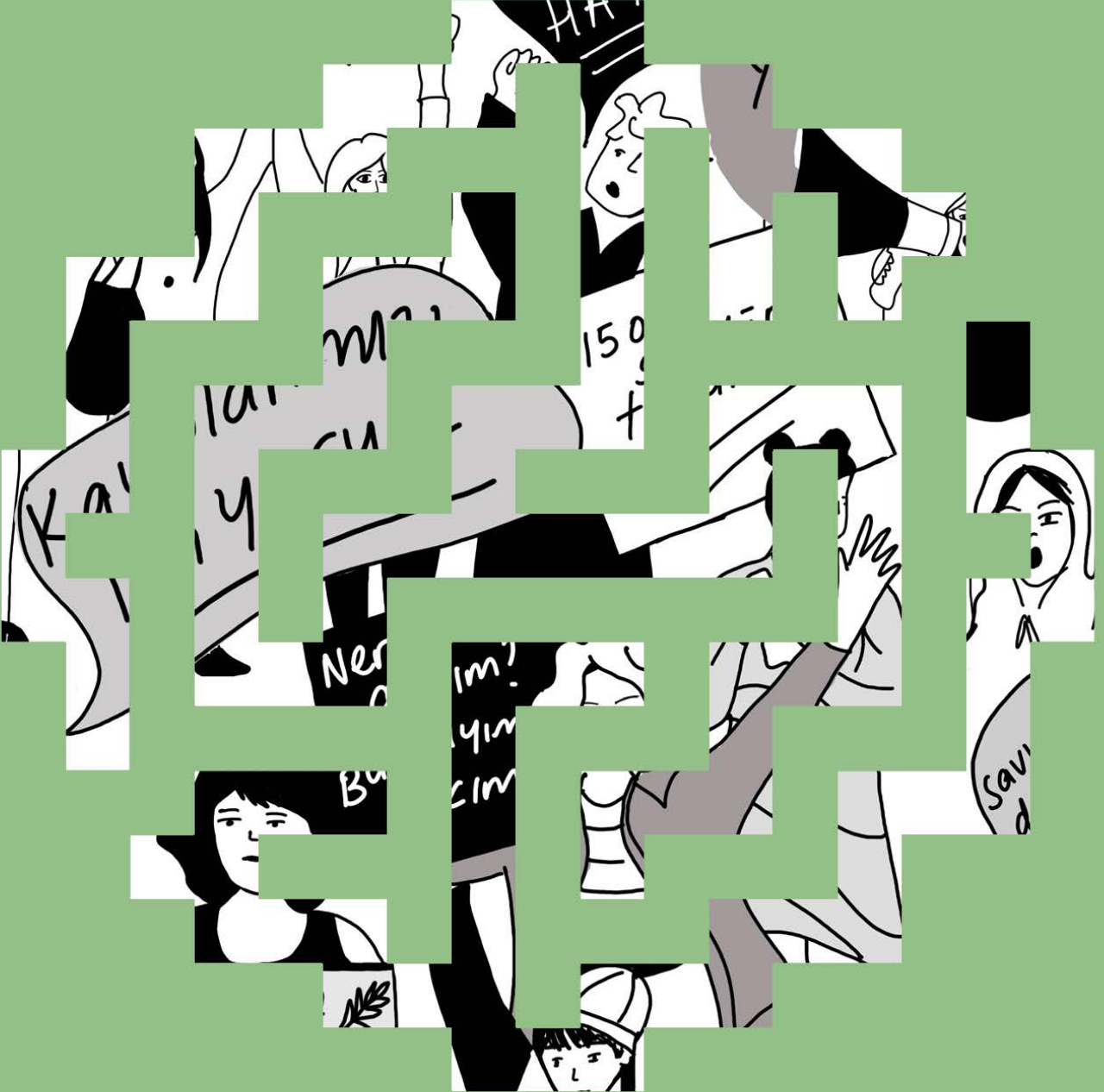


HAFIZA MERKEZİ

ACTIVITY REPORT 2021 – 2022



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ACTIVITY REPORT
2021 – 2022



ABOUT US

Hafıza Merkezi (Hakikat Adalet ve Hafıza Çalışmaları Derneği, eng. Truth Justice Memory Center) was established with the aims of uncovering the truth concerning past human rights violations, strengthening the collective memory with regards to them, and supporting survivors in their pursuit of justice. It is an organization which believes that the prospect of sustainable peace and democracy is only possible through a just and recognition-based approach to victims of past human rights violations. The center espouses the ideal of a free and inclusive society, which values and embraces difference, acknowledges the state violence in its past as well as victims' rights and individual freedoms, and has achieved effective civil control over repressive state apparatuses. It contributes to the development of mechanisms and tools for the creation of a peaceful and free society, which considers human rights to be its fundamental values.

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FOREWORD

Hello,
2021 and 2022 have been very difficult for all of us, both in Turkey and around the world. Attacks on human rights, freedoms, and civil society have persisted everywhere throughout the first quarter of the 21st century, with the majority of the world's population living under electoral or closed autocracies.

Studies from different disciplines show that oppressive regimes all over the world are constantly expanding security-centered policies and restricting freedoms, increasing gross human rights violations, criminalizing rights defenders as a means to silence them, and subjecting them to administrative and judicial pressures with false accusations.

Such regimes consider large segments of society to be potential criminals based on their ethnicity, politics, class, and/or gender without any evidence of a crime. They expand the definition of an enemy to include the entire population, employ indiscriminate arrests, engage in cross-border military actions on the pretense of vague internal or external threats, and legitimize the human rights violations for which they are responsible because they are done in the so-called fight against terrorism. With the continued erosion of legal standards, everyone everywhere can now be considered a criminal at any time in this atmosphere of constant surveillance. These regimes also used the Covid-19 pandemic as a justification for increased surveillance and adopting policies to keep civil society under their control.

There has generally been a major human rights and legal crisis occurring around the world for a while now. Turkey is one of the countries following the global trend of relying on securitization policies that undermine freedoms.

The 20th century began with wars on a thousand fronts around the world—in Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans—in which thousands upon thousands of civilians and soldiers have been killed. The enormous destruction inflicted on society, culture, politics, ecology, and economies by the two world wars and the Holocaust led to the establishment of regional and global monitoring mechanisms to control the severity of war.

As the 20th century drew to a close, the framework of rule of law governments developed to ensure respect for human rights at home and abroad and to limit activities counter to peace began to become increasingly dysfunctional. This adherence to rule of law, having gained prominence in the 20th century, was abandoned in the 21st century with the September 11 terrorist attacks and the developments that arose therefrom. Many countries around the world, including Turkey, are now governed not by laws but by unpredictable, uncontrollable fiats that create space for all manners of arbitrariness.

According to data for 2021 from institutions working on the subject, only 3 percent of the world's population lives in open societies in which rights and freedoms can be enjoyed relatively speaking, while freedoms are under pressure in 117 of the 197 countries around the world. Rights violations are extreme and advocacy work is regularly impeded. Dissident rights advocates operate under the threat of arrest, imprisonment, and loss of life, while non-governmental organizations are under threat of closure and violence from both state and non-state actors.

All assessments by international organizations in recent years show that Turkey now falls in the category of “not free” in terms of political rights and civil liberties due to its freedom score. According to the World Justice Project's Rule of Law Index, Turkey ranks 116th out of the 140 countries evaluated as of 2022. This is the situation individuals and institutions in Turkey have lived under as the country falls further behind every year.

Despite this negative picture, Turkey is home to strong movements, including those of youth, women, LGBTQI+, while civil society and rights advocates in the country resist the narrowing of rights and freedoms as well as policies counter to peace. We continue to fight for peace, rights, and freedoms in solidarity with our colleagues at home and abroad as we learn and draw strength from each other.

We sincerely hope that the work we undertake has contributed to this struggle and the effort to build a better future.

Looking forward to getting back to you in two years.

Emel Ataktürk Sevimli - Director of Programs

AN OVERVIEW OF FAİLİ BELLİ

FailiBelli.org is a digital archive containing details and monitoring reports of the legal proceedings concerning gross human rights violations in Turkey's recent past. The scope of the archive has expanded, having begun by monitoring and documenting cases concerning the massive, wide-spread, systematic human rights violations committed by agents of the state, such as extrajudicial executions and enforced disappearances that took place in the 1990s.

HAFIZA MERKEZİ

Türkiye'de 1990'lı yıllarda sivillere yönelik faili meçhul cinayetler ve zorla kaybetmeler sistematik bir devlet politikası olarak uygulandı. Bu politika ile yüzleşme olasılığı sunan az sayıda dava ise bugün teker teker kapatılıyor. Kısa süre içerisinde kadar haklarında güçlü iddianameler hazırlanan ve ağır hapis cezaları talep edilen komutanların bugün teker teker akıldığını görüyoruz. Bu durum karşısında, adalet arayışındaki aileler ve insan hakları savunucuları olarak bu hakkı soruyoruz.



#PekiFailKim? #failibelli

YIL	CİZRE DAVASI	JİTEM + MUSA ANTER + ATIKEN ÖZTÜRK DAVASI	ANKARA DAVASI	YÜKEKOVA DAVASI	DERİK DAVASI	GÖRÜMLÜ DAVASI	LİCE DAVASI	KIZILBAĞ DAVASI	VARTINIS DAVASI	KULPA DAVASI	KIZILTEPE DAVASI	DARGEÇİT DAVASI
1990	1992 yılında Cizre'de 21 asker ve 10 sivilin öldürüldüğü, 100'den fazla kişinin yaralandığı bir olaydır. Davanın 1992'de açılmasıyla başlayan süreç, 1994'te 'JİTEM' suçlamasıyla devam etmiştir. Davanın 1994'te kapatılması, 2009'da yeniden açılması ve 2019'da sonuçlandırılması sürecini kapsar.	JİTEM suçuyla ilgili 1992'de açılan davaların başlıcalarıdır. Davanın 1992'de açılmasıyla başlayan süreç, 1994'te 'JİTEM' suçlamasıyla devam etmiştir. Davanın 1994'te kapatılması, 2009'da yeniden açılması ve 2019'da sonuçlandırılması sürecini kapsar.	1992-1994 yılları arasında Ankara'da meydana gelen bir dizi cinayetin soruşturulması amacıyla açılan davadır. Davanın 1992'de açılmasıyla başlayan süreç, 1994'te 'JİTEM' suçlamasıyla devam etmiştir. Davanın 1994'te kapatılması, 2009'da yeniden açılması ve 2019'da sonuçlandırılması sürecini kapsar.	1992-1994 yılları arasında Yüksekova'da meydana gelen bir dizi cinayetin soruşturulması amacıyla açılan davadır. Davanın 1992'de açılmasıyla başlayan süreç, 1994'te 'JİTEM' suçlamasıyla devam etmiştir. Davanın 1994'te kapatılması, 2009'da yeniden açılması ve 2019'da sonuçlandırılması sürecini kapsar.	1992-1994 yılları arasında Derik'te meydana gelen bir dizi cinayetin soruşturulması amacıyla açılan davadır. Davanın 1992'de açılmasıyla başlayan süreç, 1994'te 'JİTEM' suçlamasıyla devam etmiştir. Davanın 1994'te kapatılması, 2009'da yeniden açılması ve 2019'da sonuçlandırılması sürecini kapsar.	1992 yılında Diyarbakır'da meydana gelen bir dizi cinayetin soruşturulması amacıyla açılan davadır. Davanın 1992'de açılmasıyla başlayan süreç, 1994'te 'JİTEM' suçlamasıyla devam etmiştir. Davanın 1994'te kapatılması, 2009'da yeniden açılması ve 2019'da sonuçlandırılması sürecini kapsar.	1992 yılında Lice'de meydana gelen bir dizi cinayetin soruşturulması amacıyla açılan davadır. Davanın 1992'de açılmasıyla başlayan süreç, 1994'te 'JİTEM' suçlamasıyla devam etmiştir. Davanın 1994'te kapatılması, 2009'da yeniden açılması ve 2019'da sonuçlandırılması sürecini kapsar.	1992 yılında Kızılbağ'da meydana gelen bir dizi cinayetin soruşturulması amacıyla açılan davadır. Davanın 1992'de açılmasıyla başlayan süreç, 1994'te 'JİTEM' suçlamasıyla devam etmiştir. Davanın 1994'te kapatılması, 2009'da yeniden açılması ve 2019'da sonuçlandırılması sürecini kapsar.	1992 yılında Vartinis'te meydana gelen bir dizi cinayetin soruşturulması amacıyla açılan davadır. Davanın 1992'de açılmasıyla başlayan süreç, 1994'te 'JİTEM' suçlamasıyla devam etmiştir. Davanın 1994'te kapatılması, 2009'da yeniden açılması ve 2019'da sonuçlandırılması sürecini kapsar.	1992 yılında Kulpa'da meydana gelen bir dizi cinayetin soruşturulması amacıyla açılan davadır. Davanın 1992'de açılmasıyla başlayan süreç, 1994'te 'JİTEM' suçlamasıyla devam etmiştir. Davanın 1994'te kapatılması, 2009'da yeniden açılması ve 2019'da sonuçlandırılması sürecini kapsar.	1992 yılında Kızıltepe'de meydana gelen bir dizi cinayetin soruşturulması amacıyla açılan davadır. Davanın 1992'de açılmasıyla başlayan süreç, 1994'te 'JİTEM' suçlamasıyla devam etmiştir. Davanın 1994'te kapatılması, 2009'da yeniden açılması ve 2019'da sonuçlandırılması sürecini kapsar.	1992 yılında Dargeçit'te meydana gelen bir dizi cinayetin soruşturulması amacıyla açılan davadır. Davanın 1992'de açılmasıyla başlayan süreç, 1994'te 'JİTEM' suçlamasıyla devam etmiştir. Davanın 1994'te kapatılması, 2009'da yeniden açılması ve 2019'da sonuçlandırılması sürecini kapsar.
1995												
2000												
2005												
2010												
2015												
2020												

ZORLA KAYBETMELER VE YARGI

363 1990'larda OHAL bölgesinde yaygın ve sistematik bir şekilde zorla kaybetmeler ve hukuk dışı infazlar gerçekleştirildi. Hafıza Merkezi zorla kaybedilen 363 kişiyle ilgili yürütülen hukuki süreçlere ilişkin veriyi ulaştı.

81 kaybedilen kişiyle ilgili bugüne dek toplam 15 dava açıldı.

282 kaybedilen kişiyle ilgili açılan soruşturmalar ise sürecin bakiyesi bırakıldı ve kovuşturma aşamasına taşınmadı.

AİHM SÜRECİ

73 başvurdan 7'si dostane çözüme sonuçlanırken, 12'si kabul edilmez bulundu. Kalan 54 başvuruda Türkiye'nin başta yaşam hakkı olmak üzere Avrupa İnsan Hakları Sözleşmesi'ni ihlal ettiğine karar verildi.

İDDİANAME HAZIRLANMASI NE ANLAMA GELİYOR?

Savcı, bir suçun işlendiği izlenimini veren bir duruma ilişkin öğrenme soruşturması açmak zorundadır. Suçun işlendiğine dair yeterli bilgi oluşturan delillerin bulunduğu halde ise iddianame hazırlar ve dava açılması için mahkemeye gönderir.

İhtiyaçta tam da yeterli delil bulunmadıkça hareket etmemelidir. 2009-2014 yılları arasında kaybedilen 78 kişiyle ilgili 12 dava açıldı. Bu davalar yalnızca kaybedilen değil, aynı zamanda hukuki dışı infaz eden kişilerle de ilgiliydi.

YARGILAMAYI GEÇİRTMEK İÇİN KULLANILAN YÖNTEMLER

Suçluların açıklığına rağmen, yalnızca bir davada (Te-miz ve diğerleri) yargıtınan sanıklardan bazıları bir sürebilene tutuklu kaldı. Diğer tüm davalarda sanıklar tutuklu kaldı. Diğer tüm davalarda Savcılar Yüksek Kuruluna başvurular yapıldı. İzin alınmadıkça işleme alınmadığına karar verildi.

BERAAT KARARLARI: DELİLLER YETERSİZ MİDİ?

Zorla kaybetmelerle ilgili hazırlanan iddianameler mahkemelere kabul edildi. Bu da yargı kurumunun bu suçlarla ilgili yeterli delillerin mevcut olduğuna kabul ettiği anlamına geliyor. Bu iddianameler, bu suçları faili olarak gösterdiği JİTEM'in teşkilatı yapısı ve suçların nasıl işlendiğine dair son derece detaylı betimlemeler içeriyordu. Dolayısıyla hayır, deliller yetersiz değildi. Buna karşın 2009-2014 yılları arasında açılan 12 davadan 9'unda ya sanıkların beraatine ya da davanın zamanaşımından dolayı çözümlenmesine karar verildi. 3 dava halen devam ediyor. 1 davada verilen beraat kararını Yargıtay onadı. Diğer kararlar kesinleşmiş olup henüz Yargıtay tarafından inceleniyor.

In its work into legal and court matters, the Truth Justice Memory Center (Hafıza Merkezi) strives to tangibly reveal how the justice system and those within it react to gross human rights violations, whether investigations and prosecutions as a whole are conducted effectively, and the phenomenon of impunity.

The overall purpose of this work is to objectively record courtroom happenings, create an archive based on reliable information that is open to the public, and ultimately contribute to the creation of social awareness of the phenomenon of impunity through case monitoring, scrutinization of judicial practices by acting as an observer of cases in which state officials alleged to be involved in gross human rights violations are brought to trial.

The initial focus of this case monitoring was on cases of critical importance that provides a foundation for the reconciliation with Turkey's violent past. The monitoring of such cases began in 2015 after many years without effective investigations, the crimes cases concerning extrajudicial executions and enforced disappearances committed with involvement of state officials in the 1990s had indictment after indictment filed for them between 2009 and 2014, just as the statute of limitations was set to expire. These cases were referred to by the public as "confrontation trials" when they were first launched.

These cases were expected to provide a foundation for reconciliation with the country's violent past, yet they began to result in acquittals one after another in 2018.

When evaluated together along with the regression in human rights and rule of law, these acquittals were an example of how the failure to ensure accountability of those responsible for past rights violations invites new violations and upholds the continuity of impunity. Through our analysis of these cases, we created categories such as deaths to due police/military violence at meetings and demonstrations, violations of the right to life of civilians in their daily lives, deaths caused by tanks and armored vehicles, civilians targeted in conflict zones, and widened the scope of our monitoring to include the disproportionate and arbitrary use of lethal force by state security forces (police, gendarmerie, and military).

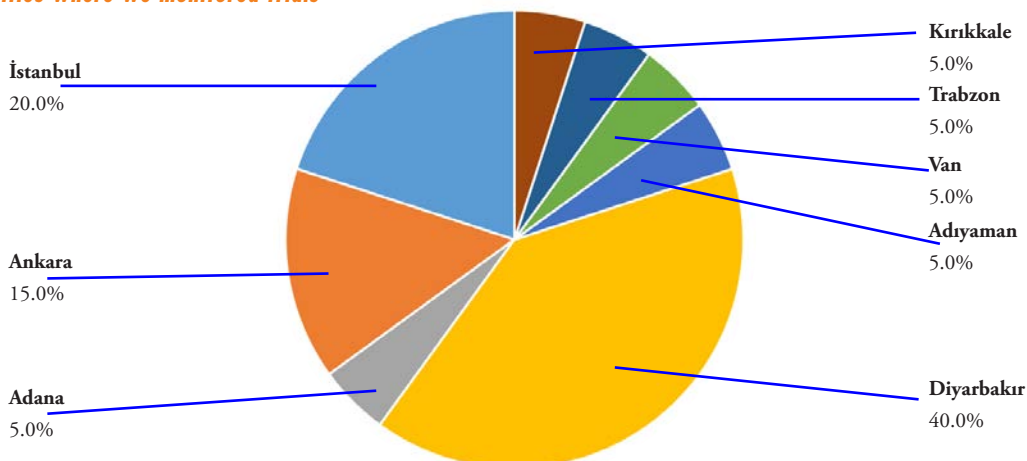
Throughout 2021 and 2022, we continued to monitor both the ongoing trials concerning extrajudicial executions and enforced disappearances committed with involvement of state officials in the 1990s and cases that we consider to be representative of violations of the right to life due to the security forces' disproportionate and arbitrary use of lethal force.

