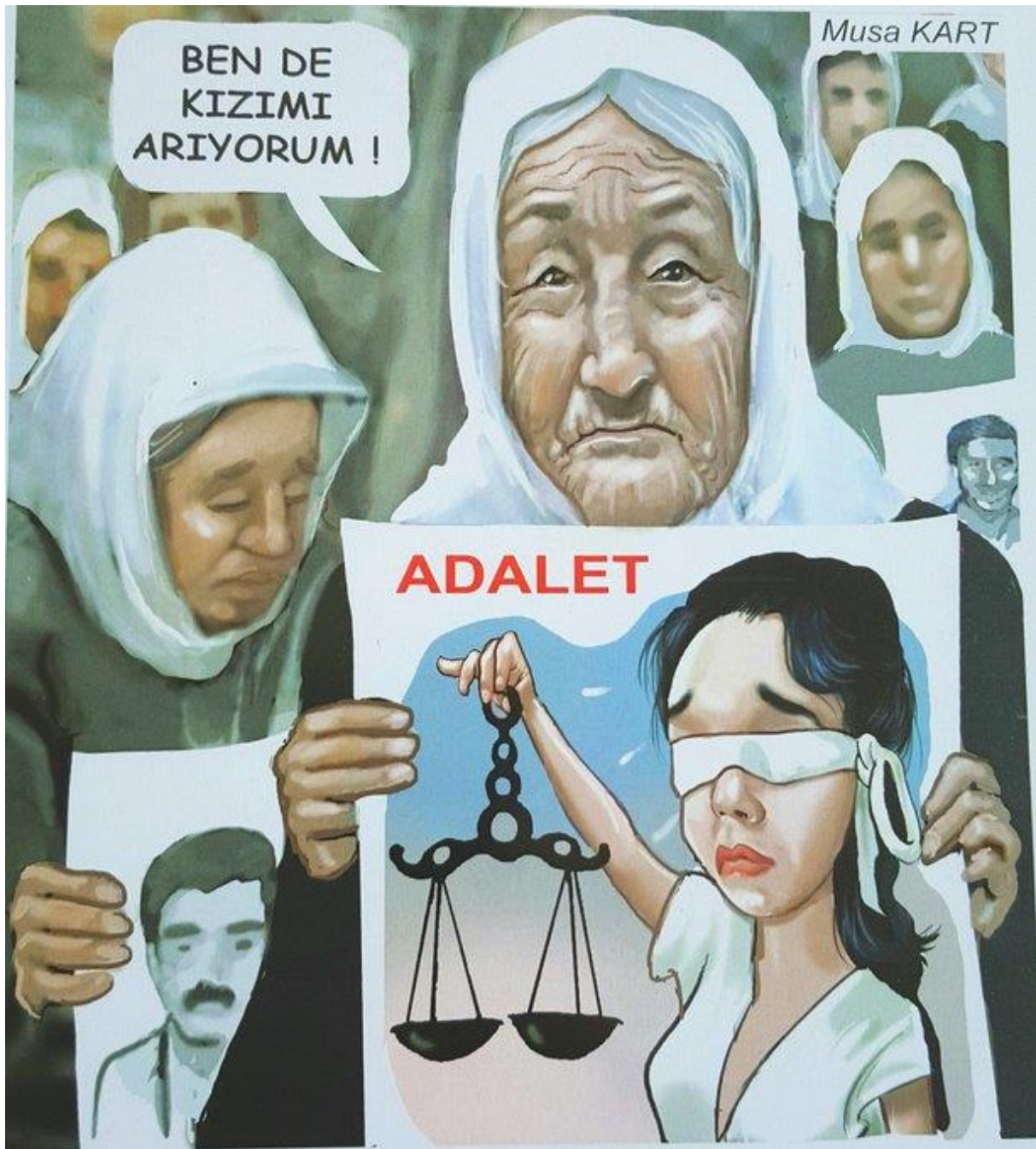


Figure 53¹⁸⁹: Cartoon by Musa Kart (2020), The woman says, "I am looking for my daughter." On the photo, it writes "justice".

In the second cartoon by Musa kart (2020), there are women with white scarfs and photos of the forcibly disappeared in their hands. One of them is Hasan Ocak. A woman looks very sad, but others are not clear. The woman in the front has the photo of a woman symbolizing Nike, the goddess of justice. Kart refers to injustice in Turkey in the issue of enforced disappearance. Similar to the previous cartoon above, Kart mistakenly portrays the

¹⁸⁹ <https://twitter.com/musakart/status/1304749807173541888?lang=en> (Accessed 22.4.2022)

Saturday Mothers as if they were the Peace Mothers although these are different groups. The Saturday Mothers movement has never had a dress code.



Cumartesi Anneleri'nin Galatasaray meydanında toplanma yasağına karşı açılan davanın 2. duruşması 12 Temmuzda görülecek...

Figure 54¹⁹⁰: Cartoon by Aslan Özdemir (2021)

Lastly, In Lemman's front-page cartoon, the cartoonist Aslan Özdemir (2021) criticizes the Court. It writes "Saturday Mothers 850th Week" on the banner. They say "Now that you banned the square, then let's ask you! The perpetrators are apparent; where are our forcibly disappeared?" The floor is the same. In the subheading, "Second trial of the case against the ban of the Saturday Mothers' demonstration at the Galatasaray Square will be held on July the 12th."

¹⁹⁰ <https://twitter.com/lemandergisi/status/1414289474557825027> (Accessed 22.4.2022)

It can be concluded that although the cartoons sympathize with the struggle, they mainly and mistakenly portray the Saturday Mothers by using specific dress codes, symbols, and descriptions.

2.7.7. Plays

The first play on the Saturday Mothers to be mentioned is *Küskün Yüreklerin Türküsü (The Ballad of Bitter Hearts)*, a docu-fiction. Metin Balay, the director, states that he wrote eight ballads converted by Berat Günçikan's interviews. "This grief and pain could be written best in the form of a ballad. ... I wrote the ballad because of shame. I felt ashamed of all these things. If you want to free yourself, you have to get rid of the trick that all systems go. This is a common shame. You can do something only if you are sensible¹⁹¹" (2021). Similarly, the script writer Eraslan Sağlam told that the docu-fiction transformed him. He says that "art is for society's sake¹⁹²" (2021).

Similar to Balay's docu-fiction, Ufuk Tan Altunkaya's play *Bizde Yok (S/He Is Not with Us)* (2012) uses theatre for a Brechtian aim. Altunkaya states that "theatre is a poke, awakening; to open a window with our poke and awakening. It may be like showing a small hole. It is to ask people for widening the hole¹⁹³." In the play, Altunkaya tells the history of the Saturday Mothers to heal and be able to heal the collective wounds by memorializing enforced disappearances through art tools.

2.7.8. International Mainstream Media

There are numerous pieces of news about the Saturday Mothers from different parts of the world most of which support the struggle and make their claims and demands be heard internationally. Among these are:

¹⁹¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gh8DQmWpEcc&t=1873s> (Accessed 22.4.2022)

¹⁹² <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gh8DQmWpEcc&t=1873s> (Accessed 22.4.2022)

¹⁹³ <https://hakikatadalethafiza.org/bir-durtmedir-tiyatro-bir-uyandirmadir/> (Accessed 22.4.2022)

- “100 Women: The Saturday Mothers” by Rengin Arslan (2013), an episode for the BBC series telling the history of the struggle¹⁹⁴.
- BBC News released news about the violence against the Saturday Mothers in 2018, titled “Turkey police fired tear gas at mothers’ protest¹⁹⁵”. In the title, the doer is defined as the “Turkey police” who uses power to violate the peaceful protest of the mothers. The semantics of the news seems that BBC News is in favour of the struggle. However, there is not any news about the mothers on the website which makes the news mentioned above exceptional.
- AFPBB News broadcasting in Japanese released news about the Saturday Mothers. Although it uses a positive language about the struggle, it has related the struggle to the Kurdish movement which is opposed by the mothers and the activists¹⁹⁶.
- There is no news about the Saturday Mothers on CNN websites; however, there are a couple of statements in the New York Times in favour of the struggle claiming that it is a human right to demonstrate at the Galatasaray Square¹⁹⁷.
- In addition to the mainstream organisations mentioned above, newspapers and magazines are reporting about the struggle such as Jacobin (USA), The Canary (UK), Stockholm Center for Freedom (Sweden), Counterfire (UK), and Nordic Monitor (Sweden).

2.7.9. National Media Who Release Regular News about the Saturday Mothers

Bianet (International Communication Network) is an Internet news channel based in Turkey. Since 1995, it has been releasing news about the Saturday Mothers. It makes the channel an important archive and memory source. There are thousands of news items released on the website related to the struggle including weekly meetings, public statements, reports, research

¹⁹⁴ https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2013/10/131020_cumartesi_anneleri_rengin (Accessed 14.4.2022)

¹⁹⁵ <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-45311134> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

¹⁹⁶ <https://www.afpbb.com/articles/-/3188128?pid=20479434> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

¹⁹⁷ <https://www.nytimes.com/search?dropmab=false&query=saturday%20mothers%20turkey&sort=best> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

findings, activities and events about the mothers, interviews, and trials. The project coordinator Nadire Mater, one of the founders of Bianet, was one of the few people shaping the Saturday Mothers struggle in 1995 and has been a Saturday Mothers activist. *Gazete Duvar* (Newspaper Wall) is another online newspaper having news about the struggle (approximately 100 pieces of news¹⁹⁸).

There are also thousands of news items about the Saturday Mothers between 1995 and 2022 in most mainstream newspapers. Although there is a negative attitude towards the mothers and the struggle in right-wing newspapers by labelling them "separatists" or "the mothers of terrorists", there is a generally positive attitude in left-wing media and/or independent media channels. In these newspapers and online news platforms, the most emphasized words are "memory work", "disappearance", "home", "call for political ethics", "peace", "whereabouts", "law", "constitutional right", "where?", "justice", "mother-child", "dignity", "shame", "grief", "Galatasaray as a cemetery", "resistance", and "impunity", all of which reflect the Saturday Mothers' demands. The Galatasaray Square is portrayed as a place of memory, disobedience, and globalisation¹⁹⁹ in terms of the interrelationship with the similar movements from different geographies of the world.

2.7.10. Movies, Episodes from the Mainstream Series, Books, and Magazines

- *Boran* is a movie directed by Hüseyin Karabey in 1999. The Saturday Mothers Emine Ocak, Elif Tekin, and Zübeyde Tepe are the main characters in the movie who are searching for their sons. The film has docu-drama features in which there are real scenes from the protests as well as fictitious shootings.

¹⁹⁸ One of them is about my presentation about the Saturday Mothers presented in the TİHV international conference, written by the journalist Ferhat Yaşar titled "Eren Alkan: The Saturday Mothers Spoiled the Game" (trans. by me). For the news, please refer to <https://www.gazeteduvar.com.tr/eren-alkan-cumartesi-anneleri-devletin-oyununu-bozdu-haber-1523039> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

¹⁹⁹<https://bianet.org/bianet/insan-haklari/160801-galatasaray-hafiza-itaatsizlik-ve-kuresellesmenin-mekani> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

- *Hiçbiryerde (Nowhere)* is another movie directed by one of the leading directors from Turkey, Tayfun Pirseliimoğlu in 2002. In the movie, the main character, the mother, is trying to find her son but never succeeds. Pirseliimoğlu portrays the mother's psychological and existential questioning of the whereabouts of her son. The mother even questions if she is a mother or not, in reality.
- *Küf (Mold)* is an international award-winning film directed by Ali Aydın in 2012 which is similar to *Nowhere* but from a father's point of view.
- *Berxwedana 33 salan - Dayika Berfo (33-Year-Resistance - Mother Berfo)* is a movie in which both human rights violations during the 12 September 1980 coup d'état and the story of Berfo Kırbayır who tried to find his son Cemil Kırbayır for 33 years. The film was directed by Veysi Altay in 2014.
- In an episode from the popular Turkish series *Behzat Ç.*, the police officer Behzat sees the Saturday Mothers on the street and then talks to one of them in the police station. The mother asks him to find her forcibly disappeared son. He replies by promising that he will do his best. In another popular series *Bir Çocuk Sevdim (I Loved a Boy)*, the main character's mother, who is a journalist, attends one of the meetings at Galatasaray and supports the Saturday Mothers. These two episodes help the primetime audience to sympathize with the Saturday Mothers' struggle²⁰⁰.
- The magazines titled *Pazartesi (Monday)* and *Aktüel (Actual)* reported about the Saturday Mothers in 1996. Both sympathize with the mothers. They claim that it is not necessary to be a mother to participate in the support. Especially in *Aktüel*, the interviews with two popular women in popular culture in Turkey, singer Sezen Aksu and actress Gülriz Sururi helped the Saturday Mothers be visible. To conclude, when

²⁰⁰ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UzDa4aRmR1s> (Accessed 14.4.2022)
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=soSxFgC_zmQ (Accessed 14.4.2022)

celebrities mention and/or support them, their visibility increases in Turkish media in a positive way.

- The books about the Saturday Mothers are not many. There are no books or movies about the Saturday Mothers written or directed by very well-known authors/directors. However, several journalists, intellectuals, and photographers wrote about them. These people are also the Saturday Mothers activists. Among these books are *Cumartesi Anneleri (The Saturday Mothers)* by Berat Günçikan (1996), *Gözaltında Kayıp Onu Unutma (S/He Is Forcibly Disappeared, Do Not Forget Her/Him)* by Yıldırım Türker (1995), *Cumartesi Anneleri: Anımsamanın Zaferi (Saturday Mothers: The Victory of Memory)* by Aydın Öztürk, *Cumartesi Anneleri Fotoğraf Albümü (Saturday Mothers Photo Album)* by Aclan Uraz, *Anne Bugün Cumartesi (Mother, It Is Saturday Today)* by Şükriye Ercan (2013), *Gözlerim Kayıp (My Eyes Are Disappeared)* by Hatice Akdoğan (2000), *5. Uluslararası Gözaltında Kayıplar Kurultayı (Fifth International Congress of the Forcibly Disappeared)* compiled by Özlem Gümüştâ (2006), *Karanlık Vardiya: 90'lı Yılların Politik Arşivi (Dark Shift: Political Archive of the 1990s)* by Ali Yılmaz (2015), and *Konferanslar: Hikâyemi Dinler misin? Tanıklıklarla Türkiye'de İnsan Hakları ve Sivil Toplum (Conferences: Do You Like to Listen to My Story? Human Rights and Civil Society in Turkey)* edited by Akın Yılmaz. All these media contribute to spreading the Saturday Mothers' word nationally and internationally.

3. Discussion

“[d]ocuments prove valuable not only because of what can be learned directly from them but also as a stimulus for paths of inquiry that can be pursued only through direct observation and interviewing” as it is seen from the diverse range of media about the Saturday Mothers

(Patton, 2002, p. 294). As analysed above, the public statement of the 850th week²⁰¹ summarizes why and what they do at Galatasaray. The families of the forcibly disappeared faced denial in public enterprises. All the trials resulted in impunity. That is why they started to go to the Galatasaray Square to make their voice be heard, to tell what happened and what their demands are, and to be visible by taking their beloved's photos and red carnations in their hands on Saturday at Taksim, İstanbul because it is the most crowded place at that time. In the 500th, 600th, and 700th weeks, the Saturday Mothers Collectives were formed to make their voice louder abroad, such as in France, Holland, Australia, Germany, Belgium, Canada, Austria, the USA, Spain, and the UK. So, what can be concluded through these documents?

Photos from the Video



²⁰¹ <https://www.gazeteduvar.com.tr/cumartesi-anneleri-neden-galatasarayaya-ciktik-haber-1528141> (Accessed 14.4.2022)



Son Darbe 28 Şubat Belgeseli - 4.Bölüm (4/12)

83,008 views • Feb 25, 2013

👍 96 🗨️ 12 ➦ SHARE ≡+ SAVE ...



Son Darbe 28 Şubat Belgeseli - 4.Bölüm (4/12)

83,008 views • Feb 25, 2013

👍 96 🗨️ 12 ➦ SHARE ≡+ SAVE ...



Son Darbe 28 Şubat Belgeseli - 4.Bölüm (4/12)

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Son Darbe 28 Şubat Belgeseli - 4.Bölüm (4/12)

83,008 views • Feb 25, 2013

👍 96 💬 12 ➦ SHARE ≡ SAVE ...

Figures 55-56-57-58-59: Screen Shots from the Documentary "Son Darbe 28 Şubat"

What is "human" about human rights can be the first question to be answered. In the context of the Saturday Mothers' struggle, human refers to existence and memory both physically and psychologically. The mothers have been in silence during the protests while one of them is speaking on the microphone telling her story about an enforced disappearance. It is probably silence that creates and unites the women's protest as a manifestation against the authoritarian voices of power. Each woman has her own story to tell, and the narration of these stories is coloured by their emotions. Sarah Ahmed explains that emotion is a feeling that moves, and it can be concluded in two different ways: personal and individual emotions when they are treated by psychologists are thought to move inside and are then put into words or tears, laughter, or other languages of the *body*. Social emotions would move from person to person in a crowd, such as through a radio programme, a film, and a political speech. In this case, the emotions flow from individual to individual and influence them into acting upon orders, influencing them to be part of a movement. The social emotion that moves from person to person can also be positive: influencing and promoting love, friendship, and solidarity. In these document analyses, the mothers show how motherhood has transformed and how wives, children, male relatives, and grandchildren use motherhood. Sarah Ahmed shows how it becomes a language that has the possibility of emotionally discriminating people, by making them abject.

Mostly known for her motto "the personal is theoretical", Sara Ahmed examines how gender equality and the politics of intersectionality have turned into a political pledge for governments but adds that the concept of "feminism" is still unacceptable and intolerable for them (Büyüktaş, 2018). This can be established in the speeches given by Erdoğan and Soyulu on the Saturday Mothers in different years as analysed above. Erdoğan's meeting with the Saturday Mothers was a political pledge through which he could gain popularity among both the Kurdish population and the EU countries. However, his mild attempts toward the issue of enforced disappearances seemed to be no more than a tool for his political purposes. On the

other hand, the Secretary of the Interior, Soylu, who was appointed by Erdoğan, explained that the Saturday Mothers misuse the concept of motherhood and serve the purposes of terrorism in Turkey. This shows how the government sees a women's movement as unacceptable and intolerable.

Sara Ahmed claims that feminist politics and women's movements are directly related to their personal experiences and how these experiences can join them in a collective struggle. She uses the term the "killjoy" feminist figure. Ahmed thinks that this figure reminds us how feminists are stigmatized because they prevent "happiness"; in other words, they become feminists because they are disappointed in their lives. From this perspective, the Saturday Mothers can be seen as "killjoy figures." Although they do not name themselves feminists, they are "killjoys" in terms of Ahmed's definition. They bring their personal experience into the public sphere and turn it into a collective struggle, which is the Saturday Mothers protests. Thus, they are against "fitting in an unequal world" (Ahmed, 2018, p. 63).

Ahmed also states how she was affected by feminists such as Simone de Beauvoir, Betty Friedan, and Audre Lorde, who criticized happiness because it legitimizes social norms as meta. That is why the concept of happiness should be challenged by women. That goal is released through a "happiness discourse" in all of the state institutions, primarily in family life. The family as an institution is the key element of society and the state consists of laying down essential roles that are fatherhood, motherhood, and children. The family, as a micro-unit of the state, is the site where social norms are recreated and reformed. At this point, the fundamental nutrition of the family is happiness. If all the family members obey the rules, then happiness is a result. However, if a "killjoy" states trouble clearly, she turns into the trouble itself; she becomes a troublemaker. Ahmed sees "white men" not as a group but as an institution that is formed and constructed according to the norms. Also, some women can be seen as norms that cause other women to become deviant (Ahmed, 2018, p. 71). These points of view make Soylu's speech clearer. The Saturday Mothers are seen as deviant because they

rebel against the discourse of happiness and, as "killjoys", they state their troubles in the public sphere which is related to their role in motherhood. Their political use of motherhood disturbs the government which is the top power of the patriarchal system. To sum up, the mothers are seen as troublemakers by the Turkish authority because they use their social identity to question the system which caused their children to disappear.

Sara Ahmed explains that “for [her], the challengers against violence in families, communities, and nations are the ones who teach us how to live more gently and inclusively and generously by disengagement” (Ahmed, 2018, p. 81) and asks, “what does feminism look like if we look through the lenses of women who are exposed to gender and domestic violence, which are linked to state racism and state violence” (Ahmed, 2018, p. 82). In terms of an intersectional view, the Saturday Mothers have been showing how protests can be violence-free, inclusive, and generous. They have been in the public sphere for almost 30 years. At present, they are under pressure, but as Ahmed points out, the governments use violence against these "killjoys" because they feel their state power is under threat. The power of the Saturday Mothers can be measured by the statesmen's fear of state retribution. Thus, it is dangerous to be under the pressure of state law, which makes collaboration a must. The Saturday Mothers show us that, despite all the state violence, they have transformed the role of motherhood by promoting it in the public sphere in a peaceful way.

In addition, emotions influence the surfaces and of bodies, making them either hard and tense or soft and fluid. “Bodies take the shape of the very contact they have with objects and others” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 1) Emotions divide people into them/us. Emotions *move*, and this is clear from the etymology of the word which refers to Latin *emovere* which means to move or to move out. In these examples, “being” is constructed by “feeling”, and this construct is gendered: “the soft national body is a feminised body, which is ‘penetrated’ or ‘invaded’ by others (2004, p. 2). To be passive is to be “enacted upon”; weakness is also defined as a tendency “to be shaped by others” (2004, p. 2) Thus, although reason and rational

thinking have been traditionally placed above emotions in hierarchic evolution theories, emotions also have a hierarchy. Some are ‘elevated,’ and others are ‘lower’ – all depending on whether they are weak or strong. Therefore, it is possible to understand that social hierarchies are kept in place if the emotions are likewise kept in place. Being *emotional* can be considered a characteristic of some bodies but not all bodies. The language of emotions is based on the assumption that they come from the inside/interiority. To conclude, emotions go from inside to outside. Ahmed calls this the “Inside-out” model and she criticizes this because this model sees emotions as being psychological states. The Saturday Mothers succeeds in using emotions as doers giving the struggle momentum, dynamism, and 'motion' as it is directly seen through various lenses of media tools.

PART V.II

THE SATURDAY MOTHERS ACTIVISTS

“Who would love whom without mothers,
you kept trust private which binds people to people”
From *Mothers' Hymn*, Gülten Akin²⁰²

1. About the Researcher's Diary

I kept a diary from January 1st, 2021, to May 22nd, 2021. That helped me to reflect on my emotions about the research as well as framing my thesis structure and remember the details of the meetings with my supervisors and mentors for validation and reliability of the interview questions and the details about the pre-interview processes. The diary showed me how doing qualitative research in the field of human rights is very tough, and the researcher has to be organized and has plans B and C.

2. About the Interviews: Credibility, Validity, and Reliability

All the subjects were sent a “Pre-Interview Information Form” prepared by me through email before the interviews. In the consent form, there is information about the researcher, supervisors, the aim of the research, research question, sub-questions, methodology, type of conduct, confidentiality, and contact²⁰³. The forms answer the questions such as what the purpose of collecting the information is, who the information is for, how it will be used, what will be asked in the interview, and if it will be confidential. The questions were evaluated by the specialists and my supervisors if they are open-ended, neutral, singular, and clear as Patton suggests (2002, p. 353).

Audience reviews such as credibility triangulation are provided by my supervisors and the Saturday Mothers activist Sebla Arcan²⁰⁴. This also provided face validity. An expert audit review has been conducted by field specialist Hale Alkan. I kept the methods that I used in the

²⁰² “Anneler olmasa kim kimi severdi
Saklı tuttun o insanı insana bağlayan güvenci” (trans. by me).
http://www.siir.gen.tr/siir/g/gulten_akin/anneler_ilahisi.htm (Accessed 4.4.2022)

²⁰³ All these documents can be asked from the researcher to be examined.

²⁰⁴ This paragraph applies to the next chapter, as well.

research and data in context for the research design check. The limitation of the interviews is as follows: the COVID-19 pandemic and travel restrictions, the political situation in Turkey, and many mothers who passed away. However, through purposeful sampling and thanks to the reference of my supervisor Prof. Dr. Şebnem Korur Fincancı and İHD, I could reach all the subjects that I intended to interview. In terms of considering investigator effects, I tested varieties of reactivity with the document analysis. In order to alleviate limitations and reactions, I talked to the subjects before the interviews, and we had also small talks. I gave details about my work and family in these small talks which increase the trust between the subjects and me. Regarding my self-reaction and preventing self-limitations, I took a break for a month after the Istanbul interviews. Although in traditional qualitative research privacy should be protected, and the real names and identities are never mentioned, and they are given codes; in humanitarian research, there are no codes but real identities with their consent to give them the opportunity to own their own stories. That is why I used the real names of the subjects in the research after their consent.

I triangulated the data using different data collection methods such as documents and interviews (triangulation of sources), multiple subjects to review findings like the subjects in the research and my mentor from TIHV (analyst triangulation), and multiple perspectives in interpreting the data as discussed in the methodology chapter (theory triangulation). I quoted directly to make the readers/audience take inside the research better. All these contributed to credibility. As for reciprocity, I just bought some snacks and food for the face-to-face interviews²⁰⁵. I tried to watch my voice tone and have eye contact with the subjects. Sebla Arcan often consulted me if the data are valid or not, especially in terms of documents.

As Robert Atkinson conceptualises, a "life story interview" (1998) causes the researcher to go through trauma and should protect her/himself (Coles, 1990; Manalo, 1999;

²⁰⁵ It is an important tradition in Turkey to bring some dessert or drinks when you go to somebody's home.

Graue and Walsh, 1998; Holmes, 1998; Greig and Taylor, 1998; Arditto, 1999; Arcana, 1981, 1983). That is why I preferred to have some consultations with my psychiatrist.

As for question types in the interviews, I used "experience and behaviour questions", "opinion and values questions", "feeling questions", "knowledge questions", "sensory questions", and "background questions". I put them in a logical order considering the aim of the interviews.

Through the interviews, I could enter into the Saturday Mothers and the Saturday Mothers activists' perspectives and gather their own personal stories (Patton, 2002, p. 341).

Legitimacy and credibility are provided by the forms and their feedback process. It is of great importance to be approved by the TIHV Academy where the professors from different fields study and consult on human rights.

The type of interview was more formal during the interviews with the activists. However, I used a more informal conversational interview method during the interviews with the Saturday Mothers. It means that I combined approaches in the data gathering process. The reasons why I used this type of interview: "The exact instrument used in the evaluation is available for inspection by those who will use the findings of the study. ... The interview is highly focused so that subject time is used efficiently. The analysis is facilitated by making responses easy to find and compare" (Patton, p. 346).

I also used process feedback during the interview which can be defined as "An interview is an interaction"; Kvale has emphasized this point by calling qualitative research interviews 'InterViews' to highlight that an interchange occurs, and a temporary interdependence is created" (1996, pp.74-75).

In addition, a "Consent Form" prepared by me was sent to the subjects including the consent of the subjects and the details about the confidentiality and the information that they could leave the research and ask for their data not to be used in the research whenever they wanted. The names and the date of the interview were also included in the form (see

Appendices). All these forms were checked by the supervisors and my mentor Dr. Güldem Özatağan.

The interview questions were not sent in advance but asked during the interviews. After I prepared the draft for questions, I sent them to three field specialists to provide validity and reliability. A specialist in curriculum and instruction Lec. Dilek Canlier, a specialist in qualitative research and sociology Dr. Lülüfer Körükmez, and a specialist in human rights movements and communication sciences Dr. Zeynep Özen Barkot examined the questions separately and sent me their feedback. I revised the draft after their feedback. After revising them, I sent them to my supervisors and got their feedback through a Zoom meeting (05.02.2021). Lastly, I sent the final draft to my mentor from TİHV Dr. Güldem Özatağan and had a Zoom meeting. I revised and finalised the questions and conducted my *pilot* interview with Gülseren Yoleri who is one of the few people involved in the Saturday Mothers' struggle since it started. After this interview, I revised some question structures and got the latest version. All this process contributed to the validity and reliability of the interview questions. I started preparing the questions on 15.12.2020 and I was able to conduct the first interview on 16.02.2021 which means it took me some time for validity and reliability. Generally, all the academicians involved in this process focused on the principle of not disturbing the subjects in terms of human rights due to the fact that the content and subject matter of the interviews are very sensitive.

After having a meeting with the supervisors, Prof. Şebnem Korur Fincancı recommended that I conduct interviews. As the head of TİHV, she perfectly knows human rights activists in Turkey and the Saturday Mothers' struggle in Turkey. I also searched on the Internet and took their names and noted who could be the best subjects being able to give information about the struggle. We chose seven activists. They all accepted when I contacted them thanks to Prof. Şebnem Korur Fincancı's reference. I had also added my CV link in the forms mentioned above. As it is a sensitive and political issue, it is not easy to contact and

convince the activists of my sincerity because they do not know me in the movement for, I have not participated in the struggle as an activist. I conducted interviews with Nadire Mater (journalist and human rights activist), Nimet Tanrikulu (human rights activist), Eren Keskin (lawyer and human rights activist), and Şanar Yurdatapan (script/songwriter, journalist, human rights activist), and Sebla Arcan (human rights activist). Although I contacted Leman Yurtsever (human rights activist) and Sezgin Tanrikulu (the Parliament member of CHP, lawyer, human rights activist), we could not meet due to health and busy schedule problems. All these people were involved in the Saturday Mothers' struggle in the beginning in 1995 which was valuable contribution to this research. These activists are also widely-known in human rights movements in the world. They were also in their houses' study room while having the interview.

I conducted all the interviews through Zoom. I was in my home and conducted the interviews in the most silent place inside the home. There were not any interruptions such as electricity or the Internet connection problems. I recorded all the interviews with the subject's permission and transcribed them. I partly used a software programme, MAXQDA 2020 but mostly did it all by myself due to the sensitive content of the interviews and security issues. I sent the transcriptions to the subjects for feedback or any changes, and they returned the transcriptions with their comments. I analysed the data after their feedback²⁰⁶.

I also participated in the TİHV Academia in the 2020-2021 academic year with reference to Prof. Fincancı and had webinars from the professors²⁰⁷ who are the notable academicians in Turkey in social sciences and human rights.

²⁰⁶ I wrote a footnote in the transcription before sending it to the subject saying that “the transcription is raw data, written as it is heard. Please, highlight the places with red that you would like to change, erase any sentences or those not to be used, and send it back to me. After your approval, codes and themes are found and interpreted.”

²⁰⁷ I presented the scope of the research and got feedback from Prof. Dr. Nilgün Toker, Dr. Zeynep Özen Barkot, Dr. Nermin Biter, Lec. Cansu Akbaş Demirel, Dr. Aslı Davas, Dr. Lülüfer Körükmez, Dr. Hanifi Kurt, Dr. Güldem Özatağan, Prof. Dr. Zerrin Kurtoğlu, Prof. Dr. Feride Aksu Tanık, and Dr. Serdar Tekin. The main concern of the academia is how a researcher should conduct research in the field of human rights. I took research ethics committee approval from TİHV Academia for this chapter of the research. The reference document proving that I participated in the programme is also archived in my computer.

I preferred to include the subjects' real identities after taking their oral consent which is of great importance to be the active doers in the research as it is explained in the methodology chapter.

3. Findings and Data Analysis^{208 209}

Name-Surname	Interview Date	Interview Medium	Duration	Transcription Date
Nadire Mater	16.02.2021	Zoom	1 hour 3 min. 12 sec.	13.04.2021
Nimet Tanrikulu	21.02.2021	Zoom	1 hour 14 min. 08 sec.	12.05.2021
Eren Keskin	28.02.2021	Zoom	30 min. 50 sec.	02.05.2021
Şanar Yurdatapaan	04.03.2021	Zoom	39 min. 40 sec.	12.05.2021
Sebla Arcan	10.10.2021	Zoom	2 hours 09 min. 42 sec.	15.10.2021
16 days + 1 day Total: 5 hours 37 min. 32 sec.				

Table 15: Tag for the Interviews with the Saturday Mothers Activists

3. 1. Aim of the Interviews: Within the scope of the research question and through the interviews with the subjects who are directly involved in the movement, I aimed to learn the history of the Saturday Mothers, within which framework they support the struggle, and how they define and position the Saturday Mothers in the history of social struggle in Turkey. All the interviews were conducted in the Turkish language.

3.2. Interview Questions

There are 8 basic questions and 12 probes. I did not ask the questions word by word but used the same structure. I sometimes had to change the order of the questions when the subject covered different questions which did not harm the general construction of the interview. All the subjects accepted the interviews being recorded, opened their cameras, and talked heartily and frankly. Only Gülseren Yoleri (the pilot interview) did not want to open her camera because she told me it is a very sensitive issue for her to be able to talk about the Saturday Mothers without tears. All the subjects also told me that they would do whatever they can for me such as document sharing and contact with other activists which proves that they believe

²⁰⁸ That part of the thesis was supported by the TIHV Academia Human Rights Programme.

²⁰⁹ I did not add the transcription and field notes in the Appendices due to data security.

in and have trust in me and the research. This is an important sign that increases the reliability of the interviews. The interview questions are as follows:

BASIC QUESTION 1: <i>[A short introduction according to the interviewee.] When and how have you been involved in the struggle of the Saturday Mothers?</i>
BASIC QUESTION 2: <i>Now, I would like to ask for the history of the Saturday Mothers.</i> Probe 1: First of all, how did the Saturday Mothers gather? Probe 2: What drove them to gather?
BASIC QUESTION 3: <i>Where does the name of the Saturday Mothers come from? Could you please tell the story of how they got this name?</i> Probe 1: How did the mothers show an approach to this name? How did they accept it? Probe 2: How has the name “Saturday Mothers” contributed to the struggle of the forced disappearance?
BASIC QUESTION 4: <i>So, has the struggle of the Saturday Mothers evolved in time?</i> (If any examples are needed) Probe 1: Who participates in the struggle of the Saturday Mothers? For example, the form of their gatherings? Participants? Probe 2: If so, how? Probe 3: Any changes in the discourse of the Saturday Mothers? Probe 4: For example, could they tell their demands between 1998-2009? How? Probe 5: And, since the 700th week?
BASIC QUESTION 5: <i>How has the government responded to the struggle of the Saturday Mothers?</i> Probe 1: What kind of hardships have the Saturday Mothers come across in their history of struggle?
BASIC QUESTION 6: <i>Have the people who were in solidarity and supported the struggle changed in time?</i>
BASIC QUESTION 7: <i>You have told the hardships that the Saturday Mothers came across. So, how have they struggled with all of these?</i> Probe 1: What do you think makes this continuity possible in the difficult struggle that has been going on for many years?
BASIC QUESTION 8: <i>Finally, how do you define this struggle which has been actively held for 27 years?</i> Probe 1: How can it be located in the social struggle history in Turkey?
<i>Anything you would like to add?</i> <i>Thank you very much for your contribution. I will stop recording if you don't mind.</i> <i>Closing</i>

Table 16: Interview Questions

All the participants were human rights activists and were in the field before the struggle started. So, all of them participated actively in the very first weeks of the struggle in 1995.

The main codes and themes of the interviews are stated below:

Main Codes	Themes
Name	Identity of the Saturday Mothers
Galatasaray	The common and concrete structure of the struggle
1995	The start of the struggle
Silence sitting at Galatasaray	Method of the struggle
Enforced disappearances	Coming together for the struggle against human rights violations
Emotions	Continuity

Support	Tools for spreading the word
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Table 17: Main Codes and Themes

3.2.1. The Name of the Struggle

The subjects stated that the struggle was named the Saturday Mothers by the press in Turkey.

Some subjects claimed that they prefer the Saturday People and/or The Relatives of the Forcibly Disappeared because there are fathers, sisters, wives, sons, and daughters as well as activists.

Nimet Tanrikulu: We tried to get rid of the code of motherhood by saying Saturday People questioning Saturday Mothers for there were wives, partners, fathers, children, sisters and brothers, friends. ... Although we signed the public statement as the Saturday People in 1996 June, we have been known as the Saturday Mothers. Different from Plaza, this is not a mother's protest. Mothers are not even the majority.

However, using "mother" is practical and usable as Nadire Mater claimed. Similarly, Şanar

Yurdatapan states that

the word 'mothers' is used, but they identify themselves as the 'relatives of the forcibly disappeared'. Everybody is there who comes to support them. We are also relatives. It is not important to have a kinship. ... We should not be obsessed with words. If a word is accepted, we should not try to change it. Naming them 'Saturday Mothers' is better. ... It is shocking.

Sebla Arcan thinks that the relatives should be in the front, not the activists.

Mothers of Plaza de Mayo came here at least four times. They told us that this [the Saturday Mothers' struggle] is different from ours. We are women there, but here there are fathers, brothers, and nephews. They told they had a division of labour. The men worked, and the women participated in the protest. That is why you do not see the fathers. Yet, there were fathers here. ... We suggested the Saturday People. However, society was attracted by motherhood maybe because they want to relate the struggle with themselves or justify the struggle to see it as legitimate. We continued to call them the Saturday Mothers/People.

Naming the struggle with the word 'people' refers to a kind that makes the term more neutral or 'cold'. However, naming it with the word 'mothers' helps the struggle to give an identity. When you use 'people', it is ambiguous: what kind of person? 'Mother' helps you to empathize with them. For example, you can ask 'what would I do if I were her?' That makes a person individualise the situation. You cannot do that with 'people'. Yet, the state does not care for it. Because this does not fit the motherhood which the state defines. It is out of an acceptable definition. It cannot be used as an apron. There is no mother here because there is no child according to the authorities.

Arcan also thinks that feminism supports the Saturday Mothers' struggle very little. That is because feminism does not struggle with state violence very much. Although there are feminists supporting the struggle and participating in the struggle as activists, feminist movements do not adopt the struggle as a whole. The Saturday Mothers never hide behind motherhood, but they resist patriarchy through motherhood. Motherhood is based on resistance. Therefore, the struggle gave a different perspective to the concept of motherhood, says Arcan.

