

DIGITAL ACTIVISM IN TURKEY: İSTANBUL CONVENTION AS A SYMBOL OF WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Müge ÖZTUNÇ
İstanbul Aydın University, Türkiye
mugeoztunc@aydin.edu.tr
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4514-7386>

<i>Atıf</i>	Öztunç, M. (2023). Digital Activism in Turkey: Istanbul Convention as A Symbol of Women's Movement. The Turkish Online Journal of Design Art and Communication, 13 (2), 407-423.
-------------	--

ABSTRACT

Digital platforms that allow individuals to interact and offer a public space where people can share the content they produce and seek their rights play a crucial role in organizing activist protests, promoting new representations, and presenting adversary political voices. New activism, called 'digital activism,' is the activities by individuals or organizations in the digital environment to create the social change they desire. Social movements that started on these platforms with the claim of a better world while expressing social discomforts that are unsuitable for the flow of life may also offer new solutions. This study reveals the social and political dimensions of how digital activism is shaped in Turkey through the Istanbul Convention, which appears to be the symbol where women, and non-governmental organizations, have struggled for years. The social struggle for both the existence and the implementation of the protection mechanisms of the Istanbul convention, was terminated by the Presidential decree, was analyzed with the content analysis method. Twitter posts under the hashtags "#İstanbulSözleşmesiYaşatır," (IstanbulConventionGivesLife), "#İstanbulSözleşmesindenVazgeçmiyoruz," (WeWon'tAbandonTheIstanbulConvention), "#İstanbulSözleşmesi" (IstanbulConvention) and explored categories related to the reflections of digital activism in Turkey was interpreted. According to the results, while the categories such as informing the public, not yielding, acting together for the benefit of society, and not giving up in the online struggle come to the fore, it is seen that digital is actively used in transferring activism offline. Another important finding of the research is that the main opposition party, individual activists, bar associations, and lawyers, especially women's non-governmental organizations, come to the fore as the most active groups and play an active role outside of digital platforms by directing the society.

Keywords: *Digital Activism, Istanbul Convention, Right-Wing Populism, Twitter Hashtag, Women's Movements*

TÜRKİYE'DE DİJİTAL AKTİVİZM: KADIN HAREKETİNİN BİR SEMBOİLÜ OLARAK İSTANBUL SÖZLEŞMESİ

ÖZ

Bireylerin etkileşime girmesine olanak tanıyan ve insanların ürettikleri içeriği paylaşabilecekleri ve haklarını arayabilecekleri kamusal bir alan sunan dijital platformlar, aktivist protestoların düzenlenmesinde, yeni temsillerin teşvik edilmesinde ve muhalif siyasi seslerin duyurulmasında her geçen gün daha fazla rol oynamaktadır. 'Dijital aktivizm' olarak adlandırılan bu yeni aktivizm bireylerin veya kuruluşların arzu ettikleri toplumsal değişimi yaratmak için dijital ortamda gerçekleştirdikleri faaliyetlerdir. Daha iyi bir dünya iddiasıyla bu platformlarda başlayan toplumsal hareketler, hayatın akışına uygun olmayan toplumsal rahatsızlıkları dile getirirken, yeni çözümler de sunabilmektedir. Bu

çalışma, kadınların ve sivil toplum kuruluşlarının, yıllardır verdiği mücadelenin bir sembolü olarak ortaya çıkan 'İstanbul Sözleşmesi' üzerinden Türkiye'de dijital aktivizmin nasıl şekillendiğinin sosyal ve siyasi boyutları ile ortaya koymaktadır. Cumhurbaşkanlığı kararnamesi ile feshedilen sözleşmenin hem varlığı hem de koruma mekanizmalarının uygulanması adına verilen toplumsal mücadele, içerik analizi yöntemi kullanılarak analiz edilmiştir. Twitter hashtag kampanyasında "#İstanbulSözleşmesiYaşatır," "#İstanbulSözleşmesindenVazgeçmiyoruz," "#İstanbulSözleşmesi" üzerinden yapılan paylaşımlar üzerinden dijital aktivizmin Türkiye'deki yansımalarına ilişkin kategoriler keşfedilerek yorumlanmıştır. Çalışmada, çevrimiçi mücadelede bilgilendirme, boyun eğmeme, toplum yararına birlikte hareket etme, vazgeçmeme gibi kategoriler ön plana çıkarken, aktivizmin çevrimdışı aktarılmasında da dijitalin aktif olarak kullanıldığı görülmektedir. Araştırmanın bir diğer önemli bulgusu ise başta kadın sivil toplum örgütleri olmak üzere sırasıyla, ana muhalefet partisi, bireysel aktivistler, barolar ve avukatların en etkin gruplar olarak ön plana çıkması ve toplumu yönlendirerek dijital platformlar dışında da aktif rol oynamalarıdır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Dijital Aktivizm, İstanbul Sözleşmesi, Kadın Hareketleri, Sağ Popülizm, Twitter Hashtag.*

INTRODUCTION

Social movements have always had vital importance for all societies. However, these movements, which played an essential role in power distribution among various segments of society, have been replaced by more flexible, decentralised, and heterogeneous movements (Koç, 2020, p.913). Since the first half of the 2000s, social media has played a crucial role in new social movements based on conflict, contradiction, ups and downs, and intense communication (Touraine, 1999), rather than showing linear development and regular progress. These collective movements appear as an organisational effort in which activists express their interests, voices, and criticisms, develop solutions to social and global problems, and stimulate social, political, economic, or environmental changes. In this sense, individuals who came together around networks started to produce collective actions by expressing their reactions on issues such as discrimination, inequality, racism, and women's rights (Bennett and Segeberg, 2012).

Social movements are based more on identity politics, and culture ideology rather than social mobilisations based on class interests of old social movements. Similarly, economic production and political redistribution have left their place in shaping social relations with symbols and the cultural output of identities (Melucci, 1995). Today, the power of persuading various segments of society to protect their own interests has been replaced by discursive processes. Recent efforts have been made to assess populism as a discourse (Hawkins, 2003; Laclau, 2005; Jagers and Walgrave, 2007).

Laclau and Mouffe (1985) argued for the need to theoretically and normatively differentiate between right and left variants of populism. While left-wing populism is seen as necessary for popular sovereignty and democracy, right-wing populism defends this claim by becoming authoritarian in the identity of the people's leader (Greven, 2016). The antifeminist style that right-wing populism added to its policy and discourse in Turkey in the 2010s shows a significant similarity to the transnational reflections of populism (Korou, 2021). The Justice and Development Party (AKP) government, which followed a more moderate policy until 2010, expanded its populist discourse after the 2010 constitutional referendum and hardened its tone. This has led to an escalation of social tensions, and discontent over its conservative intervention in lifestyles (Gümüş, 2022). The party reshaped the perception of "us" by adding new actors to the "other/enemy" part of its populist discourse in the post-2010 period (Bulut and Hacıoğlu, 2018). The AKP's conservatism acted uniform in the social and political areas (Coşar and Yeğinoğlu, 2011: 556) and embodied itself through women with various political techniques. The identification of this enemy (them) with the existence of stereotypes and discourses aimed to reduce this enemy to a single person (Van Dijk, 2015, p.52; Domenach, 1995).

