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COLLECTIVE SUBJECTIVITY IN FEMINIST ACTIVISM AGAINST FEMICIDE IN TURKEY

Collective Subjectivity as an Intersectional Strategy
in the Struggle Against Femicide in Turkey

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AKP	Justice and Development Party (<i>Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi</i>)
BDP	Peace and Democracy Party (<i>Barış ve Demokrasi Partisi</i>)
CEDAW	The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CHP	Republican People's Party (<i>Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi</i>)
CoE	Council of Europe
DTP	Democratic Society Party (<i>Demokratik Toplum Partisi</i>)
EHP	Labor Movement Party (<i>Emekçi Hareket Partisi</i>)
EP	European Parliament
GREVIO	Group of Experts on Action against Violence against Women and Domestic Violence
Istanbul Convention	Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence
KAMER	Women's Center (<i>Kadın Merkezi</i>)
KADAV	Women's solidarity foundation (<i>Kadınlarla Dayanışma Vakfı</i>)
KCDP	We Will Stop Femicide Platform (<i>Kadın Cinayetlerini Durduracağız Platformu</i>)
KEDV	Foundation for the Support of Women's Work (<i>Kadın Emeğini Değerlendirme Vakfı</i>)
KHAS	Kadir Has University (<i>Kadir Has Üniversitesi</i>)
KİH-YÇ	Women's Human Rights – New Solutions Association (<i>Kadının İnsan Hakları – Yeni Çözümler Derneği</i>)
Law No. 6284	Law to Protect Family and Prevent Violence against Woman (<i>Ailenin Korunması ve Kadına Karşı Şiddetin Önlenmesine Dair Kanun</i>)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
SFK	Socialist Feminist Collective (<i>Sosyalist Feminist Kolektif</i>)
TBMM	Grand National Assembly of Turkey, GNAT (<i>Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi</i>)
TBMM KEFEK	Committee on Equality of Opportunity for Women and Men of GNAT (TBMM Kadın Erkek Fırsat Eşitliği Komisyonu)
TDK	Turkish Language Institution (<i>Türk Dil Kurumu</i>)

TÜİK	Turkish Statistical Institute (<i>Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu</i>)
UN	United Nations
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
WHO	World Health Organization

ABSTRACT

In Turkey, the data and legal regulations regarding femicide are inadequate. This research suggests that struggle against femicide which adopts an intersectional approach mobilizes women of different identities and backgrounds. This study aims to examine how collective subjectivity of the activists against femicide can be constituted among women who have different identities and experiences. I use feminist methodology to grasp the collective subjectivity of this struggle in Turkey. My position as an “outsider within” -a woman, a researcher, an activist, and an NGO volunteer who collects quantitative data on femicide-played a significant role in conducting my research.

The thesis demonstrates that it is possible to constitute women’s collective subjectivity in a way that encompasses intersecting subjectivities such as being a mother, a leftist, a transgender, a student, or a disabled person. Results indicate that these differences do not cause the dissolution of the unity. The conclusion is twofold: first, urgent measures should be taken by the state and, second, the relationship between activist groups and the state needs to be recovered. Further research is needed to analyze other dynamics of the struggle against femicide such as media, economy, and politics which could enhance the effectiveness of feminist activism.

Keywords: *femicide, feminist activism, collective subjectivity, intersectionality, Turkey*

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CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

According to a report titled “Perception of Gender and Women in Turkey - 2019” (KHAS 2019), violence is the biggest problem that women face in Turkish society. According to most of the respondents, violence is the primary issue both for women and men (Ibid.). Although violence has been the primary concern for four years in a row, research shows that the rate of increase throughout the years is striking. This isn’t a phenomenon peculiar to Turkey; worldwide, gender-based women killings, femicide, appears as an important problem when we look at current data and research: in 2017, in total, 87.000 women were intentionally killed all over the world (UNODC 2018, 10).

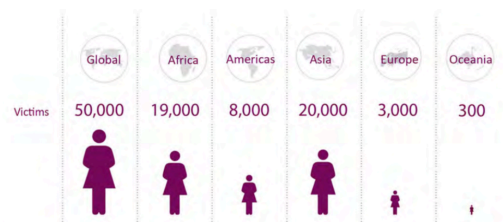


Image I: Number of gender-related killing of women and girls in 2017 worldwide (Ibid.)

In general, activism and other types of awareness-raising activities such as conferences, trainings, and educational programs against gender-based violence aim at rendering society more conscious of gender equality (KHAS 2019). Negative attitudes towards feminism and feminists among women are decreasing in general. However, although these attitudes are declining, the abovementioned report shows that men are increasingly disturbed by feminism. Both in Turkey and around the world, the meetings, street demonstrations, interviews, research, reports, press releases, social media campaigns organized by various universities, gender studies research centers, non-governmental organizations and volunteers played an importance role in this change of attitude towards feminism as well as topics such as concepts of gender, gender equality, femicide, types of gender-based violence, gender-based discrimination, inequality in employment conditions, and action plans for gender equality.

In the context of increasing violence against women and femicide in Turkey, feminist activism against femicide as a resistance movement is also on the rise. In this thesis, I refer to feminist activists as “activists”. I am aware of the fact that there are many forms of feminism both in practice and in academic literature. I acknowledge this plurality; however, in this thesis, I find it practical to use the term in its singular form as “feminist activism”. This decision stems from the focus of this thesis which is not on the differentiations between forms of feminist activism, but their collective struggle against femicide. Femicide is the deadly result of violence against women; and, this thesis sets out to analyze the collective subjectivity in feminist

activism against femicide in Turkey. The importance of the collective subjectivity lies in the fact that women who have different identities or who come from different backgrounds are killed by men; and activists, who have different identities and backgrounds struggle together for a common purpose to prevent femicide in Turkey.

Intersectionality addresses women in different contexts that have been shaped by capitalist and patriarchal dynamics and in this respect “the critical feminist thought [that is] needed is a way of thinking that can go beyond all the boundaries that are structured according to race, nationality, class, gender and ethnicity” (Mojab, S. and Abdo-Zubi, N. 2006, 8). Capitalist and patriarchal dynamics which shape the differences among women have nevertheless connected them. As feminist thought believes human rights, individual rights and equality for all, these differences or boundaries are not obstacles to women’s movements. Women’s movements in the US such as “Me Too” and “Times Up” have gained visibility through media, crossed the boundaries, spread all over the world and affected numerous women in different countries. Therefore, these differences can be understood as thresholds which bring together different actors to expand feminist thought, and not as obstacles which limit the struggle. Since the common goal for feminist activists is to fight against the male-dominated system, women come together as collectivities. This collective form of feminist struggle in Turkish society which emerged among women who are in many respects different from each other is the most important point of this research.

The concept of intersectionality informs the concept of collective subjectivity throughout this thesis. I do not analyze the quotes which I collected during my field research from the perspective of intersectionality; but, I rather analyze femicide and collective subjectivity. Thus, I present how collective subjectivity against femicide was constructed and I underline the positions of the interviewees from intersectionality perspective when needed.

Throughout this research, I have occupied three positionalities: a researcher producing knowledge, a person responsible for collecting quantitative data in an NGO (Kadın Cinayetlerini Durduracağız Platformu, KCDP, a feminist activist NGO in Turkey), and a feminist activist. Due to my “outsider within” status with regard to these three different positionalities, objectivity is very important for this thesis. I will expand on the notion of objectivity in Chapter II where I discuss feminist methodology as well as feminist standpoint theory employed in this research.

In order to better understand the collective subjectivity of feminist activism in this research, the phenomenon of femicide is analyzed primarily by using quantitative data of KCDP and The Ministry of the Interior of Republic of Turkey. The main aim of this research is to analyze the

possibility of building a collective subjectivity to fight against femicide. In so doing, semi-structured interviews and participant observation are used as the qualitative methods to gather data which will be presented and analyzed in the first chapter in order to address the phenomenon of collective subjectivity as an intersectional feminist strategy within feminist activism. Research is not adequate in addressing the number of women who are murdered by men as well as the number of women who fight against femicide. One reason for this is the fact that the use of the concept of femicide is limited to the field of medicine which provides data on the subject, nevertheless has failed to invoke academic debate.

This chapter first presents background information on the research. This section is followed by a mapping of the aims of this research as well as the research questions and definitions of the key concepts such as femicide, collective subjectivity and feminist activism. The analysis of collective subjectivity against femicide offered in this thesis is based on research questions presented in this chapter. This chapter concludes with an outline of the thesis will be given.

A. The Context of Turkey

In order to understand the dynamics of violence against women in Turkish society as well as the efforts to eliminate it, it is necessary to take into consideration the women's movement, women's presence in the government and in the legislative processes in Turkey. Historically, Turkey's context of politicization as well as the process of women's rights and women's movement in Turkey are different than those of Western societies. (Tekeli 1981, 120). However, similar to the Western context, "human right norms have in fact played a significant role in promoting women's rights in Turkey" (Arat 2001, 27). Women used human rights norms in their struggle for rightful existence in Turkish society. Human rights norms and national regulations on gender equality actively pressured the state to comply with human rights standards of international documents.

The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW hereafter) was signed in 1979 by United Nations General Assembly and it is an important tool for the advancement of women's rights and gender equality as well as for the elimination of discrimination against women. It played a key role in the evolution of the global consciousness on women's rights. Turkey signed CEDAW in 1985. Thus, in Turkey, it is quite possible to speak of "a legal framework based on the basic principles of CEDAW, and very serious advances made in the field of women's law, and positive legal reforms made towards the development of women's human rights" (Acar 2010, 17). Being a party to CEDAW was an important step towards the recognition of women as independent subjects as well as for the recognition of the concept of violence against women by the state. Therefore, the Turkish state

started codifying the required legislative regulations for elimination of violence against women in Turkey. As the recognition and visibility of violence against women increased, women's movements put more pressure on the government and the male-dominated system. Thus, many women-led non-governmental organizations were established in order to understand, learn, and find solutions for main problems women face such as violence, discrimination, economic and socio-political inequalities.

In 1990, in order to comply with CEDAW requirements, The Directorate General on the Status and Problems of Women (*Kadının Statüsü ve Sorunları Genel Müdürlüğü*) was established with the efforts of a woman MP, İmren Aykut, who was a member of the Motherland Party (*Anavatan Partisi*). Marshall expresses that feminists take a part during this process, but her [İmren Aykut] initiative was an response to international requests for CEDAW not demands of women (2009, 361). Marshall points out that “the need for a policy-making mechanism was discussed only in a small group of feminist academicians” and, thus, she claims that policy-making mechanism regarding women was not fully reflecting feminist needs and demands (Ibid., 362). According to Marshall, some feminists were cautious about the establishment of these institutions, because they fathomed that state-led institutions would contradict with feminist interests.

Although it was the first state institution on women's status and problems, the Directorate did not have enough political and financial support and it was understaffed. As a result, the policy-making mechanism remained incapable of achieving its ends and the Directorate remained dependent on the international funds. These obstacles, Marshall (2009, 362) argues, “gave women's groups an institutional framework to be involved in and influence the state apparatus”. This, in turn, led to the establishment of a relationship between activists and the state which would become more active in the late 1990s and 2000s. In this process, women in Turkey began mobilizing against male violence.ⁱⁱ

Feminist activism in Turkey gained experience together, although women's NGOs have had varying foci such as economy or violence against women. Particularly those who focused on violence against women and femicide have witnessed the legal, political and discursive transformation of concepts of honor killing, (*namus cinayeti*)ⁱⁱⁱ, and custom killing (*töre cinayeti*)^{iv} into the concept of femicide. They took active part in the struggle for the political and legal recognition of the concept of femicide, the implementation of relevant legal regulations, and the protection measures required for women.

Since the second wave feminist movement in the 1980s in Turkey, women have developed a critical perspective towards the male dominant society and the state. The concept of honor

killings has been the subject of many campaigns since 1997, and the feminist struggle has gained momentum thereafter. The women's movement in the 1990s was struggling against the patriarchal oppression on women's body, identity and labor. The honor and custom killings are important social problems, thus, its elimination cannot be achieved through solely legal changes; social transformation is also needed. Following the developments in the world, in the 1990s feminist activists in Turkey argued that honor and custom killings do not fully correspond to the concept of femicide and they claimed a conceptual transformation.

In 1998, the government adopted the "Family Protection Law No. 4320" to take measures against and to prevent domestic violence against women and children. In 2007, Law No. 4320 was amended to include all members of the extended family. Amendments and the implementation procedures of the law were put into force in 2008. The report of Gender Equality in Turkey states that the scope of the law is narrow since "the law addresses domestic violence within the family and not against 'woman' as an individual" (EP 2012, 9). It means that the legal protection provided by this law does not include single women who are subjected to violence.

Moreover, in 2003, the AKP (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*) government amended the criminal code with the aim of eliminating the honor killings. Despite the legal regulations, femicides continued with the justification of honor. According to the results of the report (TBMM 2015, 57) published by the Human Rights Presidency of the Prime Ministry (*Başbakanlık İnsan Hakları Başkanlığı*) in 2007, the killings were first and foremost committed under the name of honor. The results show that the most important reasons behind the honor killings pertain to women acting in contradiction with the expected gender and sexual roles defined by the traditional patriarchal norms (İçli 2013, 172). In other words, acceptable forms of femininity in Turkish society which are shaped by the social structure can be a justification for the killing of women by men.

While violence against women and femicide continue in different ways, under different justifications and by different names, the struggle against femicide has also become more visible through individual and group efforts all over the world. Ni Una Menos [Not One (Woman) Less] movement, which started in Argentina in 2015, is one of the most important struggles against gender-based violence and femicide. In their website, the group describes their activism against femicide as "Ni Una Menos" (Not One Less) is a way to condemn that it's unacceptable to continue counting women who are murdered because they are women or dissenting bodies, and to indicate what is the object of this violence" (Ni Una Menos, 2017). Ni Una Menos has attracted attention and has been an important movement in recognition of

the concept and phenomenon of femicide all over the world. Before Ni Una Menos, in Turkey in the 2000s -in a period of successive AKP governments which started in 2002- several women's organizations against femicide had already been established. Some of them are as follows: We Revolt Against Femicide (*Kadın Cinayetlerine Karşı İsyandayız*) in 2010, We Will Stop Femicide Platform (*Kadın Cinayetlerini Durduracağız Platformu, KCDP*) in 2010 and Group of Immediate Prevention Against Femicide (*Kadın Cinayetlerine Karşı Acil Önlem Grubu*) in 2014. These women's organizations have been striving for being involved particularly in the legislative processes. Some MPs have been making statements (T24, 2015) which support women's organizations in the Turkish Parliament (CNNTürk, 2016); feminist lawyers have been preparing egalitarian draft laws (KCDP, 2015); and activists were raising awareness and public opinion through media channels (Karakas, 2015), social media and demonstrations (Hürriyet, 2016). Although in a limited way, women's organizations have carried out their struggle in contact with the state. As a result, some women's organizations were invited to the government-led meetings.

Starting from this period, there has been some legal developments. The government started recognizing women as individuals, independent of their status in the family. State not only resists this change in its practices, but also in terms of its policies. While women mobilize against the male-dominated system and claim their rights, the state continues to occupy its defensive resistance against change. This results in a paradoxical situation. The Law No. 6284 to Protect Family and Prevent Violence against Woman (*6284 Sayılı Ailenin Korunması ve Kadına Karşı Şiddetin Önlenmesine Dair Kanun*), and the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence (henceforth the Istanbul Convention) came into force during the AKP period. Nevertheless, AKP government continued its resistance against achieving gender equality, which has made the Istanbul Convention and Law No. 6284 inapplicable and ineffective. Thus, the implementations of Law No. 6284 and Istanbul Convention are insufficient and problematic because of the open-ended clauses in legal regulations and the traditionalist mentality (Akkoç 2006, viii). In the meantime, the phenomenon of femicide increasingly continues to be the most extreme form of violence against women despite the existence of Law No. 6284, which is indeed a major step forward in Turkey. GREVIO published its "Baseline Evaluation Report – Turkey" on the implementation of the Istanbul Convention on 15 October 2018, and underlined some of the factors which preclude the prevention of violence against women in Turkey. One such factor is "the lack of a systematic and thorough assessment of general policies in terms of their potential impact on equality between women and men and violence against women" and the other factor "stems

from the tendency to emphasize women’s traditional roles as mothers and care-givers, which do little to challenge discriminatory stereotypes concerning the roles and responsibilities of women and men in family and society” (CoE 2018, 7).

The efforts to expose the political nature of femicide have played a key role in raising public awareness and implementing laws through political and legal processes. Through feminist activism, collective subjectivity emerges in the struggle against femicide. The social movement that struggles against male violence is also becoming more active (Mojab et al. 2006, 2) through the establishment of women’s shelters and violence reporting services that aims to prevent violence against women. CEDAW is one of the important steps taken to prevent gender-based violence even though “in many countries, because the right to life of citizens is still not recognized by the state, men here feel free to kill women because of their inappropriate behavior” (Ibid.). In spite of these important steps that will address universal patriarchal violence in some countries with the intention of achieving gender equality, the inequalities in women’s status in the society or in employment continue in Turkey. The chart below shows the perception of gender equality both of women and men in Turkey.

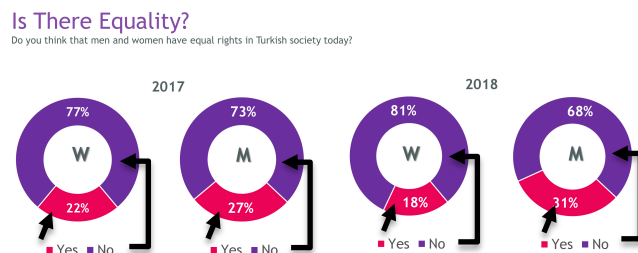


Chart I: Is There Equality? (KHAS 2018)

B. Background of the Study

The focus of this research is parties/various actors within feminist activism and the interaction between them in their struggle against femicide in Turkey. One such actor in feminist activism, KCDP, is unique in that the NGO keeps an up-to-date data on femicide cases in Turkey. Bianet, an online newspaper, also publishes a femicide report every year. There are also many local women’s organizations and independent activists who fight against femicide. In 2018, the Minister of Interior, Süleyman Soylu, for the first time announced the data of femicide of the previous year (2017)^{vii} and he used the term femicide for the first time. Soylu stated that 393 women have been subjected to violence and killed between January 2017 and November 2018^{viii}. Activists involved in the struggle against femicide, who have been collecting and publishing their own data, have endeavored for years to achieve an official recognition of the concept of femicide. Albeit the low numbers provided by the ministry compared to the data collected by other organizations via media outlets, it is very important that the AKP government

accepts the existence of femicide instead of referring to it as “honor crimes”. In order to find a solution to an issue, the state must first recognize the issue at hand as a problem, and only after that the relevant data is collected by the state. After collecting the data, possible strategies are devised to address the problem. Thus, this recognition is significant in terms of demonstrating the influence of activists on the government’s attitude. Albeit there are two important regulations to eliminate femicide, which are the Istanbul Convention and the Law No. 6284, the implementation of these regulations and laws falls short without the public pressure created by the activists today.

There is a discrepancy between the formal government structures, activism and increasing numbers of femicide in Turkey. In other words, activists and the MPs who pursue this cause demand urgent action for the elimination of femicide. Despite the existing laws and regulations that are supposed to preclude femicide, the AKP government fails to take necessary steps to implement the law and eliminate femicide. In 2009, Fatma Kurtulan, Van deputy of Democratic Society Party (*Demokratik Toplum Partisi, DTP*) posed parliamentary question to the Ministry of Justice regarding domestic violence and femicide. The figures given by the ministry are as follows:

2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
66	83	164	317	663	1011	806	963

Table I. Number of women who were murdered by men between 2002 – 2009 in Turkey (Eryılmaz 2014, 22)

Women’s organizations underlined that femicide increased by 1400 % in Turkey between 2002 and 2009 and women urged the subject in question to be put on the agenda of the AKP government (Eryılmaz 2014, 22). However, the answers regarding the femicide numbers provided by the ministry to the next parliamentary question were different than previous report above announced.

