

Women in the Gezi protests



Figure 1: The famous 'Woman in Red' at Taksim during the Gezi protests, Istanbul Taksim Square 2013, May 28
Source: www.fotogaleri.ntvmsnbc.com

Zehra Kaya
MA Student Turkish Studies
S1318977
Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Erik Jan Zürcher
Number of words 18.981

Table of Contents

Introduction.....	2
Chapter 1. An introduction to the Gezi protests.....	10
Chapter 2. Civil resistance.....	16
Chapter 3. What kind of women’s organizations participated in the Gezi protests?.....	21
Chapter 4. Sources of discontent.....	29
Chapter 5. Did women’s organizations mobilize women?.....	41
Conclusion.....	45
Bibliography.....	47
Appendix 1: Contact details of women's organizations.....	52
Appendix 2: Letters and folders of several (women) organizations.....	53
Appendix 3: Audio recordings of the interviews	

Introduction

'*Tayyip susmayız 3 çocuk yapmayız*', 'Tayyip we will not be silent and we don't bear three children'. '*Mutfakta değil, isyandayız*', 'We are not in the kitchen, but in the revolt'. '*Aile değil kadınız, sokaklardayız*', 'A woman is not a family, we are in the streets'.¹

These were the slogans of women groups during the Gezi protests, also called 'Warm June', in summer 2013. The protests started in a small form on May 27, 2013, after the construction machinery entered the Gezi Park in Taksim (the first park in Istanbul built in the Republican period) to build a shopping mall and luxury apartments instead of the park and a shopping mall in the form of an artillery barracks. An artillery barracks stood there for the construction of the Gezi Park in 1939.²

Environmental enthusiasts were outraged and began to revolt. A few days later, after the police violence, this protest grew and changed its purpose. The police attacked the protestors with water cannon trucks and gas bombs at May 31 2013. This continued during the protests and 11 people died and more than 8.000 people were wounded nationwide.

The protests spread over many Turkish counties.³ The background and social situation of the participants were very diverse and each protestor had her/his own reason. A survey conducted in December by SAMER Research Center established that 16.27 percent of the population of Istanbul (14.160.467 in 2013) took part the Gezi protests. Of these, 35.5 percent of the protestors are employed in industry, construction, textile, paper collection, catering, transport, or irregular activities; 31.2 percent of the protestors are employed in advertising, finance, academia, insurance, education, public sector, culture, literature, health, NGO, as well as areas such as real estate. The percentage of Kurdish protestors in Istanbul and Izmir amounted to 15.3 percent. Furthermore, 9.48 percent of the participants in Istanbul are reported to have a monthly household income below 1.000 lira; 28.68 percent below 1.500 lira; and 57.61 percent below the 2.500 lira. Only 16.46 percent of the protestors have an income above the five thousand lira. In July 2013, the hunger and the poverty limits were

¹ 'Tayyipsiz, tacizsiz yaşam için sokaktayız!', İmece Kadın Sendikası, accessed January 4, 2014, <http://www.kadınlarınİmecesi.org/article.php?id=122>.

² Kongar, Emre and Küçükçaya, Aykut. *Türkiye'yi sarsan otuz gün. Gezi direnişi* (İstanbul: Yazın basın yayın matbaacılık, 2013), 13.

³ Nuray Sancar, *Sıcak Haziran: sonraki direnişe mektup* (İstanbul: Evrensel Basım Yayın, 2013); 'Gezi Parkı Süreci Kapsamında Türkiye İnsan Hakları Vakfı Olgularının Tıbbi Değerlendirilmesi,' İnsan Hakları Vakfı, Accessed December 15, 2014, <http://www.insanhaklarisavunuculari.org/dokumantasyon/files/original/bc1427bb041b4c3830c07da53bd2a5bb.pdf>; Emre Kongar and Aykut Küçükçaya, *Türkiye'yi sarsan otuz gün. Gezi direnişi* (İstanbul: Yazın basın yayın matbaacılık, 2013), 99-117; CHP, 'Gezi protestolarında 11 kişi öldü, 437'si ağır olmak üzere 8 binden fazla kişi yaralandı,' Accessed January 2, 2015, <http://www.chp.org.tr/?p=152545>.

set at 1.012 3.296 lira, respectively. The net minimum wage was set at 773.01 lira. So we see that many people who participated in the Gezi protests have a high income. And that most of Istanbul earn below the poverty limit.⁴

The percentage of supporters and opponents of the Gezi protests were comparable: 41.4 percent of the population said they supported the protests, while 43.4 percent said that they were against the protests; 15.2 percent were indifferent. The household income of those who supported the protests was ca. 200 lira higher than that of the opponent of the protests.

What was really striking about the Gezi protests was that there were many women at the foreground, which is untypical for Turkey. Women were also a majority in Istanbul (51.5 percent against 48.5 percent of men).⁵ We have seen in the media that women took their place in the forefront against the water of the police spray trucks, under the tear gas, and at the communities and forums in the Gezi Park.⁶ It is known that the uprisings supported by women have led to very strong movements in the history.⁷ An example of this is the Women's March on Versailles in the French revolution. Paris was in poverty, men followed women, and, together, they captured the king and brought him and his family back to Paris to show him the bad living conditions. Men doesn't left the women alone during the protests. Thus, women acquire many followers by participating the protests. The women's action strengthened the constitutional forces within the nation and prepared the groundwork for the republican movement. This was a turning point in the French Revolution for women, as it showed that they could help the cause and, thus, were not politically unimportant as it had

⁴ 'Gezi Park Report,' KONDA, accessed October 2, 2014, <http://www.konda.com.tr/en/reports.php?tb=2>; 'Basında biz,' Samer, Siyasal ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Merkezi, accessed August 30, 2014, <http://www.ssamer.com/BasindaBiz>; 'Adrese Dayalı Nüfus Kayıt Sistemi Sonuçları, 2013,' Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu, accessed August 30, 2014, <http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreHaberBultenleri.do?id=15974>; 'Açlık sınırı bin 12, yoksulluk sınırı 3 bin 296 lira,' CNN Türk, accessed August 30, 2014, <http://www.cnnturk.com/2013/ekonomi/genel/07/26/aclik.siniri.bin.12.yoksulluk.siniri.3.bin.296.lira/717174.0/>; 'Asgari ücretin net hesabı ve işverene maliyeti,' Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, accessed August 30, 2014, http://www.csgeb.gov.tr/csgebPortal/ShowProperty/WLPpercent20Repository/cgm/asgariucret/2014_birinci_alti_ay

⁵ Nuray Sancar, *Sıcak Haziran: sonraki direnişe mektup* (İstanbul: Evrensel Basım Yayın, 2013); 'Gezi Park Report,' KONDA, accessed October 2, 2014, <http://www.konda.com.tr/en/reports.php?tb=2>; 'Basında biz,' Samer, Siyasal ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Merkezi, accessed August 30, 2014, <http://www.ssamer.com/BasindaBiz>; 'Adrese Dayalı Nüfus Kayıt Sistemi Sonuçları, 2013,' Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu, accessed August 30, 2014, <http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreHaberBultenleri.do?id=15974>; 'Açlık sınırı bin 12, yoksulluk sınırı 3 bin 296 lira,' CNN Türk, accessed August 30, 2014, <http://www.cnnturk.com/2013/ekonomi/genel/07/26/aclik.siniri.bin.12.yoksulluk.siniri.3.bin.296.lira/717174.0/>; 'Asgari ücretin net hesabı ve işverene maliyeti,' Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, accessed August 30, 2014, http://www.csgeb.gov.tr/csgebPortal/ShowProperty/WLPpercent20Repository/cgm/asgariucret/2014_birinci_alti_ay

⁶ Nuray Sancar, *Sıcak Haziran: sonraki direnişe mektup* (İstanbul: Evrensel Basım Yayın, 2013).

⁷ Asım Karaömerlioğlu. 'Gezi Direnişi Kadınların Türkiye Siyasetine 'One Minute' Demesidir.' Accessed January 4, 2014. <http://asimkaraomerlioglu.com/blog/medya-2/>

been previously thought. Current tendencies of gender equality in France go back to the pamphlets spread during the French Revolution.⁸ The French revolution was a good example of a social movement. Charles Tilly describes social movement: “By the twenty-first century, people all over the world recognized the term “social movement” as a trumpet call, as a counterweight to oppressive power as a summons to popular action against a wide range of sources. It was not always so. Although popular risings of one kind or another have occurred across the world for thousands of years, what the Harare Daily News described as “inclusive organizations comprised of various interest groups” existed nowhere in the world three centuries ago. Then, during the later eighteenth century people in Western Europe and North America began the fateful creation of a new political phenomenon. They began to create social movements.”⁹

According to Asım Karaömerlioğlu, professor of Modern Turkish History at Boğaziçi University, women during the Gezi protests succeeded to gain more male protestors. Furthermore, women during the Gezi protests also succeeded to let people protest without swearing.

‘Woman in red’ became a worldwide symbol of the Gezi protests. With the fashion statement of the media, the resistance and police interference had created its own icon in a photo frame. ‘Woman in red’ is actually the name of a comedy film from 1984 of the famous movie star Gene Wilder, a remake of the French film "Un éléphant ça trompe énormément" from 1976. Who would predict that it would return to Turkey in



Figure 2: The famous ‘Woman in Red’ at Taksim during the Gezi protests, Istanbul Taksim Square 2013, May 28

almost thirty years, in the 21st century, as a picture that symbolizes police violence? Osman Orsal took the picture and Reuters spread it.¹⁰ The women who have been mobilized by this

⁸ ‘The French Revolution’s Influence on Women’s Rights,’ Menlo roundtable, accessed August 30, 2014, http://roundtable.menloschool.org/issue12/2_Flower_MS_Roundtable12_Spring_2012.pdf; ‘Küfürle değil inatla diren,’ *Milliyet*, August 23, 2013, seen on 2 January, 2015, <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/-kufurle-degil-inatla-diren-/gundem/detay/1753485/default.htm>; Landes, Joan B. *Women and the public sphere in the age of the French revolution* (London: Cornell University Press, 1988).

⁹ Charles Tilly. *Social movements, 1768-2008* (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2009), 3.

¹⁰ Kongar, Emre and Küçükkaya, Aykut. *Türkiye’yi sarsan otuz gün. Gezi direnişi* (İstanbul: Yazın basın yayın matbaacılık, 2013); ‘Un éléphant ça trompe énormément,’ IMDB, accessed December 28, 2014,

picture, in foreign countries and in Turkey alike, have demonstrated solidarity with the Gezi protests by wearing a red dress.¹¹ What made the ‘woman in red’, Ceyda Sungur, famous is that she was not violent; she stayed firmly at her place while she was pepper-sprayed in her face by the police. We can see this in the picture. The photo symbolizes the innocence and courage of the woman (Ceyda Sungur) against the violence of the police, because she did not respond with violence or run away —she stayed where she was. Ceyda Sungur is an architect and, according to an interview with her in the book *Türkiye’yi sarsan otuz gün, Gezi direnişi* she was only protesting for environmental reasons.

However, according to the literature, women protesters after her had different reasons. Millions of women were in the streets of Turkey to protect their ‘freedom’ and ‘future’, according to the book *Sıcak Haziran: sonraki direnişe mektup* published by the Turkish journalist Nuray Sancar. Especially the dominance of the AKP government on women’s bodies that is increasing in recent years was an important factor to get women in the street. Here, we can think of the proposal of abortion ban, keeping an eye on pregnant women, and the increase in the murders of women. Hence, the slogans above reflect these concerns.¹²

Also, many women’s organizations were visible in the protests, including Sosyalist Feminist Kolektif, Barış İçin Kadın Girişimi, and İmece Kadın Sendikası. İmece placed a call for women on their website to take part in the protests.¹³

This thesis aims to investigate why some women’s organizations in Istanbul actively participated in the Gezi protests; furthermore, we will analyze whether if these organizations mobilized women to get involved in the protests.

The reason to choose to consider the role of women in these protests is the present author’s interest in women in Turkey. While Turkey strives to join the European Union, women’s rights in the country do not yet correspond to those rights in Europe. What is particularly interesting is that the Turkish woman is different than the European woman and that many different types of women are represented in Turkey: one can distinguish between housewives, career-oriented women, religious women, secular women, emancipated women,

<http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0076852/>; Asım Karaömerlioğlu. ‘Gezi direnişi Kadınların Türkiye Siyasetine ‘One Minute’ Demesidir.’ Accessed January 4, 2014. <http://asimkaraomerlioglu.com/blog/medya-2/>. Asım Karaömerlioğlu is professor of Modern Turkish History at Boğaziçi University.

¹¹ Kongar, Emre and Küçükkaya, Aykut. *Türkiye’yi sarsan otuz gün. Gezi direnişi* (İstanbul: Yazın basın yayın matbaacılık, 2013).

¹² Kongar, Emre and Küçükkaya, Aykut. *Türkiye’yi sarsan otuz gün. Gezi direnişi* (İstanbul: Yazın basın yayın matbaacılık, 2013); Sancar, Nuray. *Sıcak Haziran: sonraki direnişe mektup* (İstanbul: Evrensel Basım Yayın, 2013), 21.

¹³ ‘Tayyipsiz, tacizsiz yaşam için sokaktayız!’ İmece Kadın Sendikası, accessed January 4, 2014, <http://www.kadinlarinImecesi.org/article.php?id=122>.

submissive women, and so on in Turkey. For example the Netherlands. 71.5% of Dutch women worked in 2009 and in turkey about 26% of women that year. The percentage of housewives is in the Netherlands in the year 2011 5.8%, but in Turkey 61.3% in the year 2012. As we look at the Gezi protests, we can see that some women in the country are unsatisfied and it is interesting to analyze the reasons of their discontent. Therefore, analyzing the Gezi protests from the perspective of the role of women's organizations in them is a novel and promising area of research.¹⁴

The present thesis seeks to provide answers to the following research questions:

What has motivated several non-environmentalist women's organizations in Istanbul to actively participate in the Gezi protests? Have these organizations mobilized women?

This research question was investigated with the help of both (a) primary sources, such as interviews and (b) secondary sources, such as available literature on the topic. As the events at stake are very recent, our research question has not yet been thoroughly investigated. This also entails that there are many more primary sources than secondary sources, which is the strength of this study as direct sources are more valuable. Through the use of primary sources, we can think of the Gezi participators' selves by primary sources. For this, the present researcher visited several women's organizations in Istanbul who participated the Gezi protests, to interview them. Five women's organizations or women branches of organizations were interviewed for this investigation. One or two spokespersons of each organization were selected for the interviews. The same questions were used for all organizations to analyze the discourse. The selected organizations are İmece Kadın Sendikası, Yoğurtçu Kadın Forumu, Barış İçin Kadın Girişimi, Sosyalist Feminist Kolektif, and Antikapitalist Müslümanlar. While the first four are women's organizations, Antikapitalist Müslümanlar is not; it was selected because it has a women's branch and is different from other organizations in that it appeals to religious Muslim women and add variation to the selection of organization for the present study. All organizations were chosen because they were active during the Gezi protests and they are all different one from another

¹⁴ 'İstatiklerle kadın, women in statistics 2012,' Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu, Accessed January 30, 2015. <http://kasaum.ankara.edu.tr/files/2013/02/%C4%B0statistiklerle-kad%C4%B1n-2012.pdf>
Van den Brakel, Marjon, 'Arbeidsdeelname van Nederlandse vrouwen zeer hoog,' Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, Accessed January 30, 2015.
'Nederland telt minder huisvrouwen,' *Nu.nl*, March 7, 2011, accessed January 30, 2015.
Wobma, Elma, 'Mannen en vrouwen in Nederland,' Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, Accessed January 30, 2015.

(see Chapter 2 for further detail). Furthermore, the pictures of women during the protests, news articles, websites of (women's) organizations and social media were used as primary sources. These as well as the news and calls to women published on (women's) organizations websites were also used.

There is also academic literature available on this topic. The available books are descriptive and were used as secondary sources. The following books were consulted: *Türkiye'yi sarsan otuz gün. Gezi direnişi* by Emre Kongar and Aykut Küçükaya, *Reflections on Taksim – Gezi Park Protests in Turkey* by Bülent Gökay and *Sıcak Haziran: sonraki direnişe mektup of Nuray Sancar* by Ilia Xpolia. In addition, the articles of Asım Karaömerlioğlu, professor of Modern Turkish History at Boğaziçi University were also used. An important source of the present study was the chapter *Direnışin kadın hali* ('The Female Version of the Resistance') by sociologist Banu Kavaklı in the book *Sıcak Haziran* ('Warm June'). The volume focuses on the role of women in the Gezi protests and analyzes the reasons of women to participate in these protests. In particular, the author emphasizes that women are conceptualized by men as 'the other' and as sex objects in the Turkish society. This book also presents pictures of women who are protesting with banners during the Gezi protests. One of these banners reads *Kadın kardeşlerimiz öldürülmesin diye devlet göreve*, this means the state needs to work to prevent that their sisters will be killed.¹⁵

Furthermore, another important source is the book by Mehmet Deniz Bölükbaşı entitled *Devrim Taksim'de Göz Kırptı* ('The Revolution Winked in Taksim'). The book is a kind of diary of the Gezi protests with photos. Among these photos we can see a photo of the banner of Istanbul Feminist Kolektif. The banner says: *Prime Minister, get your hands of my body*. This was useful material for this thesis. One can also see a letter of the women's movement Barış İçin Kadın Girişimi ('Peace Initiative of Women') to the media. They are requesting gender equality. Some of these pictures of banners were used in the present thesis.¹⁶

In the book *Reflections on Taksim – Gezi Park Protests in Turkey* by Bülent Gökay and Ilia Xpolia the authors write about what kind of women participated the protests. This was also useful for this thesis. The book also contains pictures of women during the protests

¹⁵ Nuray Sancar, *Sıcak Haziran: sonraki direnişe mektup* (İstanbul: Evrensel Basım Yayın, 2013).