The "Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence" is known as the "Istanbul Convention" since it was opened for signature in 2011 in Istanbul. Turkey was the first country to sign the convention. The convention entered into force in 2014 and came to the public's agenda with different ideological and cultural debates, especially in 2020 and has been popularized by ruling party.

Turkey as the first signatory country, terminated the signature by a presidential decree published in the Official Gazette on 20 March 2021. It has been observed that women activists and lawyers have three main concerns that become evident at this point. The first concern is the disappearance of the basic contract to be referenced by the Council of State and the constitution concerning upcoming protective laws after the abolition of the contract. The second concern is that the annulment of an agreement that entered into force by a law approved by the Turkish Grand National Assembly should only be revoked by a law approved by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey and cannot be terminated only by the decision of the president. Lawyers and bar associations brought up the danger of abolishing conventions such as the Human Rights Convention and the Lausanne Agreement, which are critical for Turkey. Third, according to the January 2022 data of the "We Will Stop Femicide Platform," femicides have increased tenfold in the last ten years in Turkey, and 97 percent of the murders are committed by male perpetrators. The reasons for this are the "good behaviour" sentencing reductions, the problems in the law on execution of sentences, and the possibility that the abolition of the Istanbul convention may have encouraged those who perpetrate violence against women.

Based on the agenda mentioned above, by coordinating activities, meeting, and mobilizing new activists, planning protests, and announcing high strategic information to the public (Taylor and Crossley, 2013) Istanbul Convention appears as a symbol of women movement by following up on the cases regarding the termination of the contract at the council, and raising awareness by bringing femicides to the agenda and by informing women about their rights. Thus, this activist movement was examined using the content analysis method by categorising themes generated from the analysis of 1022 tweets downloaded with the QDA Miner between 15 May and 16 June 2022 over the "#İstanbulSözleşmesiYaşatır," (IstanbulConventionGivesLife)"#İstanbulSözleşmesindenVazgeçmiyoruz,"(WeWon'tAbandonIstanbul Convention) and "#İstanbulSözleşmesi," (IstanbulConvention) hashtags. These categories were interpreted by considering the accounts that share, the number of followers of these accounts, the number of retweets of the posts, and the frequencies of the content. Further, the online sharing activities of Twitter account holders, especially regarding participation in Council of State cases, was a guide for how these platforms are combined with offline activism. Since the analysis was carried out on the determined hashtags, a limited number of counterinterviews using only these hashtags were encountered. For this reason, the inclusion of conservative approaches is limited in this study and attempts to reveal the dynamics of digital activism in general in a multidimensional way.

DIGITAL ACTIVISM AND WOMEN MOVEMENT IN TURKEY

From past to present, political, cultural, and social changes, applied social and identity policies, and economic issues have made it increasingly difficult for the healthy functioning of social life. The inadequacy of the policies developed to eliminate social injustice and inequality, even in developed countries, has brought with it the necessity of finding new ways to protect the common interests of society. Social movements formed by volunteer activists gathered to solve different social questions and problems play an important role in protecting and maintaining democracy. Although the street activism that emerged at the end of the 1960s declined significantly, we have witnessed various activist movements come to the fore today. The realisation of the Arab Spring contributed to the formation of social networks (Karagöz, 2013). Digital activist movements, such as Occupy Wall Street, SOPA PIPA protests, Free and Open, Iran Student Riots, and Ukraine Orange Revolution (Paktin, 2013, p.14), appear as a gathering place for people passionate about a thought and belief rather than a method of conflict. Social networks have allowed people to express themselves in the public sphere by revealing the importance of civil society. According to the approach based on this feature, alternative media is the

third voice between state and private commercial media and has significance in terms of democracy (Bailey et.al.,2008, p. 23).

Communication in digital activism should be considered a process, and it is more than an instant/one-time event like the old communication methods. Digital platform users are within this communication if they still need to remove their likes or unfollow the pages. In this process, they internalize thoughts and messages and become a possible part of the struggle or movement. Thus, Twitter is a platform that significantly impacts the gathering of those with efforts around the same idea and maintains their interactions. Continuity in communication is the most crucial element that creates a community within digital communication technologies. This community displays its stance against the world because of the communication it maintains within itself, creating a collective experience that has a meaningful impact.

In recent years, in parallel to the developments in the world, in Turkey, the social media platform Twitter has become an essential vehicle both for extremists and people who want to protect human rights to spread their ideology and interest. Digital activism studies have increased in Turkey, especially after the Gezi Park resistance. Studies in Turkey, generally focus on women's movements and women's associations practices in digital media (Terkan, 2013; Depeli, 2015; Şen and Kök, 2017) and mobilization and democratic participation (Dumanlı-Kürçü, 2018; Aktaş and Akçay, 2019; Yılmaz, 2015).

The Istanbul Convention appears as an excellent example of digital activism in terms of the continuity of communication. Although the fact that technology is shaped by gender policies cannot be ignored, the internet is perceived as an important tool in the struggle of women (Terkan, 2013, p. 52; Beşikci and Kuzucanlı, 2019). Thus, Twitter appears as a personalized space, and its effects are directly related to how users utilize it.

Since the Istanbul convention was signed, Twitter has been an area where bar associations, women's platforms, individual activists, families of femicide victims, and opposition party members hassle in many fields such as legal, political, equality, and right to life. They raise awareness for their followers and announce that their offline activities are open to participation. Online engagement behaviours also increase citizens' offline involvement in political activism, which mobilizes them for collective action (Cantijoch et al., 2016; McLoughlin and Southern, 2021). The Gezi protest in Turkey in 2013 was a milestone in digital activism in terms of spreading to the public and showed how online activism could combine with offline movements. In a study that covered 31 May 2013, the New York University social media and political participation (SmaPP) laboratory measured the traffic created by the Gezi protests in Turkey and revealed that at least two million tweets were sent about the protest in 24 hours (Cumhuriyet, 3 June 2013). There has also been a significant increase in the number of women using social media in Turkey with the Gezi movement (Kaya, 2018). Considering the increasing number of female users since Gezi, the indispensable role of social media in the new feminist struggle in Turkey has emerged. The potential of social media to easily bring together women from different classes and ethnic and religious backgrounds has been understood for the first time.