3.2.2. The Meaning of Galatasaray and the Meetings

Two words that are shared by the activists are "insistence" and "politicization". According to them, gathering in a café after the meeting created socialization among them although lots of them have known each other since the 1980s thanks to left-wing organisations and the 12 September coup d'état. New friendships were transformed by protests. Second, Galatasaray is a peace movement for they resist war, and the meaning has been transformed from the football club (Galatasaray football club) to the sentence "I was at Galatasaray" which refers to the Saturday Mothers meeting in front of Galatasaray High School. Nimet Tanrikulu states that "They won a political identity. Galatasaray is a meeting point which makes women who are talking about dialogue, peace, human rights, democracy, being a woman." Galatasaray also means a space for memory, identity, civil disobedience, graveyard, and a meeting place with the forcibly disappeared for the majority of the subjects. The police attack can be seen as a metaphor that tries to erase the story. You should have a specific target to do that which is Galatasaray Square. In addition, Galatasaray is defined as a school: Many Saturday Mothers learnt to speak Turkish, learnt how to write and read. "They spoke everywhere, such as in Parliament, in big meeting rooms, abroad. ... At first, they used to speak against enforced disappearances, but now they can speak about Boğaziçi [protests] or the pandemic," says Nadire Mater. Likewise, Nimet Tanrikulu defines Galatasaray as "the place of globalization in

human rights: various languages sounded from there. ... Sharing happiness with the language of solidarity" which also often means a place where "you can be arrested and tortured." All of these inspired future human rights activism and movements. Nimet Tanrıku continues to define Galatasaray as follows:

Enforced disappearances ended. ... [Galatasaray is an] announcement of the forcibly disappeared in public, remembering, healing the wounds, confrontation, search for justice. People learned about the deep state. Everybody learned about enforced disappearances. Before that people never believed that a state disappears its citizen under custody. ... The longest civil disobedience movement in Turkey. A place where new methods and tools are tried for human rights. ... It changed the state politics on the enforced disappearances. It developed the human rights law in Turkey. It contributed to socialization and methods in politics and plurality. Gender and identity are also transformed. How could women have alternative politics? It continues from generation to generation. Transfusion of memory. At first, they [the mothers] did not care much about the international conventions, but today they question the police saying why they do not obey the international human rights and why they don't sign the convention. An important example for future movements and struggles.

Eren Keskin's definition supports the other activists' by saying "for me, it is the most naïve activism that has ever been developing, declaring the state crimes. ... The mothers always tell us that Saturday Square is the place where we can come together with our children for a moment. The most legitimate civil disobedience movement in this geography." Şanar Yurdatapan resembles the struggle of a glass of water filled by dribbling. It can cause a very big social and political change after very long years. Regarding Sebla Arcan, it is the place where they are getting older together seeing their children growing up there which means this is not just a protest but a motivation to expand the circle of family. Sebla Arcan thinks that Galatasaray is an existential issue. They transformed the enforced disappearance into a part of their real life at Galatasaray. Or they would have been destroyed. "It is a motivation of struggling with impunity. A parent who did not participate in the struggle passed away very early. The mothers at Galatasaray came together with their personal pain and grief. They turned that personality into socialization. They made it a part of their identity. They spread trauma from generation to generation like a stone on the water by transforming its resistance

and objection," says Arcan and continues, "If they had just spread trauma without transformation, they would have spread both trauma and despair. ... Galatasaray became a healing place." This shows the difference between a hospital where people are cured with medication and Galatasaray which is a self-healing place without any outer tools but emotions. From a Foucauldian perspective, Galatasaray is not a place like a hospital that sees the cases as "deviance" or "illness".

3.2.3 On How the Saturday Mothers Struggle Started

The information given by all the subjects affirmed the finding in the document analysis. The struggle started on 27 May 1995 with a small group of 10-15 human rights activists and the relatives. Before the start of the struggle, they were trying to find a way to do something against human rights violations during the conflict between Turkey and PKK in the 1990s. In the very first week, they gathered at the Square having several banners and they decided to be silent. Nadire Mater says that "We didn't want any other groups to take the protest from us because we do believe in our method of protest, and we didn't want it to be hegemonic, even the same for the İHD." Nimet Tanrikulu tells about the start by giving important details showing what the motivation was behind the struggle.

Several families had appealed to İHD for their relatives who had disappeared in the 1980s. The Saturday Mothers struggle had not started yet. Until the 1990s, we could not practice anything about the issue of the forcibly disappeared although there were many applications, and there were many examples from the early republican era such as Armenians (1915), Dersimians (1938), authors like Sabahattin Ali (disappeared in 1948). According to the İHD and Hafıza Merkezi, 1,352 people were forcibly disappeared after 12 September 1980. The 1990s were the years when the enforced disappearances became systematic, especially against the Kurdish people who were in the south-eastern cities and socialists in metropolitans like İstanbul, Ankara, Adana, Mersin, and İzmir. It was with the Saturday Mothers/People protests to make the forcibly disappeared public.

The idea came from women and feminist human rights activists. The missing body of Hasan Ocak was found 55 days later. While searching for him, Rıdvan Karakoç and Ayşenur Şimşek were found dead. Hasan's family could succeed to make their son's whereabouts public. After he was found, they gave a press release. After Hasan Ocak, a lot of families came to İHD. We thought that we should do something. We were inspired by Argentina. We, women, tried to find new methods such as music, silence, etc., which were all new to

the Turkish political agenda. The fact that the participants were all young makes it effective, too. The first participants knew each other from "Arkadaşıma Dokunma" ("Do Not Touch My Friend") to solidarize with the Kurdish women by having Kurdish nicknames such as "Roza" and "Dilan". Nadire Mater was one of them. Filiz [Koçali], Leman [Yurtsever], Ayşe [Günaysu], Berat [Günçikan]. Few men. The sex of the Galatasaray is female. ... The history of the Saturday People/Mothers' protest is the history of women's struggle.

3.2.4. The Method of the Struggle

The method of the struggle was considered new in Turkey. "The 90s were creative in terms of human rights struggle," says Nadire Mater. They decided to sit like the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo, but they later recognized that they misunderstood the method of these mothers in Argentina because the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo never sat but walked in a circle which makes the Saturday Mothers' method different by chance. Mater adds, "We invented that sitting style by mistake." They thought one hour was very long, so they decided it to be half an hour asking for the whereabouts of the disappeared and their memorization. "Galatasaray Square is a good location because lots of people pass by at noon. In a few months, it started to draw attention both positively and negatively." Şanar Yurdatapan describes the method as "This is organising without organisation. There is no voting. There is a speech every week. Nobody should be prominent even İHD for being autonomous and not giving harm to İHD." Although they sometimes had to do their protest in different places such as in front of İHD, Zoom, and YouTube, there was no change in the discourse of the struggle. They continued to publish public releases on the memorisation of enforced disappearance. Mater underlines that "It is very important to focus on one thing not to mix different things and demands." They also never resisted when police wanted to arrest them. Apart from these, some groups were prevented to involve in the struggle such as left-wing and/or Kurdish socialist groups, or other human rights movements. Similarly, no political parties are allowed which helped them spread their word and legitimacy in terms of ordinary citizens from different political backgrounds. It is very important for the Saturday Mothers to do their protest through

conscience. That politicized the mothers who closed their curtains in their home and rarely went out. The subjects mostly agreed that the struggle was permanent, sustainable, held in one place, having one focus, nonviolence, and protest, sharing the individual story of the forcibly disappeared which makes the person unique, not one statistic of a total. Telling the perpetrators aloud is another important element of the struggle. Besides, after 31 January 2009, the Saturday Mothers were also organized in Diyarbakır, Cizre, Batman, and Yüksekova. Now it has been organized by İHD İstanbul Branch claiming "enforced disappearance is a human rights crime, find our forcibly disappeared, punish the perpetrators, and sign the international convention right now without any reservations." It proves that they are institutionalised. Eren Keskin claims that "The Saturday Mothers struggle is a civil disobedience movement which was born from İHD." "We have been trying not to harm anyone since 1995. For example, we collected the trash after the meeting. We did not close any fronts of any shops or the tram track," says Şanar Yurdatapan. Yurdatapan suggested alternative methods such as coming together in different places in the country and in İstanbul when the Square was banned, but they were not accepted. They told him that Galatasaray is very important for the struggle's memory. The method of the struggle has always been acclaimed by especially intellectuals in Turkey according to Yurdatapan.

3.2.5. What Made It Spread?

Plaza de Mayo came to Istanbul, and they spoke about the Saturday Mothers in other countries which brought a wider international audience. The police attack also spread the word because the media used violent tactics in newspapers and on television to satisfy their audience in terms of Sontag's theory of "watching the others' pain". Musicians, artists, universities, foreign media, awards, the European Parliament, the EU, U2 concert in Turkey, and their album cover with Fehmi Tosun, Amnesty International, and Human Rights Watch, all spread the mothers' word. Nimet Tanrikulu states that "Especially the fact that the mothers of the forcibly disappeared spoke about their concerns, anxieties, grief, and search for justice

through tears or anger helped the struggle to be visible in media with the mothers' witnesses." Books, news, and articles are important to convince ordinary people to support the struggle. In addition, the fact that they announced the identities of the perpetrators was important. They claimed that if there is imprescriptibility of the state, every government is responsible for finding the truth. Especially, meeting with Argentinian grandmothers increased their motivation a lot as Tanrikulu describes it as "a flood of emotions".

3.2.6. What Made It Continuous?

Nadire Mater's face was full of pride when I asked that question. She replied

Legitimacy, belief, anger. Hope because of the state which puts the relatives in purgatory. Search for a cemetery. Because they cannot visit their beloved. Knowing where s/he is. Organising the anger within the struggle. The sense of lack. This is a kind of tradition coming from 12 September Mothers who were waiting for their children in front of prisons.

All these helped the mothers to be politized, restructuring the lives of these mothers as women. One woman from 12 September Mothers once told Mater that "I am happy because my life changed totally. My husband opens the door for me when I go back home at night. That is why I don't bring the keys with me anymore." Likewise, Hanım Tosun learned to speak Turkish and became an activist; her daughters were also activists. One of them studied law with the motivation of her experiences during the struggle. They also have no budget or financial support from the institutions or political parties not to be under any ideology or political oppression.

Determination of the relatives is another key term which is the motor power of the movement. Another equal power is of the activists. The women who gained from the feminist movement and political experiences shared their knowledge in the struggle and gave shape to it.

Insistence, not giving up, and not forgetting are among other motor powers because the relatives have to live with that feeling of disappearance. Eren Keskin summarizes the fact that what made the struggle continuous is "the wish of finding their children". Yurdatapan and

Arcan do not define the struggle as civil disobedience but civil movement because they do not violate the law.

4. Discussion

This chapter aims to examine the human rights activists who became involved in and witnessed the Saturday Mothers' struggle. It also attempts to define the mothers as a group and their importance and contribution to the history of social struggle in Turkey. The research question stated at the beginning of the thesis created for this purpose is "how is the Saturday Mothers' struggle interpreted by the Saturday Mothers activists (intellectuals, lawyers, journalists, etc., who are not relatives of the forcibly disappeared)? The findings were analysed with the politics of emotion by Sarah Ahmed. She writes in her book *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* that "[e]motions 'constitute' and 'shape' bodies as forms of action" (2004, 12). Emphasizing the need to be the centre of emotions in the subject, Ahmed stresses that emotion is a concept in motion and is closely linked to the concept of commitment. The effective meaning of the word "emotion" (Turkish: *duygu*) can be easily understood from the verb "to hear" ("*duymak*") in Turkish and "e-motion" in English. She adds, "What moves us, what makes us feel, is also what keeps us in place or provides a place to shelter. Therefore, movement does not break the body's ties with the 'place' it inhabits, it connects bodies to other bodies" (2004, 21), and thereby refers to the adhesive power of emotion. I was aware that the subject might not accept being interviewed. S/he might feel uncomfortable that I was taking advantage of her/him for the doctoral thesis. S/he might be apprehensive about the results of the interview. All these thoughts made me very careful not to impose on her/his private life, her/his emotions, and her/his sensitivity.

The main findings can be summarized as follows: (1) The struggle mechanism mostly comes from insistence. (2) The format of the expression of what they ask for and the independent attitude of the struggle are distinctive. (3) Political distinction/difference does not matter. (4) It is a humanitarian issue. (5) The struggle has a self-directing axis. (6) It created a

model. (7) The issue of enforced disappearance provided continuity. (8) It is a legitimate and unifying action that brings many segments together. (9) It can be defined as a struggle for rights, an act of civil disobedience with a new tool and a new method, and a contribution to the development of a human rights law. (10) It is one and only. These findings reveal that the struggle of the Saturday Mothers is unique in terms of method and emerges as a new tool in terms of a human rights movement, and results in a unifying structure.

Based on the findings, discussion can be carried out on the following two questions:

1. What is the role of the politics of emotion behind this struggle and in the forms of memory and resistance?
2. How did the Saturday Mothers contribute to the human rights struggle in Turkey in terms of the politics of emotion, memory, and resistance?

To begin with, it is necessary to emphasize the importance of human rights activists involved in the Saturday Mothers' struggle and their importance in the history of the struggle. During the struggle, the lawyers with their legal knowledge and involvement in legal processes; the journalists with their making the struggle visible in the media, intellectuals with their theoretical knowledge, and activists with their field experiences; all these factors constitute the secret power behind the Saturday Mothers' struggle. Human rights defenders in the movement give an impetus to the Saturday Mothers, which makes them visible in both national and international public opinion, enables the movement to circulate, raises the awareness of the relatives of the disappeared, and functions as a kind of "school". In short, it can be said that they are key catalysts in the transformation of attitude into behaviour (DeFleur & Westie, 1963; Hill, 1981). This finding also distinguishes the struggle of the Saturday Mothers from, for example, the struggle of the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo in Argentina. The transformation of motherhood in the public sphere was possible not only with the mothers themselves but also with the contribution of the Saturday Mothers activists or

those who did not have a disappeared relative but took part in the movement for reasons of solidarity.

Second, the main demands of the Saturday Mothers are to find their forcibly disappeared family members (alive or dead or even their remains), to bring the criminals to trial and punishment, and to have a cemetery for their children. They summarize their claims with two words: truth and justice. These demands require keeping alive both the individual and social memory of the victims. Thus, these demands provide the Saturday Mothers with an opportunity to share who they are as individuals. The contingency of pain is important in this sharing. The loss of a family member causes an intense feeling of pain in the individual. This feeling of utter distress is directly related to the breaking of the bond between the son and the mother. This broken bond brings the relatives of those missing together, and it is the pain that unites them. At this point, pain becomes concrete like an amputated leg and allows a new identity to emerge through the language used in the protests, silence, photography, and seeing/hearing each other's lost stories. Thus, enforced disappearance or missing becomes synonymous with *knowing*. The embodiment of memory means the internalization of enforced disappearance both in the mind and body of the Saturday Mother; because if there is no body (in the physical sense), there is nobody to prove that this body is alive. The Saturday Mothers are resisting that *power*. In this context, in Sarah Ahmed's words, the feelings of the Saturday Mothers become politicized as a whole. Ahmed states that repetitions are important because words gain new meanings due to their historical processes and use in context. In this respect, the Saturday Mothers' use of repeated words such as "loss", "memory", "resistance", "obstinacy", "truth", and "justice" in their protests has led to the fact that these words, each of which is loaded with emotions, act as a locomotive in creating collective and social solidarity. As a result, motherhood constitutes the social and political legitimacy of the Saturday Mothers' struggle and the ethical reference of the actions.

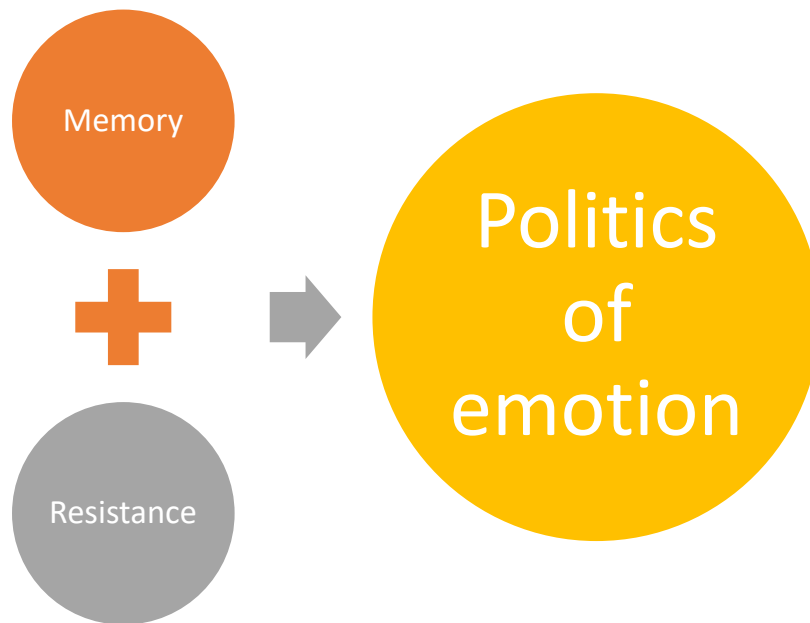


Figure 60: Politics of Emotion and Resistance-Memory

In conclusion, the Saturday Mothers struggle is one and unique in the history of the struggle for rights in Turkey. The most important reason for this is that they added the politics of emotion to the struggle. In this struggle, emotions are at the forefront and the Saturday Mothers emphasize emotions. Emotions are the most important motivation that provides solidarity on the one hand and the determination to struggle on the other. In this respect, it differs from a purely legal issue. Both human rights activists and the Saturday Mothers and also the relatives of the disappeared interact with each other in terms of both the struggle and the human rights movement throughout this protest. Thus, they affect each other. In general, it can be said that there is a symbiotic relationship between them. In short, the Saturday Mothers are the longest-running and most distinctive movement of the Turkish rights struggle, as a movement that always disrupts the game of the state through the politics of emotion in the face of the dominant power mechanisms.

PART V.III

THE SATURDAY MOTHERS

Pain! Pain seeped through my brain, taking it apart then taking it apart yet again, until it was transformed into a different brain, a clearer brain, a clean nascent brain. I fell asleep at dawn then woke up. I heard my mother's voice calling me to drink my morning milk. It was the first day of spring, Mothers' Day. Now I was at the moment of truth. I got up and went to the bathroom. I looked into the mirror. The two eyes filled with sunlight looked at me. (Nawal El Saadawi, Trans. by Amira Nowaira, 1999, p. 230)

1. About the Interviews: Credibility, Validity, and Reliability

To begin with, I could "capture how the subjects view their world, learn *their* terminology and judgments, and capture the complexities of *their* individual perceptions and experiences;" I did not use any methods to "force respondents to fit their knowledge, experiences, and feelings into the researcher's categories [because] [t]he fundamental principle of qualitative interviewing is to provide a framework within which respondents can express *their own* understandings in their own terms" (Patton, 2002, p. 184).

"You don't have to be a woman to interview women, or a sumo wrestler to interview sumo wrestlers. But if you are going to cross social gaps and go where you are ignorant, you have to recognize and deal with cultural barriers to communication. And you have to accept that how you are seen by the person being interviewed will affect what is said" (Patton, p. 392). For example, I had conversations with the mothers around me like my wife, my mother, my mentor, my supervisors, and my friends about their feelings and emotions to get a general and practical sense of motherhood descriptions. Also, identifying language differences is very crucial in this research. I determined the key terms and concepts in the research. After a detailed literature review, I had an interview with Sebla Arcan about how these terms are defined by her and the mothers. Regarding differing norms and values, for example, when I went to Şehriban Tepeli's house, she was not alone at home although she lives alone. Her

niece was with her. She told me that she searched for me on Twitter to learn about me. The subjects also told me that Şebnem Korur Fincancı is a very important reference for them to accept the interview. So are İHD, Sebla Arcan, and Maside Ocak.

All the interviews were conducted within a framework similar to Robert Kegan's "subject-object interviews". I had several interviews and a lot of phone calls with Sebla Arcan about the details of the history of the struggle, sources, and key terms and concepts of the research.

I did not have a researcher diary for this part because I took detailed field notes, and after the interviews, I added my feelings and thoughts to the notes.

Similar to the previous part, all the subjects were sent a "Pre-Interview Information Form" prepared by me through email or Whatsapp before the interviews. In the consent form, there is information about the researcher, supervisors, the aim of the research, research questions, sub-questions, methodology, type of conduct, confidentiality, and contact (which is available but not in the thesis). Likewise, the "Consent Form" was sent to the subjects including the consent of the subjects and the details about the confidentiality and the information that they could leave the research and ask their data not to be used in the research whenever they want. The names and the date of the interview were also included in the form. All these forms were checked by my supervisors. However, I took oral consent from three of the subjects who do not use emails or Whatsapp after I read the forms to them.

The interview questions were not sent in advance but asked during the interviews. After I prepared the draft for questions, I sent them to two field specialists to provide validity and reliability. A specialist in curriculum and instruction Lec. Hale Alkan and a specialist in qualitative research and interior design Dr. Güldem Özatağan examined the questions separately and sent me their feedback. I revised the draft after their individual feedback. After revising them, I sent them to my supervisors and got their feedback via email. I did not conduct pilot interviews because it is not easy to reach them, and every single subject has

valuable potential to contribute to the research. Another reason is that I do not have as many questions as in the interviews with the activists to be validated.

All this process contributed to the validity and reliability of the interview questions. I started preparing the questions on 23.02.2021 and I could conduct the first interview on 22.07.2021 which means it took me a lot of time for validity and reliability as well as determining the subjects for the interviews. Contacting and determining the dates also took some time. Generally, all the academicians involved in this process focused on the principle of not disturbing the subjects in terms of human rights due to the fact that the content and subject matter of the interviews are very sensitive as I stated the same in the previous chapter.

İHD is an important bridge between the Saturday Mothers and the researchers. That is why I had two meetings and several phone calls with Sebla Arcan from İHD and gave her detailed information about this part of the research. For this is a traumatic issue for the relatives of the forcibly disappeared, İHD needed to see my questions beforehand if there are any disturbing questions. They told me that they had had some bad experiences with research before. After they were convinced, they contacted the Saturday Mothers and sent me their contact information. I could conduct all the subjects whom I intended to interview. After interviewing Emine Ocak and Maside Ocak, Maside Ocak helped me a lot to contact the Saturday Mothers, too. To summarize, İHD became a key point for me to reach the subjects²¹⁰.

I conducted 18 interviews through Zoom and 14 interviews face-to-face. 16 of them were males; 18 of them were females. I was in my house in Zoom meetings and conducted the interviews in the most silent place inside the home. Many of the subjects were in their home and alone in the room except for two (Subject 1 and Subject 2). Several subjects were at work, and they were alone. There were not any interruptions such as electricity or the Internet

²¹⁰ Some subjects told me that they accepted the interview because of the reference of Prof. Dr. Şebnem Korur Fincancı. Some told me that Sebla Arcan and Maside Ocak advised them to participate in the research. Some told me that they never or rarely allow any research requests, but they believed in this research that is why they accepted.

connection problems. I went to different cities for face-to-face interviews, mostly to the subjects' homes but also to offices, cafés, İHD İstanbul Branch. We were alone in face-to-face interviews except for one subject. She wanted to be with her niece. I did not record any of the interviews because I wanted the interviews to be more conversation-like, more natural, and less stressful for the subjects. I did not use question cards, I asked them by heart. I took very detailed notes during and after the interviews. In the analysis part, I partly used the software programme, MAXQDA 2020 but mostly did it all by myself due to the sensitive content of the interviews and security issues. I informed the subjects of the content for feedback or any changes, and they gave me consent for the content. I analysed the data after their feedback.

All the subjects met me very warmly. They offered me meals and/or drinks, and we could know each other better. I conducted interviews with 27 families and 34 relatives, 3 of them mothers, 3 wives, 3 sisters, 9 daughters, 1 father, 9 brothers, and 6 sons. None of them were under 18, but the ages ranged from 20 to 90. There were not many mothers because they have been passing away because of their age. However, I included many documents which have the mothers' voices, recordings, or the news who passed away in the document analysis chapter. The sexes, ages, cities, degrees, and background ranges are diverse which contribute to my research in terms of valuable, valid, and reliable data.

Because of the sensitive content of the interviews, I used the guidebook prepared by İHD for the researchers advising on how to protect yourself as a researcher in human rights research. I also took several sessions with my psychiatrist to be able to handle the very sad life stories of the subjects. When they cried, I asked them if they want to skip the question, or I added some daily talk, changed the subject, and when they felt better, I turned my questions again. After the İstanbul interviews, I could not carry the traumatic 'burden' and had a one-and-half-month break to distance with the data.

I preferred to include the subjects' real identities except for two subjects after taking their oral consent which is of great importance to be the active doers in the research as it is

explained in the methodology chapter. The exceptions were coded as Subject 1 and Subject 2.

Please refer to Appendices for "Album".

2. Findings and Data Analysis²¹¹

Name-Surname	Interview Date	Interview Medium	Duration
Emine Ocak (mother) Maside Ocak (daughter)	22.07.2021	Face-to-Face, In Ocak family's house in Dikili, Izmir (I also had a conversation with other two daughters, a nephew, a niece, and a brother-in-law)	2 hours
Şehriban Tepeli (wife)	26.07.2021	Face-to-Face In Tepeli's house in Kuşadası, Aydın. (I also contacted her niece).	3 hours
İrfan Bilgin (brother)	05.08.2021	Face-to-Face In Bilgin's house in Altınoluk, Balıkesir	2 hours
Fatma Şimşek (sister)	16.08.2021	Zoom (she was at home in Holland)	1 hour
İrfan Babaoğlu (brother)	17.08.2021	Zoom (he was at home in Switzerland)	1 hour
Emrah Aydınlar (brother)	20.08.2021	Zoom (he was at home in Antalya)	1 hour
Sakine Toraman (daughter)	25.08.2021	Zoom (she was at home in Germany)	1 hour
Diyar Tanış (son)	28.08.2021	Zoom (he was in his office in Gaziantep)	30 min
Servet Ertak (son)	30.08.2021	Zoom (he was at home in Van)	1 hour
Adnan Örhan (son)	03.09.2021	Zoom (he was in his office in Diyarbakır)	1 hour
Tayyüp Canan (son)	06.09.2021	Zoom (he was in his office in Hakkari)	1 hour 30 min
Münübe Türkoğlu (sister)	06.09.2021	Zoom (he was at home in Edirne)	1 hour
Vahap Canan (son)	08.09.2021	Zoom (he was at home in Hakkari)	1 hour
Eren Baskın (son)	09.09.2021	Zoom (he was in his office in Hakkari)	2 hour
Faruk Eren (brother)	21.09.2021	Zoom (he was at home in İstanbul)	1 hour 30 min
İkbal Eren (sister)	23.09.2021	Zoom (he was at home in İstanbul)	1 hour 30 min
Ceylan Deniz (daughter)	24.09.2021	Zoom (she was at work in Şırnak)	40 minutes
Deniz Gülünay (daughter)	24.09.2021	Zoom (she was at home in Switzerland)	1 hour
Hasan Karakoç (brother)	25.09.2021	Face-to-Face In his home in İstanbul	1 hour 30 min
Zelal Buldan (daughter)	25.09.2021	Face-to-Face In a café in İstanbul	2 hours
Mikail Kırbayır (brother)	27.09.2021	Face-to-Face In a public place in İstanbul	1 hour
Umut Bahçeci (brother)	28.09.2021	Face-to-Face In his workplace in İstanbul	2 hours
Feyyaz Yaman (brother)	28.09.2021	Face-to-Face Human Rights Association Meeting Room in İstanbul	1 hour
Hanife Yıldız (mother)	28.09.2021	Face-to-Face Human Rights Association Meeting Room in İstanbul	1 hour 30 min
Ahmet Cihan (brother)	28.09.2021	Face-to-Face	1 hour

²¹¹ I did not add the transcription and field notes in the Appendices due to data security.

		Human Rights Association Meeting Room in İstanbul	
Hanım Tosun (wife)	29.09.2021	Face-to-Face In Besna Tosun's office in İstanbul	1 hour 30 min
Besna Tosun (daughter)	29.09.2021	Face-to-Face In Besna Tosun's office in İstanbul	1 hour
Zübeyde Tepe (mother)	30.09.2021	Face-to-Face At their home in İstanbul	1 hour
İshak Tepe (father)	30.09.2021	Face-to-Face At their home in İstanbul	1 hour
Nejbir Aydoğan (daughter)	10.10.2021	Zoom (she was at home in İstanbul)	40 min
Subject 1 (daughter) Subject 2 (wife)	10.10.2021	Zoom (they were at home.)	1 hour
Leyla Yıldırım (daughter)	16.10.2021	Zoom (she was at home in İstanbul)	1 hour
Total: 27 families and 34 relatives Mothers: 3 Wives: 3 Sisters: 3 Daughters: 9 Father: 1 Brothers: 9 Sons: 6 Females: 18 Males: 16	86 days	18: Zoom 14: Face-to-Face	2,450 min = 40 h 83 min.

Table 18: Tag for the Interviews with the Saturday Mothers

2.1. Aim of the Interviews: Within the scope of the research question and through the interviews with the subjects who are the relatives of the forcibly disappeared people and who have been involved in the Saturday Mothers' struggle, I aimed to learn the personal history of the Saturday Mothers, within which framework they support the struggle, and how they define and position themselves in the history of social struggle in Turkey. All the interviews were conducted in the Turkish language except one. Emine Ocak spoke in half Zaza accent of Kurdish and half Turkish and her daughters Aysel and Maside translated what she said to me.

2.2. Interview Questions

There are 8 basic questions and 12 probes. I did not ask the questions word by word but used the same structure. I sometimes had to change the order of the questions when the subject covered different questions which did not harm the general construction of the interview. All the subjects opened their cameras and talked heartily and frankly. All the subjects also told

me that they would do whatever they can for me such as document sharing and additional information which proves that they believe in and trust the research and me. This is an important sign that increases the reliability of the interviews. The interview questions are as follows:

<i>BASIC QUESTION 1: How long have you been attending the Saturday Mothers struggle?</i> Probe 1: What made it possible to move the struggle since 1995?
<i>BASIC QUESTION 2: What is the meaning of meeting at Galatasaray?</i> Probe 1: Has being a part of this struggle changed your daily life? Probe 2: If yes, how?
<i>BASIC QUESTION 3: Is there a memory you remember which leaves a mark on you?</i>

Table 19: Interview Questions

Although some activists and documents state that the Saturday Mothers use the term "the relatives of the forcibly disappeared", I observed that they call the relatives using her name+mother such as Emine Anne, Elmas Anne, Hanife Anne, so on (*anne* means "mother") if they talk about the mothers. It shows the acceptance of the term "the Saturday Mothers" among them, as well.

After the coding the data, the main themes and analyses are as follows:

2.2.1. How Their Lives Changed After the Struggle

Most of the subjects told me that the struggle changed their life in a sense or dramatically. Their daily routine had already changed after the enforced disappearance. However, the struggle turned their hopelessness and pessimism into enlightenment. They claimed that they have more families now and feel stronger. They are thinking that all the forcibly disappeared are their family members. In addition to seeing Galatasaray as their meeting place with their forcibly disappeared, that sense of belonging makes them feel sorrowful and guilty when they could not attend the weekly meeting. "I have to be there, I do need to," says one subject. Because they feel like they leave other relatives alone at the Galatasaray Square.

b. The Meaning of the Galatasaray Square

The struggle is also seen as a motivation to work more in the field of human rights which makes them feel positive and determined in their struggle of finding their relatives. Three

subjects living abroad claimed that if they were in Turkey and attended the meetings regularly, they would feel better underlining the positive effect of the struggle on human psychology and healing. For example, one subject told that "When I went there in 2009, it healed my psychology because we had been frozen."

The Galatasaray Square also means that all grief and pain in there are much bigger than individual ones in terms of Gestalt theory which helps the struggle be the voice of the whole society.

My mother stated that the struggle of enforced disappearances had helped her to cling to life. She was sensitive about social issues before that, but she learnt the daily agenda more. She said that there were different points of view; there were different pains. She learnt the real face of Turkey. She went out of her home, and her life was dedicated to her children. Not only did she defend her own right, but she participated in the human rights movement.

The general meaning of "Saturday" is different for the mothers, as well. "It is not a holiday for us. It reminds us of enforced disappearances, of 12:00 o'clock." They define it as a silent and peaceful protest which makes them exist. All these prove that the struggle is an existential need for them beyond surviving. "The space makes us remember our existence in daily crisis. It reminds us of 'Shake and reflect'."

The struggle changed the subjects' daily lives. For example, some subjects told me that they did not prefer to work in a company or earn much money but do something for human rights. They could not get a quality education²¹². The subjects organized their weekend keeping the meeting in their mind. One subject told me that he drank less alcohol on Fridays, and he never scheduled his Saturdays. "Even if we have guests at home on Saturdays, I run to Galatasaray, attend the meeting, and turn back home quickly." The mothers also have had a meeting routine. "My mother used to get prepared on Friday evening. She used to decide what she would wear, etc. She used to leave home at 10:00 a.m. with her stool although our home

²¹² However, there are many relatives who decided to study Law or Justice at university even as they got older or they had another diploma in a different field. This shows the importance of the need of knowing literature and law to achieve justice.

is very close to Galatasaray. That shows how important the struggle is for her." Another subject tells that "Galatasaray is a feasting place for us." "All of our Saturdays are booked. You begin to shake on Fridays. We get up early on Saturdays. We get prepared. We wonder, who will I see, who will I hug? Eternal wounds. Bleeding and never healing wounds. When we hug, we relieve *a bit* [she emphasized]. All these change our lives. It affects our own family, our children's psychology."

They also became well-known people in the media and human rights. "Two young boys recognised me in a shopping centre. I felt happy," says one of the subjects.

"It was also remorse for us. We always told the truth which makes the state afraid of us." They told me that the struggle improved their personality and skills, too. The percentage of enforced disappearances decreased a lot after the start of the struggle. We organized a civil opposition."

On the one hand, it changed the police force's perception, as well. "I was beaten twice and detained. Because I am not Deniz but Hasan's daughter. I was stigmatized as the daughter of a terrorist. They sentenced me because they thought I have the potential to be a convict." On the other hand, life could change at work. "Yes, I work in a newspaper agency. I felt bad because I never see my father. They [colleagues] come to me when they heard something related to the Saturday Mothers in the media, but I try not to speak much about it and not to change my routine." One subject said that "we buried our youth in there."

It is also a responsibility. One of the subjects told me that he is a lawyer, and he has to attend the meetings in case some mothers are detained or harmed. Another subject told me that she visited many countries and the UN thanks to İHD and human rights activism which is why she feels proud showing how the struggle helps them to socialize.

2.2.3. The Meaning of the Saturday Mothers' Struggle

The words and sentences quoted in the table below prove that the Saturday Mothers' struggle allows them to mourn, unite with their loved ones, collaborate and organize, feel, resist, and heal as much as possible with all the people involved in the struggle.

Mourning related words	Family-related words	Identity and emotion-related words	Protest and struggle words	Healing/School words
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cemetery - Meeting place with their dead - Graveyard - The monument is like a tombstone - Mourning place - Red carnation is a metaphor. Elmas Eren asked for a graveyard to put red carnations on it. That is why red carnations are brought there. - Legitimacy of grief and reality of the relative - A mausoleum (tomb) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Having a much bigger family - Understand each other by just looking at our eyes - The place where time stops - The place where they regain their "lost half" - 1,80 kuruş (cent) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The place where I have a different identity - Not being alone - The place where fellow feelings are situated - All the emotions related to their children - Feeling a sense of belonging - Feeling bigger, a power versus a power that tries to destroy us - Warmth - Hope - Hard to explain - Missing (emotion) - Tears - A place of consolation - Relaxing and lightness - A starting point. Spiritual place. Has lots of meanings. They keep their beloved ones alive there. Other places don't make them feel the same. Mothers raise their children there. Mothers are associated with themselves there. - Happiness because they meet there with their relatives. When it is banned, he lost his teeth because of worries - They turned into steel by being beaten (she means 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Struggle place - Naïve struggle for justice - Democracy square - Human rights square - The place where we can find our loved ones' remains - They never listen, except here. - The place where the Saturday Mothers leave a trace on the Earth - The most respectful movement - "We were one body." - Counter art - The place of truth - Nobody owns there. Everybody can come. Not private property - Humanitarian values - There must be a monument, sculptures of our forcibly disappeared, an exhibition of court reports - Struggle for finding their family members' remains. - Record the history - Leave a note for the future - A place for future generations for asking their demands - They think more people hear them there 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Therapy and support, place of power - Healing for the illness - A drug - Breathing its air - A way of life - "Like a mirror on which you see the same in the face of another person." - University

		forged because "beat" and "forge" are synonyms in Turkish). - "I saw myself in there. I felt love and respect."	- Support each other; solidarity - "The feeling that I am here despite the police, and I resist." - A resistance struggle - "The place where you can demand justice, law, and conscience."	
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Table 20: Findings

2.2.4. The First Attending the Struggle

Apart from a few exceptions, all of them started the struggle when their children forcibly disappeared. Some of them started some individual protests before 1995, but they attended the struggle in the year that their children were gone. Most of them explained that they had never thought that there were other enforced disappearances in Turkey. Learning about the other stories made them come together for solidarity and organizing. In addition to Galatasaray, they met in Bakırköy and Kadıköy, south-eastern provinces such as Batman, Cizre, Yüksekova, Koşuyolu, and abroad such as Holland and Rotterdam.

2.2.5. Memories

Regarding what picture/flash comes to their mind and remembering what was related to the struggle, the subjects stated as follows: "the very first participation either a relative or her/himself", "the fear of losing", "25 kuruş (cents)", "police attack the mothers", "story sharing of their relatives", "mother's scream", "Emine Ocak's similar photos from different times in course of time", "the voice of 'they cannot make you disappear here'", "the support of citizens", "a silent scream in the eyes", "Murat Yıldız's mother's tears and furious talk", "the hope of my grandmother, (she does not often goes out but on Saturday she always runs to Koşuyolu, Diyarbakır)", "Maside's warm hug and welcoming me", "meeting with the Argentinian mothers", "the moment of his carrying Mother Elmas", "Şık, Dink, and Paylan's photo like a painting by Raphael", "assassination of Tahir Elçi", "family and it is like celebrating my father's birthday", "oxygen", "mothers' collaboration", "change their demands :

first they claim they want them alive. Then, they asked for a cemetery. Now they ask for remains", "handiwork", "right to cry, right to mourn, right to accept condolences", "a platform where we can speak", "Kiraz Şahin and her 3-year-old child", "Hanife Yıldız's sitting with her back to the police", "red carnation", "excited gazes from people. Photos. Cameras and media people's race for taking the best place for the news", "Yıldız once said that I will burn myself if it is banned. It is a threat to existence", "İHD", "Leman, Nadire, and Sebla's hearths".