We continue to share the results of our monitoring work regarding the criminal proceedings of such cases on the failibelli.org digital archive. In addition to the background information available on the site of the cases we have followed since 2015, there is also a compilation of related news articles and monitoring reports, analyses of the cases, translations of thematic articles, and legal resources such as important rulings from the European Court of Human Rights, Inter-American Court of Human Rights, and Constitutional Court of Turkey, along with reports and reference material.

FAILİ BELLİ 2021-2022

We monitored 103 hearings of 19 cases in Adıyaman, Ankara, Diyarbakır, İstanbul, Kırıkkale, Trabzon, and Van in 2021 and 2022. Rulings were made in 10 of the cases, five of which resulted in acquittals and five in guilty verdicts. Defendants in two cases who were sentenced to life in prison had their sentences reduced and, in another case, a defendant had their prison sentence converted to a judicial fine to be paid in installments. One case was dismissed on the ground that the statute of limitations had expired.

Cities where we monitored trials



Özrü kabahatinden beter

Sanıkların savunmalarının suç konusu eylemleri meşrulaştırır nitelikte olması



bulgu
11

Siz nasıl münasip görürseniz sanık bey

Sanıklar hakkında tutuklama veya adli kontrol tedbiri uygulanmaması



bulgu
10

Olması gereken ve olan

Dava konusu olaylarla ilgili AİHM kararlarının tartışılmaması

bulgu
9

İddia makamı iddiasının arkasında durmadı

Duruşma savcısının konumu



bulgu
8

"Kimsenin devletten hesap sormaya hakkı yoktur"

Kamu kurumlarının tutumu



bulgu
7

İsteyen çare istemeyen bahane bulur

Kovuşturmanın derinleştirilmemesi



bulgu
6

Büyük resmi göremiyoruz

Davalar arasında irtibat kurulmaması



bulgu
5

Sanıklar vareste

Sanıkların duruşmalarda hazır bulunmaması



bulgu
4

Sahibinden kaçırılan davalar

Davaların suçların işlendiği yerden başka bir yere nakledilmesi



bulgu
3

İzin verirseniz...

Kovuşturma izniyle ilgili yapılan işlemler nedeniyle yargılamanın durdurulması

bulgu
2

Önce tanımda anlaşalım

Zorla kaybetme suçunun ceza kanununda tanımlanmaması



bulgu
1

1990'lı Yıllardaki Ağır İnsan Hakları İhlallerinde Cezasızlık Sorunu: Kovuşturma Süreci

#PekiFailKim?
#FailiBelli

RAPOR

Visual summary of the findings of our "The Problem of Impunity in Gross Human Rights Violation in the 1990s: The Prosecution Process" report. Illustration: Ayşe Ezgi Yıldız (Instagram: @littleblackdotdesign)

THE 1990s: CONFRONTATION TRIALS

The confrontation trials, including the Dargeçit, Gendarmerie Intelligence Organization (JİTEM), Ankara JİTEM, and Vartinis (Altınova) massacre trials, concerning wide-spread and systematic extrajudicial executions and enforced disappearances with involvement of state officials in the 1990s continued throughout 2021 and 2022.

The Dargeçit trial ended in acquittal of the defendants on trial for the enforced disappearances of eight people in Dargeçit, Mardin, between October 29, 1995 and March 8 1996, three of whom were children and one specialist sergeant.

The court ruled to separate and dismiss the case files of the murder of **Musa Anter** and enforced disappearance of **Ayten Öztürk** from the JİTEM trial on the grounds that the statute of limitations had expired after 30 years since the crimes occurred.

The acquittal of the defendants in the **Ankara JİTEM trial** from 2019 were overturned on appeal in 2021, and the retrial is currently ongoing in the local court.

The Constitutional Court in 2021 upheld the acquittals of defendants Turhan Nurdoğan, Hanifi Akyıldız and Şerafettin Uz in the **Vartinis massacre trial**, while it overturned the acquittal of defendant Bülent Karaoğlu and sent the case file to the local court for retrial. The first hearing of the trial after the reversal was held on September 21, 2021. An arrest warrant was issued for Karaoğlu, who did not attend the hearing. Karaoğlu has yet to be apprehended and the trial is currently ongoing.



The Problem of Impunity in Gross Human Rights Violation in the 1990s: The Prosecution Process

We published our analyses of the factors that led to the impunity in the prosecution of the 12 confrontation trials in a report published in November 2021. The report is based on our monitoring since 2015 of the litigation process and includes information on these criminal trials regarding extrajudicial executions and enforced disappearances. Its purpose is to reveal the problem areas that lead to impunity in legislation and practice in all their dimensions and to contribute to the formation of policies and implementation of practical measures to prevent impunity from becoming state culture.

An Era Ends and a New One Begins: Webinar on the Confrontation Trials Reconciling the 1990s

Hafıza Merkezi Director of Programs Emel Ataktürk, Özyegin University faculty member Evren Balta, Sabancı University faculty member Senem Aydın Düzgit, and Human Rights Foundation of Turkey (TİHV) researcher Serder Tekin discussed the findings of our report titled “The Problem of Impunity in Gross Human Rights Violation in the 1990s: The Prosecution Process” and evaluated our goal of confronting the 1990s through the dynamics of the new era in Turkey and abroad in the webinar we held on November 18, 2021.





The 2000s: The Use of Deadly Force by the Security Forces and the Right to Life

Our case monitoring activity for 2018 included the judicial processes regarding violations of the right to life as a result of the use of lethal force by security forces in the 2000s. In continuation of our monitoring, in 2021–2022 we followed 12 trials regarding the violation of the right to life of civilians in both their daily lives and in conflict zones, including deaths resulting from the security forces' use of violence against meetings and demonstrations, death resulting from the use of lethal force on the pretext that security forces' orders to stop were not followed, and deaths caused by tanks and armored vehicles. Of the 12 trials, seven ended with rulings in 2021–2022.

The court acquitted the defendant on trial for deliberate murder in the death of **Medeni Yıldırım**, who was killed by the gendarmerie when they opened fire on a group protesting the construction of a police station in the Lice district of Diyarbakır in 2013. The court reduced the sentence of the defendant on trial for the deliberate murder of **Berkin Elvan**, whom police shot with a teargas canister while he was on his way to buy bread during the Gezi Park protests in 2013, from life imprisonment to 16 years and eight months.

Lawyer **Tahir Elçi** devoted his life to the prosecution and sentencing of the perpetrators of the crimes committed in the 1990s and was one of the leading figures in the fight against impunity in Turkey. He was shot in the head and died during the conflict that erupted in the Sur district of Diyarbakır as he was reading a statement in front of the Four-Legged Minaret in order to draw attention to the destruction of cultural heritage caused

by the armed conflicts in the city. The crime scene investigation was conducted five months later. The security camera footage of the scene was revealed to be faulty and the investigation was impeded. Upon request from the Diyarbakır Bar Association, a detailed technical report on Elçi's murder was prepared by **Forensic Architecture**, an organization based at Goldsmiths, University of London. The indictment was completed only after FA's report was delivered to the prosecutor's office, on March 20, 2020, almost five years after Elçi's murder. The first hearing of the trial was held on October 21, 2020, with three police officers who were on the street where the conflict took place charged with causing death by conscious negligence. The trial is ongoing.

In the trial concerning the killings of **Barış Kerem** and **Oğuzhan Erkul**, whom police shot dead at the exit of the City Forest in the Gazi district of Istanbul in 2017 on the grounds that they did not obey orders to halt, the defendants were found guilty of reckless homicide and sentenced to six years in prison, although the sentence was commuted to a judicial fine of 24,300 Turkish liras to be paid in instalments over the course of 24 months. In the trial regarding the killing of **Ali al-Hamdani**, who was shot dead on the grounds that he did not obey police orders to halt while Covid-19 pandemic restrictions and curfews were in effect in 2020, the defendant, originally found guilty of the charge of willful homicide and sentenced to life in prison, had his sentence reduced to 25 years in prison. In the trial regarding the killing of **Recep Hantaş**, who was shot dead in Diyarbakır for not obeying police orders to halt, the defendant was acquitted of the charge of willful homicide.

In the trial concerning the killing of **Şahin Öner**, who was crushed to death by an armored police vehicle as police intervened in a demonstration in Diyarbakır in 2013, the court found the defendant guilty of reckless homicide and sentenced him to four years, five months, and 10 days in prison.

In the trial regarding the death of **Efe Tektekin**, who was hit and killed by an armored vehicle in Diyarbakır in 2019, the court acquitted the defendant of the charge of reckless homicide.

In 2022, we began to include interviews with families on the failibelli.org website. These interviews concern cases of violations to the right to life stemming from the disproportionate and arbitrary use of security forces that we had observed. One such interview was with Nazmiye Şen, the mother of 12-year-old Helin Hasret Şen, who was killed by gunfire from an armored vehicle as she was on her way to the bakery during a curfew in the Sur district of Diyarbakır in 2015. Şen said that she and her family were punished again throughout the trial as there was no mechanism for restorative justice and they were not allowed to speak in court. “If the state had apologized, we would have been the injured party, but instead we were punished,” she said. Another interview was with Efe Hantaş, the brother of Recep Hantaş, who police shot in the back of the neck in Sümerpark in Diyarbakır in 2019 for not obeying police commands to halt. Hantaş said that he and his family expected public authorities to visit them, apologize, or at the least, admit that the police were responsible and say that they would be brought to justice.

THE SATURDAY MOTHERS/PEOPLE TRIAL

Along with the judicial practice of not punishing defendants in trials concerning extrajudicial executions and enforced disappearances committed in the 1990s, which we document on failibelli.org, is the criminalization of the Saturday Mothers/People’s search for truth regarding their disappeared family members.

Police raided the 700th weekly demonstration of the Saturday Mothers/People on August 25, 2018 and prevented the crowd from gathering in Galatasaray Square. A case was subsequently filed against the group on the grounds they violated the Law on Meetings and Demonstrations for “unarmed participation in an unlawful meeting or march” and “not immediately dispersing upon police orders to do so.” The first hearing of the trial was held at the Istanbul 21st Criminal Court of First Instance on March 25, 2021. The trial is ongoing.

THE HRANT DINK ASSASSINATION CASE

Hrant Dink was a rights advocate who devoted his life to lasting peace and dialogue. He was assassinated in front of the offices of *Agos* newspaper, of which he was the editor-in-chief, on January 19, 2007. The various investigations conducted after his assassination failed to reveal who committed the murder, under whose orders and instructions it was done, or fully expose the details of the murder.

The first hearing of the trial regarding Dink’s murder was held in July 2007, with only civilians as defendants. Due to legal efforts by the Dink family’s lawyers, a case was also filed against public officials. As of 2020, 76 defendants have been put on trial upon the separation of the case files of the civilian defendants, and 29 hearings were held in 2020–2021. Among the defendants were public officials then employed at the Provincial Police Departments of Istanbul and Trabzon, the Gendarmerie Commands of Istanbul and Trabzon, and Directorate of the Department of Intelligence.

In the court ruling at the 131st hearing of the trial on March 26, 2021, 37 public officials were acquitted, 26 other defendants were handed prison sentences of various lengths, for of which were life imprisonment and two aggravated life imprisonment. The case files of 13 other defendants were also separated.



RULE 9.2 SUBMISSIONS

We continued to participate in the supervision of the implementations of European Court of Human Rights rulings before the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe in 2021 and 2022.

In 2021 and 2022, we submitted notifications to the groups Batı and Others, Erdoğan and Others, Kasa, and Mahmut Kaya in which we identified structural problems regarding killing, torture, and ill-treatment by security forces; excessive use of force, and the effectiveness of criminal and disciplinary investigations. We worked together with the Human Rights Association (İHD), London Legal Group (LLG), and the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey (TİHV) in the preparation of these Rule 9.2 submissions, also with support from the European Implementation Network (EIN), of which we are a member.

Rule 9.2 submissions made by civil society organizations are of great importance, as they draw attention to ongoing structural problems and provide the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe with accurate and up-to-date data. The deficiencies identified in the committee's interim decisions in the groups we are involved in the monitoring process and the information requested from the government indicate that the Rule 9.2 submissions we made are acknowledged and taken into consideration by the committee.

THE ERDOĞAN AND OTHERS GROUP AND KASA GROUP

We made two [Rule 9.2 submissions](#) with the İHD and LLG in January 2021 and August 2021 on behalf of the Erdoğan and Others and Kasa groups, whose monitoring continues before the Committee of Ministers. The Committee of Ministers is monitoring the issues regarding these groups, including findings of structural problems in the use of lethal force by security forces during operations in closed and open areas, orders to halt, and explosions of land mines and ordinances, and considers measures taken to prevent violations of the right to life and ensure the effectiveness of investigations into the security forces.

In our Rule 9.2 submissions, we stated that the legislation regulating the use of lethal force does not provide adequate protection for the right to life and that the powers granted to security forces for the use of lethal force are too broad. We demanded a change in the legislation, stating that the prosecution of perpetrators was prevented by citing the Code of Criminal Procedure (CMK), and emphasized that there was a danger of statute of limitations expiring in the trials regarding the right to life violations that took place in the 1990s. We also revealed the violations of the right to life during the curfews in place after 2015 and the serious procedural deficiencies in the investigation of these violations. We presented to the Committee of Ministers data and case examples collected

by the İHD regarding deaths caused by armored vehicles, failure to comply with orders to halt, or explosions of land mines or ordinances during operations. We drew attention to the practice of impunity in trials concerning cases of use of lethal force and emphasized that it is not better training of the security forces that will prevent such violations but amending legislation to prohibit the arbitrary and excessive use of force and alter the judiciary's conduct in a way that will not let such crimes go unpunished.

Following these notifications, the Committee of Ministers, in its [interim decisions of September 16, 2021](#), stated that Turkish authorities should take the necessary measures to ensure that pending cases are concluded promptly before the expiration of the statute of limitations; that the legislation on police and military operations and the use of lethal force—including the Law on Police Duties and Powers—be reviewed and amended in order to prevent the arbitrary use of force; to provide information concerning any explosions of military equipment in the past five years that have resulted in deaths or injuries and, if so, provide information on investigations into these incidents, their outcome, and additional measures taken to prevent similar incidents; and provide comprehensive information on specific measures taken with respect to the shortcomings identified by the ECtHR to ensure that investigations concerning anti-terror operations are conducted in compliance with the European Convention of Human Rights.

THE BATI AND OTHERS GROUP

We made two [Rule 9.2 submissions](#) with the İHD and TİHV in July 2021 and July 2022 to the Batı and Others group, whose judgements the Committee of Ministers continues to monitor. In the Batı and Others group, the Committee of Ministers found that there had been no effective criminal or disciplinary investigation within domestic law regarding the killings, torture, ill-treatment, and excessive use of force by the police and military between 1993 and 2011.

In our submission of July 2021, we conveyed to the Committee of Ministers the problems created by legal regulations enacted during the state of emergency, such as increasing the powers granted to police and the military without providing adequate judicial reviews of said powers and the extension of periods of detention. It also included numerical data on cases of torture and ill-treatment compiled by the İHD and TİHV. We emphasized the practice of impunity, such as conducting investigations into and prosecutions of crimes that

constitute torture or ill-treatment as crimes with lesser penalties, and courts imposing minimum sentences on those found guilty, which are derelictions of the obligation to conduct effective investigations into these crimes. The notification also included that appeals made to the Law Enforcement Surveillance Commission of the Ministry of Interior were not evaluated independently or effectively and that the appeals made by the İHD alone were more than those presented by the government of Turkey in its action plan. We included in the submission a request that the government of Turkey provide the Committee of Ministers with accurate and reliable statistics.

In its [interim decisions of September 16, 2021](#) in which it evaluated this submission, the Committee of Ministers identified ongoing problems such as the ambiguity in the application of administrative authorization, particularly in investigations into the use of excessive force in counter-terrorism operations, the lack of careful conduct in investigations, the leniency courts show public officials, and the failure to initiate disciplinary investigations into public officials. The Committee of Ministers advised the government of Turkey to make amendments to Law No. 4483 on the Prosecution of Civil Servants and Other Public Officials, eliminate the ambiguity in the need for administrative authorization to open an investigation into crimes pertaining to the right to life, and prohibit the use of torture and ill-treatment. Emphasizing the risk the statute of limitations poses to older investigations and prosecutions, the Committee of Ministers recommended that the government prioritize such cases and terminate the application of the statute of limitations provisions for serious crimes such as abuse of administrative powers, intentional violation of bodily integrity, and disproportionate use of force, or fully remove the current statute of limitations for these crimes.

In our submission from July 2022, we reported that structural problems continued as there had been no change to the legislation and the conduct of the judiciary, and we conveyed the current data compiled by İHD and TİHV regarding cases of torture and ill-treatment cases. We brought to the Committee of Ministers' attention examples of cases regarding investigations and prosecutions, explaining that in practice, the actions of law enforcement are left unpunished by ignoring procedural safeguards regarding torture and ill-treatment, problems in the procedure of administrative authorization, handing down minimum sentences or deferring them entirely, and by other similar means. We raised ongoing problems with disciplinary investigation conducted by the Law Enforcement Surveillance Commission and reiterated our demands for the government to share accurate, up-to-date and disaggregated data concerning these areas.

In its [interim decisions from the meeting on September 22, 2022](#) in which it evaluated this notification, the

Committee of Ministers observed that structural problems are ongoing in the issues that continue to be monitored in this group and requested the government of Turkey provide information and statistical data on the steps taken on issues such as eliminating the violations caused by the implementation of administrative authorization, the ineffectiveness of investigations, and the insufficient judicial review of decisions concerning cases in which prosecution is deemed unnecessary. The Committee of Ministers also expressed its concern about how long criminal investigations take and called on the government to extend or eliminate the statute of limitations for all serious crimes. The committee also criticized that acquittals outnumbered convictions for all crimes within the Batu and Others group and requested the government provide data on ongoing disciplinary and criminal investigations into state officials.

THE MAHMUT KAYA GROUP

We also follow and publish reports on FailiBelli.org concerning the trials of the main JİTEM case, which are combined with the Kulp case, the Dargeçit case, and the Musa Anter case, regarding the enforced disappearances, extrajudicial executions, and unsolved murders that took place in the 1990s. Related to the events we monitor, the ECtHR ruled that the right to life had been violated in the rulings for *Akdeniz and Others*, *Seyhan*, and *Anter and Others*. In our [Rule 9.2 submission](#) to the Mahmut Kaya group from January 2021, which was prepared along with the İDH and LLG, we provided the Committee of Ministers with updated information on these ongoing proceedings. We also conveyed our criticism of the Constitutional Court's ruling on individual case applications regarding enforced disappearances to be inadmissible on the grounds that they were made outside of the application period and that retrials were not held, with the Constitutional Court citing the provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedures, despite these being violations of the ECtHR rulings.

We will continue to notify these groups, which are still being monitored, in cooperation with other civil society organizations throughout 2023.

DIALOGUE MEETING OF DECEMBER 16, 2022

We held a dialogue meeting with the support of the Etkiniz EU Programme in order to increase the participation of civil society organizations in monitoring activities before the Committee of Ministers and to expand cooperation between different institutions. Thirty-three representatives from bar associations and civil society organizations that have previously made or plan to make a Rule 9.2 submission attended the meeting. Afterward, a communication network was created to facilitate inter-institutional cooperation and information sharing.

MEMORY AND YOUTH:

A COMMON LEARNING EXPERIENCE

We launched the Memory and Youth project as part of the Memory and Peace Studies program in the beginning of 2021 with the purpose to discuss current remembrance studies and struggles in Turkey and abroad with young people.



The first round of the project was carried out with support from the Chrest Foundation and Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung where we held a series of workshops with 20 young people between the ages of 18 and 25 and supported them in the realization of their authentic memorialization projects. For the second round of the project, which will run until the end of 2023, we are working with 16 young people between the ages of 20 and 30.

