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Social Transformations Witnessed by Türkiye Between 1970 And 1980

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ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
	During the 1970s, Turkey experienced a severe economic crisis that marked a turning point in its economic and political development. By 1977, the balance of payments deficit had reached unprecedented levels, with external debt exceeding $11 billion, nearly half of which was short-term debt. The economic deterioration resulted in an escalation in labor protests and strikes, along with an escalation in political violence between left-wing and right-wing groups. The 1970s marked a period of acute political and social tensions, directly reflected in the emergence of social movements, most notably student and trade union movements. Turkey entered a period of sharp political polarization between the right and left, amid growing economic turmoil, widespread unemployment, and high inflation. Numerous student organizations, such as the University Students' Association (Üniversite Öğrencileri Derneği) and left-wing alliances within universities, were formed during this period. The growing influence of these movements led to violent reactions from the state and right-wing groups, with the country witnessing a wave of political assassinations, armed clashes, and widespread arrests. The student and union movements of the 1970s constituted one of the most prominent forms of political and social mobilization in modern Turkey. Despite being subjected to repression, they established a continuing tradition of struggle and contributed to the development of a critical political consciousness that continues to influence subsequent social movements. This decade is considered one of the most dynamic periods in the history of Turkish civil society, as student activism and workers' consciousness collided in the face of state authoritarianism and emerging neoliberalism. **Keywords:** Turkey, student movements, Labour Party and unions, economic crisis, unemployment.

INTRODUCTION

During the 1970s, Turkey experienced a severe economic crisis that marked a turning point in its economic and political development. The roots of this crisis lie in a structural flaw in the import-substitute industrialization (ISI) model, which had dominated economic policies since the 1960s.

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This crisis was exacerbated by global shifts such as the 1973 oil crisis, coupled with internal tensions between the state and the emerging bourgeoisie, leading to a state of economic and social paralysis that culminated in a military coup in 1980.

First: The economic crisis in Türkiye during the 1970s: Astructural analysis of the causes and consequences.

Economically, Turkey suffered from hyperinflation and recession in the mid-1970s, particularly after the global oil crisis of 1973. This led to rising unemployment and poverty in major cities. Consequently, migration from villages to cities increased, leading to the expansion of slums (gecekondular) on the outskirts of Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir..[i]

he Turkish industrial model's dependence on the state led to a strategic failure to build an independent, export-oriented production sector. The state relied on tariff protection and direct support for productive sectors. However, these policies created a fragile industrial sector unable to compete in the global market and dependent on imported raw materials and technology. By the early 1970s, symptoms of what became known as the "domestic overindustrial crisis" began to appear, as the needs of the industrial sector exceeded the state's ability to finance imports[ii] .

By 1977, the balance of payments deficit had reached unprecedented levels, with external debt exceeding $11 billion, nearly half of which was short-term. This was a result of rising oil prices and declining Western financial aid, which deepened dependence on external financing, led to a deterioration in the stability of the local currency, and the country's inability to meet its obligations to foreign creditors.[iii]

During this period, the Turkish economy experienced a rapid inflationary wave, with inflation exceeding 25% annually in the late 1970s, due to excessive reliance on printing money to finance the fiscal deficit. Concurrently, the value of the Turkish lira was devalued in several stages, eroding purchasing power, decreasing the value of real wages, and exacerbating class inequality[iv] .

Successive Turkish governments responded to the crisis with a series of austerity programs recommended by the International Monetary Fund, including subsidy cuts, tax increases, and exchange rate liberalization. However, these policies did not improve the economic situation in the short term. Instead, they deepened the social gap and led to further popular discontent, amid a political structure incapable of achieving consensus among the various social classes. [v] .

The economic downturn led to an escalation in labor protests and strikes, along with an escalation in political violence between left-wing and right-wing factions. Political parties lost legitimacy in the eyes of broad segments of the population, paving the way for the military's renewed intervention in political life in 1980. The military coup was presented as a response to a "comprehensive national crisis," while in essence, it was a reshuffle of alliances between the state and the bourgeoisie to serve the transition to a market economy. [vi] .

Second: The rise of student and union movements

Turkey in the 1970s witnessed a period of acute political and social tensions, directly reflected in the emergence of social movements, most notably student and trade union movements. These movements constituted a platform for protest against social inequality and a political pressure group against neoliberal state policies on the one hand and the repressive state on the other. These movements played a pivotal role in shaping the political and social consciousness of a new generation of Turkish citizens and contributed to redefining the relationship between state and society. This period witnessed significant activity in student movements and trade unions, which demanded educational reforms and social rights. The Turkish Students' Union (TMTF) and leftist

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organizations played a major role in mobilizing the street, while the government sometimes supported unions close to the ruling parties to limit the influence of the opposition.[vii] .