¹⁶ Mehmet Deniz Bölükbaşı. *Devrim Taksim'de Göz Kırptı: Bu Maya Tutacak* (İstanbul: Kaldıraç Yayınevi, 2003).

with banners in their hands. One banner says: *Tayyip'e çocuk borcumuz yok* ('We don't obliged children to Tayyip').¹⁷

The book *Gezi direnişi: Türkiye'yi sarsan otuz gün* ('Gezi Resistance: Thirty Days that Shook Turkey') by Emre Kongar and Aykut Küçükkaya contains information about the women in red and how the protests acquired a political tint after their initial environmental orientation.¹⁸

Çapulcunun gezi rehberi (The Gezi guide of the Çapulcu) by Eylem Aydın is an album of the Gezi protests. There are some useful pictures, such as a photo from a wall during the Gezi protests with the sentence: *Tayyip ben üç çocuk yaptım sen istediğin için değil özgürce sex yaptığım için* ('Tayyip, I have three children not because you wanted me to, but because I had sex as often as I wanted').¹⁹

Ak Parti Toplumsal Değişimin Yeni Aktörleri ('AK Party The New Actors of Social Change') by Hakan Yavuz contains a very useful chapter entitled *Ak Parti'nin kadın siyaseti ve Ak partili kadın kimlikleri* ('AK Party's women policy and AK party's women identity's'). The chapter considers the women's policy of the AKP. This chapter was useful as it provides detailed information on the women's policy of the AKP.²⁰

Furthermore, the book *AKP Kitabı: bir dönüşüm bilançosu* ('Book of AKP: a conversion balance') by İlhan Üzgel and Bülent Duru contains another chapter about the AKP and women entitled *AKP ve Kadın: Teşkilatlanma, muhafazakarlık ve Türban* ('AKP and Women: Organization, Conservatism, and Scarf'). This chapter provides a valuable insight into the changes that occurred since the year 2002 with the advent of AKP.²¹

The remainder of this thesis is organized as follows. Chapter 1 ('An Introduction to the Gezi protests') provides a snapshot of the Gezi protests. Specifically, based on the literature overview, information is provided on what happened, when it happened, what groups took part in the protests and so on. In Chapter 2, the 'civil resistance theory' is discussed, as this theory most suits these protests. In this chapter, a definition of this theory is provided followed by the explanation on why the various characteristics of the Gezi protests fit this theory. This part is crucial to understand the method of protesting of the Gezi protesters. For this chapter, two books — *Civil Resistance & Power Politics* (by Adam

¹⁷ Bülent Gökay and İlia Xpolia. *Reflections on Taksim – Gezi Park Protests in Turkey* (England: Keele University, 2013).

¹⁸ Emre Kongar and Aykut Küçükkaya. *Türkiye'yi sarsan otuz gün. Gezi direnişi* (İstanbul: Yazın basın yayın matbaacılık, 2013).

¹⁹ Eylem Aydın. *Çapulcunun gezi rehberi* (İstanbul: Oray basın yayın ve matbaacılık, 2013).

²⁰ Hakan Yavuz. *Ak Parti: Toplumsal değişimin yeni aktörleri* (İstanbul: kitap yayınevi, 2010).

²¹ İlhan Üzgel and Bülent Duru. *AKP Kitabı: bir dönüşüm bilançosu* (Ankara: Phoenix Yayınevi, 2010).

Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash) and *Why Civil Resistance Works* (by Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan) — are mainly used. The former volume addresses the complex interrelationship between civil resistance and other dimensions of power. The reasons of civil resistance and relevant examples of civil resistance in other countries and their respective time periods are provided. This book is used to give the definition of civil resistance and to explain how civil resistance works and why people choose this way of protesting. The book by Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan focuses on the rise of civil resistance in recent years and the success of civil resistance throughout history. The authors provide the reasons why civil resistance is a more successful way of protesting than other types of campaigns. In the present thesis, this book is used to explain the effectiveness of civil resistance and how civil resistance can be successful. The civil resistance theory is also be cited in the subsequent chapters. Chapter 3 (‘What kind of women’s organizations participated in the Gezi protests?’) focuses on the (women’s) organizations and specifies their purposes. This is done to see what kind of women’s organizations participated in the Gezi protests. The websites of the (women’s) organizations are used as primary sources here. Chapter 4 (‘Sources of Discontent’) analyses the reasons why women’s organizations took part in the protests and specifies how the purposes of these protests was changed over time. This is achieved via conducting the interviews with (women’s) organizations. Furthermore, Chapter 5 (‘Did the women’s organizations mobilize women?’) considers the role of (women’s) organizations in mobilizing women during the Gezi protests. This is achieved by the analysis of the interviews specifically with regard to the question of whether (women’s) organizations (in different ways) placed calls to mobilize women. Chapter 6 draws the conclusion of the study and provide answers to the research questions.

The secondary sources consulted in the process of writing this thesis were mostly in Turkish (62 pages) and English (50 pages). The written materials were mainly secondary sources and were not scientific. The interviews (primary sources) were also conducted in Turkish; the quotes used in this thesis were translated into English. The sources are referred using the Chicago bibliographic system.

Chapter 1. An Introduction to the Gezi protests

The Gezi protests started with the execution of the new project on the Taksim square, within which the trees at the Gezi Park at Taksim were expected to be cut down. The project consisted of four parts:

- 1) Pedestrianization of Taksim Square. This would move the traffic underground so that Taksim square would only be used by pedestrians.
- 2) The restoration or demolition and reconstruction of the Atatürk Cultural Center on Taksim square. The first plan was to demolish the center, but that was difficult because the Ataturk Cultural Center was recognized as a historical building.
- 3) The reconstructing of the artillery barracks from the Ottoman period on Taksim square in the form of a shopping mall. There would be luxury apartments and a shopping center in the artillery barracks.
- 4) The construction of a mosque on Taksim Square. This mosque would be built in front of the Atatürk Cultural Center.²²

On May 28, the environmentalists started to protest against the execution of this project. They were protesting against the demolition of Gezi Park. They were sitting on the grass of Gezi Park and showing their dissent in a silent way. Around fifty people pitched tents and decided to spend the night in the park to keep a 'Gezi Park watch.' On May 31, as a result of the excessive use of teargas and water cannons by the police, the protests grew into mass anti-government mobilization that also spread to the cities of Ankara and Izmir. The eco-struggle transformed into a worldwide campaign. Thousands of people assembled in the park, were attacked with tear gas, pepper spray, water cannons, etc. The toll was heavy: 11 people died and more than 8.000 people were wounded.

Some victims remained blind and hospitals were given strict orders not to treat them. About 34 journalists covering the events were arrested and accused of incitement. They are still in Turkish prisons. When asked on Turkish television who had given the order to violently curb the protests, Prime Minister Recep Erdoğan proudly announced: 'It was me.'²³

²² Emre Kongar and Aykut Küçükaya, *Türkiye'yi sarsan otuz gün. Gezi direnişi* (İstanbul: Yazın basın yayın matbaacılık, 2013), 14-15.

²³ Bülent Gökay and Ilia Xpolia, *Reflections on Taksim – Gezi Park Protests in Turkey* (England: Keele University, 2013), 1, 43; 'Turkey: 'Surreal, Menacing...Pompous'' The New York Review of Books, accessed

The character of the protests what started as an environmental protest to save six hundred trees in Gezi Park changed and quickly turned into a nation-wide political demonstration against the former Erdoğan and his government. Two weeks after the start of the protests, about 3.5 million people had taken part in almost five thousand demonstrations across Turkey, with the motto ‘Everywhere Taksim! Everywhere Resistance!’.²⁴

It is pivotal to look into the first five days of protests to show how the protests started and evolved into a nation-wide political demonstration against Erdoğan and his government. On the first day of the protests, May 27, five trees were cut down and the youth started to occupy the he park. On May 28, the occupation continued and, in the afternoon, the police used pepper spray against the protestors. On this day, the photo was taken of the “woman in red”. The group expelled from the park and the construction machinery went into the park again. Sırrı Süreyya Önder of the Peace and Democracy Party threw himself in front of the construction machinery and stopped its entrance. After that, the protestors went into the park and planted new trees instead of the old ones. Also, the Republican People's Party CHP announced that they supported the Gezi protests by visiting the Gezi Park. Deputy Chairman Gürsel Tekin visited the park. The occupation continued and new trees were planted. On May 29, the occupation continued and tents were built. Protesters started to use slogans. Erdoğan said ‘Whatever you do, we have made our decision and we will build an artillery barracks’. The park was visited by many politicians from the opposition parties. CHP

January 4, 2014, <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2013/dec/19/turkey-surreal-menacing-pompous/?pagination=false>; ‘It all began with a tree in Turkey’, i24news, accessed August 30, 2014, <http://www.i24news.tv/en/opinion/131115-it-all-began-with-a-tree-colette-avital>; ‘Turkish protests: it started with a tree,’ Global News, accessed August 30, 2014, <http://globalnews.ca/news/616750/turkish-protests-it-started-with-a-tree-2/>; Konda. ‘Gezi raporu: Toplumun ‘Gezi Parkı Olayları’ algısı Gezi Parkındakiler kimlerdi?’ Accessed May 6, 2014. http://www.konda.com.tr/tr/raporlar/KONDA_GeziRaporu2014.pdf; Dünya Gezi'yi konuşuyor!, Habertürk, 3 Haziran, 2013, seen December 15, 2014, <http://www.haberturk.com/dunya/haber/849453-dunya-geziyi-konusuyor>; Polisten bir günde ikinci Gezi müdahalesi, Hürriyet, May 31, 2013, accessed December 15, 2014, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/23405437.asp>; Ümit Ünüvar, Deniz Yılmaz, İlker Özyıldırım, Levent Kutlu ve Şebnem Korur Fincancı, ‘Gezi Parkı Süreci Kapsamında Türkiye İnsan Hakları Vakfı Olgularının Tıbbi Değerlendirilmesi,’ İnsan Hakları Vakfı, Accessed December 15, 2014, <http://www.insanhaklarisavunuculari.org/dokumantasyon/files/original/bc1427bb041b4c3830c07da53bd2a5bb.pdf>; CHP, ‘Gezi protestolarında 11 kişi öldü, 437’si ağır olmak üzere 8 binden fazla kişi yaralandı,’ Accessed January 2, 2015, <http://www.chp.org.tr/?p=152545>.

²⁴ Bülent Gökay and Iliia Xpolia, *Reflections on Taksim – Gezi Park Protests in Turkey* (England: Keele University, 2013), 1, 43; ‘Turkey: ‘Surreal, Menacing...Pompous’’ The New York Review of Books, accessed January 4, 2014, <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2013/dec/19/turkey-surreal-menacing-pompous/?pagination=false>; ‘It all began with a tree in Turkey’, i24news, accessed August 30, 2014, <http://www.i24news.tv/en/opinion/131115-it-all-began-with-a-tree-colette-avital>; ‘It all began with a tree in Turkey’, i24news, accessed August 30, 2014, <http://www.i24news.tv/en/opinion/131115-it-all-began-with-a-tree-colette-avital>; ‘Turkish protests: it started with a tree,’ Global News, accessed August 30, 2014, <http://globalnews.ca/news/616750/turkish-protests-it-started-with-a-tree-2/>.

chairman Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu made a surprise support visit to the protestors. Kılıçdaroğlu promised that CHP deputies would take turns every day to stand guard together with the protestors against any attempt to bring back the bulldozers. He also vowed that the park would remain in place. The protestors began to use social media. Twitter was a particularly widely used communication tool during the protests.²⁵

On May 30, the police used pepper spray again to the protestors at five o'clock in the morning. The tents of the protestors were burned by the police. The construction machinery was there again and went into the park. The demolition stopped because Sırrı Süreyya Önder threw himself again in front of the construction machinery. The protests became a protest against the AKP 'that didn't listen the people'. Some people were enraged by the violence that was applied to the protesting youth and came to Taksim to assist them. Many celebrities, academics, and politicians came to Taksim as well. That night, there were thousands of people gathered in Taksim. A number of artists who were on the side of the protestors were singing in the park for the protestors. On May 31, the police acted even rougher than before. At five o'clock in the morning, the police attacked the protestors with water cannon trucks and gas bombs. The protestors were not informed in advance of this attack and woke up from police violence that lasted throughout the day. Even passers-by were victims of this violence, but the protestors did not leave the park. People who suffered from teargas sought shelter in hotels and subway stations nearby. The police teargas was used there as well. The police also started to use plastic bullets on this day. Some deputies and journalists among the protestors were wounded. The police also started to shoot pepper spray capsules to the protestors' heads. On this day, the protests spread to more provinces in the country. The court also decided on this day to review the project of the shopping mall in the form of an artillery barracks. The European Council and Amnesty International abhorred the police violence in Turkey. Foreign media began to follow the events in Taksim.²⁶

In the first week of the protests, Erdoğan flew to North Africa for a visit to Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria. Before his flight, he accused the CHP for provoking people. According to Erdoğan, the CHP would have provoked his innocent people to participate in the Gezi protests. As always, the CHP would show solidarity with extremists and, in this way, they

²⁵ 'Main opposition leader lends full support to protestors occupying Taksim Gezi Park,' *Hürriyet Daily News*, 29 May, 2013, seen on 2 January, 2015,

<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/main-opposition-leader-lends-full-support-to-protesters-occupying-taksim-gezi-park.aspx?pageID=238&nid=47849>; Emre Kongar and Aykut Küçükaya, *Türkiye'yi sarsan otuz gün. Gezi direnişi* (İstanbul: Yazın basın yayın matbaacılık, 2013), 99-117.

²⁶ Emre Kongar and Aykut Küçükaya, *Türkiye'yi sarsan otuz gün. Gezi direnişi* (İstanbul: Yazın basın yayın matbaacılık, 2013), 99-117.

would try to make the AKP to do what they failed at the elections, according to Erdoğan. He also could not resist saying that it was difficult for him to keep the more than 50% of the population (his supporters) at home at that time. By this he meant that he could release his supporters on the protesters. On his return, there were thousands of people to welcome him at the airport in Ankara. Erdoğan held a speech and said the protests had to stop. He called the protesters marginal and said that they could only get him away with elections. “Destroying is the only thing the protesters are doing. They also attacked my daughters and sisters with headscarves. They entered the Dolmabahçe Mosque with beer bottles and shoes”, he said. Further, he said that his daughters and sisters with headscarves were excluded from the society for decades but have never behaved like their and that they were patient all this time. The protests don’t stop. He called the protesters anarchists and extremists.²⁷

According to the survey of the İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi during the Gezi protests, the majority of the protesters defined themselves as freedom fighters. Their first reason to participate the protests was police violence and the authoritarian attitude of the Prime Minister.²⁸ It should not be overlooked that there was also a certain group of people were enraged by the intervention of the Prime Minister in their lives and his ‘authoritarian’ attitude.²⁹

None of the group or political parties was dominant during the protests; everyone was for there for his/her own reason. Therefore, people with different opinions protested together without big problems. Police violence and some policies of the government pulled them

²⁷ ‘Erdoğan: ‘Türkiye'nin yüzde 50'sini zor tutuyoruz’,’ *Milliyet*, 3 June, 2013, seen on 2 January, 2015, <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/basbakan-4-gun-yok-siyaset/detay/1717873/default.htm>;

‘Erdoğan’ın dönüşü dış basında...’, *Milliyet*, 7 June, 2013, accessed 2 January, 2015, <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/Erdoğan-in-donusu-dis-basinda-/dunya/detay/1719881/default.htm>; ‘Başbakan Erdoğan havalimanında halka seslendi,’ *Hürriyet*, 7 June, 2013, accessed 2 January, 2015, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/23470929.asp>; ‘Başbakan: Yüzde 50’yi evinde zor tutuyorum,’ *Hürriyet*, 7 June, 2013, accessed 2 January, 2015, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/23429709.asp>

²⁸ Şeval Ünlü Gök. Politikayı deneyimleyen bir toplumsal hareket olarak Gezi direnişi. Accessed January 4, 2014.

<http://www.google.nl/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=2&ved=0CCgQFjAB&url=httppercent3Apercent2Fpercent2Fmarmara.edu.trpercent2Fmarusbpercent2Farticlepercent2Fdownloadpercent2F5000040067percent2F5000038907&ei=1a5PVLSohYGTPLb8gcAD&usg=AFQjCNFis02PsISBYHEE414cPJKZOt3H6g>

²⁹ Şeval Ünlü Gök. Politikayı deneyimleyen bir toplumsal hareket olarak Gezi direnişi. Accessed January 4, 2014.

<http://www.google.nl/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=2&ved=0CCgQFjAB&url=httppercent3Apercent2Fpercent2Fmarmara.edu.trpercent2Fmarusbpercent2Farticlepercent2Fdownloadpercent2F5000040067percent2F5000038907&ei=1a5PVLSohYGTPLb8gcAD&usg=AFQjCNFis02PsISBYHEE414cPJKZOt3H6g>

together. There were several different flags and slogans during the protests and these different opinions were tolerant to each other.³⁰

One of the studies on Gezi is done by research agency KONDA. KONDA published a table of the reasons for participation in the protests. According to it, 58.1 percent of the protesters gave as reason of their participation the limitation of their freedom; 37.2 percent blamed the AKP and its policy; 30.3 percent were dissatisfied with the statements and attitude of Erdoğan; and 20.4 percent protested against the trees being cut down.