From official apologies of states to signature campaigns, postcolonial studies, the Black Lives Matter movement, the construction of memory sites, and the removal of public statues, we now live in a time when the legacy of the past is becoming increasingly visible and discussed in the public sphere around the world. Thus, we felt the need to seek out and facilitate the opportunity to speak about the severe traumas of the past with you people today in an innovative and hopeful way oriented toward the future.

The Memory and Youth project invites participants to search together for creative expressions of social memory in an environment in which critical and free ideas are suppressed. The project focuses on how the suppressed and silenced past is reflected upon the present in different places, times, and communities; the traces it leaves in subsequent generations; and different ways of remembering.

MEMORY AND YOUTH IN 2021

We organized 10 workshops between March and July 2021, facilitated and ran by Özgür Sevgi Göral, Barış Ünlü, Pınar Sayan, Göze Orhon, Hazal Özkalkan, Besna Tosun, Kayuş Çalıkman Gavriloğlu, Nesi Altaras, Norayr Olgar, Ayça Damgacı, and Ayça Çiftçi. In parallel with the workshops, project participants conducted interviews with these facilitators about their specific research projects, which were published on the Hafıza Merkezi's Medium account.

Because the Covid-19 pandemic was still ongoing when the program began, it was possible for participants to meet physically for the first time for a field trip to Antakya, which took place on August 19–21, 2021. Following the trip, we held the closing meeting of the project in İstanbul on November 6–7, 2021, during which we evaluated the first stage of the



project, participants presented the final products of their memorialization projects, visited the Hrant Dink 23.5 Memory Site, and held a workshop on memory sites.

Completed Projects

After the scheduled workshops ended, participants focused on their final projects individually or in groups and created blogs, videos, and e-books as a result. The projects they had the opportunity to continue working on without being limited by the project deadline include:

- **[The Gender of Space](#)**: This blog by project participant **Seval Siğınç** focuses on creating collective memory by collecting experiences of space from women from different social backgrounds and generations.
- **[Eyeballing It](#)**: This project by participants **Akarsu Demirkol**, **Burçın Bahar Güler**, **Sidar Tekin**, and **Zeynep Kılıç** keep the memory alive of meatless dishes and meals in Turkey. Women's experiences of invisible domestic labor and issues related to internal migration also come to prominence through the vegetarian and vegan recipes the participants collected from the women in their families.
- **[Dance, space, memory](#)**: An experimental dance performance describing Hasankeyf: Participant **Nazlı Durak** produced a video, with an accompanying blog diary, of her performance piece in which she conveys the memory of Hasankeyf—a place she had never seen before—through movement and dance.
- **[They Would've Been Our Friends Had They Not Been Killed](#)**: Violations of the Right to Life of Children in Kurdish Provinces: At the end of the workshops, participants **Yasemin Soydan**, **Medzan Nakçı**, and **Xemgîn Yusuf Görücü** studied child(hood) memory and tracked the stories of children killed in Kurdish provinces since 2000. They published their intensive data collection and the results of their fieldwork as an e-book. The team compiled data on violations to children's right to life between 2000 and 2020 from the annual and monthly reports of the Human Rights Association (İHD), Human Rights Foundation of Turkey (TİHV), Association for Human Rights and Solidarity for the Oppressed (Mazlum-Der), and Agenda: Child Association (Gündem Çocuk Derneği). According to the database the team created, 385 children were killed and 850 wounded by law enforcement due to armed conflicts and residual conflicts in Turkey's Kurdish provinces from 2000 to 2020.
- **[Queering Memory](#)**: Participant **Berfin Atlı**

prepared a video as a result of her oral history research. The video traces the collective historical processes indicated by personal and intimate belongings with a focus on four of the oral history interviews conducted with a total of eight queer subjects using snowball sampling.

MEMORY AND YOUTH IN 2022–2023

The second round of the project, which will continue until the end of 2023, began with an opening meeting held on July 2–3, 2022. For this second installment of the project, we have organized a workshop series for 16 participants between the ages of 16 and 30 and, together with the project advisors Ahu Öztürk, Foti Benlisoy, Seda Altuğ and Sema Semih, provided them with support so they can bring their memorialization projects to life.

We also encourage the participants to contribute to the Hafıza Merkezi's digital platforms so that they can play an active role in the field of memory and make their voices heard. We publish the content they create on our Medium blog such as essays and interviews that enrich the content of the Memorialize Turkey website. The contents published thus far include:

- **[Remembering Apê Musa, opposing the policies of impunity](#)**, an interview with Dicle Anter for the content of the Musa Anter Memory Sites, by Mahmut Demir
- **[On one hand sadness, on the other an upstanding life](#)**, an interview with Besna Tosun for the content of the Saturday Mothers/People, by Pelda Vesek
- **[Feminist Storytelling: Transcending Borders](#)**, a history for Gendered Steps: Social Gender and Memory Walks, by Musa Can Durmaz
- **[“One's pain does not pass to another”](#)**: An effort not to forget and to be heard, an interview with Meltem Şahin for the content of The Monument Counter: Digital Memorial for Women Killed by Violence, by Zilan Turgut

Workshops

Participants decided what the topic of their projects would be after an exchange of ideas at the opening meeting. We also specifically designed the workshops to build methodological skills. Fieldwork Methodology Workshop, moderated by Adnan Çelik, took place online on October 31, 2022. We held the Research Methodology Workshop online with Seda Altuğ and Foti Benlisoy on November 14, and the Looking at History from a Gender Perspective Workshop with Sema Semih on November 24. The Project Follow-up Workshop held at the Hafıza Merkezi's office on December 16 was followed by the Utilizing Video in Memorialization Workshop with Meryem Yavuz Arık and Ahu Öztürk on December 19.



Memory Talks

Memory Talks are held on the first Wednesday of every month so that participants can actively follow current memorialization efforts and share their specialized knowledge among themselves. The topic of each conversation is determined by one of the young participants. After the volunteer determines the topic, they upload written and visual resources to the Padlet page so that the other participants begin to understand the topic. On the day of the discussion, the volunteer also assumes the role of moderator, and structures and directs the entire meeting as they see fit.

Memory Talk I: *Making Amends, Reckoning, and Confronting the Past* | October 12, 2022, online

Memory Talk II: *Respect for the Dead and the Right to Mourn* | November 2, 2022, online

Memory Talk III: *Counter-Monuments, Memorialization and Art* | December 14, 2022, online

Memory Talk IV: *How to Make a Podcast* | January 4, 2023, online

Memory Talk V: *Experience of Conducting Interviews and Data Collection in Conflict Zones* | February, 2023, online

Field Trip to Antakya

We organized a field trip to Antakya with 16 participants and four project consultants from September 8–11, 2022. We were guests of the Ali İsmail Korkmaz Foundation while there and our activities included a memory tour of the neighborhood of Armutlu with the Zenginler Atölyesi, a visit to the village of Vakıflı and the Musadağı Museum there, and a presentation by one of the consultants, Dr. Seda Altuğ, on the history of Hatay.





MEMORIALIZE TURKEY

Our renewed Memorialize Turkey web site was launched with a new design, and now includes interviews and essays.



The Memorialize Turkey website, which was initially launched in 2013 and last updated in 2019, had to be updated periodically in order to keep up with the changes and transformation in memorialization studies over the years. For this purpose, we reviewed the content describing memory studies in detail, determined the changes to be made, and made the necessary updates.

The infrastructure was changed to keep the content up-to-date and to make the website more dynamic. In its new form, Memorialize Turkey now includes interviews and essays. For example, in order to better understand the implementation processes of the mentioned memorialization activities, a series of interviews was conducted with people who took an active part in these processes, which were also used to expand the content.

In addition, the young participants of the second round of the *Memory and Youth* project chose one or more of these studies and met with relevant people in order to contribute to the interviews. Finally, they are encouraged to share the essays they write based on literature reviews, archival work, and fieldwork on the new website.

STRENGTHENING PEACE ADVOCACY IN TURKEY

The purpose of our “Strengthening Peace Advocacy in Turkey” project is to increase civil society’s capacity for peace advocacy as well as its potential to contribute to a possible peace process.

This project, supported by the Olof Palme International Center, carries the mission to increase the capacity for peace advocacy of civil society in Turkey, along with its potential to contribute to a possible peace process. As part of this general mission, the project strives to increase knowledge production on topics important to the building of a new peace process, strengthening institutional cooperation, and encouraging young people’s relationship with the field of peace.

RESEARCH SERIES

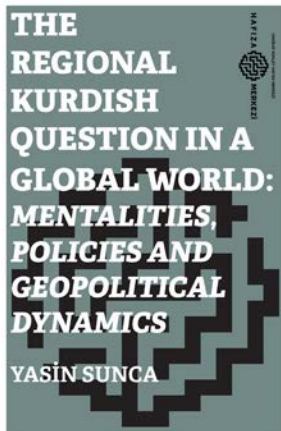
As part of this project, we published a series of reports in order to contribute to social dialogue and peacebuilding in Turkey. With this series, we aimed to highlight discussions on peacebuilding by putting forth the transformation of concepts such as democratization; decentralization; and the role of local governments, collective and cultural rights, transitional justice, and reconciling the past, which were topics frequently repeated during the Peace Process that began in 2013 and was halted in 2015.



- *Power-Sharing and Decentralization in the Context of the Kurdish Issue and Political Peace*, by Cuma Çiçek ([Turkish](#), [English](#), [Kurdish](#))
The first study in the series deals with the issue of political peace and power sharing within the Kurdish issue. The report is based on the research conducted by academic Cuma Çiçek, and aims to touch upon the following questions: “Can decentralization in the context of power sharing ensure political peace in Turkey’s Kurdish issue?” and “What does decentralization within the scope of power sharing promise beyond the Kurdish issue?” While seeking the answers to these questions, Çiçek discusses the possibilities and limits of decentralization with a focus on the Peace Process of 2013–2015 and its aftermath.



- *A Peaceful Search for Truth in Turkey: Confronting Racism*, by Nesrin Uçarlar ([Turkish](#), [English](#), [Kurdish](#))
The second study, written by scholar Nesrin Uçarlar, examines the construction, functioning, durability, and crisis of the regime of truth in Turkey, with focus on the peaceful search for truth in a post-truth era. It traces the relationship between the regime of truth and racism and touches upon possible critical points in confronting the past and the peace process while belying the wide-spread belief that there is no racism in Turkey. Based on the idea that it is possible, necessary, and beneficial to identify the origin of the establishment, functioning, and pliability of Turkey’s truth regime as racism, the report illuminates and calls to account the racism directed at the Kurdish population in Turkey, their victimization by miscarriages of justice and state violence in the past and today, and rethinks the struggle to confront the past in the search for truth and quest for peace in opposition to the officially presented truth.



- *The Regional Kurdish Question in a Global World: Mentalities, Policies and Geopolitical Dynamics*, by Yasin Sunca ([Turkish](#), [English](#), [Kurdish](#))
The third study, written by academic Yasin Sunca, examines the internal dynamics of Kurdish political space and how these dynamics have transformed since the early 2000s, taking into account the geopolitical dimensions of this transformation. Professor Arzu Yılmaz from the University of Hamburg and Güney Yıldız from Amnesty International accompanied professor Sunca in the webinar we held for the launch of the report. The webinar included an overview of the report’s findings and discussions of the historicity and geopolitical, regional, and global dimensions of the Kurdish issue with an eye to understanding the problem by taking into view both the political actors as well as those the issue affects and related segments of society.



- *Official Truth-Finding Without Transitional Justice: Commissions of Inquiry in Turkey*, by Onur Bakiner ([Turkish](#), [English](#), [Kurdish](#))
The fourth report, written by academic Onur Bakiner, documents and analyzes the four research commissions established within the Grand National Assembly of Turkey between 1997 and 2003 to investigate issues related to political violence and human rights violations, and includes guiding information for future commissions. The general purpose of the report is to lay the groundwork to discuss what a future body established to search for truth, whether a parliamentary commission or independent, can and should do to build on the successes of these previous initiatives and overcome their shortcomings.

“TALKING ABOUT THE PAST AND CREATING SPACE FOR PEACE” PANELS

We held a series of panels as part of the same project in which we discussed different experiences and approaches regarding the search for truth, the existence of racism, and the demands for justice and social peace in Turkey. The themes of the panels reflected Hafıza Merkezi’s main areas of work, and were selected to facilitate discussions on the structural elements of peacebuilding studies in Turkey in theory and in practice.

1. The first panel, “Coming to Terms with Racism,” was held on March 9, 2022, was moderated by Meltem Aslan, and included Nesrin Uçlar, Betsy Penso, and Yıldız Önen as discussants. The discussion centered on the manifestations of racism in Turkey and how they can be confronted, as well as the structural foundations of racism directed at different groups in the country, the effects racism leaves in daily life, and the methods groups targeted by racism employ to fight against it.

2. The second panel, “The Role of National Assemblies in Peacebuilding,” was held on March 30, 2022, was moderated by Noémi Lévy-Aksu, and included Nisan Alıcı, Onur Bakıner, and Yeşim Yaprak Yıldız as discussant. This panel discussed the role of the Parliamentary Investigation Commissions as a mechanism for confronting the past, including examples from Turkey and elsewhere around the world. The discussion also covered the results these commissions obtained concerning state violence and the Kurdish issue, the Parliament’s role after the transition to the presidential system of government, the current state of the commissions, and the role Parliament should assume in the idea put forth by the oppositions for a tangible process of amicable forgiveness.

3. The third panel, “Approaches to Restorative Justice,” was held on April 27, was moderated by Özlem Zıngıl, and included Aslı Odman, Duygu Dağ, and Murat Deha Boduroğlu as discussant. With different views on seeking justice, the discussion focused on the changing tools—documentation, reporting, fieldwork, advocacy, and standing watch—and spaces of the pursuit of justice through the experiences of different struggles, as well as the limits in the relationship of accountability between perpetrators and the state through the perspective of retributive justice.

4. The fourth panel, “Memory and Space in Conflicted and Divided Cities,” was held on June 21, was moderated by Veli Aksoy, and included Dilan Kaya and Nihal Soğancı as discussants. The discussion focused on the effects on the historical fabric and memory of cities through the examples of the old, walled district of Sur in Diyarbakır and the city of Nicosia (Turkish: Lefkoşa) on Cyprus. Topics included spatial interventions in these cities and the social and cultural transformations that they have undergone, as well as studies done to preserve the memories of cities and spaces and the functional aspect of art as an area of resistance.

5. The fifth and final panel in the series, “The Youth of Turkey’s Perception of the Past and Visions of the Future,” was held on November 30, was moderated by Ece Koçak, and included Cihan Erdal, Derya Fırat, and Leyla Neyzi as discussants. The panel began with the question of what youth work is and then discussed how young people’s relationship to the past and the search for truth has transformed in the current time in which it became difficult to conduct academic studies and other activities on topics such as the Kurdish issue and Armenian genocide following



the resumption of conflict in Turkey and the dismissal of many of the academics who signed the “Academics for Peace” declaration. The discussion included examples of new organizational methods through the experiences of young people engaging in the fight for rights, as well as the concepts of generations and the passage of time, young people’s personal perceptions, definitions, and experiences concerning the definitions of youth that have been used to instrumentalize young people in the country.

DIYARBAKIR AND NICOSIA: MEMORY AND SPACE IN CITIES WITH CONFLICT AND DIVISION

The old, walled city in Diyarbakır (Sur) and Nicosia in Cyprus are two cities divided both physically and symbolically due to violence and oppression. We held workshops together with [Home for Cooperation](#) in the autumn of 2022 in order to trace the spatial memory of these two cities. The project culminated in a video, “Diyarbakır and Nicosia: Spatial Memory in Cities with Conflict and Division.”

The first of these workshops took place in Diyarbakır on October 29–30, 2022, and the second in Nicosia on November 5–6, 2022. Led by Dilan Kaya, Nihal Soğançı, and Veli Aksoy, the young participants discovered stories that transgress the dominant narratives of these two cities and shared their impressions of how to reconstruct spatial memory and transform grief in the aftermath of conflict and displacement.

The overall structure of the workshops was based on memory tours and collages. We discussed the multi-layered memory of the two cities while walking through the streets of Diyarbakır’s Sur district and Nicosia, in areas bearing traces of multicultural life. The photographs taken during the first day of walking in both cities were used for collage workshops the next day so participants could experience a reconstruction of urban memory through personal narratives. The videos prepared at the end of the project are in Turkish, English, Kurdish, and Greek in order to share the memory tours and collage workshop with the public and open them up for discussion.

Why Diyarbakır and Nicosia?

Both Diyarbakır and Nicosia are cities that have a long history of multicultural life. We chose these two cities to better see the similar yet unique effects of their conflicts and divisions, examine spatial memory, and establish a connection between them.

The old, walled city of Sur in Diyarbakır has been continuously populated throughout history and is home to many cultures. The historic fortifications of Sur were declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site in July 2015 under the designation of Diyarbakır Castle, along with the Hevsel Gardens, but were severely damaged by artillery in the armed conflicts from December 2015 to March 2016. With the subsequent urban transformation work, it experienced a change in which it lost its physical, social, and cultural fabric.

The city of Nicosia, which was divided by Turkey’s military intervention and occupation in 1974, following inter-communal conflicts that began in the late 1950s and became a divided city and capital of both Greek and Turkish Cyprus. With the Third Vienna Agreement on the exchange of populations in 1975, Turkish Cypriots living in the south of the island were resettled in the north and Greek Cypriots in the north of the island were resettled in the south. In April of 2003, the first of two crossing in the UN-administered Buffer Zone that runs through the divided city were opened for the first time in 30 years. This was the Ledra Palace crossing, which is home to the House of Solidarity. This transition also initiated the questioning and remembering of the city’s past and lost stories.



Dilek Durgun
Diyarbakır Castle

DEFENDING THE RIGHTS DEFENDERS

In collaboration with the Association for Monitoring Equal Rights and the Netherlands Helsinki Committee, the Hafıza Merkezi conducted the project titled “Strengthening the Role and Protection of Human Rights Advocates in Turkey”, from September 2018 to May 2021, which produced two reports and a podcast series.

The first report, “**A Defenseless Defense,**” was prepared by journalist and chairman of the Confederation of Progressive Unions of Turkey’s (DİSK) Press, Broadcast and Printing Press Workers Union of Turkey (Basın-İş) Faruk Eren, as a record of the increasing pressure that lawyers are subjected to and the limitation of their rights. Netherlands-based Lawyers for Lawyers (L4L) also contributed to the report.

As the report was being prepared, the Bar Associations’ march in Ankara against the changes to the Attorneyship Act (Law no. 1136) and subsequent actions continued at full intensity, and detained lawyers Ebru Timtik and Aytaç Ünsal continued their hunger strike in prison demanding their right to a fair trial. The report provides an overview of the different periods over that past 20 years to the present regarding the obstruction of lawyers and a record of pressures defense lawyers in Turkey have faced, starting with a criminal investigation from 1993 in which nearly 30 lawyers, including Tahir Elçi, were detained.

The second report, “**Collective Rights of Workers Under Turkey’s Continuous State of Emergency: Trade Unions in European and European Affiliated Enterprises,**” was written by Hakan Koçak, a member of the Kocaeli Solidarity Academy who is known for his research on the labor struggle and who was dismissed from his position at Kocaeli University by statutory decree.