Since the neoliberal-conservat axis, which started in the 1980s in Turkey, gained momentum with the AKP in the 2000s. In the 2010s when the AKP entered its "rising" period, more conservative and authoritarian discourses and actions were shaped over women. The presentation of flexible working as salvation for women from the grip of home-work life balance, the prohibition of abortion and caesarean section, and the demand for at least three children from each family were among the prominent discourses of the AKP government and women and women's movements has shaped against these discourses (Korou, 2021; Yabancı, 2019; Hacıoğlu and Bulut, 2018). The actions of women have even continued in this conservative wave. In this sense, new platforms have started to emerge, such as Istanbul Feminist Collective – IFK (2010), Ankara Feminist Collective – AFK (2013), İzmir Feminist Collective

– IZFK (2014), and End Violence Women's Platform (2012). Therefore, it is possible to say that women's organisations, which were limited to western metropolises such as Istanbul, Ankara, and parts of Izmir in the 1980s, have spread all over Turkey since the 2000s. Again, in the early 80s, the women's movement, represented by women with higher education and income in terms of socioeconomic profile, also underwent a transformation. Apart from metropolises, there are women's organisations actively led and founded by women with very different levels of education in the countryside (İlkkaracan-Ajas, 2007). The issue of women has occupied the agenda not only of feminists but also of political parties, unions, the business world, cinema, and the media.

Exposing exploitative practices, disseminating content, informing dates set for actions, and asking for mass support or assembling digital evidence is essential in organizing social mobility. Although it is important to monitor how the interaction between digital and physical spaces progresses, physically managing social mobility is not necessary. Building a sense and feeling of togetherness digitally and symbolically can also be a part of digital activism. The reactions to the AKP opinion leaders' statements on how women should behave in the public sphere in Turkey are a great example of creating a digital and symbolic sense of togetherness. The hashtag #direnkahkaha (LaughterResist) emerged against the women not laughing rhetoric in public and emerged from the taunts coming from the AKP ranks about the main opposition party' (CHP) Ankara deputy Aylin Nazlıaka's parliament speech. Subsequently, the hashtags #geliyorterlik (SlipperIncoming), #TecavüzMeşrulaştırılmaz (RapeCannotBeLegitimate), #ŞuleÇetİçinAdalet (JusticeForŞuleÇet), #KadınlarBirlikteGüçlü (WomenAreStrongTogether), #SusmaBitsin (SpeakSoItEnds), and #Ölmekİstemiyorum (IDontWantToDie), which accelerated the issue that women were not being listened to in the male-dominated society in the year 2014. These have helped women's issues surface with different social and political dimensions and to organise online by raising awareness among large masses.

On the other hand, restrictions in expressing political views and a lack of self-confidence can create problems for women to get organized. In the digital realm, women can connect more easily with like-minded, politically active online communities and tools available to strengthen marginalized issues and perspectives. Anonymity creates a safe space for victims of violence to break their silence, and it keeps the focus on the story and the system that produces it rather than on the victims (Dolev-Cohen, Ricon, and Levkovich, 2020). However, change and transformation in these channels also bring potential risks. When, trust and responsibility in face-to-face groups are transferred to an on-line space, the stories from a private room are presented to a highly complex public audience. It may also cause the development of hate speech (Dixon, 2014 34). Women who share their stories on social media can be exposed to online insults, reproaches, and blame. When such attitudes towards women's experiences of violence and harassment are carried out online, they may result in additional risks of discrediting and abuse of the victims (Mendes et al., 2018). Additionally, today women's online movements are in danger of becoming less visible due to digital gender discrimination and algorithms that cause historical repetition. Digital feminism can move along the fragile line between marginalization and empowerment by providing visibility.

Digital activism is also associated with civil disobedience, like denial-of-service attacks, open-source advocacy, hacktivism, or hashtag activism (Poell and Van Dijck, 2014). While such movements are considered part of the democratic process in developed countries, they are deemed oppositional movements against the state and the system in some countries (Yıldırım, 2019).

The Social, Legal, and Political Dimensions of the Istanbul Convention

Supported by the Council of Europe, the Istanbul Convention, whose original name is the "Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence" and is binding for the parties, was first signed in Istanbul in 2011. Turkey became the first signatory of the convention. The basic principles of the convention, which entered into force on 1 August 2014, are the prevention of all kinds of violence against women and domestic violence, the protection of victims

of violence, the prosecution of crimes, the punishment of criminals, and the implementation of policies that include holistic, coordinated, and practical cooperation in the field of combating violence against women. The convention, which includes articles on preventing violence, protecting victims, and prosecuting perpetrators, imposes some obligations on signatory states. Accordingly, the state parties refrain from committing acts of violence against women and ensure that state officials, authorities, institutions, organisations, and other actors acting on behalf of the state follow this obligation. Furthermore, parties are expected to take the necessary legislative or other measures to ensure that acts of violence perpetrated by non-state actors covered by this convention are duly prevented, prosecuted, punished, and compensated. Under Article six of the Convention, states commit to developing and implementing effective policies for women's empowerment (Istanbul Bar Association, 2019).

States parties are obliged, by their domestic law, to provide appropriate mechanisms for effective cooperation between all relevant government agencies, non-governmental organizations, and other relevant organizations and bodies, including courts, prosecutors, law enforcement, and local and national authorities, in the protection and support of all victims and witnesses of violence covered by the Convention. This includes recourse to the general and specific support services detailed in Articles 20 and 22 of the convention (Tbmm.gov.tr). Therefore, the Istanbul Convention is an inclusive contract that obliges the state to ensure and maintain equality by cooperating with all its institutions without discrimination. Law No. 6284 on the Protection of the Family and the Prevention of Violence against women, which came into force within the scope of integrating the Istanbul Convention, was enacted, and the definition of violence and domestic violence was constructed, placing victims of violence under protection. For this reason, Law No. 6284 is the law that women's NGOs, bar associations, and individual activists focus on the most, and are especially worried about its abolition by the state. Increasingly, femicides in Turkey cause public debates, and discussions are generally conducted based on the state's failure to fulfil its obligations to prevent violence against women within the framework of Law No. 6284.

Between 2002 and 2011, the AKP government followed an active policy on women's rights and organisations; especially in the first period, it made efforts to adopt gender equality policies following the requirements of the EU agreement. Thus, it acted with liberal democratic values (Yılmaz, 2011) and was supported by different segments of society in the same period. However, according to Kandiyoti (2011), research shows that the AKP government allows the campaigns of independent feminist NGOs for gender reform to present a "favoring" image internationally. Following the speeches of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, who at every opportunity touched on the importance of the family in the post-2011 period and the AKP being a conservative democratic party, the Ministry of Women and Family Affairs was replaced by the Ministry of Family and Social Policies before the 2011 general elections and was criticized by feminist activism, with the claim that the attempt erases the name of women from the ministry which might lead to devastating effects on the solution of women's issues (Nas, 2016, p.168). Conservatism, which gained momentum with the government's legal and political approaches and social policies from 2011 to the present, also affected the Istanbul Convention. In recent years, social policies aimed at reducing the number of divorces has been followed instead of following social security strategies that reinforce women's domestic roles and prevent domestic violence (Erkmen, 2020). Although gender inequality and crimes against women are still critical issues in Turkish society, political interests play an important role in women's policies throughout this process (Kütük-Kuris, 2022).