Only 21.1 percent of the protesters were members of a political party, association, or that kind of non-profit organizations. However, 31 percent would vote for the CHP if there were elections at that time. 29 percent were undecided, 18 percent would not be able to choose a party, and 8 percent would vote for the Peace and Democracy Party (BDP). During the national elections of 2011 had won the AKP 49.4 of the votes in Istanbul and the CHP 31.27. After the elections after the Gezi protests in 2014, these percentages were 47.9 and 40.1. There was clearly a difference. I chose KONDA because KONDA existed for almost 25 years and is also used by the national and international press as source.³¹

A Gezi platform was constructed to represent the protestors and discuss their demands with the government. On June 5, 2013, the protesters had talks with Deputy Prime Minister Bülent Arınç. Their demands were as follows:

- Gezi Park had to stay and protests should be allowed in Taksim
- The project of the shopping mall in the form of an artillery barracks must be cancelled
- The Atatürk Cultural Center must remain

³⁰ Şeval Ünlü Gök. Politikayı deneyimleyen bir toplumsal hareket olarak Gezi direnişi. Accessed January 4, 2014. <http://www.google.nl/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=2&ved=0CCgQFjAB&url=http%3Apercent2Fpercent2Fmarmara.edu.tr%2Fmarmarabdp%2Farticle%2Fdownload%2F5000040067%2F5000038907&ei=1a5PVLSoHYGTPLb8gcAD&usg=AFQjCNFis02PsISBYHEE414cPJKZOt3H6g>

³¹ Konda. 'Gezi raporu: Toplumun 'Gezi Parkı Olayları' algısı Gezi Parkındakiler kimlerdi?' Accessed May 6, 2014. http://www.konda.com.tr/tr/raporlar/KONDA_GeziRaporu2014.pdf; Dünya Gezi'yi konuşuyor!, Habertürk, June 3, 2013, seen December 15, 2014, <http://www.haberturk.com/dunya/haber/849453-dunya-geziyi-konusuyor>; Polisten bir günde ikinci Gezi müdahalesi, *Hürriyet*, May 31, 2013, seen December 15, 2014, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/23405437.asp>; Ümit Ünüvar, Deniz Yılmaz, İlker Özyıldırım, Levent Kutlu ve Şebnem Korur Fincancı, 'Gezi Parkı Süreci Kapsamında Türkiye İnsan Hakları Vakfı Olgularının Tıbbi Değerlendirilmesi,' İnsan Hakları Vakfı, Accessed December 15, 2014, <http://www.insanhaklarisavunuculari.org/dokumantasyon/files/original/bc1427bb041b4c3830c07da53bd2a5bb.pdf>; 'İl ve İlçelere Göre Önceki Seçim Sonuçları,' secim.haberler.com, accessed January 30, 2015, <http://secim.haberler.com/>.

- The three governors and the police chiefs responsible for wounding the protestors should be dismissed
- The use of gas bombs etc. should be banned
- People arrested during the protests must be released
- The right to demonstrate freely anywhere in Turkey should be recognized
- Diversity among people should be accepted and tolerated
- Freedom of expression.³²

Arıncı refused the demands of the Taksim Platform. He stressed that Turkey is a constitutional state and that people cannot easily be dismissed or released and that people can not always do what they want in Turkey in the year 2013. According to him, it was not possible to fulfil these expectations.³³

On June 14, 2014, the Taksim platform and a number of artists went to negotiations with Prime Minister himself. This time the outcome was more positive. The decision was that the "Taksim project" would be transferred to the court and the decision of the judge would be followed by the government. If the judge decided to stop the project, that would happen then. And if the judge decided to continue project, then there would be a referendum about the project. Until the decision of the judge, the project was to be paused. Those who had used violence would also be condemned. The government felt that the protests had to stop after this decision.³⁴

The scale and frequency of demonstrations decreased in the summer.³⁵

³² 'Taksim Platformu taleplerini açıkladı' BBC Türkçe, 5 June, 2013, seen on 2 January, 2015, http://www.bbc.co.uk/turkce/haberler/2013/06/130605_taksim_platformu; 'Başbakan Erdoğan'dan "Taksim" randevusu' Anadolu Ajansı, 10 June, 2013, seen on 2 January, 2015, <http://www.aa.com.tr/tr/tag/191659--arinc>; 'Taksim Platformu'nun Hükümet'ten talepleri,' *Sabah*, 6 June, 2013, seen on 2 January, 2015, <http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2013/06/06/taksim-platformunun-hukumetten-talepleri>

³³ 'Başbakan Erdoğan'dan "Taksim" randevusu' Anadolu Ajansı, 10 June, 2013, seen on 2 January, 2015, <http://www.aa.com.tr/tr/tag/191659--arinc>

³⁴ 'Hükümetin son Taksim Gezi Parkı kararı,' Bugün, 14 June, 2013, seen on 2 January, 2015, <http://gundem.bugun.com.tr/hukümetin-son-karari-haberi/663130>

³⁵ Emre Kongar and Aykut Küçükaya, *Türkiye'yi sarsan otuz gün. Gezi direnişi* (İstanbul: Yazın basın yayın matbaacılık, 2013), 189;

Chapter 2. Civil Resistance

‘Gezi is a demonstration of citizens – an expression of civilian resistance, staged in the streets and occupying local squares. It is a public movement. As in the case of the 1968 movements in France, Gezi distinguishes itself as a youth movement, with its own generational characteristics,’ wrote Nilüfer Göle in her work *‘Gezi – Anatomy of a Public Square Movement’*.³⁶

The theory of ‘civil resistance’ will be discussed below because many characteristics of the Gezi protests fit this theory. Civil Resistance can be defined as a sort of political action that relies on the use of non-violent methods. It is largely associated with terms like ‘non-violent action’, ‘non-violent resistance’, and ‘people’s power’. It involves a series of widespread and sustained activities and challenges a particular power, force, policy, or regime — hence the term ‘resistance’. The word ‘civil’ in this context denotes that which pertains to a citizen or society, implying that a movement’s goals are ‘civil’ in the sense of being widely shared in a society; it also denotes that the action concerned is non-military or non-violent in character.³⁷ The character of the Gezi protests was also in general non-violent.³⁸

Civil resistance, precursors of which can be found throughout history, has been used in many types of struggle in modern times: for example, against colonialism, foreign occupations, military coups d’état, dictatorial regimes, electoral malpractice, corruptions, and racial, religious, and gender discrimination. Civil resistance will not only be used against tyrannical rule, but also against democratically elected governments, over such issues as maintenance of the key elements of the constitutional order, preservation of regional autonomy within a country, defense of minority rights, environmental protection, and opposition to involvement in certain military interventions and wars.³⁹ Ghandi used the term on many occasions, including in an article in the weekly paper *Young India* in 1921 — one of a series in which he

³⁶ Nilüfer Göle, ‘Gezi – Anatomy of a Public Square Movement,’ *Insight Turkey* 15 (2013): 7-14, accessed August 30, 2014, http://file.insightturkey.com/Files/Pdf/it15_03_2013_gole.pdf.

³⁷ Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash, *Civil Resistance & power politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 2.

³⁸ Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash, *Civil Resistance & power politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 3.

³⁹ Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash, *Civil Resistance & power politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 3.

set out his ideas for resisting British rule in India.⁴⁰ The term is also used by Charles Tilly for the fall of the Berlin Wall. And there are many other examples of civil resistance.⁴¹

Civil resistance, which has occurred in different forms throughout history, has become particularly prominent in the past hundred years. Two important causes — decolonization, and racial equality — have been characterized by campaigns of civil resistance with the extensive use of non-violent action. So have many other causes: workers' rights, protection of the environment (this was the motivation of 20.4 percent in the case of the Gezi protests), gender equality, religious and indigenous rights, defense of national cultures and political systems against foreign encroachments, and opposition to wars and weaponry. Civil resistance was one factor in the ending of communist party rule in many countries in 1989-91, and hence, in ending the Cold War. The world today has been significantly shaped by this mode of political action.⁴²

Civil resistance operates through different mechanisms of change. These are not limited to attempts to appeal to the adversary. They can involve pressure and coercion by increasing the costs to the adversary of pursuing particular policies, wakening the adversary's capacity to pursue a particular policy, or even completely undermining the adversary's sources of legitimacy and power, either domestic or international. A purpose of many campaigns is to bring about dissension and defections in the adversary's regime and its basis of support. Forms of action can be very different and have included demonstrations, vigils, petitions, strikes, go-slows, boycotts, sit-ins, occupations, and the creation of parallel institutions of government.⁴³ In the case of the Gezi protests, we can speak about demonstrations, sit-ins, and occupation of the Gezi Park.

There is no assumption that the adversary power at which civil resistance is aimed necessarily refrains from resorting to violence: civil resistance has been used in some cases in which the adversary has been susceptible to the use of violence. Often the reasons for a movement's

⁴⁰ Nilüfer Göle, 'Gezi – Anatomy of a Public Square Movement,' *Insight Turkey* 15 (2013): 7-14, accessed August 30, 2014, http://file.insightturkey.com/Files/Pdf/it15_03_2013_gole.pdf.

⁴¹ Charles Tilly. *Social movements, 1768-2008* (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2009), 76-77.

⁴² Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash, *Civil Resistance & power politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 2; Konda. 'Gezi raporu: Toplumun 'Gezi Parkı Olayları' algısı Gezi Parkındakiler kimlerdi?' Accessed May 6, 2014. http://www.konda.com.tr/tr/raporlar/KONDA_GeziRaporu2014.pdf; Altınparmak, Münibe Altınparmak. Interview by author. Tape recording. İstanbul, May 25, 2014.

⁴² Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash, *Civil Resistance & power politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 3.

⁴³ Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash, *Civil Resistance & power politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 3.

avoidance of violence are related to the context, rather than to any ethical principle: they may spring from a society's traditions of political action, from its experience of war and violence, from legal considerations, from a desire to expose the adversary's violence as unprovoked, or from calculations that civil resistance would be more likely than violent means to achieve success in the particular situation that is faced.⁴⁴

Nonviolent campaigns have a participation advantage over violent insurgencies, because of their lower participation barriers, which is an important factor in determining the outcomes of a campaign. The moral, physical, informational, and commitment barriers to participation are much lower for nonviolent resistance than for a violent revolt. Because they can directly participate without meeting certain requirements and because it is much less dangerous in most cases. Higher levels of participation contribute to a number of mechanisms necessary for success, higher probabilities of tactical innovation, expanded civic disruption (thereby raising the costs to the regime of maintaining the *status quo*), and loyalty shifts involving the opponent's former supporters, including members of the security forces. Mobilization among local supporters is a more reliable source of power than the support of external allies, which many violent campaigns must obtain to compensate for their lack of participants.⁴⁵

The explanation of the effectiveness of nonviolent resistance is as follows: nonviolent campaigns facilitate the active participation of many more people than violent campaigns, thereby broadening the base of resistance and raising the costs to opponents of maintaining the *status quo*.⁴⁶

The participation of the mass of civilians in a nonviolent campaign is more likely to backfire against repression, encourage loyalty shifts among the supporters of the current regime, and provide resistance leaders with a more diverse menu of tactical and strategic choices.⁴⁷ And by violence resistance it is often argued, for instance, that violent insurgencies provide

⁴⁴ Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash, *Civil Resistance & power politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 3.

⁴⁵ Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan, *Why civil resistance works* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 10,11, 34.

⁴⁶ Mehtap Doğan. 'Kırmızılı, Siyahlı, Başörtülü, Sapanlı Kadınlar...' Accessed May 6, 2014. <http://www.sosyalistfeministkolektif.org/guencel/kad-nlar-n-gezi-direnisi/865-k-rm-z-l-siyahl-basoertuelue-sapanl-kad-nlar.html>.

⁴⁷ Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan, *Why civil resistance works* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 10,11, 34.

immediate results, such as loot, prestige, score setting, or territorial gains that give them more appeal than nonviolent resistance.⁴⁸

The psychosocial dimensions of participation in armed conflict have attracted a great deal of attention. Frantz Fanon, a Martinique-born Afro-French psychiatrist, advocated armed resistance on the grounds that it bestows feelings of communal solidarity through actively fighting against injustice while being willing to die for a cause greater than self. Violence may have its own attraction, especially for young people, for whom the allure may be further perpetuated by cultural references and religious defense of martyrdom.

Despite its appeal, the choice for violence is rare on both individual and group levels and, therefore, may not have the allure that for example Fanon ascribe to it. On the whole, physical, informational, commitment, and moral considerations tend to give nonviolent campaigns an advantage when it comes to mobilizing participants, which reinforces the strategic benefits to participation.⁴⁹

According to the American political scientist Erica Chenoweth and the Maria J. Stephan, policy fellow at the United States Institute of Peace, the average nonviolent campaign has over 200,000 members (this was much more by the Gezi protests as we read in the introduction), this is about 150,000 more active participants than the average violent campaign.⁵⁰

An example of the success of non-violent resistance is the Iranian Revolution of 1977-1979. Although violent insurgencies such as those of the Fedayeen and Mujahedeen had resisted the Shah since the 1960s, they were able to attract only several thousand followers. The Shah's regime crushed the armed groups before they reached change in the regime. The nonviolent revolution that emerged between 1977 and 1978 attracted several million participants and included nationwide protests and boycotts involving all sectors of society that the economy had shut down and overthrown the Shah's most important pillars of support.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan, *Why civil resistance works* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 34.

⁴⁹ Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan, *Why civil resistance works* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 34.

⁵⁰ Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan, *Why civil resistance works* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 34.

⁵¹ Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan, *Why civil resistance works* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 34.

An important question about civil resistance is how far it can succeed against extreme repression. An example for answering this question is the uprising against the Shah of Iran in 1979. Millions took part in strikes and demonstrations despite mass shootings, and the final defection of the military toppled the Shah. It could therefore be interpreted as a success for civil resistance.⁵²

However, resistance campaigns are not guaranteed to succeed simply because they are nonviolent. Non-violent campaigns fail when they are unable to overcome the challenge of participation, when they fail to recruit a powerful, diverse, and broad-based membership that can weaken the power base of the adversary. The question of what constitutes success or failure of civil resistance may have no immediate or obvious answer. Regime change can be noted as one of the success factors of civil resistance⁵³

The transitions that occur in the wake of successful nonviolent resistance movements create much more durable and internally peaceful democracies than transitions provoked by violent insurgencies. On the whole, nonviolent resistance campaigns are more effective in getting results and, once they have succeeded, more likely to establish democratic regimes with a lower probability of a relapse into civil war.⁵⁴

In the next chapters we will see that characteristics of the Gezi protests fit in the civil resistance theory.

⁵² Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan, *Why civil resistance works* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 38-40.

⁵³ Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan, *Why civil resistance works* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 11; Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash, *Civil Resistance & power politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 1; Peter Ackerman, 'Skills or conditions: what key factors shape the success or failure of civil resistance?', *University of Oxford* (2007), <http://cddrl.fsi.stanford.edu/sites/default/files/skills.pdf>; Sharon Erickson Nepstad, 'Nonviolent Resistance in the Arab Spring: The Critical Role of Military-Opposition Alliances,' *Swiss Political Science Review* 17 (2011): 485-491, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1662-6370.2011.02043.x/full>

⁵⁴ Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan, *Why civil resistance works* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 10-11.

Chapter 3: What kind of women's organizations participated in the Gezi protests?

From the first day when people stayed in the Gezi Park to 'protect a few trees' and the tents were built in the park, women were active in this movement. After a few days, when the protest turned into a rebellion, it was already seen that it was not only the movement of men, neighborhood or team fans, heterosexuals, or white Turks. White Turks is a term used in Turkey for the urban Republican elite.⁵⁵ But also, and maybe more, the movement of women, because women were the most at the forefront in these protests. For example, symbols of the Gezi protests were the woman in red and the woman in black. Let's take a look to some women's organizations that participated in the protests and then to their motivations.

As mentioned in the introduction, five different women's organizations were used or this investigation, namely, İmece, Yoğurtçu Kadın Forumu, Barış İçin Kadın Girişimi, Sosyalist Feminist Kolektif, Antikapitalist Müslümanlar. In what follows, we will describe what these women's organizations stand for and what it makes different from each other.

To start with İmece in Esenyurt, a district at the European side of Istanbul, this organization İmece was founded in 2001 by a group of organized women who were struggling against male domination and capitalism. İmece means the mandatory and voluntary work of villages that was performed by the joint labor of rural communities.⁵⁶ İmece's website says the following:

*We were first women with our bodies and after that women with our 'labor'. Because of this characteristic, we women were always most deeply injured by each social injustice, economic inequality, unemployment, and other issues. Because of this, we had founded a women's organization that accepted poor and laboring women as its central subject.*⁵⁷



Figure 3: We are not 'Cinderellas', we are paid household workers
Ankara 2011, May 17 Source: www.kadinlarinimecesi.org

⁵⁵ Nuray Sancar, *Sıcak Haziran: sonraki direnişe mektup* (İstanbul: Evrensel Basım Yayın, 2013), 293; 'A new class of Hybrid Turks emerging between White and Black Turks,' *Sunday's Zaman*, August 5, 2012, http://www.todayszaman.com/national_a-new-class-of-hybrid-turks-emerging-between-white-and-black-turks_288628.html

⁵⁶ 'İmece sözlükteki anlamları,' Türkçebilgi, accessed June 1, 2014, <http://www.turkcebilgi.com/sozluk/imece>

⁵⁷ *Biz kadınlar olarak önce bedenimizle sonra emeğimizin özgün tanımıyla 'kadın' oluyorduk. Bu özelliğimiz nedeniyle her toplumsal adaletsizlik, ekonomik eşitsizlik, işsizlik ve benzeri konularda en derinden yaralananlar olarak biz kadınlar hissediyorduk. Bu nedenle yoksul emekçi kadınları merkez özne olarak kabul eden bir kadın örgütü olmalıydık.*

Gandhi maintained that civil resistance may also be used to combat structural violence; that is, diffuse or systemic injustices and inequalities imbedded in institutions or social relations that prevent people from meeting basic human needs. By this we can think of unemployment among women mentioned above and inequalities among man and women what is mentioned more often.⁵⁸

İmece also struggle against capitalism because:

*Sovereign capitalist power was implementing neoliberal policies on a global scale. The results of the structural transformation of capitalism and neo-liberal policies have become more visible and tangible after the nineties in Turkey. The capitalist system that fed male dominance and used gendered relations for their own benefit also put the labor force, especially that of women, off the record in the production-exploitation relations.*⁵⁹

İmece wrote that they are a female group consisting of women from different professions. They are working in poor neighborhoods, primarily, by performing home visits. Thus, they present themselves as poor laboring women's organization on their website. During these home visits, they try to raise women's awareness of their rights.