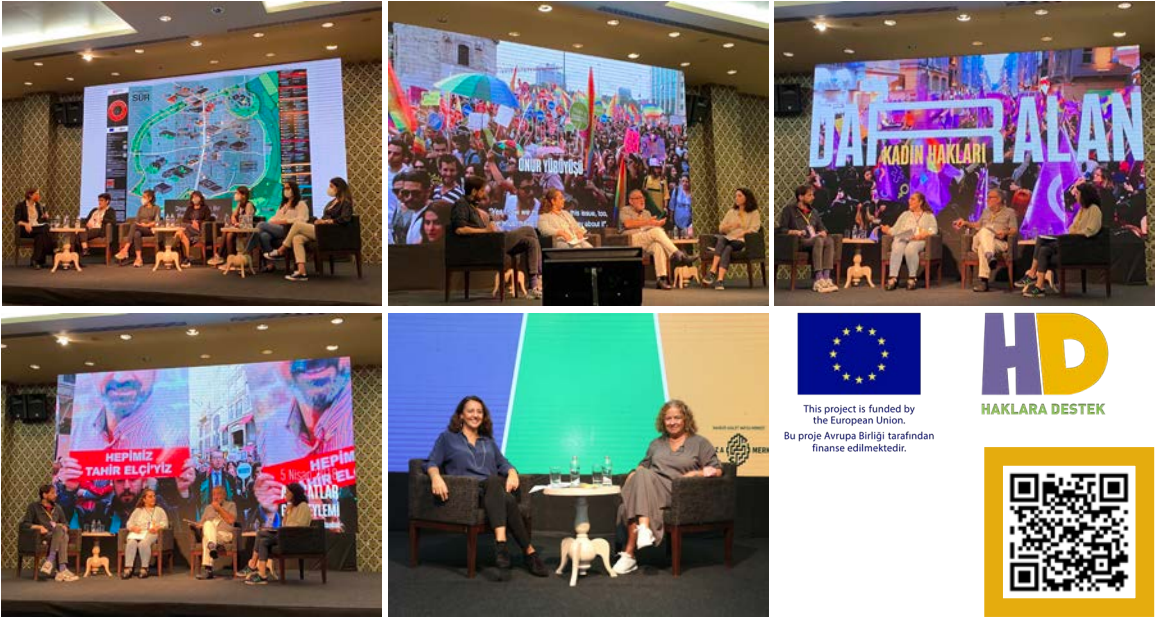
This report discusses how labor rights violations in Turkey increased with the state of emergency declared in 2016. It describes and gives examples of labor rights violations in Turkey that continue at unabated severity, particularly in the context of protection against discrimination of unions, the freedom of unions, the right to collective bargaining and strike, the right to peaceful collective action—as guaranteed by the basic conventions of the International Labour Organization (ILO)—and, more broadly, the right to free expression and demonstration.

Finally, we focused on three fundamental human rights and the restrictions placed on them in our podcast series titled “**The Right to Assembly and Demonstration, Freedom of Expression, and Rights Advocates in Turkey.**” The topics discussed in the six episodes of the podcast series, produced in both Turkish and English and presented by journalist Beril Eski, include the right to assembly and demonstration, freedom of expression, and rights defenders. The guests were rights defenders Murat Çelikkan, Emma Sinclair-Webb, Yaman Akdeniz, Kerem Altıparmak, Umut Özcan, and İdil Mahmutoğlu.



HAKLARA DESTEK: WE NEED EACH OTHER

The first term of the Haklara Destek (Support to Rights) Program, in which we supported 48 civil society organizations, came to a conclusion with the closing meeting held in October 2021.



The first round of the Haklara Destek program, officially titled *Strengthening and Increasing the Resilience of Human Rights: Human Rights Support Mechanism in Turkey*, launched by Hafıza Merkezi in partnership with Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung Turkey and financed by the Delegation of the European Union to Turkey ended.

As a result of program, which had the mission to contribute to the development of human rights and participatory democracy, grants and capacity development support were provided to 48 small and medium-sized rights-based organizations from July 2020 to June 2021. Through the needs analysis tool specially designed for the program, mechanisms were created to provide institutional development support in 12 different subjects, with the facilitation of consultants who provide one-on-one support to the beneficiary institutions. The year-long program included:

- Four experience-sharing events with 200 participants,
- Capacity development seminars spanning 15 days with the participation of 48 organizations that covered financial sustainability, strategic planning, and advocacy,
- Workshops with the participation of 41 organizations in seven different fields,
- 1,296 hours of one-on-one expertise to 40 organizations.

The Haklara Destek Program ended with the closing meeting on October 18–19, 2021. Since the Covid-19 pandemic

restrictions were in effect throughout the entire program, this meeting was the first and only physical event organized as part of Haklara Destek. Representatives of nine beneficiary organizations attended this meeting online, while at least two representatives from the remaining 39 organizations were able to attend in person and meet each other for the first time after 16 months. The three-day program included sessions on six topics, parallel forums, film screenings, and a body percussion workshop. The closing meeting ended with the slogan “We Need Each Other.”

The most important outcome of this program was the report, “**The Shrinking of Democratic Space and the Covid-19 Pandemic in Turkey 2020–2021**,” prepared with support from the beneficiary organizations. The report brought together the suggested solution produced by the Rights Support Program project team and organization representatives regarding the shrinking of democratic civil space and the problems arising from the Covid-19 pandemic. It covers the restrictions that have increasingly affected civil society organizations due to the pandemic over the past two years and discusses their impact on areas of work and target audiences based on the experiences of the participating organizations and local perspectives.

INTIMIDATION POLICIES AGAINST RIGHTS DEFENDERS

Throughout 2021-2022, we continued to record and document the risks rights defenders faced, and one of the outputs of this was our report titled “Keep the Volume Up: Intimidation Policies Against Rights Defenders 2015-2021.”

As Peace Process for the Kurdish issue came to a halt and the aftermath of the coup attempt of July 15, 2016, which affected every corner of Turkey in 2015–2016, supporting rights organizations and rights defenders against the erosion of basic human rights and the shrinking civic space due to the was defined as a new area of work for Hafıza Merkezi.

This new area of work yielded the aforementioned report, which provides an analysis of the administrative and judicial obstructions and smear campaigns in the media that at-risk rights defenders, whose profiles can be found on Keep Up the Volume (sessizkalma.org) website, have been subjected to in recent years. The analysis shows that the intervention restricting civil space range from enacting new laws that disrupt the activities of civil society, to maliciously applying existing legislation—particularly laws pertaining to counter-terrorism and national security—abusing administrative and judicial powers, controlling media outlets, and launching smear campaign in those media outlets by using false news. It describes how this is carried out in a wide variety of ways, even up to installing new regulations. The report draws a panorama of these interventions in order to identify the problems and innovative and creative strategies of resistance to them that should be implemented.

We launched the report with a public event held at Postane İstanbul, on May 10, 2022. During this event, which we shared the findings of the report and met with relevant stakeholders in three panel sessions to discuss the interventions rights defenders face while operating in Turkey and the possibilities of combating them.



PANEL: KEEP THE VOLUME UP: INTIMIDATION POLICIES AGAINST RIGHTS DEFENDERS 2015-2021

Date: May 10, 2022

Venue: Postane İstanbul

Program

Opening remarks: Tark Beyhan (Amnesty International Turkey)
Session 1: *Criminalization of the Human Rights Struggle*: Adalet Kaya (Rosa Women's Association), Eren Keskin (Human Rights Association), Kerem Dikmen (Kaos GL Association), Tugay Kartal (Haydarpaşa Solidarity).
Moderator: Burcu Bingöllü (Hafıza Merkezi)

Session 2: *Restriction of Civil Space by Laws*: Emel Kurma (Citizens' Assembly), Rana Kotan (Third Sector Foundation of Turkey – TÜSEV), Tezcan Eralp Abay (Civil Society Development Center - STGM).
Moderator: Özlem Zingil Hafıza Merkezi)

Session 3: *Smear Campaigns and Targeting*: Halime Şaman (Marmaris City Council), Selmin Cansu Demir (Tarlabaşı Community Center - TTM), Gezi Park case lawyer Tora Pekin (Gezi Trial lawyer)
Moderator: Banu Tuna (Hafıza Merkezi)



Visualization of our "Keep the Volume Up: Intimidation Policies Against Rights Defenders 2015-2021" report.
 Illustration: Ayşe Ezgi Yıldız
 (Instagram: @littleblackdotdesign)

BECAUSE WE CARE:

11 CIVIL SOCIETY SUCCESS STORIES

In our book, Because We Care: 11 Civil Society Success Stories, which we published to promote the history and achievements of the struggle for rights in Turkey, we put forth success stories from various fields of the fight for rights from those who have witnessed the struggle.



A promotional cocktail for Because We Care was held at Hrnt Dink Foundation on June 16, 2022.

It was important for us not to focus only on oppression, obstructions, and intimidation policies but also to promote the history and achievements of the struggle for rights in Turkey.

The book was written by journalist and writer Gökçer Tahinoğlu and it presents success stories from different fields of the fight for rights from those who have witnessed it firsthand. Testimonies about rights advocates who quickly rose up after the 1980 coup start from the mid-1980s and continue to the present day. These testimonies bring to mind how each experience finds courage from an objection and how it requires a meaning greater than itself as it traverses its own path.

Those who shared their experiences for the book include **Arif Ali Cangı**, Aksu Bora, **Aslı Odman**, Hasan Karakoç, **Hüsnü Öndül**, İlknur Üstün, **Maside Ocak**, Metin Bakkalçı, **Mikail Kırbayır**, Nayat Karaköse, **Nebahat Akkoç**, Osman Murat Ülke, **Öztürk Türkdoğan**, Saruhan Oluç, **Şenal Sarıhan**, Vedat Zencir, and **Zeynep Arslan** from the Human Rights Association (İHD), **Human Rights Foundation of Turkey (TİHV)**, Anti-War Association, **Bergama Resistance**, Kaos GL Association, **Saturday Mothers/People**, Initiative Against Thought Crimes, **KAMER**, Turkish Penal Code (TCK) Women's Platform, **Hrant Dink Foundation**, and the Occupational Health and Safety (İSİG) Council.

ÇÜNKÜ UMURUMUZDA
11 SİVİL TOPLUM BAŞARISI

Kadınların korunmasından medeni haklarını kullanabilmesine kadar pek çok düzenlemede onların imzası var. Türkiye'de kadın hareketinin, güç birliği yapan kadınlarla nasıl şekillendiğini TCK Kadın Platformu'nun hikayesinden okuyun.

#SESSİZ KALMA
Hak Savunucuları İçin

ÇÜNKÜ UMURUMUZDA
11 SİVİL TOPLUM BAŞARISI

Türkiye'de sivil hareketin öncülerinden, çevre ve yaşam hakkı için mücadelenin sembolü BERGAMA DİRENİŞİ'nin öyküsünü bir de en başından okuyun...

#SESSİZ KALMA
Hak Savunucuları İçin

ÇÜNKÜ UMURUMUZDA
11 SİVİL TOPLUM BAŞARISI

Yıllarca süren barışçıl eylemleriyle tanıdığımız Cumartesi Anneleri'nin, yeryüzünün en uzak köşelerine bile ilham veren hikayesini gerçekten biliyor musunuz?

#SESSİZ KALMA
Hak Savunucuları İçin

ÇÜNKÜ UMURUMUZDA
11 SİVİL TOPLUM BAŞARISI

Akademideki mobbing'den beyaz yakalılara, sahnelerden sinema setlerine kadar her alanda varlığını gösteren İşçi Sağlığı ve Güvenliği Meclisi'nin mücadelesini kurucularının tanıklıklarıyla okuyun.

#SESSİZ KALMA
Hak Savunucuları İçin

ÇÜNKÜ UMURUMUZDA
11 SİVİL TOPLUM BAŞARISI

Şiddet gören binlerce kadının yeni bir hayat kurmasını sağlayan, Türkiye'de şiddeti olağan bulan kadınları yöreklendirip örgütlenmelerinin önünü açan KAMER'in hikayesini, kurucusu Nebahat Akkoç'tan okuyun.

#SESSİZ KALMA
Hak Savunucuları İçin

ÇÜNKÜ UMURUMUZDA
11 SİVİL TOPLUM BAŞARISI

Etkisi 90'lardan bugüne uzanan Düşünce Suçuna Karşı Girişim kampanyasının sesini tüm dünyaya duyurduğu hikayesini mücadelenin içinden dinleyin.

#SESSİZ KALMA
Hak Savunucuları İçin

Karanlık sayfalara yenilerinin eklenmemesi için... Hrnt Dink Vakfı'nın hikayesiyle tanışın.

#NefretSöylemineHayır

ÇÜNKÜ UMURUMUZDA
11 SİVİL TOPLUM BAŞARISI

#SESSİZ KALMA
Hak Savunucuları İçin

ÇÜNKÜ UMURUMUZDA
11 SİVİL TOPLUM BAŞARISI

Türkiye'yi vicdani ret kavramıyla tanıştıran, öncüsü oldukları sivil ve demokratik eylem biçimleri hâlâ sürdürülen Savaş Karşıtları Derneği'nin mücadelesini kurucularının sivil itaatsizlik hikayesinden öğrenin.

#SESSİZ KALMA
Hak Savunucuları İçin

ÇÜNKÜ UMURUMUZDA
11 SİVİL TOPLUM BAŞARISI

Türkiye'de LGBTİ+ların görünmesinin ve kabul görmesinin öncüsü: KAOS GL 28 yıllık bu mücadelenin ilham veren hikayesiyle tanışın.

#SESSİZ KALMA
Hak Savunucuları İçin

THE “KEEP UP THE VOLUME” PODCAST SERIES

For the last stop of the campaign, we listened to the life stories of rights defenders in a podcast series and discussed the human rights movement of Turkey and its future through their struggles. In the eight-episode series, listeners had the opportunity to get to know rights defenders whom they saw at the forefront of protests, bared witness to the struggles of, and read about their arrests and trials in media in a more intimate fashion, as well as the important turning points in their lives, their families, their childhoods and youth, and the values that pushed them to choose the difficult path.

The eight people in the series—Adalet, Bülent, Erol, Fidan, Melike, Neşe, Özlem, and Halime—come from different areas of the fight for rights, including ecology, LGBTQI+, freedom of expression, women, public health, and human rights.

The episodes of “Keep up the Volume,” produced by Hafıza Merkezi at Postane Studio with the support of Netherlands Helsinki Committee are available on Spotify, Apple Podcasts, and YouTube.



YOUNG PEOPLE'S PERCEPTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS:

A STUDY

Hafıza Merkezi conducted a study in October 2022, in collaboration with KONDA, titled "Young People's Perception of Human Rights."

This study conducted by KONDA for Hafıza Merkezi examined young people's perceptions and thoughts about civil society, human rights, and confronting the past. The purpose of the report is to understand the tendencies, preferences, and profiles of young people toward civil society in general and the human rights movement in particular, and to create a basis of information for new strategies to be created within civil society.

SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The report was an attempt to understand the tendencies of young people under five categories: 1) their experiences of participation with CSOs, 2) their perception of democracy, 3) their perception of human rights, 4) their perception and point of views of human rights advocates and CSOs, and 5) their expectations of confronting the past. The study was conducted on June 25–26, 2022, and included face-to-face interviews with 2,217 young people aged 18–30 in their homes in 144 neighborhoods of 95 districts in 28 provinces. Moreover, semi-structured, in-depth interviews were conducted with 18 people.

FINDINGS

Young people are uninterested in civil society

- Only 4 percent of young people are members of an association and 3 percent are members of or volunteer at foundations.
- 4 out of every 5 young people are not members of any political party and do not wish to become one in the future.
- 12 percent of young people do not participate in CSOs because they do not trust them, and 11 percent do not participate because they are not interested.

Young people think positively of rights defenders

- The top words young people used to describe rights defenders were: "open-minded," "fair," and "brave."
- While only 1 in 10 young people considered rights defenders as externally dependent (dependent on foreign powers), 4 percent consider them to be enemies of the state.

Women's rights are violated the most

- Young people in Turkey think that women's rights are violated the most, followed by their own.
- Participants thought that human rights defenders defend women's right to equality the most and agree that this right should be defended the most.

THE YOUTH AND HUMAN RIGHTS WORKSHOP FOLLOWING THE STUDY

We held a series of workshops after the study to think together with young people about the picture it revealed. We aimed to create a space for discussion and communication with young people around the questions that the study raised for us and the human rights movement, of which we are a part of.

We designed the workshop series based on the findings of the study under the following topics: human rights, participation, impact and change, and language and communication. Under these topics, we discussed the obstacles/barriers to young people's participation in civil society, and in rights-based struggles in particular, and provided them with an environment to meet with various segments of civil society.

The four-week workshop series had 112 people apply for the 20 available spots.



WORKSHOP PROGRAMME

Thursday, November 24, 2022, 18:00–20:00

Workshop 1: Introduction •
The Relationship Between Civil Society, Democracy, and Human Rights—Yörük Kurtaran

Tuesday, November 29, 2022, 18:00–20:00

Workshop 2: Stories from the Field: Participation and Motivation—Beyza Üstün, Cihan Koral, and Esra Kılıç
Tuesday, December 6, 2022, 18:00–20:00

Workshop 3: Impact and Change: What Are We Changing and How?—Anjelik Kelavgil, Berfu Şeker, and Duygu Güner
Tuesday, December 13, 2022, 18:00–20:00

Workshop 4: Is a New Language and Communication Possible?—Ece Koçak, Kerem Çiftçioğlu, and Reha Ruhavioğlu

THE SOLIDARITY NETWORK FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

Throughout 2021 and 2022, we strived to ensure that the Solidarity Network for Human Rights Defenders, of which we are one of the founders, was effective in promoting solidarity with our rights defender colleagues.



The Solidarity Network for Human Rights Defenders (İHSDA) is a collection of many civil society organizations, with the purpose of monitoring all pressures placed against human rights defenders and strengthening communication and solidarity among themselves, considering that the defense of rights is a universal right.

As one of the founders, we have held a position in the İHSDA Secretariat for about two years and served on its Executive Board throughout 2021 and 2022, as we strived to be effective in organizing solidarity with our rights defender colleagues. We believe that İHSDA represents a firm stance against the discrediting, neutralizing, and criminalization of rights defenders as well as various attempts to intimidate them.

As a member of the İHSDA, we have experienced many forms of solidarity, from standing side by side against targeting and smear campaigns to raising the demand for a fair trial for anyone facing judicial harassment, looking after each other's safety and well-being, and learning together and creating space for new collaborations. The founding of the Network in 2019 was immediately followed by the The Covid-19 pandemic which lasted from 2020 through 2021. Still, we did not remain silent to the many types of judicial harassments of the Saturday Mothers/People, women's and LGBTQI+ rights defenders, and the Büyükkada and Gezi Park trials in particular, which were used to intimidate civil society as a whole. We also gained considerable experience in developing joint interventions within international mechanisms. We strived to develop a common position on legal changes that affect civil society work and obstructive processes in terms of legislation and practice. In 2022, we tried to speak out and act against agendas such as closure cases filed against civil society organizations, banning of pride marches, the environment of anti-LGBTQI+ hatred fueled by events such as the "Big Family Rally," and the smear campaign against the Turkish Medical Association (TTB).

In short, the flow of communication and information provided through the İHSDA has constantly nourished us and paved the way for shaping and directing our work in the field. We will continue to engage in all efforts that strengthen the will to stand together against attacks on rights advocacy and rights advocates within the İHSDA, which has 30 components as of 2023.



Ağ'dan haberler, insan hakları savunucularına yönelik tehditler ve alanı ilgilendiren önemli yayınlar... Dört yılı aşkın süredir tutuklu bulunan Osman Kavala için araştırılmış müebbet; Mücella Yapıcı, Çiğdem Mater, Hakan Altınay, Mine Özerden, Can Atalay, Tayfun Kahraman, Yiğit Ali Ekmekçi hakkında 18 yıl hapis cezası ve tutuklama kararı, Tarla başı Toplum Merkezi ile Kadın Cinayetlerini Durduracağız Platformu'na açılan kapatma davaları, İstanbul Sözleşmesi'nin Danıştay'da görüşülen iptal kararı, yılın insan hakları savunucuları ödülleri...

Son İki Ayda Savunuculara Yönelik Tehditler

- Diyarbakır'da sağlık emekçilerinin Covid-19'dan yaşamını yitiren sağlık çalışanlarını anmak için 1 Nisan'da yapmak istediği basın açıklaması valiliğin 10 günlük ilan ettiği yasağına takıldı.