From all these different words and sentences describing their memories, it can be concluded that the mothers are very affective in their struggle. Many of them remember a mother's gesture, word, or posing in the meeting at first. Also, their memories prove how collaboration helped them to come together and be strong. As is analysed in the previous chapters, Galatasaray Square is an existential place for mothers and their relatives. Remembering the police attack and violence underlines the resistance and insistence of the struggle, as well. All these memories, in sum, are directly related to emotions which makes the struggle not a rational but an *emotional movement* standing tough against the patriarchal face of the authorities.

2.2.6. What Made It Continuous?

All the subjects have the same opinion about determination. Although they went to Galatasaray and were hopeless, they continued the struggle after they heard from the police that "you could be 'disappeared', be thankful to the Saturday Mothers. Your mother can be a Saturday Mother too if we make you disappear." It is "a kind of quest. Grief never ends until you find the dead body. I go to Galatasaray with my red carnation. I feel that I am not alone. There are those just like you. It is a graveyard," says a subject. Another one says that "we are embodying [the place] there with our enforced disappearances."

They see the struggle as the right to live. That is why they insist and resist through their emotions. Most of them told me that it is a responsibility to go to Galatasaray every week. It is like an obligation. It is seen as an assurance of the future. Saturday is not a holiday.

People who have the same wound which does not have the 'scab' to get together there. That is why they understand each other. One of the relatives explains that "the Saturday Mothers are seen like a ministerial cabinet" in Yüksekova where meetings were held for 100 weeks. It is like worship for some relatives. One of them states that "we were able to do it with the help of the heart of a mother."

2.2.7. The Name: Mothers or People?

Although some male relatives state that the name of the struggle should be the Saturday People, most of them prefer the Saturday Mothers. For example, one sister says that "We are losing mothers one by one. The Saturday Mothers are important. The name of the Saturday People is not so important. ... The content is much more important than the name. so, it should continue as the same." Someone else states that "Calling us the Saturday Mothers is good. No ideologies here but mothers who raise and care for their children. No counter-arguments. They make it through the sense of motherhood and affect the others." Another relative insists that "It should be called the Saturday Mothers because everybody has the mothers' feelings" which indicates embodiment. During the interviews, one relative called them "Cumartesi Anaları" (the Saturday Mothers; "ana" is more traditional than the word "anne"), another one called "Dayîken Şemîye" (the Saturday Mothers in Kurdish). As is seen, no matter whether there are males, sisters, daughters, or wives, all the people in the struggle are named the Saturday Mothers as a whole, and as one father said, "we are here as the Saturday Mothers" although several activists told me that they call themselves as the "relatives of those, forcibly disappeared".

3. Discussion

The above cannot be labelled as part of a Kurdish or simply left-wing movement. It is free from ethnicity and politics in terms of political parties but shaped by emotions. Why?

As has been discussed in the previous chapters, questions such as what emotions unite a society, how social conflicts form emotions, and how emotions create social differences, all

of these issues have been the basis of studies by sociologists of emotion since the emergence of sociology in the 19th century. One of the classical sociologists, Emile Durkheim, questions what features hold society together by referring to the affection for social integration. There are three main concepts that are generally interchangeable: “emotion”, “feeling”, and “affection”. (1) “Feeling” refers to bodily senses including emotions. (2) “Emotion” expresses the cognitively meaningful and classified state of changes in the body through language. (3) “Affection” refers to the changes in the body while meeting different bodies, relations, and practices. Nigel Thrift (1996) claims that emotions are the thoughts of a body. It is possible to read the meaning of several emotions in physical expressions. Namely, emotions are the changes within a body. Sara Ahmed distinguishes body and mind by referring to the ancient Apollonian, heteronormative, and patriarchal dichotomy of rationality vs body. According to the dichotomy mind, and thought are superior to body and emotion, respectively, and it makes them more privileged and ‘natural’. The subordination of body and emotion is common in daily language, as well. That is why I describe the struggle as dynamic, active, and continuously motivated by emotions. Ahmed gives the example of “passion” and “passive” coming from the same root etymologically *passio* in Latin, meaning “(feeling) pain”. Similarly, in Turkish *tutku* (passion) comes from the verb *tut-* meaning “to catch”, which in English refers to passivity and stability. In the Weberian view, rational action in value and purpose is superior to emotional and traditional action. “Emotions are associated with women, who are represented as ‘closer’ to nature, ruled by appetite, and less able to transcend the body through thought, will, and judgment” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 3). Emotions in the Saturday Mothers' struggle can be represented through language as exemplified with the quotations above and thus named and interpreted cognitively such as happiness, pride, and grief. “If emotions are shaped by contact with objects, rather than being caused by objects, then emotions are not simply ‘in’ the subject or the object. This does not mean that emotions are not read as being ‘resident’ in subjects or objects” (2004, p. 6). Narrating emotions provides

both meaning and subjectivity as is seen in the interviews especially conducted with the female ones.

In the Saturday Mothers struggle, emotions are ‘bodily’ and create movements in the body by changing them. They are also relational and are formed by the orientation of the subject of the emotion to its object. Namely, it includes the interpretation of the object. This interpretation is the source of the emotion. Emotions are both subjective and objective. It is the product of the subject’s inner world, as well as the social position, past, and individual/collective memory. They are also both discursive and “sticky”. As the way objects are interpreted is repeated, some meaning (hence feelings) clings to objects. Emotions accumulate over time like capital. That proves the struggle can be seen as the capital of resistance.

However, affection reflects discourse-free and unrepresented physical conditions which cannot be named or defined. It can be comprehended through the body and its motions as in the meeting at Galatasaray and/or touch. Affections are relational dynamics between bodies triggering a change. It is an interaction in which the power to act is reduced or increased. Affections can occur through the encounter of individual bodies, as well as by being collectivized. Hence, many relatives do not like the online meeting through Zoom although they have to do that due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

This conception of affection trivializes the analytical distinction between physical “affect” and “mental” emotion. Emotions are formed by the combination of bodily and mental processes. Therefore, the mothers' affections cannot be considered as a form of physical knowledge which is detached from discourses. Physical affections and emotional expressions are processes that establish and shape each other. Emotions that crystallize on the level of consciousness are a moment where emotions are realized and conceptualized. Within this understanding, effects are extralinguistic, embodied, and free from intended control.

However, it cannot be known how the contacts will produce emotions independently of the cultural repertoire, social organisation, and interpretation.

Contact is a must for emotions because it is formed through contact and embodied in the subject or object by creating impressions. Affections can occur within certain emotional repertoires. Emotions and affections are bodily responses to cultural practices, institutions, and values. In terms of Goffman, emotions create specific roles, and the Saturday Mothers legitimize these through their collective silence, so through their half-an-hour protest, they show what pain is for them and what shame is for the authorities. Their politics of body is freed from the rationalization of the body, through their use of emotions which construct new interdependences, a sense of belonging, and anti-alignment which makes some bodies closer or further apart. The Saturday Mothers do not fit Durkheim's mechanic or organic solidarity because they are neither homogenous nor 'masters'. However, there are several organic features, such as their diversity and heterogenous and autonomous community which give the struggle a "collective effervescence". The Saturday Mothers struggle deconstructs the notion of Simmel's "blasé attitude" and interpersonal distance. The struggle can be read as a counter-power against the distrust of modern life defined by Simmel because the Galatasaray is in the middle of 'chaos', the fastest and most complicated state in Turkey. Namely, the struggle turns into an emotional drama (Hochschild, 1983) staged by the Saturday Mothers activists and the mothers together.

Emotions are meaningful through language, symbolic representations, and relationality by contextualizing the objects. Because specific interpretive frameworks are repeated, emotions 'stick' to specific objects. Meaning is recorded by the chain of the signified which opposes the idea of signified and signifier in post-structuralism. That is why the meaning is constantly reconstructed as a loose existence (Derrida, 1987). According to Sara Ahmed, the chain of the signified places our orientation towards objects through their connotations. We could argue signs become sticky through repetition; if a word is used in a

certain way, again and again, then that ‘use’ *becomes* intrinsic; it becomes a form of signing (Ahmed, 2014, p. 91). It is why the Saturday Mothers repeat the same words and terms for years.

The Saturday Mothers’ demands for truth and human dignity illustrate their struggle for truth. From the Foucauldian perspective, knowledge is a tool of power, and by constructing the mothers through aversion, the authorities justify their refusal to satisfy their demands. The last judicial case against The Saturday Mothers (the last case was held on 23.03.2022) is both an effort to legitimize and criminalise the struggle in the eyes of the public. The threat of prison is a means of forced domestication of the mothers to return to their homes as housewives²¹³. Yet, the Saturday Mothers were able to personify the concept of ‘Panopticon’ by choosing the most crowded place in Turkey as their protest space, symbolically the most-watched place where not only the authorities but, most importantly, all citizens and the media can keep their eye on them. In a sense, this is similar to the deconstruction of the “Big Brother” who is constantly watching. Namely, the Saturday Mothers are the "killjoys" of bio-power created by the Turkish authorities. Although the linguistic logic behind the power is the one that is shocking and inferior, the Saturday Mothers are again exceptional for they represent “motherhood” which cannot be degraded, either by the public or the authorities.

Randal Collins’ theory of interaction ritual chains examines how these processes produce affections (2015, p. 45). Processes of interaction rituals include “a face-to-face or indirect interaction environment”, a “production of shared feelings”, and “the development of a sense of solidarity that develops as a result of emotional coordination”. All these three processes match the Saturday Mothers' protests. Collins talks about the emergence of non-

²¹³ Excessive police attack against the Saturday Mothers at Galatasaray exemplifies “power technologies” used during the protests for these protests are seen as “border breach” by the authority. The source of power is stability (ataraxia) of legitimacy and the dynamism of the struggle is seen as a threat against the source of the power of the Turkish governments, so discipline through excessive police force is to ‘regulate’ the mothers in the public sphere.

dramatic, continuous, and stable emotional energies as a result of these processes. These emotions range from positive emotions such as confidence and solidarity to negative emotions such as anger projected upon the Saturday Mothers. The emotional energies revealed at Galatasaray are not just psychological. They work like an interpretative schema that generates social values and judgments. Such interaction rituals seen in the findings exemplified at Galatasaray protests have an effect that shapes social consciousness. It is a cognitive-affective process that allows society to take place in the mind of the individual. It produces systems of meanings that help individuals and collectives to make sense of their self-perceptions, their positions, and relations with others which opposes forgetting. In *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*, Milan Kundera writes: "Forgetting is a form of death ever-present within life... but forgetting is also a great problem in politics. When a big power wants to deprive a small country of its national consciousness, it uses the method of organised forgetting... A nation which loses awareness of its past gradually loses itself." The quotation indicates the importance of concrete struggle at Galatasaray against forgetting.

To conclude, it is their *silence* that becomes their *voice* of protest. Moreover, the movement can be linked to other women's groups of silent protests, such as the "Madres (y Abuelas) de la Plaza de Mayo" in Argentina or the "Madres caminando por la verdad" in Colombia that shared protests against the same kind of violations by their respective governments. All these women would meet and protest in silence in order to demand information on the enforced disappearance of family members, those classified as "missing". As Alberto Melucci states, "Collective identity is never entirely negotiable because participation in collective action is endowed with meaning but cannot be reduced to cost-benefit calculation and always mobilizes emotions as well (Moscovici, 1981). Passions and feelings, love and hate, faith and fear are all part of a body acting collectively, particularly in areas of social life like social movements that are less institutionalized," and according to him, "to understand this part of collective action as 'irrational,' as opposed to the 'rational' (which in

this case means good!) part, is simply a nonsense. There is no cognition without feeling and
no meaning without emotion" (1995, p. 45).

CONCLUSION

1. Where Research Stands in Human Rights Activism

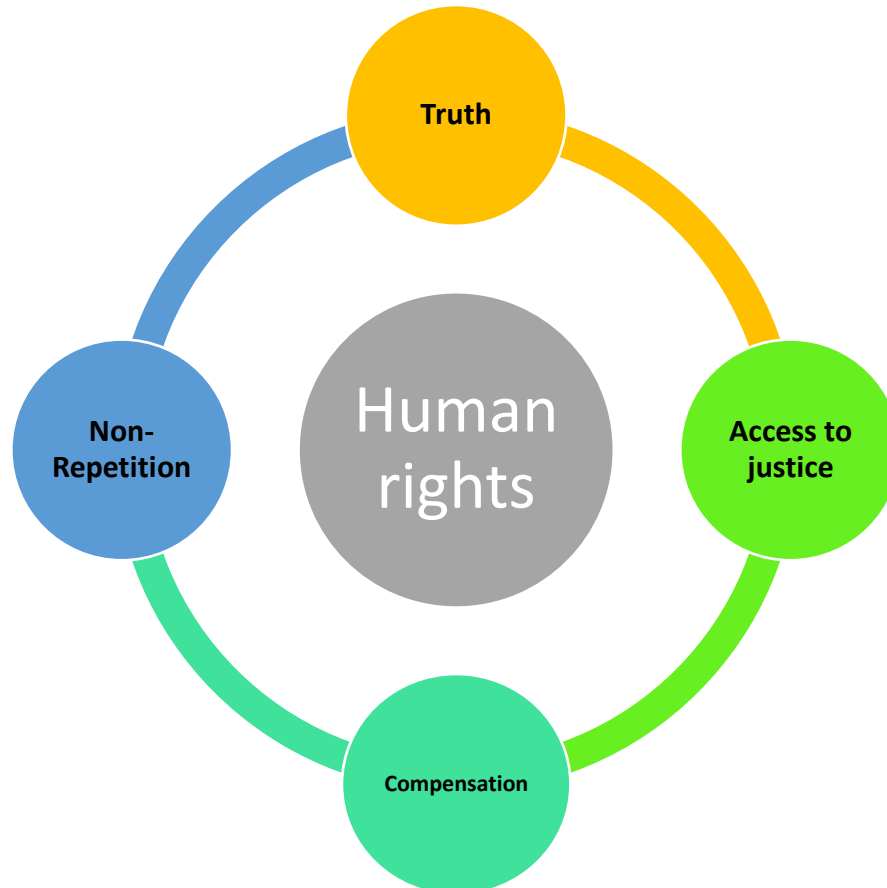


Figure 61: Human Rights and Research: Prof. Feride Aksu suggested that the scheme be used in human rights research. All research should be affirmed, and it should contribute to mental and practical knowledge. She insists on claiming that the basic unit of a research question is truth (2020).

Prof. Dr. Nilgün Toker states that the aim of research in human rights is the search for justice and truth by seeing the violations, recording, and searching for the ways to eliminate them, determine and fix them, and make them visible. In human rights research, it is very important how you relate to the people in the research. Language is important because new violation must not be produced.

Why do I do research about it? There may be several answers; however, I think, human rights research brings the action with it. It means to say violations did happen and it does exist. It also helps to share and make collaboration bigger. It is political which makes it transformative, principal, and ethical. It tries to solve an issue, demonstrate, and define it. It is

a responsibility. That knowledge also makes me a subject/maker. In short, it is not technical or mechanical research.

2. Ethical Challenges in Qualitative Interviewing

I used qualitative bricolage by using my background in the field of philology as an American Studies graduate. Besides, “The process of being taken through a directed, reflective process affects the persons being interviewed and leaves them knowing things about themselves that they didn’t know—or least were not fully aware of—before the interview” (Patton, 2002, p. 405) as three of the subjects told me that they have not thought about the meaning of the Galatasaray for them before. Similarly, “[w]hile interviews may be intrusive in reopening old wounds, they can also be healing” (Patton, p. 406) as discussed in the previous chapters.

Regarding ethical issues, I explained my aim and objectives to all of the subjects. I kept the promises I have made. Many subjects told me that if I would inform them when the research ended. I gave them information about it by phoning all of them. I also invited them to the thesis defense. When some of them asked what I expect from the research and what will contribute to them concretely, I told them that I organized my aims and objectives according to possible concrete outputs, not theoretical. All the presentations and articles that I produced on the Saturday Mothers made them happy as they reported this to me. In terms of risk assessment, I tried to manage psychological stress, both mine and the subjects. I waited for the subjects until they felt ready for the interview. I also gave time to myself to start the analysis. In terms of legal liabilities and political repercussions, I studied my sentences and findings; my supervisors gave me feedback, as well. I asked all the subjects for their consent as to whether I should use their real names or codes – in order not to harm confidentiality. I stored my data on my personal computer in a file locked by me. I have never shared any personal details with third parties. It was of great importance to have the ethics committee approval from TİHV. In the data analysis process, "*Je m'enracine*" was my motto.

As for sensitizing concepts in the findings such as "motherhood", "resistance", "school", "insistence", and "mourning", I analysed them from an emic point of view. Indigenous typologies were founded on the most repeated concepts which formed the labels. I compared these labels with the findings of the interviews. I stopped doing interviews when I felt/thought the data is exhausted. Through *verstehen*, triangulation, reflexivity, contextualisation, and consistency, I could determine substantive significance.

The research is mostly about the senses: seeing, smell, hearing, touch, and taste: How did the Saturday Mothers lose their senses and how could they find them at the Galatasaray Square through the struggle? Lack of senses due to enforced disappearances transformed resistant senses through the use of emotions such as hope, grief, pride, and belonging. All the interviews contain "narrative truth" (Lieblich, et al., 1998, p. 551) which I could not find in the official national history of modern Turkey. Therefore, utility is important in the research. As T. E. Barone states, "If all discourse is culturally contextual, how do we decide which deserves our attention and respect? The pragmatists offer the criterion of usefulness for this purpose . . . An idea, like a tool, has no intrinsic value and is 'true' only in its capacity to perform the desired service for its handler within a given situation" (2000, p. 13). Because it is unethical to instrumentalize knowledge as we see from the examples of Friday Mothers of Turkey or the Diyarbakır Mothers of Turkey, my guide has been ethical, not responsible if there is a conflict between them. Three principles guided me throughout the research: the principle of respect, the principle of benefit, and the principle of justice which means the human autonomy, not giving harm intentionally, balancing risks with benefits, respectively. That is why I suggest involving the Saturday Mothers' struggle within human solidarity instead of naming it human rights because solidarity covers the rights and does not have any hierarchy in it. In the Saturday Mothers' struggle, there is human dignity.

3. Main Conclusions and Suggestion for Further Research

(1) The nation comes from 'to be born' in Latin. It shows why motherhood is important and sacred in nation-states. Although the Turkish authorities do not see the Saturday Mothers as acceptable because their children never existed according to them (they deny enforced disappearances), the Saturday Mothers' struggle transformed that acceptable definition to involve mothers, activists, and relatives, irrespective of their gender. In terms of Guattari and Deleuze, they deterritorialized the masculine name Galatasaray (the name of a popular football team) by transforming it into the Saturday Mothers. Another example is that although some daughters and sisters are married and changed their surnames in their daily lives, they insist on using their maiden surnames so as not to cut off their link to their beloved ones during the protests.

(2) In addition, as Alison M. Jaggar states, "the model of knowing suggested here is nonhierarchical and antifoundationalist; instead, it is appropriately symbolized by the radical feminist metaphor of the upward spiral. Emotions are neither more basic than observation, reason, or action in building theory, nor secondary to them. (1989, p. 171). This is very valid for the Saturday Mothers' struggle. Bendelow & Williams states that "Like emotions, pain lies at the intersection of mind and body, biology and culture. Medical theories of pain, however, have traditionally been dominated by its physiological aspects" (2005, p. 249). They criticize medicine and science for they use emotions as tools. "This is clearly demonstrated by *specificity theory*, the basis of which was classically described in 1664 by Descartes, who proposed that a specific pain system carries messages from pain receptors in the skin to a pain centre in the brain" (2005, p. 249).

(3) According to the Study Group for the Disappeared under Custody of Turkey, the right to truth equals the right to information. Within the framework of the Geneva Convention Protocol No:1 Article 32 and the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons

from Enforced disappearance, the Saturday Mothers claim that the state has to protect “memory” mutually because human rights violations are part of the cultural memory of a country and must be archived in case there be any distortions made. Besides, all the victims and their relatives have the right to know what exactly happened, under whatever circumstances because it is a *must* to have high-standard knowledge of human rights violations²¹⁴.

(4) Michel Foucault believes history is written in space; however, Bergson thinks that time is located inside reality, and reality means time, duration, and accumulation all of which are creative. Existence equals change and maturity. The Saturday Mothers rebel against the authorities that try to “ice” (Foucault, 1986, p. 27) the history of the *others*. Likewise, in “First Annual ‘*Feminist Review*’ Public Lecture School of Oriental and African Studies, London”, Cynthia Cockburn claims that gender is a cause and a consequence of militarization and war (2008). The Saturday Mothers' struggle shows the possibility of how this triangulation of gender, militarization, and war can be destructed through peaceful resistance. In the *Last Words* chapter, Jacqueline Jones Royster states that the Saturday Mothers and the Saturday Mothers activists "are not imperceptible. In small acts of resistance, [they] speak as ... amplifying [their] voices, presenting [themselves] one by one, each in her or his own turn, tossing [their] cards about the room, claiming space, creating visibility—without a microscope, without a telescope—for the naked eye. Amid such boldness, [they] see each other and recognize ... [t]hey share [their] written words, and then [they] speak, an opportunity for a few last words" (1999, p. 255). Her description gives a clear idea of how it can be possible that “non-academic” women give academic inspiration to an “academic” women’s group.

²¹⁴ <https://www.ihd.org.tr/> (Accessed 21.3.2022)

(5) I would like to continue the concluding chapter by redefining the terms detailed in the previous chapters. Within all the findings and analysis of the previous chapters, my suggestions for the conceptualisation are as follows.

Torture

Regarding the Saturday Mothers' struggle and findings in this research, I can conclude that torture is directly related to the disappeared. In terms of torture against a relative of a forcibly disappeared one, the belief is that it is the torture of loss and the torture against those who are left behind. This torture never ends. In literature, at the end of this process, the tortured person can receive treatment, or s/he is troubled with post-traumatic stress disorder, but in the case of the Saturday Mothers, it is not certain exactly when the torture will end. Namely, torture is an inadequate word because of this ambiguity. It is labelled as chronic. It is not only physical, but it also means despair. It is a feeling emerging after being unable to achieve anything while doing everything. The mothers try all legal and administrative ways, but they never get any results despite knowing that they cannot get any results. For example, the court decided on non-prosecution in the Cemil Kirbayır case in 2018 although the same court had decided that it was impossible to be time-barred in 2014. When the conjuncture changes, the judicial decision also changes which makes it a form of extreme torture. In a *normal* case, when the torture process is over, the person finds time to recover, but it is not the same for the Saturday Mothers. The ECHR defined the process of the relatives of the forcibly disappeared as torture. This is also confirmed by Sebla Arcan's testimonies, as well. Because it leaves a mental and physical impact on the mothers, torture needs to be redefined. My suggestion is to add "denial" as a strong method of torture in the definition of international human rights and law literature.

Remembering-Recall-Memory/Forgetting

Regarding the Saturday Mothers, it is possible to associate memory and forgetting with their etymological meanings. Although it creates sorrowful and anxious remembrance, the Saturday Mothers insist on remembering because it is the way of mourning, knowledge, and pondering to be able to *hide* and *protect* their beloved children both in their hearts and conscious. Memory should not solely be discussed in neuro-science because it is highly related to emotions as the Arabic etymology indicates.

Forgetting is about consent and acquiescence meaning that the situation does not bother you much. However, remembering is about objection and protest. You object to what you remember. Besides, forgetting is about impunity. That is why the authorities teach citizens to forget. Remembering is about justice and confrontation and reckoning with the punishment of crime although forgetting is something that delays confrontation. Remembering is actually about learning from the past, is on the prevention of recurrence, and is a demand for justice. If we keep it in our memory and if we don't forget, we face and we reckon with the past. And so that the past can stay in the past. It comes to the present and the future if you don't confront it. It is necessary to remember and to be reminded, in order to face and reckon with. Sometimes, the truth of the past can be manipulated and reflected on us. This is the way to circumvent this manipulation. It is also the way to build a democratic country. If we do not want to carry the ghosts of the past to the present, these two concepts should be separated from each other. The Saturday Mothers' struggle indicates that it is united and collective like gleanings through memory, recall, and remembering. The Saturday Mothers are against forgetting which has meanings of "flour" and "bit" in Old Turkish language to be able to make the issue of enforced disappearances and their beloved ones visible and unique.

Denial and Annihilation

In the Saturday Mothers' struggle, the meanings of both denial and annihilation should be redefined broader because forgetting is about denial. The tool of denial policies is to make people forget to forget. It is also about impunity. As Sebla Arcan defines, there is an important difference between them. There can be the destruction of a body or the destruction of truth. The method of destruction is to prevent physical destructions from coming to the fore or to bring them to the agenda by being manipulated by breaking them off from the truth. This means moving it away from democracy. Extermination is a form of attack on human dignity. What is destroyed is not the physical assets of the people but the human values. Therefore, this destruction is confronted with the truth, and it is passed on to future generations. In her opinion, what happened in the past is not subject to time. For example, in terms of criminal law, it is impossible to come to terms with the genocide of a hundred years ago, but we can overcome it when we condemn it. It doesn't matter how long ago it happened. This also applies to disposal policies. Moral and conscientious justice must be provided. Relatives of the disappeared say: "If we could have raised our voice in the Armenian genocide in these lands if we had raised our objection; there would not have been Maraş, Çorum, the 12 September, Sivas massacres, and we would not have had any losses." It offers continuity. When this is a state policy, there will be no judgment. Although there is a parliamentary report about the Cemil Kırbayır case, the responsible are not punished, but if this happens, it means that the state will no longer do this. It gives a message to public officials that you can go further. In 2017, 29 people were sentenced to life imprisonment in Argentina; time ran out there. In a more recent era, a Nazi was caught at the age of 100 and is on trial. Time didn't work in these places. But this was not possible in our land. If a country wants to move towards democratization, then it must face the past. But that won't happen if to rule is understood as to rule, by violent means. One of our goals is to contribute to the

democratization of Turkey because that way, there will be no impunity. Making the sustainability of denial and destruction is unsustainable. The Saturday Mothers are trying to make a hole in the wall of denial, maybe as small as a pinhole, but this hole will get bigger if the democratic forces get older. This is a wall of destruction and denial being built before society. For this, social demand must be organized. In sum, denial and annihilation should also be used in collective memory studies, law, and political sociology by referring to their etymological meanings "to refuse" and "reduce to nothing", respectively.

Insistence and Resistance

The result is important in a fight but focusing on the result reduces your chances of winning the fight because you may not be so insistent on being result-oriented. Persistence is more important than the result. If you persist in a struggle, then "the struggle lost means the struggle has been given up." As long as you insist, you are the winner, even if you don't get any results. Once you voice your objection, you state that you do not consent. It is also important for the struggle to keep hope alive. It means to focus on purpose rather than an outcome. For example, the Saturday Mothers know that they never reach their lost ones (burned or melted in cauldrons). They say that it is not possible to get results under these conditions, but they focus on the purpose, not the result: they can do it persistently to ensure that the public does not forget; it keeps their hope alive and keeps their faith in the struggle alive. Being a citizen and human makes them feel alive and well. All of the means and methods are being tried persistently. Knowing that they will not get results, they are doing a lot of things, and it is comforting to know that they are recorded. These will be recorded in history and later be evaluated when Turkey will be democratized in the future. Resistance is also a way of protest and expression. The Saturday Mothers show that they do not consent by coming together. It is an expression of standing against injustice and lawlessness. It means to stand in front of the state when people say human rights, and it is a form of reminder to society. As the Turkish

etymology refers that resistance is to be *alive* through insistence for both the mothers and the forcibly disappeared.

Mourning

I think that academically defined grief is not enough anymore, and it does not meet the feelings of the relatives of the forcibly disappeared. In literature, it takes a 6-month trial period. Performing the rituals of the deceased reconnects you to life. The result of tens of thousands of years of experience (40th-day dinners or condolence tents as mourning traditions in Anatolia) is the method of reconnecting the survivors with life. A person cannot believe it until s/he buries the beloved with her/his hands. Hanım Tosun says, "I know with my mind that he won't come home, but I want him to be at the door with my heart when the doorbell rings." Dilan Aydemir states that "I am looking for a grave and I want him to be at the door when it knocks." It is a situation being in between. If you do not want to give up hope, you cannot mourn the feeling of "I wonder". The psychiatrists claim that your experiences are left in the past and forget about them to heal. However, the Saturday Mothers want to remember. It does not coincide with what mental health science offers them, and its definitions do not fit them. It does not even meet the definition of chronic mourning. Because it is an endless process of mourning. Science says the grieving process is the most difficult process for a person. This is called 6 months. If this continues, it is called an unhealthy situation. However, there are approximately 30 years in the struggle. There is renunciation, a return to life, and acceptance in rituals in mourning. Hediye Coşkun used to say that "they took a son like a lion and gave me a kilo of bone." She was both delighted and devastated when her son was found. "Now I have to accept that he's dead." Because hope is gone. It is not something that can be explained by today's literature definitions. There is no rationalization or regulating hormones in mourning of the Saturday Mothers. Mourning should be defined through emotions, not by male-dominated and rational terms. This is not a deviant case for the relatives but highly

emotional and humane. Apart from these, in terms of the Cambridge definition, the great sadness they felt is not because their relatives have died, but they do not know what happened to them. Etymologically, mourning may not be an appropriate word for the struggle because there is mostly no *funeral*. Besides, there are not only women but men in the struggle, as well. That is why mourning is not suitable to define the Saturday Mothers' struggle. I suggest future researchers, human rights activists, and lawmakers using the word *kronik haciz* (chronic distress) instead of chronic mourning because the statesmen and/or the authorities are *barriers* to use of the mothers' rights. Their rights to know the truth and have justice and to find and bury their beloved ones have been *blocked* by the power. Mourning can only start after getting these rights.

Sharing

In all the similar groups throughout the world, the mothers state that the most hurtful thing is the denial of the missing. When the relatives of the forcibly disappeared reunite, no one understands each other better than someone else. There is a bond between them produced by experiencing similar things. Even if a mother shares it with her neighbour, it doesn't work exactly as it is seen in the case of Hanım Tosun. It has lightened their grief, and many experience the same thing. In solidarity, they were able to face denial. That is why they care so much about solidarity. When they shared their feelings with others, they could not understand them easily. Yet, for those who experience similar things, it is the opposite. Also, there is a big difference between those who stand together and those who do not as seen in the example of a mother who almost never attended the struggle. The mother acted as if her daughter was alive, and she died very early. She lived in a very heavy mood. The father also died early. There is a different bond between those who experience the same pain which is considered to be stronger than family ties.

Turkishness, Sense of Belonging, and Citizenship

When the Saturday Mothers come across the concept of Turkishness, it reminds the subjects of otherness. They told me that they feel otherness not only in the ethnic sense but in every sense even if they are of Turkish ethnicity. Because when they talk about Turkishness, it is understood that there is uniformity. When someone comes to them with this concept, they get the feeling of *normalizing* what is going on with the losses. The concept of acceptable citizenship, which is identified with Turkishness, makes them feel that they are not accepted. There are people from all kinds of ethnic groups in the Saturday Mothers' struggle, even though they are mostly Kurds. There are people with very different political views. Turkishness has a meaning that excludes them although they care about citizenship. "If the word 'homeland' is a land on which a person lives safely and if there is no justice, that piece of land is not a homeland," claims Sebla Arcan. Arcan continues, "Asiye Karakoç once said 'I do not feel like a citizen of this country. I am now stateless.' Mother Asiye also said what Emile Zola said for the Dreyfus Case." She means that only if you have rights, you become a citizen. She remarked that the Saturday Mothers and activists look at these concepts differently. "If they do not exercise their rights, they cannot talk about citizenship," Arcan added. After all, when the state says there is no such person, there is no homeland, either. They consider this situation as the suspension of their citizenship. Citizens have a contract with the state, and the relatives of the forcibly disappeared are the people whose rights have been suspended in this context.

Civil Disobedience

There are overlapping aspects of civil disobedience with the Saturday Mothers' struggle such as being open to the public, knowing in advance what is going to happen, knowing what will happen to those who get there, and being willing to bear the consequences by not using violence. In civil disobedience, people break existing laws in a way. Although Galatasaray

was banned and they continued the struggle and were detained, the struggle is not pure civil disobedience. It is more extensive than civil disobedience. The Saturday Mothers' struggle has developed the confrontation from the base to practical. This is different from the Indian salt acts or Henry David Thoreau's protest in the USA, both of which are often portrayed as very soft and passive. There is a confrontation with the system at Galatasaray which is not soft at all. There is a harsh confrontation with the system. There is also humour and gentleness in civil disobedience in a way, but there is no such thing in the Saturday Mothers' struggle which is clearer and more pointing.

Truth

Truth can be defined as looking back without being detached from the enforced disappearances. The reason the Saturday Mothers repeat the term truth so much is that families are constantly faced with denial. This is not only an individual right of families but a social right. Sebla Arcan criticizes that "all these definitions will also improve the literature [she means this research]. Scientific studies should be reversed. Scientific studies need to establish a relationship with the subjects. If not, then truth and theory do not coincide. This is how families view academic studies, too." Hence, the photos, silence protest, and red carnations are memory and truth *carved* at the Galatasaray Square as the etymology of truth in Hebrew defines.

Motherhood

Aysel Ocak explains that "my mother's only concern was what to cook for dinner until then." She transformed her from such a woman into a woman who develops resistance through motherhood. They built a resistance and an objection through motherhood. They made motherhood meaningful. There is an effort by oppressive regimes to frame motherhood, as it is seen as a catalyst that ensures the continuation of the system. The authorities define a mother as the one who raises future generations. That is why it is sacred by saying "Heaven is

under the feet of mothers." But as soon as mothers object to this role, the umbrella of motherhood no longer protects them. She turns into an unacceptable mother. She is not a mother because she does not have a child anymore. Motherhood could not be sustained because of other state-supported groups such as the Friday Mothers or the Diyarbakır Mothers. Because they did it based on the basic ideology. The Saturday Mothers also challenged the male-dominated system. In doing so, they also achieved positive thoughts about motherhood in society: "A mother can do anything for her child."

It is not just mothers' struggles. The siblings and grandchildren of the forcibly disappeared whose mother is still alive are more concerned about the struggle. Sebla Arcan gives the example of the case of Mahmut Kaya, for example, killed in 1980. Mahmut's mother had died when he was a child. And today there is no one to remember him or defend his rights. Therefore, the mothers not only struggled but also managed to spread it to the next generation and around. This is not the glorification of motherhood. It is not necessary to have children. There are such women in the struggle, who do not have children. Motherhood has an effect on this persistence. Mothers and fathers live differently, too. Motherhood has hundreds of thousands of years of history. It is impossible to give unpaid labour to the child for something else. There is a difference: there have always been mothers, but fatherhood is a new term in the course of human history. This is because of this feeling, not the role that the system assigns to motherhood. It is like thirty thousand years of paternity tradition against two hundred and seventy thousand years of motherhood experience. The Saturday Mothers are driven by emotion with the power of this ancient tradition. Against this, there is a crisis of envy in the mind of the patriarchal state. It just cannot beat the power of a woman. It is different from other forms of struggle. Although it is not a motherhood movement, it is derived from motherhood.

(6) Difference between the Saturday Mothers' struggle and similar ones

There are also struggles in different countries such as India, Sudan, Peru, Colombia, Guatemala, Ethiopia, Philippines, Honduras, Sri Lanka, Rwanda, Senegal, Yugoslavia, Chile, Iraq, Angola, Cyprus, El Salvador, Argentina, Lebanon, Armenia, Egypt, Palestine, Israel, Iran, Morocco, Afghanistan, Chechenia, and Mexico as prominent ones were analysed in the previous chapters. I would like to give some quotations showing the struggle's difference from the similar ones in the world.

"It was unique and precious in terms of method. Because there are people from different backgrounds such as journalists, translators, authors, and academicians who have more free time".

We [the activists] wrote Emine Ocak's letter to the then-Prime Minister. However, in Latin America women themselves wrote. The movement is a middle-class struggle, a left-wing movement. Here it is both Kurdish and the uneducated, poor, including the ones who cannot read or write Turkish or know very little. Some of them first learnt Turkish and addressed the people in Turkish which is very exciting. In Latin America or Lebanon as I know from my friends there, they were different, were mostly educated."

"Different from Peace Mothers who are more specific."

"Their politicization formed during the process. But in Latin America, small bourgeoisie families from left-wing politics are against the junta. They were already politized."

"Different from Friday Mothers. The state repelled the Friday Mothers quickly because it could be very dangerous. One day, on Star TV prime time news, they invited two mothers, one of them is a Friday Mother, the other one is a Saturday Mother. They were expected to quarrel; however, they were alike physically such as their shoes were in the mud (referring that they are from the same social/economical class). The Saturday Mother told both of them to have the same troubles and problems such as how to pay the bills, have same grief for their children, even have the same dirty shoes. After the programme, the Friday Mothers protests stopped."

All these quotations show that the Saturday Mothers' struggle is unique and different from the ones started before them. Also, they inspired the similar ones established after the Saturday Mothers' struggle. The struggle is also different from other mothers' movements in Turkey which includes motherhood by integrating it with nation and biology to reconstruct gender roles in patriarchal society. Although these movements are never opponents, the Saturday Mothers' struggle is highly political. Construction and contextualisation is very different in the Saturday Mothers' struggle which uses emotions by changing traditional patriarchal

perception and returning their powerful roles in the pre-historic times. As Solanas mentions, "the fathers corrode the Earth through masculinity. A male has a Midas touch. It turns everything that he touches into a shit ... a mother loves her child" (2016, 37 and 34).

(7) The Saturday Mothers do not see their beloved ones as adults. They are still children like Peter Pan mentioned in the very first part of the research. As Meltem Ahiska mentions that the concept of memory is a tool for *encounter* and *co-emergence*. It shows both biological and psychological relation between the mothers and their children because memory gives you who you are and gives you the possibility of sharing. Also, participation of fathers, wives, nephews, daughters, sons, sisters, and brothers, activists, and other people in the struggle makes the Saturday Mothers *the Saturday Mothers*. There should not be patriarchal cartesian points of view because the terms the Saturday People and/or Relatives of the Forcibly Disappeared reduce the effect of the struggle because opposing the name of the Saturday Mothers, for there are also males and other family members, is a highly gendered issue. The rationale and drive behind the struggle are motherhood, and non-gendering the struggle by naming it the Saturday People makes it a part of Apollyonic perspective. As one of the fathers said, "As one of the Saturday Mothers, I ...", the term of 'mother' brings in the struggle an identity and subjectivity.