Collecting and analyzing data are of utmost necessity for developing measures to combat femicide in Turkey. It is useful to reiterate that data is required to come up with solutions, yet the solutions that are offered are ineffective and inadequate. Contrary to the different figures and unreliable data received from the government, KCDP collects its own data on femicide from media reports in Turkey. But, as KCDP also stated, these figures are only the numbers that the volunteers reach through media and the actual numbers can be higher.

2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
180	121	210	237	294	303	328	409	440

Table II. Femicide Data for the Years 2010-2018. Collected by KCDP

According to the report of KCDP, there is striking decrease in the femicide numbers of 2011. Law No. 6284, which entered into force in 2011, caused a significant progress in its first year. Afterwards, the numbers of femicide increased rapidly due to the failure to implement the law effectively, the reduction of punishments imposed, the increase of patriarchal rhetoric, and the neglect of gender equality. Gülsüm Kav, an activist in KCDP, on this decrease in figures states that adopting the Law No. 6284 and becoming a party to the Istanbul Convention in 2011 was important because, with those two regulations, the state expressed its will in not tolerating the violence against women. Kav further argues that this point of view was also reflected in the society (Girit, 2018).

In another parliamentary question No. 7/21011, Sebahat Tuncel, Istanbul deputy of Peace and Democracy Party (*Barış ve Demokrasi Partisi, BDP*), asked about the data collection methods of the statement made by the Ministry of Family and Social Policies according to which 155 women were killed as a result of domestic violence. Sebahat Tuncel stated that in the data KCDP provided, which was collected only through media channels, 210 women were killed in the same period. Considering that the Ministry of Family and Social Policies have also access to the cases that are not publicized, the number is expected to be higher. In response, the ministry declared that, in their data, the perpetrators consisted not only family members but also included boyfriends, ex-boyfriends, partners, fiancés and ex-spouses within the framework of the definition of violence against women in the Law no. 6284 (Eryılmaz 2014, 25). This means that the data on femicide put together in the ministry's report went beyond the scope of the Law No. 4320 which only includes the members of the extended family. However, this response still does not account for the gap between the figures of femicide cases.

Despite the discrepant figures and explanations of the ministry, according to the Grand National Assembly of Turkey Committee on Equality of Opportunity for Women and Men (TBMM KEFEK) it is clearly stated that the government makes the effort to ensure gender equality and elimination of violence against women by strengthening some of the constitutional articles through amendments. The committee states that “since the early 2000s, Turkey has achieved notable progress in its legislation, including the Constitution, to guarantee gender equality and to ensure non-discrimination against women in all areas” (TBMM KEFEK, no date).

During this process, feminist activists and the state engaged in communication and feminist organizations offered their ideas and support to the government's effort to carry out this work. However, in 2011, Turkey's ruling party AKP abrogated the Ministry of State for Women and Family and instead established the Ministry of Family and Social Policies. This development

interrupted the previous communication. As Coşar and Özkan-Kerestecioğlu, asserts “a symbolic manifestation of the AKP’s insistence on the conservative values can be observed in the change of the name” (2017, 163) of this ministry and adds that even though the previous name of the ministry already reflected a conservative perspective on women’s rights, after the name change, the patriarchal perspective of the AKP, which associates only the institution of the family to social policies, has been more obvious. AKP, the ruling party, with its conservative values and patriarchal perspective on women, approaches to the formation of femininity “first and foremost in terms of the familial sphere shaped by a religious-nationalist understanding” (Coşar and Yeğenoğlu 2011, 557). The structural modification of the ministry accompanying the name change occurs within the “state-sponsored familialism of the 2010s” (Korkman 2016, 113). During this process when the women’s status in Turkish society occupied a prominent place in policy-making mechanisms, as Özlem Altıok and Bihter Somersan point out the Istanbul Convention created an opportunity to eliminate gender-based violence for states (2015). The Istanbul Convention aims at preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence particularly, but controversially, the AKP government does not accept violence against women as related to gender inequality.

On 11 February 2015, Özgecan Aslan, a Turkish university student, was murdered while resisting an attempted rape on a minibus in Mersin, Turkey. Her burnt body was discovered on February 13 (Hurriyet Daily News, 2015). After this killing became public, feminist activism became a powerful force in shaping the public discussions on femicide. After this killing, in different parts of Turkey women’s organizations took to the streets to protest violence against women and femicide (Russia Today, 2015). Activists demanded for what they call an “Özgecan Law”, which would prohibit judges from reducing a man’s sentence for having been “unjustly provoked” (*haksız tahrik*)^{xi} into the killing of a woman (The Guardian, 2015). On the commemoration day of Özgecan Aslan’s killing in 2016, CHP Mersin deputy Aytuğ Atıcı submitted a legislative proposal which concurred with the idea and support of feminist organizations to the Turkish Grand National Assembly [TBMM]. The proposal envisions the abolition of the statute of limitation, unjust provocation and sentence reduction for good conduct for sexual offenders (CNNTürk, 2016). In this proposal Atıcı demanded the statute of limitations in sexual assault cases to be lifted and sought the removal of a sentence reductions to the suspects based on “unjust provocation” (*haksız tahrik*) and “good conduct time” (*iyi hal indirimi*).^{xii} Despite the increasing numbers of femicide in Turkey, this draft law is still pending at the parliament. Today, the Istanbul Convention and the Law No. 6284 are not implemented effectively, and the government doesn’t take concrete steps to eliminate femicide. This

exemplifies the failure of the interaction between the people and state which neglects the grassroots demands in policy making. Yet, the AKP government discusses repentance law for imprisoned criminals instead of making legal arrangements to fight femicide, and this results in a gap between those who demand that the state should take active measures to eliminate femicide and the state's responses. Still, the fact that the members of the government, for the first time, started using the term of "femicide" to address the killing of women and declared relevant data in 2018 marks a positive progress.

Considering the historical process of interaction between the state and feminist activism in the Turkish context, it is possible to see that there is a rupture in this interaction in practice. Activists, NGOs, and family members of murdered women are all excluded from policy making mechanisms of the government for years during the AKP period with the European Union accession process. Although feminist organizations have made official applications to the related ministries to take measures and make legal arrangements to end violence against women and femicide, the government does not collaborate with feminist activists. There are many shortcomings in the implementation of regulations and creation of new solutions in accordance with the main points^{xiii} of the Istanbul Convention. The government does not communicate with activists who are one of the most important groups who engage in these issues, nor does it effectively use the Istanbul Convention and the Law No. 6284. During the nomination process of candidates from Turkey for GREVIO, which is an independent expert body responsible for monitoring the implementation of the Istanbul Convention, women NGOs in Turkey have experienced a similar disconnection with the AKP government which ignored feminist activism and pursued its own approach^{xiv}.

Nonetheless, the feminist movement against femicide is an ongoing collective struggle encompassing women from all ages, experiences, ethnicities with different political views. Instead of particular political identities of activists, the movement appears as a collective form of political subject demanding justice. Drawing on gender theories and intersectionality literature which are discussed below and also in Chapter III, I explore the possibilities and challenges of building a collective subjectivity for the struggle against femicide. While researching feminist activism against femicide, I also draw on my experience as an activist in Turkey since 2011 and as the Data Committee Coordinator of KCDP since 2018. Thus, I had the opportunity to observe feminist activism and the formation of a collective subjectivity in Turkey. Based on my observations, I argue that feminist activism against femicide can be explained by collective subjectivity. Thus, this study employs the concept of collective subjectivity against femicide to improve the understanding of femicide as a phenomenon within

gender studies.

As Corradi, Marcuello-Servós, Boira and Weil mention, the concept of “femicide” refers to “an effort in sociological imagination that has been successful in transforming conventional perception, public awareness, scientific research and policy making” (2016, 975). Along with the increasing numbers of femicide in Turkey, the awareness of activists and the struggle grew even more. Activists organize meetings in every city to raise awareness in society, especially among women and children, conduct educational activities, organize street demonstrations, publish newsletters, broadcast news, organize campaigns, engage in national and international lobbying activities, and conduct scientific research in the academy. My research investigates the phenomenon of collective subjectivity against femicide drawing on the efforts to articulate femicide and feminist activism addressing this phenomenon.

C. Aims of the Study, Scope of the Research and Definition of the Key Terms

The purpose of this study is to make feminist activism, which combats remarkably increasing numbers of femicide, visible (KCDP, 2019). The Turkish state had already signed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1949; thus, the state is obliged to protect people’s lives and liberties according to the Article 3rd of the declaration.

Feminist activism strives to eliminate femicide in the name of women’s right to life. This demonstrates the collective will of people who unite against femicide despite their different political views. With this study, my aim is to make visible and analyze this collective subjectivity as an intersectional feminist strategy against femicide in Turkish context. This study argues that the active struggle against femicide constitutes a collective subjectivity in feminist activism. In this way, the struggle against femicide of activists who are politicized, takes place in society in order to demand justice. The family members of the women killed, activists, lawyers and non-governmental organizations struggle together. This common struggle transcends different political views and, as such, provides a good case for intersectional analysis. The common problem for feminist activists with different backgrounds is that femicide is an extreme form of gender-based violence and women are killed just because of their gender identities. This study claims that the struggle against femicide can be explored through the concept of collective subjectivity and that women can build a unified struggle against femicide. So far, studies on femicide have been the subject of medicine and criminology. In medicine, women are treated as quantitative data, and my research shows that there isn’t much literature on the issue of femicide written in English.

For this study, I scrutinized activism against femicide in Turkey particularly focusing on the 2000s to date. For this purpose, I based my discussions on interviews as well as the

quantitative data. In 2019, between March and April, in Ankara and İstanbul, I conducted 9 semi-structured interviews with activists with different political identities, who are involved individually or collectively in a civil society organization. Some of the interviews were done online (See APPENDIX I for the list of interviewees). Besides the activist organizations, voluntary activists from different professions, political views, socio-economic status, sexual orientation, and a family member of a murdered woman are included in this research. The interviews analyzed in Chapter IV are conducted with people who are active in feminist activism against femicide.

This thesis offers a detailed discussion on femicide in terms of collective subjectivity in Chapter III. In this chapter, I provide short definitions of the key concepts employed throughout the thesis. The term femicide means the “most extreme form of gender violence” (Luffy, Evans, and Rochat 2015, 107) which is a phenomenon of deadly violence that aims to oppress and control women, women’s bodies and their lives. Femicide is “the most extreme form of sexist terrorism, motivated by hatred, contempt, pleasure, or a sense of ownership of women” (Caputi and Russell 1992, 15). As Radford mentions that “femicide has many different forms; for example, racist femicide, homophobic femicide, or lesbicide, marital femicide; femicide committed outside the home by stranger; serial femicide; and mass femicide” (1992, 7). I also need to add the killings of transgender women to these forms of femicide categorized by Radford.

I also benefit from the quantitative data on femicide in Turkey. These numbers include transgender women. I have not limited the discussion on femicide in this thesis only to cis-women. The common reality of those who identify as transgender or woman is that they are under bigger threat of deadly violence (Zengin, online) due to their gender identities. While women movements conceptualize the killing of women as “femicide”, LGBTI+ activists consider the killings of trans people in terms of “hate crimes”, a concept which is generally used in LGBTI+ activism. Killing of those people who identify as trans is referred as hate killing and they are subjected to hate crimes. In this thesis, the femicide is not considered to be excluding hatred and hate crimes, femicide and hate crimes are intertwined. Therefore, the theoretical debate on the relation between femicide and hate is mentioned in the literature review under the concept of femicide. Thus, this thesis covers various forms of femicide that are committed in Turkey. Thus, I focus on the deadly result of all kinds of violence against women.

For this research the interviewees were not asked whether they were feminists or not. According to the Dictionary of Gender Studies, feminism is “the view that women and men

should be treated equally and the advocacy of women's rights" (Griffin, no date). Going beyond this definition that is based on a binary understanding of gender, I take feminism as a struggle for equality among people regardless of their gender identity. Thus, in this study, I consider the action plans and movements of all people against femicide as "feminist activism". Furthermore, feminist activism "denotes the struggle for women's rights through a range of different means, including street marches, protests, petitions, online activism, and consciousness-raising" (Ibid.) Thus, this research regarded all the interviewees as feminist activists given their struggle against femicide as gender-based violence. These activist women are in a struggle to transform the paternalistic institutions and practices that ensure protection for women, because "feminist activism may turn to paternalistic political and social institutions, investing them with the power to realize feminist goals" (Butler, Gambetti and Sabsay 2016, 2).

I refer to the notion of collective subjectivity as a way in which people with different identities come together and struggle to solve a problem in a society. Historically, over the years women come together and form collective subjectivities in the struggle against violence against women, but in this thesis I focus on that collective subjectivity within feminist activism has developed in the struggle against femicide. Although women who participated in this struggle do not necessarily identify as feminists, they fight against femicide. In this case, I understand this feminist activism against femicide as the people's struggle to achieve gender equality, and this research refers to all women who fight against femicide. As Domingues mentions,

"collective subjectivities (or collectivities, for short) are here conceptualized as social systems, which are inter-subjectively constituted. They have their own properties and cannot be either reduced to individuals (as 'emergent', ontologically, from them) or reified as independent collective phenomena (...) This implies common goals or their dispersion and even contradictory pursuits, as well as joint or split action and movement, with or without self-awareness of such social processes" (2018, 251).

In this regard, feminist activists who constitute a collective subjectivity against femicide, take joint action for fighting a common problem in society.

I also use the term "collective political subjectivity" in some parts of the study while discussing activism by the actors who identify themselves as feminist. Collective political subjectivity "can be understood as the theory and practice of constructing a project around the interests of a broad range of actors who can negotiate the fundamental power relations in contemporary capitalism" (Haarstad 2007, 57) and I adapt this definition to patriarchy as a power relation that is based on male dominance and gender inequality. The reason for this is that since the constitution of this subjectivity is political, some researchers also use both

expressions interchangeably. Since the legal regulations do not suffice by themselves and the necessary political steps are not taken, femicide is politicized by the feminist activism. This problem can not only be solved by legal regulations, it requires social transformation. As stated by the activist group, We Revolt Against Femicide, femicide is a political issue (Kadın Cinayetlerine Karşı İsyandayız, no date). As there are people who have different political views in the struggle against femicide, I prefer to use “collective subjectivity” in order not to be understood as if I suggest that there is a “single political opinion against femicide”. Furthermore, I aim at presenting a comprehensive explanation through intersectionality due to the existence of people who have different political attitudes in the struggle against femicide. I think that the phenomenon of femicide and the term collective subjectivity point at political stances, but in this study, I explain that these political stances do not adopt a single political vision.

In 2018, 440 women were murdered by men in Turkey according to data of KCDP. These women did not belong to a certain political view, class, ethnicity, religion, sexual identity and age group. This applies also to murdered women and activists, and this is why I adopt an intersectional perspective when discussing collective subjectivity in struggle against femicide for this research.

Likewise, women who are in struggle against femicide and violence do not have a single political opinion; they have different identities or they adopt different political stances. Their stories and reasons for fighting against femicide are different; some women learn and struggle after the killing of their sisters, some started to struggle after they were threatened by their boyfriends. Still some others heard about femicide from a friend, some watched news about it on television, some came across it on social media and began to struggle.

I argue that the feminist struggle can progress jointly with all differences. In the following section, I review the significance of this thesis with respect to its research questions.

D. Significance of the Study and Research Questions

My personal interest in this topic as a researcher concerns the identification of the current struggle for the women’s right to life. The social significance of the topic in Turkey purports to establish bridges between women’s immediate needs arising from different forms of oppression and the necessity to politicize these needs as common interests (Acar Savran 2011). This research argues that it is possible to articulate needs and anger of women as a common revolt. In Turkish society, women are differentiated through being married-single, having a child, and through nationality, age, experience, political idea. In other words, women have different identities and they belong to different groups. It is possible to have different problems, needs

and expectations in the society with these different identities. In this thesis, I show that it is possible for all these women to struggle together in solidarity against a common problem since their problems originate from the legal arrangements and discourses of the male-dominated system.

This research aims to present the theoretical understanding of activism as a struggle against femicide and the impact of such activism on the context of collective subjectivity. Accordingly, it seeks to answer the following questions:

- What is the social importance of the struggle against femicide for feminist activists? How is femicide conceptualized by the feminist activists? What are the motivations of feminist activist who are struggling against femicide?
- What is the subjectivity for feminist activists against femicide? Is it possible to build the collective subjectivity of any kind of people from different point of views/backgrounds politically in the struggle against femicide? How and why is collective subjectivity built? What is the effect of the construction of a collective subjectivity on feminist activism against femicide?
- How differences are negotiated within the collective subjectivity? Are differences transcended? What are the conceptual commonalities and discrepancies of activists within feminist activism as a part of civil society in approaching femicide in the context of Turkey through collective subjectivity from an intersectional perspective?
- What role activism plays in Turkey against femicide in the context of power relations between the state and civil society? What kind of implications for state and civil society occur within the collective subjectivity as an intersectional strategy against femicide?

This thesis proposes an analysis of these questions from the perspective of feminist activism and tries to understand how civil society responds to the interaction between the state and society.

E. Chapter Outline

In this chapter, I explained the background, aims, scope and significance of the research, provided the definition of the key terms and specified the research questions. I underlined that the concept of femicide is a gender-based killing and that the government has not provided the necessary measures and legal arrangements to eliminate it. I explained the development of the struggle against femicide by presenting a brief history of the struggle in Turkey since the 2000s. I also outlined the meaning of important concepts for this research such as femicide, feminist activism, collective subjectivity, and intersectionality. The research questions which are stated

in this chapter shape the interview questions.

Chapter II offers a discussion on methods and methodology by pointing out the methodology of the research, discussions on feminist standpoint, methods of the research, ethical considerations, and limitations. Chapter III provides a literature review about the concept of femicide, feminist activism, and the collective subjectivity. The interviews and observations, presentation of all the collected data and their analyses for this study are offered in Chapter IV. Finally, the summary, conclusion, consideration, and further remarks are stated in Chapter V.

CHAPTER II. METHODS AND METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I argue that feminist methodology played a critical role to make sense of the phenomenon of collective subjectivity against femicide in Turkey. Considering the links between gender and society, the concept of positionality is of great importance to analyze actors of activism. Thus, my position as a woman, activist and researcher for this research is intimately related to feminist standpoint of a researcher who occupies the “outsider within” position. In this chapter, the methodology and method are discussed to provide a detailed account of feminist standpoint.

A. Research Methodology

In this section, I discuss the methodological background of this research. Harding (1987, 3) claims that methodology is theory and analysis of how research does or should proceed should be elaborated on. Research includes the accounts of how the general structure of theory finds its application in particular scientific disciplines. In this context, this thesis on feminist activism, femicide, and collective subjectivity as an intersectional strategy are based on feminist methodology which focuses on women’s experiences and voices. In connection with gender and society, standpoint and positionality are main pillars of feminist methodology in this research. It aims to shed light on the obstacles that silence women and the ways in which science is gendered and women are represented in passive and oppressed positions. “Feminist researchers have argued that traditional theories have been applied in ways that make it difficult to understand women’s participation in social life, or to understand men’s activities as gendered [as opposed to representing ‘the human’]” (Harding 1987, 3). Traditional epistemologies claim that science has a masculine voice, thus, this research is conducted for women and it aims at giving voice to women. The subjects of this thesis are women and the women-only collective subjectivity against femicide. This thesis argues that women are killed by men and those who struggle against these killings are also women. In this regard, this research inherently aims to make women’s voice about the struggle against femicide heard by using feminist methodology.