They describe their members as follows:

*While today a part of the women of İmece are educated and 'employed' women, some are housewives. Some of them are doing piecework at home and some of them are doing paid household work. Some of them are working in a confection shop and some of them in the factories in their neighborhood. While there are few high school students, there are also young female university students. Everyone is from somewhere: Ardahan, Ağrı, Sinop, Batman, Tokat, Amasya, Yozgat, Zonguldak, Diyarbakır.*⁶⁰

They wrote that they have chosen for Esenyurt because Esenyurt is a poor neighborhood located in the middle of rich neighborhoods and is growing with immigration from all over

⁵⁸ Kurt Schock, "The practice and study of civil resistance", *Journal of Peace Research* 50 (2013): 277–290.

⁵⁹ *Kapitalist egemen güçler yeni liberal politikaları küresel ölçekte hayata geçiriyordu. Kapitalizmin yapısal dönüşümü ve yeni liberal politikaların sonuçları 90'lardan sonra Türkiye'de de iyice görünür, hissedilir hale gelmişti. Erkek egemenliğinden beslenen ve toplumsal cinsiyetçi ilişkileri kendi faydası için yeniden üreten kapitalist sistem üretim-sömürü ilişkilerinde de, kadınlar başta olmak üzere emek gücünü kayıt dışına atıyordu.*

⁶⁰ *Bugün İmeceli kadınların bir kısmı okumuş 'meslek sahibi' kadınlarken, kimi ev kadını. Kimi evde parça başı iş yapıyor. Kimi gündeliğe gidiyor. Kimi tekstilde ya da çevredeki fabrikalarda çalışıyor. Lisede okuyanlar, az sayıda da olsa üniversite de okuyan genç kadınlar da var. Herkes bir yerden; Ardahanlı, Ağrılı, Sinoplu, Batmanlı, Tokatlı, Amasyalı, Yozgatlı, Zonguldaklı, Diyarbakırlı...*

Turkey. Because the poor and migrants are pushed to the edge, the population of Esenyurt continues to swell.⁶¹

From the website, it can be inferred that İmece focuses on lower-class working women and that they fight against male dominance, capitalism, and economic inequality of women.

The next organization, Yoğurtçu Kadın Forumu, was founded in June 2013 by a group of women who attended the Gezi protests and is located near the Yoğurtçu Parkı in Kadıköy, hence the name Yoğurtçu Kadın Forumu. On April 2, 2014 the present researcher went to a movie night of Yoğurtçu Kadın Forumu for interviews. It was noticeable there were women of different age groups, political beliefs, and origins within Turkey. They want a Turkey with various people like Turks, Kurds, Armenians, homosexuals, and so on. Womanhood is the most important thing for them. Almost all women drank wine on this night, so it can be assumed that no strongly believing women are members of the organization. Their demands and activities are provided in Appendix 2, Figures 4-5. The front page of their brochure provides the following circumscription:

*We are women who came together during the process that started with the spirit of Gezi and continued with the forums in the parks and decided to organize on the basis of women politics. We first started in June 2013 with our meetings on our mattresses, under our trees that we decorated with rainbow colors and, since that day, we continue to meet every Wednesday as Yoğurtçu Kadın Forumu.*⁶²



Figure 4: These are pictures of the meetings of Yoğurtçu Kadın Forumu on their folder. See appendix 2 figure 10.

⁶¹ 'Esenyurt'un Yolları Taştan...', İmece Kadın Dayanışma Derneği, accessed October 2, 2014, <http://www.kadinlarinimecesi.org/article.php?id=10>

⁶² *Biz Gezi ruhuyla başlayan ve park forumlarıyla devam eden süreçte bir araya gelerek, kadın politikası üzerinden örgütlenme yolu seçen kadınlarız. İlk olarak Haziran 2013'te şiltelerimizin üzerinde, gökkuşağı renkleri ile süslediğimiz ağacımızın altında toplanmaya başladık ve o günden itibaren Yoğurtçu Kadın Forumu olarak her Çarşamba toplanmaya devam ediyoruz.*

They meet every Wednesday to discuss predefined topics, organize workshops, and organize actions. Of course all to do with women. In the folder, they emphasize that they know that they cannot change the city just by participating in decision-making processes, but when they do not do so they see that women are (still) discriminated. They describe their purpose as follows:

*We want to be able to walk the streets any time of the day, we want an Istanbul and Kadıköy where we are not concerned about harassment rape and life safety, where we do not encounter male violence, where we can go to a shelter to escape home violence, where we can easily access basic services, where we are aware of income and expenses and where we can interfere with this, and where we are not held solely responsible for care and household duties.*⁶³

As can be inferred from the above, Yoğurtçu Kadın Forumu is worried about the life safety of women in the streets, rape and harassment of women, and social inequality of men and women.

The third organization considered in the present thesis is Barış İçin Kadın Girişimi (Women's Initiative for Peace). As suggested by its name, it is a women's organization in İstanbul that fights for peace. Barış İçin Kadın Girişimi was founded in İstanbul in May 2009. They are a group of women who fight against war and male dominance. They explained their origins on their website as follows:

*Barış için Kadın Girişimi was formed with the experiences of women who fought for peace together with the women have come together from different visions and different environments after many women from Woman Free Democratic Movement, BDP (Peace and Democracy Party), and KESK (Confederation of Public Workers' Unions) were arrested in sequence in 2009, with whom we were fighting together against the male dominance system and war.*⁶⁴

⁶³ *Sokaklarda günün her saati gezebildiğimiz, taciz tecavüz ve can güvenliği endişesi taşımadığımız, erkek şiddetine uğramadığımız, evdeki şiddetten kurtulmak için sığınağa gidebildiğimiz, temel hizmetlere kolayca erişebildiğimiz, gelir ve giderlerinden haberdar olduğumuz, bunlara müdahale edebildiğimiz, bakım hizmetlerinden, ev işlerinden tek başımıza sorumlu tutulmadığımız İstanbul'da, bir Kadıköy'de yaşamak istiyoruz.*

See appendix 3 figure 12.

⁶⁴ *Barış İçin Kadın Girişimi geçmiş yıllarda kadınların barış mücadelesinin tecrübeleriyle 2009 yılında erkek egemen sisteme ve savaşa karşı birlikte mücadele ettiğimiz Demokratik Özgür Kadın Hareketinden, BDP' den ve KESK'ten çok sayıda kadının ardı ardına tutuklanması üzerine farklı kesimlerden ve görüşlerden kadınların bir araya gelmesiyle kuruldu.*

Furthermore, they explained their aims as an organization on their website as follows:

*Barış İçin Kadın Girişimi is established to show the link between war and the presence of soldier-guards and state violence against Kurdish women and the increase of poverty and male violence against women and we battle against this. We are trying to establish a permanent peace as we are confident that violence against women will not diminish until the war ends.*⁶⁵

Then, they explained against what they are fighting:

*As women who live in the same country and are affected by the same violence, from different political and social backgrounds, from different identities, different beliefs, and different sexual orientations, we have been struggling for years against war and male dominated violence. We know what war means for women.*⁶⁶

They fought by protesting in the form of constructing stands (what they call ‘Peace Points’) at different places in Istanbul. We can read on their website:

*Since our establishment we have been trying to transform streets, houses, schools, and workplaces into Peace Points to voice the demand for peace to the whole country and pave the way for peace.*⁶⁷

They also gathered information about what can be done to empower women with the budget that is allocated for the war, for example, increasing shelters, securing employment, education and health facilities etc. They also organized forums, workshops, and talked with women groups about what can be done for peace. They also talked with deputies about the information they gathered. They explained their work on their website as follows:

⁶⁵ *Barış İçin Kadın Girişimi hem Kürt Kadınlara yönelik asker-korucu, devlet şiddetinin varlığının, hem de tüm ülkede kadına yönelik erkek şiddetinin ve yoksulluğun artışının savaşa olan doğrudan bağlantısını ortaya koymak ve mücadele etmek için kuruldu. Savaş sona ermeden kadınlara yönelik şiddetin azalmayacağını tespit ettiğimiz için kalıcı bir barışın kurulması için çalışıyoruz.*

⁶⁶ *Bu ülkede yaşayan ve aynı şiddetten etkilenen, farklı politik ve sosyal çevrelerden, farklı kimliklerden, farklı inançlardan, farklı cinsel yönelimlerden kadınlar olarak yıllardır savaşa ve erkek egemen şiddete karşı mücadele ediyoruz. Savaşın kadınlar için ne anlama geldiğini biliyoruz.*

⁶⁷ *Barış için Kadın Girişimi 2009 yılının Mayıs ayında kuruldu. O günden beri barış talebini bütün ülkede yükseltmek ve barışın yolunu açmak için sokakları, evleri, okulları, işyerlerini barış noktaları haline getirmeye çalışıyoruz.*

‘Barış İçin Kadın Girişimi-mayıs 2009,’ Barış İçin Kadın Girişimi, accessed October 2, 2014, http://www.barisicinkadinlar.com/baris/haber_detay.asp?haberID=169

*We have made studies to identify the direct and indirect damages of war on Kurdish and Turkish women. We have told our own experiences, but we have also listened to various testimonies about to what extent forced migration, the social exclusion of women who migrate to urban areas caused by the lack of access to education in their mother tongue, the militarist, racist, and sexist social touch of the war increase the social trauma. We took the different dimensions of the impact of war on women.*⁶⁸

Thus, as can be concluded from their website, Barış İçin Kadın Girişimi fights against war and male dominance.

The fourth organization contacted during the present investigation is Sosyalist Feminist Kolektif (SFK) that was founded in 2008 by a group of women who shared the critical perspective on the current state of feminism in Turkey. Their website reads as follows:

As women who believed that gender equality was more than legal reforms, international agreements, and employment packages, we had a two-fold aim: developing an analysis of patriarchal capitalism, at the core of which stands the category of women's labor, and establishing a solid basis for not only socialist but all anti-systemic feminists to organize and become a 'collective political subject' pursuing their independent agenda.

As of today, Sosyalist Feminist Kolektif has 300 members who are active in five cities in Turkey: Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Adana, and Eskişehir. They are organized in issue-based or permanent commissions in which members take part on the basis of rotation. They publish a quarterly journal *Feminist Politika* ('Feminist Politics'). In doing so, they wish to open their political discussions to a broader feminist audience, as well as to provide a ground where different feminist voices outside of their circle can be heard. We can read on their website:

This enhances the pluralist character of feminist struggle. To keep our political agenda independent of men, capital and the state, we don't lobby, we refuse to receive funds, and we remain a woman-only team. As we struggle against conservative neoliberalism, we mobilize a growing number of feminists who share the idea that women's liberation is possible only

⁶⁸ *Savaşın Kürt ve Türk kadınlarına yaptığı doğrudan ve dolaylı zararları tespit etmeye yönelik çalışmalar yaptık. Zorunlu göç, kente göç eden kadınların yoksullaşmayla ve anadillerinde eğitim imkanı olmaması nedeniyle sosyal dışlanmışlığı, savaşta militarist, ırkçı ve cinsiyetçi sosyal dokunun kadınlar için toplumsal travmayı ne ölçüde artırdığı gibi hem kendi tecrübelerimizi dile getirdik, hem çeşitli tanıklıkları dinledik. Savaşın kadınlar üzerine etkisini farklı boyutlarıyla ele aldık.*

'tbmm'de siyasi partilerden kadınlarla görüştük-3 temmuz 2013,' Barış İçin Kadın Girişimi, accessed October 2, 2014, <http://www.barisicinkadınlar.com/baris/popup/haber-yazdir.asp?haber=433>

through a revolutionary transformation of gender relations and a total overthrow of male control over women's bodies and labor.

Therefore, Sosyalist Feminist Kolektif are feminists who are fighting against patriarchy.

The last organization considered in the present study is Antikapitalist Müslümanlar ('Anti-capitalist Muslims'). This organization was founded in 2012 in the Fatih district of Istanbul. This is not a women's organization, but an organization of a group of religious Muslims who are against capitalism. However, they also have a women's branch. They fight for the equality of all faith and religion groups. Their website declares the following:



Figure 53: The flag of Antikapitalist Müslümanlar
Source: <http://www.antikapitalistmuslumanlar.org/>

*Antikapitalist Muslims are against the state interference in all forms of faith and worship. We believe that all religious groups like that of the Alevi and others should determine the form of their worship themselves. Whatever their belief or sect, we defend the equality of all human families.*⁶⁹

On their website, Antikapitalist Müslümanlar state that they see each anti-capitalist output and rhetoric as their ally, regardless of their belief or disbelief, their race or language, their color or ideology. They want to share the same platform and combat the environment with them.

They regularly refer to Quranic suras and they say stop to this system by protesting.

Taksim is an area built by the working people with their sweat, blood, and life. We can't leave this area to the ruling people that it will use for their profit. As anti-capitalist Muslims, we don't believe in the value of capital, but in the value of labor and we're going to Taksim square with



Figure 6: Antikapitalist Müslümanlar, Istanbul 2012, May 1
Source: www.anagazete.net

⁶⁹ *Anti kapitalist Müslümanlar, devletin tüm inançlar ve ibadet etme biçimleri üzerinde söz sahibi olmasına karşıdır. Alevilik gibi diğer tüm inanç gruplarının da kendi ibadet koşullarını belirlemesi gerektiğine inanır. İnançları, mezhepleri ve meşrepleri ne olursa olsun, bütün bir insanlık ailesinin eşitliğini savunur.*
Münibe Altınparmak. Interview by author. Tape recording. İstanbul, May 25, 2014.

*our working people.*⁷⁰

Thus, Antikapitalist Müslümanlar are religious Muslims who are fighting against capitalism in the world what brings inequality and violence and.

Thus, from the review above it is clear that while some of the organizations are fighting against inequality between men and women, patriarchalism, rape, and harassment, others are fighting against war and capitalism what also has to do with male dominance.

⁷⁰ *Taksim, emekçi halkların teriyle, kanıyla, canıyla inşa ettiği bir alandır. Bu alanı egemenlerin kar hırslarına aracı kılmak için yaptığı girişimlere teslim edemeyiz. Antikapitalist Müslümanlar olarak sermayenin değil emeğin değer olduğuna inanıyoruz ve biz de emekçi halklarımızla birlikte taksim meydanına çıkıyoruz.*

Münibe Altınparmak. Interview by author. Tape recording. İstanbul, May 25, 2014.

‘ANTİKAPİTALİST MÜSLÜMANLAR’DAN DUYURU,’ Antikapitalist Müslümanlar, accessed October 2, 2014, <http://www.antikapitalistmuslumanlar.org/film.html>

Chapter 4. Sources of Discontent

Some literature and some speculations are available on why women's organizations went to the streets to participate in the protests. In what follows, these speculations will be considered, followed by the analysis of the reasons provided by some women's organizations for taking part in the protests.

According to Bülent Gökay and Ilia Xypolia, the authors of the book of *Reflections on Gezi*, the hegemonic and patriarchal models represented by Erdoğan are criticized by Turkish women's organizations. The public sphere is male-dominated and it is reflected in the slogans of the resistance.⁷¹ According to Nuray Sancar, the writer of the book *Sıcak Haziran*, the most important reason that women were at the foreground during the Gezi protests was the increasingly hostile policies against women since the AKP had come to power. However, according to Sancar, environmental reasons also played a role in the participation of women in protests, such as, for example, authoritarian practices of the AKP government towards public spaces; urban conversion, the pedestrianization of Taksim, the third bridge and airport projects, the privatization of the pier and the road of Besiktas. Sancar contends that the policies of the AKP were not confined to the public space, but also to the private lives of people.⁷² When women should marry, how many children they should have, how they must give birth, whether birth control methods should be used, whether they should work or not and, if so, where to work and whether they may go out in the streets had become discussion points on the AKP agenda. The AKP deputies, ministers, and even Prime Minister himself made it clear that they did not recognize gender equality and implemented policies in this direction. According to Sancar, it is not possible to forget Erdoğan saying that he doesn't believe in the equality of men and women, the words of the AKP deputy Ayhan Sefer Üstün who said that a raped women should not have an abortion, the words of Melih Gökçek, the mayor of Ankara from the AKP saying that woman would not opt for an abortion if they are ethical. Moreover, this government would do little to prevent women being murdered or subjected to violence. On the other hand, they protect harassment and rape, instead of encouraging women to participate in social life, economy, politics, and public areas so that to make women independent of their families. Sancar comes to the conclusion that women's

⁷¹ Bülent Gökay and Ilia Xypolia, *Reflections on Taksim – Gezi Park Protests in Turkey* (England: Keele University, 2013), 37.

⁷² Nuray Sancar, *Sıcak Haziran: sonraki direnişe mektup* (İstanbul: Evrensel Basım Yayın, 2013), 293-294.

rights activists protested against these kinds of female body politics during the Gezi protests.⁷³

Asım Karaömerlioğlu, wrote some articles on the topic. Karaömerlioğlu says that one of the most important reasons why women's organizations participated the Gezi protests was the demand of Erdoğan for three children per family. According to Karaömerlioğlu, the AKP government sees the population as the treasure of the country and, therefore, requests that women should give birth to at least three children and implements policies in this direction. Fertility directly relates to sexuality and the female body and, therefore, the government increasingly intervenes into these private areas. Therefore, the state imposes a series of demands, such as prescribing the number of children per family, claiming abortion to be a 'murder', giving the morning after pill only with a prescription from a doctor, 'announcing' pregnancy to the families with the phone by the hospital "to maintain the health of the mother and the child under control", prescribing how women should give birth, 'protecting' the genes of the generations from such harmful things as alcohol and cultivating the long-awaited (religious) generation.⁷⁴

According to Karaömerlioğlu, it is naive to think that the abortion discussion is an ordinary discussion. The AKP did not foresee that this kind of private issue also has a serious disadvantage, because these things are affecting all social classes and affecting also religious people. This can bring women from different environments together to demonstrate for a common interest because abortion has to do with birth and birth with all women. According to Karaömerlioğlu, when we look from this perspective to the Gezi protests, we can understand the broad and different social alliances there.⁷⁵

According to the literature discussed above, in addition to environmental reasons, women's organizations protested during the Gezi protests also against patriarchalism, the female body politics of the AKP, and against the 'protection' of harassment and rape by the AKP.

