

## TURKEY

***Attacks on higher education declined in 2020 but rose in 2021; over 500 students were arrested or detained for their involvement in education-related protests, many of which occurred at Boğaziçi University. Authorities detained dozens of school teachers during the period for accused links to “terrorist” organizations. In addition, several schools in southeast Turkey were used for military purposes and later attacked.***

### **Context**

Throughout the 2020-2021 reporting period, the Justice and Development (AKP) party, led by President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, maintained its parliamentary majority in the country.<sup>1692</sup> During this time, authorities further consolidated power and targeted perceived opponents, according to Human Rights Watch.<sup>1693</sup> In some cases, Turkish authorities detained their perceived opponents, including members the Fethullah Gülen movement, sometimes through transnational renditions, according to Freedom House and the UN.<sup>1694</sup> As reported in *Education under Attack 2020*, the Turkish government accused Gülen, a US-based religious leader, of orchestrating a coup and designated his followers, including educators, as belonging to a “terrorist” organization.<sup>1695</sup>

In March 2021, the Turkish government withdrew from the Council of Europe’s Convention on Preventing and Combatting Violence Against Women And Domestic Violence, which protected women’s rights and lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) rights, according to Human Rights Watch.<sup>1696</sup> Some higher education students demonstrated in defense of LGBT rights on campuses during the reporting period.<sup>1697</sup>

In southeast Turkey and Iraq, Turkish forces engaged in military operations, including airstrikes and drones, against the Kurdistan Workers’ Party (PKK) during the reporting period, according to ACLED.<sup>1698</sup> In addition, Turkish forces continued to occupy areas of northern Syria, according to Rule of Law in Armed Conflicts project (RULAC).<sup>1699</sup> In 2020 and 2021, Turkey continued to host over 3.6 million Syrian refugees, according to the UN.<sup>1700</sup>

The Covid-19 pandemic affected education during the reporting period, with some Turkish primary and secondary schools experiencing over a year of closures.<sup>1701</sup> A UN 2020-2021 Back To School Survey for refugee parents found that only 51 percent of respondents had access to distance learning platforms during school closures.<sup>1702</sup> Furthermore, during the reporting period, 400,000 refugee children remained out of school.<sup>1703</sup> At the university level, Turkish authorities continued to dismiss, investigate, or suspend academics, according to Scholars at Risk,<sup>1704</sup> and appointed rectors, instead of following established democratic campus election procedures.<sup>1705</sup>

### **Attacks on Schools**

During the 2020-2021 reporting period, GCPEA identified three reported incidents of attacks on schools. This trend remained consistent with previous years. GCPEA identified at least two reported attacks on schools in southeast Turkey in 2019.<sup>1706</sup>

In 2020, GCPEA identified at least three reported incidents of attacks on schools from media sources that were quoting the statements non-state armed groups.<sup>1707</sup> Reports attributed the attacks, which occurred in Istanbul and Batman provinces, to non-state armed groups. Examples included:

- Media sources reported that on May 2, 2020, members of an armed group detonated a remote explosive device at a girls’ school dormitory in Esenyurt district, Istanbul. The dormitory, which sustained damages, was empty at the time of attack due to Covid-19 restrictions. A women’s branch of the Peoples’ United Revolutionary Movement militant group claimed the attack.<sup>1708</sup>
- On May 7, 2021, a militant group allegedly set fire to a private school dormitory in Gediz, Kütahya province. The attack damaged the building, which was not operational due to Covid-19 school closures.<sup>1709</sup>
- On August 6, 2020, an armed group allegedly set fire to a primary school in Bağlar neighborhood of Batman city. The attack damaged the building, according to media sources.<sup>1710</sup>

### ***Attacks on school students, teachers, and other education personnel***

During the 2020-2021 reporting period, GCPEA identified three reported incidents of attacks on school students, teachers, and other education personnel that affected 30 educators and students.<sup>1711</sup> By comparison, GCPEA did not identify any such attacks in 2019, and three in 2018.<sup>1712</sup> Attacks on school teachers typically involved the arrest or detention of teachers working at schools associated with the Gülen movement, or who were members of opposition groups.