Burns and Walker (2005, 66) point out that feminist research is “always more than a matter of method, and raises philosophical issues of ontology (one’s world view and how this shapes what can be known about the world and indeed what it means to be a full human being) and epistemology (what counts as knowledge and ways of knowing)”. Thus, the concept of femicide and collective subjectivity are supported theoretically by the feminist methodology in this research through women’s perspectives. The feminist methodology for this thesis aims to reveal gender-based injustices related to knowledge, power, and gender in Turkish society and the voices of activist women in struggle against femicide. From an equality perspective, Zavos and

Biglia (2009, 154) emphasize the importance of feminist challenges to the sexism of science. I conducted this research not only as a woman but also as an activist working on femicide and this research addresses the women who are activists against femicide to analyze collectivity within the struggle. Thus, before the next section, which discusses the standpoint of this thesis, I discuss here that feminist standpoint methodology is a cornerstone of this research since my experiences are also shaped by it. Drawing on Harding, Burns et al. (2005, 67) state that women have a broader perspective on social reality, because of gendered pressures, and that the subjectivity of the researcher is very important to pay attention to women's perspectives.

For this research which focuses on femicide, feminist activism, and collective subjectivity, the feminist methodology and the researcher's positionality are both of great importance. This brings together the voices of feminist activists, of those whose close relatives were killed and of those who voluntarily make an effort.

B. Discussion on Feminist Standpoint

This research contends that the position of any researcher is constructed on previous knowledge about society and people as well as on the dynamics of power. Haraway (1988), through the concept of situated knowledge, suggests that the position of a feminist researcher cannot be completely neutral, the knowledge is limited by others' experiences and realities that are also constructed by similar dynamics. Feminist standpoint theory's approach exposes a division between this patriarchal science and reality. In the context of positionality, that is "the implication of the researcher in the production of knowledge and a breaking down of the masculinist separation of the private (world of the researcher) through the public (activity of research)" (Burns and Walker 2005, 67) on behalf of feminist methodology in this thesis. Women continue their struggle against the male-dominated approach in science by using feminist standpoint methodology.

Harding's question (1992, 437) for feminist research and position of the researcher is significant: "How can feminists create research that is for women in the sense that it provides less partial and distorted answers to questions that arise from women's lives and are not only about those lives but also about the rest of nature and social relations?". Producing the knowledge of the oppressed groups can overcome the difficulties of doing research as a feminist since the power of feminist standpoint comes from women's resistance against the male-dominated science and knowledge production. In this study, feminist standpoint provides me with the objectivity of research which is to analyze the social relation of marginalized women. Harding indicates that "women's lives and experiences provide the 'grounds' for this knowledge, though these clearly do not provide foundations for knowledge in the conventional

philosophical sense” (ibid., 445). Feminist standpoints do not guarantee and suffice for the maximization of objectivity of researcher, but it supports feminist knowledge for better understanding of femicide with a “within outsider” status in this study. The feminist activism, which claims to be constituted independent of the male-dominated system, may be achieving this under the influence of the male-dominated system. It is not possible to determine how pure it is. For the maximization of objectivity, it is not possible to evaluate all the positions women in the fight against femicide occupy. For example, I couldn’t find any women supporters of AKP government in this research because they are not in solidarity with the struggle against femicide. Thus, the scope of this research does not cover all standpoints against femicide. Also, for each researcher, a good starting point may as well be their own standpoints, and they may think that they can get more accurate results from their own point of view. However, this is not the feminist standpoint. For feminist standpoint, there is no unique, ideal position from which standpoint theories recommend to start with (ibid., 454) because the feminist standpoint contends that there are different feminist studies that have numerous different standpoints, which enable us to know about each other.

Based on the notion of situated knowledge, Collins (1986) refers to various studies whose values lie in their emphasis on the function of stereotypes in controlling oppressed groups. Although Collin’s discussion is grounded on Black Women’s self-definition, in this study I employ it to discuss male-dominated system of government, society, law, media that controls women as a dominated group. Knowledge is produced; it shapes and reshapes the observer/researcher in a way that is linked to the patriarchal society, and the stereotypes can be problematic if the researcher remains entirely outside of the field. Knowledge produced within the patriarchal system is not novel; it is produced within the limits and boundaries of the system.

For example, the concept of femicide is not same as “honor killing” which had been used for several years in Turkish context before the concept of femicide that is based on situated knowledge of the long-term struggle of feminist activists was produced. Amendment of the Turkish Criminal Code in 2003 to eliminate honor killings was a result of feminist movement and public pressure by women. Historically, before this relevant law, perpetrators were prosecuted and imprisoned under the name of honor killings and get sentence reduction based on “unjust provocation” (*haksız tahrik*). But after the amendment, femicide cases began to be evaluated without a sentence reduction. It is also important to mention, however, that honor killing as a concept was also a product of an earlier feminist consciousness to reduce these killings, find possible solutions and demand justice for women. The making of this law and the abolition of sentence reduction for perpetrators are amongst the most important gains of

women's resistance in Turkey.

This produced knowledge offers a specific position of a “situated” researcher who has the privilege of traversing multiple, if unequal, intellectual and material spaces, which can be both an asset and a challenge if the researcher is to challenge existing relations of inequality as Zavos et al. mention (2009, 155). For all these reasons, I, as an outsider within, am aware that “feminist objectivity means quite simply situated knowledge” (Haraway 1988, 581). The “outsider within” status with a feminist standpoint contributes to my knowledge in this research that does not belong to the space male-dominated knowledge.

The significance of the positionality in this research is very much related to the “outsider within” status of the researcher. Haraway (1988, 582) argues that “view of infinite vision is an illusion, a god trick” suggesting an objective position of the viewer from an unknown outside. Feminist standpoint, on the other hand, accepts to have a point of view and articulates the perspective of this position. This position is not merely a personal position; it is a kind of knowledge that speaks about people's lives, including who is speaking. It means that in this study, I am simultaneously a researcher, the person who is responsible for KCDP's data collection and monthly report, and an activist who actively struggle against femicide. Feminist standpoint of researcher as Harding discusses and the “outsider within” status as Collins refers to are quite important, and I use these terms to understand the experiences of women I talk to. Taking power relations into account, different identities and backgrounds marginalize women; therefore, there is a difference between how they see themselves and how they are seen by the mainstream society. “Outsider within” status is a methodological perspective used in this study to understand and connect with women who are marginalized in terms of gender. Thus, it is possible to render insiders more visible and to raise consciousness on insiders' experiences with the viewpoint of outsider.

The notion of positionality suggests that with the “outsider within” status, the researcher is actually a part of the research; she does not investigate the subject of the research from a distance. The knowledge and experience of the research make it possible to analyze the actor better and make the actors more visible. The outsider within status entails research from a distance; on the contrary, the researcher occupies an outsider within status to understand women's thoughts, feelings, and experiences.

In this thesis, femicide, which is a result of the violence caused by the male-dominated system, is the common problem of all women. Each woman has different cases, histories, stories, each of them faced with different perpetrators, and each woman in the struggle against femicide have got different standpoint. But the fact that there are so many different standpoints

gives the advantage of scrutinizing the issue from different perspectives; these different standpoints do not disrupt women's struggle. The actors in this study are heterogeneous to analyze collective subjectivity of feminist activists against femicide.

Different women's lives and experiences, which are very important to each other, are examined through my outsider within status, and these differences offer a starting point for intersectionality and feminist knowledge. In this study, marginalized people of various social and political contexts are located at the center. This thesis can take advantage of these different stories and standpoints and show that collective subjectivity is possible in the struggle against femicide. Moreover, this thesis argues that this struggle makes women's solidarity more powerful and enriching.

As far as the situated knowledge is concerned, my position as a researcher is neither insider nor outsider since Naples also emphasizes that "the insider/outsider distinction makes power differentials and experiential differences between the researcher and the researched" (Naples 2003, 49). The researcher is also constructed by/in this society. Therefore, the researchers make their predictions based on their previous knowledge, perspectives, and experiences. The researcher interprets the observations according to these knowledges. For this reason, in a study, it is impossible for the researcher to become completely neutral and to investigate the subject from a distance. Here, the researcher is the person who uses or observes experiences and viewpoints of participants in analyzing the data in the field, by conducting interviews directly with the people participating in the research and having similar experiences with them.

For this reason, experiences of the researcher of the study benefit from the "outsider within" status of the feminist standpoint. Violence against women and struggle against femicide involve struggle against gender-based unequal social norms in Turkish society. Feminist activists in the Turkish context stand against the gender stereotypes that are mainly shaped by the patriarchal system. Thus, the feminist standpoint is of critical importance in this thesis which focuses on the collective subjectivity in the fight against femicide and which is against these stereotypes of patriarchal domination. Therefore, a feminist activism that produces its own knowledge resists the male-dominated system. As someone who actively struggle against femicide, collect data voluntarily in a women's organization, KCDP, and who write a thesis on femicide, I argue that I have knowledge and experience in different positions within the scope of the "outsider within" status in the struggle against femicide.

C. Methods of The Research

This thesis draws on a study as a framework by using semi-structured interviews and discourse analysis through qualitative feminist research. I benefit from the participant

observation and the field notes I collected from meetings and femicide cases' court hearings for the analysis part of this thesis. Based on the data collected during ethnographic fieldwork, I set out to discuss the research questions outlined in the previous chapter.

For this research, I used qualitative methods. I conducted ethnography which “is about understanding process, and to do this, it has to occur across both time and space” (Skeggs 2001, 427). I have mentioned about the process of women’s movement and struggle against femicide in Turkey in the introduction. I also mentioned that the number of femicide is increasing over time. It is possible to see that there are femicide cases in every city in Turkey. In order to understand the concept of femicide and the struggle against it, activists interviewed for this thesis are women who are in the struggle against femicide in different cities. Women from different cities can have different cultures, different perspectives, and different backgrounds. The analysis is based on participant observation from a feminist standpoint, since it is “reflexivity and attention to gender that distinguishes feminist ethnography from the traditional” (ibid., 430).

I selected interviewees among feminist activists those who actively fight against femicide, and due to limited research period, I preferred to get in touch with easy-to-contact people for the research. Thanks to my experience as an activist against femicide and my network, it was easy to reach people who were in the key positions for my research. I positioned myself during these interviews as both an activist and a researcher as I discussed above. My position positively influenced the interview process and analyses due to my knowledge and experience in the field.

I am also the Data Committee Coordinator of KCDP since 2018, and I am a feminist activist since 2011. In a collective way we, activists within the Data Committee, are collecting all kinds of important information of women who are killed in Turkey, such as name, last name, age, location, type of killing, name of killer from the news. The data committee consists of volunteer activists of KCDP. In the committee, 10-15 volunteer activists collect data on femicide, child abuse, and sexual violence every month. These volunteer activists started their struggle against femicide for different reasons. How and why women in the struggle against femicide are involved in this struggle is explained in Chapter IV. But most of the women are collecting this data from different cities, and we make our meetings online. In the end, I check the data that they have collected, and after the monthly meeting, I write a monthly report along with the latest news of the month. This report analyzes not only the data but also important news about women, gender equality, violence against women in Turkey and the world. It also includes reviews and rhetoric about gender. In this context, the data collected by me and other volunteers

of the committee are used by media, researchers, and politicians when it is necessary to specify the numbers of femicide in Turkey. Therefore, although this quantitative data is not collected within the scope of this research, it is consulted as a reliable source to quantify the increase in femicide. Theoretical background of this implementation is explained as process tracing which is a tool of qualitative analysis. Collier (2011, 823) defines the process tracing “as the systematic examination of diagnostic evidence selected and analyzed in light of research questions and hypotheses posed by the investigator”. I have been following systematically collected and monitored quantitative data before I started working for this thesis. “In the current period of major innovation in quantitative tools for causal inference, this reformulation is part of a wider, parallel effort to achieve greater systematization of qualitative methods” (ibid.). Being a part of this committee and contributing to the report as a team is the background for the process tracing I used in this research.

I conducted semi-structured interviews with feminist activists. These include academics, members of a particular NGO or independent activists, as well as a family member of murdered woman who actively struggle against femicide. To collect data about the subjects which were discussed in the context of aims and objectives, I talked to people who are part of the struggle against femicide. There are also many activists that I, as a researcher occupying the outsider within status, know personally in this field who have been struggling against femicide for years. Before the interviews, I prepared the list of questions, but if there is a need to ask a new question during the conversation, I also included those questions. The questions previously determined are made clearer with easier expressions when questions are not understood by the interviewees (See APPENDIX II for the list of questions). Interviews were conducted face to face in real space or online. One of interviewees, who was out of Istanbul where I live, was interviewed in Ankara. In addition, some out-of-town interviews were conducted online.

During the interviews, outsider within status as well as asking the right questions enabled me to gain the trust of the interviewees. At the beginning of interviews the interviewees often felt uncomfortable, regarding the interview as a test. But later, as an interviewer, I asked them to give spontaneous answers, and they felt more relaxed and stated that they are very happy to be a part of this study.

During these semi-structured interviews, I took notes and recorded their voice. It is important that interviews reside in different cities because there may be different approaches in different places such as Istanbul, Ankara and Eskişehir in terms of different geographical, socio-economic, cultural variations. In addition, cities with the highest number of femicide were selected as the priority. The cities where the highest number of femicide was committed in 2018

were as follows: 64 women in İstanbul, 24 in Antalya, 23 in Bursa, 19 in Izmir, 15 in Adana, 13 in Gaziantep and 12 in Konya according to the data of KCDP.

I conducted participant observation by attending the court hearings, protests, interviews and activist meetings. I also guaranteed the confidentiality of the data by writing to the interviewees before the interview. Before each interview, I asked the interviewees whether they would like to sign a consent form and whether I could use their real names. No one wanted to sign the form for the interview, they wanted me to use their real names in the analyses. I don't anonymize the interviewees' names for this research. But Ece Devrim doesn't use her last name written on her ID card in her daily life. Hence, she wanted me to use her preferred surname in the research.

D. Ethical Considerations and Limitations

There are also some limitations of the methodology and methods for this research. Firstly, it can often take a long time for the researcher to find participants, to have interviews with them, to choose the right data and to analyze. The validity of knowledge and analysis are closely linked to the positionality of the researcher. There are some actors I didn't take into account or left out in my analysis such as those representing governmental opinions or points of view, judicial processes, media, and security forces since my primary aim is to analyze feminist activism through collective subjectivity. The reason behind this motivation is to underline the solidarity of women who are struggling voluntarily against femicide. In cases where a woman is struggling as a journalist or a lawyer, I do regard her position as an activist who fights against femicide. The feminist standpoint I and the interviewees shared is an important advantage in this research. Women's different professions, ages, and experiences enrich this research in terms of collective subjectivity. The attitude or discourse of the media or the state against femicide may be the subject of another research.

Since I have been a part of the field I am researching, it was possible to conduct the interviews in a safe environment. However, as a researcher, I could not meet with AKP and government supporters because of my feminist standpoint. Therefore, this study does not cover all the positions implicated in the issue of femicide.

Moreover, it is not possible to record all the observations during the participant observation. Therefore, the observer should be able to make decisions about which data to record and which data to skip. The observer/researcher is an active participant in the field in which she conducts the research. This can lead to a conflict amongst one's positions as well as emotional distress during the data collection process. Additionally, there may be difficulties in accessing certain groups for the research. But it's important to emphasize that the findings presented here are collected through and limited to the interviews. Thus, the results cannot be generalized.

CHAPTER III. FEMICIDE AND COLLECTIVE SUBJECTIVITY: LITERATURE REVIEW

In this section, theoretical debates on collective subjectivity and the struggle against femicide are reviewed. I have divided this section into 3 parts: first, I present a discussion on the concept of femicide; second, I articulate the concept of collective subjectivity; and, finally, I focus on collective subjectivity's relation to the struggle against femicide through intersectionality.

A. The Concept of Femicide

In this section, theoretical debates on femicide are presented with reference to its definition in different disciplines, other ways of referring to the concept, its history, basis and dynamics, the forms of femicide, and the femicide in the world.

In this thesis, the term femicide denotes the “most extreme form of gender violence” (Luffy, Evans, and Rochat 2015, 107) that aims to oppress and control women, their bodies and their lives within the male-dominated system. According to extensive research, the concept of femicide is a result of domestic violence and partner violence. The perpetrator can be the husband, father, partner, ex-husband or any male member of the family. Besides this, someone who women do not know also can be a perpetrator. Thus, I use the concept of femicide as a specific/particular expression of the gender-based violence deadly violence inflicted upon women in patriarchal societies.

Research shows that there are not any studies on the struggle against femicide through collective subjectivity. With this study, which aims to contribute to the current academic literature, feminist activism is combined with the concept and phenomenon of femicide. The unity against femicide that emerges in the struggle of feminist activism contributes to the literature of collective subjectivity. Feminist activism mentioned in this thesis is not limited to particular political identities of the women who were murdered since activists struggle against femicide in general. Herein, the importance of the term intersectionality emerges and this thesis, in which the terms feminist activism, intersectionality, collective subjectivity, and femicide are blended, aims to contribute both to the literature and the struggle against femicide.

There are many existing theoretical and empirical debates related to the concept of femicide in different disciplines. It is clearly seen that the concept of femicide is employed in many disciplinary fields such as communication studies^{xxi}, feminist philosophy^{xxii}, gender and women studies^{xxiii}, homicide studies^{xxiv}, law^{xxv}, medicine, forensic and criminology^{xxvi}, psychiatry^{xxvii}, sociology^{xxviii}, and interdisciplinary scholarship on violence against women^{xxix}. These debates offer the researcher a better understanding of the concept of femicide. They also provide different

theoretical interpretations of femicide that exist in different places or cultures from different disciplinary perspectives.

This study fits with previous research and theories on femicide in the field of sociology, violence against women, and gender studies with a focus on power relations, discourses of states, gender perspectives. Studies on criminology/forensic offer quantitative research and do not theoretically engage with the concept of femicide, but on focus on questions such as the number of women women who were murdered by knives or guns. Subjects such as how women were murdered, or the age range of women aren't examined because they are not the subject of this study. For this thesis, qualitative methods have been selected, and thus, this research is supported by theoretical discussions in gender studies and sociology rather than criminological researches. It looks at the struggle for the concept and phenomenon of femicide through the collective subjectivity, differently from previous research. There is much research on the concept and phenomenon of femicide in the field of sociology, gender studies, or violence against women. However, when I searched in the university library for English literature with some keywords such as femicide and collective subjectivity, I did not come across any source on that topic. Similarly, I couldn't find any studies in literature in Turkish.

In various academic and activist sources the concept of “femicide” has been discussed in terms of different names, and different frameworks have been drawn such as female homicide (Medicine^{xxxv}), revolt killing (Women's Studies^{xxxvi}), honor killing (Qualitative Research^{xxxvii}), crimes of passion^{xxxviii}, murder of women (Forensic^{xxxix}), criminal death incidence of women (Forensic^{xxxix}), killing of women (Gender^{xxxix}), wife-killing (interdisciplinary scholarship on violence against women^{xxxii}), intimate partner homicide (Forensic^{xxxiii}), uxoricide (Forensic^{xxxiv}), murder of female partner (Forensic^{xxxv}), lethal violence against female partners (interdisciplinary scholarship on violence against women^{xxxvi}), genocide of women^{xxxvii}, etc. Despite the availability of a wide range of expressions, Corradi, Marcuello-Servós, Boira and Weil point out that, the relatively new concept of femicide raises awareness as to the nature of violent killing of women, which is something not to be confused with the gender-neutral term “homicide” (2016, 976). This is because homicide makes invisible the gender-based aspect and Corradi et al. (ibid., 977) argue that “homicide deletes from the sociological eye that special, gender-based evidence of woman-killing, which is different from the murder of men”. For Meneghel, Ceccon, Hesler, Margarites, Rosa and Vasconcelos the femicide cases “are all caused by conditions of discrimination and subordination of women in a patriarchal society” (2013, 527).