We have considered five women's organizations to see why women's organizations in Istanbul participated the Gezi protests and started with İmece. İmece said in the interviews

⁷³ Nuray Sancar, *Sıcak Haziran: sonraki direnişe mektup* (İstanbul: Evrensel Basım Yayın, 2013), 294.

⁷⁴ Asım Karaömerlioğlu. 'Nüfus 'Mühendisliğinden' Gezi Parkı Direnişine.' Accessed January 4, 2014. <http://asimkaraomerlioglu.com/blog/2013/07/atesle-oynamanin-cilveleri-nufus-muhendisliginden-gezi-direnisine/>; 'Aile hekiminden bekar genç kız babasına şok cep mesajı: Tebrikler kızınız hamile', *Hürriyet*, June 25, 2012, accessed December 15, 2014,

⁷⁵ Asım Karaömerlioğlu. 'Nüfus 'Mühendisliğinden' Gezi Parkı Direnişine.' Accessed January 4, 2014. <http://asimkaraomerlioglu.com/blog/2013/07/atesle-oynamanin-cilveleri-nufus-muhendisliginden-gezi-direnisine/>

that they went out to the streets not only during the Gezi protests, but also on March 8, International Women's Day, and Labor Day, May 1st and so on. Tülay, a volunteer at İmece, said:

We already went into the streets before the Gezi protests for the abortion ban. There was already a women's opposition before the Gezi protests against the birth policy. I think that so many women participated in the Gezi protests because the AKP is now openly stating everywhere their policies on women's bodies. And finally there was an eruption of discontent at the Gezi protests in cause of the abortion ban and how many children we have to give birth to. Our struggle is not against the AKP, but against the current system. It seems that we oppose the AKP a bit because it represents this at the moment. There isn't a quota for women in the parliament. Even the discussion of the headscarf in the parliament was led by men. And, as you know, we focus on labor workers. There are no social security and pension rights. They are working in entirely deplorable working conditions and can lose their lives through work accidents. These were also among our demands. Beyond that, we also request the elimination of gender policies in education and then, in terms of political representation, the introduction of quota for women.⁷⁶

Tülay explained the slogans on the İmece's banners 'Don't use gas but open a crèche', 'A life without Tayyip, gas, and harassment', and 'We are struggling at Gezi'.

Preparation of the cities adapted to women. Monitoring everything with street lamps or implementing local policies adapted to women. There are dark alleys in many places and women there are either assaulted or raped. Gender equality commissions should be formed. Free nursery care for children should be opened because women cannot work or cannot

⁷⁶ *Geziden önce zaten kürtaj için sokağa çıkmıştık. Geziden önce de zaten kadınların bir muhalefeti vardı bu doğum politikası'yla ilgili. Bence kadınların Gezide o kadar çok olması artık AKP'nin kadın bedeni üzerinde yürüttüğü politikaları açık açık her yerde söylemesi. Ve en sonunda kürtajla birlikte ve kaç çocuk doğuracağımızla ilgili Gezide bir patlama oldu. Direnişimiz AKP'ye karşı değil şu an ki sisteme karşı. Ak parti bunu şu an temsil ettiği için biraz ona karşı gibi gözüküyor. Mecliste bir kota yok kadınlar için. Başörtü tartışmasını bile mecliste erkekler yönetti. Ve biliyorsun biz bugün emek işçileri'yle ilgili çalışıyoruz. Sosyal güvence ve emeklilik hakları yok. Tamamen kötü şartlarda çalışıyorlar ve iş kazası geçirip yaşamlarını yitirebiliyorlar. Taleplerimiz arasında bunlar vardı. Onun dışında eğitimdeki cinsiyetçi politikaların kaldırılması. Sonra siyasi temsil anlamında kadınlara kotanın gelmesi. Tülay Korkutan. İmece Kadın Dayanışma Derneği. Interview by Zehra Kaya. Tape recording. Istanbul, April 24, 2014.*

*participate in associations or protests when they are babysitting. Many of our requests are in this direction.*⁷⁷

Yoğurtçu Kadın Forumu said that they had more reasons to join the Gezi protests, such as the abortion law, patriarchal system, and harassment. However, the first reason of their participation in the protests was urban transformation. Aysun Eğerek, a volunteer of Yoğurtçu Kadın Forumu, explained this:

*There are many reasons why we joined the Gezi protests. The policies of the AKP government with respect to the female body over the last period and again policies like the abortion law that controls women's bodies. Maybe, because of the policies pushing women back into their families and reducing women exclusively to unifiers of the family. Already with saying that the female bird makes the family the AKP shows that they have a women's policy. We're refusing family formation a little. We believe that family is a part of the patriarchal system and, therefore, we see women as separate subjects. We do not place a woman in the family. We see a woman as an individual.*⁷⁸

Another volunteer of Yoğurtçu Kadın Forumu, Filiz Karakuş, said:

I actually saw on Twitter that the trees were cut down there and the advent of heavy machines. The first reason why I participated in the protests was urban transformation; plundering of nature, and the transformation of Taksim. My first participation was for the park. At the moment when these protests turned from Taksim events to AKP protests, I



Figure 7: The tent of SFK at the Gezi Park, Istanbul
Source: sosyalistfeministkolektif.org

⁷⁷ Kentlerin kadınlara dönük hazırlanması. Bütün herşeyi sokak lambalarıyla veya yerel politikaların kadınlara dönük politika izlemeleri. Bir çok yerde karanlık sokaklar var ve kadınlar orda ya tacize ya tecavüze uğruyorlar. Kadın erkek eşitliği komisyonları kurulsun. Ücretsiz kreşler açılın çünkü kadınlar çocuklara bakarken çalışmıyorlar veya eylemlere derneklere gelemiyorlar. Bir çok talebimiz bu yönde. Tülay Korkutan. İmece Kadın Dayanışma Derneği. Interview by Zehra Kaya. Tape recording. Istanbul, April 24, 2014.

⁷⁸ Bizim Gezi protestolarına katılmamızın pek çok nedeni var. AKP hükümetinin bu son dönemde kadın bedeni üzerinde yürüttüğü politikalar ve kürtaj yasalarıyla gelen yine kadın bedenini kontrol altına alan politikalar. Belkide kadınları daha çok aile içine sıkıştıran politikaları ve kadını ailenin bir kurucusu olarak gören politikaları yüzünden. Zaten AKP aileyi dışı kuş yapar diyerek kadınların üzerinden yürüttüğü bir şey var. Biz aileyi biraz reddeden taraftan bakıyoruz. Biz ailenin ataerkil sistemin bir parçası olduğunu düşünüyoruz ve kadını o yüzden ayrı bir özne olarak görüyoruz. Kadını aile içinde konumlamıyoruz. Bir birey olarak görüyoruz yani. Filiz Karakuş and Aysun Eğerek. Yoğurtçu Kadın Forumu. Interview by Zehra Kaya. Tape recording. Istanbul, April 2, 2014.

was there for female demands. We wanted an air space without Tayyip and harassment. An airspace without Tayyip because he meddles too much with women's life by saying abortion is a murder,⁷⁹ three children, five children, seven children,⁸⁰ no matter if it is a woman or a girl^{81, 82}.

Barış İçin Kadın Girişimi provided different reasons than the (women's) organizations presented above. Hilal Alkan, a volunteer at Barış İçin Kadın Girişimi and a faculty member at the 29 Mayıs University department of politics, said the following:

Barış İçin Kadın Girişimi participated in the protests to tell about peace because so many people were together. Basically, to take a role by ensuring the Turkish-Kurdish peace, and ensuring its socialization. But, even more importantly, ensuring the inclusion of women in this peace process. In general, women are being pushed aside in the matters of peace, while war is a women's issue at the same time.⁸³

On their banners stood 'Do not touch my body', 'Do not touch my headscarf', 'The boulevard (Cadde) is ours'. Alkan explains these banners:

So we've heard about the incident in Kabataş,⁸⁴ but we heard also that that the woman does not want to talk about it in public. That's why her name and this event would not be mentioned in any way. But, at the same time, a lot of our friends, outside of the Gezi Park at

⁷⁹ 'Erdoğan: Kürtaj cinayettir', NTVMSNBC, 25 May, 2012, seen on 4 January, 2014, <http://www.ntvmsnbc.com/id/25352507/>

⁸⁰ 'Erdoğan: İş işten geçmeden en az 3 çocuk', NTVMSNBC, 10 October, 2009, seen on 4 January, 2014, <http://www.ntvmsnbc.com/id/25008774/>

⁸¹ When a young woman was protesting and came in the media, the prime minister Erdoğan asked openly is she a woman or girl. The word woman stands for a not virgin woman and girl for a virgin woman. This is more an accusation that the young woman doesn't look like a virgin. Filiz Karakuş and Aysun Eğerek. Yoğurtçu Kadın Forumu. Interview by Zehra Kaya. Tape recording. Istanbul, April 2, 2014.

'Başbakan: 'O kadın, kız mıdır kadın mıdır?', CNN TÜRK, 4 June, 2011, seen on 4 January, 2014, <http://www.cnntrk.com/2011/yazarlar/06/04/basbakan.o.kadin.kiz.midir.kadin.midir/618955.0/>

⁸² *Ben aslında Twitter'dan ordaki ağaçların kesildiğini ve iş makinasının geldiğini öğrendim. Benim oraya ilk gitme nedenim genel olarak kentsel dönüşümdü; doğanın yağmalanması ve Taksim dönüşürülmesi. İlk gidişim yani park içindi. Bu protestolar Taksim olayından çıkıp bir AKP protestosuna dönüştüğü zaman orada kadın talepleriyle de var olmaya başladım. Tayyipsiz ve tacizsiz hava sahası istiyorduk. Yani Tayyip'in olmadığı bir hava sahası, çünkü kurtaj cinayettir, üç çocuk, beş çocuk yedi çocuk, kız mı kadın mı belli değil sözleriyle kadınların hayatına çok müdahale ediyor.* Filiz Karakuş and Aysun Eğerek. Yoğurtçu Kadın Forumu. Interview by Zehra Kaya. Tape recording. Istanbul, April 2, 2014.

⁸³ *Barış İçin Kadın Girişimi oraya barışı anlatmak için de katıldı çünkü bir çok insan bir aradaydı. Temel olarak Kürt-Türk barışının sağlanmasında rol almak, onun toplumsallaşmasını sağlamak. Ama bundan daha önemlisi aslında bu barış sürecine kadınların dahil olmasını sağlamak. Genelde kadınlar barış meselelerinde bir kenara itiliyorlar halbuki savaş bir kadın meselesi aynı zamanda.* Hilal Alkan. Barış İçin Kadın Girişimi. Interview by Zehra Kaya. Tape recording. Istanbul, April 28, 2014.

⁸⁴ During the gezi protests the news was spread that a women with a headscarf was harassed by protesters. Nuray Sancar, *Sıcak Haziran: sonraki direnişe mektup* (İstanbul: Evrensel Basım Yayın, 2013), 296.

*different places where the protests take place, had to deal with a wide variety of harassment forms because they were wearing headscarves. Especially at the Bağdat Caddesi, for example. That's why we carried a banner 'Cadde is ours'. There were women who were almost hit by cars, the doors of the shops in which they had fled were pummeled because they wore a headscarf. They were directly considered as the AKPers because they wore headscarves. And some of these women were the women who participated in the protests. Harassment is something that these women experienced throughout their lives. Some are taken from the university. So harassment has thousands kinds of shapes. It was a protest against the government, but not only against the AKP. It was a mass of protests against government policies. So, the protests were more against the state and sexism. And in society a change in patriarchy is nowhere to be seen. This has nothing to do with political parties.*⁸⁵

During the protests, Barış İçin Kadın Girişimi activists have also written a letter to the AKP. In that letter, they announced that they were actively participating in the Gezi protests because they believed that peace can be realized only when there is democracy, when trees are not cut down and when parks stay as parks and water as water.

They say that they protested against the government policies. By contrast there is an social causality in deliberate and organized collective campaigns of nonviolent resistance to promote social change.⁸⁶ Only when women are included in decision-making processes, peace will be permanent and democracy will be become a reality, they believe. The following demands to the AKP government were formulated in the letter:

- *The demands of Taksim Dayanışma Platformu (Taksim Solidarity Platform) must be heard and fulfilled.*
- *The application of prohibitive, repressive, and social engineering policies must come to an end.*

⁸⁵ *Yani biz Kabataş'taki hadiseyi duymuştuk, fakat o kadının bunu kamusal bir şekilde dile getirmek istemediğini de duymuştuk. O yüzden onun ve bu olayın hiçbir şekilde adı anılmayacaktı. Ama aynı zamanda bir sürü arkadaşımızda, Gezi parkının içinde değil ama onun dışında, protestoların olduğu farklı yerlerde çok çeşitli taciz biçimleriyle karşılaşmışlardı başörtülü oldukları için. Özellikle Bağdat Caddesinde mesela. O yüzden Cadde bizim diye bir pankart taşıdık. İşte üstüne araba sürülenler, girdiği dükkanın kapıları yumruklananlar başörtülü oldukları için. Başörtülü olmaları nedeniyle doğrudan AKP'li olarak var sayıldıkları için. Ve bu kadınların bir kısmı o protestolara katılan kadınlardı zaten. Taciz, bu kadınların hayatı boyunca deneyimledikleri bir şey. Kimisi üniversiteden atılmış. Yani tacizin binbir türlü şekli var sonuçta. Hükümete karşı bir protestoydu. Ama sadece AKP şahsına karşı yöneltilen birşey değil. Bir takım devlet politikalarına karşı protesto. Yani daha çok devlete karşı ve aynı zamanda cinsiyetçiliğin protesto edilmesi. Ve sokaktaki ataerkillikte bir fark gözetilmiyor. Bunun partiyle falan alakası yok. Hilal Alkan. Barış İçin Kadın Girişimi. Interview by Zehra Kaya. Tape recording. Istanbul, April 28, 2014.*

⁸⁶ Kurt Schock, "The practice and study of civil resistance", *Journal of Peace Research* 50 (2013): 277–290.

- *We call on all parties, mainly the government, to take their responsibility to create a democratic, egalitarian and libertarian constitution as soon as possible.*⁸⁷

The reasons voiced by Sosyalist Feminist Kolektif resembled those declared by Yoğurtçu Kadın Forumu. A volunteer from Sosyalist Feminist Kolektif who wanted to remain anonymous says:

*I was there with a few friends from Sosyalist Feminist Kolektif. After entering the park, we built tents and took banners. On them it was written 'We do not owe a child to Tayyip'. We protested against the ban of abortion, family foundation, and male domination.*⁸⁸

During the Gezi protests, Sosyalist Feminist Kolektif also wrote a letter to the media and society. In this letter, they declared Erdoğan an enemy of women and called for his stopping to intervene into their private lives. The letter also made it clear that Sosyalist Feminist Kolektif were also protesting against urban transformation (see below):

We are in the street against the AKP that proclaims, with establishing Ministry of Family, that they see a woman only as a mother or wife in the family.

AKP strengthens not the woman, but the family, blocks divorce, women are killed when they say 'no'.

*The streets that are cleaned from women reinforces harassment and violence against women*⁸⁹

Antikapitalist Müslümanlar explained that they had three reasons for participation: capitalism, conservatism of the government, and the pressure not to fight together with the legitimately protesting people.

⁸⁷ Mehmet Deniz Bölükbaşı, *Devrim Taksim'de Göz Kırptı: Bu Maya Tutacak* (İstanbul: Kaldıraç Yayınevi, 2003, appendix.

⁸⁸ *Oraya Sosyalist Feminist Kolektif'ten bir kaç arkadaşla gittim. Parka girdikten sonra çadır kurduk ve pankart götürdük. Üzerinde Tayyip'e çocuk borcumuz yok yazıyordu. Biz kürtaj yasağı, aile kurumu ve erkek egemenliğine karşı protesto ettik.* Sosyalist Feminist Kolektif. Interview by Zehra Kaya. Tape recording. İstanbul, April 2, 2014.

⁸⁹ Mehmet Deniz Bölükbaşı. *Devrim Taksim'de Göz Kırptı: Bu Maya Tutacak* (İstanbul: Kaldıraç Yayınevi, 2003, appendix. (See Appendix 3: Letters of some women's organizations to the media)

A volunteer of Anti Kapitalist Müslümanlar Münibe Altınparmak explained:

We attended the Gezi protests since the beginning with the banners 'Property belongs to Allah, get out capital'. This banner also explains why we joined the protests actually: What we wanted to tell with this banner was that 'Property' that belongs to God means that it



belongs to the people and that it is public. Therefore, it cannot be the

Figure 8: On the banner: property belongs to Allah, Istanbul 2012, May 1
Source: www.t24.com.tr

monopoly of a specific class or group of people. The only authority on property belongs to God, so authority belongs in the name of God to the people. Despite this, the Gezi Park would be given away to the capitalist class, without considering the will of the people. Second, it is also unfortunate that this practice was implemented by a government that defines itself as conservative. At this point, we wanted to remind this government of the reality of the religion and we warned them to stop with their mistake. In addition, it is a requirement of Islam to be there and fight shoulder to shoulder with people who fought there legitimately.⁹⁰

Tülay of İmece tells that their purpose was a more participatory democracy by the resignation of the government. She said that decisions about women's questions must be made by women:

Everything at Gezi was based on the resignation of the government and that the artillery barracks should not be placed there as a shopping mall. To be more of a participatory

⁹⁰ Gezi protestolarına en başından beri 'Mülk Allah'ındır, Sermaye Defol' pankartıyla katıldık. Bu pankart neden katıldığımızın sebebini de açıklıyor aslında. Bu pankartla anlatmak istediğimiz şeydi; mülk'ün Allah'ın olması demek, bütün halkın ve kamunun olması demektir. Dolayısıyla belirli bir sınıfın ve belirli bir zümrenin tekelinde olamaz. Mülkün üzerindeki tek otorite Allah'a aittir yani otorite Allah adına halkın elindedir. Gezi parkı halka rağmen kapitalist sermaye sınıfına peşkeş çekilmek istenmiş, halkın iradesi göz önünde bulundurulmamıştır. İkincisi; bu uygulamanın kendini muhafazakar olarak tanımlayan bir iktidar tarafından yapılmış olması ayrı bir talihsizliktir. Biz bu noktada bu iktidara dinin gerçeğini hatırlatmak istemiş ve hatasından dönmesi için uyarıda bulunduk. Ayrıca da orada bu haklı mücadeleyi veren insanlarla omuz omuza mücadele etmek İslam öğretisinin bize kazandırmış olduğu sorumluluk bilincinin bir gereği idi. Münibe Altınparmak. Interview by author. Tape recording. İstanbul, May 25, 2014.