Della Porta and Mosca (2007) emphasis the necessity and importance of creating informal networks for digital activism, where it is possible to produce opposing popular discourses against the conservative discourses of the government and its environment, to impose, share, maintain and act on the collective identity and interests. As internet freedoms continuously declined throughout the AKP rule (Saka, 2019), opposing popular discourses has been affected in terms of free speech. In this research it has been

observed that activists deliberately avoid using in the same context LGBT+ rights and Istanbul convention.

In Akar et al. (2021) studies on the views of those who oppose the Istanbul Convention on Twitter, the main points of the discourses that oppose the convention are often disrupting the family structure, not preventing violence, and laying the groundwork for LGBT+. While there are statements that the convention disrupts the family structure at the highest rate in the study, the issues of "not breaking up the family, protecting the family, preventing divorces" come to the fore. One of the biggest reasons for the opposition to the contract following the deterioration of the family structure was stated as laying the groundwork for LGBT+. It has also been observed that the Islamist conservative segment, which is against the convention, has popularised discourses, especially over LGBT+, since the convention covers the protection of individuals against violence, regardless of sexual orientation. The government party AKP cited the possibility of normalising homosexuality and imposing obligations on the parties in this regard as the reason for the termination of the contract and claimed that the expression "gender equality" in the contract would pave the way for same-sex marriages and even that it would become mandatory to provide information on "homosexuality" in schools (Sayın, 2021). However, as emphasised in the literature, individuals with an LGBT sexual orientation are exposed to violence at a high rate (ILGA, 2014); therefore, the inclusiveness of the convention is also important in terms of human rights.

For instance, Türkiye Düşünce Kuruluşu (Turkey Thinking Platform)¹, supporting the withdrawal of the convention, submitted a report on why Turkey should withdraw from the Istanbul Convention in May 2020. According to the report, "the Convention includes the concepts of "gender" and "sexual orientation" which are not included in the Turkish Legislation. Therefore, with these concepts, the convention needs to be terminated with all the socially and culturally formed gender perceptions that exist in Turkey and does not specify how and to what extent it will be done" (Türkiye Düşünce Platformu TDP, 2020 as cited in Güneş and Ezikoğlu, 2022).

However, this convention, which puts the state under obligation in terms of measures to be taken, has not found a response in practices that can ensure its reflection in daily life. Especially on television, there are TV series with the content of violence against women and children, violent stories are told as exciting stories in news programmes, and murders, violence, and humiliating words and behaviours against women are constantly featured in women's programmes (Istanbul Bar Association Women's Rights Center Report, 2019, p.122). Emerging from these measures are the restriction of rights and freedoms by shaping concepts such as honour and chastity of women's bodies, the increasing politicisation of every field, the narrowing of women's freedom of conservative discourses, and the pushing of women into an artificial sanctuary sandwiched between the kitchen and the family. These issues face objections from women's organisations, bar associations, and all conscious women, nourished by the dynamics of a globalised and modernised world participating in this movement against masculine images and practices regarding the implementation of the Istanbul Convention and opposition to the annulment decision.

The politics, which are predominantly carried out over the culture ideology into culture discourses, and the popularisation of the conservatives' claims about the protection of family and reductionist approach to the inclusiveness of the convention (LGBT rights) caused the debates about the annulment of the Istanbul convention to remain on the agenda and these conservative claims have found different views within the ruling party. One of the important actors in this debate is the Association for Women and Democracy (KADEM), whose members are female MPs from the AKP and Sümeyye Erdoğan, the president's daughter and vice president of this organisation. According to the organisation that advocates

¹ TDP is an Islamist-Conservative platform that defines itself as a civil initiative and tries to propose solutions with a proactive attitude toward possible problems that may occur in country and humanity, <http://www.tudp.org/>.

keeping the Istanbul convention in effect, "gender equality" means equal opportunities for men and women. In other words, this statement does not include a third sex (KADEM, 2020). KADEM, whose management includes Sümeyye Erdoğan Bayraktar, frequently announced its support for the Istanbul Convention through its social media accounts. The organisation gave a press statement following the decision to withdraw from the Istanbul Convention with the President's Decision No. 3718 on 20.03.2021 after high-tension discussions (President Decision No. 3718, Official Gazette, p. 31429, 20.03.2021). KADEM stated, "At this point, it has been cut off from its ground and transformed into a subject of social tension. We read the termination decision because of this tension. We declare to the public that we will work with all our strength to eliminate the problems in practices at the point of combating violence." (Cumhuriyet, 2021). The pressure of Islamic sects, some Muslim male intellectuals, and conservative NGOs to KADEM that defending Istanbul Convention– a Council of Europe convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence – have become important sites of contestation over women's rights.

After the termination decision, the president's statements that the fight against violence against women did not start with the Istanbul Convention and would not end with the withdrawal from this convention could not prevent protests of the convention's annulment, and the actors continued their activities using the #İstanbulSözleşmesindenVazgeçmeyeceğiz (WeWon'tAbandonTheIstanbulConvention) hashtag on social media. The decision to cancel the contract was protested in many cities. Claiming that the Istanbul Convention is essential in preventing violence and femicides and protecting women, women's and human rights organisations was contrary to this situation. Subsequently, numerous lawsuits were filed for the annulment of the decision and the stay of its execution. A lawsuit was filed against the "We Will Stop Femicide Platform Association" claiming that their activities are immoral. The spokesperson of the platform which actively opposed the termination of the Istanbul Convention stated that the case was political (Duvar, 2022).

On the other hand, there were also critical legal discussions from the convention entering into force until its termination. The Presidential decision of 20 March 2021 to withdraw Turkey from the Istanbul Convention was published in the Official Gazette. The unlawfulness of the abolition of this agreement, which was approved, is given in the statement of the Istanbul Bar Association as follows: Under the Law on Approval No. 6251, the "decision on annulling the Istanbul Convention by the Executive" is null and void. According to the statement, a ratified international agreement with the force of law cannot be terminated "by executive power." Therefore, it has been stated that this convention, a domestic law of our jurisdiction, can only be terminated by the will of the Assembly, which has the legislative power. Furthermore, it has been underlined that all institutions, organizations, and especially the Grand National Assembly of Turkey and those who govern the country, are obliged to implement the Istanbul Convention to combat violence against women and family violence, which is a human rights violation by the Istanbul Bar Association (Istanbul Bar Association, 2019). The explanations made by bar associations and lawyers on the annulment of this agreement and the main reason for the struggle under consensus is the concern that it may pave the way for unlawful decisions regarding international agreements beyond the Istanbul agreement.