İHSDA COMPONENTS

- May 17 Association
- AĞ-DA Gender Equality Solidarity Network
- Civil Rights Defenders
- Initiative Against Thought Crimes
- Monitoring Association for Equal Rights
- Rights Initiative Association
- Truth Justice Memory Center
- Human Rights Association (İHD)
- Human Rights Agenda Association (İHGD)
- Women's Time Association
- Women's Human Rights - New Solutions Association
- Kaos GL Association
- Kırkayak Culture, Art, and Nature Association
- KulturForum Türkiye Deutschland
- Lambdaistanbul LGBTI+ Solidarity Association
- Media and Legal Studies Association (MLSA)
- Association of Lawyers for Freedom
- Punto24 Independent Journalism Association
- Research Institute on Turkey
- Roma Memory Studies Association - Romani Godi
- Rosa Women's Association
- Civil Field Research Association
- Society for Studies on Social Policy, Gender Identity, and Sexual Orientation (SPoD)
- Society and Legal Research Foundation
- Turkey Litigation Support Project
- Human Rights Foundation of Turkey (TİHV)
- Amnesty International Turkey
- University Student Queer Studies and LGBTI+ Solidarity Association (ÜniKuir)
- Freedom of Life and Memory Association
- Citizens' Assembly

THE HRANT DINK FOUNDATION'S FESTIVAL OF CO-EXISTENCE

Hrant Dink Vakfı ile Bir Arada Yaşam Festivali'nin etkinlik programını oluşturmak ve festivale katılımı desteklemek konularında işbirliği içinde olduk.

HRANT DINK VAKFI BİR ARADA YAŞAM FESTİVALİ		02.07			
	MARMARA	DOLMABAĞÇE C	DOLMABAĞÇE A	DOLMABAĞÇE B	STAGE
10.00-10.30					
10.30-11.00					
11.00-11.30				Newspaper of co-existence	
11.30-12.00	Civil society asks: What awaits civil society in the future?			*The workshop will be held in Turkish **Age between 9-10	
12.00-12.30		Culture and arts for co-existence			
12.30-13.00					
13.00-13.30					
13.30-14.00	Beyond hate speech: Methods to counter fake news	Artificial intelligence and ethics in the context of human rights	Making sense of oral history	Coping with activist exhaustion	Istanbul Soundpainting Orchestra
14.00-14.30			*The workshop will be held in English	*The workshop will be held in Turkish	
14.30-15.00					
15.00-15.30	Philanthropy discussions focused on human rights	Struggling against poverty and social injustice through the lens of the civil society			
15.30-16.00					
16.00-16.30			Speed networking	Inclusive discourse workshop	
16.30-17.00	Struggle for peace: Women and LGBTI+ movements participation in conflict resolution processes	Stories of co-existence / Creative form of activism		*The workshop will be held in Turkish	
17.00-17.30					
17.30-18.00					Bajaj
18.00-19.00					
19.00-20.00					

■ panel / talk ■ workshop ■ concert

HRANT DINK VAKFI BİR ARADA YAŞAM FESTİVALİ		03.07			
	MARMARA	DOLMABAĞÇE C	DOLMABAĞÇE A	DOLMABAĞÇE B	STAGE
11.00-11.30	The transformative power of collective memory: Why is memory work important?	Grassroots movements: The local form of solidarity			
11.30-12.00				Modern campaigning & Storytelling fundamentals	
12.00-12.30				*The workshop will be held in English	
12.30-13.00					
13.00-13.30	Defending human rights: A glance from South America and Eastern Europe	Stories of co-existence / Is "art" history?			
13.30-14.00		Stories of co-existence / Activism beyond borders			
14.00-14.30			Invisible racism workshop with youth	Side by side in the same world	Nil İpek
14.30-15.00	Going out of the frame: New ways in activism	Why is the struggle against climate crisis a human rights issue?	*The workshop will be held in Turkish ** Age between 19-22	*The workshop will be held in Turkish ** Age between 14-18	
15.00-15.30					
15.30-16.00					
16.00-16.30	Stories of co-existence / The New Culture Brain Research is Teaching: Interconnectedness			Youth participation and participation steps in Turkey	
16.30-17.00				*The workshop will be held in Turkish ** Age between 18-30	Can Kazaz
17.00-17.30					
17.30-18.00					
18.00-18.30					
18.30-19.00					Dönüşüm Cemal

The Festival of Co-existence was held at the Istanbul Lutfi Kırdar International Convention & Exhibition Center on July 2–3, 2022, with participation of civil society organizations, rights advocates, activists, academics, and students from Turkey and abroad.

The festival included workshops focused on dialogue for adults, youth, and children; human rights; and coexistence; as well as panels for the sharing of experiences from Turkey and abroad, stands with the purpose to strengthen communication between civil society organizations and to bring these organizations to larger audiences, and concerts.

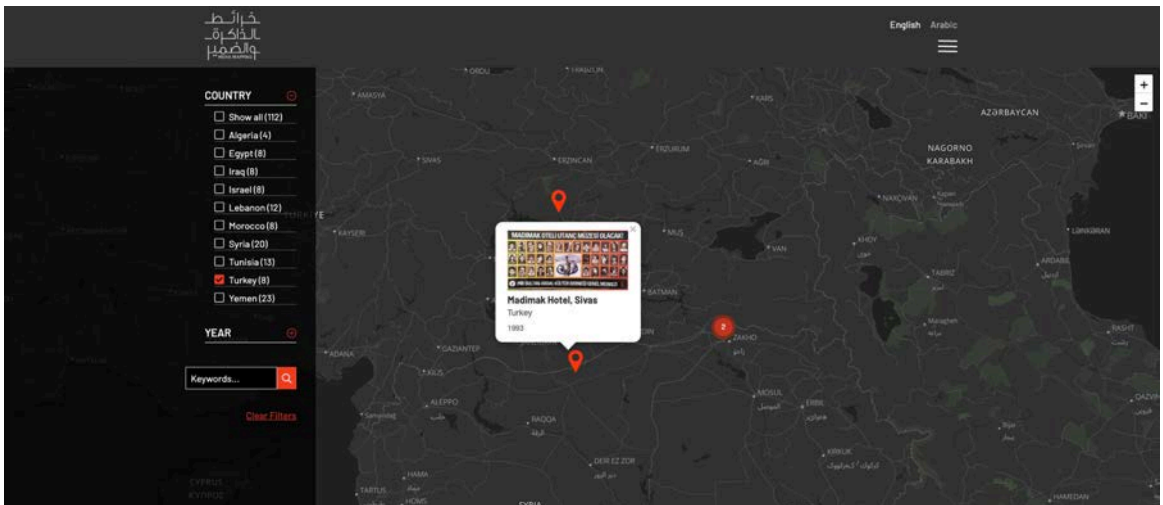


THE INTERNATIONAL COALITION OF SITES OF CONSCIENCE (ICSC)

In addition to participating in various webinars organized by the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience throughout 2022, we actively took part in various projects carried out or with resources allocated by the coalition.



In January 2022, Hafiza Merkezi became a member of the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience (ICSC), a global network of memorialization activities and historical sites, connecting past conflicts to today's human rights struggle. Founded in New York in 1999, the ICSC is a network that brings together museums, as places of conscience and memory, and institutions and initiatives that conduct memorialization activities. The coalition consists of 350 institutions from more than 65 countries, each working to connect the past with the present and memory with action.



THE MENA MAPPING PROJECT

This project undertakes mapping to document political repression in the Middle East and North Africa and to record human rights violations. It supports communities aiming to establish a rights-based social structure by using the locations of the violations, statements from victims, media testimony, and visual materials. Hafiza Merkezi conducted a selection and documentation study to add eight cases from Turkey to the project.

MAPPING COMMEMORATIVE CULTURES, BEST PRACTICES AND LESSONS LEARNED

CASE STUDY: Turkey

AUTHOR: HAFIZA MERKEZI

1. Background

The history of modern Turkey, since the 1960s, has been marked by a succession of military coups and an alternance of authoritarian rule and relatively more liberal periods. Following the military coup in 1980, thousands of political activists were imprisoned and subjected to heavy torture, political parties were banned and social movements impeded. The return to civilian politics in the following years was perceived as a period of liberalization, both from a political perspective and with respect to economy. Political parties flourished and the country rapidly opened to market economy. However, this liberalization paradigm does not capture all the complexity of the 1980s and 1990s decades. Indeed, the violent conflict between the guerrilla conducted by the Kurdistan's Workers' Party (PKK) and the Turkish army culminated in the 1990s and civilians in the Kurdish were particularly affected by forced displacement, enforced disappearances, torture and intimidation. In these years, state repression also targeted leftist and Islamist movements.

Despite the persistence of political violence, civil society initiatives and contestation of the national ideology grew in the 1990s. The feminist movement became more visible and claimed for legal changes and protection of women's rights. Alevi, one of the largest ethnoreligious groups in Turkey, also started to develop mobilization and organization for their rights and recognition as a distinct religious entity, with the support of Alevi communities in the diaspora. The memory of the violent pogroms against Alevi civilians in Kahramanmaraş in December 1978 and Çorum in 1980 was also a powerful theme of mobilization.

THE COMMEMORATIVE CULTURES PROJECT

The project was implemented in cooperation with the Humanitarian Law Center in Belgrade and University of Seoul and was financed by ICSC. It brings together different experiences from polarized and conflict-ridden regions and analyzes cultural remembrance. We contributed by writing a report on the Sivas Madımak Massacre and its commemoration and also presented a multimedia file accompanied by interviews with civil society representatives and images from the commemorations, which can be found at:



YOUTH PARTICIPATION TO COUNTER HISTORICAL REVISIONISM

Our application to the ICSC Historical Revisionism project was accepted in June 2022. A short video in which two of our Memory and Youth project participants from 2021–2022 explained how they understood historical revisionism was included in a the final, longer video ICSC produced as an output of this project.



CARING WORKSPACES

As a human rights organization that provides institutional support to rights-based organizations, we strived to contribute to making our work lives safer, more inclusive, and more equitable both in the civil society sector and within social enterprises through combining our experience and relationships with Postane.



Caring Workspaces is a project to make workplaces more inclusive, pluralistic, care-oriented, and safe by prioritizing the gender+ perspective. We aim to take the lead in handling our care responsibilities equally, inclusively, and in a way that protects the well-being of employees in this time of transformation after the COVID-19 pandemic, which completely and profoundly transformed workplace practices.



The project, carried out in partnership with Postane, was supported by the RESISTIRÉ project funded by the Horizon Europe Programme 2020. Postane is a solidarity space that hosts social-, environmental-, and urban impact-oriented studies and joint cultural productions, including social entrepreneurs and civil society organizations.



FOCUS ON CARE AND GENDER IN SOCIETY

We ran into many possibilities when searching for the Turkish equivalent of the concept of a caring workspace in English. Discussions on the ethics of care in gender literature explain how care-receiving and caregiving responsibilities lead to gender-based power inequalities. Thus, we decided to use the Turkish term [bakım] for this project that most encompasses a gender+ approach. While the responsibility of caregiving is a gender role attributed to women, the repercussions of this affect the distribution of responsibilities and privileges in all areas of daily life, including work. Practices and policies that feed gender-based power inequalities and maintain the binary gender system have begun to transform with the discussions concerning care raised in recent years by women and members of the LGBTQI+ community. Finally, we were informed by literature on well-being while creating the framework for the study. With this approach, which evaluates mental and physical health holistically and within their social context, we address the issue of care more comprehensively and with a broader perspective.

FIVE COMPONENTS OF CARING WORKSPACES

Space: Is the workplace physically inclusive, diverse, safe, accessible, and participatory?

Policy: Do policies describe the mechanisms necessary to create and sustain a care-oriented workplace?

Program: Does the workplace develop necessary practices and programs to ensure the implementation of a care-oriented approach?

Community: Is the community formation and governance diverse, inclusive, and participatory?

Beyond the workplace: Are influences, relationships, and communication beyond the boundaries of the workplace considered?

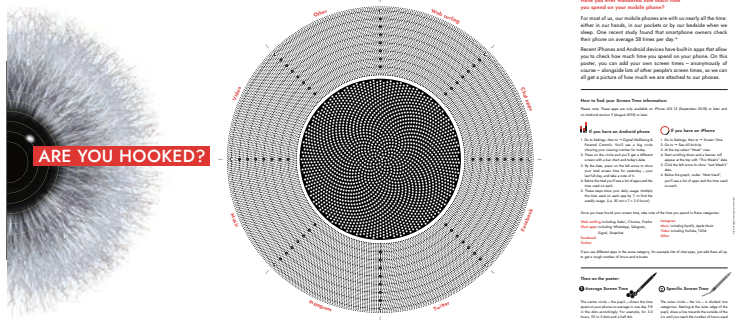
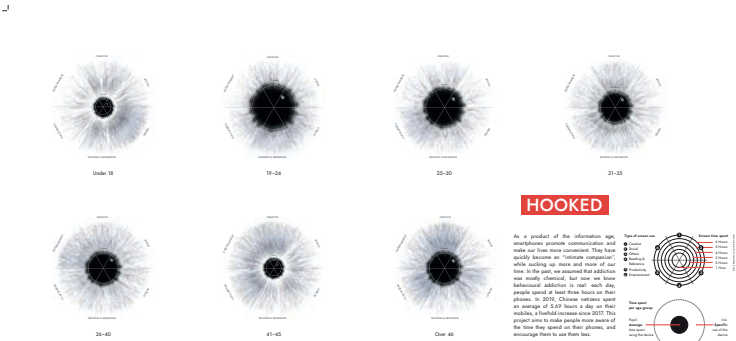


This project included:

- **Research:** We prepared a publication titled “Caring Workspaces: A Guide for Civil Society and Social Enterprises.”
- **Better Stories:** We compiled 56 inspiring institutional practices that focused on care in Turkey and Europe
- **Checklist:** We prepared a Caring Workspaces Checklist with which institutions can evaluate themselves
- **Focus group meetings:** We organized five focus group meetings with national and international participation to share experiences with institutions and people specialized in different aspects of the subject
- **A campaign:** We ran a campaign in which the “better stories” we compiled were shared with the public, which were later put to a vote in order to increase their visibility, and the winners were rewarded

COLLABORATION WITH THE TACTICAL TECH COLLECTIVE

In order to benefit from our collaboration with the civil society organizations we met within the scope of the Haklara Destek Program, we undertook the Turkish and Kurdish translations of various materials from the interactive exhibition project designed by Tactical Tech.



Tactical Tech is an international civil society organization operating in Berlin that investigates the impact of technology on society by working with individuals and CSOs and aims to direct this impact. The Glass Room Project was launched following the question "What can we call personal data in this age where data belongs to everyone?" in 2016. Initially planned as an interactive exhibition, the project was extended to different countries with different collaborations over the years and continued its life both on the internet and in physical spaces.

Our Turkish and Kurdish translations of various materials included in the exhibition were done for the benefit of the civil society organizations we met within the scope of the Haklara Destek Program we ran with Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung in 2022 and with whom we carry out joint studies on experience sharing and rights-based studies.

DEEPIFAKE LAB



Have you seen the video of a baby with Elon Musk's face? What about the clip of Bill Hader doing an impression of Arnold Schwarzenegger and taking on Arnie's facial features? Deepfakes are created by a computer programme that overlays a person's face onto a photo or video of someone else - kind of like a digital mask. In Deepfake Lab, researchers take you behind the scenes of their experiments and use examples from across the web to reveal how the technology works, how to identify a deepfake, and whether someone could make a deepfake video of you using photos from your social media profile.

DOUBLECHECK



You think you can tell the difference between an original image and an edited version of it? Can you spot a photo that's been cropped to change its meaning, or captioned with false text? Disinformation is when fake content is created and shared on purpose, with the aim of manipulating people. Today's image editing software makes it easy to create disinformation by editing, cropping or miscaptioning images, which then spread rapidly across social media. In this captivating quiz, click through a series of questions and see if you can tell which images have been deliberately edited, or captioned with misleading text. Plus, discover the dangers of sharing disinformation online.

FAKE OR REAL?



'Fake news' is more than just false information. Even the term 'fake news' is misleading, because in many cases it contains some 'real' content - a piece of information, video footage or an image - that's been doctored or taken out of context. This kind of disinformation is often convincing because it is targeted at people who are likely to believe it, for example, or displayed somewhere that usually contains trustworthy content. Sometimes, 'fake news' is placed on a spoof website made to look like a major newspaper, and sometimes it comes straight from the mouth of a politician via social media. In Fake or Real? News Edition, dive into this murky world and test your skills at spotting disinformation in its many guises.

A DROP IN THE OCEAN



The most common model used for psychometric profiling is the OCEAN model, also called the "Big Five" or the "Five Factor Model," named for the five main personality traits it measures: openness, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness and neuroticism. The OCEAN model claims to reveal "the basic structure underlying the variations in human behaviour and preferences." Psychologists believe that these five traits contain more information about an individual or population's motivations and decision-making processes than any other five traits. This is invaluable information for those targeting a specific audience with a particular advertisement or political message. This tool allows visitors to take their own personality test which then feeds them personalised political ads.

Everyone shares—though some more than others. Do we always know the true nature of the content we like, endorse or forward? Social media and the internet allow information to flow freely in all directions, whether it's true or false. In fact, misinformation is often carefully crafted to grab our attention, making it more likely to be consumed and shared. We are the ones who make it influential. It all starts with one like, click or share.

What makes us share content?

It seems professional

Headlines can make social media seem legitimate. A quick scan of the way you work through it. You can see what's trending and what's not. You can see what's trending and what's not. You can see what's trending and what's not.

It confirms what we think

We often seek out and need information that confirms our own beliefs. This makes it easier to share. We often seek out and need information that confirms our own beliefs. This makes it easier to share.

It seems to stand out in a story

Plans, headlines and images can be taken out of context and shared. This makes it easier to share. We often seek out and need information that confirms our own beliefs. This makes it easier to share.

It seems collaborative and justified

Original content, shared, and professional. You can see what's trending and what's not. You can see what's trending and what's not. You can see what's trending and what's not.

It makes us laugh

Humorous and satirical often are popular on the internet and go viral. We often seek out and need information that confirms our own beliefs. This makes it easier to share.

It's shocking or surprising

Clickbait headlines are designed to draw our attention. We often seek out and need information that confirms our own beliefs. This makes it easier to share.

It confirms our deepest suspicions

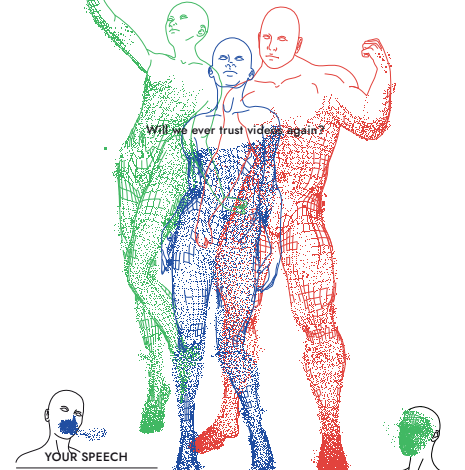
Suspicious, a clickbait headline is designed to draw our attention. We often seek out and need information that confirms our own beliefs. This makes it easier to share.

TECHNICAL

MISINFORMATION

DEEP FUTURE

How will deepfake video technology change "your" life and how will it change how we see others?



Will we ever trust video again?

YOUR SPEECH

In the digital world, the movement of your mouth can be replicated, the content of your speech can be broadcasted, too. Your mouth is like a blank canvas that can be made to express literally anything. Is there anything you wouldn't want people to think you said? Or that you would like to say but can't? How deepfake technology can change all of that.

YOUR BODY

Deepfake technology can make your body move in ways you can't. You can make your body do things you never did.

YOUR FACE

Fun video filters on social media can already swap your face in a video with a cute animal or your favorite film star, or can transport your face into different scenarios.

YOUR PERSONALITY

Automated avatars like AIs already help us send quick replies or fill in forms without us having to think about what to do or say—but how does this change who we are to others?

YOUR AFTER LIFE

Will we eventually get used to creating digital versions of ourselves from different periods of our lives as easily as we upload our DNA to ancestry services or create a realistic 3D-printed model? Will we be able to make ourselves digitally available forever?

YOUR MEMORY

There seem to be no limits to how far we can improve the way we present ourselves. In fact, we don't have to be ourselves at all. Are you always sure that the person you are watching in a video is who you are?