*democracy, not just with ballot boxes. Decisions about women's questions must be made by women and they must stop their gender policies.*⁹¹

And she continues:

*Still almost nothing has changed, there are still attacks against women. But, for the first time in this country in the last thirty years, such a peculiar popular movement occurred.*⁹²

So, as can be inferred from the interviews, İmece was protesting against the female body politics of the AKP. They were not against the AKP, but against the system. They were fighting for more rights for labor-class women and for the safety of women in the streets. They were already in the streets for these reasons on important days, so Gezi was an opportunity for them to protest again. Thus, they did not join the protest for environmental reasons.

The aims of Yoğurtçu Kadın Forumu in joining the protests are similar. Filiz and Aysun from Yoğurtçu Kadın Forumu say that their goal is the fall of AKP and the resignation of Erdoğan.⁹³

As can be concluded from the interviews, Yoğurtçu Kadın Forumu was protesting against the female body politics of the AKP, the patriarchal system, and harassment. They were against the AKP and wanted its dismissal. In the first instance, however, they went to the streets for environmental reasons. When the general discourse (environmental) of the protests changed into anti-government protests, Yoğurtçu Kadın Forumu also began to protest for their own feminist demands.

Barış İçin Kadın Girişimi had a totally different purpose. Hilal Alkan said:

Our purpose is to ensure the settlement of peace in Turkey, as women are affected by the war in different ways, because war is a very sexist thing. This is not only the case of rape or

⁹¹ *Gezideki şey aslında hükümet istifa üzerine kurulmuştu. Ve o topçu kışlasının oraya gelmemesi. Daha katılımcı demokrasinin olması, sadece sandıkla değil. Kadınlarla ilgili herhangi birşeyin kararını kadınlar versinler ve cinsiyetçi politikalarından vazgeçsinler.* Tülay Korkutan. İmece Kadın Dayanışma Derneği. Interview by Zehra Kaya. Tape recording. Istanbul, April 24, 2014.

⁹² *Hala pek birşey değişmedi. Yine kadınlara yönelik saldırı var. Ama bu ülkede son otuz yıldır ilk defa bu kadar kendine özgü bir halk hareketi yaşanmış.*

⁹³ *Hedefimiz AKP'nin düşmesi ve Tayyip'in gitmesi.*

harassment (although these are very important) because, except this, women's lives and families are taken from them.⁹⁴

She continues:

*There is something called forced migration and women are being affected by it in different ways. Consequently, we want to bring to light these different issues that women are experiencing, the things that being a woman entails, the different effects that the war has on women and preventing that these things become invisible, because these things aren't usually discussed.*⁹⁵

From the interviews, it becomes clear that Barış İçin Kadın Girişimi attended the Gezi Protests to tell about peace, in particular, the Kurdish-Turkish peace because, in their view, women are always the victims of war. They protested also against harassment of women, especially, harassment of women with a headscarf.

In contrast to Yoğurtçu Kadın Forumu and İmece, the goal of Sosyalist Feminist Kolektif 's goal is not to topple the government (see below):

*Our goal is not to topple the government, but we want to change this order, the pressure on us of the male-dominated system. We want to remove this patriarchal order upon us. We are experiencing this at school, work, and social space. We want a society where women can make their own decisions. We want to destroy this social order from its base. Toppling male domination starts with the family.*⁹⁶

We can understand from the interviews that Sosyalist Feminist Kolektif protested against male domination, the female body politics of the AKP, rather than for environmental reasons.

⁹⁴ *Barışın yerleşikleşmesini sağlamak Türkiye'de. Çünkü kadınlar savaştan erkeklerden farklı şekilde etkileniyorlar, hani savaş çok cinsiyetçi birşey. Sadece tecavüz taciz vakaları değil ki bu çok önemli ama hani onun dışında da kadınların yaşamları ellerinden alınıyor, aileleri ellerinden alınıyor.* Hilal Alkan. Barış İçin Kadın Girişimi. Interview by Zehra Kaya. Tape recording. Istanbul, April 28, 2014.

⁹⁵ *Zorunlu göç diye birşey var ve bundan kadınlar erkeklerden farklı şekilde etkileniyorlar. Dolayısıyla bütün bunlarda kadınların yaşadığı bu farklı meseleleri yani kadın olmanın getirdiği, savaşın kadınlar üzerinde yaptığı farklı etkileri gündeme getirmek ve bunların görünmez kılınmasına engel olmak istiyoruz çünkü bunlar genelde konuşulmuyor.* Kadın Girişimi. Interview by Zehra Kaya. Tape recording. Istanbul, April 28, 2014.

⁹⁶ *Hükümeti devirmek değil hedefimiz ama bu düzenin değişmesini istiyoruz. Yani bu erkek egemen sistemin üzerimizde kurduğu baskı. Bu patriarchal düzeni üstümüzden kaldırmak istiyoruz. Bunu evde yaşıyoruz okulda iş yerinde ve sosyal alanlarda da. Kadınların kendi kararlarını verebildiği bir toplum istiyoruz biz. Toplumu yani en temelinden yıkmak istiyoruz. Başta aileyle başlıyor erkek egemenliğini yıkmak.* Sosyalist Feminist Kolektif. Interview by Zehra Kaya. Tape recording. Istanbul, April 2, 2014.

The purpose of Antikapitalist Müslümanlar was to overthrow the plans of capitalism in Turkey and the world:

At the Gezi Park, we expressed that in general the decisions about public areas should be made by the people themselves and that the capitalist class cannot use it as they want. The smaller purpose was to show an example of how to overthrow the plans of capitalism in the Gezi Park, the major purpose was to overthrow the plans of capitalism in all of Turkey and the world. Only some of these aims, as I mentioned above, were reached. The plan over the Gezi Park broke down. The purpose was achieved in this respect. But there should have been a richer sound against the global capital and its representative government. There had to have emerge a great will, but this could not be achieved. The working class and the conservative class what form the large section of the folk could not be included to Gezi. Because organizations and parties were brought to the fore, there was no shift, according to the public sociology. In this sense, it has failed.⁹⁷

Thus, Antikapitalist Müslümanlar were protesting against capitalism. They did not want the Gezi Park to be given to the capitalist class. They wanted to remind the AKP of the ‘truth of Islam’.

Thus, it can be concluded that Yoğurtçu Kadın Forumu, Sosyalist Feminist Kolektif, and İmece had similar reasons and goals to take part in the Gezi Protests. These included the female body politics of AKP. However, but Antikapitalist Müslümanlar and Barış İçin Kadın Girişimi participated in the protests for entirely different reasons, such as peace and the struggle against capitalism.

⁹⁷ *Gezi Parkında, genelde halkın tüm kullanım alanları üzerindeki kararların halkın elinde olduğunu, kapitalist sermaye sınıfının istediği gibi kullanamayacağını dile getirdik. Daha küçük denilebilecek hedef kapitalizmin Gezi üzerindeki planlarını, büyük hedef olaraksa Kapitalizmin tüm Türkiye’de ve dünyada planlarının bozulmasına dair bir örnek ortaya koymaktı. Yukarıda bahsettiğim hedeflerin sadece bir kısmına ulaşıldı. Gezi parkı üzerindeki plan bozuldu. Bu anlamda hedefe ulaşıldı. Ama oradan küresel sermaye ye karşı ve onun temsilcisi iktidara karşı daha güür bir ses çıkmalıydı. Büyük bir irade ortaya çıkmalıydı ama bu sağlanamadı. Halkın geniş kesimleri olan işçi sınıfı ve muhafazakar kesim Gezi’ye dahil edilemedi. Çünkü örgütler ve partiler ön plana çıkarıldı, halkın sosyolojisine uygun hareket edilemedi. Bu anlamda da başarısız. Münibe Altınparmak. Interview by author. Tape recording. İstanbul, May 25, 2014.*

Protection of the environment, gender equality and the defense of political systems against foreign encroachments are some reasons for civil resistance. With foreign encroachments we can think on global capital that is not wanted by Antikapitalist Müslümanlar.⁹⁸

Roberts and Ash wrote that civil resistance will not only be used against tyrannical rule, but also against democratically elected governments (here we can think of the government of Erdoğan), over such issues as maintenance of the key elements of the constitutional order. In this case we can think of patriarchy or male dominance which was demonstrated against by women's organizations during the Gezi protests.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash, *Civil Resistance & power politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 2; Konda. 'Gezi raporu: Toplumun 'Gezi Parkı Olayları' algısı Gezi Parkındakiler kimlerdi?' Accessed May 6, 2014. http://www.konda.com.tr/tr/raporlar/KONDA_GeziRaporu2014.pdf; Altınparmak, Münibe Altınparmak. Interview by author. Tape recording. İstanbul, May 25, 2014.

⁹⁹ Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash, *Civil Resistance & power politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 3.

Chapter 5: Did the women's organizations mobilized women?

According to Konda, a research agency, 51.5 percent of the protestors were women.¹⁰⁰ There were also women's organizations among them. Did these women's organizations mobilize women and, if so, how? How did the women's organizations decide to participate in the protests? Sosyalist Feminist Kolektif says that they collected five thousand women on Saturday June 8, 2014 to participate in the protests. They organized a walking tour and started on the Galatasaray square.¹⁰¹ A volunteer of Sosyalist Feminist Kolektif says the technical work of placing a call for women to participate in the protests was done by their web editors. However, these decisions were taken together by the members of the organization. This happened during membership meetings that were open to public. That was also the case with the walking tour in Galatasaray. An anonymous volunteer of Sosyalist Feminist Kolektif said:

During the first week, we were not well organized. But after entering the park, we have established a tent and took a banner and started to walk with five or six people. All the women in the park followed us with megaphones etc. Hundreds of women followed very spontaneously. But then we placed a call with megaphones on Galatasaray (a call to mobilize women). We organized a walking tour on Galatasaray against the abortion laws and three children statements. In the first instance, our purpose was to gather a hundred of women. But the call caught on and around five thousand women participated. We used the website, but we also called women there by hand (with flyers and megaphones). We deliberately did not make a distinction between women's groups. But Taksim as the place of the protest restricted the possibility of women from neighborhoods to participate. It is difficult for married women and women with children to come. Therefore, there were more students, employees, and more mobile women and female students. It is false to say that they were middle-class housewives. Working women were very active among us.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Konda. 'Gezi raporu: Toplumun 'Gezi Parkı Olayları' algısı Gezi Parkındakiler kimlerdi?' Accessed May 6, 2014. http://www.konda.com.tr/tr/raporlar/KONDA_GeziRaporu2014.pdf

¹⁰¹ Mehtap Doğan. 'Kırmızıtlı, Siyahlı, Başörtülü, Sapanlı Kadınlar...' Accessed May 6, 2014. <http://www.sosyalistfeministkolektif.org/guencel/kad-nlar-n-gezi-direnisi/865-k-rm-z-l-siyahl-basoertuelue-sapanl-kad-nlar.html>

¹⁰² *İlk hafta pek örgütlü değildik. Ama parka girdikten sonra çadır kurduk ve pankart götürdük ve beş altı kişi yürümeye başladık. Parktaki bütün kadınlar peşimize takıldılar megafonlarla falan. Yüzlerce kadın takıldı peşimize çok spontane. Ama ondan sonra Galatasaray'da bir çağrı yaptık. İşte bu üç çocuk ve kürtaj yasası vardı ve Galatasaray'da yürüyüş organize ettik. Hedefimiz ilk başta yüz kadındı. Bizimki aslında ateşleyici bir eylem oldu. Beş bin kişi falan geldi. Web siteyi kullandık ama oradaki kadınlara elden çağrı yaptık. Biz belirli*

As can be inferred from the interviews, Sosyalist Feminist Kolektif mobilized women by placing a call on their website to take part in the protests and placing a call with their megaphone in the protest area a few days in advance. This was very successful. They collected 5.000 women on June 8, 2013 on the Galatasaray square. The reason how Sosyalist Feminist Kolektif collected so many women is that they had tents in the Gezi Park and, by placing the calls, there they attracted a lot more people from the target group. Their high reputation also played a role.¹⁰³ The civil resistance tradition has also been narrower in substantive focus, emphasizing techniques of nonviolent action, strategic choice, and mechanisms through which nonviolent action produces social change.¹⁰⁴

Hilal Alkan from Barış İçin Kadın Girişimi said that they did not place a call to mobilize women, but that they massively joined the demonstration march from Kabataş to Taksim. They established their own tent at the Gezi Park and y hanged posters with their demands.

Also, İmece says that they did not have a complete organization to mobilize women. However, they managed to do something. Tülay of İmece said:

Those who had a relationship with us were there. And we hired a bus together. We are working in very poor neighborhoods in the suburbs. And women there are struggling with poverty, unemployment, and womanhood problems. We called them with home visits and also wrote in social media; we also spread information in the streets. They came because they were also aware that change was needed and that this could only be done together. We gave the message that it can be realized together. Trust emerged between us and those neighborhoods because we entered their lives. We are working since 2001 in Esenyurt.^{105*}

bir kadın grubuna ayırım yapmıyoruz kasten. Ama protestonun Taksim'de olması işçi mahallelerinden gelecek kadınların olmasını kısıtlıyor. Evli ve çocuklu kadınların da gelmesi zor. Dolayısıyla geriye öğrenciler ve ücretli çalışanlar, daha mobil ve hareket eden öğrenci kadınlar daha fazla. Orta sınıf ev kadınları dersek çok yanlış olur. Emekçi kadınlar da çok aktiflerdi içimizde. Sosyalist Feminist Kolektif. Interview by Zehra Kaya. Tape recording. Istanbul, April 2, 2014.

¹⁰³ 'Kırmızı, Siyahlı, Başörtülü, Sapanlı Kadınlar...', Sosyalist Feminist Kolektif, accessed August 30, 2014, <http://sosyalistfeministkolektif.org/guencel/kad-nlar-n-gezi-direnisi/865-k-rm-z-l-siyahl-basoertuelue-sapanli-kad-nlar.html>

¹⁰⁴ Kurt Schock, "The practice and study of civil resistance", *Journal of Peace Research* 50 (2013): 277–290.

¹⁰⁵ *Bizimle ilişkisi olan oraya gelmişti. Ve toplu otobüs tuttuk. Biz daha çok yoksul varoş mahallelerde çalışıyoruz. Kadınlar orda hem yoksullukla mücadele ediyorlar, hem işsizlikle, hem de kadın olmadan kaynaklanan sorunlarla. Biz ev gezmeleri ile çağırdık onları ve sosyal medyadan yazdık ama sokaklarda bilgi de dağıttık. Onlarda artık değişimin gerektiğini ve bunun ancak birlikte yapılabileceğine inandıkları için geldiler. Birlikte yaparsak çözebiliriz mesajını verdik. Onların yaşamlarına girdiğimiz için o mahallelerde bir güven oluştu. Zaten biz 2001'den beri Esenyurt'ta çalışıyoruz. *Esenyurt is a poor neighbourhood at the European side of Istanbul. Tülay Korkutan. İmece Kadın Dayanışma Derneği. Interview by Zehra Kaya. Tape recording. Istanbul, April 24, 2014.*

Thus, İmece mobilized women by visiting them at home to call them to join the protests and by spreading information through social media and in the streets.

Filiz Karakuş from Yoğurtçu Kadın Forumu said that, as feminists, they placed a call to engage women in the protests much later. She said:

*Actually, we've added women politics to the protests after the police entered the Gezi Park, as women were ignored. Various studies showed that more than a half of the Gezi insurgents were women. However, their spokesmen and prominent people are always men. And for the first time we said, we women are here, we're protecting our life and body against the AKP's women policies and explained our reason for existence and placed a (mobilizing) call for other women.*¹⁰⁶

Furthermore, Aysun Eğerek said that women who could not come protested with pots and pans at home.¹⁰⁷ Thus, Yoğurtçu Kadın Forumu placed much later a call to mobilize women at the Gezi Park.

Münibe Altınparmak of Antikapitalist Müslümanlar said that they did not place a mobilizing call:

*We didn't place a special call at Gezi. We continued there to tell what we know as true and the things that we believe in. Our purpose was to create social awareness. What we did during the Gezi process was a part of the effort of creating this awareness. There are surely people who have been affected by our discourse, but I can't give numbers.*¹⁰⁸

Thus, Antikapitalist Müslümanlar did not place a call to mobilize women.

¹⁰⁶ Gezi Parkına polisler girdikten sonra biz olaya aslında bir kadın politikası kattık. Çünkü kadınlar yok sayılıyordu. Çeşitli araştırmalarda Gezi direnişçilerinin yarısından fazla kadın olduğu söyleniyor. Ama işte sözcüleri ve öne çıkanlar hep erkekler. Dolayısıyla bizde ilk kez, biz kadınlarda burdayız, AKP'nin kadın politikalarına karşı hayatımıza bedenimize sahip çıkıyoruz deyip hem kendimizin varoluş nedenini açıkladık hemde başka kadınlarda çağrı yaptık. Filiz Karakuş and Aysun Eğerek. Yoğurtçu Kadın Forumu. Interview by Zehra Kaya. Tape recording. İstanbul, April 2, 2014.