In 2020, GCPEA identified one reported incident of an attack that affected 26 school teachers. On November 26, 2020, Turkish authorities allegedly detained 26 teachers, and searched their homes and classrooms, in Diyarbakır province.<sup>1713</sup> The teachers, who were members of the Education and Science Workers' Union (Eğitim-Sen), were allegedly held on "terrorist" charges.<sup>1714</sup>

In 2021, GCPEA identified two further reports of attacks on school teachers and students:

- Human Rights Watch and media sources reported that on May 31, 2021, Turkish and Kyrgyz authorities abducted an educator of Turkish-Kyrgyz nationality who directed a network of Gülen schools in Kyrgyzstan, and subsequently extrajudicially transferred him to Turkey; on July 5, 2021, Erdoğan released video footage of the teacher in detention in Turkey and announced that Turkish intelligence services had brought him to Turkey.<sup>1715</sup>
- Local media reported that on November 6, 2021, police allegedly arrested three school students who were protesting against the Council of Higher Education in Uskudar, Istanbul.<sup>1716</sup> Similar protests involving higher education students are described below.

### ***Military use of schools and universities***

GCPEA identified at least seven cases of military use of schools during the 2020-2021 reporting period. This marked an increase as compared to previous years when GCPEA did not identify any such reports.

In 2020, GCPEA identified five reported cases of military use of schools from media sources quoting the statements of non-state armed groups.<sup>1717</sup> In the majority of cases, armed groups attacked Turkish police or security forces positioned at schools in Diyarbakır province in the southeast. Examples included:

- On January 15, 2020, a unit of special operations police officers were allegedly stationed inside a primary school in Bağlar, Diyarbakır province. According to a statement to local media, members of an armed group attacked the police with improvised explosive devices (IEDs).<sup>1718</sup>
- On February 16, 2020, Turkish police forces were reportedly positioned in a primary school in Sur town, Diyarbakır province, when an armed group attacked them with three IEDs, according to a media source.<sup>1719</sup>
- Local media reported that on March 18, 2021, police were occupying the garden of a school in Bağlar town, Diyarbakır province, when an armed group attacked them with handmade explosives and small weapons. The attack allegedly killed or injured three police officers.<sup>1720</sup>

In 2021, GCPEA identified at least two reported incidents of military use of schools in southeast Turkey:

- On February 14, 2021, special operations police stationed in a school in Yıbo, Silvan, Diyarbakır province, were reportedly attacked by an armed group with sound bombs, according to a media source.<sup>1721</sup> Police allegedly retaliated with gunfire.
- A media source reported that on March 6, 2021, an armed group attacked a police unit that had stationed in a school in the Pazayeri area of Batman city.<sup>1722</sup>

### ***Sexual violence at, or on the way to or from, school or university***

During the 2020-2021 reporting period, GCPEA identified one report of sexual violence at, or on the way to or from, school or university. In 2018 and 2019, GCPEA did not collect any reports documenting such attacks.

Human Rights Watch and media sources reported that on January 5, 2021, police raided the home of two transgender female students who had joined student protests at Boğaziçi University a day earlier. Following violent arrest by the police, one student reported that police officers threatened her with rape during her detention and also stayed in a hospital

room during a mandatory medical exam.<sup>1723</sup> As described in the following section, LGBT students prominently participated in higher education protests in January and February 2021.

### **Attacks on higher education**

In 2020 and 2021, GCPEA identified over 30 reports of attacks on higher education that led to the injury or arrest of approximately 600 university students and personnel. By comparison, GCPEA identified reports indicating that around 150 university personnel and students were detained in 2018, and over 50 university students or personnel had been detained in 2019.<sup>1724</sup>

In 2020, GCPEA identified seven incidents of attacks on higher education students and one incident of an attack on a university building.<sup>1725</sup> The majority of these incidents involved the excessive use of force by police against student protesters, and led to the arrest or detention of nearly 80 students:

- Scholars at Risk and media sources reported that on January 2, 2020, university students peacefully protested against a new university policy reducing the number of subsidized student meals in front of an administrative building at Istanbul University, Fatih district, Istanbul. While some reports note that students followed police orders, police allegedly used batons and physical violence to disperse the protest.<sup>1726</sup>
- Local media sources reported that on March 4, 2020, students demonstrated against difficult living conditions for students, and to demand student loan forgiveness. Police allegedly dispersed the demonstration and arrested around 30 protesters.<sup>1727</sup>
- On December 23, 2020, university students held a protest in Çankaya, Ankara, demanding that authorities prioritize education funding in the 2021 annual budget, as well as decrying student loans during the pandemic. Police allegedly dispersed protesters and detained around five students.<sup>1728</sup>

In addition, GCPEA identified at least one reported incident of an attack on a university building. On July 11, 2020, a media source reported that a militant group carried out an arson attack on a car in the parking lot of a university in Izmir.<sup>1729</sup>