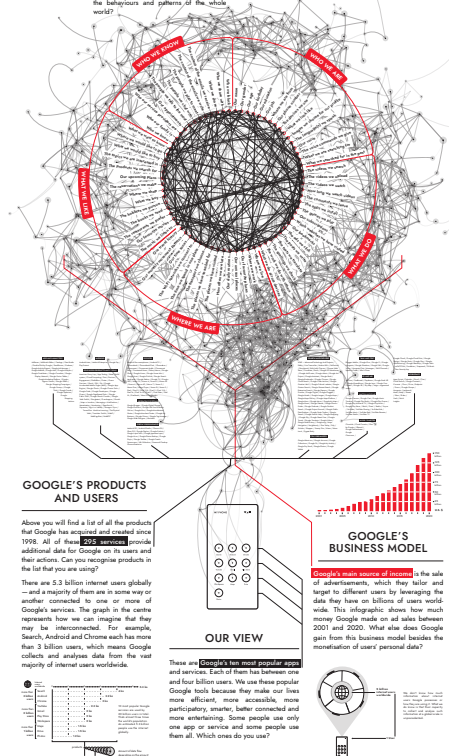
TECHNICAL

MISINFORMATION

GOOGLE'S VIEW

Google collects, stores and processes unprecedented amounts of data. The types of data shown below represent only a small portion of what Google can gather and interpret across its apps and services. Google knows a lot about us and what we do each day. But how much does Google know about the behaviors and patterns of the whole world?

You can find detailed information about your own data in your Google account settings. There you can see the many types of data Google collects from you. Now imagine what kinds of insights Google has on all of its users from a global perspective.



GOOGLE'S PRODUCTS AND USERS

Above you will find a list of all the products that Google has used since 1998. All of these 205 services provide additional data for Google on its users and their actions. Can you recognize products in the list that you are using?

There are 5.3 billion internet users globally—and a majority of them are in some way or another connected to one or more of Google's services. The graph in the center represents how we can imagine that they may be interconnected. For example, Search, Android and Chrome each has more than 3 billion users, which means Google collects and analyzes data from the vast majority of internet users worldwide.

GOOGLE'S BUSINESS MODEL

Google's main source of income is the sale of advertisements, which they tailor and target to different users by leveraging the data they have on billions of users worldwide. This infographic shows how much money Google made on ad sales between 2003 and 2020. What else does Google gain from this business model besides the monetization of user personal data?

These are Google's ten most popular apps and services. Each of them has between one and four billion users. We use these popular Google tools because they make our lives more efficient, more accessible, more participatory, smarter, better connected and more entertaining. Some people use only one app or service and some people use them all. Which ones do you use?

OUR VIEW

These are Google's ten most popular apps and services. Each of them has between one and four billion users. We use these popular Google tools because they make our lives more efficient, more accessible, more participatory, smarter, better connected and more entertaining. Some people use only one app or service and some people use them all. Which ones do you use?

TECHNICAL

MISINFORMATION

HOW YOUR PHONE IS DESIGNED TO GRAB YOUR ATTENTION

Should we be blaming ourselves for not being able to put down our phones?

Smartphones are fun and useful. But they're powerful tools of seduction. Every feature, colour and sound has been "optimized" by teams of designers and psychologists to keep you hooked and coming back for more. And these persuasive designs are not only

found in your smartphone, but also tablets, computers, gaming consoles, smart home appliances—in your name. Check out some of the persuasive design strategies below. How many of them look familiar?

It rewards you for everything

We all know that when, fuzzy feeling when someone likes your post. Simple design tactics can hook you into a habit. Here are some of them:

- The Floating Bubble**: An attention-grabbing notification bubble that floats around your mobile phone.
- The Feed Back**: A small "like" or "heart" icon that provides instant feedback.
- The Like Bar**: A horizontal bar that shows the number of likes and encourages you to like more.
- The Like Box**: A box that shows the number of likes and encourages you to like more.
- The Like Button**: A button that encourages you to like more.

It makes you feel emotional

Content that makes you feel fearful, disgusted, in awe, angry or even gets you to cry is most likely to become viral—whether it's true or false. If a product resonates, users about celebrity lookups or a life hack, the internet is made for news like these: stories of information.

- The Click Bait**: The use of eye-catching, sensational, dishonest or misleading headlines to get you to click and read more.
- The A/B Test**: Different content can have different effects on users. A/B testing is a method of comparing two versions of a webpage, email, or other digital marketing campaign to see which one performs better.
- The Viral Hook**: A short, snappy phrase or idea that is easy to remember and share. It's designed for quick messages. Catchy, funny, outrageous or cute, they make a message and brand more memorable.

It makes you feel like you're getting ahead

Do you want to be more popular? Quantifying friends and interactions means that you will naturally spend more time online to try to expand your social circle.

- The Fear of Missing Out (FOMO)**: A complex way to display popularity without actually giving it. It's a sense of anxiety or concern that someone else will miss out on an experience.
- The Experience Meter**: A bar or gauge that shows how many people are using a service or app. It's a way to show that you're part of a larger group.
- The Like Counter**: A number that shows how many people have liked or shared your content. It's a way to show that you're popular.

It gives you FOMO (for missing out)

Whether hanging out with friends, online or in a game, you get to feel like you're missing out. Designing your social feeds with all of the trends and challenges of everyday life, means you will want to get involved.

- The Like Counter**: A number that shows how many people have liked or shared your content. It's a way to show that you're popular.
- The Like Button**: A button that encourages you to like more.
- The Like Bar**: A horizontal bar that shows the number of likes and encourages you to like more.
- The Like Box**: A box that shows the number of likes and encourages you to like more.
- The Like Bubble**: A floating bubble that shows the number of likes and encourages you to like more.

It makes everything seem urgent

Sounds and movements can create a strong sense of urgency. They may feel powerful especially because they're so simple and easy to use.

- The Sound Alert**: A sound that alerts you to a notification or message. It's a way to get your attention.
- The Sound Feedback**: A sound that plays when you interact with a service or app. It's a way to show that you're doing something.
- The Sound Notification**: A sound that plays when you receive a notification or message. It's a way to get your attention.
- The Sound Confirmation**: A sound that plays when you complete an action or receive a confirmation. It's a way to show that you're done.

It makes it easy to keep going

There is no dead end on the internet. Frictionless design combined with addictive content means that you can stay online for hours even without thinking about it.

- The Autoplay**: A feature that automatically plays the next video or audio clip in a sequence. It's a way to keep you watching.
- The Infinite Scroll**: A feature that allows you to scroll through content without reaching a bottom. It's a way to keep you scrolling.
- The Like Button**: A button that encourages you to like more.
- The Like Bar**: A horizontal bar that shows the number of likes and encourages you to like more.
- The Like Box**: A box that shows the number of likes and encourages you to like more.
- The Like Bubble**: A floating bubble that shows the number of likes and encourages you to like more.

ORGANIZED EVENTS

Workshop: Hafıza Merkezi held the second online workshop of its *Memory and Youth* project, titled “The Social and Individual Relationship of Memory,” moderated by Umut Azak, March 13, 2021.

Workshop: Hafıza Merkezi held the third online workshop of its *Memory and Youth* project, titled “Memory Studies and Their Social Repercussions: Methods, Approaches, and Political-Social Interactions,” moderated by Özgür Sevgi Göral, April 3, 2021.

Workshop: Hafıza Merkezi held the fourth online workshop of its *Memory and Youth* project, titled “Confronting the Past in Turkey,” moderated by Barış Ünlü and Pınar Sayan, March 13, 2021.

Workshop: Luxshi Vimalarajah from the Berghof Foundation led a workshop for the participants of Hafıza Merkezi’s *Youth Workshops on Peace* project, titled “Adapting Conflict Analysis to Turkey,” March 29, 2021.

Workshop: Mesut Yeğen and Mehmet Kaya held a workshop as part of Hafıza Merkezi’s *Youth Workshops on Peace* project, March 29, 2021.

Memory March: Together with the Karakutu Association, Hafıza Merkezi held an online memory walk as part of its *Memory and Youth* project, April 17, 2021.

Workshop: Hafıza Merkezi held the fifth online workshop as part of its *Memory and Youth* project, titled “Remembering September 12/Memories of September 12,” moderated by Göze Orhon, April 24, 2021.

Workshop: Hafıza Merkezi held the sixth online workshop as part of its *Memory and Youth* project, titled “Lingering Past: Remembering and Searching for Justice,” moderated by

Adnan Çelik and Besna Tosun, May 8, 2021.

Workshop: Hafıza Merkezi held the seventh online workshop as part of its *Memory and Youth* project, titled “Prevention of Forgetting as a Form of Social Struggle: Movements Against Gender Inequality and Violence,” moderated by Özlem Şendeniz and Kayuş Çalıkman, May 22, 2021.

Workshop: Hafıza Merkezi held the first session of *Social Memory Workshops*, a series organized as part of the *Memory and Youth* project in order to discuss contemporary memorialization projects and memory work in Turkey with the younger generation. Eylem Delikanlı organized a workshop titled “The Holocaust: Oral History as a Practice of Historical Justice,” May 27, 2021.

Meeting: Hafıza Merkezi held a meeting titled *Peace and Ecology* with the participation of Zozan Pehlivan, Agit Özdemir, and ecological activists, May 31, 2021.

Workshop: Hafıza Merkezi held the second session of *Social Memory Workshops*, a series organized as part of the *Memory and Youth* project in order to discuss contemporary memorialization projects and memory work in Turkey with the younger generation. Aylin Tekiner organized a workshop titled “Taksim Republic Memorial as an Object of Memory,” June 1, 2021.

Workshop: Hafıza Merkezi held the eighth online workshop as part of its *Memory and Youth* project, titled “The Rise of Counter-Memory: The Struggle against Racism and Discrimination,” moderated by Nesi Altaras and Norayr Olgar, June 5, 2021.

Meeting: In collaboration with the Cyprus Dialogue Forum, Hafıza Merkezi organized a meeting attended

by young activists from Turkey, Cyprus, and Sweden, titled *Young Peace Activists*, June 16, 2021.

Workshop: Hafıza Merkezi held the ninth online workshop as part of its *Memory and Youth* project, titled “Memory Spaces/The Memory and Politics of Spaces,” moderated by Esra Dağbacı and Hatice Kapusuz, June 19, 2021.

Webinar: Hafıza Merkezi held a webinar launch event of its report, *Power-sharing and Decentralization in the Context of the Kurdish Issue and Political Peace*, which is the first of a series of publications that focuses on various aspects of building a peaceful political process for the resolution of the Kurdish issue in Turkey. During the webinar, the author of the report, Cuma Çiçek, was joined by Elise Massicard and Ulaş Bayraktar in the discussion, June 23, 2021.

Webinar: Hafıza Merkezi held a webinar as the launch event of its report, *A Peaceful Search for Truth in Turkey: Confronting Racism*, which is the second of a series of publications that focuses on various aspects of building a peaceful political process for the resolution of the Kurdish issue in Turkey. During the webinar, the author of the report, Nesrin Uçarlar, was joined by Elizabeth Oglesby and Yeşim Yaprak Yıldız in the discussion, June 30, 2021.

Workshop: Hafıza Merkezi held the tenth online workshop as part of its *Memory and Youth* project, titled “Representing the Past – Dialogue of Different Representations,” moderated by Zafer Çeler, July 3, 2021.

Workshop: Hafıza Merkezi held the third session of *Social Memory Workshops*, a series organized as part of the *Memory and Youth* project in order to discuss contemporary memorialization projects and memory

work in Turkey with the younger generation. Sidar Tekin organized a workshop titled “Visual Archives and Struggles for Rights,” June 6, 2021.

Workshop: Hafıza Merkezi held the fourth session of *Social Memory Workshops*, a series organized as part of the *Memory and Youth* project in order to discuss contemporary memorialization projects and memory work in Turkey with the younger generation. Center for Spatial Justice (MAD) organized a workshop titled “Mapping as an Example of Remembrance,” June 24, 2021.

Field visit: Hafıza Merkezi organized a field trip to Antakya, which included 14 participants and three field consultants, as part of the *Memory and Youth* project. The visit included a memory tour through the neighborhood of Armutlu with the Zenginler Workshop, an outing to the district of Harbiye, Vakıflı village and Musadağ Museum, as well as a screening of the documentary *Direnen Sevgi* (Persevering Love), August 19–21, 2021.

Workshop: As the closing event of its project *Peace Workshops with Youth*, Hafıza Merkezi held workshops focusing on conflict resolution and negotiation methods in İzmir with the participation of experts from the Berghof Foundation. This project aimed to spread demands for peace to larger segments of society through young people and discuss peace in different fields. The final day included discussions of the project’s processes; future, joint work that could be done for peace; and a tour with focus on the memory of non-Muslims in İzmir, September 8–12, 2021.

Forum: As the 2020–2021 implementation period of the *Haklara Destek* (Support to Rights) Program came to an end, Hafıza Merkezi and representatives from CSOs came together for the program’s closing meeting in Izmir. This was the first and only face-to-face event throughout the program, as all others were held

online due to the ongoing Covid-19 pandemic. Out of the 48 beneficiary CSOs, nine organizations attended the hybrid event online while representatives from 39 organizations were in attendance, October 18–20, 2021.

Field visit: Hafıza Merkezi organized a visit to Cyprus to bring together young activists from Turkey, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, and the Republic of Cyprus. A meeting held in cooperation with the Cyprus Dialogue Forum was held at the House of Solidarity located in the Nicosia Buffer Zone, October 24–27, 2021.

Closing meeting: Hafıza Merkezi held the final meeting of *Memory and Youth* project with project participants and advisors in Istanbul. The two-day meeting included an evaluation of the project, participants’ project presentations, a visit to the 23.5 Hrant Dink Site of Memory, a screening of Chilean director Patricio Guzmán’s *Nostalgia de la luz* (Nostalgia for the Light), and a discussion of the film with Istanbul Bilgi University faculty member Ayça Çiftçi, November 6–7, 2021.

Webinar: Hafıza Merkezi held a webinar titled “Confronting the 1990s: An Era Ends and a New One Begins” in order to promote its report titled *The Problem of Impunity in Gross Human Rights Violation in the 1990s: The Prosecution Process*. The webinar included discussions of the problem of impunity, which is one of the greatest obstacles to Turkey’s democratization, through the dynamics of the new era Turkey and the world has entered, November 18, 2021.

Book talk: Hafıza Merkezi organized a book talk for two books *Kayıp Adalet* (Lost Justice) and *Yaralı Hafıza* (Wounded Memory), published by İletişim Publishing. Journalist Gökçer Tahincioğlu edited both books, which features chapters from 16 writers and journalists. At the talk, authors who provided chapters spoke about their research and writing process,

December 3, 2021.

Field visit: Hafıza Merkezi organized a field visit to Diyarbakır to meet with local rights organizations and activists, including those working in the fields of human rights, ecology, peace, children’s rights, and women’s rights, in order to obtain information about their work and to discuss possible collaborations, December 19–22, 2021.

Panel: The first panel of our *Talking About the Past and Creating Space for Peace* series was held online with the title *Facing Racism*. Speakers were Nesrin Uçarlar, Yıldız Önen and Betsy Penso, the moderator was Meltem Aslan, 9 March 2022.

Panel: The second panel of our *Talking About the Past and Creating Space for Peace* series was held online with the title *Parliament’s Role in Peacebuilding*. Panel speakers were Nisan Alıcı, Onur Bakiner and Yeşim Yaprak Yıldız; the moderator was Noémi Lévy-Aksu, 30 March 2022.

Panel: The third panel of our *Talking About the Past and Creating Space for Peace* series was held online with the title *Restorative Justice Approaches*. Panel speakers were Aslı Odman, Duygu Dağ and Murat Deha Boduroğlu; the moderator was Özlem Zingil, 27 April 2022.

Meeting: We organized a roundtable meeting at our office in Istanbul to share the findings of our report titled *Keep the Volume Up: Intimidation Policies Against Rights Defenders 2015–2021*. During the closed meeting with representatives from Civil Rights Defenders, Association for Monitoring Equal Rights, Human Rights Association (İHD), Human Rights Watch, Human Rights Foundation of Turkey (HRFT), Amnesty International and the International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH), we shared the findings of the report and exchanged information on the work being done to protect rights defenders and discussed future perspectives, 9 May 2022.

Report launch: We organized a press conference and a panel in Istanbul to share the findings of our report titled *Keep the Volume Up: Intimidation Policies Against Rights Defenders 2015-2021*. Murat Çelikkın, Burcu Ballıktaş Bingöllü and Özlem Zıngıl from Hafıza Merkezi presented the main findings of the report at the press conference. In the three-session panel discussion that followed, we had the opportunity to discuss the findings of the report with human rights defenders and lawyers from different lines of struggle. The first session titled “Criminalization of Human Rights Struggle” featured Adalet Kaya from Rosa Women’s Association, Eren Keskin from Human Rights Association (İHD), Kerem Dikmen from Kaos GL Association and Tugay Kartal from Haydarpaşa Solidarity were speakers. The second session titled “Restriction of Civil Space by Laws” featured Emel Kurma from Citizens’ Assembly, Rana Kotan from Third Sector Foundation of Turkey (TÜSEV) and Tezcan Eralp Abay from Civil Society Development Center (STGM). The third and final session titled “Smear Campaigns and Targeting” featured Halime Şaman from Marmara City Council, lawyer Selmin Cansu Demir from Tarlabası Community Center (TTM) and Tora Pekin, one of the lawyers of the Gezi Trial, 10 May 2022.

Workshop: Hafıza Merkezi organized a two-day workshop titled *Punitive and Restorative Justice in the Context of Violations against Children’s Right to Life* in Diyarbakır. With the participation of civil society organizations working in the field of children’s rights, relevant commissions of bar associations and journalists, we exchanged ideas on the work that can be carried out on violations against children’s right to life in Kurdish provinces since the 2000s. Within the scope of the workshop, we listened to the experiences of the institutions that carry out monitoring and reporting work in this field regarding the statistical and legal data they have obtained; we discussed

the main obstacles to legal processes and the fight against impunity with the participation of lawyers and journalists who carry out legal struggle against these violations; and from the representatives of institutions working on the social aspect of violence and trauma, we listened to the studies that aim to work with children and a process in which they are the subjects by taking a critical approach to centering adults, 13-14 May 2022.

Webinar: We organized a webinar to introduce the third study of the research series we published on different topics for political peace building on the Kurdish issue, titled *The Regional Kurdish Question in a Global World: Mentalities, Policies and Geopolitical Dynamics*. The keynote speaker was Dr. Yasin Sunca, the author of the research, who was accompanied by Dr. Arzu Yılmaz and Güney Yıldız as discussants, 24 May 2022.

Webinar: We organized a webinar to introduce our report titled *The Shrinking Democratic Space and the COVID-19 Pandemic in Turkey from the Perspective of 48 Rights-Based CSOs*, prepared by Eylem Ertürk as part of the Support to Rights (Haklara Destek) Program. Speakers were Mehmet Ali Çalışkan, Selen Yüksel, Naci Emre Boran, Bilge Taş; the moderator was Olcay Özer, 10 June 2022.

Book launch: The launch of the book *Because We Care: 11 Civil Society Achievements*, which was written by journalist Gökçer Tahincioğlu for Hafıza Merkezi, was held at the Hrant Dink Foundation building. We commemorated the legacy of the human rights struggle in Turkey with the participation of representatives from the organizations and initiatives whose struggles are included in the book, 16 June 2022.

Panel: The fourth panel of our *Talking About the Past and Creating Space for Peace* series was held online with the title *Memory and Space in Cities with*

Conflict and Division. Panel speakers were Dilan Kaya and Nihal Soğanç; the moderator was Veli Aksoy, 21 June 2022.

Meeting: We organized the opening meeting of the second phase of our *Memory and Youth* project in İstanbul with our project participants and consultants. During the meeting, Özgür Sevgi Göral, one of the founders of Hafıza Merkezi, gave a presentation titled “Challenging routes of the 20th century memory field: Questions, debates and paradoxes.” In another session titled “A Critical Look at Memorialization Studies,” a group discussion was held on the *Memorialize Turkey* website that Hafıza Merkezi has been running since 2013. During the two-day meeting, our participants had the opportunity to discuss their research ideas together and meet the project consultants, 2-3 July 2022.