(8) The photographs in the Saturday Mothers' hands prove that these people actually existed, and these people forcibly disappeared. All the bystanders actually became emphatic co-owners of the traumatic event. Thus, trauma is shared through narrated stories with the bystanders in the struggle.

(9) As Sara Ahmed conceptualises, *emotional is political*. The Saturday Mothers' struggle is a struggle rather than a movement, civil disobedience, or protest whose motivation mainly comes from emotions which transforms the concepts such as motherhood, resistance, insistence, and truth among others discussed above. Emotions make the mothers

get out of their routine by embracing all in their pluralities and differences. In sum, the Saturday Mothers' struggle cannot be labelled as one-dimensional stereotype.

(10) Disappearance results in knowledge in the Saturday Mothers' struggle. Internalising the event of disappearance both in their mind and body causes the mothers' embodiment of pain as well as embodiment of memory. Namely, the emotions caused by the loss of a forcibly disappeared person are embodied through the mothers' sense of identity through their language, photographs, and senses such seeing.

(11) Through *emphatic neutrality, being for perspective, and verstehen* and preferring 'better' to 'more', I underline that the Saturday Mothers have been resisting and struggling since 1995 to keep their hope of finding their enforced disappearances by transforming 'neverland' into a concrete public place which is the Galatasaray Square. That is why they always repeat that they never give up there where *all children* (second and third generations), *except their children, grow up*.

(12) Using three different data, document analysis, interviews with the activists, and interviews with the Saturday Mothers, I constructed the data by triangulation to evaluate two different dimensions in the Saturday Mothers' struggle: the dimension of social reality and the dimension of the independence of social actors which provided me *to find meaning, learn, and gain a deeper understanding of both my own life and my field of research*.

(13) For further research, I firstly recommend researchers getting touch with the Saturday Mothers if they study on their struggle. For it is a trauma study, it is of great importance to protect both the subjects and researcher. The researchers should get feedback from human rights activists. Second, I recommend researchers evaluating online gatherings on Zoom and YouTube in a comparative sense. How using social media tools in the struggle especially after COVID-19 pandemic has transformed the struggle can be a fruitful research

question to examine the possibility and weaknesses of getting the struggle into a wider audience. Last, second and third generations who grow up at the Galatasaray Square can be another research topic to show the sustainability of the struggle movements in the world.

To put it in a nutshell, I used the Patton's quotation in the beginning of the thesis as my guide, specifically I *smiled to express both pain and hurt, experienced both pain and hurt* throughout my Ph.D. process. Also, As Gülten Akin said, trust can be provided best by a mother's love which can be traced in the Saturday Mothers' struggle which is full of pain and hurt but *transformed into a clearer* mind by the mothers.

Saturday Mothers create social reality ontologically in the public sphere and they transform motherhood in their struggle through memory, truth, mourning, politics of emotion, insistence, and resistance *by leaving the angel in the house*. As the ghost of the father haunts his son and embodies Hamlet by saying 'Remember me' meaning 'put me together' in *Hamlet* by William Shakespeare, the Saturday Mothers are embodied with their children's ghosts to remember them to prove both their children's ontological existence and their motherhood. To conclude with references to modern literature anti-heroes, the Saturday Mothers of Turkey are the *mad women* who rebel the nurse and get out of the window in the *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* by Ken Kesey, the residents of Oceania who could change the hate hour to remembering and dignity hour and rebel the Big Brother by constructing a concrete memory sphere through their emotions against denial and forgetting which is totally different from Winston and Julia in *1984* by George Orwell, and the villagers who could succeed in opposing the transformation of people into rhinoceros through collaboration and using emotions instead of logocentric tools in *Rhinoceros* by Eugène Ionesco. The Saturday Mothers stuck their children in time at the Galatasaray Square like Billy Pilgrim in *Slaughter-House-Five* by Kurt Vonnegut Jr. They always exist and they are always children embodied in

their mothers' hearts and emotions, and their mothers always "hear their heartbeat" as U2 sings. The Saturday Mothers' struggle proves the possibility of doing research in the lenses of emotions that we do not have to use rationalism and logocentrism in science.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

A Brief History of Human Rights in Turkey

Bülent Tanör classifies the process of human rights into three stages:

the first one is classical human rights. “The bourgeois-democratic revolutions and reforms carried with them a list of specific rights and freedoms: individual freedom and security, religion and conscience, thought and speech, press and publication, meetings and associations, voting, and the right to be elected, and property and commerce. These were all part of a setting of scores with the guardians of the former order, the aristocracy, and the monarchy. These new rights and freedoms entered a period of legitimization and constitutional legalization. The second stage in the evolution of human rights occurred during the 19th century within the context of the struggle of the working classes: social insurance and security programs, health, education, shelter, favourable working conditions, fair wages, the right to form unions and the right to strike. The third stage in the development of rights is primarily related to events that occurred worldwide after the end of the World War II. Together with the solidarity and developmental rights advanced by Third World countries and their representatives since then, the right to live in a peaceful and healthy environment. (2004, p. 33).

It is general knowledge that the issues and practices on human rights in a country are directly related to the political regimes of that country. This is also the case in Turkey. A history of human rights in the country shows that although the laws were set down on paper, there were examples of violations in practice. This divided Turkish history into two main parts: before the war of Turkish Independence (1918-1923) and after. This meant the beginning of a series of drastic political, social, economic, and cultural changes, thereafter called ‘modernization’, in the history of the country. The period before the 19th century will not be analysed because there were almost no human rights movements, which had an international impact before the 18th century and also there were no universally accepted human rights discourses.

The First Attempts: The Ottoman Empire and Human Rights

Limiting the Power of the Palace: The Contractual Agreement of 1808 (*Sened-i İttifak*)

The Contractual Agreement of 1808 is the first constitutional document and a step that aimed at limiting the power of the Sultan, but it was not very effective. Sultan Mahmud II (1785-1839) never put it into practice; hence, it remained just as a written document. Yet, it was an important attempt in the Ottoman Empire's history in terms of lessening the arbitrary behaviour of the authorities. The articles related to human rights were among the hereditary right of the landed proprietors (*ayan*), the protection of the poor and the *rayah*²¹⁵, abolition of excessive tax, the prohibition of torture, and no punishment without prior investigation of the case. Although the agreement was not much effective, it was a turning point in the history of the 500-year-old empire in terms of a legal connection between the palace and its peoples.

The Voice of 'Democracy': The Edict of Gülhane of 1839 (*Tanzimat Fermanı* or *Gülhane Hatt-ı Şerif-i*)

The second democratic attempt in the country was the Edict of Gülhane of 1839 which was signed by the Sultan Abdulmejid on November 3, 1839. It opened a gate that would pave the way for a series of leaps of modernization and constitutionalism in politics in the near future. It was also an important document consisting of progressive articles in terms of human rights. It differs from The Contractual Agreement of 1808 because it was not just a document on paper. The articles related to human rights were the protection of life, honour, and property; the regulation of taxation; and the regulations on military service. It also limited the authoritative power of the Sultan and accepted the supremacy of the constitution. Besides, it introduced fair taxation, individual security, and the equality of all people, irrespective of their religion, under protection. Thanks to this document, it forbade punishment without prior investigation. To sum up, although there was no mention of freedom of thought or press, it

²¹⁵ Lower class people living within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire

was the beginning of a legislation period in which there were formed who would draft laws. It can be concluded that the edict became the voice of the very first heartbeats of democracy in the body of the old monarchy.

The Edict of Reform: The Decree of 1856 (*Islahat Fermani*)

The Sultan Abdulmecid also signed the Edict of Reform (also called the Decree of 1856) (*Islahat Fermani*) on February 28, 1856, after Crimean War, six weeks before the Treaty of Paris. The then-European powers had an impact on the decree in favour of the non-Muslim communities and minorities²¹⁶ throughout the empire. It was an approval as well as the expansion of rights claimed in the Edict of Gülhane of 1839. With the Edict of Reform, patriarchates and their status, competence in statements, and the freedom of worship would be guaranteed; there would be no intervention in the property of non-Muslims; and also no discrimination against any religion, sect, women, and language. Besides, military service would not be mandatory for those who did not want to join; instead, they had to pay money. Apart from these, there would be a fight against corruption and unfair taxation, and there would be no torment, torture, or physical punishment by the people in charge. These articles

²¹⁶ Baskin Oran, Turkey's one of the most acclaimed historians studying the minority groups in Turkey presented the Minority Report to the Turkish Assembly in 2003. The term "minority" has been used since the 16th century for religious groups and after the 1789 French Revolution for national minorities. The regulations on how minority rights were protected started with the Edict of Nantes of 1598 and the Treaty of Karlowitz of 1699. With the multi-lateral treaties thanks to nationalist movements in the 19th century like the Treaty of Paris of 1856 and international organizations like the League of Nations of 1920, minority rights have been tried to be protected under the United Nations, the Council of Europe, the European Union, and Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). However, Turkey, after it signed the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923, does not recognize ethnic, linguistic, and religious minorities but non-Muslim citizens as a minority which results in the attitude of Turkish authorities not falling in with The United Nations Human Rights Committee. Oran claims that the Turkish government also does not practice the articles of the treaty. For example, although there are minority schools for the Armenians, the Jews, and the Rums, another minority non-Muslim minority Assyrians cannot have their own schools. If a state does not want to "create" any minority groups within its territory, it has to give equal rights to all the citizens within the borders. One of the chief reasons for the restrictions of the minority rights is Article 3:1 of the Constitution saying the nation is unique and undividable, and the "state language" is Turkish. By using this Article, it is very easy for the authorities to accuse people of destroying or dividing the country and terrorizing the citizens. Anti-Terror Law, Law of Police Powers, Radio and Television Supreme Council, Law of Associations, and Political Parties Act are among the legal regulations restricting minority demands for rights. For instance, Kurdish political parties were banned, and several Kurdish members of the parliament were detained for they spoke Kurdish in the parliament and/or they asked for the right to education in their mother tongue (Oran, 2007).

would lead to the improvement of prisons which was defined in another article. In brief, the Edict called for equal rights for all people within the boundaries of the whole country.

The First Constitutionalist Period

The first general written constitution of the Turkish story is the Ottoman Basic Law (or Ottoman Constitution of 1876) which was put into force by the Sultan Abdulhamid II on December 23, 1876²¹⁷. Yet, it went into abeyance in 1878 by the Sultan with the beginning of his absolute rule period which continued until 1908. Those years were the dark pages for human rights²¹⁸ in terms of denouncement and all kinds of censorship. However, an underground protest against Abdulhamid II's absolute rule grew with the emergence of a group named the Committee for Union and Progress consisting of young intellectuals called the Young Turks who would establish the new republic in the future. This opposition group was inspired by the French Revolution slogans and their starting point was based on the concepts of liberty, fraternity, equality, and justice and they aimed at rebuilding the Constitution in order to reach their aims.

The Ottoman Basic Law consisted of many articles relating to human rights issues. Firstly, it turned absolutism into a representative form of government. There would be a two-house parliament, yet the key figure was still the Sultan who directed the legislative and executive branches of the system. Although this was a big challenge in terms of the establishment of a decentralized state, the autonomy of the judiciary was clearly defined in the law. The chief gains of human rights were equality before the law, personal liberty, inviolability of person and home, the prohibition of persecution, torture, seizure, and forced labour, the right to petition, freedom of religion, the right to property²¹⁹, the right to form

²¹⁷ The Edict of Egypt in 1866 is a written constitution, but it is actually a declaration of independence from the Ottoman Empire.

²¹⁸ His period has often been compared to the President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's by many scholars and columnists (McCann, 2015; Göknaç, 2018; Yavuz and Öztürk, 2019).

²¹⁹ These rights were well-defined in the Islamic Ottoman Code of Civil Law (*Mecelle-i Ahkâm-ı Adliye*) which were in force after 1868 and compiled by a commission under the presidency by General Ahmet Cevdet.

partnerships, the right to education, the legality of taxation and the principle of just and reasonable taxation, the right to a public and fair trial. Yet, the Sultan could send into exile anybody whom he wished, on the basis of a police report. Also, like both edicts mentioned above, there was a direct definition of the protection of the freedom of press and thought. However, the constitution was left under the shadow of the absolute power of Abdulhamid II.

The Second Constitutional Period

In 1908, with the resistance of the Young Turks, the constitution was rebuilt, yet the problems within the group and criticism of the opposing groups, who wanted the government to govern the country according to the ecclesiastic law, led to the 31 March Riot. Some of the senior officials of the Young Turks were killed or managed to escape, and this resulted in chaos. After that, the third battalion from Thessaloniki, named the Action Army, came to Istanbul and suppressed the riot. Abdulhamid II was dethroned, and a more powerful government of the Young Turks was rebuilt under the reign of the Sultan Mehmed Reşat.

The positive changes during this period in terms of human rights in the Constitution included the following: the abolition of traditional banishments, arrests could only be made according to the law, no censorship of the press, privacy of communication rights, and the right to form associations and hold meetings. In spite of this, it was paradoxical that Article 120 was changed and stated that “The formation of secret societies, in general, is also forbidden” because the Union and Progress Party itself was a secret society that emerged in the second half of the 19th century against the Sultan Abdulhamid II.

However, the new government of the Union and Progress Party turned into an autocratic one with its practices, so no real parliamentary system was achieved. There was too much control on the institutional bodies, and all the decision-making process was held by the party members only. These were harsh and cruel years, especially for the minorities such as the Armenians and Assyrians who were systematically killed by the government between

1914 and 1918 in the shadow of World War I. To sum up, The Ottoman Basic Law never came true as expected and was not applied in practice.

Is Democracy Coming? The War of Independence Period (1918-1923)

After the defeat in WWI, the leadership of the Kemalist movement, with the help of the Sivas Congress and the establishment of the Turkey Grand National Assembly, led to participatory democracy and the superiority of the concept of law. The regime of the country literally changed from being an empire into becoming a republic.

The Attempts to Establish Human Rights after the Republican Period

The Single Party (Republican People's Party) Period (1924-1945)

Under the Kemalist rules, the multi-party system was put into practice but failed, because of the authoritarian system of the Kemalist regime. The fundamental rights were guaranteed by the Constitution of 1924²²⁰ but they were not implemented. These rights included freedom of speech and the right to association. Although pluralism was not permitted, the attempts were less negative than those made in Italy, Germany, and by the Soviets. The focus was to establish political modernization more than the application of human rights.

The Democratic Party Period and the 1960 Turkish Coup d'État (1950-1971)

After the death of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the leader and first president of the Turkish Republic, in 1938, a second era in the newly established country was figuratively started. With the end of the Second World War²²¹. Turkey chose to be an ally with the USA instead of the USSR. So, that would affect all the political and socio-cultural as well as military-based advancement of the country in its future. The first sign of this was the year 1950 in which a new party, the Democratic Party (established in 1946), came into force with the elections, and the new era - *de facto*- began in the history of Turkey. Because of the majority of the party

²²⁰ Four Constitutions have been passed since 1921: The Constitution of 1921, the Constitution of 1924, the Constitution of 1961, and the Constitution of 1982. The forming of a new "democratic" constitution has been argued by each new government since 1990s.

²²¹ Turkey never became a party to either side in the war.

members in the Parliament, there was an attempt to suppress all opposing voices. A dictatorship gradually emerged in which certain human rights were clearly violated as was shown by the many anti-democratic laws passed during the Democratic Party's government under the presidency of the then Prime Minister, Adnan Menderes.

With the aim of putting an end to these violations and restoring "freedom", the National Unity Committee, consisting of army officers who were supported by intellectuals and by public opinion, dissolved the Parliament and seized the control of the government on May 27, 1960. However, the violation of human rights by the Committee led to the execution of the former Prime Minister, Adnan Menderes, and two of his ministers.

After the coup d'état of 1961, a new Constitutional Era began (1961-1971). Human rights advanced during this liberalization era in terms of the general judiciary, the constitutional court, administrative jurisdiction, and the supreme council of judges. However, the restrictions on freedom of thought and association rights continued, as did also the violations of minority rights.

The March 12 Memorandum and 1980 Turkish Coup d'État

The March 12 Memorandum (1971-73) was a counter-reaction to the liberalization of the 1960s. Many horrific cases of abuse of human rights occurred in this period. Some key points, which negatively illustrate the second segment of the 1961 Constitutional Period (1973-80), were unstable governments, armed struggles, political violence, conflicts between left-wing socialist and communist rebellious groups and ultra-nationalist groups, assassinations, and unsolved murders of intellectuals, authors, politicians, journalists, and attorney generals by extremists or unknown pressure groups. All these political horrors would result in justifying the September 12, 1980, military coup d'état. The most powerful counter-reaction to the democratic attempts came into force with the Constitution of 1982. Parliament dissolved again after twenty years, and strict military authority seized control. Restrictions on human

rights were made legal. Human rights violations against left-wing groups and ethnic and LGBTQI+ minorities at that time were still being criticized and protested against.

Prominent Human Rights Abuse in Turkey

One of the most violated human rights in Turkish history has been the right to physical integrity. People from different political, religious, or ethnic backgrounds were killed, executed (with extreme prejudice), went missing, and were tortured or exposed to indignity. To illustrate how serious the abuse of human rights is in a country is that capital punishment was practiced from the Ottoman Empire period until 1984 *de facto* (legally in 2004) in every common period of the country's history. For instance, the total number of executions carried out between 1924 and 1984 was 712 -- excluding the executions ordered by the Independence Court in the 1920s which ran to more than 2,000 people, including Sheikh Said, the prominent leader of the Kurdish²²² nationalist movement. The execution of the then Prime Minister Adnan Menderes (1961), the communist rebellious political activist Deniz Gezmiş (1972), and the 17-year-old left-wing revolutionary Erdal Eren (1984) are among the most notable examples of the period. Apart from capital punishment, the execution of communist political activists in Kızıldereli (named the Kızıldereli Massacre) in 1972 caused the death of ten people. It became a well-known fact that people went 'missing', they forcibly disappeared without a trace throughout the 1980s and 1990s. This situation gave rise to the longest protest and civil disobedience movement of *mothers* who were eventually called the "Saturday Mothers". Their protest and their solidarity are the main focus of this thesis. Although Turkey signed the

²²² "The Kurds are one of the indigenous peoples of the Middle East and the region's fourth-largest ethnic group. They speak Kurdish, an Indo-European language, and are predominantly Sunni Muslims. Kurds have a distinct culture, traditional dress, and holidays, including Nowruz, the springtime New Year festival that is also celebrated by Iranians and others who use the Persian calendar. Kurdish nationalism emerged during the twentieth century following the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire and the formation of new nation-states across the Middle East. The estimated thirty million Kurds reside primarily in mountainous regions of present-day Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Turkey and remain one of the world's largest peoples without a sovereign state. The Kurds are not monolithic, however, and tribal identities and political interests often supersede a unifying national allegiance. Some Kurds, particularly those who have migrated to urban centres, such as Istanbul, Damascus, and Tehran, have integrated and assimilated, while many who remain in their ancestral lands maintain a strong sense of a distinctly Kurdish identity. The Kurdish diaspora of an estimated two million is concentrated primarily in Europe" (Ed. McMahon, 2017).

conventions of the UN and the EU on human rights – in terms of torture – it did not put these into practice.

The second most violated human rights article concerned the freedom of thought and expression in the history of the country. For example, there was strong censorship during the reign of the Sultan Abdulhamid II. Another example is the case of the well-known Turkish poet Nazım Hikmet Ran²²³ and the author Orhan Kemal²²⁴ during the Single Party Period because of the Law on the Maintenance of Order (*Takrir-i Sükûn Kanunu*) and the Turkish Penal Code (Articles 303, 304, 299, and 301)²²⁵. Both were sentenced because of the criticisms of their writings. Publishing prohibited texts during the first coup d'état in 1960 and the dismissal of 147 university professors including the former minister of Education, Sabahattin Âli, 1960 are only some other examples of prosecution.

The third case corresponds to the violation of the right to meet in assembly and take part in demonstrations. A prominent example of this category was when 37 people were massacred during the celebration of May Day in 1971. For example, which violated the right to join trade unions and strike, were suppressed under the reign of Abdulhamid II. In fact, it was almost forbidden to strike until 1961. Yet, even after the new constitution, there was a big countercheck such as the 15-16 June Incidents, against these restrictions of the right to strike,

²²³ Nazım Hikmet Ran was tried for several times on the grounds that he prompted the Turkish army to revolt.

²²⁴ Orhan Kemal was tried for several times on the grounds that he read Nazım Hikmet (because Hikmet's books were forbidden during those years) and Maxim Gorky and he made propaganda in favour of foreign regimes and communism.

²²⁵ **Article 303:** Any person who agrees to serve in the army of a country, which is at war with the Turkish Republic, or Turkish citizen who participates in an armed attack against the Turkish Republic, is to be punished with life imprisonment.

Article 304: Any person who provokes the authorities of a foreign country to start war or to take hostile action against the Turkish Republic or cooperates with the authorities of a foreign country to serve this purpose, is to be punished with imprisonment from ten years to twenty years. The punishment to be imposed is to be increased by one third in case of execution of provocation act through press or broadcast organs.

Article 299: Any person who casts aspersion upon the President is to be punished with imprisonment from one year to four years.

Article 301: Any person who publicly denigrates the Republic or the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, the government of the Turkish Republic, and the judiciary branches shall be sentenced to 6 months or 3 years of imprisonment (Turkish Penal Code, pp. 9036-9037).

demonstrated in 1971. Restrictions have still been in place even since the Constitution of 1982.

In terms of the country's political rights, the main examples of these violations can be considered the 'coup d'états' of 1960, 1971, and 1980. Before and after all this military seizing, some political parties were abolished, especially the religious-based²²⁶ or socialist/communist/ethnic-based ones²²⁷.

Lastly, the violations of judicial rights, the right to education, and the rights of minorities have all had a strong place in the history of Turkey's human rights. In terms of judicial rights, there were court decisions by Yıldız²²⁸ Court (1881), Independence Court (the 1920s), Yassıada²²⁹ Courts, State Security Court (1960-2004), and the Military Commission during the coup d'état periods. Apart from these, the repeal of Village Institutions (1940-1954) can be seen as an example of the violations of rights to education. Finally, Turkey has a negative report in terms of the rights of minorities as can be seen in the examples of the Armenian "Genocide"²³⁰ against the Turkey Armenians during WWI; the Maraş Massacre in December 1978²³¹; the Çorum Massacre in the summer of 1980²³²; the Sivas Massacre (July 2, 1993²³³) against the Alevi; the Kurdish conflict and the "Kurdish freedom movement" in modern Turkish history; the prohibition of the Kurdish language and all the arts in Kurdish²³⁴

²²⁶ For example, National Order Party (1971)

²²⁷ For example, Turkey Labour Party (1971), Turkey Labourer Party (1982), The Worker and Farmer Party (1968)

²²⁸ *Yıldız* means "star" in English.

²²⁹ Yassıada is the place where former president Adnan Menderes and other officials were tried.

²³⁰ There is an ongoing political debate regarding the term for the massacre: was it "genocide" or not. It is forbidden to name it as genocide in Turkey (for example, the Nobel Literature Laureate Orhan Pamuk was tried for having defined it as genocide.)

²³¹ 105 Alevi people (a secular and liberal sect in Islam) were killed by the religious extremists in Kahramanmaraş according to official sources.

²³² 57 left-wing people, mainly the Alevi, were killed by the extreme nationalists in Çorum.

²³³ It is also called the Madımak Massacre, 33 poets, writers, intellectuals including 2 hotel workers (the majority of them were Alevi) were killed by the extremist Sunni Islamists in Madımak Hotel in Sivas. The extremists sat the hotel on fire. Some of the lawyers of these extremists would be elected as ministers of the leading political party Justice and Development Party after 2002.

²³⁴ Although the minority rights of some peoples are mentioned in the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), Kurdish people were not accepted as a minority and in the modern republican period they have always been considered politically as Turkish. Some kind of recognition started as late as 1990s. In Human Rights Watch's booklet titled

and the armed conflict between the Turkish Republic and PKK (Kurdistan Workers Party) since 1984 and is still ongoing.

On Human Rights in Turkey after 1984²³⁵

After the ‘coup d’état’ of 1980 and with the start of the PKK guerrilla war began against Turkey on August 15, 1984²³⁶, the country started experiencing violence at home. In a cruel atmosphere, human rights were also routinely violated in this period.

According to the main human rights monitors who researched the abuses in Turkey – Human Rights Watch (HRW), Amnesty International, Human Rights Association of Turkey, Human Rights Foundation of Turkey – the main abuses committed were classified as torture. These were expressed as the “incarceration of thousands charged with political crimes” (HRW 1), “hundreds of whom have been imprisoned only because of the peaceful expression of their political views” (HRW 2), the restrictions on freedom of expression and association, the continued mistreatment of the Kurdish minority as was stated in these monitors’ reports.

Destroying Ethnic Identity: The Kurds of Turkey, An Update published in 1990, it is clearly seen how the Kurdish issue is perceived by the international human rights organizations. The human rights violations against the Kurdish minority in Turkey can be traced in the sub-titles of the report as well as the recommendations part. The sub-titles such as “Decree 413”, “Village Guards”, “Arrests, Torture, and Death”, “Abuse of Civilians”, “Denial of Ethnic Identity”, and “Violations of International Legal Standards” exemplify the Turkish government politics towards the Kurdish people in terms of violations.

²³⁵ Through the women journalist Berat Günçikan’s interviews and oral history research, it is alternatively possible to trace how modern Turkish state has used violence against the opponents, specifically the left-wing citizens. Among these people are Zehra Kosova, İdris Erdiñ, Zihni Anadol, and Arif Damar from Communist Party of Turkey; Behice Boran, Tarık Ziya Ekinci, Mehmet Ali Aybar, and Rasim Öz from Workers’ Party of Turkey (TİP); Deniz Gezmiş, Yusuf Aslan, Hüseyin İnan, İbrahim Kaypakkaya, Ali Haydar Yıldız, and Saffet Alp during 12 March Coup d’etat; 16 March Massacre, Bahçelievler Massacre, Necdet Bulut, Doğan Öz, Abdî İpekçi, Cavit Orhan Tütengil, Kemal Türkler, Ümit Kaftancıoğlu, Bengi H. Öz, Cevat Yurdakul, Ceyhan Can during the 1970s; Ömer Yazgan, Kadir Tandoğan, Ahmet Soner, Necdet Adalı, Erdal Eren, Third Way Case after 1980 Coup d’etat; Forced enforced disappearances, indefinite hunger strikes, unidentified murders, enforced disappearances under custody during the 1990s and 2000s (Günçikan, 2010).

²³⁶ “Kurdistan Workers’ Party (PKK) was founded in 1974 as a Marxist organization aiming to establish an independent Kurdistan. In 1984, the group took up arms against the Turkish state. The conflict has led to more than forty thousand deaths over the last three decades. PKK founder Abdullah Ocalan has been jailed since 1999 and for several years was involved in negotiations with Turkish officials on a peace process. The militant group has been designated a *terrorist* organization by Turkey, the United States, and many European countries. Its headquarters are in the Qandil mountains, in Iraqi Kurdistan. The PKK facilitated the creation of the Democratic Union Party (PYD) in Syria and the Kurdistan Free Life Party (PJAK) in Iran. A PKK splinter group, the Kurdistan Freedom Falcons, known by its Turkish acronym, TAK, claimed responsibility for deadly bombings in Istanbul, Ankara, and other cities in 2016 and 2017” (Ed. McMahon, 2017).

The restrictions on the press were also abusive. For instance, 34 journalists and editors were in prison “because of the Turkish Penal Code which was adopted from Mussolini’s Italy in 1938” (HRW 2) between 1989 and 1990. Dozens of books were banned or confiscated in 1990. However, in 1991, thousands of political prisoners were released from prison thanks to the Turkey Grand National Assembly’s repealing several provisions of the Penal Code, yet these were replaced with an equally humiliating Anti-Terror Law²³⁷. Writers were detained and prosecuted for “criticizing or insulting” the President, printing “anti-military propaganda”, “criticizing the Turkish judicial system”, and “humiliating the spiritual dignity of the government via publication” stated in the Anti-Terror Law of Turkey (HRW 3).

Some left-wing or radical journals were banned and confiscated such as *2000’e Doğru* (*Towards 2000*), *Hedef* (*Target*), *Deng* (*Voice*), *Yeni Çözüm* (*New Solution*), *Mücadele* (*Struggle*), and *Yeni Ülke* (*New Country*) in 1990-91. As for 1994, *Özgür Gündem* (*Free Agenda*) was closed down because of separatist propaganda, yet it was replaced with *Özgür Ülke* (*Free Country*) in 1994. *Emeğin Bayrağı* (*Worker's Banner*), *Alinteri* (*Honest Penny*), *Kızıl Bayrak* (*Red Flag*), and *Gerçek* (*Real*) suffered from harassment and raids in 1994.

The number of tortures and house raids was very high in this period. “[D]uring the initial interrogation of a suspect in the police headquarters, 50 percent of the people suspected of ordinary crimes and 90 percent of political suspects were tortured” as was stated in the 1990 report of Human Rights Watch. Many people were shot and killed by security forces in raids on houses (45 fatal shootings), attacks on demonstrations, and other suspicious circumstances (16 extrajudicial killings). For example, 15 people in detention were killed although Turkish authorities alleged that some prisoners had killed themselves according to the 1991 report of Human Rights Watch. In 1992, 74 people were killed in their homes and

²³⁷ See Human Rights Watch newsletter titled *Turkey: New Restrictive Anti-Terror Law* for further details.

more than 100 demonstrators were also killed in the Southeast, Istanbul, Izmir, Adana, and Antalya provinces. No security force has been charged so far²³⁸.

Torture is another common practice throughout modern Turkish socio-political history as has been stated in reports and newsletters²³⁹ by international human rights organizations and centres. Article headings are explicit in their condemnation of such violations.

Despite attempts to pass human rights laws between 1995 and 2002, violations were still practiced in Turkey. It might be said that the best way to establish human rights would be for the Turkish government to become a full member of the European Union²⁴⁰. The European

²³⁸ See Human Rights Watch newsletters titled *Turkey: Five Deaths in Detention in January* and *Turkey: Two More Deaths in Detention in February* for further details.

²³⁹ These are the reports and newsletters among others: *"Nothing Unusual": The Torture of Children in Turkey*; *Turkey: Torture, Killings by Police and Political Violence Increasing*; *Broken Promises: Torture and Killings Continue in Turkey*; *Eleven Deaths in Detention Since February*; *The Kurds of Turkey: Killings, Enforced disappearances and Torture*; *Turkey: 21 Deaths in Detention*; *Destroying Ethnic Identity The Kurds of Turkey, An Update*; *Violence against Civilians Increasing*; *Kurds Massacred: Turkish Forces Kill Scores of Peaceful Demonstrators*; *Paying the Price Freedom of Expression in Turkey*; *Freedom of Expression in Turkey: Abuses Continue*; *Turkey: Human Rights Activist Killed*; *Police Shoot and Kill Three at his Funeral: Human Rights Association Attacked*; *Free Expression in Turkey*; *1993: Killings, Convictions, Confiscations*; *Turkey: Forced Displacement of Ethnic Kurds From South-eastern Turkey*; *Five Journalists Killed: Free Expression Restricted*; *Human Rights Activists Murdered: Human Rights Association Under Attack*; *Eight Journalists Killed Since February: A Ninth Critically Wounded*; *Censorship by Assassination: Eleven Journalists and One Newspaper Distributor Murdered Since February*; *Denying Human Rights and Ethnic Identity: The Greeks of Turkey*; and *State Control of Women's Virginity in Turkey*.

²⁴⁰ Turkey, which has turned its face towards the West since the foundation of the Modern Turkish Republic, strived to participate in the international organizations in Europe after the Second World War. Firstly, it became a member of The *European Council* in 1949 and then in 1952, it took part in *North Atlantic Treaty Organization* which was shaped in the shadow of Cold War. Besides this, after the *European Economic Community* was founded with the *Treaty of Rome* on 1 January 1958 (with not only economic and political motivations, but also by bearing in mind that under the roof of a community it was easier to maintain and stabilize foreign policy), Turkey was not indifferent to this and applied to become a member on 31 July 1959. Hence, Council of Ministers approved this appliance (by making Turkey an associate member, not a full member) and recommended to sign an agreement of partnership until the conditions of full membership were realized. And, with the coming into effect of *Treaty of Ankara*, which was signed on 12 September 1963, on 1 December 1964, the partnership of Turkey and the European Union began.

According to the *Treaty of Ankara*, the ultimate aim was to prepare Turkey for the full membership in the European Union and this association was divided into three phases: 1.a preparatory phase (1964-1969), 2.a transitional phase (1973- 1995) and 3.a final phase (*Customs Union* Period- 1996- present). The purpose of these phases was the improvement of the Turkish economy by welcoming Turkey's and EU's trade and financial commitment to each other. As soon as the preparatory phase finished, with the Additional Protocol, the arbitrations of the transitional phase and the responsibilities which the sides would take were determined. Besides, at the end of the preparatory phase, the *Customs Union* was planned to be completed. However, neither the *Treaty of Ankara* nor the Additional Protocol was implemented as prescribed because of the economic crisis in Turkey in the 1970s; the policies that were applied and Union's reaction to the ongoing situation were in direct contradiction to what was settled beforehand.

As a conclusion, Turkey has completed comprehensive legislative and constitutional reforms to safeguard democracy, human rights, and fundamental freedoms the rule of law, the respect for and protection of minorities. Regarding to the political criteria, the death penalty has been abolished and the right to retrial in the light of *European Court of Human Rights* (ECtHR) has been introduced. The conditions in prisons and detention

Union and the United Nations became leverage, yet the reforms carried out by the governments were mostly cosmetic. For instance, the accent on human rights was much stronger than in previous years: Turkey signed the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights. At the same time, however, the State Ministry for Human Rights was abolished. The two most serious “problems” for the Turkish government were left-wing separatist movements, which brought about violations against the Kurdish minority and pro-Kurdish groups²⁴¹.

Restrictions on the freedom of speech and in the press continued to be one of the main issues. In 1995, while government officials emphasized support for human rights in their

houses have been ameliorated. “Broadcasting in different languages and dialects” (Prime Ministry: 2004, 9) has been put into practice to promote cultural diversity. The government has adopted ‘harmonization legislation packages’ to accelerate the implementation process and to get rid of the obstacles on the way that goes to the European Union. Hence, as a result of the efforts made by Turkey, the Commission considered that Turkey had fulfilled the political criteria and recommended that the accession negotiations to be opened in real terms.

Besides, all these steps have been realized in order to diminish the economical gap between the member states and Turkey. While the *Customs Union* experience demonstrates Turkey’s capability of adjusting itself to the European Union markets, the economic criterion of Copenhagen underscores that Turkey has to raise its economic condition to the level of the member states. The programs that have been implemented through this period aim at achieving to fulfil the economic phase of accession negotiations. However, it is obvious that Turkey will have many obstacles on this way which stem from Turkey’s being a developing country. Hence, the crucial point which should be underlined is that Turkey deserves to be given a chance and be supported by bearing in mind its endeavours to cope with the ongoing economic changes.

Apart from these, while Turkey draws benefit from the accession to the European Union in economic terms such as the flow of the foreign investment, monetary funds, freedom of labour force, freedom of capital, the European Union will profit from the flow of relatively cheap labour force, the investment of the rich Turkish businessmen in Europe, the rapid growth of Turkish economy and Turkey’s geographical position related to the neighbourhood relations. Namely, even if it seems that Turkey will be a burden on the shoulders of the European Union in economic terms in the short run because of the harmonization process, it should not be underestimated that so long as Turkey is supported in the economical arena, it can improve the economic condition permanently and it can be ready to share what it has within the circle of the Union.

Last, the thing that makes the fulfilment of the social criteria much more difficult is that political and economic issues can be modified with strong policies, but social characteristics are not easy to change. Because they are blended with the culture of a society, and they interact with the traditions. As regards Turkey’s membership in the European Union, the crucial point that should be underlined is that Turkey should be accepted what it is like. Needless to say, new efforts have to be made in order to raise social equality. However, as long as Turkey’s religious identity has been put as an obstacle on the way of membership; it damages the mutual relation between Turkey and the European Union, instead of making it stronger. Not only does it give harm to the negotiation process, but it triggers to misinterpret the European understanding of diversity. That is, the social dialog between Turkey and the European Union can only be maintained with the help of sympathy in this dynamic process.

In conclusion, Turkey’s integration into the European Union will bring about so radical changes. In the social arena Turkey will ameliorate the working conditions and ease the inequality problems while taking the European Union as an example in the light of the fulfilment of social criteria. Whilst Turkey is mobilizing its resources to ensure social stabilization with the aid of the European Social Fund, the European Union will both find a secure way to control the flow of labour force and to reach the Middle Eastern world via Turkey (Alkan, 2007).

²⁴¹ Human Rights Watch 1995-2002 reports

speeches, 170 writers, journalists, and intellectuals were imprisoned in that same year. The journalist Metin Göktepe was killed whilst under custody. The human rights activist, Akin Birdal, was badly wounded in 1998. Also, Erol Anar was detained because of his book *The History of Human Rights*. In addition to them, professor Haluk Gerger and writer Nadire Mater were detained and journalists Ragıp Duran, Yalçın Duran, Oral Çalışlar, Mehmet Ali Birand and reporter Muharrem Sarıkaya were temporarily banned from working during the period 1998-1999. RTÜK (Radio and Television Supreme Council) banned the channels BBC World and Deutsche Welle for they acted as a threat to national security in 2001. The two highest court judges the Constitutional Court President, Ahmet Necdet Sezer (future president of Turkey), and Appeal Court President, Sami Selçuk, discussed freedom and its restrictions in Turkey and they claimed that the presence of law in Turkey was “almost zero” (Human Rights Watch 2001)²⁴².

It is true that the number of torture cases and house raids was lower than in the previous years, yet six people in 1995 and seven people in 1999, died in police custody. Apart from this, there were hunger strikes in some prisons because of the high-security F-Type Prison system. For example, in 2000, 33 people were killed and hundreds were badly injured and burnt in the operations called “Return to Life” to end the hunger strikes. These operations were highly criticized by human rights organizations. Besides, 123 women were sexually assaulted or raped by police and gendarmes. The Human Rights Watch's report *Turkey: Torture and Mistreatment in Pre-Trial Detention by Anti-Terror Police* released in 1997 and the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and the UN Special Rapporteur on torture in 2000 confirmed the practice of torture in Turkey.