Although the concept of femicide is a new concept according to Corradi, Tütüncüler, Özer, Karagöz and Beyaztaş (2015, 199) argues that the utilization of femicide as a concept, in fact,

began in England in 1801 to signify “the killing of a woman” and then many researchers made different explanations with different point of views depending on culture, law, economic situation, political discourses, marital situations, jobs, ages, intimacy, connection with perpetrator, etc. Thus, there are also some other terms used academically for characterizing this crime in terms of these different factors. For example Caputi (1989, 437) also mentions that “feminists have argued for an awareness of the sexually political and conformist nature of such crimes and have invented the word genocide to name the range of systematic violence against women by men”. In general, the concept of femicide signifies the ultimate manifestation of violence against women and girls, but it should also be underlined that this phenomenon is about the killing of women by men because they are women” (Vives-Cases, Goicolea, Hernandez, Sanz-Barbero, Gill, Baldry, Schroettle and Stoeckl 2016, 2). Meneghel et al. emphasize that violence is created by the unequal power relations between men and women in patriarchal societies and that in the execution of women and hate crimes the bodies of women become vengeance material (2013, 531). Moreover, Luffy et al. (2015, 110), in their research on femicide in Nicaragua’s Ocotal region, argue that femicide tackles gender inequality with respect to its deadly results and its relation with the law, lack of whose implementation increases femicide. So femicide and the “male-dominated justifications” given to it are increasing every day in the world along with basic deficiencies such as the continuation of inequality, the increase in violence, inadequate laws, and lack of practice in the current legislation. Moreover, according to the research of Tütüncüler et al., “this crime is generally committed because of intractable family disputes, jealousy, financial conflicts, and robbery. However, in our country [Turkey], the most frequently cited reasons for murderous act can be listed in order of their decreasing frequency as an affair of honor, retaliation, financial disputes, fits of anger, aggressive behavior induced by alcohol abuse, familial conflicts, broken love affairs, and interfamilial and interpersonal hostilities” (2015, 199).

In this study, all kinds of women killings are considered as femicide and no woman killed by men is not excluded from the concept of femicide. According to Radford et al. (1992), femicide has many different forms. The forms include racist femicide (when black women are killed by white men); homophobic femicide, or lesbicide, (when lesbians are killed by heterosexual men); marital femicide (when women are killed by their husbands); femicide committed outside the home by stranger; serial femicide; and mass femicide for control over women bodies and lives. Moreover, I’ve also added the killing of transgender women under these forms of femicide for this research.

In addition to this, according to the World Health Organization’s report published in 2012,

a large proportion of femicides are of women who were in violent relationships and committed by current or former partners of the women. Moreover, Tütüncüler et al. (2015, 206) also refer that the highest and statistically significant rate (nearly 38%) of femicides was inflicted on married women. In Bangladesh 87% of the femicide victims were married (Yusuf, Akhter, Rahman, Chowdhury and Rochat 2000, 1221), and in India more than 80% of the femicide victims were married (Tütüncüler et al. 2015, 206). According to the research conducted in the UK and Sweden, the results show that “social service and criminal justice systems have often characterized these murders as ‘cultural traditions’ rather than as extreme forms of violence against women” (WHO 2012, 3). All in all, available data shows that femicide is a global phenomenon that cuts across the global North-South divide.

When we look at the historical examples, we can see that the killing of women by men, the state or their husbands are justified in terms of women being pregnant, witches, sinners, relationship issues or cheating. Campbell and Runyan (1998, 347) argue that feeling of hate plays a role in femicide and thus suggests that “it is important to track and understand femicides that are indeed instances of hate crimes”. When compared to the past, even if the murder’s thoughts, tools, or forms have been changed, women continue to be killed within a gender-based, hateful, unequal, and discriminatory framework.

Since femicide is a form of gender-based violence, it is necessary to show the ways in which gender roles are organized with respect to the perception of femininity since women are subjected to violent deaths in the context of the specific perceptions pertaining femininity in the society. The femicide numbers are on the rise and the discussions about femicide are more widespread, and this makes the phenomenon of femicide even more visible. Thus, the struggle against femicide goes beyond securing justice for the women killed; it aims to change the perception of femininity in society and to create an egalitarian gender perception in Turkey by using all kinds of tools such as social media, street demonstrations, meetings, press releases and trainings for raising consciousness. This thesis emphasizes the importance of the perception of femininity in the context of femicide in society. As Adinkrah (2008, 300) mentions “gender roles are organized along sex lines” through the general expectations such as passivity, obedience, and submissiveness for women, while men are in the money earner and head of the family position of the family. At the same time, “women are responsible for housework, cooking, and childcare, and although women are increasingly working outside the home for economic reasons, the fulfillment of their domestic roles are regarded as their primary obligation” (ibid.). With this construction of an identity as a power center of a family, masculinity and patriarchy use “violence” as a tool for the control and presentation of power.

Shalhoub – Kevorkian (2002, 578) demonstrates the relationship between violent crimes against women and the construction and reinforcement of masculinity and argues that the violence perpetrated against women is a form of public representation of masculinity and a tool for controlling and objectifying to women.

Femicide is not class-based nor it targets a particular ethnic or religious group; that is to say that any woman at any place and time, from any age, any class, religion, ethnicity or profession can be subjected to deadly male violence due to any reasons such as a divorce request or a piece of clothing. However, Campbell et al. (1998, 347) point out that “rather, (...) women are most often killed by men, often after a long period of ongoing violence (intimate partner battering or stalking), with that violence often directed at women at least in part because they are female”. After all, Goussinsky and Yassour-Borochowitz (2012, 555) indicate that “the murder is often presented as the climax of a history of violence, as the end of a path marked by manifestations of coercion, threats, and physical violence, initiated by the man against women”. Justifications^{xxxxiii} such as being a cis-woman or transgender women, wearing a skirt, shorts or leggings, a divorce request, love or unsalted food, exemplify how men in Turkey try to control women’s lives and preferences. As Goussinsky et al. (ibid.) indicate that “there are considerable parallels between homicidal and violent men: male identity interpreted in terms of power and control”.

In Turkey in 2018 according to the records of KCDP, 440 women were killed by men. %24 of the women were killed because they decided to make their own decision about their own lives and %4 because they wanted a divorce. %30 of femicides were suspicious killing and another %30 of femicides were unidentified. Even in the first three months of 2019, a total of 101 women were killed as a result of male violence according to the data provided by KCDP.

The survey of the literature on femicide in Turkey revealed very few sources, and these sources generally come from the medical literature^{xxxxiv}. Research in other disciplines are as follows; Gender and Women Studies^{vi}, Psychosocial^{vii}, interdisciplinary scholarship on violence against women^{viii}, Criminology^{ix} and Media Studies^x. The activist struggle against femicide in Turkey is not yet visible in the theoretical and empirical debates related to femicide in different disciplines.

B. The Concept of Collective Subjectivity

This research, drawing on gender theory, analyses the notion of collective subjectivity. The concept of collective subjectivity can be understood as a skeleton that is holding people together. Although each one of the bones is of different size, weight, shape, strength and feature in different location in a body, the totality of these bones builds up a skeleton which provides

capability of movement for a human body, along with other systems such as nerves and muscles. Thus, in this research I argue that the concept of collective subjectivity is an important structure and tool of the feminist activism against femicide in Turkey. This section includes the definition of collective subjectivity, literature in different disciplines, importance of collective subjectivity for gender and feminist activism, formation of collective subjectivity, connection of collective subjectivity with femicide and discussion on collective subjectivity in Turkey. In this section which begins with a metaphor, the concept of collective subjectivity as the basic concept for the analysis of semi-structured interviews in the struggle against femicide is discussed.

Collective subjectivity is “conceptualized as social systems, which are inter-subjectively constituted. They have their own properties and cannot be either reduced to individuals (as ‘emergent’, ontologically, from them) or reified as independent collective phenomena” (Domingues 2018, 251). In this research women as, different subjectivities, come together in feminist activism. The actors within the collective subjectivities can be “social systems with different levels of centering, therefore different levels of intentionality, as well as more or less closed ecological qualities– in fact they may not even be contiguous in space-time” (Domingues 2014, 5). Their identities can be different and these collectivities can include people with totally different political views or life experiences. The important point here is that feminist activists in the struggle against femicide take joint action for fighting against a common problem such as femicide in Turkey and “in their interaction, and that of individuals, that social life is weaved”(ibid.). This discussion on collective subjectivity is also related to the rationale for why feminists chose the term femicide over honor or custom killings. The feminist struggle against femicide develops without discriminating based on different identity, belonging, age, experience, profession, and political opinion. Women who were killed also had different identities and life experiences, and this is also not a discriminating but a unifying factor for feminist struggle against femicide. As I explained in Chapter I, collective subjectivity creates a unity of feminist activism against a common problem. The concept of collective subjectivity describes this kind of feminist struggle appropriately.

There are many theoretical and empirical debates on the concept of collective subjectivity in the literature in different disciplines such as cultural studies^{xiv}, Ecology^{xvi}, education^{xvii}, gender studies^{xviii}, Unquiry^{xix}, organization studiesⁱ, philosophyⁱⁱ, politicsⁱⁱⁱ, psychology^{liii} and sciology^{liv}.

The significance of collective subjectivity for feminist activism pertains to the transformation of women’s differences and oppression into common needs and anger. Collective subjectivity brings together women with different identities and life experiences

such as married/single, employee/unemployed, trans/cis, experienced/inexperienced or socialist/nationalist. As Acar Savran mentions (2009), in Turkey, different hierarchies are created in society among women through the categories of ethnicity, race, and religion. This thesis argues that it is possible to build a collective subjectivity against femicide by transcending/going beyond these hierarchies created in the society among women, accepting differences and coming together for common purpose. The most important reason or importance of building collective subjectivity is that this unity, as it develops into an organized struggle, becomes more visible and audible for other people in the Turkish society. During the period I was engaged in feminist activism with KCDP, I met women who were not involved in a struggle in women's movement and these women were more afraid to talk, feeling lonely, and thinking that they could not fight against a male-dominated system. There are still women who are afraid of speaking out in Turkish society. Recently, many women in Turkish society have become so aware of feminist activism that when they share their experiences of violence via social media and they know that they will find a great mass of women supporting them. Thus, many women understand that they are not alone; they learn and feel collective subjectivity and struggle, not individually, but collectively.

Drawing on Mead (1932) Domingues claims (1995, 127) that when "self-conscious" actors assume social attitudes of a social group or community which they belongs, this individual establishes a relation with other social groups by joining and forming his own social group. In the context of social relations of different groups together with other people, it brings individuals into contact with other individuals. Domingues says in this way "it sustains the collective identity of a social system, to whatever degree it happens to emerge, informs its objectives and goals, and mediates its interactions with other collectivities" (ibid., 128). Considering the connection between different groups organized by women with different identities and life experiences, these interactions constitute joint points in creating collectivities against a common issue. The structure of a collectivity is not homogeneous, so the individuals do not need to exclude their own identities.

In the context of the formation of collectivities the gender constitutes an important typology. As Domingues states "typologies are, to a certain degree, inescapably arbitrary, always provisional and only useful tools when we undertake to approach reality, building a worthwhile bridge between general theoretical constructions and more empirically oriented investigations" (ibid., 153). In this context gender both as a category and a form of typology makes it possible to establish a bridge in struggle against femicide; and collective subjectivity occurs as a useful tool and an intersectional strategy against femicide for activists. It is also possible that the

individuals may not be able to form a common structure in this way, for example, as women who support AKP government are not involved in the struggle against femicide in this research. And Domingues define this structure as the following:

They may, though they may not, develop common identities, become organized, and exert a rather intentional action in social life. In any event, it is unlikely that these collectivities can surmount their internal heterogeneous features and fractures, for - crisscrossed themselves by the whole range of social phenomena - centrifugal forces are almost necessarily at work within them, except in specific conjunctures, during which the sort of identity upon which they are built becomes endowed with a powerful force. (ibid., 154)

The process of forming a collective subjectivity of actors with different identities begins with different dynamics such as need or anger. It is important to add that the connection among the actors can become “more important than their own attributes, involving ties of dependency and power. Organizations, for instance, negotiate, struggle and co-operate, social change being brought about in part through their interaction” (ibid., 121) I argue in this research that the activist organizations and women in struggle against femicide in Turkey is an example to this. The collective subjectivities speak of “common goals or their dispersion and even contradictory pursuits, as well as joint or split action and movement, with or without self-awareness of such social processes” (Domingues 2018, 251). As I mentioned in the introduction chapter, I use the term of feminist activism and activist in this research for any woman who is in a struggle against femicide as a form of gender-based killing. During formation process of collective subjectivity against femicide in Turkey, the most important thing has been the acknowledgement of the concept of femicide as a common problem by these activists.

As stated earlier, the discrepancy between the data gathered by the media, women’s organizations and the state as well as the increasing number of femicide in Turkey incites the reaction or the feminist struggle in relation with collective subjectivity. With the development of the feminist struggle against femicide, collective subjectivity becomes more visible. In fact, this thesis study aims to be a part of this formation of feminist activism with a collective subjectivity. If we consider the concept of collective subjectivity in the context of femicide, we can refer to Acar Savran (2009) who defines the collective subjectivity process as the establishment of feminist solidarity in general. Albeit divided by their differences as a mother, worker or any kinds of identities, “when we position ourselves as a political subject, we cannot avoid thinking about the [different] ways in which all women establish themselves as a collective political subject” (ibid.). Only Acar Savran discusses the concept of collective subjectivity in Turkey in relation to the political unity of women. She questions and discusses

the formation of collective subjectivity with differences identities and through different hierarchies among women. This study expands on this concept by focusing on a Turkish case, and thus, contributes to the public as well as scholarly discussion on femicide in Turkey.

C. Collective Subjectivity and Intersectionality

In this section, I discuss the concept of collective subjectivity of feminist activists against femicide through the intersectional approach. In this thesis, the concept of intersectionality is used as a tool to analyze the concept of femicide and collective subjectivity. The conceptual framework of this thesis is comprised of the concepts of gender, feminist activism, femicide, intersectionality and collective subjectivity. The concept of intersectionality is a connection point between collective subjectivity and feminist activism against femicide. If collective subjectivity the skeleton of this research, and if there are joints that provide the connection between the bones, I argue that intersectionality constitutes the joints in this thesis. As I mentioned in the introduction, differences among women are thresholds and points of connections between actors, not obstacles which limits the struggle for activists in the fight against the male-dominated system. Therefore, my aim is to focus on the collective subjectivity with all the differences of women through an intersectional approach, not to eliminate the differences among women.

In the 1980s, the focus of the concept of intersectionality was the dynamics of difference and sameness which played a key role in many topics such as gender and race in academic disciplines and discussions. The concept of intersectionality became a useful term for different disciplines such as sociology, legal studies and feminist studies. Lykke (2011, 208) states that “Intersectionality has, since the beginning, been posed more as a nodal point than as a closed system—a gathering place for open-ended investigations of the overlapping and conflicting dynamics of race, gender, class, sexuality, nation, and other inequalities” and this gathering place is also a joint point and a threshold in gender studies. And the production of intersectionality “was not located somewhere outside the field of race and gender power but was an active and direct engagement with issues and dynamics that embodied such power” (Cho, Crenshaw, and Mccall 2013, 789). Thus, intersectionality gains its strength from the differences gathered at this meeting point. Cho et al. describe what makes an analysis intersectional as follows:

“whatever terms it deploys, whatever its iteration, whatever its field or discipline—is its adoption of an intersectional way of thinking about the problem of sameness and difference and its relation to power. This framing—conceiving of categories not as distinct but as always permeated by other categories, fluid and changing, always in the process of creating and being created by dynamics of

power—emphasizes what intersectionality does rather than what intersectionality is.” (ibid., 795)

Thus, in this thesis I examine what intersectionality adds to this research in the context of femicide and collective subjectivity. But before discussing it, I define what the concept of intersectionality is, because without a proper definition, it is possible that my claims may be unconnected with my analysis. In the context of gender studies, intersectionality claims that women are affected by their class, ethnic, religion, age, sexuality, ability origins apart from their gender. Using Yuval-Davis’ definition of the term, I argue that any differences are of great importance to analyze the struggle against femicide for collective subjectivity and “by incorporating these different kinds of differences into our analysis we can avoid conflating positionings, identities and values” (Yuval-Davis 2006, 200). So instead of many different identities/experiences my aim here is not to find one and single identity of the activists. Each different person is present in this work with their different identity and experience such as religion, political view, age, educational background, experience and nationality and these differences constitute this collective subjectivity. Cho et al. emphasize the constitution of bridges between women’s/gender/feminist studies, critical race studies and women-of-color feminist by the help of the dialogues on intersectionality and states that the intersectional analysis foregrounded emphasizes political and structural inequalities (ibid., 797).

Whereas some women with different identities and experiences are killed by men and still others fight against femicide. Women are both a target and a subject at the same time, and the collective subjectivity against femicide brings together these different women. We cannot say that women fighting against femicide are only in struggle against femicide. These activist women may have other struggles due to their different identities, such as class status, or ethnic identities. In this context Kimberly Crenshaw points out three forms of intersectional analysis (Crenshaw 1991); structural intersectionality (to discuss the intersection of racism and patriarchy in terms of violence and rape), political intersectionality (intersection of anti-racist organization and feminist organization) and representational intersectionality (to discuss intersection of racial and gender stereotypes). And according to Puar, Crenshaw’s “intervention into mutually exclusive identity paradigms is one of rethinking identity politics from within, in particular, from within systemic legal exclusions” (2011).

Intersectionality is a useful analytical lens to investigate the notion of collective subjectivity against femicide because activists are from different political backgrounds and identities, yet on this subject they collaborate, and the way they collaborate and negotiate their differences are best understood from the perspective of intersectionality. How then can they create a collective subjectivity, as they are divided into many differences among themselves in society?

Why is intersectionality a useful tool for analyzing collective subjectivity against femicide?

It is necessary to state that women occupy the subject position in feminism, however, the differences between women hide and make it difficult for them to see that they experience common oppression. At this point there is a structural tension between feminism and intersectionality. It is necessary to understand the positions caused by hierarchies among women, class, race, ethnicity, such as marriage status, forms of control over women's bodies and labor which are interconnected as intersectional expressions of patriarchy. These women have different experiences due to their different identities. In the context of oppression, through feminist politics and consciousness, it is possible to establish the common needs of women who differ from each other, and transform their anger into a common revolt (Acar Savran 2011). This collective subjectivity, formed by feminist activism, also addresses issues such as violence against women, gender inequality, economic disempowerment, political representation, and discrimination in Turkey. But the focus for this thesis is the struggle of activists against femicide. These activist women struggle regardless of the identity, political view or belonging of the women killed.

On the 22 February 2019, I attended a panel titled "Feminist Özne Mükün mü? (Is Feminist Subject Possible?)" in Istanbul where Gülnur Acar Savran [feminist scholar, activist and writer] and Nükhet Sirman [feminist scholar in Boğaziçi University and activist], were the speakers. The knowledge shared by Acar Savran in this dialogue also informs the decision to establish the connection between intersectional and collective subjectivity in this thesis. In the context of the formation of the connection between collective subjectivity and feminist subject, according to Acar Savran, there is a category of woman, not a woman's identity, and this category is formed by dynamics such as heteronormativity, nationalism, patriarchy, and capitalism. The social forces or dynamics that shape the structure of contemporary patriarchal capitalist society separate the oppressors from the oppressed along the lines of gender hierarchies. Women occupy the oppressed position within this relationship, and the category of femininity becomes a category of the oppressed. Women share the common experience of being oppressed and this commonality is the objective effect of their structural positions. The naturalization of this position is concomitant with the reproduction of this binary system, therefore, she claims that it is not possible to spontaneously overcome this binary logic and oppression. Women actually have different political views or conflicting ideas, and only by becoming a social group and articulating their differences in a feminist struggle, they can overcome their common oppression and denaturalize the discourses and practices of patriarchy. In other words, Acar Savran claims that it is possible to destabilize concepts such as honor and

motherhood as long as they are taken as the objective effects of patriarchy.

Acar Savran talked about constructing femininity as a category established through social relations and as a site of social movements and antagonisms instead of a binary opposite of masculinity. Thus, the category of women emerges as a relationship based on mutual interests that goes beyond gender identity and sexual orientation. Acar Savran said that women can only come over their oppression organized as a social group targeting practical-discourse transformations. This transformation can only come about as social transformation rather than discursive transformation and with the destabilization of the categories such as motherhood and honor which patriarchy has naturalized. I also see this intersectional collective strategy as a step forward in women's solidarity. Different identities and experiences in the context of intersectionality provide room for unification and not separation. Thus, deconstruction of femininity as a binary category of identity is a part of the struggle against the male-dominated system, and its reproduction. Acar Savran also underlines the formation of femininity through intersectional collective subjectivity:

“The most important obstacles are differences, different subjective experiences, these differences can overlap. There may be many differences. It is possible to make connections between positions. This construction makes it possible to be able to see these differences during the formation of subjectivity and also leads to its subjectification through connections between femininity. It is impossible to include all women; but the important thing is to cover femininity. The process of collective subjectivity has its frequencies destination of being a political subject, as a common interest”.