Bar associations, NGOs, activists, women, and politicians have gathered and become a single voice over the Istanbul Convention. In these conditions, Istanbul convention as the symbol of women struggle in Turkey appears as activist movements and present a very critical position with the transformative power of the digital media. This study examines the online activist practices that involves political, civic, social action oriented towards social change and argues that such activist practices can serve as a central mechanism to disrupt inequality.

METHODOLOGY AND FINDINGS

Although new communication technologies create fundamental differences in the relationship between the tool and the viewer/reader/listener/content producer, it would be incomplete and inadequate to define

social media platforms such as Twitter as a "democratic environment." Therefore, as a social media platform, Twitter should not be put forward as the cause of social movements and revolutions, as it is often emphasized in this study; instead of determinist approaches, it should be analyzed by adopting a context that includes cultural, social, and political dynamics to understand digital activism (Gerbaudo, 2017). Social media hashtags are essential in understanding the political aspects of Twitter. Small (2011) suggests that the answers to the questions of who uses the selected hashtags, the characteristics of tweets containing these hashtags, and to which extent political participation allow were sought. This study analyzes the social and political dimensions of the struggle on Istanbul Convention that is a symbol of the women struggle through trend topic Twitter posts by using content analysis on trend topic hashtags "#İstanbulSözleşmesiYaşatır," (IstanbulConventionGivesLife), "İstanbulSözleşmesindenVazgeçmiyoruz," (WeWon'tAbandonTheIstanbulConvention) and "#İstanbulSözleşmesi," (IstanbulConvention). All tweets shared hashtags between 15 May and 16 June 2022, were downloaded using the QDA Miner program, and bot accounts and retweets were excluded manually by using excel. Firstly, the owners of the tweets were determined, and thus, the main actors were defined. In the study, automatic and manual coding process has applied. For manual coding process excel, for thematic analysis QDAMiner program have been used. Political and social issues were determined, and categories were discovered to understand the dynamics of digital activity.

Research Sample

The total number of shares, retweets, and likes by hashtags between May 15 and June 16, 2022, excluding bot accounts and repeated tweets, is given in the table below (Table-1). Before eliminating bot accounts and repeated tweets downloaded number of tweets was 1857. High retweet and like numbers (see Table-1) under the research sample appears as an indicator of people's level of engagement.

Table 1. Distribution of total tweets, retweets, and likes by hashtags.

#	Total Tweets	Total Retweets	Likes
IstanbulConventionGivesLife	285	9012	14640
WeWon'tAbandonTheIstanbulConvention	70	405	1104
IstanbulConvention	577	3168	10717
TOTAL	932	12585	26461

Findings

Those posting three hashtags were grouped, and their sharing rates are given in Figure 1. Accordingly, those who shared the most with these hashtags were the women NGO's accounts. Among these organizations, "We Will Stop Femicide Platform," "Association for Combating Sexual Violence," "Women and Children First Association," and "Women's Platform for Equality" stand out the most. The rates of İYİ party, HDP, and the more conservative DEVA party are far below the main opposition party, it shows that femicide, Istanbul Convention, and protecting women have an important place in CHP's politics. Public opinion does not stand out as an effective actor on the subject. Individual actors play less role rather than organized ones.

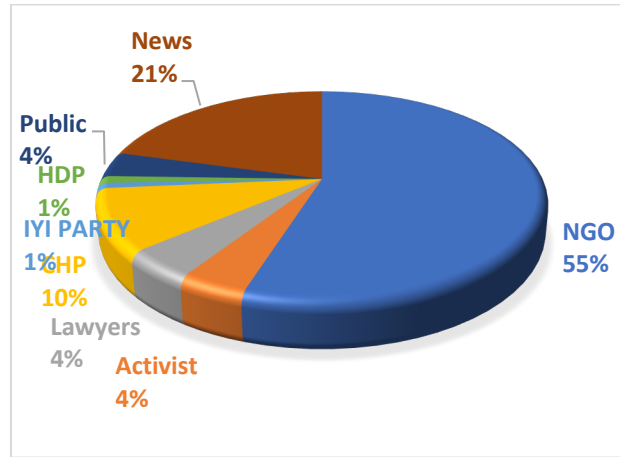


Figure 1. Tweets shared by account on three hashtags

Figure 2 shows the accounts that take more impressions with their tweets. Accordingly, NGO, CHP, lawyers, and activists' tweets are more retweeted compared to other accounts. Digital news' number of retweets is low compared to number of tweets.

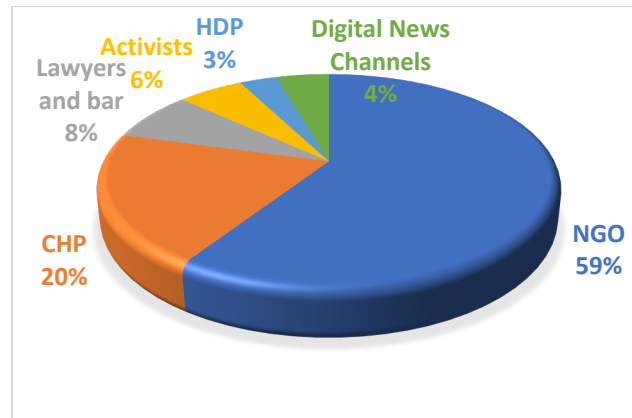


Figure 2. Account owners by number of retweets

İstanbulSözleşmesiYaşatır, (IstanbulConventionGivesLife) is mainly associated with femicide and violence against women considering the semantic and shared content. It is observed that this hashtag has been used when femicides or related cases appear, when the perpetrator's punishment that thought to be insufficient, and when women are not protected despite having a restraining order against a perpetrator with a criminal record.

The political parties' tweets differ in terms of content. The posts from the CHP wing mainly emphasize the responsibilities imposed on the state by the Istanbul Convention and mention that *the fight against women and domestic violence will continue increasingly*. These messages are backed up by panels, press statements, and justice watches in different provinces. In this sense, it can be said that the party integrates its online and offline activities and aims to raise awareness. İYİ party, which has a former nationalist and MHP-based party leader (Meral Akşener) and is growing today through the policies it pursues and has the appearance of a center-right party, shared fewer posts than the CHP. İYİ Party announced general messages rather than femicides, legal processes, and process disruptions. On the other hand, the DEVA party (Democracy and Enterprise Party) shared that they will not give up on the convention and will work to prevent mothers from being subjected to violence. Conservative right party's leader was former Minister of Economy in AKP government, so tweets from DEVA Party and its representatives mostly focused on family, protection of women instead of defined what Istanbul Convention offers.