Launch: We organized a launch event to introduce our new campaign and publication titled *Caring Workspaces: A Guide for Civil Society and Social Enterprises*, which we prepared as part of the Caring Workspaces project, implemented in collaboration with Postane İstanbul. During the meeting, we discussed the award campaign we will organize within the scope of the campaign and the research publication, which we hope will serve as a guide to transform our workplaces, 29 September 2022.

Field visit: We organized a field visit to Antakya in southeastern Turkey as part of our *Memory and Youth* project with 16 project participants and 4 project advisors. During the field trip, we visited the Ali İsmail Korkmaz Foundation, organized a memory walk in the Armutlu neighborhood with the Zenginler Atölyesi, visited Vakıflı village and the Musadağ Museum located there, and listened to the urban history of Hatay from Dr. Seda Altuğ, 8-11 September 2022.

Memory talk: The first of the *Memory Talks*, organized as part of the *Memory and Youth*, was held online with the

title “Making Amends, Reckoning, and Confronting the Past.” The talk was moderated by our Memory and Peace Studies team, 12 October 2022.

Workshop: The first workshop of a series on research methodology to equip *Memory and Youth* project participants with useful tools for their projects was organized by Adnan Çelik with the title “Fieldwork Methods,” 31 October 2022.

Memory talk: The second of the *Memory Talks*, organized as part of the *Memory and Youth*, was held online with the title “Respect for the Dead and the Right to Mourn.” The talk was moderated by project participant Pelda Vesek, 2 November 2022.

Workshop: The second workshop of a series on research methodology to equip *Memory and Youth* project participants with useful tools for their projects was organized by project advisors Seda Altuğ and Foti Benlisoy, with the title “Research Methods,” 14 November 2022.

Workshop: The first and introductory session of the *Youth and Human Rights* workshop series, titled “The Relationship Between Civil Society, Democracy, and Human Rights” was held online. Yörük Kurtaran was the speaker, 24 November 2022.

Workshop: The third workshop of a series on research methodology to equip *Memory and Youth* project participants with useful tools for their projects was organized by project advisor Sema Semih, with the title “Studying History from a Gender Perspective,” 24 November 2022.

Panel: The fifth and final panel of our *Talking About the Past and Creating Space for Peace* series was held online with the title The Youth of Turkey’s Perception of the Past and Visions of the Future. Panel speakers were Cihan Erdal, Derya Fırat, Leyla Neyzi; the moderator was Ece Koçak, 30 November 2022.

Workshop: The second session of the *Youth and Human Rights* workshop series, titled “Impact and Change: What Are We Changing and How?” was held online. Anjelic Kelavgil, Berfu Şeker, and Duygu Güner were the speakers, 6 December 2022.

Workshop: The third session of the *Youth and Human Rights* workshop series, titled “Is a New Language and Communication Possible?” was held online. Ece Koçak, Kerem Çiftçiöğlü, and Reha Ruhavioğlu were the speakers, 13 December 2022.

Memory talk: The third of the *Memory Talks*, organized as part of the *Memory and Youth*, was held online with the title “Counter-Monuments, Memorialization and Art.” The talk was moderated by project participant Zehra Nazlı, 14 December 2022.

Dialogue meeting: We organized a dialogue meeting on Rule 9.2 submissions with the support of the ETKİNİZ EU Programme. Rule 9.2 submissions are an important tool for CSOs to participate in the process of monitoring the implementation of ECtHR judgments before the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe. As part of our capacity building work on this matter, we brought together 33 representatives from various bar associations and CSOs that have already submitted

or are planning to submit Rule 9.2 notifications to discuss our experiences, 16 December 2022.

Workshop: The fourth workshop of a series on research methodology to equip *Memory and Youth* project participants with useful tools for their projects was organized by project advisor Ahu Öztürk and director of photography Meryem Yavuz, with the title “Using Video for Memorialization,” 19 December 2022.

Workshop: The fourth and final session of the *Youth and Human Rights* workshop series, titled “Stories from the Field: Participation and Motivation” was held online. Beyza Üstün, Cihan Koral, and Esra Kılıç were the speakers, 19 December 2022.

Online workshop: We organized an online workshop titled *Memorializing Conflict-Related Rights Violations against Children and Youth* where we discussed different experiences and approaches from around the world on memorializing conflict-related rights violations against children and youth. Ezgi Koman from FISA Child Rights Center, Bekim Blakaj from Kosovo-based Humanitarian Law Center, Amina Krvavac from Sarajevo War Childhood Museum participated as speakers in the first session titled “Documentation and Memorialization: Objectives, Methods and Challenges.” Necla Korkmaz from Rengarenk Umutlar (Colorful Hopes) Association, Man Sokkoeun from Cambodia-based Youth for Peace Organization and Yasemin Soydan, one of the first term participants of our *Memory and Youth* project, participated in the second session titled “The Role of Children and Youth in Memory Work,” 22 December 2022.

ATTENDED EVENTS

Training: Hafıza Merkezi's Olcay Özer attended a training program titled *Rights-Based Monitoring* organized by Civil Rights Defenders, January 18–19, 2021.

Panel: Hafıza Merkezi's Noémi Lévy-Aksu attended and spoke on a panel organized by the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul titled “Rememberings: Human Rights, Historical Trauma, and the Future of Pluralism in Turkey and the Eastern Mediterranean,” as part of their *Rememberings* project, January 28, 2021.

Conference: Hafıza Merkezi's Burcu Ballıkaş Bingöllü attended *National Experience Sharing Meeting on the Overview of Freedom of Association and the Right to Participate in Turkey* organized by the Association of Civil Society Development Center (STGM), January 29, 2021.

Workshop: Hafıza Merkezi's Burcu Bingöllü Ballıkaş attended Yaşama Dair (YADA) Foundation's workshop, *A New System and a New Resolution for Civil Society*, January 25, 2021.

Meeting: Hafıza Merkezi's Olcay Özer attended Turkey Consultation Meeting on *EU Civil Society Guidelines 2021–27*, organized by the EU Technical Assistance to Civil Society Organisations in the Western Balkans and Turkey (TACSO), February 25, 2021.

Online course: Hafıza Merkezi's Noémi Lévy-Aksu gave a lecture titled *On Social Memory* for the Phil-Free educational community's online lecture program, February 28, 2021.

TV broadcast: Hafıza Merkezi's Emel Ataktürk Sevimli participated in a broadcast titled “Coming to a Close in the Hrant Dink Trial,” presented by journalist Beyza Kural on Medyascope TV, March 4, 2021.

Panel: Hafıza Merkezi's Burcu Ballıkaş Bingöllü attended the event, *Financial Action Task Force (FATF) and Civil Society: Current Situation and Developments in Turkey*, organized by the Third Sector Foundation of Turkey (TÜSEV), March 17, 2021.

Workshop: Hafıza Merkezi's Kerem Çiftçioglu attended New York University's *Design Thinking Workshop*, which was held online, April 16, 2021.

Training: Hafıza Merkezi's Emel Ataktürk Sevimli gave a presentation titled “Structural Problems of the Impunity-Producing Turkish Criminal Justice System” as part of the online training program, *School for Combating Impunity*, organized by constituents of the Fight Against Impunity Collaboration Network, April 22–24, 2021.

Report launch: Hafıza Merkezi held an online panel titled “Who Will Defend the Defenders in Turkey?” in which it introduced its report *A Defenseless Defense*, which was prepared as part of the *Strengthening the Role and Protection of Human Rights Defenders in Turkey* project. Hafıza Merkezi's Özlem Zingil spoke on the panel, which also included lawyer Benan Molu, UN Special Rapporteur on the independence of judges and lawyers Diego García-Sayán, Kemal Aytac from the Progressive Lawyers Association (ÇHD), European Parliament Turkey Rapporteur Nacho Sánchez Amor, Sezin Uçar from the Law Office of the Oppressed, and Sophie de Graaf from Lawyers for Lawyers, May 20, 2021.

Training: Hafıza Merkezi's Özlem Zingil attended the *Implementing European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) Judgements in Turkey* training organized by the European Implementation Network (EIN) as an instructor and shared her experience regarding Rule 9.2 notifications up to

that point, May 27–28, 2021.

Workshop: Hafıza Merkezi's Burcu Ballıkaş Bingöllü attended the *Advocacy Mechanisms within the EU System Workshop* for members of the Solidarity Network for Human Rights Defenders organized by Civil Rights Defenders (CRD), June 1–2, 2021.

Panel: Hafıza Merkezi's Gamze Hızlı participated in the workshop titled *Advancing Memorialization and Education through Digital Archives in Post-Conflict Contexts* organized by the Global Initiative for Justice, Truth and Reconciliation, June 17, 2021.

Meeting: Hafıza Merkezi's Olcay Özer attended the consultation meeting for the *EU Support Guide in the Expansion Region for Civil Society - 2021-2027* organized by EU TACSO, September 1, 2021.

Seminar: Hafıza Merkezi's Burcu Ballıkaş Bingöllü attended the *Structural Reform Processes to Improve Compliance with ECHR Standards in Turkey* seminar organized by the Netherlands Helsinki Committee (NHC) and European Implementation Network (EIN), September 29, 2021.

Workshop: Hafıza Merkezi's Gülistan Zeren and Kerem Çiftçioglu attended an online workshop titled *Casualties, Mourning, and Objects*, organized by the “100 Years 100 Objects” initiative, September 14, 2021.

International forum: Hafıza Merkezi's Ece Koçak participated in the *Community Resilience Forum* organized by the EU TACSO in Belgrade, Serbia. Koçak gave a presentation about Hafıza Merkezi's work in support of civil society organizations in Turkey in the session titled, “Importance of adopting Human Rights Based Approach (HRBA) in building resilient communities: How to persist in activism in turbulent

circumstances,” October 20–21, 2021.

Workshop: Hafıza Merkezi’s Murat Çelikkan attended the three-day workshop, *Overcoming Crisis Together: Constraints and Opportunities*, organized by the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey (TİHV), November 5–7, 2021.

Meeting: Olcay Özer attended a meeting organized by the Third Sector Foundation of Turkey (TÜSEV) that discussed strengthening cooperation with the Charities Aid Foundation America (CAF America), November 9, 2021.

Meeting: Hafıza Merkezi’s Hülya Kurt and Burcu Ballıkaş Bingöllü attended an event titled *Situation of the LGBTQI+ Community* organized by the Consulate General of Germany in Istanbul, November 11, 2021.

International seminar: Hafıza Merkezi’s Noémi Lévy-Aksu spoke at the *Resisting Multiple Pressures: Perspectives on Academic Freedom in Europe* seminar held in Ljubljana, Slovenia, as part of the re:constitution program, November 11–12, 2021.

Meeting: The Hafıza Merkezi’s Burcu Ballıkaş Bingöllü, Ece Koçak, and Emel Ataktürk Sevimli attended the meeting held by members of the Solidarity Network of Human Rights Defenders in Istanbul, November 13, 2021.

Meeting: Hafıza Merkezi’s Olcay Özer attended the meeting at which the role of civil society in the 2022–2023 strategy of the Istanbul Planning Agency (IPA) was discussed, November 18, 2021.

Film screening: Hafıza Merkezi Co-Director Murat Çelikkan was one of 12 rights advocates featured in the documentary, *Letters to Humanity*, produced by the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey (TİHV). Hafıza Merkezi’s Meltem Aslan and Burcu Ballıkaş Bingöllü attended the film premiere along with Çelikkan,

November 29, 2021.

Conference: Hafıza Merkezi’s Noémi Lévy-Aksu gave a talk titled “Production et transmission de savoirs en dehors du cadre universitaire dans la Turquie d’aujourd’hui” (Production and transmission of knowledge outside the university framework in today’s Turkey) during the conference series organized by the Institut d’études de l’Islam et des sociétés du monde musulman (IISSM) in Paris, December 7, 2021.

Panel: Hafıza Merkezi Berlin (HMB) held a panel titled *The Social Gender of Rights Defense: Identities, Movements, and Experiences*, and shared the findings of their research conducted as part of the project titled “Experiences of Women Rights Defenders in Turkey: Defending Others and Liberating Onesel.” Speakers on the panel included Hafıza Merkezi’s Gülistan Zeren and former employees Özlem Kaya and Duru Yavan, December 8–9, 2021.

Seminar: Hafıza Merkezi’s Noémi Lévy-Aksu gave a seminar titled “The Presence of the State in the Late Ottoman Cities: Beyond Symbols of Power” as part of University of Freiburg’s program, *GRK 2571 Empires: Dynamic Change, Temporality and Post-Imperial Orders*, December 9, 2021.

Panel: Hafıza Merkezi’s Burcu Ballıkaş Bingöllü moderated the panel *Unsolved: Fighting Impunity IV*, organized by the Media and Legal Studies Association (MLSA) in Istanbul, December 13, 2021.

Working group: Throughout 2022, our Co-Director Murat Çelikkan participated in the monthly working group meetings of the Prevention Project run by the Center for Human Rights and Global Justice (CHRGJ) at New York University School of Law. The *Prevention Project* is a working group that aims to ensure that the human rights struggle not only responds to crises but also develops

preventive approaches before crises occur. It is led by Pablo de Greiff, UN Special Rapporteur the promotion of truth, justice, reparation and guarantees of non-recurrence, and César Rodríguez Garavito, professor of law at New York University.

Webinar: We participated in the introduction webinars organized by the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience for its new members. Hafıza Merkezi became a member of the coalition at the beginning of 2022, 11-18 January 2022.

Panel: In a panel organized by the Respect for the Dead and Justice Initiative, our Co-Director Murat Çelikkan discussed the extent to which human rights cover the dead in light of the increase in attacks on cemeteries in recent years and their open appropriation. Murat Çelikkan, Gülsüm Elvan, Derya Aydın and Aslı Zengin took part in the sixth session of the Respect for the Dead and Justice Panels titled *Mourning, Memory and Politics*, January 22, 2022

Panel: Hafıza Merkezi’s Emel Ataktürk Sevimli was the guest of the event titled *15 Years without Hrant: Buradayız Ahparig* organized by Middle East Technical University Alumni Association and Ankara University Faculty of Political Science Alumni Association (Mülkiyeliler Birliği) to commemorate Hrant Dink on the 15th anniversary of his assassination, 22 January 2022.

Radio program: Emel Ataktürk Sevimli from Hafıza Merkezi participated in the broadcast of the radio show *Legal Certainty*, hosted by lawyers Aynur Tuncel Yazgan and Bahri Belen on Açık Radyo, to discuss the historical background of enforced disappearances and problems in the context of domestic and international legal struggle against enforced disappearances, 27 January 2022.

Meeting: Ece Koçak from Hafıza Merkezi attended an informative meeting and roundtable discussion,

organized as part of bianet/IPS Communication Foundation's "RESILIENCE: Civil society action to reaffirm media freedom and counter disinformation and hateful propaganda in the Western Balkans and Turkey," 4 February 2022.

Meeting: Emel Ataktürk Sevimli, Murat Çelikkan and Özlem Zıngıl from Hafıza Merkezi attended the briefing organized by the Tahir Elçi Human Rights Foundation in Istanbul on the latest developments in the legal case concerning the assassination of Tahir Elçi, 18 February 2022.

International meeting: Burcu Ballıktaş Bingöllü from Hafıza Merkezi participated in an online event organized by the Right Livelihood Foundation on the new law in Russia that requires all civil society organizations that receive foreign funding and engage in political activities to register themselves as "foreign agents," 3 March 2022.

Festival: Ece Koçak from Hafıza Merkezi participated in the Civil Society Festival organized by Boğaziçi University Social Services Club on campus. We made a presentation on the rights-based work conducted by Hafıza Merkezi alongside representatives from 11 other civil society organizations, 20 March 2022.

Workshop: Gülistan Zeren, Veli Aksoy and Noémi Lévy-Aksu from Hafıza Merkezi participated in the online workshop titled *MENA Mapping* organized by the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience (ICSC) and presented the eight sites Hafıza Merkezi added to ICSC's map of sites of memory, 31 March 2022.

Event: Gülistan Zeren from Hafıza Merkezi participated in the *Local Memory Certificate Program Closing Session*, an online event organized by VEKAM (Koç University Vehbi Koç Ankara Studies Research Center), 5 April 2022.

Panel: Our Co-Director Murat Çelikkan and Anadolu Kültür Executive Director Asena Günel spoke at an online panel discussion titled "Neither Fair Nor Legal: The Osman Kavala Case," organized by Sweden Research Institute in Istanbul as part of the *Rememberings* project, to discuss the implications of Osman Kavala's pre-trial detention, which exceeded four years, for civil society work in Turkey, 8 April 2022.

Panel: Noémi Lévy-Aksu from Hafıza Merkezi participated in a book talk titled *Armenians of Aintab*, organized as part of the *Rememberings* project of the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, as a speaker alongside historian Ümit Kurt, author of *The Armenians of Aintab: The Economics of Genocide in an Ottoman Province* which was published in April 2021. The talk was moderated by Murat Devres, 15 April 2022.

International workshop: Kerem Çiftçiöğlü from Hafıza Merkezi participated in the *Starlight Stadium Game Design Workshop* organized by the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (ODIHR) in Lisbon to develop a human rights game, 26-30 April 2022.

Webinar: Our co-director Murat Çelikkan participated in training sessions and made presentations throughout 2022 as part of the *Strength and Solidarity in Human Rights* program, which aims to mobilize new initiatives and organizational capacities in the field of human rights and increase solidarity.

Workshop: Noémi Lévy-Aksu from Hafıza Merkezi participated as a mentor in the writing workshop titled "Pluralism in the Present" organized by the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul as part of the *Rememberings* project, 18 May 2022.

Workshop: Murat Çelikkan from Hafıza Merkezi participated in a

workshop organized in Prague as part of the *RESponding to outbreaks through co-creative inclusive equality strategies (RESISTTRÉ)* project, which aims to develop policy recommendations to address gender-based inequalities demonstrated by Covid-19, 19-20 May 2022.

Training: Esra Kılıç from Hafıza Merkezi participated in the training on fair trial standards and case monitoring practices organized in Izmir as part of the *Supporting Civil Society through the Protection of Fundamental Freedoms, Human Rights Defenders and the Right to a Fair Trial in Turkey Project*, a joint project of the Human Rights Association (İHD), Citizens' Assembly and EuroMed Rights, 28-29 May 2022.

TV broadcast: Emel Ataktürk Sevimli from Hafıza Merkezi participated in the *Human Rights Agenda program with Gülseren Yoleri*, which is broadcast on Can TV, 31 May 2022.

International workshop: Kerem Çiftçiöğlü from Hafıza Merkezi participated in the 3-week international online workshop *Reimagine the Future We Want* organized by Dejusticia, 2, 9 and 16 June 2022.

Forum: Olcay Özer from Hafıza Merkezi participated in a forum titled *What Are We Not Monitoring? - Intersectionality: Climate, Gender, and Poverty*, which brought together experts from international bodies, representatives of civil society organizations and donors, organized by the ETKİNİZ EU Programme, 4-5 June 2022.

Forum: Olcay Özer from Hafıza Merkezi participated in the *EU WBT Civil Society Forum*, which brought together civil society representatives, public officials, EU representatives and donors in the field of civil society development in the Western Balkans and Turkey region to discuss support for civil society organizations and EU integration processes, 7-9 June 2022.

Press conference: Human Rights Association (İHD), Contemporary Lawyers Association (ÇHD), Hafıza Merkezi and Association of Lawyers for Freedom (ÖHD) held a joint press statement demanding that the truth about Musa Anter's murder be revealed before the statute of limitations expires. Esra Kılıç from Hafıza Merkezi attended the press statement, 20 June 2022.

International meeting: Noémi Lévy-Aksu from Hafıza Merkezi participated remotely as a speaker at the international conference entitled *Social Sciences and Solidarity Academies in Turkey*, organized by the École des hautes études en sciences sociales (EHESS) Paris with the participation of representatives from nine solidarity academies from Turkey, 27-28 June 2022.