In 2021, GCPEA identified at least 25 reported attacks on higher education affecting at least 440 students and personnel.<sup>1730</sup> In the majority of these incidents, police used excessive force against, or arbitrarily detained, university students and staff who were protesting education-related policies. Many protests related to the presidential appointments of two rectors at Boğaziçi University (BU) in January and August 2020 – Melih Bulu and Mehmet Naci İnci respectively – which bypassed established democratic norms for electing university rectors.<sup>1731</sup> Human Rights Watch noted that the lack of consultation in Bulu’s appointment undermined academic freedom and university autonomy.<sup>1732</sup> Following Bulu’s appointment, students and personnel of BU, along with other universities across the country, engaged in mass protests. In the protests, students and personnel expressed concern about his views on LGBT rights, and protests often involved students from BU’s LGBT community.

On February 7, 2021, the Boğaziçi Solidarity Platform reported that at least 560 students had been detained, 25 sentenced to house arrest, and 10 arrested; charges included “degrading or provoking the public to hatred and hostility” and “resisting to prevent the fulfilment of duty.”<sup>1733</sup> On April 19, 2021, prosecutors reportedly indicted 97 people who had participated in student protests in February, with prison terms of up to three years.<sup>1734</sup> Media sources reported in November 2021 that authorities had detained two BU students in solitary confinement for 49 days following a protest against Naci İnci in early October, and that another 12 students were on trial.<sup>1735</sup>

Examples of related protests include:

- Local and international media and Scholars at Risk reported that on January 4, 2021, hundreds of students and staff of BU protested in front of the campus against Melih Bulu’s appointment. Police reportedly clashed with demonstrators and fired rubber bullets and tear gas. In the night following the demonstration, police arrested at least 24 students from their homes.<sup>1736</sup>
- On January 30, 2021, police arrested five students at BU for their involvement in an art exhibition that involved a piece of art that mixed Islamic imagery with LGBT imagery, and texts and imagery on gender norms. Police

also raided a room used by a BU LGBT club and removed flags and books.<sup>1737</sup>

- On March 25, 2021, BU students, including LGBT students, held a demonstration outside campus, according to media reports and Scholars at Risk. Police detained at least 12 students, reportedly for holding LGBT flags. On March 26, 2021, a group of students then assembled to protest the earlier detentions, when police again dispersed the protest and arrested at least 25 students.<sup>1738</sup>
- Scholars at Risk and media sources reported that on August 23, 2021, police arrested eight students in Istanbul who were protesting the government's appointment of Naci İnci as the new rector of BU.<sup>1739</sup>
- On October 22, 2021, police allegedly arrested over 45 students at BU when they dispersed a protest of students and academics against the university's rector.<sup>1740</sup>

Police also used excessive force on students protesting a proposed policy to create gender-segregated universities. On February 16, 2021, female university students reportedly gathered in Cankaya, Ankara, to demonstrate against the government's proposal to create women's universities. Police intervened and detained ten female students, according to media reports.<sup>1741</sup>

Finally, GCPEA identified police interventions in two university student protests against the country's Council of Higher Education in Istanbul and Ankara in early November 2021. At least 20 students were arrested, and others injured due to the use of tear gas.<sup>1742</sup>

---

<sup>1692</sup> Human Rights Watch, "World Report 2021: Events of 2020," (New York: Human Rights Watch, January 2021), Turkey Chapter. Human Rights Watch, "World Report 2022: Events of 2021," (New York: Human Rights Watch, January 2022), Turkey Chapter.

<sup>1693</sup> Human Rights Watch, "World Report 2021: Events of 2020." "Turkey: Erdoğan's Onslaught on Rights and Democracy," Human Rights Watch news release. Human Rights Watch, "World Report 2022: Events of 2021," (New York: Human Rights Watch, January 2022), Turkey Chapter.

<sup>1694</sup> Nate Schenkkan and Isabel Linzer, "Turkey: Transnational Repression Case Study," in *Out of Sight, Not Out of Reach: The Global Scale and Scope of Transnational Repression*, (Washington DC: Freedom House, February 2021, pp. 38 – 41. UN Human Rights Council "Opinion No. 47/2020 concerning Kahraman Demirez, Mustafa Erdem, Hasan Hüseyin Günakan, Yusuf Karabina, Osman Karakaya and Cihan Özkan (Turkey and Kosovo)\*," A/HRC/WGAD/2020/47, September 25, 2020.