¹⁰⁷ Many women have protested in İstanbul during the Gezi protests from their balconies with pots and pans. Filiz Karakuş and Aysun Eğerek. Yoğurtçu Kadın Forumu. Interview by Zehra Kaya. Tape recording. İstanbul, April 2, 2014.

Ayşegül Usta, 'Family acquitted in Gezi case on pots and pans protest,' Accessed May 6, 2014, <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/family-acquitted-in-gezi-case-on-pots-and-pans-protest.aspx?pageID=238&nID=66604&NewsCatID=339>

¹⁰⁸ Biz Gezide özel bir çağrı yapmadık. Doğru bildiklerimizi inandığımız şeyleri orada da söylemeye devam ettik. Bizim amacımız bir toplumsal bilinç oluşturabilmek. Gezi sürecinde yaptıklarımızda bu bilinci oluşturma çabalarımızın bir parçasıdır. Söylemlerimizden etkilenenler olmuştur mutlaka ama bi rakam veremeyeceğim. Münibe Altınparmak. Interview by author. Tape recording. İstanbul, May 25, 2014.

To conclude, most women's organizations mobilized women by placing calls in the protest area, through social media, with home visits, and via spreading information on street. Among women's organizations, Sosyalist Feminist Kolektif is the most remarkable, because they say to have mobilized around five thousand women.¹⁰⁹ According to the civil resistance theory, it is easier to mobilize women for non-violent campaigns because the barriers are lower, because everyone could actually join the demonstrations. The more protesters, the better it is for civil resistance.¹¹⁰ The explanation of the effectiveness of nonviolent resistance is as follows: nonviolent campaigns facilitate the active participation of many more people than violent campaigns, thereby broadening the base of resistance and raising the costs to opponents of maintaining the status quo. In the case of women's organizations during the Gezi protests numbers were the most important thing. Therefore, Sosyalist Feminist Kolektif talked about five thousand participants.¹¹¹

Only a very small part of the women at Gezi was mobilized by women's organizations. The population of Istanbul was 14.160.467 that year. 2.303.907 of them have participated the Gezi protests and 51.5 percent of them were women.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ Mehtap Doğan. 'Kırmızı, Siyah, Başörtülü, Sapanlı Kadınlar...' Accessed May 30, 2014. <http://sosyalistfeministkolektif.org/guencel/kad-nlar-n-gezi-direnisi/865-k-rm-z-l-siyahl-basoertuelue-sapanl-kad-nlar.html>

¹¹⁰ Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash, *Civil Resistance & power politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 1; Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan, *Why civil resistance works* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 10,11. 'Kırmızı, Siyah, Başörtülü, Sapanlı Kadınlar...' Accessed May 6, 2014. <http://www.sosyalistfeministkolektif.org/guencel/kad-nlar-n-gezi-direnisi/865-k-rm-z-l-siyahl-basoertuelue-sapanl-kad-nlar.html>; Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan, 34.

¹¹¹ Mehtap Doğan. 'Why civil resistance works' (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 10,11, 34.

¹¹² 'Nüfus ve Demografik Yapı,' İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, accessed February 1, 2015, http://www.ibb.gov.tr/sites/ks/tr-TR/0-Istanbul-Tanitim/konum/Pages/Nufus_ve_Demografik_Yapi.aspx; 'SAMER'İN GEZİ RAPORU: Geziye Kimler Katıldı: Orta Sınıflar, İşçiler, Türkler ve Kürtler Hakkında Bazı Somut Bilgiler ve Saptamalar,' Samer, accessed February 1, 2015, <http://www.ssamer.com/Haberler/231>.

Conclusion

The introduction of the present thesis outlined several speculations about the reasons why women's organizations participated in the Gezi protests in Istanbul. In the remainder of this Master's thesis, these reasons were investigated and elaborated with the aim to answer the research questions formulated at the beginning of this study: *'What has motivated several non-environmentalist women's organizations in Istanbul to actively participate in the Gezi protests? Have these organizations mobilized women?'*

According to the literature, in addition to environmental reasons, women's organizations protested during the Gezi protests also against patriarchy, the female body politics of the AKP, as well as against the 'protection' of harassment and rape by the AKP. From the interviews, it can be inferred that women's organizations participated the Gezi protests in the first instance for environmental reasons. However, when the general discourse (environmental) of the protests changed into anti-government protests, women's organizations also began to protest for their own feminist demands. These included the female body politics of the AKP, patriarchy, insecurity of the streets for women, harassment and rape, economic inequality, war and capitalism. The main reason for women's organizations to participate in the Gezi protests in Istanbul was not environmental. We can say that this was the same for all women's movements.

In this case we can speak about civil resistance, as no violent actions were undertaken and as women protested by walking and occupations. Also, the motives of all five women's organizations point to civil resistance. Barış İçin Kadın Girişimi demonstrated against wars and weaponry, while the women's branch of Antikapitalist Müslümanlar demonstrated against foreign encroachments (global capital). The other three women's organizations were mainly against gender inequality. That it was civil resistance is also highlighted by the size of the protests. The protesters were not a closed group and protested against the constitutional order. By this we can think of 'embedded patriarchal order that was always available'.

From the interviews, it can also be concluded that most women's organizations mobilized women by placing a feminist call in the protest area to mobilize them, also through use of social media, with home visits, and through spreading information in the streets. Among women's organizations, Sosyalist Feminist Kolektif is particularly remarkable, because its members report to have mobilized five thousand women through a close

cooperation with other women's organizations. This allows us to conclude that women's organizations in Istanbul mobilized women during the Gezi protests.

In this thesis we mainly learned that women's organizations and their supporters were angry for a long time about the patriarchy and male dominance in Turkey and are erupted during the Gezi protests. They began to protest by environmental reasons but then came the above-mentioned points upwards. Their anger was not against the AKP but against the Turkish state which has maintained the patriarchy until now, according to them.

Bibliography

Primary sources

Newspapers

‘Aile hekiminden bekar genç kız babasına şok cep mesajı: Tebrikler kızınız hamile.’ *Hürriyet*, June 25, 2012. <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/20837705.asp>

‘Başbakan Erdoğan havalimanında halka seslendi.’ *Hürriyet*, 7 June, 2013. <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/23470929.asp>

‘Başbakan: Yüzde 50’yi evinde zor tutuyorum.’ *Hürriyet*, 7 June, 2013. <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/23429709.asp>

‘Erdoğan’ın dönüşü dış basında....’ *Milliyet*, 7 June, 2013. <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/Erdoğan-in-donusu-dis-basinda-/dunya/detay/1719881/default.htm>

İnce, Elif. ‘Gezi Parkı’ndan mesaj: Mesele sadece ağaç değil.’ *Radikal*, May 29, 2013. http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/gezi_parkindan_mesaj_mesele_sadece_agac_degil-1135478

İstatiklerle kadın, women in statistics 2012,’ Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu, Accessed January 30, 2015. <http://kasaum.ankara.edu.tr/files/2013/02/%C4%B0statistiklerle-kad%C4%B1n-2012.pdf>

‘Küfürle değil inatla diren,’ *Milliyet*, August 23, 2013, seen on 2 January, 2015. <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/-kufurle-degil-inatla-diren-/gundem/detay/1753485/default.htm>

‘Nederland telt minder huisvrouwen.’ *Nu.nl*, March 7, 2011. <http://www.nu.nl/algemeen/nederland-telt-minder-huisvrouwen.11567892.lynkx>

‘A new class of Hybrid Turks emerging between White and Black Turks.’ *Sunday’s Zaman*. August 5, 2012. http://www.todayzaman.com/national_a-new-class-of-hybrid-turks-emerging-between-white-and-black-turks_288628.html

Ulaş, Rana. ‘Direnişte kadın olmanın ağırlığı.’ *Yurt*, July 4, 2013. <http://www.yurtgazetesi.com.tr/direniste-kadin-olmanin-agirliigi-makale,4982.html>

Yur, Damla. ‘Küfürle değil inatla diren.’ *Milliyet*, August 23, 2013. <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/-kufurle-degil-inatla-diren-/gundem/detay/1753485/default.htm>

Interviews

Alkan, Hilal. Barış İçin Kadın Girişimi. Interview by Zehra Kaya. Tape recording. Istanbul, April 28, 2014.

Altınparmak, Münibe. Antikapitalist Müslümanlar. Interview by Zehra Kaya. Tape recording. Istanbul, May 25, 2014.

Karakuş, Filiz and Eğerek, Aysun. Yoğurtçu Kadın Forumu. Interview by Zehra Kaya. Tape recording. Istanbul, April 2, 2014.

Korkutan, Tülay. İmece Kadın Dayanışma Derneği. Interview by Zehra Kaya. Tape recording. Istanbul, April 24, 2014.

Sosyalist Feminist Kolektif. Interview by Zehra Kaya. Tape recording. Istanbul, April 2, 2014.

Websites

- Ak Parti. 'Kadın, aile ve engelliler.' Accessed January 4, 2014.
<http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/hedefler/kadin-aile-ve-engelliler/C86>
- Aktuel Mynet. 'Kırmızılı Kadın' Ve Gezi'nin Diğer Kadınları.' Accessed January 4, 2014.
<http://aktuel.mynet.com/galeri/yasam/-gezinin-kadinlari/11980/1670453>
- Anadolu Ajansı. 'Başbakan Erdoğan'dan "Taksim" randevusu.' Accessed 2 January, 2015,
<http://www.aa.com.tr/tr/tag/191659--arinc;>
- Antikapitalist Müslümanlar. Accessed January 4, 2014.
www.antikapitalistmuslumanlar.org/
- Asım Karaömerlioğlu. 'Gezi Direnişi Kadınların Türkiye Siyasetine 'One Minute' Demesidir.' Accessed January 4, 2014. <http://asimkaraomerlioglu.com/blog/medya-2/>
- Asım Karaömerlioğlu. 'Nüfus 'Mühendisiliğinden' Gezi Parkı Direnişine.' Accessed January 4, 2014.
<http://asimkaraomerlioglu.com/blog/2013/07/atesle-oynamanın-cilveleri-nufus-muhendisliginden-gezi-direnisine/>
- Barış İçin Kadın Girişimi. Accessed January 4, 2014.
<http://www.barisicinkadinlar.com/baris/>
- BBC Türkçe. 'TOMA'nın önüne neden geçtim?' Accessed June 25, 2013.
http://www.bbc.co.uk/turkce/haberler/2013/06/130624_siyahli_kadin.shtml
- BBC Türkçe. 'Taksim Platformu taleplerini açıkladı.' Accessed January 2, 2015.
http://www.bbc.co.uk/turkce/haberler/2013/06/130605_taksim_platformu
- Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek. 'Arbeidsdeelname van Nederlandse vrouwen zeer hoog.' Accessed January 30, 2015. <http://www.cbs.nl/nl-NL/menu/themas/arbeid-sociale-zekerheid/publicaties/artikelen/archief/2011/2011-3336-wm.html>
- Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek . 'Mannen en vrouwen in Nederland.' Accessed January 30, 2015.
<http://www.cbs.nl/NR/rdonlyres/9A0E2D35-B9B6-4BB0-B6D5-C9727B3F0181/0/2011k1b15p37art.pdf>
- CHP. 'Gezi protestalarında 11 kişi öldü, 437'si ağır olmak üzere 8 binden fazla kişi yaralandı.' Accessed January 2, 2015.
<http://www.chp.org.tr/?p=152545>
- CNN Türk. 'Açlık sınırı bin 12, yoksulluk sınırı 3 bin 296 lira.' Accessed August 30, 2014.
<http://www.cnnturk.com/2013/ekonomi/genel/07/26/aclik.siniri.bin.12.yoksulluk.siniri.3.bin.296.lira/17174.0/>
- Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı. 'Asgari ücretin net hesabı ve işverene maliyeti.' Accessed August 30, 2014.
http://www.csgb.gov.tr/csgbPortal/ShowProperty/WLPpercent20Repository/cgm/asgariucet/2014_birinci_alti_ay
- Devrimci Proletarya. 'Ethem Sarısülük Parkın'da 'Direnişte Kadın' Forumu...' Accessed January 4, 2014.
<http://devrimciproletarya.info/ethem-sarisuluk-parkinda-direniste-kadin-forumu/>
- Encyclopaedia Britannica. 'Woman suffrage.' Accessed August 30, 2014,
<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/646779/woman-suffrage>
- Global News. 'Turkish protests: it started with a tree.' Accessed August 30, 2014.
<http://globalnews.ca/news/616750/turkish-protests-it-started-with-a-tree-2/>

Göle, Nilüfer. 'Gezi – Anatomy of a Public Square Movement.' *Insight Turkey* 15 (2013): 7-14. Accessed August 30, 2014.
http://file.insightturkey.com/Files/Pdf/it15_03_2013_gole.pdf.

Haber Sol. '10 yıllık AKP iktidarında kadının bilançosu ağır oldu.' Accessed January 4, 2014.
<http://haber.sol.org.tr/kadinin-gunlugu/10-yillik-akp-iktidarinda-kadinin-bilancosu-agir-oldu-haberi-61854>

Habertürk. 'Dünya Gezi'yi konuşuyor!' Accessed December 15, 2014.
<http://www.haberturk.com/dunya/haber/849453-dunya-geziyi-konusuyor;>

Hürriyet. 'Polisten bir günde ikinci Gezi müdahalesi.' Accessed December 15, 2014.
[http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/23405437.asp;](http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/23405437.asp)

Hürriyet Daily News. 'Main opposition leader lends full support to protesters occupying Taksim Gezi Park.' Accessed 2 January, 2015.
<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/main-opposition-leader-lends-full-support-to-protesters-occupying-taksim-gezi-park.aspx?pageID=238&nid=47849;>

IMDB. 'Un éléphant ça trompe énormément.' Accessed December 28, 2014.
[http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0076852/.](http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0076852/)

İmece Kadın Dayanışma Derneği. Accessed January 4, 2014.
<http://www.kadınlarinimecesi.org/>

İnsan Hakları Vakfı. 'Gezi Parkı Süreci Kapsamında Türkiye İnsan Hakları Vakfı Olgularının Tıbbi Değerlendirilmesi.' Accessed December 15, 2014.
<http://www.insanhaklarisavunuculari.org/dokumantasyon/files/original/bc1427bb041b4c3830c07da53bd2a5bb.pdf>

İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi. 'Nüfus ve Demografik Yapı.' Accessed February 1, 2015.
http://www.ibb.gov.tr/sites/ks/tr-TR/0-Istanbul-Tanitim/konum/Pages/Nufus_ve_Demografik_Yapi.aspx

I24news. 'It all began with a tree in Turkey.' Accessed August 30, 2014.
<http://www.i24news.tv/en/opinion/131115-it-all-began-with-a-tree-colette-avital>

Konda. 'Gezi raporu: Toplumun 'Gezi Parkı Olayları' algısı Gezi Parkındakiler kimlerdi?' Accessed May 6, 2014. http://www.konda.com.tr/tr/raporlar/KONDA_GeziRaporu2014.pdf

Menlo roundtable. 'The French Revolution's Influence on Women's Rights.' Accessed August 30, 2014. http://roundtable.menloschool.org/issue12/2_Flower_MS_Roundtable12_Spring_2012.pdf

Milliyet. 'Türkiye'nin yüzde 50'sini zor tutuyoruz'.', 3 June, 2013, seen on 2 January, 2015,
[http://www.milliyet.com.tr/basbakan-4-gun-yok-siyaset/detay/1717873/default.htm;](http://www.milliyet.com.tr/basbakan-4-gun-yok-siyaset/detay/1717873/default.htm)

Milliyet. 'Erdoğan'ın dönüşü dış basında...' Accessed January 2, 2015.
<http://www.milliyet.com.tr/Erdoğan-in-donusu-dis-basinda-/dunya/detay/1719881/default.htm>

The New York Review of Books. 'Turkey: 'Surreal, Menacing...Pompous.' Accessed January 4, 2014.
<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2013/dec/19/turkey-surreal-menacing-pompous/?pagination=false>

NTVMSNBC. 'Gezi'nin kadınları.' Accessed January 4, 2014.
<http://fotogaleri.ntvmsnbc.com/gezinin-kadinlari.html?position=7>

NTVMSNBC. 'Kırmızılı Kadın' İngiliz basınına konuştu.' Accessed January 4, 2014.
<http://www.ntvmsnbc.com/id/25447981/>

Oda TV. 'İşte Direniş'in Kadınları.' Accessed January 4, 2014.
<http://www.odatv.com/n.php?n=iste-direnisin-kadinlari-0806131200>

Oho 2013. 'Direnişin Kadın Hali.' Accessed January 4, 2014.
<http://oho2013.wordpress.com/kadin/>

Sabah. 'Taksim Platformu'nun Hükümet'ten talepleri.' Accessed January 2, 2015.
<http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2013/06/06/taksim-platfomunun-hukumetten-talepleri>

Samer. 'Basında biz,' Samer, Siyasal ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Merkezi.' Accessed August 30, 2014.
<http://www.ssamer.com/BasindaBiz>

Samer. 'SAMER'İN GEZİ RAPORU: Geziye Kimler Katıldı: Orta Sınıflar, İşçiler, Türkler ve Kürtler Hakkında Bazı Somut Bilgiler ve Saptamalar.' Accessed February 1, 2015.
<http://www.ssamer.com/Haberler/231>

Secim.haberler.com. 'İl ve İlçelere Göre Önceki Seçim Sonuçları.' Accessed January 30, 2015.
<http://secim.haberler.com/>

Sendika. 'AKP'nin normal doğum sevdası: Cesur kadın cesur nesil.' Accessed January 4, 2014.
<http://www.sendika.org/2013/07/akpnin-normal-dogum-sevdasi-cesur-kadin-cesur-nesil/>

Sosyalist Feminist Kolektif. Accessed January 4, 2014.
www.sosyalistfeministkolektif.org

Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu. 'Adrese Dayalı Nüfus Kayıt Sistemi Sonuçları, 2013.' Accessed August 30, 2014.
<http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreHaberBultenleri.do?id=15974>

Yoğurtçu Kadın Forumu. Accessed January 4, 2014.
<https://www.facebook.com/yogurtcukadin.forumu?fref=ts>

Secondary sources

Books

Aydın, Eylem. *Çapulcunun gezi rehberi* (İstanbul: Oray basın yayın ve matbaacılık, 2013).