²⁴² <https://www.hrw.org/legacy/wr2k1/europe/turkey.html> (Accessed 20.2.2022)

Apart from the Kurdish minority²⁴³, İslamist communities were also harassed. For instance, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (then mayor of Istanbul) was sentenced to a year of imprisonment and a lifetime ban from politics for reading a few lines of a poem in a meeting. Moreover, 128 members of the Aczmendi sect were sentenced for “insulting Atatürk and security forces” and for not obeying the modern dress code. In 1998, all universities in the country refused to register female students who wore headscarves.

Restrictions continued also in the area of associations and assemblies. For example, the Musa Anter Peace Train and İslamist demonstrations were attacked by the police in 1997. There were public protests and demonstrations such as a national protest named “A Minute of Darkness for Continuous Light” organized by the lawyer Ergin Cinmen and Citizen Initiation for Light in February 1997 after the Susurluk Scandal²⁴⁴ which turned out to be set up by the

²⁴³ There have been many non-governmental organizations in the south-eastern cities in Turkey which contribute to all kinds of rights, specifically human rights. Although the majority of these organizations were closed after KHK 2016, it is clear to say that these contributed to politicizing the Kurdish cities. It can be enough to mention the organizations in Diyarbakır although there are many more in other cities. Among these organizations are Surp Giragos Ermeni Kilisesi Vakfı (Surp Giragos Armenian Church Association), Diyarbakır Engelliler Meclisi (Diyarbakır Council of the Disabled), Sarmaşık Yoksullukla Mücadele ve Sürdürülebilir Kalkınma Derneği (Ivy Association for Combating Poverty and Sustainable Development), Dicle Toplumsal Araştırmalar Merkezi Derneği (DİTAM) (Dicle Social Research Center Association), Doğu ve Güneydoğu İş Kadınları Derneği (DOGÜNKAD) (Eastern and South-eastern Business Women’s Association), Çocuklar İçin Aynı Çatı Altında Derneği (ÇAÇA) (Children's Association Under the Same Roof), Büyükkadı ve Şarabi Köylüleri Kültür ve Yardımlaşma Derneği (BÜŞAKDER) (Büyükkadı and Şarabi Villagers’ Culture and Solidarity Association), Umut Işığı Kadın Kooperatifi (Women’s Cooperative of Light of Hope), Diyarbakır Siyasal ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Enstitüsü Derneği (DİSA) (Diyarbakır Institute of Political and Social Research Association), Kürt Yazarlar Derneği (Kurdish Writers Associations), Göç ve İnsani Yardım Vakfı (Migration and Humanitarian Aid Foundation), Diyarbakır Ekoloji Derneği (Diyarbakır Ecology Association), Dicle Fırat Kültür Sanat Derneği (Tigris and Euphrates Culture and Art Association), Toplumsal Duyarlılık ve Şiddet Karşıtları Derneği (DUYDER) (Association of Social Awareness and Satyagrahi), Tutuklu ve Hükümlü Aileleri Dernekleri Federasyonu (TUHAD-FED) (Federation of the Families of Detainees and Convicts), Diyarbakır 78’liler Dayanışma ve Araştırma Derneği (Diyarbakır 78’s Solidarity and Research Association), Keskesor Diyarbakır LGBTİ Oluşumu (Keskesor Diyarbakır LGBTİ Organization), Kürdistan Azadî İnisiyatifi (Hak, Adalet ve Hürriyet İçin Kürdistan İslâmî İnisiyatifi) (Azadî Initiative [Kurdistan Islamic Initiative for Rights, Justice, and Freedom]), Öze Dönüş Platformu (Return to Self Platform), Kürt Dili Araştırma ve Geliştirme Derneği (KÜRDİ-DER) (Kurdish Language Research and Development Association), Demokratik Toplum Kongresi (DTK) (Democratic Society Congress), Mezopotamya Yakınlarını Kaybeden Aileler ile Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Derneği (MEYADER) (Mesopotamia Association for Assistance and Solidarity with Families Who Lost Their Relatives), Özgür Gazeteciler Cemiyeti (Free Journalists Community), Diyarbakır İnsan Hakları Derneği (Diyarbakır Human Rights Association), Mazlumder Diyarbakır Şubesi (Mazlumder Diyarbakır Branch), Bağlar Kadın Kooperatifi (Women Cooperative of Bağlar), Amed Dernekler Platformu (Amed Associations Platform), Diyarbakır Din Âlimleri Derneği (DİAYDER) (Diyarbakır Religious Scholars Association), Dicle Üniversitesi Özgür Öğrenci Derneği (DÜO-DER) (Dicle University Free Students Association) (Diken & Uysal, 2015).

²⁴⁴ Susurluk Scandal: On November 3rd, 1996, a Mercedes crashed into a lorry in the Susurluk province of the western city of Turkey, Balıkesir. In the car, there were the chief police officer Hüseyin Kocadağ, the minister of Urfa, one of the biggest eastern cities in Turkey, Sedat Bucak, who is from the then ruling party True Path Party,

state people such as Mehmet Ağar, politicians like Sedat Bucak, ultra-nationalists, and members of illegal gangs. Lastly, The Gazi Massacre was the bloodiest event in this period. In the Gazi Quarter, Istanbul, mostly an Alevi and Kurdish quarter, 22 people were killed by “unidentified” individuals during protests against the police force and ultra-nationalists.

“New Turkey²⁴⁵” and Human Rights Violations

These years have witnessed the general domination of the Justice and Development Party, which came into power in 2002 (and is still in charge as of 2022), led by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. While there have been some attempts that are related to taboo subjects for Turkish political history in terms of human rights such as wearing a headscarf, military dominance in politics, ceasefire, and peace negotiations between the PKK and the Turkish state, there have also been cases of impunity and huge human rights violations against women, minorities, workers, nature, freedom of expression, media, activists, and academia throughout this period. The European Court of Human Rights found the Turkish government to be responsible for the forcibly disappeared on several occasions.

In 2002, the violations continued without a decrease or significant change until July of that same year when the Council of Europe challenged Turkey about the enforced disappearances of citizens. Indeed, the European Union became the most significant motivation for Turkey to take steps in order to be admitted into the Union. In 2003 and 2004, there was a relative decrease in the violations. In 2004, four Kurdish former deputies, Leyla Zana, Orhan Doğan, Hatip Dicle, and Selim Sadak, were released after ten-year prison sentences, as a result of their non-violent activities. The state broadcasting channel gave a

and Abdullah Çatlı who is an important gang boss and his girlfriend Gonca Us. The accident exposed the close encounters between the government, police department and gangs. The Minister of Interior, Mehmet Ağar resigned, and thousands of people and activist groups entered a protest demanding a transparent and legal government.

²⁴⁵ “New Turkey” is a term used by Erdoğan and his supporters referring to Justice and Development Party government period since 2002 claiming that all the politics have been very different and ‘humanitarian’ from the previous governments, specifically the politics held by Atatürk and İnönü, the very first and second presidents of the Republic of Turkey. “Old Turkey” means military, judicial, and elitist wardship according to Erdoğan and the followers.

program in Kurdish for the first time. As was stated in the 2005 Human Rights Watch Country Summary²⁴⁶,

Events reflect the interplay of four strong forces: pressure for reform coming from civil society, impatient with longstanding restrictions and ingrained institutional abuses; the incentive provided by the European Union through Turkey's candidacy for membership; resistance to change presented by the powerful sectors within the military, security forces and the state apparatus; and the destructive effects of political violence. (p. 1)

State security courts, which were generally used for political and 'thought' crimes were abolished in June 2004. Yet, other codes of the constitution continued to exist. Although there was a certain increase in human rights that year, Hakan Albayrak and Nevin Berktaş were imprisoned because of their writings about Atatürk and F-type prisons respectively. The president of the Migrants' Association for Social Cooperation and Culture Şefika Gürbüz was convicted of inciting racial hatred because of her study on the Kurds.

In 2005, the number of people serving prison sentences for the non-violent expression of their opinion was reduced. Two writers, Cemal Tokpınar and Orhan Pamuk faced charges of inciting religious hatred and insulting Turkishness. Women wearing headscarves continued to be excluded from universities as well as from the civil service. The languages of the minorities were still restricted. Freedom of assembly continued to be suppressed. Eight demonstrators were shot dead by the police. In 2005, Human Rights Association Istanbul branch president, Eren Keskin, received death threats from the extreme right-wing group: the Turkish Revenge Brigade. All human rights concerns in Turkey in 2005 were highlighted by the European Commission Against Racism and Intolerance Report and also by the UN special representative report.

In 2006, the PKK announced a ceasefire. In 2007, hundreds of journalists, activists, writers, academics, Kurdish associations, and political parties were prosecuted. In 2007, the journalist and human rights activist, Hrant Dink, was assassinated. The LGBTQI+

²⁴⁶ <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2005/country-chapters/turkey> (Accessed 20.2.2022)

organization Lambdaİstanbul was prosecuted for being illegal and immoral. Festus Okey and Ejder Demir were killed by the security forces in İstanbul and Van respectively. No one was charged with abuse or misconduct which shows the effect of impunity in Turkey. The European Court of Human Rights issued 242 judgments against Turkey in 2007 according to the Human Rights Watch.

In 2008, the courts restricted access to many websites including YouTube. Activists Ethem Açıkalin and Rıdvan Kızgın were imprisoned for “aiding and abetting an illegal organization.” Police torture started increasing sharply in 2007. Engin Ceber was killed by the police. Three people were killed during the Newroz Festival (Kurdish New Year) in the Southeast. In 2008, the Ergenekon trial began²⁴⁷. As is stated in the Human Rights Watch World Report 2009²⁴⁸: “Over 100 defendants – including retired military and gendarmerie personnel, figures associated with organized crime, journalists, and academics-are charged with participating in an ultranationalist conspiracy to foster a military coup” (p. 423). This was the beginning of the decrease in the military effect in Turkish politics. In spite of this, the trial was criticized for being unfair. Some senior generals were seen as perpetrators of the forcibly disappeared in the Southeast, but they never appeared in court for these trials.

In 2009 and 2010, negotiations between the Kurdish minority and the government made the peace process more concrete. TV channels were permitted to broadcast in Kurdish. Despite this positive atmosphere in the politics of the country, the restrictions on the freedom of expression, assembly, and association continued. For example, the Doğan Media Group, one of the biggest groups in Turkey, received two large fines because of tax evasion.

²⁴⁷ In 2009, human rights organizations and left-wing political parties in Turkey declared a statement titled “You Will Face the Truth” signed by Human Rights Association, Alevi-Bektashi Federation, Peace Council, Contemporary Lawyers’ Association, Democratic Society Party (DTP), Revolutionist 78’s Federation, Labourist Movement Party (EMEP), Socialist Party of the Oppressed (ESP), Labours’ Movement Party (EHP), People’s Houses, Mazlumder, KESK (Confederation of Public Employees’ Unions (KESK), Turkish Medical Association (TTB), 78’s Initiative, Human Rights Foundation of Turkey (TIHV), Socialist Party, Freedom and Solidarity Party (ÖDP), Socialist Democracy Party (SDP) claiming that they will struggle together against the human rights violations thanks to the Ergenekon cases.

²⁴⁸ <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2009> (Accessed 24.4.2022)

YouTube was still banned. Two demonstrators were shot dead in Şanlıurfa by the security forces and Güney Tuna was badly beaten by several police officers in Istanbul. In 2009, it became obligatory for police officers to wear helmets with numbers so they could be identified easily. In terms of impunity, according to the Human Rights Watch World Report 2010 in the section of Turkey “the most significant attempt at bringing to justice state perpetrators of extrajudicial killings and ‘enforced disappearances’ began in Diyarbakır [in 2009] in September with the trial of a colonel, village guards, and informers for the murder of 20” (458) people between 1994 and 1995 in Cizre, Şırnak. All concerns about human rights in Turkey were highlighted in two reports issued by the Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights. In 2009, the Constitutional Court closed down the Democratic Society Party, which was a pro-Kurdish party on account of the fact that it favoured separatism. The editor of the newspaper *Azadiya Welat*, Vedat Kurşun received a 166-year sentence under the colour of "terrorist propaganda." In October 2010, thousands of pro-Kurdish officials and activists were tried for alleged separatism and Union of Kurdistan Communities²⁴⁹ (KCK) membership. In addition to these, five transgender people, members of a trans rights NGO named *Pembe Hayat* (Pink Life) were beaten in the street. Lastly, the gendarmes shot dead nine smugglers within the borders of Van, Şanlıurfa, and Şırnak.

As for 2011 and 2012, the conflict between the PKK and the government started again. The Kurdistan Freedom Falcons (TAK), which is a so-called PKK-linked group, exploded a bomb in Ankara and killed three civilians and the PKK attacked a car and killed four people in Siirt. Freedom of expression continued to be restricted by the police. Journalists Ahmet Şık and Nedim Şener, academic Büşra Ersanlı, and publisher Ragıp Zarakolu were charged. In addition, 15,000 websites were blocked. Former police officer, Ayhan Çarkın, spoke publicly for the first time about the killings and enforced disappearances in the Southeast. In the same

²⁴⁹ It is categorised as a *terrorist* organization by the Turkish state.

year, former interior minister Mehmet Ağar was sent to prison after the testimony of Çarkın. Although Turkey ratified the Optional Protocol to the UN Convention against Torture, it was never implemented. In 2012, the war in Syria and Iraq caused thousands of people to escape Turkey. Refugees and asylum seekers started being one of the top issues in the country's politics. The main human rights violation in 2012 was a Turkish air force aerial bombardment. 34 Kurdish people were killed in Roboski, a small village near the Iraqi border. They were thought to be members of the PKK, but, in fact, they were civilians. This caused huge national protests against the Justice and Development Party government.

In 2013, the headscarf ban ended, and peace talks with Abdullah Öcalan started. However, a car bomb killed 18 people in Hatay and another bomb attack killed 52 civilians in Reyhanlı. Gezi Park protests which spread throughout the country in one month became a turning point in Turkish history. In May, when the officials tried to unofficially cut the trees in Gezi Park, Taksim, Istanbul in order to build the Taksim Military Barracks which have Islamist neo-Ottoman connotations, lots of environmentalists and activists including deputies and artists started to protest against the government for their support to build the barracks. In a few days, this protest turned into a general protest throughout the country against the government, which was blamed for intolerance, the restrictions on media, judiciary, academia, social media, and basic human and minority rights as well as human rights violations. Demonstrations were mostly peaceful and included reading books in front of police officers, standing still in the street, singing songs, kicking up a row by means of clashing cooking pots and pans. Hundreds of peaceful demonstrators were detained, tried, and convicted. Ten citizens lost their eyes because of the tear gas canisters and plastic bullets. Hundreds of people were badly injured, and thousands of people were beaten. The demonstrators Abdullah Cömert, Ethem Sarısülük, Mehmet Ayvalıtaş, Ali İsmail Korkmaz, Berkin Elvan, Ahmet Atakan were killed by the security forces and the ultra-nationalists in different cities. The

excessive use of police power caused an international outcry, but Turkish authorities turned a deaf ear.

Finally, 2014 and 2015 saw the top violations in Turkish modern history in terms of freedom of expression, association, and assembly, judicial independence, impunity, refugees, women, and minority rights. The president, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, declared that they ended the peace negotiations with the PKK, and this caused unrest between the military and pro-PKK Kurdish people. ISIS and TAK attacks and bombings caused many civilian deaths in the Southeast, Ankara, and Istanbul. In addition, the special operation unit attacks in the Southeast cities, mostly populated by Kurds, ruined the cities and provinces, resulting in the death of children and civilians.

Turkey and Official International and National Documents on Human Rights

There are official human rights councils and boards created by the government in Turkey; however, they do not have the authority to report to international institutions. They can only advise and are mostly criticized by the NGOs for being under the effect of the government's politics. Among these are the Grand National Assembly of Turkey Committee of Human Rights Inquiry, Council of Human Rights, Committees of Human Rights, Human Rights Supreme Committee, Human Rights Advisory Committee, Ten-Year Commission of Human Rights Education, Penal Institutions, and Committees of Detention Houses Watch, Damage Assessment Commission due to Terror, Gendarmerie Center of Inquiry and Assessment for Human Rights Violations, Ombudsman Institution, Patients' Rights Commission, and Right to Information Assessment Board²⁵⁰ (İHD, Accessed 21.03.2022).

According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the official international documents signed by the Turkish state are as follows (2022)²⁵¹:

²⁵⁰ www.ihd.org.tr. (Accessed 21.3.2022)

²⁵¹ <http://ua.mfa.gov.tr/> (Accessed 20.2.2022)

- The Universal Declaration of Human Rights
- Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Dignity of the Human Being with regard to the Application of Biology and Medicine (Convention on Human Rights and Biomedicine)
- European Agreement relating to Persons Participating in Proceedings of the European Court of Human Rights
- Protocol No. 14 to the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, Amending the Control System of the Convention
- Amendment to article 43 (2) of the Convention on the Rights of the Child
- Protocol No. 4 to the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, securing certain rights and freedoms other than those already included in the Convention and in the first Protocol thereto
- Protocol No. 8 to the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms
- Protocol No. 13 to the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, Concerning the Abolition of the Death Penalty in All Circumstances
- Additional Protocol No.6 on the Abolition of the Death Penalty to the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms as Amended by Protocol No.11
- Second Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, aiming at the abolition of the death penalty
- Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities Convention on the Rights of the Child (20.11.1989)
- International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (16.12.1966)
- Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
- Protocol No. 11 to the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, restructuring the control machinery established thereby
- Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (New York, 08.09.2000)
- Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict
- The Convention of 25 October 1980 on the Civil Aspects of International Child Abduction (Lahey, 25.10.1980)
- International Convention against the Taking of Hostages (New York, 17.12.1979)
- European Convention on the Exercise of Children's Rights
- International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination Government of the Republic of Turkey and the United Nations Children's Fund Country Program Action Plan (2006-2010)
- Protocols No. 1 and Annex 2 to the European Convention on the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Punishment or Treatment

Table 1: The Official International Documents Signed by the Turkish State

Official Gazette of Turkey has 209 news regarding human rights and 89 news regarding women's rights between 1924 and 2022 including national legislation and international treaties mentioned above because any official document must be published in the

Official Gazette²⁵². Most of this news published after the 1990s is the legislation of research centres at universities.

Women's Journey Towards Equal Rights in Turkey

A Brief History of Women's Rights in Turkey

Having almost been absent in the public sphere for hundreds of years, the rights of women in Turkey did not exist in society in terms of equality between men and women. Women were defined according to their relationships with men as sisters, daughters, or wives, yet their existence was bound to the strength of their brothers, fathers, or husbands. No matter which socio-economic class they were from, women were generally kept behind doors. In the early 19th century, women started to be seen outside their homes and gain some rights. With the influence of feminist movements in Europe and the USA, as well as the modernization of the country together with the declaration of the republic, women actively began to resist their traditional role of invisibility which implied staying at home and behind the doors. Although the rights they had were relatively limited, they have since been walking slowly but decisively along the road of human rights towards greater equality. The rights gained in the 19th and 20th centuries were shadowed by a naturalist, homogenous, and essentialist rhetoric and politics of the state. While the state-issued certain women's rights, it never gave up its patriarchal and nationalist ideologies and Western-oriented points of view.

Women's Rights during the Late Ottoman Empire

One of the very first roles the women benefitted from outside the home was in social life. As the Ottoman Empire had some reforms within the state in terms of social, political, economic, and educational life, women were also influenced by these improvements²⁵³. In 1843, the women of the Ottoman Empire took part in social life when they started studying midwifery in the Medical School for the first time. After that in 1847, an imperial decree was published

²⁵² <https://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/> (Accessed 23.2.2022)

²⁵³ The Edict of Gülhane [Tanzimat Fermanı], 1839; the Edict of Reform [Islahat Fermanı], 1856; the First Constitutionalist Period [Birinci Meşrutiyet], 1876; the Second Constitutionalist Period [İkinci Meşrutiyet], 1908

which entitled the equal right of succession between girls and boys. This was an important development for an Islam-oriented empire. Another important development in women's rights was the prohibition of women's slavery in the odalisque (handmaiden) system²⁵⁴.

In the 19th century, as sexual differences defined the urban space, educational improvements were affected by the sexist and discriminatory ideologies of lawmakers. The education of girls would make them virtuous and good mothers in the future and thus contribute to the welfare of the nation. "Feminism" meant to be a good wife and a good mother, and this point of view was fuelled by the nationalist streak. It is possible to see the traces of these developments in the newspapers and magazines published in that period.

In 1869, the first weekly women's magazine called *Terakk-i Muhadderat* (*Advancement of Modest Women*) started its journey. It was the supplement of the newspaper *Terakki* (*Advancement*) and was published on Sundays. Ali Râşit was both the sole writer and the editor of the magazine. It mainly consisted of readers' letters, quotations, and translations from other newspapers and magazines. In *Terakk-i Muhadderat* women claimed some equal rights and also questioned why they were always considered secondary to men. For example, in a text signed by a woman named Rabia, she wrote:

It should be known that men are neither created to be servers for women nor are women created to be odalisques for men. If men can support themselves and us as well as manage their skills and capabilities, why can we not be able to get knowledge and skills? What are the differences between men and us regarding hands, feet, eyes, and mind? Is our sex the only reason for our difference and yet we are in second place? No common sense accepts it.

Otherwise, European women would be similar to us²⁵⁵. (Bora, 2016, p. 200)

Yet, the magazine, as a whole, aimed to show women how they should become good wives and mothers.

²⁵⁴ In this system, a man from the upper-class or the palace can have women who work for him and have sexual relationships with him.

²⁵⁵ "Şurasını iyi bilmek gerekiyor ki, ne erkekler kadınlara hizmetkâr, ne de kadınlar erkeklere cariye olmak için yaratılmışlardır. Erkekler hüner ve marifetleri ile hem kendilerini, hem de hepimizi geçindirebiliyorlar ve idare edebiliyorlar da biz niçin bilgi ve hüner kazanmaya muktedir olamıyoruz? El ve ayak, göz, akıl gibi vasıtalarda bizim erkeklerden ne farkımız vardır? Yalnız cinsimizin ayrı oluşu mu bu halde olmamıza sebep olmuştur? Bunu hiçbir sağduyu sahibi kabul etmez. Eğer öyle olmak gerekse idi, Avrupa kadınları da bize benzerdi." (trans. by me)



²⁵⁶ **Figure 1: A Page from the Magazine in Arabic**

Although in a period of twenty years there were some references to equality in the public sphere – such as the harmful sides of polygamy, discrimination against women in the public sphere– there were other women’s magazines and newspapers whose main themes were on the need to keep women in their traditional roles. For example, in the following publications, women were generally portrayed in their homes, and there were suggestions for women related to cooking, sewing, cleaning, education, fashion, or dressing codes: *Vakit yahut Mürebbi-i Muhadderat* (Time or Modest Governesses, 1875), *Âyine* (The Mirror, 1875), *Aile* (Family, 1880), *İnsaniyet* (Humanity, 1883), *Hanımlar* (Ladies, 1883), *Mürüvvet* (Courage, 1888), *Parça Bohçası* (Rag Bag, 1889), *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*²⁵⁷ (Newspaper

²⁵⁶ <https://rasyonelfikir.wordpress.com/tag/terakki-i-muhadderat/> (Accessed 23.2.2022)

²⁵⁷ Published between 1895 and 1906, some articles in the magazine were on the education of women. According to the article’s authors, the more women were educated, the more the children raised by them would be beneficial to the nation.

for *Women Only, 1895-1908*), *Alemi Nisvan*²⁵⁸ (*The World of Women, 1906*), *Mehasin* (*Goodness, 1908*), *Kadın* (*Woman, 1908*). Nearly all these magazines and newspapers were for upper-class literate women; not for those who lived in the suburbs and villages. Articles were mostly on learning skills such as raising children, domestic economy, and being a good wife. These were named “şiraze-i nisvîyet” (measures in femininity) by the Unionists²⁵⁹.

Another important point is that although many texts were signed by female names, they were, in fact, pseudonyms of male authors. For example, Aka Gündüz wrote in the female magazines, going by the female name of Seniha Hikmet. On the other hand, the editors and most of the writers were men in the magazines and the newspapers. Feminist writer and researcher Deniz Kandiyoti names this “male feminism.” Within this feminism, male intellectuals thought it would be possible to make political and socio-economical changes if women were included in the change process. In the term “male feminism,” these intellectuals offered and promoted a new kind of woman image, supported by both Islamic views and Western liberal opinions, in their minds for the new century (Bora, 2016, p. 742).



258

Figure 2: A Front Cover of *Alemi Nisvan*

<http://www.gazetebilkent.com/2015/11/21/osmanli-kadininin-sesi-kadinlar-dunyasi/> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

²⁵⁹ Established in 1889, also called the Young Turks, they governed the Empire in the Second Constitutionalist Period.

However, one magazine, in particular, is the exception to the rule: the first independent women's magazine which was published exclusively by women (Ârife Hanım²⁶⁰, the daughter of the Secretary of Education, General Münîf, was the grant holder of the magazine) was *Şükûfezar* (*Flower Garden*). Ârife Hanım defined the aim of the magazine in its very first volume as follows: "We are the crew who are targeted by those men who ridicule us for our long hair and call us weak-minded. We are going to try to prove the contrary. We will not prefer masculinity to femininity or femininity to masculinity but will try hard to achieve our objectives²⁶¹" (Bora, 2016, p. 743).

As for education and business, the Girls' Training School was opened after the publication of the Statute on General Education. In 1871, the Family Law Decree was then published, which stated that the earliest marriage age for women was defined as 17. This was an important step for women's rights as it was a step toward prohibiting the exploitation of little girls. In the Ottoman Basic Law of 1876, the primary school became mandatory for girls and boys. This meant that girls could leave the house and acquire knowledge by starting to see the world through books rather than behind the curtains of their rooms. Twenty-one years later, in 1897, women first appeared in the labour and business market as wage earners. In addition, 1913 was the year that they could work in offices in secretarial jobs. One year later, they started working as merchants and artisans. Apart from these jobs, they could enter the industries of weaving, carpet-making, and sericulture businesses. Feminist scholar Ayşegül Yaraman states there was a majority of Armenian and Rum (Greek) women in business spheres. It is estimated that 75,000 out of 250,000 workers in 1908 were women. One of the most important reasons for the high percentage of women in business was the lack of male workers because of the Turco-Italian War (1911-1912), Balkan Wars (1912-1913), and World

²⁶⁰ *Hanım* means lady in English. As there were no constitutional regulations for surnames then, women were used to being called lady (*hanım*) and men mister (*bey*).

²⁶¹ "Biz ki saçı uzun aklı kısa diye erkeklerin hande-i istihzasına hedef olmuş bir tâifeyiz. Bunun aksini ispat etmeye çalışacağız. Erkekliği kadınlığa, kadınlığı erkekliğe tercih etmeyerek çalışma ve gayret yolunda olacağız." <https://circlelove.co/osmanlida-kadin-dergileri/> (Accessed 23.2.2022)

War I (1914-1918) (Yaraman, 2001, p. 98). During these wars, women could become individual and independent subjects in the business field. With the effect of the relatively democratic mood created by the Second Constitutionalist Period, a period of strikes began. In 1908, in one of the western cities, Uşak, approximately 1,500 women carpet workers went on strike. They criticized the employers who started using machines in the factories that made their labour force useless (Karakışla, 2015). Another strike took place in Bursa, in 1910. The reason was their demand for a salary increase (Van Os, 2003). To conclude, women became visible in public life.

At the beginning of the new century, Ottoman intellectuals tried to write on women's issues. For example, Tevfik Fikret²⁶² thought that if the women fell in the gutter (metaphorically speaking), this would mean a degrading of all humanity. According to Abdülhak Hamit Tarhan²⁶³, the advancement of a nation is equal to the position of women in society. Another important poet and writer Mehmet Âkif Ersoy, the poet of the Turkish national anthem, translated *Muslim Woman* by Mehmet Ferid Vecdi²⁶⁴ from Arabic to Turkish. Other Ottoman intellectuals Baha Tevfik, Celal Nuri, and Selahaddin Asım are some examples from the early period of the century who published books on women's issues (Bora, 2016, p. 741).

In the Second Constitutional Period, as the academic and feminist researcher Serpil Çakır says, the only feminist community was Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-i Nisvan (*Countrywide Ottoman Women's Resistance*). The community published the magazine named

²⁶² One of the most famous poets of the late Ottoman era. He was considered the founder of modern Turkish poetry. He wrote and published the first Turkish children's poetry book named *Şermin*.

²⁶³ Known as the Grand Poet and the Grand Genius, he was one of the key poets of the early 20th century. He was the representative of Turkish Romantic poetry.

²⁶⁴ Egyptian writer (1878-1954). The women were portrayed as emotional, childish, and disabled in the book. These views exemplify the general point of view of the male-dominated society. Islamic and traditional authors used these clichés in their books to support their opposing views on the Westernization in the country. According to them, the harmful effects of Westernization firstly reflected on women's issues. For example, the author Celal Nuri (1881-1938) warns the governors in his leaflet *Our Women* in 1915 that they should protect their women by using the fundamental rules of Islam; if not, bad habits of Europe could dominate the whole nation (Bora, 2016, p. 744).

Women's World, exclusively written by women. The main aims of the community whose president was Nuriye Ulviye Ceylan were to fix the position of women in society, help women to enter the business professions, regulate the dress codes for women, gain more educational rights, and get rid of the oppressive traditions of the society. In 1914, five Muslim women who applied for a job were rejected by the Phone Company, yet with the public pressure created by the women's magazines, they were able to get the job, especially thanks to *Women's World*.

Other communities were Cemiyet-i Hayriyeyi Nisvaniye (*Philanthropist Women's Community*), Teali Vatan Osmanlı Hanımlar Cemiyeti (*Magnanimous Nation Ottoman Ladies' Community*), Osmanlı Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği (*Association of Ottoman Turkish Ladies' Protection*), Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyeti İslamiyyesi²⁶⁵ (*Employing Ottoman Women's Community*), and Kadın Birliği (*Women's Union*). The common features of these organizations were social aid, charity, virtue, and patriotism. They helped women's issues to become articulated with the nationalist ones during the wars in the 1910s. According to them, the women should contribute towards defending the nation in war by sewing, preparing clothes for soldiers, or/and collecting donations for the fronts.

In terms of women's literature, there were important authors that gave clues about women's issues in the late Ottoman era. One of them was Fatma Aliye (1862-1936)²⁶⁶. As the first female novelist, she discussed in her books that Islam had no obstacles against women becoming active in the public sphere. She tried to explain that women could divorce, and polygamy was not a must in Islam. According to Fatma Aliye, it was enough to wear a scarf instead of a chador. She also criticized Western feminist thoughts in terms of moral corruption. In her novels *Muhadarat, 1892 (Useful Information)*; *Udi, 1899 (The Lute*

²⁶⁵ The community was established in 1916. Its main aims were to help women work for their own living and make suggestions for marriage (Oktar, 1998, p. 104).

²⁶⁶ She is the first woman whose photograph was published on a Turkish banknote by the government in 2009. It was criticized by the Kemalists (Bora, 2016, p. 745).

Player); and *Enin, 1910 (Groaning)*, she portrayed women who worked and earned money; she also wrote about love and harmony in marriage. Instead of full equality between men and women, she gave priority to the visibility of women in the society like other contemporary female writers such as Aziz Haydar Hanım and Fatma Nesibe Hanım (Bora, 2016, p. 745). Yet, these three women sharply criticized the mothers who raised their daughters as losers and who brought them up as too emotional. They strongly advised men that women should decide on women's issues. Another important woman author Halide Edip Adivar (1884-1964) created strong women characters in her novels such as Kaya (Rock) in *Turan* (1913) who is a nationalist teacher (p. 747). According to Adivar, women should actively participate in the decision-making processes of the country.

Lastly, in terms of science and higher education, the first higher education institute was opened in 1914, and seven female students started studying in the Faculty of Medicine for the first time in 1922. According to Yaprak Zihnioğlu, the main requests of women between 1908 and 1922 were about education, equal positions in the family, becoming a subject in the reform process of the constitutionalist period, freedom in the women's dress codes, and playing an active part in business enterprise (Zihnioğlu, 2003).

It can be concluded that in the 19th century and early 20th century, women gained some rights in the public sphere in terms of education and business professions. Women's voices were welcomed if they were under the control of the official patriarchal ideology and were used as a tool by the governments to make their plans more effective, yet when those voices began to be autonomous and *real*, women's rights, which were *totally* about women but not related to governmental or tradition-supported issues, were silenced as soon as possible.

This can be seen when the government repealed the Hukuk-u Aile Kararnamesi of 1917 (*Law on Family Decree of 1917*) in 1919²⁶⁷ (Yaraman, p. 136).

Women's Rights in the Early Republic

Women's rights improved in the early Republican period thanks to WWI and the War of Independence. The journalist Sabiha Sertel and the author Emine Semiye affirmed that women gained many opportunities, especially during the war period, and indeed, it could even be claimed that women started with the War of Independence. The wars also created heroines at the war front, such as Kara Fatma and Nene Hatun²⁶⁸.

With the War of Independence, women's identities were classified as "Turkish women." Nationalism defined and affected all the feminist ideologies, movements, and points of view because of the fact that the new republic was being built upon a nationalist framework, so the "new *Turkish* woman" would be very important in constructing the new modern country. For example, Modern Women's Community was founded in 1919; they started their struggle against the old Ottoman conservatism. Sabiha Sertel named the struggle "nationalist feminism", and it was one of the milestones of the new republic. According to Sertel, "the main objective of 'nationalist feminism'" was to conduct a survey on contemporary women in order to identify their needs (Bora, 2016, p. 751).

²⁶⁷ In the decree, the minimum age for marriage was defined as 18 for men and 17 for women; marriage was prohibited for all those who were defined as mentally deranged. Women had the right to claim for divorce and also to object to polygamy.

²⁶⁸ These were the prominent figures in the war who provided food to the soldiers at the front.



Figure ²⁶⁹3: Sabiha Sertel (1895-1968)

The references to the prestigious position of women in Turkish society were linked to Turkish mythology and former Turkish states. Although the feminist figures of the period were making claims on equal rights, they were still perceived by male politicians as the assistants who helped them with their ‘emotions and hearts’ when the men conflicted, so according to a male author of that period, İsak Ayasi, for example, the most suitable jobs for women were in teaching, becoming governesses, and nurses (Ayasi, through Bora, 2016, pp. 504-512).

The main discussion on women’s issues was especially on dress customs. In spite of the criticism by religious societies that modernization of their appearance would turn women into ‘prostitutes’, women did not want to wear veils and chadors anymore. Many women thought these blocked their freedom of movement and made them feel as if they were in cages. In women’s magazines such as *İnci (Pearl)*, there were many suggestions and alternative ways of dress styles and hairdressing. With the republican revolutions, all the Ottoman traditions and ways of life were transformed. In the 1920s and 1930s, most discussions were on these changes: old habits versus the new ones. The feminists, on one hand, admitted it was not easy for them to get accustomed to the new ways of life, modernization, and habits. On the other hand, they criticized those men who talked about the

²⁶⁹ <http://www.fembio.org/english/biography.php/woman/biography/sabiha-sertel/> (Accessed 23.2.2022)

hardships that women had during the revolutions. These feminists said that both women and men could face hardships. There was no difference.



Figure 4²⁷⁰: Nezihe Muhiddin in Different Photos

The author Nezihe Muhiddin (1898-1958) who lived in that period was one of the most prominent figures in the history of women's rights. She was politically active in the early Republican period. She believed that the period of the War of Independence transformed the women's movement. According to her, women should support the social reforms, which were introduced by the first president Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Nezihe Muhiddin was a nationalist, a positivist, and a Kemalist figure in her early career, but although she believed that men and women were different and therefore it was not necessary for women to become ministers or ambassadors, she wrote about women's rights to vote and women's equal civil rights in society. Muhiddin and her educated women friends established the Women's People Party in 1923, the very first political party in modern Turkish history. Their main aim was to establish basic social, economic, and political rights for women, but it was not approved by the official authorities and was eventually converted into an association called Turkish Woman's Union in 1924. Nezihe Muhiddin became the first president of the association, and they started to publish the magazine, *Women's Path*. Both the association and the magazine focused on suffrage. In the 1925 elections, Nezihe Muhiddin and Halide Edip became

²⁷⁰ <https://m.bianet.org/bianet/tarih/205256-resmi-tarih-in-yok-saydigi-bir-kadin-nezihe-muhiddin> In the article which includes the photo above, Nezihe Muhiddin is portrayed as an outcast in the modern official Turkish history by the woman journalist Evin Aslan (2019). (Accessed 23.2.2022)

candidates as ministers, and their nomination was perceived as civil disobedience by the government, and therefore rejected by the board of election. Both Muhiddin and the Turkish Woman's Union were accused of being disloyal to the Republic and its reforms. All the criticisms were on their work on suffrage. They said Muhiddin was not working enough for the reforms; she focused only on 'simple' women's issues. Male authors and statesmen claimed that women like Nezihe Muhiddin were daydreamers who assumed that real life was as it was portrayed in novels. They emphasized the importance of the self-sacrificing figure of the Anatolian mother/wife who helped the soldiers in wartime against the intellectual woman who claimed equal rights. These intellectual women were accused of abandoning the roles of motherhood and marital duties. Yet, Muhiddin, Halide Edip, and their friends did not give up. They said there were no differences between Istanbul women and Anatolian women, and women could dance, follow fashion, and think about serious issues. Because of corruption allegations, Muhiddin was dismissed from the association and forgotten until the second Turkish feminist wave in the 1980s. Muhiddin always emphasized women's minds instead of their emotional sides in contrast to previous women's magazines and novels as can be easily seen in her novels *Benliğim Benimdir*, 1929 (*My Ego is Mine*) and *Güzellik Kraliçesi*, 1933 (*The Beauty Queen*). According to her, a woman who has equal rights with men should use her mind, support the family, be a nationalist, and work for her country. This is similar to a summary of the feminism of that period: one that is called *state feminism* by feminist author Şirin Tekeli (Bora, 2016, pp. 754-757).