Women's organizations act as one voice initiative; they shared informative posts that revealed the importance of the Istanbul Convention in all aspects, specifically over femicide, raised awareness for the women's struggle, expressed the unlawfulness of the annulment, and shared the necessary announcements for offline activities. On the other hand, lawyers and bar associations discussed the convention from a legal point of view, posted about the lawsuits filed for the annulment of the Istanbul contract, and emphasized its unlawfulness. In addition, they included legal interpretations of the injustices of current murder perpetrators' trial processes and the insufficient countermeasures.

Table 2 shows the basic categories that emerge with the exploratory coding of the contents shared with the 'IstanbulConventionGivesLife' hashtag. The most shared tweet content under this hashtag is related to the follow-up of council cases. With the beginning of the lawsuits filed by bar associations, lawyers, and opposition parties regarding the unlawfulness of the contract's annulment, the sharing of court dates by women's organizations, and the developments regarding the lawsuits in which the opposition parties took part, dominate. In this sense, it aimed to ensure high participation in the cases. The social platform is used effectively and appears as the most retweeted content. In general, it has been seen that the content with a high interaction rate is the current content that explains the illegality of the annulment of the contract and follows the Council of State cases. However, it has been observed that individual accounts and NGOs actively post about violence against women, murders, and related topics at a specific rate.

Table 2. Categories of #IstanbulConventionGivesLife

Tweet Categories	Tweet	Retweet	Account
Follow-up of the cases of the council state	84	6510	CHP, TIP, IYI PARTI, STK, Activists, Digital News
Securing life and gender equality	51	758	CHP, STK, Activists
Names of the murdered women, ensuring justice, seek of justice	37	146	STK, CHP, TIP, Lawyers, People
Istanbul convention prevents violence against women	34	514	STK, CHP, TIP, HDP, Lawyers, People
Favorable opinion of the council of the state	21	2448	Activists, TIP, Digital News
Annulling Istanbul Convention is against the law	20	2848	NGO, Lawyers, CHP, People, Activists
11th year of Istanbul Conventiob. Information on convention	19	138	Activists, NGO, CHP

Another noteworthy factor in the categories is that in the process where the conservative segment and the ruling party showed LGBT+ rights as the main factor for the convention annulment, the activists that support Istanbul Convention did not post content including LGBT+. In content focusing on gender and the right to life, it is thought that LGBT+ rights are not strategically emphasized.

Istanbul Convention hashtag, where the most inclusive and broad content is shared, appears as the hashtag shared by 37 different women's platforms. Among these, "Women's Platform for Equality," "Equality Monitoring Women's Group," "Women's Coalition," and "Children and Women First Association" stand out, and it is seen that the same organizations also play an active role in monitoring the cases of the Council of State and organizing women.

Table 3. shows the main categories and frequencies shared under the #IstanbulConvention. It also reinforces the ideas of fluid communication between account holders with high followers on Twitter (women's organizations, lawyers, bar associations, opposition parties, and women's branches) (E.Dell Valle&B.Bravo 2018). It is seen that Twitter is effective in informing citizens in political discussions (Small, 2011), and the shared content provides information about the contract, protecting women, preventing violence, and binding the state against the claims made by the conservative section. It is also important for lawyers, women's branches, and opposition parties to act together to form a public opinion

and involve new groups in the struggle, especially regarding the unlawful abolition of the rights women have won by fighting.

Table 3. Categories of #IstanbulConvention by number of tweets

Categories	Tweet	Retweet	Likes
Women are at the high court to defend the Istanbul convention	90	563	2296
Violence against women is out of control, keep fighting	55	271	636
We will not back down	46	298	491
Favorable opinion of the Council of State Prosecutor	37	264	890
Stop murderers, not women	26	62	373
Advocating with LGBT Women and children	24	94	381
Let's be together at the council on June 7	23	114	320
Why is the Istanbul contract's annulment illegal?	19	123	344
Istanbul contract will remain, AKP will leave	17	201	607
Together we are strong	17	140	286
Women Murdered Despite the Restraining Order	15	182	587
Violence Law No. 6284 should be applied	13	49	81
Ostensible bill	13	35	67
Women's organizations took the floor at the council: the right to life, dignity, freedom, those who approve are also murderers, male violence	12	118	320
Nearly 1000 Lawyers were at the Council of State	12	118	273
Annulment hearings of the contract terminated by the president's decision	10	60	150
Families who lost members to femicide are at the council	9	22	48
Law No. 6284 disrupts family unity and KADEM and Recep Tayyip Erdogan support this.	7	49	100

The tweets about the hearings and the course of the trial are followed by posts emphasizing that the decision to cancel the contract paves the way for violence against women, and therefore, the struggle should be continued. The phrase "We will not back down" also implies that women, women's organizations, opposition parties, and lawyers impose that there is not any other way of reconciliation rather than the re-enactment of the contract.

A few criticisms were made under the Istanbul Convention hashtag, claiming that law no. 6284 is inclusive and disrupts family unity, albeit in small numbers. Some posts were also encountered accusing KADEM, which supported law no. 6284 enacted under the Istanbul Convention, and the government enacted the law within the scope of the Istanbul Convention. In this sense, it has been seen that conservative wing posts were made regarding the abolition of law no. 6284, enacted after the contract's cancellation, and supported by all activist groups.

'WeWon'tAbandonTheIstanbulConvention' hashtag is the one that emphasizes the struggle will not be given up. When we look at the posts, it is seen that although they are fewer than the other two hashtags, but they contain impactful posts due to being used by accounts with high numbers of followers.

Since it is the 11th year of the Istanbul Convention, the most shares were made in this category. Stability comes to the fore in the posts made in the 11th year of the contract. Women lawyers state that they will continue to fight for a government based on human rights, while women's organizations emphasize that they will not give up on the Istanbul Convention. It was observed that special conversation and panel tweets for the 11th anniversary of the contract's signing were also shared under this hashtag to inform public.

In the Table 4, the demands for implementing laws to protect women come to the fore in other posts. As in other posts, violence against women and the protection of women emerges as the most critical problems.

Table 4. Categories of #WeWon'tAbandonTheIstanbulConvention

Categories	Tweets	Retweets	Likes
If the Istanbul Convention was implemented, women would live	20	103	384
11 years old	13	26	67
Don't touch the law, enforce it; provide justice	11	53	211
Organized efforts that are moved to offline	8	97	256
Proposed Law by government is ostensible	7	36	133
Organized resistance prevails	5	13	110

The opinion that the new law suggested by the government cannot replace the Istanbul Convention and that it is an ostensible bill is among the common shares. Under this hashtag, it is emphasized that the struggle will not be given up and the organized struggle will win. In particular, the days and meeting places of the consultation cases, in which the legal and political struggle for the Istanbul Convention was carried offline, were intensely shared.