In fact, it is necessary for women with different identities and experiences to produce solutions from within, not from outside of feminist activism. Besides, according to Acar Savran the struggle should be developed around a common goal, including the whole category of women. In this case, intersectionality is not a discriminating tool, it increases diversity thanks to the fact that it reveals different situations of women, and it does not preclude different identities forming a collective struggle.

After providing a comprehensive analysis of the connection between feminist activism and collective subjectivity, Acar Savran also talked about the recent developments concerning the concepts of honor killings, custom/tradition killings, and femicide in the context of collective subjectivity. Using the concept of intersectionality, she briefly described the ways in which women come together to fight their common oppression and conceptualized the expression “negative partnership” in order to articulate collective subjectivity with respect to honor killings and femicide:

“Our starting point was custom/tradition killings. It was a concept with racial extensions that made specific identity of killings. We have overcome and destabilized this concept. We started to use the concept of honor; we have overcome and destabilized it. We have the concept of femicide. Now we have reached the concept that unites different women by overcoming the concepts imposed and fixed these identities on us. I think this can be seen as a point of the collective subjectivity process”.

In this thesis, I analyze the phenomenon of collective subjectivity against femicide in terms of the following questions: it is possible to establish collective subjectivity through the struggle against femicide and how could it be established? In this context, I refer to intersectionality as a constitutive element in the collective subjectivity which supposes that different identities and belongings can come together to struggle against a common problem. In Chapter IV, I claim that the differences between women are the joints of this unity, but I am not looking at different identities or experiences of people individually. I mean that I do not analyze similarities and differences of women. In other words, I focus on how these women unite against femicide despite their differences. As I have expressed through the metaphor at the beginning of the chapter, intersectionality is a joint, but I am examining the formation of the body, not the bones or the joints. I am examining the collective subjectivity against femicide as an intersectional strategy because women have different identities and belongings. However, I focus on the unity of women as collective subjectivity which is against femicide. It means that in this thesis, I focus on the unity of the women, not their differences. However, I also emphasize how significant the differences are in the formation of a collective subjectivity.

In the following chapter I represent the data and provide the analysis of the semi-structured interviews on collective subjectivity conducted with women in the struggle against femicide in Turkey.

CHAPTER IV. DATA PRESENTATION & ANALYZES

The concept and the phenomenon of femicide and collective subjectivity as an intersectional strategy are analyzed together with the struggle against femicide based on the interviews. In this chapter, I do not make an intersectional analysis of individual women, but show and emphasize how the intersectional strategy as a constituent element is essential to analyze the collective subjectivity in order to make women homogenous. Also, I take advantage of the field notes that I took during the meetings and court cases as I mentioned in the section where I discussed the methods that I used for this research. As I mentioned, I conducted nine semi-structured with activist women. Activist women wanted me to use their own names, and there were different points of views since the interviews were conducted in an environment of trust. These women are of different age, political view, background, experience but they are struggling against the same thing, that is to say, femicide. In this chapter answers for the questions (See APPENDIX II for the questions) of the semi-structured interviews about the increasing role of activists in the struggle against femicide are analyzed.

Based on my thematic analysis of the interviews, I divided the data analysis into four main sections in accordance with the structure of this thesis. I also divided these sections according to the highlighted points of interviewees such as commonalities and discrepancies on activism against femicide. In the first section, I focus on how the concept and phenomenon femicide is defined and conceptualized by activists. In the second section, I move on to the activists' motivations to enter into a relation with the state and how activists get involved in the struggle against femicide. In the third section, I investigate how and why collective subjectivity constituted within feminist activism which encompasses different identities and experiences women have in the context of intersectionality. Finally, in the fourth section, I discuss the diversity within unity related to the target of their activism, perception of different actors, correct form of action, and definition of the collective subjectivity for activists.

In the context of Turkey, there are some notable examples of formation of collective subjectivity against femicide in the recent history of women's movement. In the introduction section, I mentioned that the concept of honor and custom/tradition killings were used before the discourse of femicide in Turkey. The necessary regulations in the Turkish Penal Code were arranged in order to prevent perpetrator to get sentence reduction for killing under the name of honor. Therefore, in the 1990s, the concepts of honor and custom/tradition killings were at the forefront. In 2003, Şemse Alak was killed because of tradition (*Töre*), her family did not take her dead body from the mortuary of the hospital. Her case was the first femicide case where feminist activists performed her funeral prayer⁶. Kadriye Demirel, 15, was killed in 2003, and

her killing was called to be an honor killing. Women from KAMER and Diyarbakır Women's Platform performed her funeral prayer. Approximately 150 women from Diyarbakır held a demonstration against the killing of Demirel. Güldünya Tören, was killed in 2004 following a decision taken by her family (*Töre*) (SFK, 2013). Many feminist lawyers were involved in the case of the Güldünya, and her case has become a symbol of femicide in Turkey. In order to draw attention to violence against women in Turkey, many artists such as Aylin Aslım, made a record for Güldünya in 2008 (CNNTürk, 2008). Later, many femicide cases had an impact on the Turkish society such as that of Ayşe Yılbaş's killing in 2008, Pippa Bacca's killing in 2008 and Satı Korkmak's killing in 2009. Activist women were coming together to prevent femicide and demand justice after these events. Throughout these acts, a political collective subjectivity was steadily built.

The transformation of feminist activism and struggle against femicide happened in particular, with some femicide cases that deeply affected society. In 2009 Münevver Karabulut's fragmented body was found in a garbage container in Istanbul, Turkey (Milliyet, 2009). She was killed by her boyfriend, Cem Garipoğlu. The then chief of Istanbul Police Headquarters, Celalettin Cerrah, said that "they [her family] should have protected their daughter". After the public reaction against his statement (T24, 2008), he was dismissed from his job. Women took to the streets (Radikal, 2009). The new Police Chief Hüseyin Çapkın alleged that the murder suspect will soon be found. 197 days later, the perpetrator was eventually caught. In my opinion, this case actually showed that femicide does not just happen in the eastern part of Turkey or in the underdeveloped regions with the justification of honor or custom killing. Women in Turkey saw that all over the country, women from all socio-economic statuses are under this threat since the perpetrator was the son of a rich family in Turkey. Thus, women with different identities/backgrounds revolted, organized street demonstrations and followed her case to until the end.

Another example is the murder of Özgecan as I mentioned in the introduction (see p. 11). This femicide case had a massive impact on many women and the society in general. Many women applied to KCDDP and wanted to be a part of the struggle against femicide. What is important here is that different women accept femicide as a gender-based killing, and they create collective subjectivity against the oppression and the killings.

Most recently, in May 2018, Şule Çet (Hurriyet Daily News, 2018) died because she fell from a window on the 20th floor of a building in Ankara, Turkey. Many women have struggled to prove that Çet had been sexually assaulted and killed by two men and to gather evidence at the time of the investigation. The case claimed that Çet had committed suicide and the

authorities wanted to close the case. Forensic officials reported that cause of her death was undetectable. Several other reports were prepared by various institutions. Her case was finally referred to the Criminal Court. In March 2019, the public learned that the most important evidence, her underwear, has been lost at the Forensic. According to the report of KCDP, 30% of femicide cases in 2018 were suspicious deaths (KCDP, 2019) and under such circumstances, cases were closed and the perpetrators remained unpunished. But, the case of Çet could not be closed because women mobilized for it and they still are struggling without questioning Çet's identity and background. This is a result of women's solidarity, which emerges through collective subjectivity. These different women only raise their voices to prevent femicide and demand justice. It is not possible to give examples to all of the femicide cases and struggles in Turkey for this thesis. However, here I argue that collective subjectivity is an important combination against femicide and has become a form of struggle against this gender-based form of killing. The link between gender, feminist activism, and collective subjectivity is profound. For this study, women can struggle together due to gender-based discrimination, violence, and femicide.

A. How Do The Feminist Activists Conceptualize Femicide?

In this section, I discuss the answers to the questions about the concept and phenomenon of femicide as they are mentioned in the interviews. In this context, to be able to analyze the concept of the femicide's formation, my first question was "What do you think about the concept of femicide? What does it mean for you? What is the difference between femicide and honor killing/custom killings?". Based on what the interviewees mentioned, I divided the answer of this question into five headings. I present my analysis along with the interviewees' quotes. In so doing, I aim at sharing their thoughts and feelings as articulated by themselves. Thus, my aim in asking these questions was to learn what the concept of femicide, explained academically in the previous chapters, means to activist women in the struggle against femicide.

i. Femicide is Gender-Based

Within the scope of this research, I first asked activists what they think about the concept of femicide and what it means to them. The purpose of asking these questions was to learn what this struggle means to these activists and then to discuss this struggle against femicide in this sense. Most of the interviewees started their words by saying that the concept and phenomenon of femicide is gender-based. It was remarkable that the answers were expressed in a colloquial language, in other words, the answers were located outside the academic or political discourse, their sentences expressed how they feel, think, experience with regard to femicide.

Activist interviewees stated that the concept of femicide as a kind of violence and killing is gender-based and affects only women. Ceren Çavdar, [student at Eskişehir Technical University, interviewed online, 20th March 2019], stated that femicide cases are related to gender identity that the society created for women. According to Çavdar, the discourse toward women in Turkish society such as “you cannot laugh like that”, “it’s not for you”, “you cannot be an engineer” are examples of this constructed identity and she said, “when women reject this constructed femininity and want to decide for their own life, it occurs a femicide”^{vi}. Women were killed while they were struggling for their rightful existence in and against the oppression by society. As an example of conceptualization of “women” Acar Savran prefers to call women’s category instead of women’s identity based on material conditions (category), Çavdar prefers to call women’s identity created by social norms based on subject positions (identity).

Esra Cebbar, [student at Maltepe University, interviewed in İstanbul, 13th March 2019], explained briefly “when I refer to the femicide, I think of women who are murdered by men due to their gender”. Istanbul Representative of KCDP, Fidan Ataselim [student at Istanbul University, interviewed in İstanbul, 18th March 2019] based on her experience in this field, commented that gender is the most critical determinant in femicide as the KCDP data suggests. She said, “when we look at the women who were killed, we see that women are easily killed because they are women” and added that all women who have been killed are those who wanted to be in control of their own lives. This point is essential because women who do not comply with the norms of the patriarchal system are killed in Turkey. Reasons might vary: they might want to divorce, break up, wear a skirt, and even participate in paid work. Ataselim mentioned that the concept of femicide is inclusive since “these women do not belong to a certain age group; every killing of women is actually femicide”. I mentioned under the literature review section that women who were killed have different identities, backgrounds, experience or education or they are in different age groups. Thus, the concept of femicide depends on gender, women who face different forms of oppression in Turkish society are killed by men who use the same or different justifications.

I investigated the question of how the concept and phenomenon of femicide entered the lives of activists lives under the main question regarding the definition of femicide. Each activist, I thought, could have a different story which brought the concept of femicide to the forefront of their lives. Academician and writer, Şengül Hablemitoğlu [Professor at European University of Lefke, interviewed in Ankara, 23rd March 2019], stated that “I was always familiar with the concept of femicide thanks to my profession since I work on gender, and I started to use it more often, as it gained more and more visibility. So, I started to use it in order to comment

and explain the subject”. Çiğdem Evcil [Cleaning Staff at Yıldırım Holding, interviewed in İstanbul, 5th April 2019] got familiar the concept of femicide after her sister, Muhterem Göçmen was killed by her husband in 2013. She commented that it is challenging to put the concept of femicide to the minds of people in Turkish society. In the Turkish context, according to Evcil, many different justifications can be given to femicide such as love, honor and jealousy. But she also underlined that in the killings, women are those who are accused. She stated, “anyway there is just one word: femicide, not a love killing or something”. She expresses that women’s organizations make a great effort to push authorities, state and everyone to use the word of femicide. Reminding the murder of a woman by a man with the justifications that she is wearing white tights, she asked whether it is possible to say, “leggings murder” and added “Who is wearing leggings? A woman. Who is killed? A woman. Then, this is femicide”. For her, the usage of discourses such as “love killing”, is just a game that only the politicians and the murderers play. She continues, “This word entered my life after the killing of my sister. When I saw this concept on the television before the murder of my sister, I was saying that women were killed, yes this is femicide but when I experienced it, I always use this word everywhere”.

All interviewees stated that the concept of femicide is closely linked to gender and especially to being a woman. Sometimes a news story or their personal stories make the concept of femicide familiar to the activists. Learning how activists in the struggle against femicide explain the concept of femicide is very useful for this thesis. Because I, as a researcher, didn’t ask whether they are feminist, and I regarded them as activists due to their struggle against femicide. Even though women did not state that they were feminists in their statements, they had created their own positions as activists because they established the connection between gender, femicide and feminist activism.

ii. Femicide is Hate Murdering

In addition to the definition of femicide as gender-based killings of women, some interviewees claimed that this is a hate crime. For example, trans feminist activist, Ece Devrim, [street vendor, interviewed in İstanbul, 8th March 2019] “I think femicide and hate killings are the same. In the male-dominated system that we live in, the LGBTI+ people are killed because they chose to be in a female body, and it is not different from other femicide cases. In this [patriarchal society] context femicide is hate crime”. These explanations are quite significant for this thesis, because hate means an “intense hostility and aversion usually deriving from fear, anger, or sense of injury” (Merriam-Webster, online). Thus, I think the word “hate” is a feeling rather than a definition of femicide. However, according to Şengül Hablemitoğlu, the concept of femicide is related to hatred, hostility and vengeance murdering, as she explained that “in

my opinion, if the title is femicide, the main subtitle would be hate killing. Then, the other subtitles vary from custom/tradition, honor and discrimination to the secondary status of women in Turkish society. I think it is a hate crime”.

However, it was very interesting to compare femicide with hate killings. Before the term of femicide became widespread in the Turkish context, the discourse of “love killing” was commonly used by the press. Thus, femicide cases were presented to Turkish society as a love story ending with a killing. But “love” is a legitimation for a femicide case, and I argue that the discourse of “love killing” justifies and romanticizes the concept of femicide as shown in the news below (En Son Haber, 2014):



Image II. Example of romanticizing femicide case by media
(Murder of the beheaded: Love between the Poor Girl
and the Murderer Son of a Rich Family)

In this context, I think, referring to hate killings as femicide also offers “a justification” for people to kill any person that is hated. Moreover, in some femicide cases, men may murder women with a sense of hatred, but we cannot talk about the same emotion for all. In addition, labeling every explanation might lead to that the perception of society may focus on justifications. I think, the focus should be that femicide is a gender-based murdering.

iii. Femicide vs. Honor/Custom/Tradition Killings

The development of the concept of femicide in the context of Turkey was examined in Chapter III. The development of term of femicide is related to the concept of honor and custom killings. To better understand activists define femicide, I asked them whether there are any differences between femicide and honor/custom/tradition killings. This question received many different and controversial answers during the interviews. Some of the interviewees think that “femicide, honor, custom and tradition killings” are the same while some accept them as a means of justification in the patriarchal society.

Cebbar thinks that honor and custom/tradition killing are the same as femicide. According to Cebbar, after the name change from honor and custom killings to femicide, penalties also have differed. However, women are killed mostly because of being a woman, wearing a mini-skirts or discourse of honor. She says, “For example, women are killed because they wanted to

divorce. Men think that she cannot divorce from me; she is my honor”. Çavdar also expressed a similar idea: “There is nothing that makes it different honor killing from femicide. 440 women were killed in Turkey last year. That’s not something to categorize; it’s the murder of women. I call it violence, whether it is dating violence or sexual violence”. In my opinion, what these two people agreed was the result of the femicide cases, ultimately, women are killed by men in a patriarchal system with a justification of honor, love, custom, and mini skirt. According to Hablemitoğlu “honor and custom killings are one of many forms of femicide and there is no difference between them. These are one of the subtitles of femicide”.

On the other hand, there were people who claimed that honor and custom killings were different notions. According to Ataselim, the concept and scope of femicide are comprehensive and include honor and custom/tradition killings which are typically named by the traditional concepts of the Turkish society. Thus, the sentence reductions was defended through an argument which claimed that the women contested her tradition. Ataselim stated that “in fact, there is something similar in honor killings and custom killings. The justification of killing in Turkish society, is something that humiliates women in society. After Güldünya Tören was killed, custom killings were still under the framework of penalty reduction . However, in order to prevent discounts in femicide cases, an amendment was made in the the law as a result of the struggle of the women’s movement.

Özge Akman [Freelancer, interviewed in İstanbul, 4th April 2019] also thought these concepts are different and claimed that “the difference of honor and custom killings is basic: it was an approach to find a reason for this kind of killing. In the history of the women’s movement in Turkey, there were very serious achievements in terms of honor and custom killings. They were used as concepts to offer a justification for the killing of women. Women have a secondary status in Turkish society and they are killed because of their unequal position”.

I think the approaches of Ataselim and Akman are based on the entire view of the concept and phenomenon of femicide. As a result, even if women are killed, in the context of intersectionality, women have different experiences, identities and backgrounds and they face varying forms of oppression. If we consider that the patriarchal society reproduces itself through the justifications the perpetrators used, I claim that the concepts of honor and custom killed actually reproduce the patriarchal system although feminist movements had great achievement on these cases regarding the law regulations, Now, men can produce different justifications than honor. Semiha Özalp Günel, [retired academician from Dokuz Eylül University, interviewed online, 25th March 2019] also stated that “the insignificance of women

and the decrease of her liberty in the Turkish context are more effective reasons than the honor for femicide”. The killing of a woman using the justification of making the meal unsalted, of traditional family decision, of not accepting his proposal, of being a sex worker and being outside at night are all femicide. Each of these women had easy or difficult lives, different life stories, experiences, and dreams. According to the outcome-oriented thought, these concepts may not make a difference; but differences may arise when we focus on the process. As a result, even though the feminist movement had certain achievements in addressing femicide, the concept of honor and custom killings are used as a tool of self-legitimation of patriarchal system and justification for men.

Thus, the concept and phenomenon of femicide goes beyond the limited understanding of honor and custom killing framework. Honor and custom killings are one of many subtitles of femicide. These concepts offer a justification to killings such as love and divorce in a patriarchal society which traditionally accepts that honor is important for women and that these kinds of killings is a part of the tradition. For example, in Turkey, in the 1990s, honor and custom killings were attributed to people who are living “east of the country”, “Kurds” and from “underdeveloped regions”. But as I mentioned on Münevver Karabulut’s case, people were shocked when they learned that a femicide case also can happen in an urban context. People were emotionally affected and they reacted. I think that these discourses reproduce the male-dominated system that tries to contain women in an oppressed position. Related to the intersectionality, the concept of femicide is used in a broad sense including all different women with different identities and backgrounds without any acceptance for men’s explanations. For instance, when a man killed a woman because the food was unsalted, what are we going to name this type of killing? Is it “food” or “salt” murdering? In order to be able to cover all types of women’s murders, the concept of femicide fits the circumstance precisely. Thus, the concept of femicide works against the culturalization of the killings or their association with a certain class, religion or ethnicity.

iv. Femicide: Is It Political or Not?

The interviews held for this thesis did not include a question on whether femicide is political. This section was compiled from the answers given to the question I asked about the establishment of a collective subject with different political views. This is a significant section for this thesis since it discusses how activists determine their political position in relation to femicide, gender, feminist activism, and collective subjectivity. I present their answers that are close to each other although with different interpretations of the political.