<sup>1695</sup> GCPEA, *Education under Attack 2020*, Turkey chapter, pp. 236-239.

<sup>1696</sup> "Turkey: Erdoğan's Onslaught on Rights and Democracy," Human Rights Watch news release, March 24, 2021.

<sup>1697</sup> "Turkey: Student Protesters at Risk of Prosecution," Human Rights Watch report, February 18, 2021.

<sup>1698</sup> Lauren Blaxter, "Turkey-PKK Conflict: Summer 2020," ACLED, June 26, 2020. International Crisis Group, "Turkey's PKK Conflict: A Visual Explainer," ICG, updated June 2021.

<sup>1699</sup> "Military occupation of Syria by Turkey," RULAC, updated April 15, 2021.

<sup>1700</sup> "Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Turkey," UNHCR, 2021.

<sup>1701</sup> "Covid-19 Response: End of Situation Report," UNICEF Turkey, December 31, 2020. "Turkey among top five OECD countries with most schools closed due to COVID," *Hurriyet Daily*, April 2, 2021.

<sup>1702</sup> Information received from a UN respondent via email on November 8, 2021.

<sup>1703</sup> "Turkey Humanitarian Situation Report No. 40 January – December 2020," UNICEF, January 2021, p. 2.

<sup>1704</sup> Scholars At Risk, *Free to Think 2020*, (New York: SAR, November 2021, pp. 69-71.

<sup>1705</sup> "Erdoğan appoints rectors to six universities," *Bianet*, April 21, 2021.

<sup>1706</sup> GCPEA, *Education under Attack 2020*, Turkey chapter, p. 236.

<sup>1707</sup> A full list of references can be found on GCPEA's website, [https://protectingeducation.org/wp-content/uploads/eua\\_2022\\_references.pdf](https://protectingeducation.org/wp-content/uploads/eua_2022_references.pdf)

<sup>1708</sup> *Peoples' United Revolutionary Movement*, as cited in ACLED, Event ID TUR11686. "KBDH Militia set fire to a student dormitory in Istanbul (KBDH Milisleri İstanbul'da bir öğrenci yurdunu ateşe verdi)," *HBDH Online*, May 2, 2020.

<sup>1709</sup> "Children of Fire protest in Kütahya (Ateşin Çocukları'ndan Kütahya'da eylem)," *ANF News*, May 9, 2020. *ANF News*, as cited in ACLED, Event ID TUR11737. "Covid-19 Response: End of Situation Report," UNICEF Turkey, December 31, 2020. "Turkey among top five OECD countries with most schools closed due to COVID," *Hurriyet Daily*, April 2, 2021.

<sup>1710</sup> *ANF News*, as cited in ACLED, Event ID TUR12927. "Revenge units organized actions in 6 cities (İntikâm birimleri 6 kentte eylem düzenledi)," *ANF News*, August 8, 2020.

<sup>1711</sup> A full list of references can be found on GCPEA's website, [https://protectingeducation.org/wp-content/uploads/eua\\_2022\\_references.pdf](https://protectingeducation.org/wp-content/uploads/eua_2022_references.pdf)

<sup>1712</sup> GCPEA, *Education under Attack 2020*, Turkey chapter, p. 236.