CONCLUSION

When we evaluate the posts under these three hashtags, the struggle of the Istanbul Convention on this digital platform gathers around five basic themes; Femicide, the unlawfulness of the abolition of the Istanbul Convention, the online announcement that increases offline involvement to cases on Istanbul Convention, to defend Law No. 6284 that prevent violence against women, sharing information on why Istanbul Convention is valuable to protect women.

It has been observed that the annulment of the contract by the President's decision further increased the concerns in this matter. The fact that the contract was abolished by the President's decision was also heavily criticized from a legal point of view. Despite the prosecutor's opinions supporting the de-annulment of the contract in the Council of State cases during this study, shortly after the study completion, the 10th Chamber of the Council of State rejected the de-annulment proposal on March 20, 2021, by 3 to 2 votes and attributed it to the powers given to the President. According to the decision, "The President can cancel international conventions." Accordingly, even this collective action couldn't get solid result, it is stated that an intense effort has been spent to spread messages that increased the awareness on Istanbul Convention and launched related law No:6284. This activism with the participation of different actors, provide a support the lawsuits with offline participation and ensuring the unlawful annulment stays on the agenda. In this sense, the posts show that activism is effective in online struggle, not yielding, acting together for the good of the society, organizing, and transferring these aspects offline. Digital activism under the analyzed hashtags helped to inform, motivate people, and retain the vested rights.

Digital technological developments bring a different perspective to the concept of activism and the critical benefit of the media with the effect of convergence is that all information containing ideas and facts and can be easily transferred without recognizing political, social, and geographical borders. Today, the potential offered by the converged new media for collective social movements is primarily seen in coordinating activities, meeting and mobilizing new activists, planning protests, and announcing high strategic information to the public (Taylor and Crossley 2013). Related tweets: "Nearly 1000 lawyers from all over the country, were in the court to defend Istanbul convention", "Our struggle is for freedom. We will struggle with the same determination and will, we will not leave the street, we will not give up defending Istanbul convention", "We are at the council of state on 7th of June. We don't give

up the Istanbul convention which sees violence as a violation of human rights and defends women's right to live against gender-based violence" are the examples for coordinating activities, mobilizing people, and announcing information.

As the persistence of the struggle is critical for activism, it is crucial in keeping it on the agenda for eliminating the pressures to abolish the Law No. 6284. Therefore, new studies on this long-term struggle can focus on this processes and deal with different dimensions. On the other hand, examining the new conservative movements (countermovement) within these processes will enable the current dynamics to be addressed in a broader frame.

REFERENCES

Akar, E., Bayar, Ö. & Koçtürk, N. (2021). İstanbul Sözleşmesi: Twitter Üzerinden Sözleşmeye Karşı Çıkanların Görüşlerine Yönelik Bir Söylem Analizi. *Uluslararası İnsan Çalışmaları Dergisi*, 4 (7), 88-106.

Aktaş, M.& Akçay, E. (2019). Dijital Savunuculuk Örneği Olarak "Özgecan Yasası Change. Org İmza Kampanyası, *Moment Dergi*, 6(2),.305-336.

Bailey O.G., Cammaerts B.& Carpentier N. (2008): *Understanding Alternative Media*. Open University Press.

Bennett, W. L., & Segerberg, A. (2012). The logic of connective action: Digital media and the personalization of contentious politics. *Information, Communication & Society*, 15(5), 739–768.

Beşikci, S.& Kuzucanlı, G. (2019). Dijital Platformda Kadın Hareketleri Üzerine Bir İnceleme. *Ulakbilge*. 42, 799-809.

Bulut, A. T. & Hacıoğlu, N. (2018). Bir siyasi iletişim stili olarak popülizm: Akp'nin popülist siyasal söyleminin karşılaştırmalı analizi. *Journal of Political Sciences*, 27(2), 187-219.

Cantijoch, M., Cutts, D., & Gibson, R. (2016). Moving slowly up the ladder of political engagement: A "spill-over" model of internet participation. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 18(1), 26–48.

Coşar S. & Yeğenoğlu M. (2011). New Grounds for Patriarchy in Turkey? Gender Policy in the Age of AKP, *South European Society and Politics*, 16:4, 555-573

Cumhuriyet Gazetesi (2013). *Gezi Parkı için 24 saatte 2 milyon tweet*, <https://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/gezi-parki-icin-24-saatte-2-milyon-tweet-425638>, (Accessed: May.11.2022).

Cumhuriyet Gazetesi (2021, March 20). *Sümeyye Erdoğan Bayraktar'ın da yönetiminde olduğu KADEM'den İstanbul Sözleşmesi'nin feshi için açıklama*. <https://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/sumeyye-erdogan-bayraktarin-da-yonetiminde-oldugu-kademden-istanbul-sozlesmesinin-feshi-icin-aciklama-1821965>, (Accessed: May.10.2022)

Depeli, G. (2015). Kadın Bloggerlar: Yeni Dil, Yeni Kadınlık, Yeni Tartışmalar, *Folklor/Edebiyat Dergisi*, 21(83), 271-294.

Dixon, K. (2014). Feminist Online Identity: Analyzing the Presence of Hashtag Feminism. *Journal of Arts and Humanities*, 3 (7), 34-40.