Education: İdil Özcan from Hafıza Merkezi participated in the online training seminar titled *Effective Use of UN Human Rights Protection System by Lawyers in Turkey*, organized by the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ), 30 June 2022.

Festival: Hafıza Merkezi team actively participated in various sessions of the *Festival of Co-existence* organized by the Hrant Dink Foundation as speakers, moderators and presenters. For two days, we had the opportunity to listen to experts and activists from Turkey and abroad working in various fields such as human rights, memory, climate, hate speech, new methods in activism and human rights in the civil sphere, 2-3 July 2022.

Training: Burcu Ballıktaş Bingöllü from Hafıza Merkezi participated in the first session of the *Human Rights Defenders Monitoring and Documentation Trainer Training* organized by the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey (HRFT), 2-3 July 2022.

International meeting: The Middle East and North Africa (MENA) Regional Network of the International

Coalition of Sites of Conscience (ICSC) met in Istanbul, hosted by the Hrant Dink Foundation. Ece Koçak and Noémi Lévy-Aksu from Hafıza Merkezi participated in the meeting, which was attended by representatives from 17 members of the coalition operating in the MENA region, 20-22 July 2022.

Forum: Burcu Ballıktaş Bingöllü from Hafıza Merkezi participated in *PEXforum 2022: Driving (eco)systems change: Exploring the transformative power of collaboration in philanthropy*, organized by Philanthropy Europe Association (Philea) and Third Sector Foundation of Turkey (TÜSEV). Bingöllü talked about the work carried out to defend civic space in Turkey at the forum, which brought together more than 100 experts from over 60 organizations working on philanthropy infrastructure across Europe, 25 August 2022.

Training: Ece Koçak from Hafıza Merkezi participated in the online training seminar titled *How to Discover and Track Online Disinformation Networks* organized by Berlin-based NGO Tactical Tech, 1-2 September 2022.

Training: Burcu Ballıktaş Bingöllü from Hafıza Merkezi participated in the second session of the *Human Rights Defenders Monitoring and Documentation Trainer Training* organized by the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey (HRFT), 10-11 September 2022.

Launch event: Emel Ataktürk Sevimli, who is also the legal advisor of the project, attended the launch event of the *Memory Museum for Historical Justice* as a speaker at Moda Cinema, 13 September 2022.

International workshop: Noémi Lévy-Aksu from Hafıza Merkezi participated in the *Intergenerational Dialogue Workshop* organized by the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience (ICSC) and the Friedrich Naumann Foundation (FNF) in Sofia,

Bulgaria, 18-21 September 2022.

International meeting: Noémi Lévy-Aksu from Hafıza Merkezi participated in the *Middle East and North Africa (MENA) Network meeting* organized by the Olof Palme International Center in Istanbul, 29 September 2022.

Festival: Balacan Ayar and Olcay Özer from Hafıza Merkezi participated in the *Civil Voices Festival* organized by the Civil Society Development Center (STGM) in Ankara to bring together civil society actors in Turkey, 30 September - 1 October 2022.

Meeting: Burcu Ballıktaş Bingöllü from Hafıza Merkezi attended the meeting organized by Roma Memory Studies Association (Romani Godi) and Civil Rights Defenders (CRD), titled *Roma Rights Movement: Challenges and Possibilities*, 7 October 2022.

Conference: Murat Çelikkan from Hafıza Merkezi contributed to the *Respect for the Dead and Justice Conference* organized by the Respect for the Dead and Justice Initiative with the participation of 33 speakers in 6 sessions, 8-9 October 2022.

Conference: Burcu Ballıktaş Bingöllü from Hafıza Merkezi attended *Defenders' Days*, a human rights conference organized by Civil Rights Defenders (CRD) in Stockholm, Sweden, 10-14 October 2022.

Workshop: Olcay Özer from Hafıza Merkezi attended a workshop titled *Meydan (Square): Effective Civil Society for Participatory Democracy*, organized by YADA Foundation to discuss common needs and solutions to increase the impact and power of civil society, October 17, 2022.

Solidarity lectures: In October and November of 2022, Noémi Lévy-Aksu, Özlem Zıngıl and Veli Aksoy from our team gave lectures titled (respectively) "The Field of Memory as a Site of Struggle," "Combating Impunity and Seeking Justice," and "Confronting

the Past in Times of Conflict” as part of the Solidarity Lectures organized by Eskişehir School Solidarity and Research Association. 17-31 October and 14 November 2022.

Panel: Noémi Lévy-Aksu, director of our Memory and Peace Program, participated in a panel organized by the Ottoman Turkish Studies Association (OTSA), *100 Years 100 Objects: An Alternative History of Turkey in the Centennial of the Republic*, 30 October 2022.

Meeting: Balacan Ayar and Burcu Ballıktaş Bingöllü from Hafıza Merkezi participated in the session titled “Situation Assessment of Human Rights Organizations and LGBTI+’s” at the *How’s It Going Lubunya?* event organized by 17 May Association in Ankara, 30 October 2022.

Meeting: Balacan Ayar from Hafıza Merkezi participated in a roundtable meeting organized as part of the *Go For Youth Project* implemented by the Youth Organizations Forum - National Youth Council of Turkey (GoFor) and Istanbul Bilgi University Center for Civil Society Studies (STÇM) and supported by the Delegation of the European Union to Turkey, 31 October 2022.

Forum: We participated in the *World Forum for Democracy*, organized annually by the Council of Europe in Strasbourg. The 2022 event’s theme was “Democracy: A New Hope?” and was attended by Meltem Aslan Çelikkan, Murat Çelikkan, Noémi Lévy-Aksu and Özlem Zıngıl from Hafıza Merkezi, 7-9 November 2022.

Round table: Our co-director Murat Çelikkan participated in the round table event, *Rule of Law in Turkey* organized by Heinrich Böll Stiftung and the Media and Legal Studies Association (MLSA) in Berlin, 10 November 2022.

Forum: Noémi Lévy-Aksu from Hafıza Merkezi participated in the sixth annual Paris Peace Forum in 2022. Lévy-Aksu met with

international organizations and participated in panels during the forum, which brought together different stakeholders working in the field of peace to take collective action and find solutions together, 11-12 November 2022.

Panel: *Justice - Memory - Art: Confronting the Past for Social Peace* was the first in a series of talks organized as part of Anadolu Kültür’s 20th anniversary (20 Years of Sharing Culture and Art: Anadolu Kültür Talks). The talk was moderated by Asena Günal and brought together our co-director Murat Çelikkan, human rights activist Zafer Kırış, Istanbul Bilgi University Department of Comparative Literature Lecturer Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ferda Keskin and Bahçeşehir University Department of Communication and Design Lecturer Dr. Nora Tataryan as speakers, 17 November 2022.

Meeting: Balacan Ayar, Burcu Ballıktaş Bingöllü and Olcay Özer from Hafıza Merkezi participated in the online meeting titled *Discussing Rights Advocacy with Gender Relations*, organized by the Gender Equality Policies Association (Cinsiyet Eşitliği Politikaları Derneği) and Hafıza Merkezi Berlin. The meeting discussed being a woman and/or a LGBTI+ in the field of civil society and rights advocacy and the problems of the field from a gender perspective, 19 November 2022.

Speech: Our Director of Communications and Campaigns Kerem Çiftçioğlu gave a speech themed “Truth” as part of the event series organized by *Creative Mornings* initiative, 25 November 2022.

Training: Özlem Zıngıl from Hafıza Merkezi participated in the training on the *Implementation of European Court of Human Rights Judgments in Turkey*, organized by the European Implementation Network (EIN) and the Netherlands Helsinki Committee (NHC). Zıngıl made a presentation on her experience with this process and

lessons learned on the implementation of ECtHR judgments, 3-4 November 2022.

International workshop: Ece Koçak from Hafıza Merkezi participated in the *Correcting the Record Global Virtual Workshop* organized online by the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience (ICSC). During the virtual workshop, project partners and mentors shared key lessons learned from their participation in the *Correcting the Record* project and initial impacts of their case studies in amplifying the stories of those who had been excluded from mainstream narratives; questioning stereotypes; and countering discrimination at the community level. In particular, project partners from Brazil, Chile and Taiwan discussed lessons learned in tackling contemporary challenges of racial discrimination, exclusion and violence in their communities, and project partners from Uganda, Chile and Trinidad and Tobago explained the different approaches they’ve taken to feminize historical narratives, 29-30 November 2022.

Panel: Noémi Lévy-Aksu from Hafıza Merkezi participated as a speaker in the online panel titled *Mapping Commemorative Cultures, Best Practices and Lessons Learned*, organized by the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience (ICSC) and made a presentation on the Madımak massacre, 29-30 November 2022.

Meeting: Burcu Ballıktaş Bingöllü from Hafıza Merkezi participated in a focus group meeting organized by the EU TACSO 3 Programme on behalf of the European Commission’s Directorate-General for Neighbourhood and Enlargement Negotiations (DG NEAR) to receive detailed information and consultations on specific issues from civil society organizations and networks following the completion of the annual Civil Society Survey for the Western Balkans and Turkey, 1 December 2022.

Workshop: Balacan Ayar and Esin Epli from Hafıza Merkezi participated in a workshop on the facilitation of the board game Play for Change, which was jointly developed by institutions from Turkey and Germany under the themes of inclusion and anti-discrimination within the scope of Anadolu Kültür's *All Together* (Hep Beraber) Project, 3-4 December 2022.

International workshop: Olcay Özer from Hafıza Merkezi participated in the *Capacity Building Forum* organized by the EU TACSO 3 Programme to discuss capacity building support among sub-granting institutions, to which around 30 institutions from the Western Balkans and Turkey were invited, 5-7 December 2023.

Meeting: Burcu Ballıktaş Bingöllü from Hafıza Merkezi met with participants of the Agora Fellowship Program, run by Heinrich Böll Stiftung Turkey Office to discuss the findings of the public opinion research titled *Young People's Perception of Human Rights*, which Hafıza Merkezi

prepared in cooperation with KONDA Research, 10 December 2022.

Meeting: Emel Ataktürk Sevimli from Hafıza Merkezi made a presentation during a panel titled *The Latest Situation in Cases of Gross Human Rights Violations in Light of the 90s Trials*, organized by Batman Bar Association, 11 December 2022.

Workshop: Burcu Ballıktaş Bingöllü from Hafıza Merkezi made a presentation on the findings of the public opinion survey titled *Young People's Perception of Human Rights*, which Hafıza Merkezi prepared in cooperation with KONDA Research, during the closing workshop of the *Empowerment of University Students and Young LGBTI+ Human Rights Defenders in Turkey* project organized by ÜniKuir Association, 17 December 2022.

Meeting: Esra Kılıç from Hafıza Merkezi participated in the coordination meeting held in Ankara within the scope of the *Supporting*

Civil Society through the Protection of Fundamental Freedoms, Human Rights Defenders and the Right to a Fair Trial project, which is implemented in partnership with the Human Rights Association (İHD), Citizens' Assembly and EuroMed Rights. Kılıç made a presentation on Hafıza Merkezi's case monitoring methodology and the experience of *Faili Belli*, a digital archive that tracks cases of gross human rights violations, 17-18 December 2022.

Panel: Emel Ataktürk Sevimli from Hafıza Merkezi participated as a speaker in an event called *Transitional Justice* organized by Bahçeşehir University Human Rights Club, 20 December 2022.

Conference: Emel Ataktürk Sevimli from Hafıza Merkezi moderated a session titled "On Humanitarian Law" during the *War and Human Rights* conference organized by the School of Human Rights (İnsan Hakları Okulu), 27 December 2022.

FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

31.12.2021 / BALANCE SHEET

HAİKİKAT ADALET HAFIZA ARAŞTIRMALARI DERNEĞİ

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ASSETS				LIABILITIES			
EXPLANATION	CURRENT PERIOD (2021)			EXPLANATION	CURRENT PERIOD (2021)		
I - CURRENT ASSETS				I - SHORT TERM LIABILITIES			
A - Liquid Assets (Net)			4.502.850,40	B - Trade Payables		3.223,70	3.223,70
1 - Cash	119,97			1 - Suppliers	3.223,70		
3 - Banks	4.502.730,43			C - Other Liabilities		83.793,68	83.793,68
C - Trade Receivables		537,00		4 - Due to Personnel	64.676,86		
5 - Deposits and Guarantees	537,00			5 - Other Liabilities	19.116,82		
D - Other Receivables				F - Taxes Payable and Other Fiscal Liabilities		400.819,59	400.819,59
5 - Other Receivables				1 - Taxes and Funds Payable	243.836,00		
H - Other Current Assets		20.000,00		2 - Social Security Withholdings Payable	156.983,59		
4 - Prepaid Taxes and Funds				4 - Other Fiscal Liabilities Payable			
5 - Work Advances	20.000,00			TOTAL SHORT TERM LIABILITIES			487.836,97
TOTAL CURRENT ASSETS			4.523.387,40	II - LONG TERM LIABILITIES			
II - LONG TERM ASSETS				TOTAL LONG TERM LIABILITIES			
D - Tangible Fixed Assets		65.020,01		III - SHAREHOLDERS EQUITY			
6 - Furniture and fixes	65.020,01			D - Retained Earnings		12.118.234,70	12.118.234,70
TOTAL LONG TERM ASSETS			65.020,01	1 - Retained Earnings	12.118.234,70		
TOTAL ASSETS			4.588.407,41	E - Losses from Previous Years		(135.225,99)	(135.225,99)
III - REGULATORY ACCOUNTS				1 - Losses from Previous Years	(135.225,99)		
TOTAL REGULATORY ACCOUNTS				F - Net Profit (Loss) for the Period		(7.882.438,27)	(7.882.438,27)
TOTAL			4.588.407,41	1 - Net Profit of the Period			
				2 - Net Loss of the Period	(7.882.438,27)		
				TOTAL SHAREHOLDERS EQUITY			4.100.570,44
				TOTAL LIABILITIES			4.588.407,41
				IV - REGULATORY ACCOUNTS			
				TOTAL REGULATORY ACCOUNTS			4.588.407,41
				TOTAL			4.588.407,41

(01.01.2022 - 31.12.2022) BUSINESS DETAILED INCOME STATEMENT

HAİKİKAT ADALET HAFIZA ARAŞTIRMALARI DERNEĞİ

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EXPLANATION	CURRENT PERIOD (2022)		
A - GROSS SALES			33.987.893,12
1 - Domestic Sales	33.987.893,12		
3 - Other Revenues			
B - SALES DEDUCTIONS (-)		(16.391,49)	
3 - Other Deductions (-)	(16.391,49)		
C - NET SALES			33.971.501,63
D - COST OF SALES (-)		(9.832.685,84)	
3 - Cost of Services Rendered (-)	(9.832.685,84)		
PROFIT OR LOSS FROM GROSS SALES			24.138.815,79
E - OPERATING EXPENSES (-)		(4.552.170,61)	
3 - General Administration Expenses (-)	(4.552.170,61)		
OPERATING PROFIT OR LOSS			19.586.645,18
F - INCOME / PROFIT FROM OTH. OP.		6.483.140,63	
3 - Interest Income	665.065,37		
7 - Profit from Foreign Current Exchange	5.818.075,26		
G - EXP. AND LOSSES FROM OTH. OP. (-)		(5.309,76)	
4 - Loss on Foreign Current Exchange (-)		(5.309,76)	
H - FINANCIAL EXPENSES			26.064.476,05
1 - Financial Expenses (Short Term) (-)	(5.309,76)		
ORDINARY PROFIT OR LOSS			0,02
I - NON-OPERATIVE REVENUES / PROFIT			(6.612,08)
2 - Other Extraordinary Revenues/Profit	0,02		
J - EXTRAORDINARY EXPENSES / LOSSES (-)		(6.612,08)	
3 - Other Extraordinary Expenses/Losses(-)	(6.612,08)		
INCOME OR LOSS FOR THE PERIOD			26.057.863,99
NET PERIOD PROFIT OR LOSS			26.057.863,99

(01.01.2021 - 31.12.2021) BUSINESS DETAILED INCOME STATEMENT

HAKİKAT ADALET HAFIZA ARAŞTIRMALARI DERNEĞİ

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EXPLANATION	CURRENT PERIOD (2021)		
A - GROSS SALES		6.311.917,71	
1 - Domestic Sales			
3 - Other Revenues	6.311.917,71		
B - SALES DEDUCTIONS (-)		(23.222,66)	
3 - Other Deductions (-)	(23.222,66)		
C - NET SALES			6.288.695,05
D - COST OF SALES (-)		(14.482.038,53)	
3 - Cost of Services Rendered (-)	(14.482.038,53)		
PROFIT OR LOSS FROM GROSS SALES			(8.193.343,48)
E - OPERATING EXPENSES (-)		(1.814.309,19)	
3 - General Administration Expenses (-)	(1.814.309,19)		
OPERATING PROFIT OR LOSS			(10.007.652,67)
F - INCOME / PROFIT FROM OTH. OP.		2.384.711,56	
3 - Interest Income			
7 - Profit from Foreign Current Exchange	2.384.711,56		
G - EXP. AND LOSSES FROM OTH. OP. (-)		(254.066,07)	
4 - Loss on Foreign Current Exchange (-)	(254.066,07)		
ORDINARY PROFIT OR LOSS			(7.877.007,18)
I - NON-OPERATIVE REVENUES / PROFIT		2.206,66	
2 - Other Extraordinary Revenues/Profit	2.206,66		
J - EXTRAORDINARY EXPENSES / LOSSES (-)		(7.637,75)	
3 - Other Extraordinary Expenses/Losses(-)	(7.637,75)		
INCOME OR LOSS FOR THE PERIOD			(7.882.438,27)
NET PERIOD PROFIT OR LOSS			(7.882.438,27)

31.12.2022 / BALANCE SHEET

HAKİKAT ADALET HAFIZA ARAŞTIRMALARI DERNEĞİ

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ASSETS		CURRENT PERIOD (2022)		LIABILITIES		CURRENT PERIOD (2022)	
EXPLANATION				EXPLANATION			
I - CURRENT ASSETS				I - SHORT TERM LIABILITIES			
A - Liquid Assets (Net)		30.633.118,17		B - Trade Payables		9.936,65	
1 - Cash	1.270,58			1 - Suppliers	9.936,65		
3 - Banks	30.631.847,59			C - Other Liabilities		101.383,52	
C - Trade Receivables		537,00		4 - Due to Personnel			
5 - Deposits and guarantees	537,00			5 - Other Liabilities	101.383,52		
E - Inventories		100.000,00		F - Taxes Payable and Other Fiscal Liabilities		528.920,58	
7 - Advances Given For Purchases	100.000,00			1 - Taxes and Funds Payable	258.581,28		
H - Other Current Assets				2 - Social Security Withholdings Payable	270.339,30		
5 - Work Advances				TOTAL SHORT TERM LIABILITIES			640.240,75
TOTAL CURRENT ASSETS		30.733.655,17		II - LONG TERM LIABILITIES			
II - LONG TERM ASSETS				TOTAL LONG TERM LIABILITIES			
D - Tangible Fixed Assets		332.865,12		III - SHAREHOLDERS EQUITY			
6 - Furniture and fixes	332.865,12			A - Paid-In Capital		267.845,11	
TOTAL LONG TERM ASSETS		332.865,12		1 - Capital	267.845,11		
TOTAL ASSETS		31.066.520,29		D - Retained Earnings		12.118.234,70	
III - REGULATORY ACCOUNTS				1 - Retained Earnings	12.118.234,70		
TOTAL REGULATORY ACCOUNTS				E - Losses from Previous Years (-)		(8.017.664,26)	
TOTAL		31.066.520,29		1 - Losses from Previous Years (-)	(8.017.664,26)		
				F - Net Profit (Loss) for the Period		26.057.863,99	
				1 - Net Profit of the Period	26.057.863,99		
				2 - Net Loss of the Period			
				TOTAL SHAREHOLDERS EQUITY		30.426.279,54	
				TOTAL LIABILITIES		31.066.520,29	
				IV - REGULATORY ACCOUNTS			
				TOTAL REGULATORY ACCOUNTS			
				TOTAL		31.066.520,29	

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