- <sup>1713</sup> Ferit Aslan, “26 teachers detained in Diyarbakır as part of an investigation - Prosecutor’s Office said ‘terrorism investigation’ (Eğitim Sen ‘union activity’ (Diyarbakır’da 26 öğretmen bir soruşturma kapsamında gözaltına alındı – Savcılık “terör soruşturması”, Eğitim Sen ‘sendikal faaliyet’ dedi),” *MedyaScope*, November 6, 2020. Human Rights Foundation of Turkey, HRFT Documentation Center Daily Human Rights Report, Event 11/073, November 6, 2020.
- <sup>1714</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>1715</sup> Human Rights Watch, “Turkey/Kyrgyzstan: Rendition of Turkish-Kyrgyz Educator,” Human Rights Watch news release. “Another blow from MIT to FETO: Orhan İnandı was caught (MİT’ten FETÖ’ye bir darbe daha: Orhan İnandı yakalandı),” *TRT Haber*, July 5, 2021.
- <sup>1716</sup> İlker Kilicaslan, “They protested YÖK, they were detained,” *Sozcu*, November 6, 2021. *Sozcu* as cited in ACLED, Event ID TUR18674.
- <sup>1717</sup> A full list of references can be found on GCPEA’s website, [https://protectingeducation.org/wp-content/uploads/eua\\_2022\\_references.pdf](https://protectingeducation.org/wp-content/uploads/eua_2022_references.pdf)
- <sup>1718</sup> *ANF News*, as cited in ACLED, Event ID TUR10700 (data downloaded January 13, 2021). “Police, spies and drug dealers protest in Amed (Amed’de polis, ajan ve uyuşturucu satıcılarına eylem),” *ANF News*, January 17, 2020.
- <sup>1719</sup> *ANF News*, as cited in ACLED, Event ID TUR11012. “Action against the guards from the Revenge Unit (İntikâm Biriminden bekçilere yönelik eylem),” *ANF News*, February 18, 2020. “‘February 15’ balance sheet from the Revenge Units (İntikâm Birimlerinden ‘15 Şubat’ bilançosu),” *ANF News*, February 18, 2020.
- <sup>1720</sup> “Action balance sheet of revenge units (<https://anfturkce.com/guncel/Intikam-birimlerinin-eylem>),” *ANF News* April 2, 2020.
- <sup>1721</sup> “Actions by the Revenge Unit against the February 15 conspiracy in 7 cities (İntikam Biriminden 7 kentte 15 şubat komplosuna karşı eylemler),” *ANF News*, February 17, 2021.
- <sup>1722</sup> “Revenge units: Let’s burn the Newroz fire in the heart of the enemy! (İntikam birimleri: Newroz ateşini düşmanın kalbinde yakalım!),” *ANF News*, March 10, 2021.
- <sup>1723</sup> “Turkey: Student Protesters at Risk of Prosecution,” Human Rights Watch report, February 18, 2021. “Sexual assault on students detained on the grounds of the Boğaziçi protest (Boğaziçi eylemi gerekçesiyle gözaltına alınan öğrencilere cinsel saldırı),” *Özgür Gelecek Gazetesi*, January 5, 2021. “LGBTI + activist students threatened by sexual assault on detained LGBTI + activist students (Gözaltına alınan LGBTI+ aktivisti öğrencilere cinsel saldırı tehdidi),” *Artigerçek*, January 5, 2021.
- <sup>1724</sup> GCPEA, *Education under Attack 2020*, Turkey chapter, p. 237-9.
- <sup>1725</sup> A full list of references can be found on GCPEA’s website, [https://protectingeducation.org/wp-content/uploads/eua\\_2022\\_references.pdf](https://protectingeducation.org/wp-content/uploads/eua_2022_references.pdf)
- <sup>1726</sup> *Sozcu*; *Bianet*; *Demokrat Haber*, as cited in ACLED, Event ID TUR10564 (data downloaded January 13, 2021). “Police did not let the student of İstanbul University, who wanted the cafeteria right, to school (Yemekhane hakkını isteyen İstanbul Üniversitesi öğrencisini polis okula sokmadı),” *Evensel*, January 2, 2020. “İstanbul University cancels its decision to increase the cafeteria: Meals will continue as before (İstanbul Üniversitesi yemekhane zammı kararını iptal etti: Öğünler eskisi gibi devam edecek),” *BBC News*, January 6, 2020. Scholars at Risk, Academic Freedom Monitor, İstanbul University, January 2, 2020.
- <sup>1727</sup> *Mezopotamya Agency*, as cited in ACLED, Event ID TUR11209. “Students detained: We cannot get by (Gözaltına alınan öğrenciler: Geçinemiyorum),” *Mezopotamya Agency*, March 6, 2020. “Students cannot make a living without working,” *Mezopotamya Agency*, March 11, 2020.
- <sup>1728</sup> *Human Rights Foundation of Turkey*, as cited in ACLED, Event ID TUR14712. “University students who wanted “budget for education, not palace” were detained in Güvenpark (Güvenpark’ta “Saray’a değil eğitime bütçe” isteyen üniversiteliler gözaltına alındı),” *Sendika.org*, December 23, 2020.
- <sup>1729</sup> *ANF News*, as cited in ACLED, Event ID TUR12571. .
- <sup>1730</sup> A full list of references can be found on GCPEA’s website, [https://protectingeducation.org/wp-content/uploads/eua\\_2022\\_references.pdf](https://protectingeducation.org/wp-content/uploads/eua_2022_references.pdf)
- <sup>1731</sup> Scholars at Risk, Academic Freedom Monitor, Boğaziçi University, August 23, 2021.
- <sup>1732</sup> “Turkey: Student Protesters at Risk of Prosecution,” Human Rights news release, February 18, 2021.
- <sup>1733</sup> “Boğaziçi protests: 1 more student arrested, 5 students detained,” *Bianet*, February 10, 2021.
- <sup>1734</sup> Scholars at Risk, Academic Freedom Monitor, Bogaziçi University, April 19, 2021. Bethan McKernan, “Turkish prosecutors seek jail terms for anti-government student protesters,” *The Guardian*, April 21, 2021. AFP, “Turkey seeks jail terms for 97 protesters over Erdogan-appointed university head,” *Al Arabiya*, April 20, 2021.
- <sup>1735</sup> “6 more students suspended from Boğaziçi University for protesting appointed rector,” *Bianet*, November 24, 2021.
- <sup>1736</sup> “Turkish police clash with students protesting Erdogan-appointed university head,” *Reuters*, January 4, 2021. Bethan McKernan, “İstanbul university students clash with police over rector appointment,” *The Guardian*, January 6, 2021. Scholars at Risk, Academic Freedom Monitor, Boğaziçi University, January 4, 2021.
- <sup>1737</sup> *TRT Haber*; *Takvim*; *Haber Ercis*; *Bianet*; *Sozcu*; *Mezopotamya Agency*, as cited in ACLED, Event ID TUR15301. Scholars at Risk, Academic Freedom Monitor, Boğaziçi University, February 1, 2021. Bethan McKernan, “Turkish prosecutors seek jail terms for anti-government student protesters,” *The Guardian*, April 21, 2021. “Police fire tear gas, plastic bullets at Boğaziçi University students in Kadıköy,” *Bianet*, February 2, 2021. Aisling Reidy, “Turkey Resumes its Crackdown on Student Protesters,” Human Rights Watch dispatch, April 2, 2021. “More than 100 students detained at Boğaziçi University amid protests against crackdown on LGBT groups,” Stockholm Center for Freedom editorial, February 2, 2021.
- <sup>1738</sup> *A Haber*; *Rudaw*; *Mezopotamya Agency*; *Sozcu*; *ANF News*, as cited in ACLED, Event ID TUR15828 (data downloaded April 26, 2020). Scholars at Risk, Academic Freedom Monitor, Boğaziçi University, March 25, 2021. (accessed April 28, 2021). “Police detain students who came to courthouse in support of detained friends,” *Bianet*, March 26, 2021. Police detain students who came to courthouse in support of detained friends, *Bianet*, March 26, 2021. Scholars at Risk, Academic Freedom Monitor, Boğaziçi University, March 26, 2021.
- <sup>1739</sup> Human Rights Foundation of Turkey; *Sozcu*; *Mezopotamya Agency*, as cited in ACLED, Event ID TUR17867. Scholars at Risk, Academic Freedom