According to Evcil, femicide is a big problem of Turkey and not a political issue. She

underlined that “whatever belief or political view you have, you are a woman, we are all subjected to violence by men in one way or another. I cannot say that she is left-winger or right-winger, so I do not go to support him. We do not have such an opinion; we have people from different religions and political views. The only goal that connects us is to prevent femicide. Whoever she is, no matter what she does, there can be no discrimination among women”. She specified two different forms of politics: one is the political ideas of activists and the other one is the political part of the femicide. She did not mention about the politicization of the concept of femicide and its struggle, for her this struggle against femicide is a phenomenon that develops independent of politics.

Meliha Bodukçuoğlu, [student at Osmaniye Korkut Ata University, interviewed online, 25th March 2019], was looking at the relationship of femicide and politics more universally and said that “It has nothing to do with politics. This is a human, human’s life that is the common point which women should be aware of. People need to be able to defend equality of human rights”. According to her, femicide may be connected to politics, but people in Turkey should put more emphasis on human rights and human life beyond politics. Also, Hablemitoğlu commented on the different political views of women fighting against femicide, stating that “femicide have nothing to do with this, femicide is something outside of political discourse. There are parts that make it political. Femicide is a social issue”. For her, only the steps and measures during the process of preventing femicide can be related to politics in the context of the duties of policy makers.

On the other hand, some women argued that femicide is connected to politics and now I will present their thoughts. Çavdar mentioned that “I think you need to have a political discourse. I think, the concept of femicide is a political issue”. Akman commented that with the increasing numbers of femicide, “we thought that the political struggle of the femicide should be carried out especially after the killing of Münevver Karabulut”. Focusing more on the role of the policy-makers, Ataselim stated that “there is a change in society, but because of all the misogynist discourses and policies, women are subjected to violence by men and then they say, ‘see the state authority also said so’ in the courtrooms”.

I would like to analyze these two different approaches together with the arguments in the thesis, as I think it is political. Doesn’t this process politicize the fact that policy-makers do not make the necessary legal regulations against femicide? In many court cases, the perpetrators use the same misogynist rhetoric as the political authorities. Doesn’t this process politicize the struggle against femicide? In this study, I do not examine the reasons for the increase in femicide. But I think that the research on femicide’s link to politics is directly related to the

increase in femicide. In particular, the formation of collective subjectivity, the formation of a common subject is a different political subject and Acar Savran uses the collective subject and the political collective subject in the same sense.

Women who stated that femicide is not related to politics mean that the issue is beyond political polarization based on ideology or class. Therefore, they render their claims legitimate, by appealing to “everybody”. However, one consequence of this is the de-politicization of patriarchy itself. This, in turn, makes women invisible and homogenous in an oppressed position.

B. The Motivation of Feminist Activism

The motivation of feminist activists in the struggle against femicide is the main issue of this section. During interviews, I asked the interviewees why and when they decided to participate in an organization or to fight by against femicide individually. In this thesis, I wanted to learn about what the impact of activism against femicide is and the social significance attributed to activism in femicide for activists.

i. How Did Activists Get Involved In The Struggle Against Femicide?

As a result of the interviews, I learned that activists have different stories and motivations to start struggling against femicide. Some decided after a femicide case, and some decided to take part after seeing a brochure on femicide. Devrim has always been a part of political struggle in Turkey and she said that “what can you do alone? You can only fix things together”. Ataselim was also already in the struggle against the inequality; especially in the class struggle and women’ movement. She was aware that if women cannot demand their rights as fundamental human rights, it would be much more difficult to prevent violence against women. She further added that “as a result of evaluations in our meetings, we determined the concept of femicide to be our top priority and we [other activists] established KCDP to act upon this priority of stopping femicide in order to claim women’s right to life. We focused on the subject by saying that ‘we will stop femicide’, we have made the name of our organization after struggle, only later on our fields of struggle have expanded”. Akman was also a part of the women’s movement from early stages on and her motivation comes from having a background in activism against social inequality and in left politics. She strongly explained this process; femicide in Turkey was increasing, and she thought that the activists had evolved this struggle when we realized that these femicide cases are based on the relation of oppression. As she mentioned that “a much more painful reality emerged in the results of our statement that women are oppressed: femicide. If women are alone with their own life, all other forms of oppression against women will continue to increase. Thus, we have decided that this should be a social

struggle in our own meetings and discussions. Femicide had to become the most important problem of women because it is related to life". Thus, she, with her activist friends, problematized the concept of femicide and continued to the struggle. This paragraph shows that most women involved in this type of struggle have a background in leftist and also that pro-AKP people are not part of this struggle. But it doesn't mean that AKP's or other political parties' supporters are excluded from the struggle. For instance, activists of KCDP in Konya (in central Anatolia in Turkey) are mostly nationalist and right-wing people. The political structure of the group can change within the same platform depending on cultural structure of the place. Ultimately, the struggle against femicide implies that one has an awareness about the social inequalities in general and is willing to challenge and transform traditional social structures.

Çavdar, who has been a part of the struggle for two years, joined the struggle in her first month of university. As she indicated that, she was always aware of femicide, following on social media, writing some comments, and talking about it with her friends. She said that "I started to stand on my own feet and become an individual in the university, I gained awareness about myself and I want to stop femicide. What else do I struggle for in this life? So, I joined the struggle". Çavdar's motivation was different because she did not have any previous experience of organized struggle and she met with this struggle at the university. What motivated her was her desire to raise awareness and do somethings against femicide for women.

The stories of some women struggling against femicide started with some femicide cases. For example, Cebbar mentioned that "I decided after the killing of Özgecan, maybe there are different dynamics related to this case. Because when she was killed, I was on the 2nd grade at the university, we were almost at the same age. Perhaps it was effective for me. Also, she was studying psychology in the university as I do, she was going home from school, all of them might have affected me. I do not necessarily need that, but I may have put myself in her place". I think that Cebbar was expressing herself strongly, her feelings and her motivation which she derived from her master's degree in clinical psychology. Every woman may have sensibilities based on their experience, identities and backgrounds. Women's point of departure to be a part of the struggle differs from each other, but it is significant that she got involved in an activist group without questioning killed women's identity or background. Here, Cebbar has two important motivations to start: empathy and creating solutions. I think it is not necessary to develop empathy in the struggle against femicide, but this is Cebbar's own motivation. As a result, she continues to struggle against femicide and demand justice for women.

One of my interviewees, Evcil, has a completely different story from the others, because

her sister had been killed by her husband. In 2013, Muhterem Göçmen (Hürriyet, 2013), was killed in her workplace because she wanted to divorce. Evcil's starting story of struggle began after this killing. I want to share Evcil's story at length;

Two days after the murder, we were in the mosque, there were a lot of press outside. Two young women from KCDP came and said to me, "we want to be with you, we want to support you". When I saw two young women, I thought, they could live another enjoyable life, but they were struggling for a killed woman; I was hopeful and accepted their help. Because I'm not a woman who likes to sit down and keep quiet. While everyone else telling me that my sister's death was destiny, they told me that my sister was a victim of femicide. In my most painful moment, they told me that they will support me, that it was not her fault, and they gave me hope. Now, as much as I can, I try to take part in the struggle against femicide. They did not leave me alone, I tried to be present in all cases of families like me. I am very happy to be a part of this struggle; my conscience is peaceful. Because I think it has been five years since my sister was murdered, maybe in five years I could have been treated in a mental hospital or I could have committed suicide somewhere. I lost my sister, but I turned around and saw hundreds of Muhterem behind me. These women supported me, and I hope we will do have more achievements.

This interview was one of the most difficult ones for me. This difficulty was not about the emotional intensity, on the contrary, this woman was courageous, conscious, but angry at the same time. It was amazing to see her power created by feminist resistance against femicide. She was like a model of the intersectionality phenomenon, with her identity, belonging, experience and class. Her motivation to struggle against femicide stemmed from her own experience and she continues this for Muhterem and other women.

As a result, all interviewees have different reasons to get involved in the struggle against femicide. It is possible to see that the diversity of the ways in which activists get involved in this struggle supports my arguments on the concept of collective subjectivity. Because from an intersectional perspective, woman of different age, class, profession come together on the basis of this one issue: femicide.

ii. The State vs. Feminist Activists

In this section I analyzed activists' answers on the impact of activism against femicide and the significance attributed to activism in femicide. In this thesis, the struggle against femicide is one of the main subjects. Feminist activists strengthen this struggle and they attribute a great importance to the struggle. People who are not feminist activists also support this struggle. For example, fathers whose daughters have been killed accept that this is femicide after they have experienced. Even though they are not feminists, they start fighting against femicide. According to activists I talked to, the male-dominated state does not take any step to prevent femicide.

Hablemitoğlu answered my question a short but effective answer; “Who knows what would have been, if there is no activism, let’s think so”. Because the state is not complying with its duty, feminist activism is of great importance. For example, Devrim thinks that thanks to the struggle, the male-dominated system, and the state are finally forced to give up, “They had never used the concept of femicide until today, they are now using the term. Now we will pressure them more so that they can create solutions to femicide”. Bodukçuoğlu thinks that there is an impact on femicide cases. However, after a couple of people stop talking, men continue to kill women; thus, there should be an uprising to prevent it. According to Cebbar, the pressure of public opinion works very much on femicide. Especially in terms of legal penalties, she thinks that it works very well. She stated that “women’s organizations are also using this pressure as a method. Because we have had achievements before, now femicide cases that get more reactions from the public. In this way, everyone can hear about the case”. In these responses, the interviewees particularly emphasized the importance of feminist activism against male-dominated oppression and also that the state does not fulfill its responsibilities. There is a strong belief that feminist activism is a pressuring force on the state, but that there is no trust in the state authority.

For Akman, this relates to the issue of socialization. For example, according to her, we would have accepted when a girl has experienced bad things as Münevver Karabulut and Özgecan Aslan did, if activists had not addressed it in the society. She says that “women today would not fight much to claim their rights, thanks to the previous women’s movements. They are empowered by the existence of 100 women behind them when there is an injustice. They can say; I will divorce”. Günal answered that “It is an indisputable fact that activism raises awareness about femicide. But, I think the effect of prevention is limited”. According to her, without abolishing the causes of femicide, the awareness created cannot be very effective. She thinks that, at least, as a result of this awareness women know more about their rights, solidarity, and how to protect themselves. It is clear that women’s solidarity is an important component of the struggle against femicide. I understand that women who are conscious of femicide are aware of this solidarity and that they can now make their own decisions more freely with the help of this solidarity.

There were also interviewees who interpreted the importance of the struggle against femicide with reference to more practical experiences. Ataselim indicated that since the activists share their whole struggle with the public, they create such socialized feminism in the context of Turkey because they create public opinion, then get results that will affect all women. According to Ataselim, it is possible to see that femicide cases they follow have such an impact.

For Çavdar, the trials of femicide cases that they follow and home visits to murdered women's family, are very saddening but they get positive feedbacks. She said that "there is a woman raped in Eskişehir, her husband says 'look, don't cry, they came for you' and she said, 'okay I promise I will not cry'. This is not a femicide case, but she stated that the family members were very happy to feel the activist's presence and support with them. She said, "Then you are saying that 'Yes! I am doing something'" as a conclusion. Here activists are substituting for the state and they are fulfilling a duty that the state fails to undertake. Thus, this gives legitimacy to their presence in the sphere of civil society.

In general, I think that activists accord great importance to the struggle against femicide. They claim that the state does not fulfill its responsibilities, and in fact, in this situation, feminist activism has a great responsibility. According to the quotes of interviews, the state is constructed as something outside of civil society, and women as a group against the state. Once again, this gives women legitimacy vis-à-vis the patriarchal state but also reproduces an inorganic divide between the state and the civil society. My own experience in KCDP shows that since many women know that they will not get results from the state, they apply to women's organizations to create public pressure. Because women do not believe that the judicial system will defend them, what they believe is women's solidarity. In fact, in this case, I think that feminist activism is regarded as a heroic movement by activists. I think this can become something harmful to feminism: given the lack of state-level decision-making, power of regulation, and protection, it is not possible to protect all women, their budget is not enough for all needs. In fact, now activists do what the state, the police, the law must do. In my opinion, the confidence here is very impressive; but women's organizations have a limited capacity in economic, physical, legal and political terms.

C. How And Why Is Collective Subjectivity Built?

The main claim of this thesis is that the struggle against femicide created a collective subjectivity among activists. I examined gender, femicide and collective subjectivity as an intersectional way in the literature review section. This section, which I developed by analyzing words from semi-structured interviews, is a product of combining academic debate with the social reality from the point of view of the activists. Thus, the question of how and why collective subjectivity is built aims to question the formation of this struggle against femicide. During the interviews I asked questions such as what the conceptual commonalities and discrepancies are among the actors of activism; whether they believe that there is a collective struggle against femicide with any kind of people from different point of view politically; whether they think that it is possible to build a collective subjectivity or unity to fight against

femicide; and what they feel while they are fighting against femicide with people who had different identities and backgrounds. I think I got the most challenging, courageous, solidaristic and powerful answers with the questions about collective subjectivity.

i. Feminist Struggle And Women's Solidarity: A Common Problem

In the context of intersectionality, although the social status of women is influenced by their class and ethnic origin, apart from their gender; in this section, I scrutinize women's solidarity, its dynamics and its possibility in feminist activism against femicide. This section is related to the section of "femicide is not political". Because, according to the answers in this thesis, political ideas constitute an important part in the formation of this solidarity. Some women believe that the struggle is good with all differences whereas some others state their reluctance to struggle side by side with an opponent. I analyze these thoughts in a more detailed way according to the statements in this section.

As for the primary purpose of the establishment of this solidarity, one of interviewee Devrim said, "my goal in this country to create a country where women are not killed, children are not abused, women gain all the rights in all areas" and she stressed the importance of women's solidarity for the struggle against femicide. From the perspective of Devrim, the dynamics of solidarity is based on the concept, phenomenon and increasing numbers of femicide. Thus, for her, the solidarity is constituted for the purpose of coming together, not based to the identities and backgrounds of the participants. Cebbar, claimed that how women are perceived is closely connected to political ideologies. For her, people's perspective may differ, but she added "I do not know who she is, what her political view is. How do I understand that? I cannot understand by looking at their face" by adding that it was very nice the demonstration brought together different political views. Because, according to her, women gather in the street just because they are women, they are expressing a common issue. She emphasized that this situation has confronted with a post-ideological problem. It is very interesting how a political term like solidarity is used to indicate/characterize a "supra-political" struggle. Hablemitoğlu underlined that the concept of femicide is independent of the political discourse and indicated that "there is nothing that restrains us to prevent and monitor femicide and take measures against it. Nothing should limit us". After that, she added, "but how can I collaborate with women who believe and do all the things that the AKP government says?". She emphasizes the unifying power of solidarity, not separating; then she excludes women who are supporters of the AKP government. I think these two explanations are contradictory since it excludes "women who support the AKP government". Günel also indicated solidarity as different from the others and said "I don't feel very negative if we are not at the very different

points of politics. But I prefer to struggle with people who have a similar perspective with me". In my opinion, this is her own choice, and what I understand from these words is that differences in political opinions can be an important and separative topic in the struggle against femicide, but it doesn't mean that she is not in the struggle for the murdered women who don't have the same political opinion.

The main criticism of Günal and Hablemitoğlu is the scope of this women solidarity and women with whom they do not prefer to take action together because they support the male-dominated discourses of the state and reproduce these discourses. However, how is it possible to measure their intentions, to trace and analyze? Who is the gatekeeper that accepts women who are available to support feminist activism against femicide? As Cebbar asked, how do we understand it, for example, in street demonstrations? Furthermore, since I had mentioned about the methodology of this study before, knowledge production cannot be independent of the dynamics of a person. As the production of knowledge takes place in a different place, are we not to exclude certain women from the category of women in this case? I agree with Acar Savran, there are always political differences and obstacles in feminism, it may never be possible to cover all women, but it is possible to be open to all forms of womanhood. Some women would not want to participate in this struggle, but I do not think that feminism has a purpose and intention to exclude a specific group in the context of intersectionality. Who decides whether a woman is a feminist or not, whether a woman is a part of a struggle against femicide? In this thesis, every woman who struggles for gender equality is regarded as a feminist activist. Because I am not a gatekeeper of feminist activism, in this thesis, I share my observation and research.

Before, I mentioned how activists got involved in the struggle against femicide, even though it seems like the struggle against femicide has a left-wing political background. However, it does not mean that women who support AKP or other right-wing political parties are excluded from struggle because according to my experience in KCDP I met many nationalist or Muslim feminist women in struggle. So, I think we can see AKP women as potential members of our collective subjectivity. It is hard to see AKP women who do not support feminist activism within this subjectivity, but it is not impossible. Because, many women decided to be part of this solidarity after their experiences, for instance, after her mother was killed by her father. The process of the formation of collective subjectivity against femicide takes time as a social movement. Society, women, men, women's perceptions, men's perceptions, all of these are changing every day. Thus, as I claimed that femicide is a political issue, there should be some implications such as ensuring the gender equality in society, making necessary legal

arrangements, implementation of current regulations and eliminating gender-based violence and misogynist discourses. However, these can be done by legislative mechanisms and decision-makers. For this reason, I think that those who deny the political status of femicide are very political when it comes to defining the term solidarity.

ii. Building Collective Subjectivity Against Femicide: “Of Course! Why Not?”

I use the concept of collective subjectivity to articulate the way in which women collaborate and struggle against femicide. I asked interviewees whether they believe that there is a collective struggle against femicide with any people from different political points of view, or whether they think that it is possible to build a collective subjectivity or unity to fight against femicide. Ataselim said “why not for femicide? I don’t know, we all have different ideas and methods about it. It is possible if it is on a democratic level where everyone is equal”. According to her, it is definitely possible to build since women were able to do this for right to abortion, “Don’t mess with my Cloths (*Kıyafetime Karışma*)” movement and “Women are strong together (*Kadınlar Birlikte Güçlü*)” movement. She added that “Neighbors of Leyla (murdered in Mersin), called us and said, ‘we want to organize a street demonstration together’ and they did. Think about a society that has learned such things”. She also underlines that the most important requirement at this point of the struggle is to bring together all these experiences. For her, it is important that not only individual case but also organized struggles of these cases, should come together to struggle for all women, not for their own. Akman believes that collective subjectivity can be established in activism against femicide and mentions that “The horrific result of femicide will be something like that we will explain that women were being killed hundreds of years ago. Any political opinion on it will have to get used to it”. Ceren also thinks that it is possible and says, “there is Women’s Assembly (*Kadın Meclisleri*, a women organization in Turkey) and then we observed that we were able to meet women from different political perspective during the *Kıyafetime Karışma* movements”. She, as a volunteer in *Kadın Meclisleri*, indicated that they have many friends from different political parties, but they have a common aim. Devrim also believes in collective subjectivity; she thinks that activists have a common pain because women are killed. She states that “for example, a woman is murdered even if she is a supporter of AKP or CHP^{ms}, even if she is not political at all”. Cebbar expressed as “the most fundamental issue is to be a woman. I cannot say whether it is possible, but yes it must be”. Because, all women, right wing or left wing, can experience it, and women have to overcome the male-dominated system and come together. She says that “if you ask a woman whether she wants that another woman from different political view to be killed, she would not say any woman should be killed”. I reminded her that in Turkey if a murdering or rape case

held at midnight outside of home, many people say that “what was she doing outside alone at the midnight?”. Because I think, one of the critical approaches in Turkish context is violence and femicide cases. And I asked what she would react to if someone told her what she was doing there at that time. I wanted to learn how she would feel. She answered that “First I would get angry at that moment, but I would try to explain her. Otherwise, I can fight with that woman but then? She will be unable to understand the circumstances. All women should understand that no one cannot kill someone else. In such ideologies, it is annoying, but I cannot think that they can tolerate femicide”.