“State feminism” can be exemplified by Latife Hanım and the activities of the Turkish Women's Union after 1927. Latife Hanım was married to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk for two years. She was criticized because she called Atatürk by his name Kemal, not by his title “my pasha” or “my sire”. She always insisted on the freedom of women in her speeches and disturbed both traditional and patriarchal Kemalists. Also, she sent letters to Olga Kamaneva

who was one of the leading figures of the Soviet women's movement. The marriage ended in divorce, and Latife Hanım retired into silence until she died in 1975. Although the new republic gave women the right to vote and stand for election in 1934, the feminists had been recurrently suppressed before when they uttered their demands. All the activities on women organized by the state were firstly on education. The Turkish Women's Union was tasked by the state with going to the villages and enlightening the village women. In the state's mind, the main strength - the 'ore' - was to be found in the village women for they were mothers, nationalists, self-sacrificing powerful and 'pure' creatures of the new country, so they needed to be educated to make the country more dynamic and stronger. The main goal was to combine this 'ore' of the village women with the awareness of the educated city women.

Briefly, 'state feminism' was not very different from the early feminist movement between the 1860s and the 1890s. The Turkish Women's Union was repealed by the government in 1935, and the Union's leader, Latife Bekir, claimed that they were very happy to close the Union for there were no women's demands anymore, and they had earned all the rights. In fact, women got these rights in a country in which patriarchy was centralized in all politics in such a manner that nothing could damage it. Although the educated elite women could work and enter the public sphere, they never left their roles as mothers and wives. In addition, there were always other women – 'maids' – in their homes if they could not do all the housework, so it is impossible to define any feminisms in these houses. In short, republican women just *seemed* to be feminists; they were, in fact, more guardians of the new nationalist country. Although the right to vote was achieved by the women themselves, it has become popular knowledge that the right to vote was granted by the Kemalist government.

Despite the fact that there was a new republican women's voice supported by state feminism, there were also a few dissident voices. For instance, the author Şükûfe Nihal supports the women who challenge marriage dependency and male dominance in the home in

her novels like *Çöl Güneşi (Desert Sun)*. According to Nihal, every single woman must have a job. Socialist writer and translator Sabiha Sertel²⁷¹ also claimed in her articles that women should earn equal money with men. According to her, the salvation of women was possible through a revolution. In Suat Derviş's novels and Fatma Nudiye Yalçı's articles, the working women were dignified; in contrast, they criticized the nonworking women for being 'decorative' for they did not make any efforts to enhance the country.

In terms of real rights earned in this era, 1924 can be claimed as one of the most important years in terms of women's rights because of the introduction of the law on the unification of education. Thanks to this unification, education was secularized and became state-controlled, and girls and boys started to have more extensive equal opportunities for education. In addition, in 1926, the Turkish Civil Code disabled the statute of polygamy and unilateral divorce. With this code, women were granted the right to divorce and custody of the children.

In the 1930s, women entered public life and gained important rights as stated above. For example, in 1930 women were given the right to vote and to stand in municipal elections. In the same year, maternity leave was regulated. Later, in 1933, the General Directorate of Technical Education for Girls was founded which aimed at giving girls vocational education. Women were also granted the right to stand for village council elections and mukhtar elections²⁷². One year later, due to the effects of women's protest marches, women finally gained the right to vote and stand for general elections in Turkey. Law 4772, which regulated maternity insurance, and Law 5417, which regulated old-age insurance according to gender equality, were both ratified. All these social and political gains, which women achieved in the Early Republic Era, became the basis for further demands related to women's rights.

²⁷¹ She translated *Woman and Socialism* by August Bebel into the Turkish language, and she became the symbol for the socialist feminist women in Turkey until the 1980s.

²⁷² Mukhtar refers to the head of a village or a neighbourhood who manages the bureaucratic work in Turkey.

To conclude, the feminist writer Kadıoğlu (2005) defines the main motives in the women's movement in the early Republican period as modernization, Kemalism²⁷³ - the most powerful one among them-, secularism, building a nation-state, westernization, nationalism, and political engagement. Another feminist critic, Durakbaşa (2017), summarizes the effects of the new republican ideologies on women's rights:

The Kemalist woman's image reflects the pragmatism of the Kemalist ideology and appears as a synthesis of a range of contrasting images: "An educated woman" in a company, "an organizer woman who has social mobility" in the societies, clubs, and organizations, "a woman who has a biological function" and production-related responsibilities as a mother and a wife in the family, "a feminine woman" who makes men happy in the balls and the parties²⁷⁴" (Bora, 2016, p. 760, trans by me).

Briefly, the change in women was deemed necessary with the introduction of modernism in the early Republican era; instead of the emphasis on femininity, humanity in women was emphasized.

Women's Rights in Turkey in the Second Half of the Twentieth Century

Women's Rights between 1950 and 1980

With the effect of the transition to a multi-party system after the 1940s, many women's unions were established such as The Philanthropists' Union, The Women's Voice, The Turkish Mothers' Union, The Turkish Undergraduate Women's Union, The Turkish Women Lawyers' Union, The Association of the Protection of Women's Rights, and The Review of Women's Social Life Union. In addition, the Turkish Women's Union was re-established in 1949. These unions supported women's rights, but their activities mainly focused on the

²⁷³ Kemalism refers to new republican ideologies and principles built by the founder Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.

²⁷⁴ "Kemalist kadın imgesi Kemalist ideolojinin pragmatizmini yansıtmaktadır ve bir dizi çelişen imgenin bireşimi olarak belirlemektedir: İş yerinde 'eğitilmiş iş kadını', sosyal derneklerde, kulüplerde, örgütlerde 'toplumsal hareketliliğe sahip örgütçü kadın', ailede anne ve eş olarak üretimle ilgili sorumluluğu olan, 'biyolojik işleve sahip kadın', erkekleri balolarda ve partilerde mutlu eden 'dişil bir kadın.'"

protection of poor women, education, and the protection of the new republican ideologies. The Association of the Protection of Women's Rights transformed a political party named Turkey National Women's Party in 1972, but it was not effective and was eventually closed in 1981. There were hardly any women parliamentarians in the Assembly. The political parties did not care about the existence of women parliamentarians in their parties. The Republican People's Party and the Democrat Party created women's branches in their parties, but according to Tanıl Bora, these were used for the logistic needs (2016, p. 765), so, for example, nationalist author İffet Halim Oruz criticized women who did not support women candidates in the parties. She published the *Women's Newspaper* (1947-1960) and defended the need for women's power in the nationalist issues in her articles.

With the effect of traditional, Islamic conservatism during the Democrat Party government, women were highly criticized and marginalized in politics and popular culture, and republican women started to fight against these views which tried to criticize and repel their gained rights. Therefore, there were some socialist-communist views expressed on the situation of equal rights between women and men and also criticisms of capitalist labour divisions in these times, as can be evidenced in male and female politicians such as Hikmet Kıvılcımlı, Sevim Belli, and Latife Fegan's articles and letters. Thus, the women's movement was caught between the misogynist and conservatist perspective of the new government and patriarchal points of view of 'state feminism'.

In 1965, a Law on Family Planning regulating the right to abortion for medical reasons was ratified, and in 1983, abortion became a legal option if the pregnancy was 10 weeks or less. It was important for women in terms of having a voice about their bodies. In 1966, International Labour Organization (ILO) Number 100 which provides wage and salary equality between women and men was accepted by Turkey.

In the 1970s, with the effect of the left-wing movement, women continued to discuss the inequality of opportunities between working women and men. As one of the most important political figures of that time the academic, Behice Boran²⁷⁵ focused on women's work. According to her, a woman should participate in the production process in the industry. She believed that the family was a unit that reproduces the power of the patriarchy. In the 1960s, in the left-wing movement, the wives of the socialists were silent and uninformed about the revolution as woman politician Nurten Tuç claimed. Although women were conscious of the revolution in the 1970s, men were still the dominant figures in the family. Women could not even take an active role in the decision-making mechanism of the left-wing parties. In spite of the fact that there were women such as Kutsiye Bozoklar and Leyla Halit in the armed struggle against radical right-wing groups as well as in the police force, they were of secondary importance and forced to stay in the background because of their so-called physical 'weaknesses'. They were still mothers, wives, and the logistic power of the left-wing radical militants in the non-feminine unisex uniforms. Moreover, they were also called 'sisters' for emotional encounters were not approved. In other words, the revolution was the most important and the belief was that all women and men should work together as sisters. Any kind of emotional or sexual relationship could slow down revolutionary activities.

Similar to the political figures, left-wing women's unions also focused on labourer women in the 1970s. According to them, physical abuse and violence had their origin in the feudal structure of the society and that was the reason they should fight against class differences. For example, the Association of Progressive Women established by socialist-communist women in 1975 supported women's participation in politics. They also defended the right to divorce and abortion. They were the first women, who celebrated March 8th in

²⁷⁵ As one of the most prominent communist figures, Behice Boran was purged from the Faculty of Language, History, Geography in 1948 in which lots of socialist/communist academics were purged because of their leftist/socialist ideologies. This was named Turkish witchcraft by the Democrat Party. Boran also became the first woman leader of an effective and active political party, the Workers' Party of Turkey.

Turkey²⁷⁶. Other unions were the Ankara Women's Association established in 1976 and the Revolutionist Women's Association established in 1977. Their mission was to educate working women in the slums. They gave speeches about domestic violence and focused on how to fight against it. What all of these unions had in common was that they were all anti-fascists. Their activities were mostly against class distinctions and fascism and had some common ideas with traditional dogmas related to women's roles such as motherhood and sisterhood. This is why they were distanced from existential feminisms and why they criticized those feminists who focused on body and 'feminine' issues. Indeed, there was a positive influence of the translations into Turkish by writers such as Simone de Beauvoir, Kate Millet, and Shulamith Firestone. Their work was published by Payel Publications and contributed to the development of the women's movement in Turkey in the 1970s, especially in terms of literature. On one hand, women politicians focused on the issues of class and equal rights in society, on the other hand, some intellectual women writers queried society itself and tried to change it by starting from the private space, which is perceived as home/family/body. With the Western slogan "the Private is political / the personal is political", women authors told the stories of women who had dilemmas and experienced metaphorical cul-de-sacs in their inner and outer lives. In the stories by Sevim Burak, Tomris Uyar, Pınar Kür, and Füzünan²⁷⁷, the ghost of sexism dominates the structures of the storylines. They discuss how the male-dominated rules in society make women's lives unliveable. The author Sevgi Soysal describes the pessimism of women created by the loutish and rustic men around them²⁷⁸. For Leyla Erbil, Adalet Ağaoğlu, and other popular Turkish authors, leftism and intellectuality are

²⁷⁶ According to Tanıl Bora, communist women celebrated March 8th for the first time in 1921 in Ankara (772).

²⁷⁷ Pınar Kür's *Asılacak Kadın* (*The Woman to Be Hanged*) and Füzünan's *Parasız Yatılı* (*Free Boarding School*) are important books that include this 'ghost'.

²⁷⁸ Soysal's novels *Tante Rosa*, *Şafak* (*Dawn*), and *Yürümek* (*To Walk*) are full of these men, for example. Ağaoğlu's novel *Ölmeye Yatmak* (*Lying Down to Die*) describes republican women who are suppressed by the republican ideologies and Kemalism. The women characters in these novels feel guilty because of the dilemmas between their responsibilities burdened by new modern country and their bodies.

described as a disappointment for women and femininity²⁷⁹, and there is a big suppression of republican ideologies on women's *bodies*. Author and poet Tezer Özlü confesses in one of her letters "we are the women who bear neither our children nor our husbands nor even ourselves²⁸⁰" (Bora, 2016, p. 775). Özlü searches for a way out of "how to know, how to handle womanhood, and how to accomplish it" in a suppressive world in her novels, but her characters do not *know* how to cope with "womanhood" (Özlü, 2018, p. 45). Erbil and Özlü declare that motherhood and family are the key obstacles to the freedom of women.

It can be concluded that all these women writers prepared the road along which the 1980s women's movement started walking into the feminist future.

b. Women's Rights after the 1980s

According to Asuman Özgür Keysan, there are three important factors affecting the relationship between the women's movement and civil society in Turkey are the tension between Western modernization and Islam, the effect of the European Union in shaping civil society, and "women's organizing in Turkey doing with the fact that the country has recently become a laboratory for a unique government-led and conservative vision of civil society, with fraught implications for women" (2019, p. 7). She used the sample below to examine the women's organizations in Turkey.

Women's Organization	Orientation	Geographical Location	Organizational Structure	EU Funding	Framing of Women's Rights/Feminism
TKB	Kemalist	Ankara	Voluntarism-based	Not funded	Equality
TÜKD	Kemalist	Ankara ^a	Voluntarism-based	Funded	Equality
AKDER	Islamist	İstanbul	Semi-professional	Not Funded	Justice-based equality
BKP	Islamist	Ankara	Voluntarism-based	Funded	Justice-based equality
KAMER	Kurdish- feminist ^b	Diyarbakır/ Batman ^c	Semi-professional	Funded	Empowerment
SELİS	Kurdish	Diyarbakır	Voluntarism-based	Funded ^d	Emancipation
KA-DER	Feminist	İstanbul	Semi-professional	Funded	Empowerment
US	Feminist	Ankara	Semi-professional	Funded	Empowerment
SFK	Anti-capitalist Feminist	Ankara	Voluntarism-based	Anti-funding	Emancipation
AMARGİ ^e	Anti-capitalist Feminist	İstanbul	Voluntarism-based	Funded	Liberation for all groups

(2019, p. 17). **Table 2: Women's Organizations in Turkey**

²⁷⁹ Erbil's novel *Tuhaf Bir Kadın (A Strange Woman)* portrays these disappointments.

²⁸⁰ "Biz ki ne çocuğuna ne kocasına dayanamayan, kendi kendine dayanamayan kadınlarız" (through Bora, 2016, p. 775) (trans. by me).

Instead of criticizing outright the participation of women's NGOs in civil society and assuming incompatibility between civil society and feminism, we ought instead to remember that civil society is contested terrain and pay respectful scholarly attention to ways in which women negotiate and contest the complex processes of its construction. What is more, even where some feminist and anti-capitalist feminist organizations assume an incompatibility between feminism and civil society, their critique or rejectionist approach to civil society should prompt the rethinking of the theory and practice of civil society from a feminist perspective, not its outright dismissal. Only by taking into account more substantive critiques coming from a range of specific contexts, dominant civil society discourses can be challenged in scholarship and by civil society activists. (2019, p. 166).

The 1980s were labelled as the years of the awakening of Turkish feminism as well as the second-wave feminism in Turkey. With the effect of the 1980 Turkish coup d'état, women focused on human rights much more than before²⁸¹, and they began to criticize the whole system, which considers femaleness and women's bodies as trivial. The criticism helped them to read more about feminist theories. For example, in 1982 YAZKO (Writers and Translators' Cooperative) held a symposium in which feminism was discussed and continued to be discussed in the periodical *Somut (Concrete)*. Also, some important feminist books were published by Women's Sphere Publications, established in 1984. The founder Stella Ovadia declared the slogan "who's afraid of being a feminist" (Bora, 2016, p. 79). According to her, women were not suppressed because of their class but suppressed and exploited because they were women (Doğu & Ovadia, 2013, p. 290). These feminists were criticized by some of the left-wing and socialist activists because they were blamed for being a part of the coup d'état and bourgeoisie. Yet, in spite of the majority's sympathy for socialism, these feminists continued to investigate and share with other women what the gaps and deficiencies in the socialist and left-wing movements were and rejected any political ideology to be their *bible*.

²⁸¹ The Human Rights Association was established in 1986 which would disclose many human rights crimes and help victims. Many women worked for the association. The lawyer Eren Keskin, for example, took active participation in the association and focused on rape and sexual abuse in the (political) prisons. Keskin was an important figure for that time, and she still is. She is characteristically different from her contemporary "non-feminine" women's rights defenders.

Magazines such as *Feminist* (1987) and *Kaktüs (Cactus)*²⁸² (1988) and meetings such as the Women's Congress (1988) and The First Feminist Weekend (1989) openly declared that they were suppressed because they were women. As a result, this became a turning point for Turkish feminism.

In the 1980s, there were many protest marches by women in favour of the *United Nations Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination against Women*. In 1985, Turkey signed the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). In order to make the convention practical, the Women's Petition Movement, one of the very first women's mass movements, was held with the signatures of 7,000 citizens. In the same year, women were introduced into the agenda for the first time in the Fifth Five-Year Development Plan, and some political issues on women were defined in the plan. The first official institution was responsible for women's issues: the State Planning Organization Women-Oriented Consultative Committee was founded in 1987 and the first Research Center for Women's Studies was founded at Istanbul University in 1989. In that same year, women were able to apply for positions as district governors by taking state exams for the first time. All these developments show that women's issues could become hot topics in the socio-economic agendas. With campaigns such as *Bağır Herkes Duysun (Shout; Let Everybody Hear It)* in 1987 and *Mor İğne Kampanyası (Purple Needle Campaign)* in 1989, women's voices were heard in the public sphere, protesting sexual abuse, inequality, militarism, beating, and rape as conceptualised in both international and national literature (Anderson, 2011; Altınay, 2000; Enloe, 2000; Yalçın-Heckmann & Gelder, 2000; Coşar & Özman, 2015; Sancar, 2012; Kandiyoti, 2015; Selek, 2007 Aras, 2012; Fırat & Altınay, 2012 Tekeli, 2015; Butler, 2014; Demir, 2015; Bingöl; 2016).

²⁸²For the scanned versions of the magazines *Pazartesi*, *Kaktüs*, and *Feminist*, please refer to <http://www.pazartesisidergisi.com/index.html> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

Besides, in the 1980s, Kemalist / “state feminism” started to be criticized more by being labelled liberal/egalitarian feminism. In contrast, a group of feminists called radical feminists such as Stella Ovadia, Ayşe Düzkan, and Handan Koç were affected by the theories of Beauvoir, Solana, Firestone, and Dworkin. They discussed women’s issues from an essentialist and fundamentalist point of view to some extent by placing the woman in the centre and the man in the margins. Some of them saw motherhood and giving birth as a threat to women’s independence (Bora, 2016, p. 782).

Apart from these, in the 1980s, there were women’s films and novels that underlined women’s power and freedom as well as how women could escape from male-induced oppression. As one of the most popular directors in Turkish cinema, Atif Yılmaz in his films such as *Adı Vasfiye (Her Name is Vasfiye)*, *Asiye Nasıl Kurtulur? (How Can Asiye Be Saved?)*²⁸³, *Aaaah Belinda* portrays women who are oppressed by the family and their husbands/fathers and liberate themselves sexually and physically by fighting against these men and family traditions. As the leading actress in these films, Müjde Ar became the symbol of these liberated women in the eyes of both the middle class and elite liberals. The author Duygu Asena’s so-called provocative novel *Kadının Adı Yok (The Woman Has No Name)*²⁸⁴ helped liberation to become more popular in society.

As of the 1990s, new trends in feminism in Turkey emerged. On one hand, some groups focused on Islam or ethnicity, other groups dealt with gender issues. Although different feminist groups had words against each other such as Islamic women vs secular Kemalists, or Kurdish women vs Republicans, the common concern of all these groups was identity, and all debates affected the political culture in the country. For example, the politician and feminist Filiz Koçali described the *Saturday Mothers* – the main theme of this dissertation - at Galatasaray, Taksim as the women who only focused on their issue -- that is

²⁸³ This was adapted from an epic play with the same name by Vasif Öngören in 1970s.

²⁸⁴ The novel was censored for two years on the supposition that it harmed family and moral values.

the forced enforced disappearance of their children. They never argued but shared their emotions and feelings in sympathy. These women brought privacy and subjectivity out into the public sphere, so it could be read as a feminist approach, which defined and publicly displayed the extent of masculine power. So, private became political specifically in the shape of the Saturday Mothers at Galatasaray and their role in consciousness-raising.

In the 1990s, there was a significant advancement in family matters. On November 29th, 1990, the Constitutional Court rescinded Article 159 in the Civil Code, which stated that women had to get permission from their husbands to be able to work outside the home. Moreover, the first guest houses for women to support women and children who were victims of domestic abuse were founded in Turkey, and the first Women's Shelter was opened by Bakırköy Municipality in Istanbul. In the same year, the first women's library was also opened. Yet, the most important highlight of the year was the foundation of the General Directorate on the Status and Problems of Women. This Directorate became the central contact point in Turkey thanks to the decision taken in the meeting of the United Nations International Research and Training Institute (INSTRAW) on February 20, 1992. Yet, the officials picked no feminist associations' brains during the foundation. There was a certain tension-line between the legitimacy of feminism and its "leveling" (Bora, 2016, p. 786). For example, the Directorate published an information report on women's issues in Turkey in 1997; however, they generally avoided meddling with the hot topics in feminism. They laid schemes and projects with the help of international NGOs in order to make women more 'powerful' in society. In 1996, the Head of the Women's Department in Rural Development was established by the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs. In 1997, women were granted the right to use their surnames after marriage with the change in Article 153 in the Civil Code. In the same year, the expressions "widowed" and "divorced" on the national identity cards were deleted. In 1998, the Law regarding Protection of the Family came into

force, which regulates the measures taken for all victims of family violence. Moreover, the Union of Turkish Bar²⁸⁵ Association Commissions of Women's Rights Network was founded.

Apart from the issues above, the effects of three feminisms can be traced in terms of the women's movement. The first one was social feminism. Social feminists helped women who were subjected to violence. For example, in 1990, Mor Çatı (Purple Roof) was established to provide women with support and solidarity. They opened a women's shelter for women who escaped from their homes and husbands. These foundations were different from those established in the 1950s-1960s because they had feminist approaches in their missions. The second one was bureaucratic feminism. Although the first women prime minister Tansu Çiller did nothing on women's issues – in contrast, she drew a nationalist, militarist, masculine mother figure--, KA.DER (Association of Supporting and Educating Women Candidates) was established in 1997 and tried to make women integrate more into politics. Their mission was not coined from feminist theories – they even used traditional symbols and clichés, but they defended women's participation in the political parties and the Assembly, and there should be a quota for women in the organs of the political parties. The third one was academic feminism. In the 1990s, some women's studies centres were established at universities such as Ankara University. They started creating a feminist archive and discussing the feminist theories by producing dissertations on women's literature, women in film, women in society, popular culture, economics, and politics.

The magazine *Pazartesi (Monday)* was also important in the 1990s to become a voice in women's rights, which is one of the most prominent periodicals in which both humorous and intellectual women's issues were shared.

In 2000, the Additional Optional Protocol (CEDAW) was signed by the Turkish Government. In the same year, one of the most important discussion panels on so-called

²⁸⁵ Body of lawyers

‘honour killings’ was held in Şanlıurfa where many women were killed by their fathers, husbands, brothers, or relatives²⁸⁶. In 2003, a new Civil Code entered into force: the phrase ‘householder’ was cancelled.

In the first decade of the 2000s, there was the dominance of a more hybrid and pluralist women’s movement. For example, the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, Intersexual, and Queer Plus (LGBTQI+) movement gave a new voice to the women’s associations. KaosGL, LAMBDA Istanbul, Siyah Pembe Üçgen (Black, Pink Triangle), SPoD are the most prominent associations which discussed both the queer and feminist theories and organised festivals, workshops, marches, and other activities on these issues. The Kurdish women’s movement gave another voice to the movement. Thanks to this movement, many women could enter the Assembly and participate in the political parties the heads and coordinators, such as the Halkların Demokratik Partisi (HDP) (People’s Democratic Party)²⁸⁷. Some platforms such as Public Shelters Congress, Women’s Congress, Women’s Initiative for Peace, World Women’s March Organization, and Local Agenda helped Kurdish women to enter the public sphere and represent both their ethnic and gender identities. Thus, women activists discussed and defended the rights of female sex workers. Another driving force in the movement is Kırmızı Şemsiye Derneği (Association of Red Umbrella) which has been publishing reports on the abuse of rights of sex workers. In addition to all this movement’s activities and with the effect of ecological feminism and anarco-feminism in feminist

²⁸⁶ If a woman/girl fornicates or is raped, a man in her family (probably her father, brother, uncle, or husband if any) has to murder her according to the verbal rules of some feudal village tribes. This is called ‘honour killing’.

²⁸⁷ “Peoples’ Democratic Party (HDP) is a leftist, pro-Kurdish political party that won 13.1 percent of the vote in the June 2015 Turkish parliamentary elections, surpassing the 10 percent electoral threshold to join parliament, and denying the ruling Justice and Development Party the supermajority it needed to amend the constitution. The HDP, a successor of the former Peace and Democracy Party (BDP), was formed in an attempt to widen the reach of the party beyond its traditionally Kurdish ethnic and regional base. The BDP itself was the eighth successive Kurdish political party in Turkey, as each of its predecessors was outlawed by Turkey’s constitutional court for purported ties to the militant PKK. Some HDP members maintain unofficial ties to the PKK. The party’s two leaders were arrested on terrorism charges in 2016 as part of the government’s crackdown on its political opponents following a coup attempt. As with many other groups that were targeted, the HDP isn’t believed to have taken part in the attempted putsch, but instead was targeted because of its opposition to a constitutional amendment to expand the powers of President Recep Tayyip Erdogan’s office.” (Ed. McMahon, 2017).

literature, women's voices have become more dominant and sensible, although there have been contra-political moves against these groups after the Recep Tayyip Erdoğan Era, and there have been many more cases of femicide than before, statistically speaking.

Apart from these mentioned above, in the Socialist Feminist Collective in 2008 and Feminist Politics in 2011, women discussed women's labour-power. In the magazines *Feminist Approach*, *Fe Magazine*, *5Harfliler*²⁸⁸ (*Pentaliteral*), and *Amargi*, all the feminisms have been issued. Feminist platform FilmMor (FilmPurple) has ridiculed the patriarchal system and male-dominated ideologies and politics with the annual Golden Gumbo Awards²⁸⁹.

In terms of the headscarf ban²⁹⁰ for decades by the Turkish state, women with headscarves held some protest marches in the 1990s. Although many feminist groups did not support them very much, in the early 2000s, a majority of them started to give support. For example, the Rainbow Women's Platform, Çınar Women's Platforms, south-eastern Women and Culture Platform, Başkent Women's Platform, AKDER (Women's Association against Discrimination), ÖNDER (Association of Imam Hatip High School Graduates) worked on the headscarf ban. Thanks to all these protests and the Erdoğan's government, they could gain their rights in the 2010s.

²⁸⁸ In the Muslim tradition, gin's name is never spelled/mentioned because it is believed the gin can enter the home as soon as its name is spelled or pronounced, so instead of mentioning its name, it is preferred to call it as "trilateral". The magazine coins its name from this tradition by ridiculing the name and reversing the meaning and mentality which equals women with demonic symbols. Pentaliteral refers to five letters of *kadın* in Turkish ("woman" in English).

²⁸⁹ "Gumbo" can be translated into English as ladies' finger. Also, it refers to a boy's genitalia or a man's unerect penis in Turkish culture (in slang). These awards are given to the most misogynist people in Turkish media or politics.

²⁹⁰ These women could not enter the public buildings, schools, and universities.

Nationalist Discourse in Turkey

As one of the seven main principles of Kemalism²⁹¹, nationalism has been one of the most important factors that have affected not only the politics of the Turkish Republic but social life in general. It has always been used as a milestone in the construction of the new nation.

Firstly, the Turkish Republic was established as a nation-state on the basis of very nationalist emotions; that's why nationalism is often taken as a reference for the socio-cultural and political analyses of the country. The modern formal history of Turkey has been written from the nation-state point of view which means a strong nationalism based on the German philosopher Herder and his theories on history²⁹². For example, this brought about the establishment of Turkish territorial unity under a cultural identity which is "Turkishness". The first prime minister of the country İsmet İnönü claimed in the international meetings on the planning of borderlines after the Independence War that Mosul, for example, should belong to the country because people who live there speak Turkish, and the Kurdish people in Mosul do not have different cultures from Turks.

To establish a new nation-state, Turkish politicians searched for roots of the country to prove that the country is a Turkish land, so they tried to find an ancient civilization that would be the ancestry of the modern Turkish state to underline that they have a very old and powerful history²⁹³.

Turkish nationalism is similar to German romantic perspectives on nationalism: every nation has to be unique. If a nation consists of different groups, it is not natural and has to collapse, so a nation has to protect its natural uniqueness and that is the main aim of humanity. Moreover, nation-building exists in human nature that shows the providential genesis (Gökdemir, Aydın). Starting from this point of view, the nation builders in Turkey

²⁹¹ Others are Republicanism, Populism, Secularism, Statism, and Reformism

²⁹² For Herder, every nation has an individual identity and does not resemble any other states and nations (*Resmi Tarih Tartışmaları I*, 2008, p. 44).

²⁹³ For example, there was much "academic" and "formal" research that showed that the ancient Anatolian civilization of Hittites and the Mesopotamian civilization of Sumerians were the ancestry of Turkish people.

chose the Turkish identity which forms the ethnic majority of the country and established the country under the dominance of this identity even by giving its name to the country -the Republic of Turkey- and ‘papered’ all the other tens of ethnic groups over the cracks for the sake of uniqueness.

According to Anthony D. Smith, there are five common features of national identity. The first one is common historical land or common national understanding. The second one is common myths and historical memory. The third one is mass public culture, and the fourth one is a common system of rights and liabilities for all individuals. And finally, the last one is a common economy. With all these features, a whole nation could be built as a kind of fictional/created unity (1991, p. 14). Thus, the formal history of Turkey has been written within the framework of this nationalist Turkish identity. Although there have been a lot of civilizations and ethnic groups throughout Anatolian history, the modern Turkish state claimed that some of these ancient civilizations had links to the Turks, and all the ethnic groups were somehow relatives of Turkish tribes. All of the research has been done and the theories have been formed by the legal state institutions such as the Turkish Language Association, Turkish History Association, The Sun Language Theory, and the Turkish History Thesis which ‘proved’ that the essence of the country contains ‘pure’ Turkish blood. For example, in the history books by Remzi Oğuz Arık, a famous Turkish historian, or in the minutes of meetings of İsmet İnönü, or again in the book titled *Pontus Issue* published by the Public Directorate of Press in 1922, there was even an attempt to prove that Anatolia was Turkish from the beginning of time, and it was the motherland. At the First Turkish History Congress in 1932, Afet İnan said that “it should be known that our ancient Hittites, our ancestors, are the first autochthonous residents and owners of our land²⁹⁴” (1932, p. 20). Another historian Reşit Galip (1932) said in the same congress that “the oldest skulls found in

²⁹⁴ “Bir de şunu eyi bilmek lazımdır ki, kadim Etililerimiz, atalarımız, bugünkü yurdumuzun ilk ve otokton sakini ve sahibi olmuşlardır.” (trans. by me)

Anatolia have the unchangeable character of our race explicitly and predominantly²⁹⁵” (through Bora, 2016, p. 99).

The historian, İlker Çaylı summarizes that the Turkish state uses three different nationalist proofs in defining the country’s unique “Turkish” identity: the first one is the ancient peoples of Anatolia had Turkish roots, so all the cultural heritage belongs to the modern Turkish republic. The second one is that, although the Turkish peoples were not the oldest in Anatolia, they were the peoples who shaped the unique permanent civilization. The third one is that the Turks were the most powerful peoples who conquered the country, and this is why it is their right to own and protect the land, so the other ethnic or religious groups should be assimilated or dismissed (2005, p. 85-136).

The Roots of Ethno-Nationalism in Turkey

Kazım Karabekir, one of the most prominent military figures of the early 20th century in Turkey, once forced the military band to play the music of the poem “I am a Turk” written by Mehmet Emin Bey. Karabekir wrote in his diary that “it is very sedative to chant ‘I am Turk’ as soon as you are angry at circumstances^{296 297}” (Bora, 2016, p. 195). In the early period of the century, the Turkish national identity meant independence, freedom, pride, and being an individual for the people who were in the midst of great wars. For Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the Turkish people were very late in coming to a common national point because of the politics of the Ottoman Empire. That is why the country was modernized much later than other European nations. Tanıl Bora states that Turkish nationalism was shaped and

²⁹⁵ “Anadolu’da şimdiye kadar bulunan en eski kafatasları sarıh ve faik bir surette ırkımızın silinmez damgasını taşımaktadır.” (trans. by me)

²⁹⁶ “Ahvale kızar kızmaz ‘ben bir Türküm’ diye tutturmak insanı teskin ediyor.” (trans. by me)

²⁹⁷ It is still popular to sing nationalist songs in Turkey as it was in the early period. MFÖ, one of the oldest and most popular Turkish bands, released their last album with the song titled “We are Turks, and we sing a song” (“Türk’üz Türkü Çağırırız”). *Song* in Turkish language creates a kind of homonym to the word “Turk” with the last consonant –ü, and to sing also means “to call” or “to invite” in Turkish (homonymic words), so “singing a song” can be understood as “we call/invite the Turkish.” To listen to the song please refer to <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hyYggG6-TnY> (Accessed 12.9.2022)

constructed by the fear and trauma of losing the empire and independence, and it did not resemble the late-nationalisms in the other countries (p. 195).

Orientalism affected the early nationalist perspectives in the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century. The studies in the field of Turkology, one of the branches of Orientalism, played an important role in defining what a “Turk” meant. This ethnic and cultural point of view fed by Herderian nationalist philosophy also gave the Turkish a sense of premiumisation. Also, Great Britain supported the Turkish-speaking people in St. Petersburg to make these people revolt against Russia. For example, Hungarian Turcologist Armin Vambery’s book *Travels in Central Asia*, published in 1864, portrayed the Turkish speaking people in central Asia, and the result was that Turkish historians and Turkologists such as Zeki Velidi Togan praised how Vambery had managed to introduce the fame of the Turks in other continents. The prominent aim of Turkology was to show the world through Western Turkologists that the Turks were not barbarians but intellectuals. Another example is Joseph de Guignes’s research on ancient Turks. He portrayed the Huns, Turks, Mongolians, and Tatars in the history of civilization. Although Islamists in the Empire criticized the Western Turkologists for being Zionists and accused all the Turkology studies of being a conspiracy against the Islamist peoples, Turkology developed as an institution and shaped the dominant politics. To illustrate this, French orientalist Leon Cahun’s *Introduction to History of Asia: Turks and Mongolians, Origins* (1896) and *The Blue Banner* (1877) affected the Unionists, including Mustafa Kemal. In these books, the Turk was portrayed as a hero. With the deciphering of Orhon inscriptions (A.D. 8th century) by the Danish Turkologist Christian Jürgensen Thomsen, the roots of the Turks were proven to be “ancient”²⁹⁸.

²⁹⁸ Historians start Turkish history with the Huns (B.C. 3rd-A.D.5th century). The Uyghur (A.D.744-840), the Gokturks (A.D.540-657), the Seljuks (10th-13th century), and the Ottomans (1299-1922) were defined as the main roots and early states of the modern Turkish people. It was estimated that there were 16 Turkish states throughout history. After Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the current president of the Turkish Republic (2017), was elected for presidency, the building that he ruled the country from was named Ak Saray (White Palace), and a group of soldiers that symbolize these ancient 16 Turkish states have started to be used in the formal meetings

As for Turkish historians and Turkologists, Ahmet Vefik Pasha wrote that the most honourable Turkish tribe was the Oghuz Tribe, and Turkish history went back five thousand years. Süleyman Pasha wrote about the Huns and the heroism of Mete Khan who was one of the most admirable Turkish heroes in history. For another historian Ali Suavi, the Turkish nation was a very big family that consisted of Turkmens, Tatars, Mongolians, Uzbeks, and Yakuts. Mustafa Celaleddin Pasha tried to prove the Turkish people and Europeans had their origin in a common Touro-Arienne race in his book *Three Ancient and Modern Turks* (1869), so he meant the Turkish nation was precious. The author Şemseddin Sami prepared the first Turkish dictionary and said the Ottoman identity was a state title, but being a Turk meant to belong to a very old nation.

Apart from these, some literary figures such as Mehmet Emin Yurdakul and Ahmet Hikmet Müftüoğlu used the “power” of the “Turkish race” in their poems, and this was called “literary Turkism”. For example, Yurdakul says in one of his poems:

I am a Turk, my religion and my race are noble
My heart and spirit are full of fire.
A man is the servant of his motherland.
Turkish son, do not stay at home; I leave!²⁹⁹ (Yurdakul)

As is shown in the above lines, heroism and being a part of the Turkish nation are equal to being noble.

With the effect of the nationalist movement by the Turkish-rooted peoples in the Caucasus who were under the repression of Russia, Pan-Turkism gained strength. For example, the Crimean nationalist journalist Gaspıralı İsmail defended their unity in language.

with other countries in the Palace. For the details of these soldiers please refer to the site <https://www.haberler.com/ak-saray-daki-uniformali-16-asker-muhafiz-alayi-6863563-haberi/> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

²⁹⁹ “Ben bir Türküm, dinim cinsim uludur.

Sinem özüm ateş ile doludur.

İnsan olan vatanının kuludur.

Türk evladı evde durmaz, giderim!” Source: <https://www.antoloji.com/cege-giderken-siiri/> (Accessed 26.11.2021) (trans. by me)

A lot of Caucasian Tatar and Azeri journalists and politicians supported pan-turanism³⁰⁰. All the Turkish peoples and groups in the world should unite under the roof of Islam and Turkism. They stated that the common Turkish dialect should be the dialect spoken in Istanbul which was also seen as the core place of the essence of living according to Turkish culture and identity. According to all these Turkologists and nationalists, the essence of Turkish identity should attempt to eliminate the boundaries of both non-Muslim and Arabian effects that tried to change and destroy the main cultural features, as another Turkologist, Sadi Maksudi Arsal, claimed in *Turkish Land* in 1925, all intellectuals and politicians had to learn Turkish history, culture, and norms³⁰¹.

In brief, Pan-Turkism and Pan-Turanism, affected by Pan-Slavism as the theorist Hans Kohn pointed out, shaped the early Republican ideology which meant that ethnopolitics took place in the building block of the nation. Thanks to the ideology of Pan-Turkism, the Turkish nation could *build* the country *with their blood* and overcome the ruins of the collapsed Ottoman Empire. As the writer Munis Tekinalp said in his book *Turkism and Turanism* (1915) although “we” lost large imperial lands, “we” were able to win “our” mainland which is the motherland of their race (Bora, 2016, p. 91).

Two important figures that shaped Turkism in the 20th century were historians from Russia: Yusuf Akçura and sociologist and author Ziya Gökalp³⁰² from Diyarbakır, where Kurdish groups were dominant in the population. Although Akçura developed a kind of social nationalism that had a bourgeois framework, Ziya Gökalp, who was seen as a teacher by the

³⁰⁰ Late 19th and early 20th century movement to unite politically and culturally all the Turkic, Tatar, and Uralic peoples in the same country.