- Dolev-Cohen, M., Ricon, T., & Levkovich, I. (2020). # WhyIDidntReport: Reasons why young Israelis do not submit complaints regarding sexual abuse. *Children and youth services review*, 115, 105044.
- Dumanlı-Kürkçü, D. (2018). Twitter Kullanıcılarının Cinsel İstismar Olaylarına Verdikleri Tepkiler: Kullanıcıların Profili ve İçerik Analizi. *Pamukkale Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, (30),53-65.
- Erkmen, S. (2020). *Türkiye’de Kürtaj: AKP ve Biyopolitika*. İletişim Yayınları.
- Gazete Duvar (2022, June 6). *Kadın Cinayetlerini Durduracağız Platformu davası ertelendi*. <https://www.gazeteduvar.com.tr/kadin-cinayetlerini-durduracagiz-platformu-davasi-ertelendi-haber-1567312>. (Accessed: June 21.2022).
- Gerbaudo P. (2017), The Mask and the Flag: Populism, Citizenism and Global Protest, Hurst Publishers, *Journal of Social Policy*, 47(2), 430-431.
- Greven, T. (2016). The rise of right-wing populism in Europe and the United States. A Comparative Perspective. *Friedrich Ebert Foundation*, 8.
- Gümüş, B. (2022). *The History of Nonviolent Struggle to Combat Violence Against Women in Turkey* in Hamling, A. (Ed.), *Women, Creativity and Nonviolence*, Cambridge.
- Güneş, A. & Ezikoğlu, Ç. (2022). Legal and Political Challenges of Gender Equality and Crimes Against Women in Turkey: The Question of Istanbul Convention, *Women & Criminal Justice*, 33:1, 14-27 10.1080/08974454.2022.2040695.
- ILGA (International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association) State-Sponsored Homophobia Report. (2014). <https://ilga.org/state-sponsored-homophobia-repor>. (Accessed: August 10.2022).
- İlkkaracan-Ajas, İ. (2007). Türkiye’nin Dönüşüm Sürecinde 1980’lerden Bu Yana Kadın Hareketi, Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv Arama Merkezi, <https://docplayer.biz.tr/26495884-Turkiye-nin-donusum-surecinde-1980-lerden-bu-yana-kadin-hareketi.html>.
- İstanbul Barosu. (2019), İstanbul sözleşmesi, URL:<https://www.istanbulbarosu.org.tr/files/docs/khum/KH2019.pdf>. (Accessed: June.10.2022)
- Jagers, J. & Walgrave, S. (2007), Populism as Political Communication Style: An Empirical Study of Political Parties’ Discourse in Belgium. *European Journal of Political Research*, 46: 319-345.
- KADEM. (2020). *İstanbul Sözleşmesi Hakkında*. <https://kadem.org.tr/istanbul-sozlesmesi-hakkinda/>. (Accessed: September 5.2022).
- Kandiyoti D. (2011). Tangled web politics of gender in Turkey, OpenDemocracy, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/5050/deniz-kandiyoti/tangled-web-politics-of-gender-in-turkey>. (Accessed: February 6.2022).
- Karagöz, K. (2013). Yeni Medya Çağında Dönüşen Toplumsal Hareketler ve Dijital Aktivizm Hareketleri, *İletişim ve Diplomasi Dergisi*, 1 (1):131-156.
- Kaya, Ş. (2018). Kadın ve Sosyal Medya. *Gaziantep University Journal of Social Sciences*, 17 (2), 563-576.

- Koç, N. E. (2020). Sosyal medya, katılımcı kültür ve kitle çevirisi. *Rumeli'de Dil ve Edebiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, (Ö8), 905-927.
- Korou N. S. (2021). Sağ Popülizm ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet Karşıtı Hareketlerin Birlikteliğinde AKP Hükümetlerinin Aile Siyaseti ve Popülist Siyasal Mobilizasyonu. *Feminist Tahayyül*, 2(2): 207-241.
- Kütük-Kuriş, M. (2022). The rise and fall of support for the Istanbul Convention: Understanding the case of KADEM, *Women's Studies International Forum*, 93-102601.
- Laclau E.& Mouffe C. (2001). *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*. <https://doi.org/10.1604/9781859843307>.
- Laclau, E. (2005), *On Populist Reason*. <https://doi.org/10.1604/9781859846513>.
- Melucci, A. (1995). The New Social Movements in Maheu L. (Ed.) *Social Movements and Social Classes: The Future of Collective Action*. London: Sage, 107-119.
- McLoughlin, L., & Southern, R. (2021). By any memes necessary? Small political acts, incidental exposure, and memes during the 2017 UK general election. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 23(1), 60–84.
- Mendes, K., Ringrose, J., & Keller, J. (2018). # MeToo and the promise and pitfalls of challenging rape culture through digital feminist activism. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 25(2), 236–246.
- Nas, A. (2016). Familialization of women: Gender ideology in Turkey's public service advertisements, *Fe Dergi* 8 (1), 168-182.
- Poell, T., & Van Dijck, J. (2014). Social media and journalistic independence. In *Media Independence* (196-215). Routledge.
- Porta, D.D., & Mosca, L. (2007). In movimento: 'contamination' in action and the Italian Global Justice Movement. *Global Networks-a Journal of Transnational Affairs*, 7, 1-27.
- Saka, E. (2019). *Social Media and Politics in Turkey. A Journey through Citizen Journalism, Political Trolling, and Fake News*. Lexington Books. <https://books.goo.gle.com.tr/books?id=W8C9D>
- Sayın, A. (2021, March 23). *İstanbul Sözleşmesi: AKP kaynaklarına göre, çekilme kararı aylar önce alındı*, BBC-Türkçe. <https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler-turkiye-56492232>, (Accessed: June 15, 2022).
- Small, T. A. (2011) What The Hashtag?, *Information, Communication & Society*, 14:6, 872-895.
- Şen, A. F., & Kök, H. (2017). Sosyal Medya ve Feminist Aktivizm: Türkiye'deki Feminist Grupların Aktivizm Biçimleri, *Atatürk İletişim Dergisi*, (13),.73-86.
- Taylor, V., & Crossley, A. D. (2013). Abeyance. In *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements*, edited by D. A. Snow, D. della Porta, B. Klandermans and D. McAdam, 12. Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Terkan, B. (2013). Kadın Örgütlerinin İnterneti Alternatif Medya Olarak Kullanımı Üzerine Bir İnceleme. *Selçuk İletişim*, 6 (3), 34-55.

Touranie, A. (1999) *Toplumdan Toplumsal Harekete, Yeni Sosyal Hareketler/Teorik Açılımlar*, haz. Kenan Çayır, Kaknüs Yayınları.

Türkiye Düşünce Platformu (TDP). (2020). *İstanbul Sözleşmesine Yönelik Hukuki ve Psikososyal Değerlendirme Raporu*. Legal and psychosocial evolution report regarding the Istanbul Convention. (Accessed June 06.2022).

Women's Rights Center of Istanbul Bar Association (2019).
<https://www.istanbulbarosu.org.tr/NewsDetail.aspx?ID=15992>, (Accessed: July.07.2022).

Vesnic-Alujevic, L. (2012). Political participation and web 2.0 in Europe: a case study of Facebook. *Public Relations Review*, 38(3), 466–470.

Yabancı, B. (2019). Turkey's tamed civil society: Containment and appropriation under a competitive authoritarian civil regime, *Journal of Civil Society*, 15;4, 285-306.

Yıldırım, G. (2019). *Aktivizm, Medya ve Yeni Medya*. in Boztepe H., Mengü M, Dijital Aktivizm Üzerine, Der Yayınları.

Yılmaz, B. (2015). Yeni Medya Ortamlarında Örgütlenme ve Toplumsal Etkileri: # Sendeanlat Örnek Olay İncelemesi. 1. *Ulusal Toplumsal ve Kurumsal Çatışmalar/Çözümler Kongresi*.