Among the interviewees, there are also those who have different ideas about collective subjectivity against femicide as well as those who claim collective subjectivity can be built among women in feminist activism in Turkey. “If we will only struggle against femicide and show solidarity with their family (like charity association), it is possible” said Günel. I think her answers explain her reservation to work with those who do not similar ideas in feminist activism. At least she does not say that she will not struggle for the murdered women who do not have similar political opinion with her. I think, referring to the support to the families of murdered women as “charity association” is problematic in the struggle against femicide. A struggle for justice should be regarded as resistance and solidarity against the patriarchal system, not charity. In my opinion, charity associations automatically establish a hierarchical relationship and a binarism between the people who help as the powerholder and those who need. Thus, I think, if we call solidarity “help”, we conceal the main problem: the femicide. There is no hierarchical relationship within women’s organizations as in the relation between aider and donee. The phenomenon of femicide is not a problem to be solved in this way with donations, it is a struggle against both the male-dominated system and the phenomenon of femicide. She mentions that a “charity association is equal with the solidarity among activist and families of murdered women”. But in my opinion in the context of intersectionality it is possible to see the hierarchy among these actors, which are separated by each identity and background that women have. Thus, I see why the collective subjectivity cannot be built according to her, but I think that such a feminist struggle cannot be carried out.

Also, Hablemitoğlu, does not believe in collective subjectivity and says, “this society (Turkey) and its politicians do not evolve in a way to say ‘we can unite in this matter while we have different ideas’. I should not be unfair to society, perhaps this society does, but these politicians lag behind Turkish society. Because they are politicians, they do not carry the human characteristics that will represent this collectivism”. Günel excludes different women from their feminist struggle, and Hablemitoğlu mentions of Turkish society as a passive subject. Some

women may not want to be involved in struggle or feminism; it's their own choice. But in my opinion, it is problematic in the struggle to exclude someone. Having another political view or background does not make them a passive subject. As I mentioned the production of knowledge, everyone's knowledge is formed by the dynamics they are located in. Is it a solution to exclude some women from feminist activism, instead of producing new knowledge through feminist standpoints? Does it mean that it is not contradictory to exclude subjects that we do not try to connect, and to say that collective subjectivity cannot be established? What they do by this exclusion is to produce certain social groups [which they probably also hold responsible for the violence] as backward, reactionary, ignorant sections of society. They address the men of these social groups, but this makes women invisible.

iii. Differences As Colors: "Happiness"

In these interviews, which I examined the collective subjectivity of the feminist struggle against femicide and women's solidarity with different identities or belongings, activists who claim that it is possible to build, described the collective subjectivity as happiness. Çavdar said that "I'm happy, I say 'we can do it!'. We can meet at a joint point and the important thing is to connect people and organize them". She was really happy and excited when she said these words. Ataselim is also very happy for the collectivity. Because for her there are so many barriers in front of women and so many things to separate them from each other. She underlines that "we may have different opinions on other subjects, but we are women and we experience the same things within women's struggle. So, we can fight against these problems together". Akman emphasizes the truth as the reality of femicide, and when she sees that when women find the truth, everyone can change. She mentions that "I love the moment when people who did not believe before say 'wow! You're right!' because we finally see that the universal truth has been reached". Under the starting stories section, I touched upon how Evcil was empowered by women's solidarity in feminist activism. She says "I'm proud of this struggle. I think I'm putting a stone on that wall. I think I'm taking a step, I like it". She believes that Muhterem, her sister, is more peaceful now, because she was a small and powerless woman, but she was very challenging. These words of her were the most impressive: "I took over the flag from Muhterem, I did not take it by myself. I am proud of being with women who believe in the existence of femicide".

Women who claim that collective subjectivity is possible are the same as those who are happy to struggle with women who have different identities or backgrounds. In the context of intersectionality, it was interesting to listen and see that they really like to struggle with these differences among women, and these differences are not obstacles for activist women.

Differences are like colors, they feel more powerful together and are motivated by women's solidarity and trust among these different feminist women. Women whom I interviewed rely on the assumption of gender as a primary motivation of women but they do not see women as a homogenous category from an intersectional perspective. Thus, I think their motivations do not render differences invisible for women who think that femicide is political. But, those who believe that femicide is not political, think that category of women is homogenous. Therefore, from an intersectional perspective, this point of view makes solidarity or unity problematic.

When I consider all the answers, I see that women have different approaches to collective subjectivity. It was quite difficult to understand and analyze directly from the answers provided to the questions on collective subjectivity. Thus, I reformulated the questions on collective subjectivity and asked them again. Some interviewees noticed that I was asking the same question and could not understand the difference between the questions. Some responded in different ways with more detailed examples. I tried to understand their perceptions of collective subjectivity with different phrases. (See APPENDIX II for interview questions).

D. Diversity Within Unity: Are Differences Transcended?

Tensions among activists did not emerge in the interviews. This does not mean that there is no tension, but it means women stand in unity despite all the differences and diversity. In this section, I discuss these diversities that arise around the concept femicide and collective subjectivity. The concept of femicide, which is one of the basic terms of this thesis, has been defined by all the interviewees similarly. The fact that a woman is killed by a man because of her being a woman is a common problem of the struggle of activists. In the context of intersectionality, activists have a common purpose, which is to prevent femicide.

i. Target of Activism

The methods of struggle may show similarities or differences according to different NGOs or individual efforts. Devrim told that among the methods such as street demonstrations, press releases, following the trials, seminars, the most effective form of activism is the street demonstrations which she defined as freedom. According to Cebbar, the most effective method is the street demonstration, "because a lot of women are united for something, this is very important". She also emphasized the importance of social media and stated that the media rendered visible that "every woman may not go out, but she has a TV in her home, and when she sees the demonstrations on television [if the TV shows], she learns someone is struggling and she may feel more powerful". For Hablemitoğlu, all activism tools such as street actions, following the trials, social media, press releases should be utilized. Ataselim talked about the importance of collecting data for a complete struggle. She emphasized that they were able to

identify the problems and find solutions through the data collection and analysis. She stated that they conduct street demonstrations, follow trials with volunteer lawyers, social media, translate feminist articles in foreign languages, organize trainings and conferences in universities for awareness-raising. Ataselim said, “We are trying to use everything in the most effective way. The most effective one is that we are carrying out this struggle together with its main subjects. We do not speak as outsiders”. I think that she refers to the feminist standpoint, which is the methodology of this thesis. Günel said that she participates in local and national meetings, street demonstrations, following trials and solidarity with families, and she said that the most effective method of activism was to establish a one-to-one relationship with the oppressed women (and men) and to include them into the struggle. She also underlined the importance of social media and stated that they could only get rid of the pressures of tradition with struggle. Everyone agrees with the concept of femicide, and the methods utilized in feminist activism are very similar. Most of them said that street demonstrations are the most effective method for feminist activism against femicide since it provides visibility.

On the other hand, when I asked about their targets in feminist activist practices against femicide, their differences began to emerge. For example, Hablemitoğlu addressed the patriarchal system as a target in feminist activism against femicide because the system enables the continuation of a state. Çavdar said “no matter someone from A Party or B Party, if there is a hate speech against a woman or femicide, I am opposed to them because they say it to me, and I have to give them an answer”. Bodukçuoğlu addressed both women and men and said, “I will not say ‘politics’ because women also raise awareness when they know their rights or how they will defend themselves. Awareness raising can generally be done for women and men”. For Ataselim, the target is changing all the time, and she expresses, “we say something as a policy, not a campaign. These are changing in time. We determine what is on the agenda and act accordingly”. Cebbar emphasizes the masculinity, perception of masculinity, political ideology as targets for feminist activism against femicide and says that “the perception of masculinity in Turkey is the reason why we take to the streets. The male-dominated system was established, and we are actually fighting against this system”. For Devrim, the target of her feminist activism is also the male-dominated system, and she adds that “the capitalist system ultimately supports the male-dominated system. They are similar”.

Günel thinks that state, male-dominated system, women, and men, all of them are the targets of her feminist activism against femicide. Because for Günel, ideological state apparatuses enable the government to see women as second class subjects in the society. Women are already on the agenda and the values of society are changing. However, the Turkish society see violence

as a solution. Moreover, Evcil states the following: “unfortunately my target is the state. I beg to the government after my sister’s murdering by staging a sit-in at Galatasaray Square (in Istanbul) every Friday for months during the trial. But they didn’t hear us. The state took a stand against us, but we have never done it against the state. And, of course, the male-dominated state is the same with the male-dominated system”. She also stated that they only wanted deterrent penalties from the state for femicide cases and that the law to be applied. In my opinion, each dynamic is linked to the concept of femicide, and these differences vary according to their own experiences, practices and perceptions on gender, feminist activism, and femicide.

ii. Perception of Different Actors

In activist’s struggle against femicide, women can have different personal, social and theoretical interpretations. After mentioning these interpretations, I bring them together all of them to analyze the tensions between collective subjectivity and the struggle against femicide. Çavdar, for instance, states the following: “I learned a lot, I had a certain idea, but I have an idea to say these sentences”. Now she is more conscious on the rights and conventions and is trying to support other people if they are subjected to violence. Bodukçuoğlu also prefers to highlight her inferences in the following way: “I gain self-confidence, I love myself and I love people for it. I want to sit down and talk to people, even if they are oppose me, that equality is not difficult”. Cebbar reminds one of the slogans of her group [KCDP] “You will never walk alone” which shows her that she is not alone, and she wants other women to feel it. She explains the implications of feminist activism against femicide for her by combining personal and social inferences and says: “I feel safe for myself because I am in the women’s struggle. Because when something happens to me, I know there are people who can stand next to me, being confident like this is very good. I feel more confident myself”. Günal also preferred to combine personal, political, and social implications, and for her, this struggle is about a developmental process personally, and she thinks that solidarity in the social sense, especially women’s solidarity, is widespread. She also believes that increasing sociological research on the position of women in society helps women to develop scientifically. Politically this feminist activism is one response to the question of “how to live a better life” for those who struggle in political organizations.

Some of interviewees preferred to focus on social inferences. As Devrim says, “not only femicide, but our achievements can exist in all areas after women are protected from rape and murder” through feminist activism. Ataselim emphasizes that in Turkey it is possible to see the awakening and transformation of women. She claims that they demand more rights today, and they don’t prefer to remain silent at the face of violence. According to her, women do not give

up their on their decisions despite the fact that women are murdered every day and this adamant stance is a symbol of serious resistance. Ataselim talks about the social implications of the struggle against femicide by showing the relationship between the phenomenon of femicide and the awareness of women in Turkey. Akman also underlines the social implications and states that “this brings a very important social result. We have the chance to experience a moment of success for women in this century”. According to Akman, society gradually sees how things can change, and it is very important to see these kinds of results at the end.

This feminist struggle against femicide has touched a point in the lives of these individuals, politically or socially. The way in which these women interpret the implications of the struggle is based on their own experiences and contribution to the struggle. I think that their interpretations are based on their identities or the type of belonging that they established towards the struggle in the context of intersectionality. Furthermore, it is these inferences that make a difference in the way the collective subject emerges in the activist struggle against femicide. My interpretation of these interviews with activists involves concepts such as solidarity, trust, self-confidence, courage, unity and persistence to struggle against femicide. However, the interpretation of one of the interviewees has affected me more than others. Evcil says the following: “my biggest inference is that I stood upright in the trials of my sister, she was a woman who stood upright all the time. She struggled, she was murdered on this, but with the support I got from my sister and other women, I could defend my sister until the end of the trials”. The efforts of the killer for exculpation was very tiring for her but she felt encouraged with the support of women she had never known before.

This experience of Evcil is precisely the example of collective subjectivity in the context of intersectionality. It is not imperative that women had experienced femicide, young women who support Evcil did not have such an experience. Women are part of the same puzzle if they are killed because they are women in the context of the femicide concept. But what is important here is to combine the harmonious parts of the puzzle to create a meaningful whole. Maybe some women are not a part of this puzzle? Many people who have no political action in their lives before were politicized in feminist activism against femicide after their daughters, wives or mothers were killed. So, I don't see any women falling outside of this puzzle. Some say that “women's murders are increasing, let's fight, we can be united” and others say that, “I see it on TV every day, I'm very upset about the femicide, but what can I do?”. Thus, these differences are all related to perception on gender, feminist activism and femicide and are affected and interpreted in different ways.

iii. Correct Form of Action

So, on what points do they disagree? I asked the interviewees about their thoughts on the conceptual commonalities and discrepancies among activists. Devrim speaks of women's NGOs which stand close to the state institutions. She claims that these pro-government NGOs act vis-à-vis the state and capitalism. According to her, to remove the word "woman" from the ministry's name was an act reflecting state's discourse on women. Also she adds, "I personally do not approve the activities such as the 8 March Night March and the Trans-Honor Week March in that way. Because, 3-4 women are killed every day, women get raped, and to make fun seems futile for me". But she adds that she nonetheless participates in the 8 of March Night Parade as a part of women's struggle. She criticized both the state-sponsored women's organizations and the forms of struggle of other women's organizations. Çavdar responds in ways that support Devrim's words: "there are discrepancies such as the identity of women, flowered feminism, a night walk. Women express themselves, this is a beautiful thing, but I think there must be a political discourse. I don't have to be a flower". According to her, age and political views may be a factor in this differentiation. In fact, for her, some groups do not think these issues politically, but femicide is political.

For Cebbar, partnerships among women NGOs are generally a matter of equality in women's rights, but sometimes the things they emphasize may be different from each other such as women's rights, equality, femicide, and economy. She adds: "for example, KCDD, is in the struggle against femicide for the most fundamental women's right, that is, right to life. Of course, it does not mean that they do nothing for other issues on women". She claims that the reason for these differences is also related to political ideologies because women are fighting against an ideology to prevent disastrous outcomes and rhetoric on women. For her, it is impossible for all of the women to come together and deal with everything. She expresses that "there is a need to provide services to women, but this is related to politics, some women's organizations differ here because they actually think the state should do it systematically. Some organizations are trying to provide services with their efforts; it is challenging to help as an association to everyone". Also, Günel thinks that it is common that there are differences in the political views of activists and the reactions become similar as in the case of Özgecan Aslan's killing, which is widely heard by the media. According to her, the perception of feminism and the political stance create the differentiation between activists and liberal or socialist point of view evaluate the issues with the different political background. Professional differences do not affect fighting styles, then the differences in age and experience are not understandable for her. However, she emphasizes that "someone who has struggled for many years in the movement

and someone who has just joined the movement may have different reactions, but I think it does not have to be very important”. She thinks that there may be a rural-urban distinction in the forms of struggle, and also the forms of organization will also make a difference. However, I do not agree with her in terms of standpoints because she homogenizes different standpoints in this way. If we homogenize the category of women from a certain standpoint, this will eliminate the differences among women, conceal their different oppressed positions, and not become a collective subjectivity. In this research my aim is not to suppress these differences, feminist standpoints are required to be able to see the different experiences, political identities, point of views for gender equality from a feminist intersectional perspective.

Ataselim indicates that in the past, murdered women were discriminated as an ideal or bad woman by society, but they tried to explain there was no discrimination among women. As a result of this struggle, there is a severe transformation within Turkish society for her. In this process, she emphasizes that “there were women who say ‘femicide’ like us, some institutions censored and there were women who developed other concepts like the concept of the massacre of women”. According to her, when someone name femicide in another way, nothing else happens, or the situation does not change. For her, there are many dynamics at play, and she continues “in Turkish society, some thinks that there is unique feminism within the women’s movement. I think that we have slowly demolished these old perceptions”.

There were also those who did not think there were discrepancies within the feminist activism against femicide among the interviewees. According to Hablemitoğlu, the issue of femicide is a matter of fact, in every sense in Turkey, in Turkish society, in every sense of politics and academic. She thinks that there is something that unites women from every point of view or a political point of view among activists. She says, “we (women) all agree, everyone agrees, because women are killed, everyone sees it. We have problems on the side of the power of the state in terms of accepting the concept of femicide and eliminating femicide”. Evcil also said there were discrepancies but underlined some of the differences between activists, “I’m struggling against femicide and for justice, when women come together, we get many achievements, but some say they support you, then disappear”. As an example, she shared her experiences in a femicide trial she attended. “When I went to court for a femicide case, I was shocked. There were women from different NGOs, I respect them. But during the hearing, these women hurt and humiliate murdered women’s family in a weird reaction in front of the court and the perpetrator. Their moves turned into something like a show” After the court when she saw the same actions going on, she said “I’m sorry I can’t come again, because our cases are not like that” to her friend who is a member of the family.

iv. Definition of Collective Subjectivity

Although these differences may sometimes pose an obstacle in the struggle, common issues can bring women together. For most of the interviewees, collective subjectivity can be built except some of them. However, the common idea of all is that when women come together, they can achieve something more powerful against femicide. Even if it is sometimes difficult for them to come together, they can think in the same way about the struggle against femicide. Claiming that collective subjectivity cannot be established, Hablemitoğlu said that femicide is a subject that unites women. I think this contradiction is due to the current political polarization. In the context of Turkey, today general political agenda is divided by different political views of different political parties. This division also affects all kinds of issue such as friendships, work relations, social movements, elections, in sum, the daily life. For instance, it is possible to see that if CHP supporters stand by the feminist movement, AKP supporters remain silent or protest against feminism.

Collective subjectivity does not cover the differences that are peculiar to each and every woman. It is a subjectivity which has a common purpose of coming together with different identities. Knowledge production is shaped through a person's own experience and dynamics and women determine their positions and standpoints accordingly. For this thesis, I analyze the ideas of women who have different identities and experiences by using feminist standpoint about femicide, feminist activism and collective subjectivity. After the analyses of interviews, in the next chapter, I present the summary and conclusion of this thesis.

CHAPTER V. CONCLUSION

In this conclusion, the overall argument of the thesis is summarized through the main findings and important limitations are mentioned. I also present relevant recommendations to open up new debates for further research.

For this study, I conducted research with the aim of rendering visible feminist activism against the increasing numbers of femicide as an extreme form of gender-based violence against women in Turkey. By analyzing collective subjectivity against femicide, this thesis has shown how activist women with different identities, experiences and positions come together to politicize and solve a common problem in Turkey. Based on a qualitative analysis conducted by semi-structured interviews with 9 feminist activists about femicide and collective subjectivity, I concluded that differences among women are important factors to consider in defining and building collective subjectivity against femicide. My feminist standpoint and outsider within status was of great importance to perceive and the qualitative data. Paying attention to women's different positions, identities, professions, ages and experiences has improved this research in the context of collective subjectivity as an intersectional strategy. The results indicate that feminist activism plays a key role in challenging misogyny, gender-based violence and femicide for activists in Turkey.

When I first began this research, due to the exigencies of time I had difficulties in finding interviewees from whom I would be collecting data which will later be analyzed for this research. However, I believe that I have managed to organize face-to-face interviews in a short time thanks to my outsider within position as being a woman, activist, researcher and an NGO volunteer who collects quantitative data on femicide in feminist activism in Turkey. For me it was quite impressive that the interviewees have felt confident and spoken freely during the conversations that we had. As I mentioned in the section on ethical considerations and limitations in Chapter II, this study does not involve all the positions occupied by women related with respect to femicide. For instance, I did not find any women who support the AKP government and fights against femicide at the same time because of political polarization in Turkey. Also, as I mentioned through the quotations, analysis and information listed in APPENDIX I, interviewees in this research occupy different positions in feminist activism. For example; Ece Devrim is a transgender woman, a disabled, a street vendor and has no regular income; Çiğdem Evcil, the sister of Muhterem Göçmen (murdered by her husband), is a cleaning staff at big corporation in Turkey; or Şengül Hablemitoğlu works as a professor at European University of Lefke. In this thesis, I interviewed not only cis-women, but also transgender women, and thus, the scope of the femicide concept was broadened. Additionally,

data collected by the KCDP also includes transgender women. These interviewees with people of different gender identities, sexual orientations, socio-economic status, educational background created reflects the strategy of intersectionality as a constitutive tool in the formation of collective subjectivity. Differences, as in the metaphor of joint points, form a union and, as the interviewees also mentioned “differences as colors” and “happiness” when speaking for feminist activism.