³⁰¹ In contrast to these nationalist Turkologists who always showed the power of Turks, a few Turkologists approached the “Turkish historical power” with suspicion. For example, Turkologist Zeki Velidi Togan stated that Turkish peoples and identity suffered a crisis because of a) the long war periods that cut the communication between Turkish peoples who lived in different geographical territories, b) economic reasons: losing the international trade routes, c) cultural reasons: throughout their history, Turkish groups lived under different rules and empires, so to find the real essence of Turkish identity was difficult, and they should work harder at it d) the Turkish way of Eastern life (p. 300).

³⁰² Kurdish intellectuals such as Kadri Cemil Pasha claimed that Gökalp was originally Kurdish and denied his Kurdish identity for the sake of the dominant Turkish ideology.

Unionists suggested a statist and bureaucratic nationalism. Moreover, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk named Gökâlþ as the “father” of his thoughts.

Yusuf Akçura’s *Three Types of Politics* (1904) was the first manifesto that showed Turkish nationalism as a choice in politics according to Tanıl Bora. For Akçura, with the help of Islam, the Turkish race and nationalism could lead the politics in the Ottoman Empire. He also became inspired by Western civilization. Yet, Ziya Gökâlþ was always opposed to Western ideas. In 1909, he wrote:

European civilizations were based on decayed, weak, fusty principles. [...] The only original civilization is the Turkish one which will come soon with the growth of new life. The Turk has not collapsed through ethyl, alcohol, or debauchery as other races have. [...] Turkish sensibility has not been feminized like other sensibilities have; Turkish willpower has not weakened as the other willpowers have. [...] The supermen that the German philosopher Nietzsche dreamt of are Turkish. The Turkish are the “new people” of each century. That’s why the new life will rise from the Turks who are the mothers of all youths (p. 18).

Gökâlþ continued to write his nationalist and Turkish points of view in his poems, too. He summarizes his thoughts on nationalism under the effect of progressive modernization in his popular book *The Essentials of Pan-Turkism* (1923)³⁰³. His proposition is to achieve a national synthesis by vaccinating the modern methods into the traditions. The intellectuals should learn culture from the ordinary men, and they will also teach them civilization. They could melt modernization into their cultural essence through the help of Islam; thereby, they might protect their national essence from the negative aspects of modernization. It can be seen that his ideas on Western civilization have here become softer than his earlier ones.

Turkish nationalism spread through some associations such as The Turkish Association (1908), The Turkish Land (1912), and the Turkish Heart Association (1913)³⁰⁴. Especially, the Turkish Heart affected the Unionists ideologically in their politics. They held meetings with women and men together for the first time in the Ottoman Empire. They

³⁰³ The book has affected all the nationalist political parties including Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s party.

³⁰⁴ The Turkish Heart was closed by one-party regime in 1931 because of its ultra-rightist views as well as their support for a Free Republican Party (Bora, 2016).

produced their ideas on a unique national identity. They included not only Turkish intellectuals but middle class, educated Turkish men who lived in the suburbs, so they could open 260 branches in Anatolia. In the magazines *Turkish Word* and *Towards Public*, the authors like Ziya Gökalp and Ömer Seyfettin tried to unite nationalism with populism. They celebrated the villagers in their poems, stories, and essays.

While the Ottoman Empire was collapsing, The Turkish Land emphasized the physical power and importance of sports for the young for the sake of the survival of the state. It gave a militarist momentum to the Turkish nationalist movement which referred to a healthy military force. If the nation wanted to survive, it would have to be powerful physically. As Atatürk said, “Sovereignty is not given; it is taken,” the Turkish youth have to do sports to become good soldiers and rulers because “a healthy mind” lives “in a healthy body³⁰⁵”. With the help of this physical power, the Turkish nation could gain its rights and take a stand against the cruel attacks of European nations in the wars. After they saw that European humanism was shaped by the social-Darwinist ideology in international relations, they gave importance to strong military forces. These thoughts turned into a “national grudge” by flaming with vengeance because of the continuous defeats in the wars in the last few decades. Gökalp says in *The Song of Battle*: “Remember, You are the son of Attila³⁰⁶/ Don’t call it Civilization, it does not hear you, damn deaf / Level with the ground, go along, break / [. . .] Let much blood be shed in the Danube River all day and night³⁰⁷!” (Antoloji). Other examples of grudge nationalist discourse in the 1910s are from some important poets. In Emin Bülend Serdaroğlu’s poem, he writes: “You bastard Western daemon, I haven’t

³⁰⁵ The fear of a dark and unknown future in an old empire helped Ottoman intellectuals turn more in ethno-nationalist views. With the effect of nationalist movements in the Balkans (the Greek, the Bulgarian, the Ulah, etc.), 1977-78 Ottoman-Russian War, and the Balkan Wars in 1912-13, they felt that Turkish nationalism was a door to protect them from invaders and a key to help them gain freedom.

³⁰⁶ The greatest ruler of the Huns between 434-453 C.E.

³⁰⁷ “Attila’nın oğlusun sen unutma / Medeniyet deme, duymaz o sağır / Taş üstünde taş kalmasın, durma kır / [. . .] Gece gündüz Tuna suyu kan aksın!” Source: <https://www.antoloji.com/cenk-turkusu-2-siiri/> (Accessed 5.3.2022) (Trans. by me)

forgiven you yet / I am a Turk and enemy of yours [. . .]³⁰⁸.” Şemsettin Günaltay writes that “we should work for revenge; we should forget all of our enthusiasm, desire, resentment, and ailment forever. Mothers should lull their children with grudge and revenge stories to sleep³⁰⁹.” The poet Nedim writes in 1911, “Remember your grudge, do not back down / Grudge is the desire that keeps the nation alive. / Blow the flame, do not make go it out / grudge is the base of the state building³¹⁰.” Another example is Süleyman Aktuğ’s poem “Turan Passengers”: “Turkism, homeland, and religion want you to do just three things, just three things: grudge, power, revenge³¹¹.” In order to win the battle against enemies, a sort of fanaticism and heroism is used in the stories. As can be seen in Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, Mehmet Ali Tevfik, and woman writer Şüküfe Nihal’s stories, a mother who kills her son thereby helping their enemies or a soldier who kisses and then kills his wife while she sleeps, in order not to think of her at the front, are described in order to make the Turkish readers feel excited. The general message in these stories is to show how Turkish identity equals honour, courage, and masculinity. In Ömer Seyfettin’s short story *Primo, the Turkish Boy* (1912), Primo whose father is a Turkish man, and mother is an Italian woman living in Italy, chooses his father when his parents get divorced because his blood is totally “Turkish”. In brief, violence and revenge were legitimized in order to survive in the period of wars and Turkish fanaticism resembled the previous violent national fanaticisms of the German against the French in the 19th century (Bora, 2016, p. 211).

According to Tanıl Bora, the defeats in the War of Tripoli, the Balkans War, the Great War, the Battles of Gallipoli, the Armenian Genocide, the Greek Occupation, the heavy articles of the Treaty of Sèvres, the War of Independence, and the Treaty of Lausanne, all

³⁰⁸ “Garbın cebin-i zalimi, affetmedim seni / Türküm ve düşmanım sana [. . .]” (Trans. by me)

³⁰⁹ “Biz artık intikam için çalışmalı, intikam için her türlü heves ve arzularımızı, gücenme ve kırılmalarımızı ebediyen unutmalıyız. Anneler yavrularını uyutmak için kin ve intikam ninnileri söylemeli.” (Trans. by me)

³¹⁰ “Unutma kinini fikrin dönmesin / Milleti yaşatan kindir, emeldir. / Üfle ateşi kinin sönmesin; Devlet binasına kin bir temeldir.” (Trans. by me)

³¹¹ “Türklük, vatan ve din senden yalnız üç şey istiyor: yalnız üç şey: Kin, güç, öç!” (Trans. by me)

these events occurred between 1915 and 1923 and shaped the early Republican nationalism (p. 212).

With the occupations by the European countries, the Ottoman Empire was reduced to Anatolia, so the anxiety about the future and the idea of the cruelty of the enemy were felt in the whole of Anatolia and gave momentum to Turkish nationalism.

In the development of this ethno-religious nationalism, although they fought together in some battles or produced a common politics in terms of some important international affairs, there would be, in fact, no place for the non-Muslim Armenians, the Jews, and the Rums and/or the non-Turkish Kurdish and Arab community who have been living in Anatolia for centuries (perhaps even before the Turkish arrived there) in the new country. As a result of this kind of ethnic engineering, the country started to be 'cleansed' from both the outer enemies (European countries) and inner 'enemies' as mentioned above.

One of the earliest examples of ethnic cleansing was the Armenian Genocide³¹². After establishing the new Republic, the Kemalist government preferred to forget all the devastating past including the genocide and started its nationalist reforms in the new-born *Turkish* country. With the saying "How happy is the one who says I am a Turk³¹³!" by Atatürk and under his seven principles, everybody living in the country has been declared a Turk no matter whether s/he has any other ethnic roots or not. The life of a man was precious only if he served his country with nationalist feelings. In the early years of the Republic, homogeneity, statism, and the unity of power shaped all the early political decisions of the government. As for the economy, trade and economics were necessary tools to create a powerful Turkish army that would always protect the country.

With the effect of alienation created by the Great War, the collapse of the cultural values, the economic depression led by wild capitalism, the fear of the Russian Revolution of

³¹² It is officially defined as the *Armenian Deportation* by the Turkish authorities, and it is illegal to name it as the Armenian Genocide in Turkey.

³¹³ Ne Mutlu Türk'üm diyene! (trans. by me)

1917, nationalisms in various countries developed and then started to return to individualism) Italian fascism, German national socialism, and French nationalism), so it was impossible for Turkish nationalism to remain separate from these circumstances. That's why nationalism was seen as a contemporary, or as the zeitgeist, by the founders of the Republic. Multi-ethnic communities could become a threat to the future of the country as was the case in the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, so ethnic homogeneity was perceived as the best model. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk states in *Civil Advice for Citizens (Vatandaş İçin Medeni Bilgiler)* (1930) "all the circumstances that occur in the existence of the Turkish nation cannot be seen in other nations^{314 315}" (p. 5). The politicians' and writers' ethno-nationalist points of view reflect both criticisms against the Empire but also praise for it. They criticized it because the enormous empire had neglected Turkish 'blood' and had not suppressed the other races within the borders as can be seen in the works of authors such as Falih Rıfkı Atay, Şemsettin Günaltay, or the Secretary of the Interior Şükrü Kaya. Ironically, the Empire was praised because it did not exploit the conquered lands, so they defined the empire as being anti-imperialist as can be seen in the lines of the important Turkish poet, Fazıl Hüsni Dağlarca.

In the early Republican Era, national politics were also based on "migration and housing" which is another example of ethnic engineering. More than 5% non-Muslim population or more than 10% of Muslim non-Turkish communities could not live in the same area. Two main examples of such politics are the Turkish-Greek Exchange and the Kurdish Issue which is still the main political concern in Turkey. One of the main aims of the exchange was to get rid of the non-Muslim communities in the country. With this compulsory immigration wave, approximately 500,000 Turks who could not speak Turkish emigrated to Turkey and approximately 1,000,000 Rums whose mother tongue was Turkish emigrated to Greece between 1923 and 1927.

³¹⁴ These are: the political unity, unity in language, unity in land, unity in race and roots, close historical encounter, and moral kinship.

³¹⁵ "Türk milletinin teşekkülünde mevcut olan şartların hepsi birden diğer milletlerde yok gibi." (Trans. by me)



Figure 5³¹⁶: Forced Immigration: People were forced to immigrate with the belongings they could carry.

The other reason was to make the economics of the country more Turkish (national) as the important part of the bourgeoisie in the country belonged to non-Muslim communities. After the Rums and Armenians left the country (or were murdered), their whole fortune was shared by the Turkish communities³¹⁷. In the non-fiction book *Baggaged Marriage Portion (Emanet Çeyiz)* (1999) by Kemal Yalçın³¹⁸, all the cruel sides during the exchange were portrayed. As for the Kurdish community, Şükrü Kaya said that “if we manage to finish the Kurdish issue in the Eastern provinces, we could be a pure Turkish state³¹⁹” (Bora, 2016, p.218). Yet, the dream of a Kurdish exchange with the western Turkish cities could not be

³¹⁶ <https://www.sosyalnet.com/2016/04/04/nufus-mubadelesi-etabli-sorunu-1923-1930/> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

³¹⁷ Today's (2017) most important Turkish trade empires such as the Sabancı Holding based their wealth on this non-Muslim fortune. The Sabancı Holding was one of the few holdings that has always played a major role in the Turkish economy since the second half the 20th century.

³¹⁸ He is one of the most important writers having novels and books on the Armenian Genocide, the Assyrian Genocide, and the Exchange.

³¹⁹ “Memleketimizin Şark vilayetlerindeki Kürt meselesi halledilirse som bir Türk devleti haline gelmiş oluruz.”

achieved systematically. To visualize how Kurdish people spread in the Near Eastern region, the maps below are illustrative.

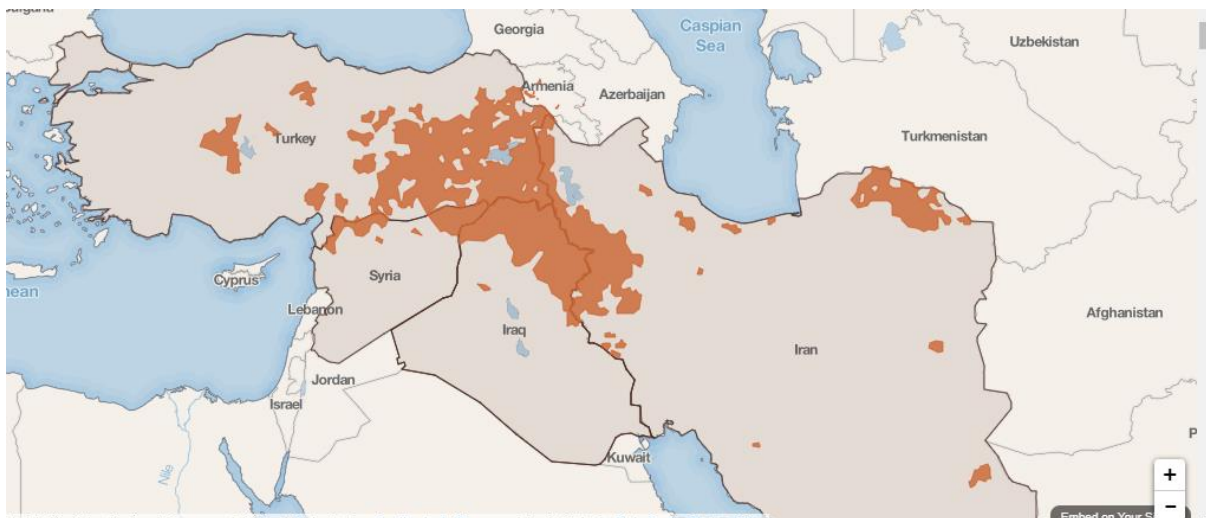


Figure 6: Kurdish Population: Red shows the Kurdish population in the region.

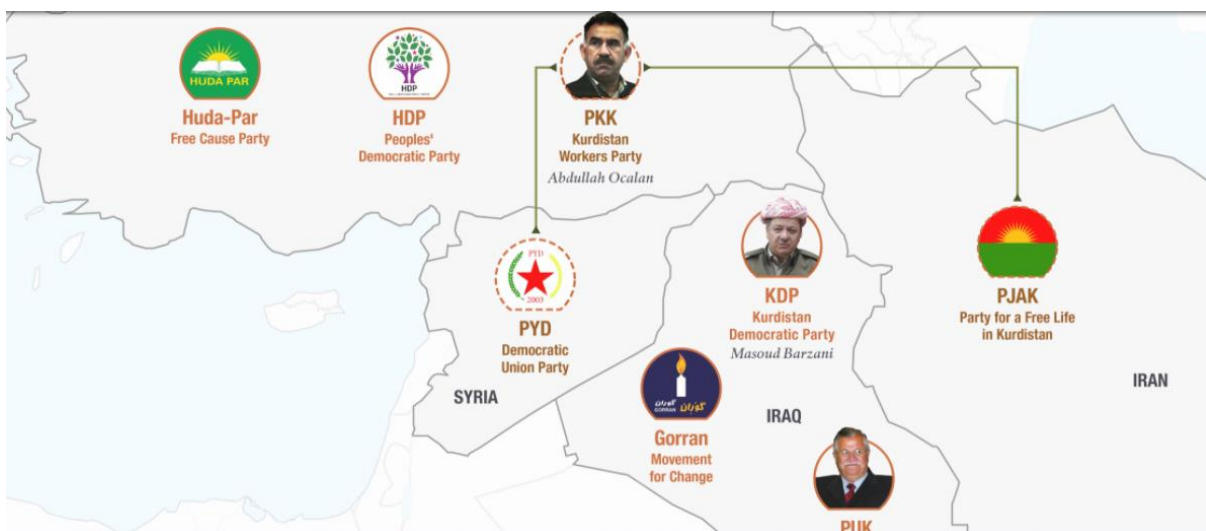


Figure 7³²⁰: Prominent Political Movements in the Region

³²⁰ “**Hüda-Par Free Cause Party:** Also known as the Turkish Hezbollah or Hur Dava Partisi, Huda-Par (Hüda means “God” in Arabic) is a Kurdish Islamist organization and bitter enemy of the PKK and its affiliates. Rumoured to have been created by the Turkish security forces, Huda-Par espouses a strict Islamist vision that has some resonance among conservative Kurds alienated by Ocalan and the PKK’s secular and socialist positions. Violent clashes between the two groups occur with some frequency.

Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP): The Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) is the largest Iraqi Kurdish political party. Its leader, Masoud Barzani, is the president of the Kurdistan Regional Government. The KDP was established in 1946 and has had a long-standing rivalry with the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), which peaked with the two factions fighting a civil war in the mid-1990s. However, the two parties’ political positions are similar, and they now share power of the KRG in a coalition government. The KDP maintains its centre of activity in the northern districts of Iraqi Kurdistan, where the Kurmanji dialect is prevalent among Kurds.

Gorran Movement for Change: The Movement for Change, known as Gorran, in Kurdish, was founded in 2009 as an anti-establishment party, protesting the decades-long KDP-PUK dominance of Iraqi Kurdish politics.

Ethno-nationalism continued with the 1926 and 1934 Settlement Laws: Turkish communities living in other countries tried to become attracted to the “motherland”. Apart from these, Turkish parents’ giving original Turkish names to their children became symbolically important. People were encouraged to give their children Turkish names which consist of Turkish mythological figures such as Bozkurt or Alper rather than Arabic names such as Ali and Muhammed. Mythological figures, for example, the grey wolf (*bozkurt*) started to be used on stamps, paper banknotes, and emblems of associations. In 1938, legislator Vasfi Raşit Sevig said that “racial uniqueness has just been achieved³²¹” (quo. Bora, 2016, p. 219).

Between 1923 and 1940, Turkish intellectuals, historians, and authors discussed who was originally Turkish and who was not. The author Hamdullah Suphi Tanrıöver and Reşit Galip, the writer of *Andımız*³²² (*Our Oath*) claimed that not only should natural born Turkish people be defined as Turkish but all the people living within the borders of the Republic of Turkey who “felt” they were Turkish should be called Turks. The Turkish intellectuals included Islam and race in Turkish identity, so they denied other definitions of the Turkish nation such as the motto “Turkian equals a person from Turkey”. In the Constitution Act of 1924:

Article 88: The name Turk shall be understood to include all citizens of the Turkish Republic, without distinction of, or reference of, race or religion. Every child born in Turkey, or a foreign land of a Turkish father; any person whose father is a foreigner established in Turkey, who resides in Turkey, and who chooses upon attaining the age of twenty to become a Turkish subject; and

Gorran emerged as the second-largest political party in the Kurdish Regional Government's 2013 parliamentary elections, winning 24 of the 111 seats and eclipsing the PUK.

Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) The Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) is an Iraqi Kurdish political party founded and led by Jalal Talabani. The PUK splintered from the KDP in 1975. The two parties have had a long-standing rivalry and fought a civil war in the mid-1990s. However, the two parties’ political positions are similar, and they now share power of the KRG in a coalition government. The PUK's stronghold is primarily in the southern part of Iraqi Kurdistan, where the Sorani dialect is prevalent.”

Source: <https://www.cfr.org/time-kurds/#!/time-kurds> Council on Foreign Relations. “The time of the Kurds” Ed. Robert McMahon. 2017. (Accessed 14.4.2022)

³²¹ “İrk vahdeti temin edilmiş bulunuyor.” (Trans. by me)

³²² This brief poem finishing with Atatürk’s saying “How happy is the one who says I am Turk” was repeated by students at all the public schools every day for decades in Turkey.

any individual who acquires Turkish nationality by naturalization in conformity with the law, is a Turk. Turkish citizenship may be forfeited or lost in certain circumstances specified by law³²³. (Anayasa)

In spite of Article 88, non-Muslim Turkish citizens were perceived as belonging to “cultural Turkishness”, which was not natural, racial, or essential. That is why they could not be considered first-class citizens. They were “Turkish-in-law” citizens as can be traced in the essays and stories of authors such as Mahmut Esat Bozkurt, Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, Necmettin Sadak, Refet Bele, Yusuf Ziya Ortaç, and Orhan Seyfi Orhon. Although there were some nationalists like Necmettin Sadak who supported the assimilation of non-Muslims, most of the authors supported dissimilation. For example, Orhan Seyfi Orhon opposed the national campaign “Citizen, Speak Turkish!” which forced the religious and ethnic minorities living in the country to substitute Turkish for their language.



Figure 8: A Sample from a Newspaper: The newspaper says, “The campaign ‘May the citizen speak Turkish’ has been expanding (i.e., the heading in bold). The young are very determined in order to make this aim come true.” (The subheading). The woman is looking at a poster saying “Citizen! Speak Turkish; Warn the one who does not³²⁴!”

³²³ <http://www.anayasa.gen.tr/tek-1924.htm> (Accessed 5.3.2022)

³²⁴ Source: <https://docplayer.biz.tr/107206735-T-c-istanbul-universitesi-sosyal-bilimler-enstitusu-halkla-iliskler-ve-tanitim-anabilim-dali-doktora-tezi.html> (Accessed 5.3.2022)

He said all these minorities were imitative of Turkish people. The natural-born should not mix with the minority 'blood'. Until 1988, non-Muslim citizens were labeled "native-foreigners" in the "Law of Protection against Sabotage". With the effect of anti-Semitism, the Jewish and Armenian Turkish citizens were always alienated and marginalized³²⁵. The politics in the nationalization of the economy resulted in the laws of 1934, 1936, and 1942 which restricted and forced non-Muslims to leave their economic gains and help the Turkish businessmen take over the opportunities available in economy and trade. This would result in the utmost cruelty of The Istanbul Pogrom of 6-7th September in 1955 that forced hundreds of non-Muslims to escape to Greece, whilst others suffered horribly through rape, murder, lynching, and plunder.

Some intellectuals created a variety of formulas and models to build the public sphere and civil service. For example, in Fuad Köprülü's model, the structure was drawn in concentric circles. The first circle was in the centre which was Turkism. The second one was Islam. In the third one, there were Christian forces, and they had to obey the Turkish authorities. Another model was Fikred Kanat's³²⁶. Similar to Fuad Köprülü's circles, in his central circle, there were Turkists. These were the real citizens of the country for him. Also, there were Turkists who live according to the laws of Islam. In the second circle, there were Turks who had tendencies toward Ottomanism. In the outer circles, there were Islamists who were not Turkish but merged into the Turkish community. For Kanat, if these people spoke only Turkish, it would eventually be possible for them to get rid of their 'outsiderness'. Finally, the most negative circles consisted of the people who did not recognize themselves as Turkish even though they lived in Turkey and spoke their mother tongues (Bora 223).

Both non-Muslim minorities and non-Turkish communities were labeled outsiders. For instance, the politician İzzet Ulvi stated that the minorities such as the Cherkess, Bosnians,

³²⁵ The Turkologist Mozi Kohen changed his name as Munis Tekinalp but could not escape from being marginalized because of his Jewish identity. Armenian Turkish Agop Martayan's surname was replaced with Dilaçar by Atatürk, and he never used his name in his signatures. He used A. Dilaçar or A.D. initials. Dilaçar worked in the Turkish Language Association.

³²⁶ He founded the Gazi Institution of Education, the Branch of Pedagogy.

and Albanians should not form communities and they should be dissolved. They should not be allowed to live according to their national customs and traditions, and they should not speak their mother tongue. Yet, non-Turkish communities were more accepted as *persona grata* because of their religion when compared to non-Muslim minorities because politicians felt that it was easier to assimilate them into the Turkish language and culture. However, the most problematic community was the Kurdish one. First of all, they were the second-largest community after the Turkish one. They lived mostly in the eastern/south-eastern provinces of the country, and they had communal ties with the Kurdish communities living in the neighbouring countries of Iraq, Iran, and Syria, so they have always been perceived as a threat by the Turkish state. It is true that Mustafa Kemal Atatürk had positive relations with Kurdish intellectuals and leaders in the 1910s, as was evident from the important documents of modern Turkish politics such as the Sivas Congress (1919), the Protocol of Amasya (1919), and Atatürk's telegraphs for Kurdish community leaders. However, afterward, the 1920 ethno-Turkist political ideology forgot all the promises given in the documents mentioned above and marginalized Kurdish communities by trying to assimilate them. The result of the ethno-nationalist politics and systematic assimilation process by the government produced counterattacks and riots by Kurdish communities such as the Koçgiri Riot of 1921, the Sheikh Said Riot of 1925-26, the Ağrı Riot of 1928, and the Dersim Riots of 1938, leaving thousands dead and the destruction of villages and cities. Alongside this destruction and the politics of censorship implemented by the government, Kurdish identity, culture, and language – even the word “Kurdish” – became prohibited in the public sphere. According to the Turkish authorities, there was no alternative identity to the Turkish one. The theory was that Kurdish people and other ethnic minorities were originally from the Turkish race (biologically and historically). The Kurds were “mountainous Turkish people” and they simply spoke another metamorphosed Turkish accent as Fikred Kanad and Prof. Besim Darkot mentioned. The

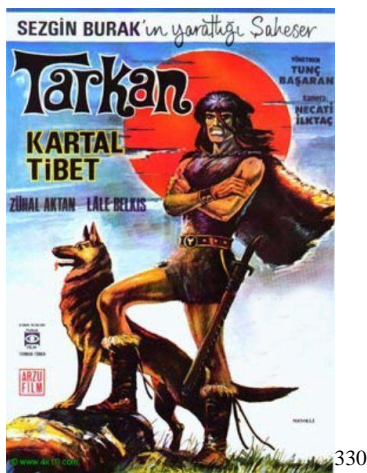
Kurdish provinces were portrayed from an orientalist point of view which helped the Kemalist ideology to be perceived as more Western. They were described as barbarians, ignorant, and uncivilized, so they had to be civilized by the modern westernized Turkish principles as the newspaper *Ulus (Nation)* claimed in its headline the Law of Tunceli³²⁷ as in: “Dersim opens its doors to civilization”. In spite of this assimilation process, there has also been a degree of dissimilation because the Kurdish community has always defined this as an open threat by the Turkish authorities. They have hardly ever been assigned top government and military offices. In brief, in terms of the politics against the Kurdish community, there has been a pervading dichotomy between assimilation and dissimilation throughout modern Turkish history.

As a manner of showing the power and superiority of the Turkish race; anthropology, archaeology, anthropometry, and sociology became the most important disciplines in the 1930s adopted by historians, scientists, and intellectuals such as Hasan Reşit Tankut, Şevket Aziz Kansu, and Atatürk’s adopted daughter Afet İnan. They tried to demonstrate that the Turkish race was a branch of the white Alpin branch. There was a crucial effect of nationalism in the development of these academic disciplines as well as in physical education. All this effort was to build national confidence. With the help of Ziya Gökalp’s books *The Turkish Custom* (1923) and *The History of Turkish Civilization* (1925), a “Turkish History Thesis” was being institutionalized in the 1930s by claiming that the ancient Turkish civilizations were very democratic, well-educated, and somewhat *feminist* (Gökalp). In the First Turkish History Congress in 1932, the Thesis was drafted by Mustafa Kemal, Şemsettin Günaltay, and Hasan Reşit Tankut. According to the Thesis, the belief was that after the Flood, Noah’s grandson was originally born into Turkish identity, as Atatürk claimed in 1922. While people in other parts of the globe were living in trees in barbarian lifestyle, the lumber-

³²⁷ One of the Eastern provinces. Its original name is Dersim but was changed to Tunceli which is Turkish language. It has always and mostly been populated by the Alevis and Kurdish people. The Alevis have also been considered heretic and deviant by the formal Sunni Islam based state of mind. With the Law of Tunceli, the government declared a state of emergency rule until 1945.

mine civilization had already begun in the Turkish motherland. It was claimed that even the first script ever was found by the Turkish people.

In opposition to the Ottoman Empire historicism, in the Turkish History Thesis, Turkish history starts in Middle Asia^{328 329}.



330



331

Figure 9: The Poster of *Tarkan*

Figure 10: The Poster of *Fatih'in Fedaisi*

The Turkish actor Kartal Tibet acted in the series *Tarkan* (106) who is the legendary Turkish hero raised by the wolves. Cüneyt Arkın is another actor who acted in the series *Kara Murat* (107) and who is the chief warrior of Sultan Mehmet the Conqueror. Both series were very popular in the 1970s cinema in Turkey.

In the Second Turkish History Congress in 1937, the importance of Turkish statesmen, statism, and nationalism was emphasized in terms of Turkish historical development. It was stressed that the Turkish communities had always been very good at founding armies and states. In school course books and popular culture, all these ethno-nationalist figures were reproduced. In the essays of Mahmut Esat Bozkurt, in the play of *Bozkurt (Gray Wolf)* by Hakkı Günal, in the poems of Behçet Kemal Çağlar such as *Çoban*

³²⁸ It is not a coincidence to point out Middle Asia for the beginning of Turkish history: The roots of the Indo-European white race are located in Middle Asia.

³²⁹ The Turkish History Thesis can be summarized in the following sentence “in the beginning were the Turks.” The Mayan civilization, the Mu continent, the Armenians (as Agop Dilçaçar tried to prove it with the character Turk in the old Armenian legends), the Hittites, ancient Anatolian civilizations were all considered Turkish.

³³⁰ <https://tr.pinterest.com/pin/387168899189390759/?lp=true> (Accessed 11.2.2022)

³³¹ <http://www.sinematurk.com/film/1287-kara-murat-fatihin-fedaisi/> (Accessed 11.2.2022)

(The Shepherd) (1933), *Ergenekon* (1933), *Açılırken (While It is Opening)* (1932) Turkish *blood* was overstated. This exaggeration continued in the composition of military anthems such as “Yedek Subay Marşı”, “Kuleli Marşı”, “Piyade Marşı”, and “Harbiye Marşı”, and most importantly, in the national anthem “İstiklal Marşı” written by the conservative poet Mehmet Akif Ersoy. All these points of view gave Turkish politics a totalitarian spirit in the 1930s and 1940s (Bora, 2016, p. 233).

Apart from the Turkish History Thesis, linguistic studies were carried out by some nationalist historians such as Mustafa Celaleddin Pasha, Samih Rıfat, and Ahmet Cevat Emre in order to prove that the Turkish language was one of the oldest ‘civilized’ languages in existence. This was in contrast to the views developed by Friedrich Max Müller who labeled Turkish a tribal language that could never become an official language. By trying to get rid of the influences of Arabic and Persian languages in Turkish; academics, linguists, and historians began to find original Turkish translations for foreign words. In 1934, the Turkish Language Association was founded to lexicalize and find original Turkish words which would replace words originating from Arabic-Persian. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk strongly supported linguistic nationalism by using these words in his speeches. In 1936, The Sun-Language Theory was developed. According to this theory, all Western languages came originally from Turkish, and so European-rooted words in Turkish became modified by adding some Turkish suffixes (-sal, -sel, etc.). While Turkish intellectual nationalist politicians and historians criticized other languages for being rude, complex, and disharmonic, they claimed that the Turkish language was very literal, harmonic, and understandable, and it would become easier to make all the citizens educated by replacing the formal Arabic alphabet with the Latin alphabet (the Letter Revolution). Yet, as Tanıl Bora states, all these linguistic nationalisms did little to help people in their education. The reverse happened; it created a gap between the upper-class educated people and other citizens. After 1950, all these linguistic efforts started

to be highly criticized by the conservative intellectuals by accusing them of alienating Turkish culture. To summarize, there was a degree of solipsism in the ethnonationalism of Turkish politics. According to what the first Prime Minister, İsmet İnönü, affirmed in 1932, if a man wished to be a good citizen, he should be a Turkish nationalist.

The woman researcher and academic, Füsun Üstel, defines the “acceptable citizen profile” for the state as “statist militant citizenship, obliged to partake in certain duties” (2004, p. 13). If a citizen fulfils her/his responsibility, s/he has the right to make a claim on basic demands. The most heroic and divine responsibility has always been martyrdom both in politics as well as in social life. The state ideology implied that heroic and divine responsibility for the benefit of the state lay in martyrdom both in politics and social life³³².

In all these solipsist and non-scientific conjunctures between the 1920s and 1940s, the intellectuals who put humanistic views into the definition of Turkish citizenship were generally marginalized by the ethno-nationalists. The woman writer, Halide Edip Adıvar, wrote a book *Türkün Ateşle İmtihanı (The Turkish Ordeal)* which discussed the negative sides of grudge and cruelty against the enemies and was published in English. It was eventually published in Turkish in 1959. Hilmi Ziya Ülken’s *İnsani Vatanperverlik (Humanist Citizenship)* (1933) was denied for publication. The famous authors Sabahattin Ali and Hasan Ali Yücel were accused of being traitors because of their books and articles in the newspapers. Especially in the views of Hasan Ali Yücel, it is possible to see the effects of the post-war humanist views, specifically “the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.”

In the multi-party period after 1945, positive and liberal nationalist points of view can be traced in the speeches of the politicians. For example, Tevfik İleri, the minister of the

³³² In 1950, a group of university students bottled their blood and poured it onto the Gallipoli martyrs’ memorial. They claimed that they were ready to battle against the enemies if it was necessary. They were under the effect of anti-communism which affected Turkish politics in that period. Another example was of 2008. Thirteen high school students from Kırşehir, a small conservative city in Middle Anatolia, painted a Turkish map with their own blood and sent it to the Turkish General Staff claiming that they wanted to be soldiers. Also, the president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan has been using the cult of martyrdom in his speeches by quoting the popular lines “It is blood that defines the flag / The soil is a motherland only if there are deaths in the name of it” – words taken from Mithat Cemal Kuntay’s poem written in 1938.

Democrat Party, advised university students (*mentioned in footnote 39*) to plant trees in Çanakkale (Gallipoli) which underlined the nationalist project even more. As İleri suggested, the young should not *die* for the motherland but survive for it. In the 1950s and 60s, for Süleyman Demirel, the leader of the Justice Party and the future prime minister and president, part of the ‘nationalist’ project was to build schools in the southern provinces, create an open university in Diyarbakır, or take electricity to the villages in Edirne and Kırklareli. Another important politician, prime minister, and president in the 1980s and early 1990s, Turgut Özal, underlined that nationalism does not mean “to mention the Ottoman emperors Yavuz Sultan Selim and Suleyman the Magnificent³³³ nor to be proud of the past. Nationalism is to be proud of contemporary works which are held now by our own.” In the 2000s, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan professed a “positivist” nationalism with basic Islamist roots which made it rather controversial but changed it after 2010 in his authoritarian decade and has again started to repeat the ethno-nationalist slogan “one flag, one land, one state”. On the one hand, Turkish nationalism has had essentialist thoughts; on the other hand, it has had liberal inclusive ideas, which have made nationalism dichotomous.

Specific Examples Feeding Ethno-Nationalism After 1950

In the 1950s, Turkish nationalism began to find support through the Cyprus Issue³³⁴. The issue transformed elitist Kemalist nationalism into a popular nationalism. The Democrat Party used it as political propaganda in its main agenda. With the effect of Turkist officials and intellectuals in politics such as Cyprian Derviş Manizade who created the slogan “Cyprus

³³³ They were named the great conquerors in the primary and secondary school course books.

³³⁴ Cyprus is an island in the Mediterranean Sea in which the Rum and the Turkish communities live. In the past, it was part of the Ottoman Empire, yet with the early 20th century, it became a British colony. After the 1950s when the British decolonization process took place throughout the world, Great Britain conducted the take-over of Greece and Turkey in the decolonization process of the island. Greece tried to make the island Greek (ENOSIS), while Turkey was trying to protect the rights of the Turkish community. Today, the Republic of Cyprus is recognized as a country by the UN, but Turkey recognizes only one side of the island which is called the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. It was popularly called “little brother” (foster land) in public. Turkey defines the Rum side as the “Greek-populated Southern Part of Cyprus” and does not recognize it as a country. However, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus is not recognized either by the UN or the EU. The Cyprus Issue has been the main issue between Greece and Turkey since the 1940s. Since the year 2000, the Turkish community in Cyprus started to criticize Turkey for being an obstacle in their development.

belongs to the Turks, and will be Turkish forever”, nationalism was transformed into racism against the Greeks. The newspaper *Hürriyet*³³⁵ (*Liberty*) caught on after 1948 when it started campaigns in favour of Cyprus. It helped Turkey create a national action through the Cyprus Issue. The Cyprus Peace Operation by the Turkish army in 1974 became the top event for the celebration of Turkish nationalism in terms of the Cyprus Issue³³⁶. Using the Cyprus Issue as a medium in nationalist politics, the ‘Association of Cyprus Belongs to the Turks’ and the ‘Turkish Resistance Organization’ played important roles. Via both organizations under the effect of an anti-communist and xenophobic ideology, the army could take part in the issue and its actions were easily popularized and supported by Turkish public opinion. In short, the Cyprus Issue has been the meeting point for the formal Kemalist nationalism with conservative Turkish nationalism.