Monitor, Boğaziçi University, August 23, 2021.

<sup>1740</sup> *Mezopotamya Agency; Takvim; Bianet; Karar*, as cited in ACLED, Event ID TUR18439. “Boğaziçi academics call on appointed university administration to resign,” *Bianet*, October 25, 2021. “Statement in support of the students of Boğaziçi University (Istanbul),” European Youth Forum statement, November 11, 2021.

<sup>1741</sup> *Bianet; Mezopotamya Agency; Human Rights Foundation of Turkey*, as cited in ACLED, Event ID TUR15432 (data downloaded April 26, 2021). “Women protest ‘women’s universities’ in Ankara: Several detained,” *Bianet*, February 16, 2021. “February was ‘very intense’ in terms of rights violations, says report,” *Bianet*, March 16, 2021. “Turkey detains women protesting against gender-segregated universities,” *Ahval*, February 16, 2021.

<sup>1742</sup> *Bianet; ANF News; Sozcu*, as cited in ACLED, Event ID TUR18672 (data downloaded November 23, 2021). “Detention of students protesting YÖK (YÖK’ü protesto eden öğrencilere gözaltı),” *Bianet*, November 6, 2021. Ilker Kilicaslan, “They protested YÖK, they were detained,” *Sozcu*, November 6, 2021. *ANF News; Cumhuriyet*; Human Rights Foundation of Turkey. “University students protest Turkey’s Higher Education Board (YÖK),” *Hurriyet Daily News*, November 8, 2021. “Police intervened in YÖK protest in Ankara: Many detentions (Ankara’da polis YÖK protestosuna müdahale etti: Çok sayıda gözaltı),” *Cumhuriyet*, November 8, 2021.