Bölükbaşı, Mehmet Deniz. *Devrim Taksim'de Göz Kırptı: Bu Maya Tutacak* (İstanbul: Kaldıraç Yayınevi, 2003).

Charles Tilly. *Social movements, 1768-2008* (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2009).

Chenoweth, Erica and Stephan, Maria J. *Why civil resistance works* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011).

Gökay, Bülent and Xpolia, Ilia. *Reflections on Taksim – Gezi Park Protests in Turkey* (England: Keele University, 2013).

Kongar, Emre and Küçükaya, Aykut. *Türkiye'yi sarsan otuz gün. Gezi direnişi* (İstanbul: Yazın basın yayın matbaacılık, 2013).

Landes, Joan B. *Women and the public sphere in the age of the French revolution* (London: Cornell University Press, 1988).

Roberts Adam and Garton Ash, Timothy. *Civil Resistance & power politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

Sancar, Nuray. *Sıcak Haziran: sonraki direniş mektup* (İstanbul: Evrensel Basım Yayın, 2013).

Üzgel, İlhan and Duru, Bülent. *AKP Kitabı: bir dönüşüm bilançosu* (Ankara: Phoenix Yayınevi, 2010).

Yavuz, Hakan. *Ak Parti: Toplumsal değişimin yeni aktörleri* (İstanbul: kitap yayınevi, 2010).

Journal article

Ackerman, Peter. 'Skills or conditions: what key factors shape the succes or failure of civil resistance?.' *University of Oxford* (2007). <http://cddrl.fsi.stanford.edu/sites/default/files/skills.pdf>

Clements, Barbara Evans. 'Working-class and peasant women in the Russian revolution. 1917-1923.' *Chicago journals* 8 (1982): 215-235.
<http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/3173897?uid=3738736&uid=2&uid=4&sid=21104144908501>

Nepstad, Sharon Erickson. 'Nonviolent Resistance in the Arab Spring: The Critical Role of Military-Opposition Alliances.' *Swiss Political Science Review* 17 (2011): 485-491.
<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1662-6370.2011.02043.x/full>

Schock, Kurt. 'The practice and study of civil resistance.' *Journal of Peace Research* 50 (2013): 277–290.

Appendix 1: Contact details of women's organizations

Sosyalist Feminist Kolektif

Interviewee: interviewee wishes to remain anonymous

Address: Katip Mustafa Çelebi mah. Tel sok. No: 20/3, Beyoğlu / İstanbul

Website: <http://www.sosyalistfeministkolektif.org/>

E-mail: sosyalistfeministkolektif@gmail.com

Tel: 0090 2122434993

(Kolektifimizi oluşturan kadınların yaşadığı şehirler şu anda İstanbul, Ankara, Eskişehir, İzmir, Adana, Sinop ve Muğla'dır.)

İmece

Interviewee: Tülay Korkutan

Address: Darulaceze Cad. Bilaş İş Merkezi A Blok 4. Kat. D:39 No: 31 Şişli / İSTANBUL

Website: www.kadinlarimecesi.org

E-mail: info@kadinlarimecesi.org

Tel: 0090 2122223328

Barış İçin Kadın Girişimi

Interviewee: Hilal Alkan

Website: www.barisicinkadinlar.com

E-mail: barisicinkadinlar@gmail.com

Antikapitalist Müslümanlar

Interviewee: Münibe Altınparmak

Address: Molla Gürani Mh. Millet Caddesi Selçuk Sultan Cami Sk. No : 2/6 Fatih / İstanbul

Website: <http://www.antikapitalistmuslumanlar.org/>

E-mail: bilgi@antikapitalistmuslumanlar.org

Tel: 0212 5235405

Yoğurtçu Kadın Forumu

Interviewee: Filiz Karakuş & Aysun Eğerek

Address: Yoğurtçu Kadın Parkı, Kadıköy / İstanbul

Website: <https://www.facebook.com/yogurtcukadin.forumu?fref=ts>

Appendix 2: Letters of several women's organizations to the media

In the book Devrim Taksimde goz kirpti is published the letters of two women's organizations. See below the appendix of this book.

Figure 9: The letter of İstanbul Feminist Kolektif

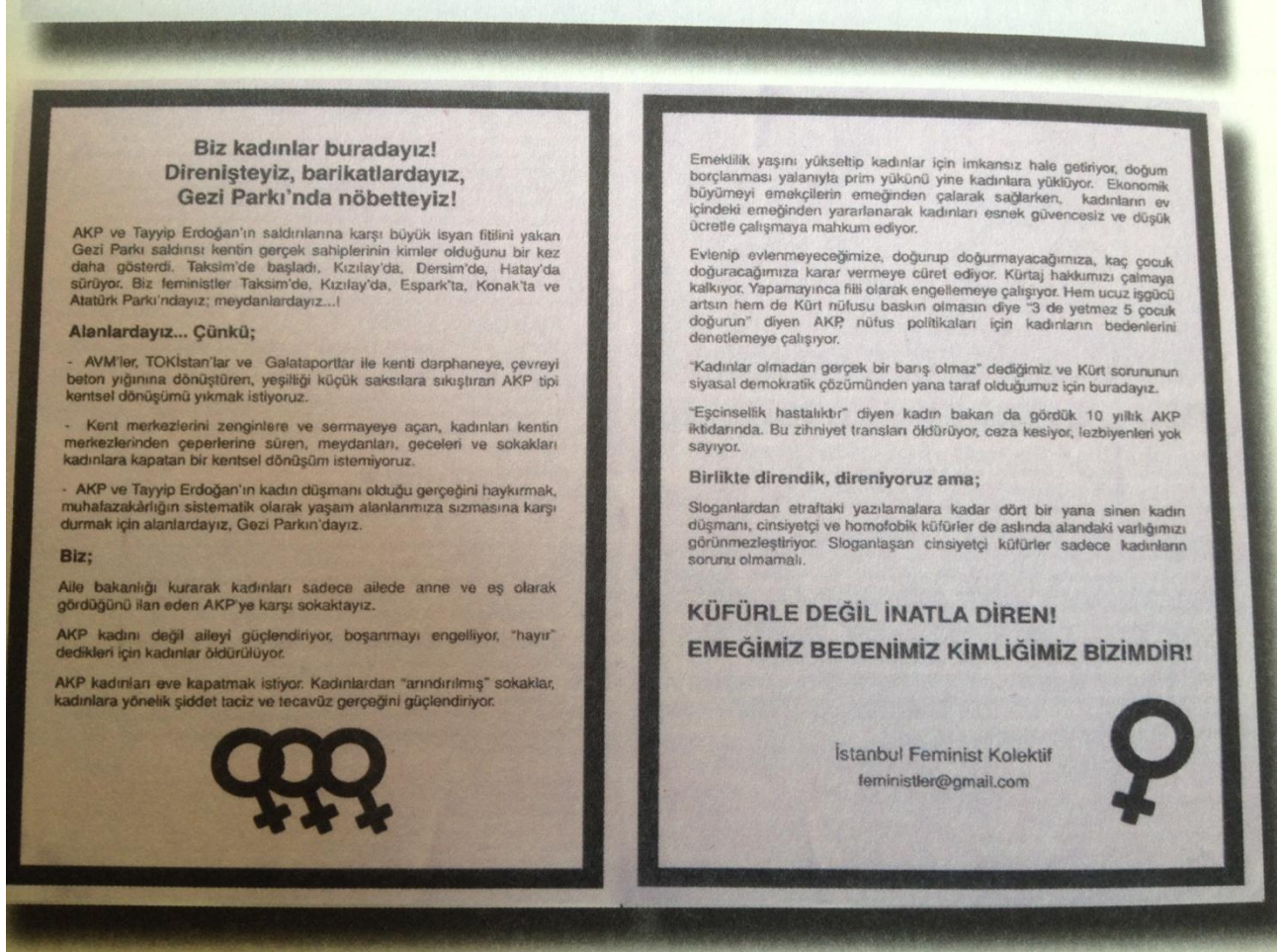


Figure 10: The letter of Barış İçin Kadın Girişimi

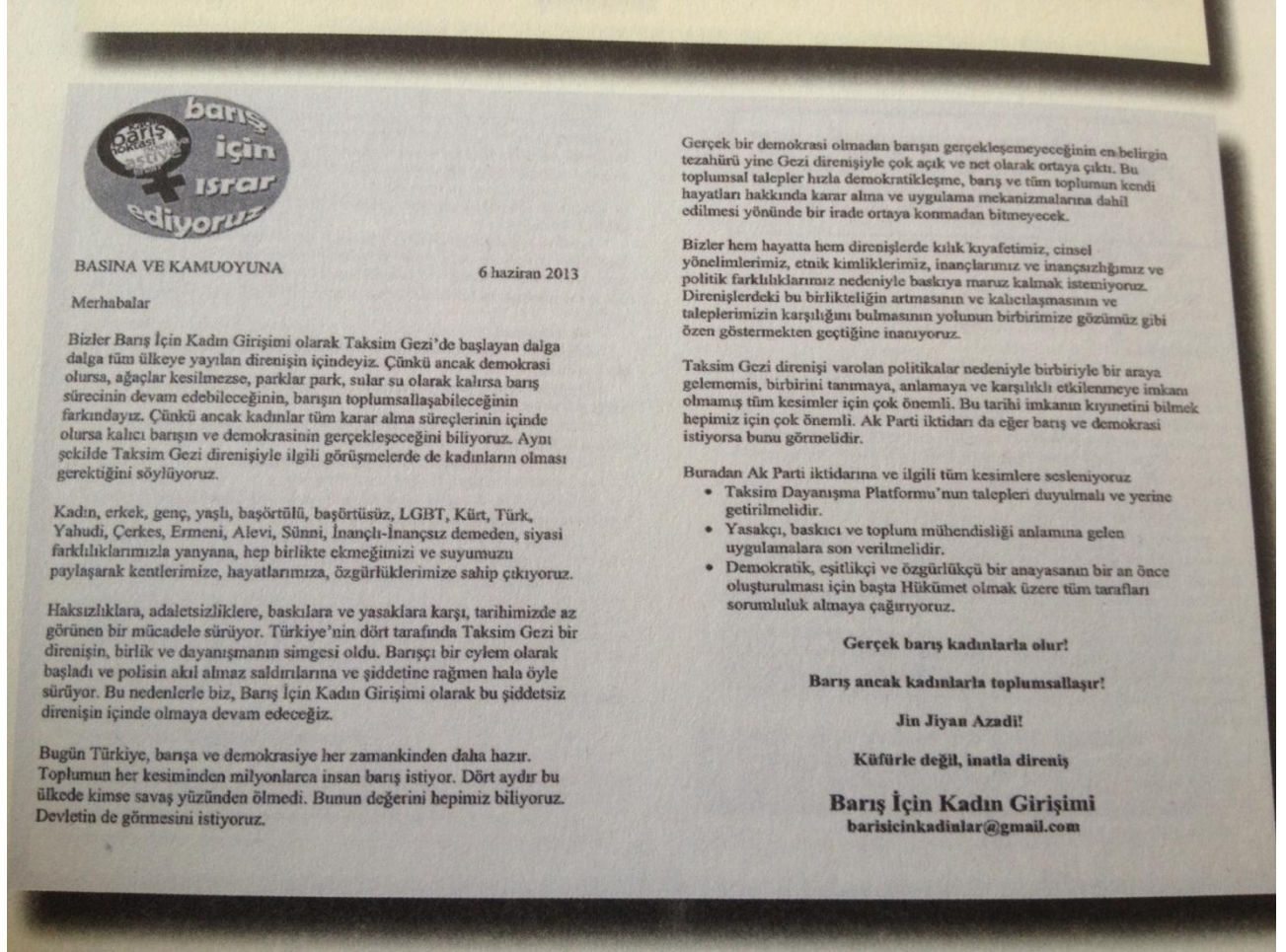


Figure 11: The folder of Yoğurtçu Kadın Forumu frontpage

Biz Gezi ruhuyla başlayan ve park forumlarıyla devam eden süreçte bir araya gelerek, kadın politikası üzerinden örgütlenme yolunu seçen kadınlarız. İlk olarak Haziran 2013'te mor şiltelerimizin üzerinde, gökkuşağı renkleri ile süslediğimiz ağacımızın altında toplanmaya başladık ve o günden itibaren Yoğurtçu Kadın Forumu olarak her Çarşamba toplanmaya devam ediyoruz.



Neler mi yapıyoruz?

Birlikte belirlediğimiz konular üzerine tartışmalar yürütüyor, atölyeler düzenliyoruz, etkinlikler örgütüyoruz ve en güzeli de birlikte dayanışıyoruz. Hep beraber politika üretmeye devam etmek için tüm kadınları Yoğurtçu Kadın Forumu'na bekliyoruz.

Oyumuz kadınlardan yana bir Kadıköy için!

Oyumuz yaşadığımız mekanı, kenti dönüştürmek için!

Cinsiyetçi adaylara verilecek oyumuz yok!



Yoğurtçu Kadın Forumu
yoğurtcukadinformu@gmail.com

Yoğurtçu Kadın Forumu

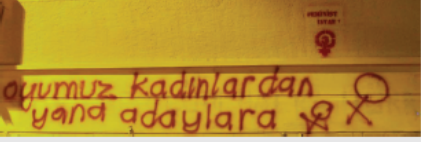
Figure 12: The folder of Yoğurtçu Kadın Forumu backpage

Seçimden seçime hatırlanıyoruz, oysa biz kadınlar yardıma muhtaç olanlar ya da sadece belediyeden hizmet alanlar değiliz. Biz kadınlar, toplumu yeniden üretenler, yaşadığımız mahalleyi, sokağı, semti ihtiyaçlarımız doğrultusunda değiştirebilecek olan öznelimiz.

Kadıköy'de nüfus yarısından fazlası kadınlardan oluşuyor. Oysa sözümüz yerel yönetimlerde duyulmuyor; çünkü Kadıköy'de,

48 belediye meclis üyesinin sadece 11'i, 21 mahalle muhtarının sadece 7'si kadını! Seçim bölgesi Kadıköy olan il genel meclisi üyesi kadın yok! Ve Kadıköy'de şu ana kadar hiç kadın belediye başkanı olmadı!

Biz kadınlar, karar alma mekanizmalarında yer almanın kenti değiştirmenin tek yolu olmadığını biliyoruz. Fakat görüyoruz ki bu mekanizmalarda kadınlar yer almadıkça cinsiyet eşitsizlikleri ve farklılıkları yeterince dikkate alınmıyor, yerel politikalar cinsiyet eşitliği bakışıyla oluşturulmuyor.



Sokaklarında günün her saati gezebildiğimiz, taciz, tecavüz, can güvenliği endişesi taşımadığımız, erkek şiddetine uğramadığımız, evdeki şiddetten kurtulmak için sığınmağa gidebildiğimiz, temel hizmetlere kolayca erişebildiğimiz, gelir ve giderlerinden haberdar olduğumuz, bunlara müdahale edebildiğimiz, bakım hizmetlerinden, ev işlerinden tek başımıza sorumlu tutulmadığımız bir İstanbul'da, bir Kadıköy'de yaşamak istiyoruz.

Taleplerimiz

- 1- AB standartlarına göre her 7500 nüfus için 1 kadın sığınmağı gerekiyor. Kadıköy'de ise 521 bin nüfus için sadece 1 sığınak bulunuyor. Kadın sığınmağı sayısı arttırılsın, şiddete karşı 7/24 hizmet veren danışma hattı açılsın
- 2- Sokakta, evde, işyerinde cinsel şiddet ve tecavüze uğrayan kadınlar ve translar için 7/24 açık kriz masası açılsın, bu masadan göçmen kadınların yararlanması da sağlansın
- 3- Taciz riskini arttıran karanlık sokak, cadde ve parklar aydınlatılsın, duraklar ıssız ve karanlık yerlerde bulunmasın
- 4- Belediye, kadınlara biçki-dikiş, takı tasarımı, cilt bakımı gibi "kadın işi" olarak görülen alanlar dışında olan ve sigortalı bir iş sağlayacak meslek kursları düzenlesin,
- 5- Belediye, Kadıköy'deki işyerlerini daha fazla kadın çalıştırmaları için teşvik etsin, sığınakta kalan ya da sığınaktan yeni çıkmış kadınlara iş bulmada öncelik tanınsın
- 6- Ev işlerini yapmak, çocuk-hasta-yaşlı-engelli bakmak sadece kadınların değil erkeklerin ve tüm toplumun sorumluluğudur! Bu nedenle her mahallede kreşler, sosyal merkezler, yemekhaneler, çamaşırhaneler açılmalı
- 7- Sosyal, kültürel ve sağlıkla ilgili sunulan yerel hizmetler, dil, din, ırka dayalı hiçbir ayrım gözetmeden herkesin ulaşabileceği şekilde mahalle ölçeğinde verilsin
- 8- Yalnız yaşayan, sığınaktan yeni çıkmış kadınlara ve göçmen kadınlara barınma desteği sağlansın
- 9- Mahalle muhtarlıklarında kadın danışma masaları oluşturulsun
- 10- Belediyenin tüm plan, bütçe ve çalışmalarında kadın-erkek eşitliği sağlansın, bu plan ve çalışmalar kadın örgütlerinin danışmanlığında yürütülsün
- 11- Kadıköy Belediyesi'nde çalışanların yarısı kadın olsun, kadınlar karar alma mekanizmalarında yer alsın
- 12- Belediye, yönetici ve çalışanlarına toplumsal cinsiyet konusunda eğitim verilmesini sağlansın
- 13- Caddeler ve sokaklar engelliler göz önüne alınarak düzenlensin
- 14- Kadıköy'de yol ve imarila ilgili kentsel düzenlemelerin tümü cinsiyet eşitliğini, doğayı, hayvan haklarını gözeten bir bakışla yapılsın.