Secondly, in the 1990s, under the effect of liberal optimism after the collapse of the USSR, there were debates on the future of nationalism and nation-states. The main gist of the debates was whether the period of nation-states was over or not. However, after the Cold War, many new nations which had been suppressed by the USSR and Yugoslavia declared independence. While the people in those countries have been poorer, they have felt strongly about their ethnic, religious, or national identities. Besides, the immigration of thousands of people from the poorest countries and war territories to the richer European and other first world countries increased racist views within the local lower and middle class “citizens”. Turkey was situated in the triangle of this chaotic process, which consisted of the Balkans, the Middle East, and the Caucasus. All the wars and border changes nearby made Turkey feel unsafe. The authorities and citizens of Turkey felt the increasing threat and concern for their future. Under Turkish president Turgut Özal’s neoliberal politics, the country took part in the Gulf War in the early 1990s in order to become the Muslim leader and older and powerful

³³⁵ Its motto is “Turkey belongs to the Turks.”

³³⁶ With this operation, Cyprus was divided into two: one side is for the Rum and the other side is for the Turks.

‘brother’ of the region³³⁷. Turkish nationalism thus united with the neoliberal politics of global capitalism. Yet, as Tanıl Bora stated, the Turkish republics continued to work with Russia by establishing their national identities on their own and denied the political brotherhood with Turkey. Meanwhile, the Gülen Movement³³⁸ which established a lot of schools in second and third world countries in collaboration with their governments was celebrated and praised by all nationalist communities and political parties in Turkey. Teaching the Turkish language in these schools has always been perceived as the movement’s mission to show the power of Turks.

Another example was the Kurdish movement. With the establishment of the PKK (the Kurdistan Workers’ Party) in 1984, the Kurdish armed struggle with the Turkish authorities has created phobia in public in terms of the Kurdish will of separation and loss of land. The discourse of the “Kurdish separatist movement” helped Turkish ethnonationalism increase among people, especially in the western cities and conservative Central Anatolia in the 1990s. Between the 1990s and 2017, banal nationalism can be traced in both politics and popular culture. The national anthem is now being sung in football matches, the national symbols “crescent and star³³⁹” have been used as accessories by men and women, gigantic Turkish flags have been flown even in petrol stations and nightclubs. Pop singers have sung the songs composed for the celebration of the Republic such as the Tenth Year Anthem and Izmir

³³⁷ An older brother for both, for example, so-called Turkic republics (Turkic is used for those countries, not the word Turkish, because although they are not officially part of Turkey, they are tied to Turkey in terms of language, traditions, and historical background) gained independence with the collapse of the USSR such as Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan as well as Middle Eastern countries such as Syria, Iraq, Kuwait, and so on.

³³⁸ The most effective religious community in Turkey. As a Sunni Muslim community, they built hundreds of schools and hospitals, organized private courses, associations, channels and newspapers, dormitories both in Turkey and worldwide. Their leader, Fethullah Gülen, directs the community from the USA. The community is being accused of being a traitor and responsible for the unsuccessful coup d’état on July 15th, 2016. After this date, hundreds of thousands of academics, public officers, judges, police officers, soldiers and generals, officers from the ministries have been fired and/or jailed for being members of the community. It was claimed by the politicians and intellectuals/historians that before 2010, the Gülen Community and Tayyip Erdoğan’s government worked together. But, after 2010 with the end of the alliance, both sides began to try to weaken each other.

³³⁹ On the red Turkish flag, there is a crescent and a star.

Anthem in their concerts, and they have been played even in the discos by the DJs³⁴⁰. Writers' books about the Turks and Turkish (alternative) history such as Turgut Özakman's *Şu Çılgın Türkler (Those Crazy Turks)*, 2005 or Orkun Uçar and Burak Turna's *Metal Fırtına (Metal Storm)*, 2004 were bought by millions of people most of whom were afraid of the Justice and Development Party government which was thought to be an anti-Kemalist and pro-Islamist party which would divide or "sell" the country. As in the early Republican Era, Kurdish people have still been belittled as "ignorant", "uneducated", "poor", and "dirty" in contrast to Turkish civilization and aptness. Turkish welfare chauvinism, as some popular academics and columnists such as Mümtaz Soysal and Ertuğrul Özkök have suggested, excludes the Kurdish community. In 2007, Turkish-Armenian journalist Hrant Dink was assassinated by a racist teenager who was supported by the security forces as was stated in the leftist media. At his funeral, thousands of people shouted the slogans "We are all Hrant. We are all Armenian." The funeral became one of the turning points in Turkish history that had maintained an anti-racist and anti-nationalist stance against racism and ethnonationalism in Turkey.

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, the magazines such as *National* (1997), *Countrywide Resistance* (1998), and *Progressive* (2000) started to be published. Their main concern was to prove how 'evil' Western imperialism was, so they suggested cooperation with Asian countries, specifically Turkic republics – and even Russia – by calling the cooperation Eurasianism. Especially the magazine *Türk Leftism* turned the Euroasianist trend into racism. In 2005, they invited the Turkish not to watch the village TV series as the village is equal to Kurdish in their eyes, not to eat kebabs that identified with the Kurdish provinces, not to shop from the Kurdish shopping centres, not to listen to Kurdish music, and not to take

³⁴⁰ All these show the Kemalist national fear of the future, motivated by the anti-ethnic Kurdish movement and anti-Islamist movement in Turkey. The Kurdish movement has always been labelled a "terror issue" and Kurdish political figures have occasionally been stigmatized as "terrorists" by the media as well as by the public. The Kurdish movement is perceived as a separatist threat and the Islamist movement as a sharia (religious law) threat, both of which are believed might destroy the republican regime of the Turkish nation state. "Secular" academics such as Mümtaz Soysal, Alpaslan Işık, and Anıl Çeçen claimed that the Kurdish movement is under the control of imperial powers like the USA and Europe and that the Islamists are under the control of Arab powers.

a minibus if the driver is Kurdish³⁴¹. In politics, ultra-right-wing/racist parties such as MHP³⁴² and the Motherland Party³⁴³ have helped the government to protect the “Turkishness” of the country since 2010 (Bora, 2016, p. 260). During the negotiation period between the Justice and Development Party and the Kurdish movement (between 2000 and 2010), there were Republican Meetings held in 2007 by millions of people. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan was accused of being the “enemy” of Atatürk and his principles. The Ergenekon Trials³⁴⁴ fanned the nationalist flames of the discourse propounded by the anti-government and anti-Kurdish movements. Republican Kemalist groups who mostly belong to the neoliberal-individualist-consumerist middle-class elites define themselves as “white Turks” or “new Turks”. They try to live “well” and consume “the good quality goods” by fighting against the “bigotry” and unqualified lifestyles created by Erdoğan’s government (p. 264). In contrast, Erdoğan’s government claimed that a “new Turkey” was born after 2002 and all the suppressed groups were able to celebrate their identities in a “complete democratic country.” (p. 265). All these opposing groups have melted into a ‘salad bowl’ of banal nationalism. In brief, nationalism in the past decade in Turkey has been cut from the same cloth of liberalism, market economies, globalism, and most importantly capitalism. Turkish nationalist fervour has always saved countries in crisis periods, and this is just as evident throughout the modern history of Turkey.

³⁴¹ The Kurdish stereotype among Turks is a man who has dark hair, a dark moustache and beard, brown eyes, dark skin, thick eyebrows, and Turkish brogue.

³⁴² Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi (Nationalist Movement Party)

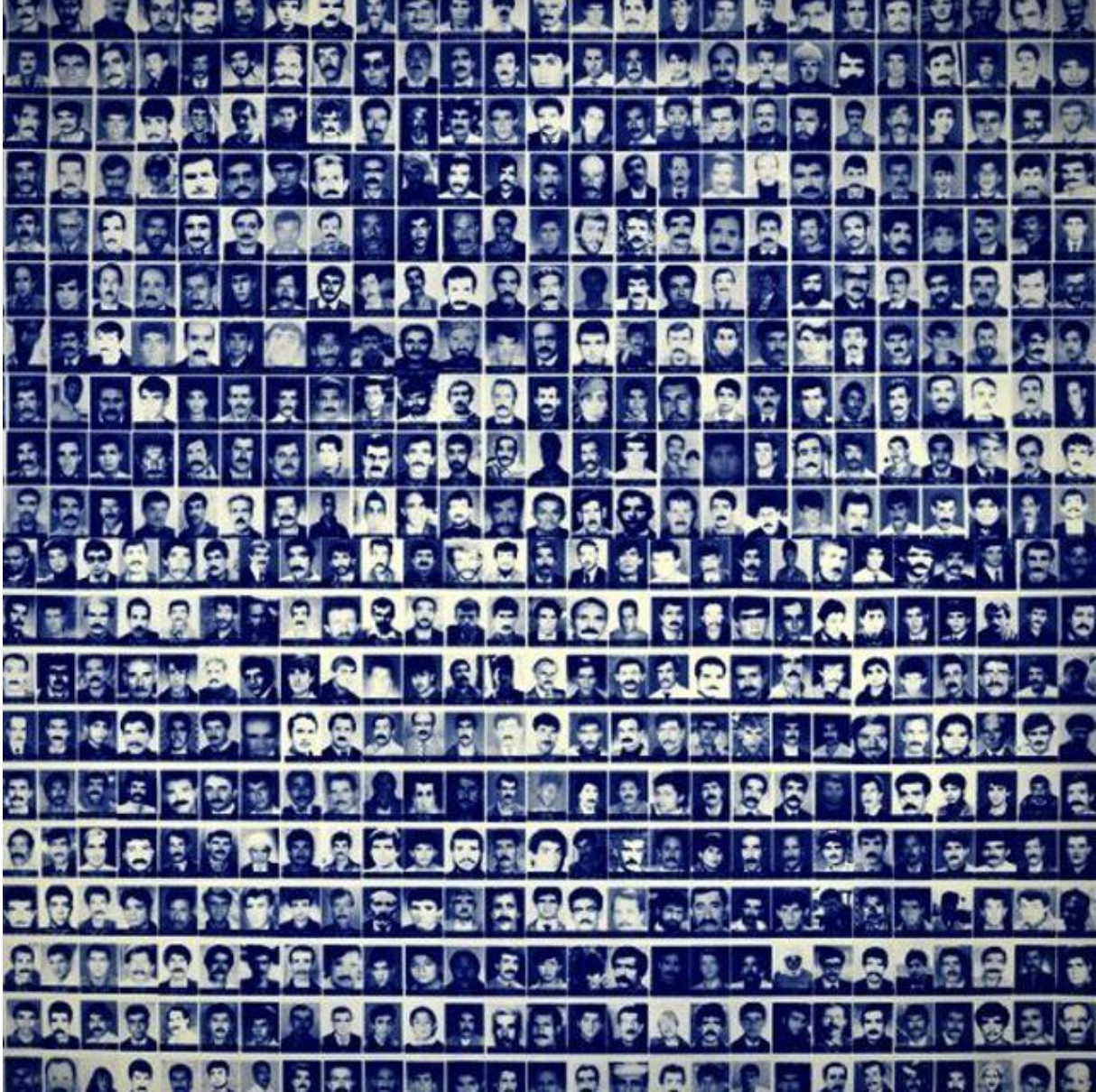
³⁴³ Its previous name was the Labour Party. Although they were punished by the European Court of Human Rights, they are still occupying the buildings of Turkish Armenians as their propagandist TV channel named the Nationalist Channel.

³⁴⁴ Many generals, colonels, lieutenants, and officers in the Turkish Army were arrested for the first time in Turkish history. They were accused of planning a coup d’état. Practically all of them are Kemalist.

APPENDIX 2

ALBUM

The Saturday Mothers Activists Interviewed in the Research



345

³⁴⁵ From İHD's archive

Eren Keskin



346

Eren Keskin is a lawyer and human rights activist. She took leading roles in İHD and co-founded the Project titled "Legal Aid for Women Who Were Raped or Otherwise Sexually Abused by National Security Forces". She was involved in the Saturday Mothers struggle from the start and has become the lawyer of many families of the forcibly disappeared in Turkey. She has been sued many times due to her struggle in the field of human rights.

Gülseren Yoleri (pilot interview)



347

Gülseren Yoleri is a lawyer and human rights activist. She is the head of the İHD İstanbul Branch. She has been struggling against human rights violations in Turkey. She is also the lawyer of many relatives of the forcibly disappeared. She is involved in the Saturday Mothers

³⁴⁶ <https://www.sessizkalma.org/defender/eren-keskin/> (Accessed 13.4.2022)

³⁴⁷ <https://sendika.org/2020/02/ihd-istanbul-sube-baskani-gulseren-yoleri-serbest-birakildi-576391/> (Accessed 13.4.2022)

struggle from the start. She has been sued many times due to her struggle in the field of human rights.

Nadire Mater



348

Nadire Mater is a journalist and human rights activist. She is one of the founders of Bianet, the first online news website in Turkey. She was one of the activists involved in the Saturday Mothers activists and shaped the formation until 1999. She also helped the struggle to have an archive in Bianet by compiling the news and reports on the struggle. She is the author of *Mehmed's Book* (2000). She was sued many times due to the book she authored.

Nimet Tanrikulu



349

³⁴⁸ <https://www.sessizkalma.org/en/defender/nadire-mater-2/> (Accessed 13.4.2022)

³⁴⁹ <https://amp.artigercek.com/haberler/nimet-tanrikulu-kadinlarin-yok-sayildigi-bir-ulkede-bize-yonelmeleri-bir-suc-aslinda> (Accessed 13.4.2022)

She is one of the founders of the Human Rights Association (İHD). Tanrikulu, who was the head of the İHD Istanbul Branch for a while, took part in the first formation of the Saturday Mothers in 1995. She is also one of the founders of the Federation of 78's Association. Tanrikulu is a member of the Women for Peace Initiative and the Diyarbakir Military Prison Facts Investigation and Justice Commission. She writes articles on women, peace, and human rights in some newspapers and magazines³⁵⁰. She has been sued many times due to her struggle in the field of human rights.

Sebla Arcan



351

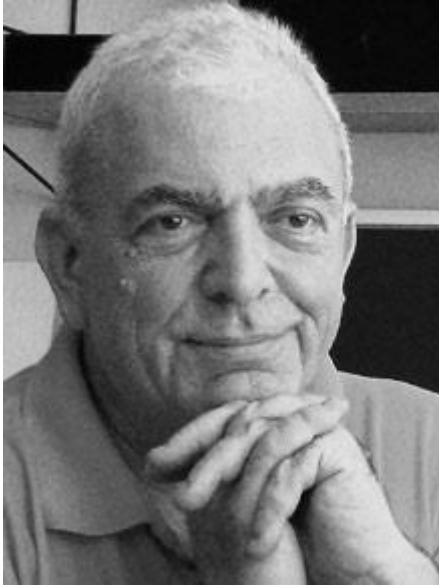
"Sebla Arcan is a human rights defender who has dedicated much of her life to demanding justice for those who have been subject to enforced disappearance in Turkey. Despite being taken into custody and facing violence from the state, Arcan has remained steadfast in her support for the Saturday Mothers. Sustained attention and proactive strategy by the EU, its Member States, and the international community as a whole are needed to defend the space in which Sebla Arcan, the Saturday Mothers, and other human rights defenders work without risk of reprisals and unfounded litigation for their work³⁵²."

³⁵⁰ <https://tr.boell.org/index.php/tr/person/nimet-tanrikulu> (Accessed 13.4.2022)

³⁵¹ <http://kiraathane.com.tr/sezon-programi/2021-04-09-devlet-neden-kaybeder-turkiye-de-kayiplar-mucadelesi-ve-cumartesi-anneleri-deneyimi> (Accessed 13.4.2022)

³⁵² <https://www.nhc.nl/defending-human-rights-in-turkey-sebla-arcan/> (Accessed 13.4.2022)

Şanar Yurdatapan



³⁵³

Şanar Yurdatapan is a composer, songwriter, and human rights defender. He founded ŞAT which is the first music company in Turkey with the composer Atilla Özdemiroğlu. He was forced to leave the country after September 12, coup d'etat due to his political views. He was involved in the Saturday Mothers struggle from the start.

³⁵³ <https://www.indexoncensorship.org/2013/06/sanar-yurdatapan-on-turkey-things-will-never-be-the-same-again/> (Accessed 13.4.2022)

The Saturday Mothers Interviewed in the Research and The Forcibly Disappeared

Hasan Ocak (1965-1995³⁵⁴)



355

Hasan Ocak was a teacher and café owner in İstanbul who was taken under custody after the Gazi Mahallesi massacre and then forcibly disappeared. His body was found dead 55 days later in 1995.



Emine Ocak³⁵⁶



Maside Ocak³⁵⁷

³⁵⁴ The second year stated in the paranthesis in this chapter is the year s/he was forcibly disappeared.

³⁵⁵ <https://bianet.org/bianet/toplum/128130-hasan-ocak-kimdir> (Accessed 20.2.2022)

³⁵⁶ <https://t24.com.tr/haber/emine-ocak-yazdi-biz-vazgecersek-bu-ulke-kaybedenlerin-cenneti-olmaya-devam-edecek,837124> (Accessed 20.2.2022)

³⁵⁷ <https://twitter.com/masideocak?lang=bg> (Accessed 20.2.2022)

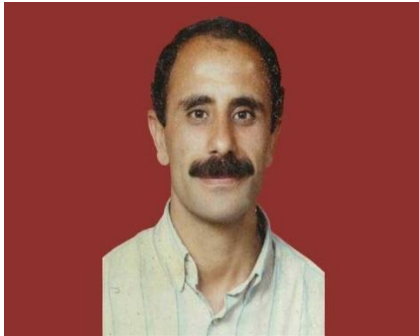
Maksut Tepeli (1956-1984)

Maksut Tepeli was a teacher. He was shot and taken under custody in 1984, and he was forcibly disappeared. He has not been found yet.



³⁵⁸ Şhriban Tepeli with his husband Maksut Tepeli's photo

Kenan Bilgin (1959-1994)



³⁵⁹

Kenan Bilgin was a worker in Ankara. He was a socialist. He was taken under custody in Ankara, Dikmen, and was forcibly disappeared. He has not been found yet.



³⁶⁰ İrfan Bilgin is the one wearing glasses.

³⁵⁸ <https://politikahaber.org/cumartesi-anneleri-38-yil-once-kaybettirilen-tepelinin-akibetini-sordu/> (Accessed 13.4.2022)

³⁵⁹ <https://www.evrensel.net/haber/291344/bir-iscisi-onderi-kenan-bilgin> (Accessed 13.4.2022)

Cüneyt Aydınlar (1971-1994)



361

Cüneyt Aydınlar was a university student at İstanbul University. He was taken under custody in İstanbul in 1994 and forcibly disappeared. He has not been found yet.



362 Emrah Aydınlar

³⁶⁰ <https://m.bianet.org/bianet/insan-haklari/200247-irfan-bilgin-taleplerimizi-yerine-getirirseniz-meydandan-kalkariz> (Accessed 13.4.2022)

³⁶¹ <http://www.yakayder.com/tr/sayfa/bizden-koparilanlar/cuneyt-aydinlar/193> (Accessed 13.4.2022)

³⁶² <https://www.birgun.net/haber/cumartesi-anneleri-cuneyt-aydinlar-in-akibetini-sordu-248748> (Accessed 13.4.2022)

Ayşenur Şimşek (1968-1995)



363

Ayşenur Şimşek was a pharmacist, and she was one of the founders of the Health Workers' Union. She was kidnapped by counter-guerrilla agents in Ankara. She was missing for 76 days. Her body was found beaten and shot in Kırıkkale, a small city near Ankara.



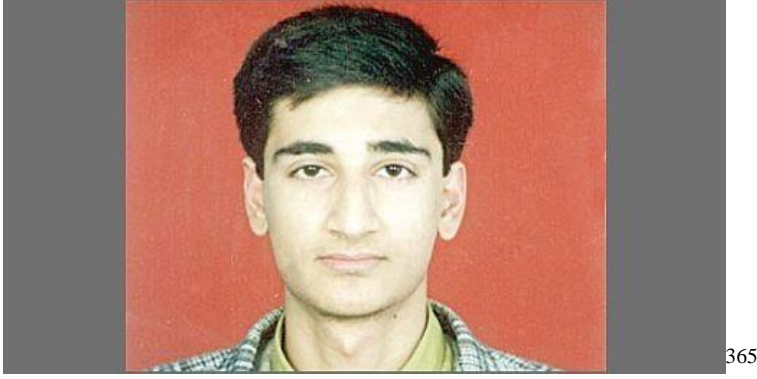
364 Fatma Şimşek is the one in the bottom right-hand corner.

³⁶³ <https://www.yolculukhaber.net/cumartesi-anneleri-879-haftada-aysenur-simsekin-akibetini-sordu-nasil-katledildigini-ogrenmeye-hakkimiz-var> (Accessed 14.4.2022)

<https://ses.org.tr/2014/01/onur-ueyemz-ayenur-mek-oeluemsuezdur/> (Accessed 13.4.2022)

³⁶⁴ <https://www.haberercis.com.tr/guncel/cumartesi-anneleri-gozaltinda-kaybedilen-aysenur-simsekin-akibetini-h333724.html> (Accessed 13.4.2022)

Nazım Babaoğlu (1975 - 1994)



Nazım Babaoğlu was a journalist. He went to Siverek, Urfa to make news after a phone call, and then forcibly disappeared. He has not been found yet.



³⁶⁶ İrfan Babaoğlu

³⁶⁵<https://bianet.org/bianet/insan-haklari/136858-bir-kacirilma-hikayesi-nazim-babaoglu#.T16WVhkufTo.facebook> (Accessed 20.2.2022)

³⁶⁶ <https://m.bianet.org/bianet/ifade-ozgurlugu/138787-diyarbakir-5-nolu-ya-hapis-cezasi> (Accessed 20.2.2022)

Hüseyin Toraman (1967- 1991)



³⁶⁷

Hüseyin Toraman was forced into the police car in front of his house and disappeared. The family asked the police authorities why they did not interfere. They answered by saying that they were also the police. He has not been found yet.



³⁶⁸ Sakine Toraman

³⁶⁷ <http://www.yakayder.com/tr/sayfa/bizden-koparilanlar/4/huseyin-toraman/321> (Accessed 13.4.2022)

³⁶⁸ <https://sendika.org/tag/huseyin-toraman/> (Accessed 13.4.2022)

Serdar Tanış (1979- 2001) and Ebubekir Deniz (He was twenty-seven in 2001.)

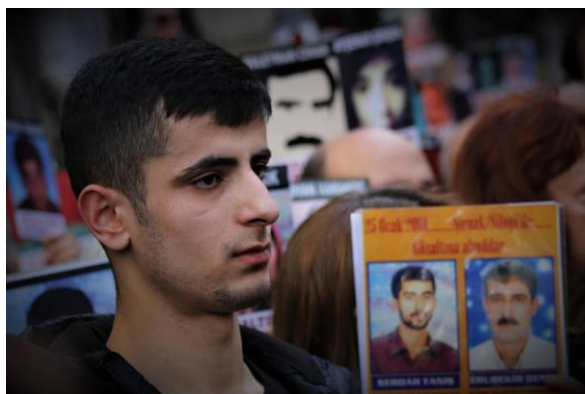


³⁶⁹ Serdar Tanış is on the right.

Ebubekir Deniz is on the left.

Serdar Tanış was a member of HADEP, a pro-Kurdish party. He was forcibly disappeared under custody with his friend Ebubekir Deniz in Silopi, Şırnak. He has not been found yet.

Ebubekir Deniz was a driver in Şırnak and a member of HADEP.



³⁷⁰ Diyar Tanış



³⁷¹ Ceylan Deniz

³⁶⁹ <https://m.bianet.org/english/minorities/116590-disappearance-of-kurdish-politicians-mentioned-in-jitem-trial>
<https://m.bianet.org/bianet/insan-haklari/183011-deniz-ve-tanis-16-yil-once-gozaltinda-kaybedildi> (Accessed 13.4.2022)

³⁷⁰ <https://www.evrensel.net/haber/405379/babasi-gozaltinda-kaybedilen-diyar-tanis-babamin-yuzunu-8-fotografla-tanidim> (Accessed 13.4.2022)

³⁷¹ <https://yeni1mecra.com/cumartesi-anneleri-gozaltinda-kaybedilen-tanis-ve-denizin-akibetini-sordu/> (Accessed 13.4.2022)

Mehmet Ertak (1960-1992)



³⁷²

Mehmet Ertak was a worker in a coal mine in Şırnak. He was detained twice and tortured before. He was taken under custody in 1992 and forcibly disappeared. He has not been found yet.



³⁷³ Servet Ertak

³⁷² <https://gazetedavul.com/manset/cumartesi-anneleri-jitemin-itiraflarina-ragmen-mehmet-ertaktan-29-yildir-haber-alinamiyor-24376.html> (Accessed 13.4.2022)

³⁷³ <https://www.durushaber.com.tr/gundem/devlet-susuyorsa-bile-insanlar-susmamali-h31327.html> (Accessed 13.4.2022)

Mehmet Selim Örhan (1948-1994), Hasan Örhan (1954-1994), and Cezayir Örhan (1977-1994)



Mehmet Selim Örhan and Hasan Örhan were brothers. They were farmers. Cezayir Örhan was a construction worker who was seventeen. They were forcibly disappeared in Diyarbakır in 1994 after being taken under custody. Mehmet Selim Örhan and Hasan Örhan's remains were found in 2004 when a mass grave was opened. However, the remains were not delivered to the family.



³⁷⁴<https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler-turkiye-45338185#:~:text=%C4%B0nsan%20haklar%C4%B1%20savunucusu%20olmadan%20C3%B6nce,%C5%9Eimdi%20ise%20insan%20haklar%C4%B1%20savunucusu.> (Accessed 13.4.2022)

³⁷⁵ <https://kronos35.news/tr/ihd-diyarbakir-yoneticisi-adnan-orhan-gozaaltina-alindi/> (Accessed 20.2.2022)

Abdullah Canan (1953-1996)



376

Abdullah Canan was a businessman in Yüksekova, Hakkari. He was taken under custody and forcibly disappeared in 1995. He was found tortured and dead a few days later.



377

Tayyüp

Canan



378 Vahap Canan

³⁷⁶ <http://yakayder.com/tr/sayfa/bizden-koparilanlar/4/abdullah-canan/152>

³⁷⁷ <https://mobile.twitter.com/tayyupcanan> (Accessed 20.2.2022)

³⁷⁸ https://m.facebook.com/ICumartesiAnneleriI/videos/abdullah-canan%C4%B1n-o%C4%9Flu-vahap-canan-sesleniyor/3991468244229075/?__so__=permalink&__rv__=related_videos&locale=ne_NP&_rdr (Accessed 20.2.2022)

Talat Türkoğlu (1951-1996)



379

Talat Türkoğlu from Edirne was a socialist based in İstanbul. He forcibly disappeared in 1996 while he was on the road from Edirne to İstanbul after visiting his family. He has never been found.



Münübe Türkoğlu Yeprem 380

³⁷⁹ <http://yakayder.com/tr/sayfa/bizden-koparilanlar/4/talat-turkoglu/450> (Accessed 20.2.2022)

³⁸⁰ <http://www.hudutgazetesi.com/haber/34308/20-yildir-haber-yok.html> (Accessed 13.4.2022)

Hayrettin Eren (1954-1980)



³⁸¹Elmas Eren and her son Hayrettin Eren

Hayrettin Eren was a revolutionary youth leader in the 1970s. After the 12 September coup d'etat, he was taken under custody and forcibly disappeared. He has never been found yet.



³⁸²Faruk Eren



³⁸³İkbal Eren

³⁸¹ <https://gazetedavul.com/manset/cumartesi-anneleri-gozaltinda-kaybedilen-hayrettin-erenin-akibetini-sordu-29736.html> (Accessed 13.4.2022)

³⁸² <https://t24.com.tr/haber/isine-son-verilen-gazeteci-faruk-eren-umarim-cumhuriyet-kaybedilmemistir,696162> (Accessed 20.2.2022)

³⁸³ <https://gazetekarinca.com/41-yildir-agabeyini-arayan-ikbal-eren-helallesme-ile-yuzlesmeyi-karistirmayalim/> (Accessed 20.2.2022)

Abdülmecit Baskın (1952-1993)



³⁸⁴ Eren Baskın is holding his father

Abdülmecit Baskın photo.

Mecit Baskın was the Head of the Registry Office of Altındağ in Ankara. He was originally from Yüksekova, Hakkari. He forcibly disappeared in 1993. He was found shot dead in a field in Ankara.

Hasan Gülünay (1960-1992)



³⁸⁵ Deniz Gülünay is on the right holding his father's

photo.

Hasan Gülünay was from Erzincan and based in İstanbul. He was forcibly disappeared and has never been found yet.

³⁸⁴<https://t24.com.tr/haber/babasi-faili-mechul-cinayete-giden-avukat-eren-baskin-sureci-uzatarak-davalari-kapatmak-istiyorlar,991263> (Accessed 13.4.2022)

³⁸⁵<https://www.ozgurpolitika.com/haber-babam-denizin-anahtarini-getirecek-saniyordum-149691> (Accessed 13.4.2022)

Ferhat Tepe (1974-1993)



³⁸⁶ İshak Tepe on the left, Zübeyde Tepe on the right with their son's photo on the wall

Ferhat Tepe was a journalist in Bitlis. He was kidnapped and forcibly disappeared. He was found tortured and dead in 1993.

Fehmi Tosun (1960-1995)



³⁸⁷

After Fehmi Tosun's village was destroyed by the Turkish soldiers, he and his family were forced to migrate to İstanbul. He was kidnapped in front of his family and forcibly disappeared. He has never been found.



³⁸⁸ Besna Tosun, on the left; Hanım Tosun, on the right

³⁸⁶ <https://firatnews.com/guncel/cumartesi-anneleri-ferhat-tepe-icin-adalet-istedi-144395> (Accessed 13.4.2022)

³⁸⁷ <https://yakayder.com/tr/sayfa/bizden-koparilanlar/4/fehmi-tosun/29> (Accessed 13.4.2022)

³⁸⁸ <http://www.aljazeera.com.tr/al-jazeera-ozel/acilarim-beni-politiklestirdi> (Accessed 13.4.2022)

Rıdvan Karakoç (1961-1995)

Rıdvan Karakoç worked in various works in İstanbul and Austria. He was kidnapped and forcibly disappeared. His body was found dead in 1995.



³⁸⁹ Hasan Karakoç is holding his brother's photo in the middle.

Savaş Buldan (1964-1994)



³⁹⁰

Savaş Buldan was a businessman based in İstanbul and from Hakkari. He was kidnapped with his two friends Adnan Yıldırım and Hacı Karay, and they were forcibly disappeared. They are found shot dead one day later in Bolu province.



³⁹¹ Zelal Buldan with his father's and Yıldırım's photo

³⁸⁹ <https://amp.artigercek.com/tag/Hasan-Karako%25C3%25A7> (Accessed 20.2.2022)

³⁹⁰ <https://yakayder.com/tr/sayfa/bizden-koparilanlar/4/savas-buldan/276> (Accessed 20.2.2022)

³⁹¹ <https://t24.com.tr/haber/oldurulen-savas-buldan-in-kizi-zelal-buldan-babam-hakkinda-yi-anlatt-i-attiklarimizdan-kurtulduk,884079> (Accessed 20.2.2022)

Cemil Kırbayır (1954-1980)



³⁹²

Cemil Kırbayır from Kars established GÖL-DER which was a revolutionary youth association. He was taken under custody shortly after the 12 September coup d'etat in Kars and forcibly disappeared. He has been never found yet. He was the only forcibly disappeared about whom the Parliament wrote a detailed report about what could happen to him under custody.

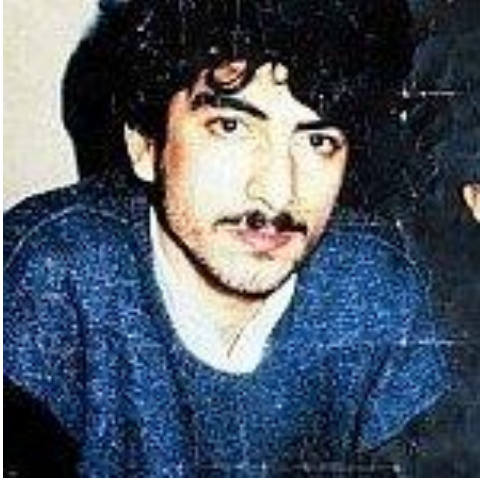


³⁹³ Mikail Kırbayır with his brother's photo

³⁹² <https://yakayder.com/tr/sayfa/bizden-koparilanlar/4/cemil-kirbayir/19> (Accessed 20.2.2022)

³⁹³ <https://mobile.twitter.com/mikail07675935> (Accessed 20.2.2022)

İsmail Bahçeci (1969-1994)



394

İsmail Bahçeci from Şanlıurfa was a student at Marmara University. He was taken under custody and forcibly disappeared. He has never been found yet.



395 Umut Bahçeci

³⁹⁴ <https://m.bianet.org/bianet/insan-haklari/183240-maksut-tepeli-33-yil-once-gozaltinda-kaybedildi> (Accessed 13.4.2022)

³⁹⁵ <https://www.gazeteduvar.com.tr/gundem/2018/12/22/cumartesi-gununu-niye-zehir-edeyim-kendime> (Accessed 13.4.2022)

Hüsamettin Yaman (1970-1992)



³⁹⁶

Hüsamettin Yaman was from Adapazarı. He was a student at İstanbul University when he was taken under custody. He was forcibly disappeared and has never been found yet.

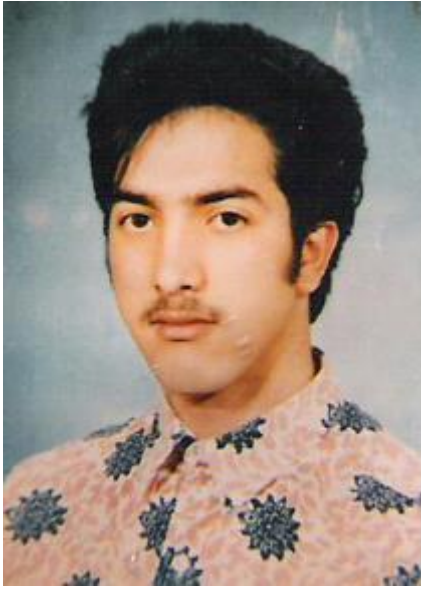


³⁹⁷ Feyyaz Yaman

³⁹⁶ <https://yakayder.com/tr/sayfa/bizden-koparilanlar/4/husamettin-yaman/322> (Accessed 13.4.2022)

³⁹⁷ <https://www.asfaltartgallery.com/m.php?id=68&lang=0> (Accessed 13.4.2022)

Murat Yıldız (1975-1995)



³⁹⁸

Murat Yıldız who lived in İzmir went to the police station to make a statement in İzmir after a fight in a café. He was forcibly disappeared and has never been found yet.

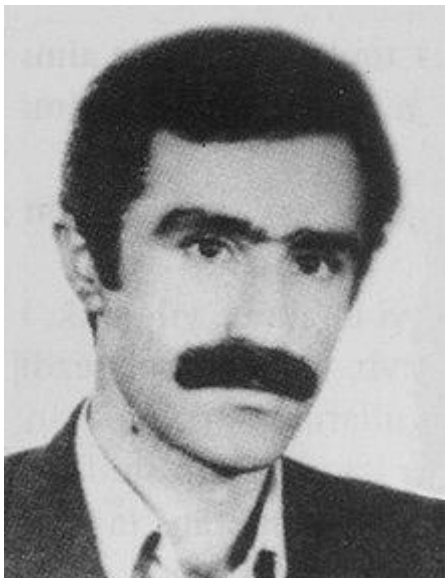


³⁹⁹ Hanife Yıldız

³⁹⁸ <https://yakayder.com/tr/sayfa/bizden-koparilanlar/4/murat-yildiz/179> (Accessed 20.2.2022)

³⁹⁹ <https://meydan1.org/2018/02/17/cumartesi-annesi-hanife-yildiz-gozaltina-alindi/> (Accessed 20.2.2022)

Süleyman Cihan (1947-1981)



400

Süleyman Cihan from Tunceli was a teacher and a member Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist Leninist. He was taken under custody after the 12 September coup d'état and forcibly disappeared. His body was found tortured and dead. However, the authorities claimed that he committed suicide. His forensic report proving that he was tortured and killed was written by Prof. Dr. Şebnem Korur Fincancı.

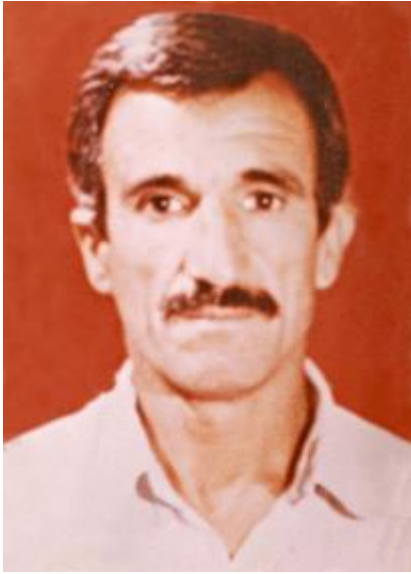


401 Ahmet Cihan

⁴⁰⁰ https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/S%C3%BCleyman_Cihan (Accessed 20.2.2022)

⁴⁰¹ <https://m.facebook.com/ArtiTelevizyonu/videos/arti-tv/812807579334819/> (Accessed 20.2.2022)

Nihat Aydođan (1955-1994)



402

Nihat Aydođan was from Mardin living in a village in Midyat. He was taken under custody in 1994 and forcibly disappeared. He has never been found yet.



403 Nejbir Aydođan

⁴⁰² <https://yakayder.com/tr/sayfa/bizden-koparilanlar/4/nihat-aydogan/189> (Accessed 20.2.2022)

⁴⁰³ <https://twitter.com/yeniyasamgazete/status/1332728459311919110> (Accessed 20.2.2022)

Adnan Yıldırım (1957-1994)



⁴⁰⁴

Adnan Yıldırım was a businessman based in İstanbul and from Diyarbakır. He was kidnapped with his two friends Adnan Yıldırım and Hacı Karay, and they were forcibly disappeared. They are found shot dead one day later in Bolu province.



⁴⁰⁵Leyla Yıldırım

⁴⁰⁴ <http://yakayder.com/tr/sayfa/bizden-koparilanlar/4/adnan-yildirim/274> (Accessed 20.2.2022)

⁴⁰⁵ <https://twitter.com/cmrtesianneleri/status/1268246966825254915?lang=ar> (Accessed 20.2.2022)

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