

UNIVERSITY OF CYPRUS

European Master's Degree in Human Rights and  
Democratisation  
2013/2014

THE KURDISH SPRING, HISTORY IN  
THE MAKING  
Where are the women?

Author: Salome HIRVASKOSKI

Supervisors:

Prof. Dr Kalliope Agapiou-Josephides, Jean Monnet Chair Holder (2001)

Dr. Maria Hadjipavlou, University of Cyprus

## **ABSTRACT**

This study aims to examine to what extent Turkey, as a member state of the United Nations, and a European Union candidate country, has created an enabling environment for the enjoyment of human rights by women, specifically in the context of the current peace process between the Turkish government and the PKK.

While significant improvements in the legal framework have taken place due to EU conditionality, the transformation of every day gender relations and advancement of gender equality has been modest. Poor implementation of the amended laws, the prevailing patriarchal value-system which does not encourage women's participation in public life, traditional expectations of women's role in society and family, and rigid gender roles all contribute to the situation.

Focusing mainly in the field of employment, the EU conditionality can be seen as having failed to utilise its full potential for the transformation of gender regime in Turkey. There is no evidence of any consideration given for the implementation of the UNSCR 1325 in the current peace process, nor of acknowledgment of the need to address intersecting discriminations experienced by Kurdish women.

<b>ABSTRACT .....</b>	<b>II</b>
<b>TABLE OF ACRONYMS.....</b>	<b>III</b>
<b>INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>1</b>
THE RESEARCH QUESTION OF THE STUDY .....	5
OUTLINE OF THE WORK.....	7
<b>1 THEORETICAL AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK.....</b>	<b>9</b>
1.1 FEMINIST PEACE AND CONFLICT THEORIES .....	9
1.1.1 <i>Feminist legal theory</i> .....	10
1.1.2 <i>Essentialist feminist thinking</i> .....	11
1.1.3 <i>Diverse identities</i> .....	12
1.1.4 <i>Feminist study of international politics</i> .....	12
1.2 CONCEPTS AND DEFINITIONS.....	14
<b>2 CONTEXTUALISATION OF FEMINISM IN TURKEY .....</b>	<b>17</b>
2.1 KEMALISM, "STATE FEMINISM" AND FEMINIST MOVEMENTS IN TURKEY .....	17
2.1.1 <i>The Kemalist project</i> .....	17
2.1.2 <i>Second and third wave of mainstream feminism</i> .....	20
2.2 CHALLENGING MAINSTREAM FEMINISM .....	21
2.2.1 <i>Political Islam and Islamist Women</i> .....	21
2.2.2 <i>Emergence of Kurdish nationalist women's movement</i> .....	24
<b>3 WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY .....</b>	<b>34</b>
3.1 THE UN AGENDA ON WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY .....	34
3.2 THE UNSCR 1325.....	35
3.3 THE CEDAW AND THE UNSCR 1325.....	38
3.3.1 <i>The view of the CEDAW Committee on women, peace and security</i> .....	39
3.4 CRITICISM OF THE UNSC RESOLUTION 1325.....	40
3.5 TURKEY AND NATIONAL IMPLEMENTATION OF WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY AGENDA.....	42
<b>4 EU CONDITIONALITY: CONTRIBUTING TO INCREASED PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN?.....</b>	<b>46</b>
4.1 EU AND GENDER EQUALITY .....	47
4.2 EU AND THE UNSCR 1325.....	49
4.3 TURKEY'S ACCESSION TO THE EU.....	51
4.4 EU AND THE KURDS .....	51
4.5 EU ACCESSION AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN TURKEY.....	54
<b>5 CONCLUSIONS.....</b>	<b>59</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY.....</b>	<b>64</b>

2014

# The Kurdish spring, history in the making: where are the women?

Hirvaskoski, Salome

---

<https://doi.org/20.500.11825/383>

*Downloaded from Open Knowledge Repository, Global Campus' institutional repository*