The chapter where I presented the data presentation and offered my analysis is very important to see the relation between literature review, methodology, methods and outputs of interviews. In order to do in-depth analysis, I highlighted some topics in the interviews conducted with the activist women. I was curious about how activists struggling against femicide identified the concept of femicide. In this context, activist women said that femicide is gender-based, others said that femicide is hate crime, and yet others said that it is not political. When analyzing the comments of the interviewees who believe that the struggle against femicide is not a political issue, (I noted on page 51) they make women invisible and homogenous with their different positions in Turkish society. I acknowledge how defining women as a homogenous group can be still problematic in some regards. Then, I discussed how women refer to the concept of femicide in connection with the honor and custom killings, how they define the honor and custom killings and how they interpret these concepts in the context of Turkey. After that, in the next section, I focused on the motivation of feminist activism and the initiation stories of activists to the struggle against femicide. Most of them shared a common opinion that the state does not fulfill its responsibilities when it comes to fighting femicide. I have also analyzed the collective subjectivity which is the main concept of this thesis in another section. I examined whether collective subjectivity was possible within feminist activism and then I analyzed the process of its construction. Women emphasized feminist struggle and women’s solidarity against a common problem. According to activist women, the differences between women are as colors and they defined these differences as happiness. And most of them responded “of course, why not!” on the building collective subjectivity against femicide.

The concepts of femicide and collective subjectivity with respect to gender and intersectionality were also analyzed to find conceptual commonalities and discrepancies among activism under the tensions within collective subjectivity. The most obvious conceptual commonalities are the definition of femicide as gender-based killing and the importance of struggling against it. The importance and goals of the struggle keeps women together according to my analysis. They also acknowledged that the state does nothing and therefore the struggle against femicide is such a major responsibility for the civil society. It’s also important not to

present intersectionality as the road to a happy ending since there also are clashes between different formulations of femicide and collective subjectivity. Some of the interviewees describe the concept of femicide in relation to hate crimes, while some others fundamentally refer to a gender-based violation of the right to life, whereas some women were evaluating these actions against femicide in the context of class struggle, others were taking this only as a human-centered action. In fact, according to my experience in feminist struggle in Turkey, I know that some group of feminists do not agree with each other on some topics or forms of action. But none of my interviewees made a statement about it, they underlined that unity and solidarity were possible. My analysis was not focusing on these differences, they were negotiated but I still acknowledge they are there and are a source of tension.

This thesis has shown that collective subjectivity has occurred among feminist activists in the struggle against femicide in Turkey. Interviews reveal that there have been discussions that support my stance as well as those that challenge it. I have noted different ideas of activists with different identities and belongings through this research. I think it is very helpful in terms of the analysis section that has different preferences and results of activists about the collective subjectivity. Activists, both supporters of my claim and those who had different ideas made a great contribution to the this study. Especially, those who have opposed views have created tensions in this thesis, strengthened the debate and opened up new debates for further research. In Chapter IV, I had analyzed these debates about the conceptualization of femicide according to activists, motivation of feminist activism, the formation of collective subjectivity and the diversity within unity. And the conclusion I reached based on my analysis is that it is possible to build collective subjectivity in the context of intersectionality as a constitutive element of this unity among women who have different identities, belongings or positions in Turkish society in struggle against femicide.

The concept of collective subjectivity has critical importance for the struggle against the increasing number of femicide in Turkey among women had have different identities. The proper definition of femicide as a deadly result of extreme form of gender-based violence against women is important for the correct identification of this kind of murdering. Defining the concept of femicide is an important step for data collection and analysis. Only after the correct definition, the correct data can be collected in Turkey and then this data shows the possible ways for solutions against femicide. For this reason, data should be collected in accordance to the proper definition, and then it should be analyzed and shared with the public. Then, necessary precautions should be taken by the government. Additionally, the state should ensure the implementation of the existing Law No. 6284 and the Istanbul convention to prevent

gender-based violence against women.

Moreover, the state should establish bridges with and within civil society between feminist groups, associations, and organizations and communicate directly with them. Research using gender as an analytical category should become widespread and include areas of legal, political, economic and social issues. The phenomenon of femicide is a kind of preventable death and gender equality is the most important step to prevent femicide. Achieving equality is important, since women turn into open targets for men due to inequalities. In Turkish society these inequalities are used to justify the violence against women on a daily basis. For this reason, the state with all opportunities should be involved in the collective subjectivity that women form against femicide. The problem of femicide as the extreme form of gender-based violence can be prevented by the collective subjectivity of women with their strong voices and confidence. This struggle will need more time, budget, legal regulations, implementations of current regulations and effort of many women. Organized, educational programs, reports, research, meetings conducted by NGO's, the state, the municipalities and universities would help to increase consciousness pertaining to femicide both locally and throughout the whole country. More opportunities of support for women, specifically provided by the state would empower people to seek justice for women's right to life. If these solutions can be implemented, it is possible to see a decrease in femicide numbers in Turkey.

The significance of this study is that it contributes to the literature in terms of being the only research made specifically on the collective subjectivity against femicide in Turkey. This academic research can help activists to produce feminist knowledge which would strengthen the struggle for gender equality against gender-based inequality, violence and killings. The social significance of the subject in Turkey comes from its potential to build bridges between women's different identities and positions in the context of intersectionality. In this research, I've shown that it is possible for all women to come together against a common problem through collective subjectivity. Further research conducted with other actors and dynamics such as media, economics, politics and law is needed to improve the productivity of feminist activism which aims at eliminating gender-based violence and femicide.

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APPENDIX I: LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

Name	Surname	City	Job	Where	Place of Interview	Date of Interview
Özge	Akman	İstanbul	Freelancer	İstanbul	İstanbul	4th April 2019
Fidan	Ataselim	İstanbul	Student	İstanbul University	İstanbul	18th March 2019
Çiğdem	Evcil	İstanbul	Cleaning Staff	Yıldırım Holding	İstanbul	5th April 2019
Esra	Cebbar	İstanbul	Student	Maltepe University	İstanbul	13th March 2019
Şengül	Hablemitoğlu	Ankara	Professor	European University of Lefke	Ankara	23rd March 2019
Ceren	Çavdar	Eskişehir	Student	Eskişehir Technical University	Online	20th March 2019
Ece	Devrim	İstanbul	Street Vendor	İstanbul	İstanbul	8th March 2019
Meliha	Bodukçuoğlu	Ankara	Student	Osmaniye Korkut Ata University	Online	25th March 2019
Semiha	Özalp Günal	Eskişehir	Retired Academician	Dokuz Eylül University	Online	25th March 2019

APPENDIX II: LIST OF INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What do you think about the concept of femicide? What does it mean for you? How did the term enter your vocabulary, i.e. through which historical-political developments? How does the term differ from honor/custom (namus/töre) killings?
2. Why and when have you decided to participate in an organization or to individually fight against femicide?
3. What are the conceptual commonalities and discrepancies among activists in approaching femicide? What are the dynamics of differentiation between activists (such feminism or other sources of political belonging, profession, age/experience in the field, etc.)?
4. What is the impact of activism against femicide in eliminating/preventing femicide?
5. What is the social importance attributed to activism in femicide by society?
6. What are the personal, social and theoretical implications of struggle against femicide for you?
7. Do you believe that there is a collective struggle against femicide of people who have different political views? Do you think, when we put all actors in the field who struggle against feminist, they add up to a collective (political) subject?
8. What do you feel while you are fighting against femicide with “different” people?
9. Do you think that it is possible to build a collective subjectivity or unity to fight against femicide?
10. What are the concrete forms of activism you or your organization adopt in the struggle against femicide (i.e. campaigns, mail groups, social media, news outlets, street demos, following court cases, solidarity with families, lobbying, etc.)? What are the most effective forms of activism and why?
11. In your activism who is/are your address/s? Is it the state, government, or men, or women, civil society organizations, society at large, etc.? And why?

ENDNOTES

ⁱ This thesis literally involves violence from the headline to the end of end notes due to the main focus on murdered women and their voice. Violence does not continue only in this thesis but in real life. I would like to make content warning about some pages that can be traumatic are on page 10, 43 and 44.

ⁱⁱ For example, in 1990, the Mor Çatı Women's Shelter Foundation (Mor Çatı Kadın Sığınağı Vakfı) was established to spread the struggle against male violence. Women's Human Rights - New Solutions Association (Kadının İnsan Hakları – Yeni Çözümler Derneği, KİH-YÇ), in 1993, was established to defend and implement the human rights of women and in Turkey and in the world. Foundation for the Support of Women's Work (Kadın Emekini Değerlendirme Vakfı – KEDV) was established in 1986 to support women in improving their quality of life and their economic status. Women's Solidarity Foundation (Kadınlarla Dayanışma Vakfı – KADAV) was originally established to support the women and children in the Marmara region after the 1999 Marmara Earthquake, since its foundation KADAV has been fighting violence against women, providing support to women violence victims and carrying out activities in the field of women's labor and employment. Since the last few years, this NGO, has been organizing solidarity with women immigrant, women prisoners and LGBTI person, too.

ⁱⁱⁱ “Honor is generally seen as residing in the bodies of women. Frameworks of ‘honor’, and its corollary ‘shame’, operate to control, direct and regulate women's sexuality and freedom of movement by male members of the family. ... ‘Regulation’ of such behavior may in extreme cases involve horrific direct violence – including ‘honor killing’, perhaps the most overt example of the brutal control of female sexuality - as well as indirect subtle control exercised through threats of force or the withdrawal of family benefits and security.” (Coomaraswamy 2005, xi)

^{iv} By referring to the concept of honor killings, The Turkish Language Institution defines *töre cinayeti* as “in some areas, because of non-compliance with traditional conceptions, young girls or women are murdered by their family member by the decision of the family”, (Töre Cinayeti, online)

^v The Turkish Grand National Assembly adopted the Sixth Harmonization Package to the EU criteria, and as part of this package, related Articles of the Penal Code were changed to increase the sentences for honor killings to the perpetrators and they eliminated the clauses which allow reduction in sentences for honor killings. This was an important step for combating honor killings, which was then broadened with the Penal Code of 2004. Previously, reductions in sentences were possible in honor killings if the perpetrator was under age or if the judge ruled that the crime was committed under undue provocation by the victim (Müftüler-Baç 2012, 10).

^{vi} Translated by a translator from Spanish to English.

^{vii} Every year different organizations collect data and publish their own reports. Generally, this data is collected by media and non-governmental organizations since the state does not collect data on femicide. In the state reports, femicide data is different than those of media and non-governmental organizations since these organizations adopt a different concept of femicide and use different categories. For the first time in 2018, the Ministry of Interior announced the numbers of femicide in Turkey.

^{viii} Turkey's population is 82 million 3 thousand 882 people as of December 31, 2018. (TÜİK, 2019)

^{ix} According to KCDP in the context of their data; Femicide is the gender-related crime where females, from embryo to fetus, infant to child, adult to old, are murdered or forced to commit suicide by a man merely because “they are females” or because “they are acting against the social codes of their gender identity”. Femicides must not be perceived as murders in which only people of female sex are killed. These hate crimes aim to attack the female identity, (KCDP, 2019)

^x The table is compiled from annual reports of KCDP by me.

^{xi} Unjust Provocation is organized by Article 29 of the Turkish Penal Code:

A person committing an offense with effect of anger or asperity caused by the unjust act is sentenced to imprisonment from eighteen years to twenty-four years instead of aggravated life imprisonment, and to imprisonment from twelve years to eighteen years instead of life imprisonment. In other cases, the punishment is abated from one-fourth up to three thirds. (Özsoy, 2013)

^{xii} Grounds for Discretionary Mitigation - Article 62

(1) Where there are grounds for discretionary mitigation, a penalty of life imprisonment shall be imposed where the offence committed requires a penalty of aggravated life imprisonment; or twenty-five years

imprisonment where the offence committed requires a penalty of life imprisonment. Otherwise the penalty to be imposed shall be reduced by up to one-sixth.

(2) In the evaluation of discretionary mitigation, the following matters shall be taken into account: background, social relations, the behavior of the offender after the commission of the offence and during the trial period, and the potential effects of the penalty on the future of the offender. The reasons for any discretionary mitigation are to be stated in the judgement. (Penal Code of Turkey 2015, 23)

^{xiii} However, according to the chapters of Istanbul Convention, the paths to recommend for following this process are listed; “Purposes, definitions, equality and non-discrimination, general obligations”, “Integrated policies and data collection”, “Prevention”, “Protection and support”, “Substantive law”, “Investigation, prosecution, procedural law and protective measures”, “Migration and asylum”, “International co-operation”, “Monitoring mechanism”, “Relationship with other international instruments”, “Amendments to the Convention”, and “Final clauses” (CoE 2011).

^{xiv} Depending on this convention the GREVIO is the independent expert body responsible for monitoring the implementation of the Istanbul Convention by the Parties (GREVIO, no date). With respect to the election procedure of GREVIO, for GREVIO membership person will be chosen as an independent expert among nationals of the State Parties and this person follow the “Rules on the election procedure of the members of the Group of Experts on Action against Violence against Women and Domestic Violence”. Although women’s organizations were involved in the process of signing the Istanbul Convention, Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence, “The Ministry of Family and Social Policy has raised bureaucratic roadblocks to exclude horizontally organized women’s and LGBTI groups from participation in the process of determining Turkey’s candidate(s) to GREVIO” (Altıok et al., 2015) and the written notifications of women’s organizations were not taken into consideration for the meeting in 2014 during the selection of GREVIO, Group of Experts on Action against Violence against Women and Domestic Violence, delegates (Poyraz Doğan, 2014). The ministry ignored women’s NGOs advices and insist on only three NGOs, which are close to the AKP government, will be represented for the GREVIO membership from Turkey. After these undemocratic moves, the AKP government chose a person from within their candidates but women’s and LGBTI’s NGOs and activists highly recommend Prof. Feride Acar for GREVIO. After all, on March Turkey’s AKP government declared that Prof. Feride Acar would nominate to GREVIO. In 2019 during the nomination process for the 2019 GREVIO member Turkey have experienced the same situation again. In the end, despite the challenge of many women NGOs, the AKP government nominate Prof. Aşkın Asan as GREVIO Member.

^{xv} Article 3: “Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person” (UN, no date)

^{xvi} e.g. Dorjee, T., Baig, N. and Ting-Toomey, S., 2013; Gius, C. and Lalli, P., 2014

^{xvii} e.g. Gregoratto, 2017

^{xviii} e.g. Cetin, 2015; Browne, A. and Williams, K.R., 1993; Razack, 2016; Wright, 2011; Prieto-Carrón, M., Thomson, M. and Macdonald, M., 2007; Caputi, 1989

^{xix} e.g. Dawson, M. and Gartner, R., 1998; Taylor, R., Jasinski, J.L. and Corzine, J., 2011; Campbell, J. and Runyan, C.W., 1998; Mcfarlane, J. M., Campbell, J. C., Wilt, S., Sachs, C. J., Ulrich, Y. and Xu, X., 1999

^{xx} e.g. Howe, 2014; Razack, 2000; Odeh, 2010; Mcfarlane, J., Campbell, J. C., Watson, K. and Tomkins, A. J., 2002; Bowman, C.G. and Altman, B., 2002, Mathews, S., Jewkes, R. and Abrahams, N., 2014

^{xxi} e.g. Karbeyaz, K., Akkaya, H. and Balci, Y., 2013; Fong, W., Pan, C., Lee, J.C., Lee, T. and Hwa, H., 2016; Adinkrah, 2008; Unal, E. O., Koc, S., Unal, V., Akcan, R. and Javan, G. T., 2016; Emerson Dobash, R., Dobash, K. and Cavanagh, 2009

^{xxii} e.g. Kellermann, A. L. and Mercy, J. A., 1992; Allgulander, C. and Nilsson, B., 2000; Campbell J. C., Glass N., Sharps PW., Laughon K., and Bloom T., 2007

^{xxiii} e.g. Dawson, 2016; Corradi, C., Marcuello-Servós, C., Boira, S. and Weil, S. 2016

^{xxiv} e.g. Shalhoub-Kervorkian, 2013; Baker, N.V., Gregware, P.R. and Cassidy, M.A., 1999; Frye, V. and Wilt, S., 2001; Kulczycki, A. and Windle, S., 2011; Goussinsky, R. and Yassour-Borochowitz, D., 2012; Luffy, S., Evans, D. and Rochat, R., 2015; Grana, 2001

^{xxv} e.g. Mohanty, M. K., 2004

^{xxvi} e.g. Cetin 2015

^{xxvii} e.g. Kardam 2005

^{xxviii} e.g. Odeh 2010

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- ^{xxxix} e.g. Karbeyaz, K., Akkaya, H. and Balci, Y., 2013
- ^{xxx} e.g. Tütüncüler, A., Özer, E., Karagöz, Y. M. and Beyaztaş, F. Y., 2015
- ^{xxxix} e.g. Caputi, 1989
- ^{xxxix} e.g. Goussinsky, R. and Yassour-Borochowitz, D., 2012
- ^{xxxix} e.g. Fong, 2016
- ^{xxxix} e.g. Adinkrah, 2008
- ^{xxxix} e.g. Tütüncüler, A., Özer, E., Karagöz, Y. M. and Beyaztaş, F. Y., 2015
- ^{xxxix} e.g. Goussinsky, R. and Yassour-Borochowitz, D., 2012
- ^{xxxix} e.g. Meneghel, 2013
- ^{xxxix} The words “legitimations, justification and explanations” are used instead of using the word “reason”. In feminist activism in Turkish we use it exactly as “*bahane*”. But in English there are more than one translation of this word, there is no only one equivalent. I use it by changing between these words because there is no clear translation. Why I use these words is that the word “reason” provides a justification for femicide in my opinion. There can be no reason for a man to murder a woman, but it may be that the “justification” of men for controlling women with the male-dominated perception. I believe that these words more accurately express the purpose of murdering.
- ^{xxxix} e.g. Karbeyaz, K., Akkaya, H. and Balci, Y., 2013; Yilmaz, E., Kumral, B., Canturk, N., Erkol, Z. and Okumus, A. M., 2015; Tütüncüler, A., Özer, E., Karagöz, Y. M. and Beyaztaş, F. Y., 2015; Ozer, E., Aydogdu, H. I., Kirci, G. S. and Onal, G., 2016; Unal, E. O., Koc, S., Unal, V., Akcan, R. and Javan, G. T., 2016
- ^{xi} e.g. Cetin 2015
- ^{xii} e.g. Tosun Altınöz, Ş., Altınöz, A. E., Utku, Ç., Eşsizoglu, A. and Candansayar, S., 2018
- ^{xiii} e.g. Arin 2001, Çilingiroğlu, N. and Erbaydar, N.P., 2016
- ^{xiii} e.g. Taştan, C. and Küçükler Yıldız, A., 2019
- ^{xiv} e.g. Genç, H.N. and Aydemir, D., 2018
- ^{xv} e.g. Pang, 2006
- ^{xvi} e.g. Tarter, 1996
- ^{xvii} e.g. Villanueva, 2017
- ^{xviii} e.g. Morondo Taramundi, 2016
- ^{xix} e.g. Reinertsen, 2015
- ⁱ e.g. Harding, N.H., Ford, J., Lee, H. M. I. (Editor), Mumby, D. K. (Editor), Seidl, D. (Editor) and Thomas, R. (Editor), 2017
- ⁱⁱ e.g. Domingues, 2003
- ⁱⁱⁱ e.g. Haarstad, 2007
- ⁱⁱⁱ e.g. Zavos, A. and Biglia, B., 2009
- ^{iv} e.g. Jarman, M., Lamp, S., Mitchell, D., Nepveux, D., Nowell, N. and Snyder, S., 2002; Tambe, 2004; Domingues, 1995; Domingues, 1997; Domingues, 1999; Domingues, 2000; Domingues, 2018
- ^{iv} Perform a funeral prayer: According to Directorate of Religious Affairs (*Din İşleri Yüksek Kurulu Başkanlığı*) in Turkey, traditionally it is not appropriate for women to perform funeral prayer. And women cannot stand side-by-side with men. Therefore, women, should stand behind men during funeral prayer. The fact that women have made a funeral prayer between men does not affect the validity of this prayer. Nevertheless, women perform a funeral prayer between men, this act is a revolting to the religion. (Din İşleri Yüksek Kurulu Başkanlığı, Online)
- ^{vi} All translations are made by me.
- ^{vii} AKP and CHP forms a political axis here based on Islamism-Secularism according to the political discussion in Turkey.