During the 1970s, Turkey entered a period of sharp political polarization between right and left, amid growing economic turmoil, rampant unemployment, and high inflation. Universities, which had expanded dramatically after the reforms of the 1960s, became a major center for political expression, particularly among young people. This led to the rise of student movements with socialist, Marxist, and left-wing nationalist leanings, which called for radical reforms encompassing education, social justice, and anti-imperialism.[viii] .

Many student organizations formed during this period, such as the University Students' Association (Üniversite Öğrencileri Derneği) and leftist alliances within universities. These organizations took the form of sit-ins, demonstrations, and educational boycotts, and sometimes formed independent committees to manage university affairs as an alternative to the official administration, especially during periods of administrative vacuum. Influential leadership figures, such as Mehdi Zana and Deniz Gözmuş, also emerged as symbols of the student revolution.[ix] .

In parallel with the student movements, Turkey also witnessed significant development in the trade union movement, particularly with the increasing number of workers in industry and infrastructure. The Revolutionary Confederation of Trade Unions (DİSK) played a pivotal role in defending workers' rights and demanding improved working conditions. These movements were characterized by their radical leftist character and were closely linked to the student movements in numerous joint demonstrations and strikes.[x] .

Student and trade union movements were not isolated from each other. Rather, they interacted with each other at several important historical junctures, such as the 1975 strikes and joint marches against the government's economic policies. Slogans of solidarity between "students and workers" were prominent in public speeches and political publications, and student unions supported the demands of the working class, providing logistical and media support.[xi].

The growing influence of these movements led to violent reactions from the state and right-wing groups, with the country witnessing a wave of political assassinations, armed clashes, and widespread arrests. Many student and union leaders were arrested, exiled, or executed, most notably Deniz Gözmuş [xii] ., who was executed in 1972. At the end of the decade, the military coup of 1980 led to the dismantling of most of these movements and the prohibition of their organizational activity .[xiii]

The student and trade union movements of the 1970s constituted one of the most prominent forms of political and social mobilization in modern Turkey. Despite being subjected to repression, they established a continuing tradition of struggle and contributed to the development of a critical political consciousness that continues to influence subsequent social movements. This decade is considered one of the most dynamic periods in the history of Turkish civil society, as student activism and workers' consciousness converged in the face of state authoritarianism and emerging neoliberalism.

Third: Changes in the role of women

Turkey witnessed profound social, economic, and political transformations in the 1970s, significantly impacting the status and roles of Turkish women within society. This decade marked a watershed between the Kemalist legacy, which had established formal gender equality since the 1920s, and the growing feminist and labor movements that demanded actual equality on the ground. Economic developments, political activism, and the rise of leftist and Islamist movements contributed to reshaping society's perceptions of women and expanding their participation in public life.[xiv] .

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Since the founding of the Turkish Republic in 1923, Kemalist reforms sought to modernize society and grant women legal rights such as voting and education. However, these rights did not always translate into actual equality, especially in rural areas where traditional norms continued to restrict women's roles. Deniz Kandiyoti notes that "women's liberation" in Turkey was used as a tool to distinguish the Republic from the Ottoman Empire, without necessarily leading to real women's empowerment.[xv] .

Before the 1970s, Turkish women had achieved significant legal gains since the founding of the republic in 1923, such as the right to education, the right to vote, and the right to run for parliament. However, these rights did not always translate into effective participation or a profound change in social roles, as conservative traditions, especially in rural areas and Anatolia, continued to restrict women's movement and reproduce their traditional roles as mothers and wives.[xvi].

In this context, the 1970s represented a period of heightened contradiction between modernity and tradition, and between the discourse of legal equality and the social reality based on gender discrimination.

The 1970s witnessed an increase in women's participation in the labor market, particularly in the industrial and educational sectors. Despite this increase, a gender gap in wages and working conditions persisted. Kandiyoti explains that this participation was not always a result of women's empowerment; rather, it was sometimes the result of economic needs that pushed women to work, leading to new challenges related to the balance of traditional and professional roles. With rapid industrialization policies, especially in major cities such as Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir, Turkish women began to engage more widely in the labor market, particularly in the textile, public service, and education sectors. Reports indicate a significant increase in the number of women working in cities, despite the persistence of a gender gap in wages and working conditions .[xvii] .This economic transformation has affected the social structure of the family, as the working woman has become an economic contributor, which has contributed to changing her traditional image as an element dependent only on the man. [xviii] .

Coinciding with the rise of student and labor activism in the 1970s, feminist movements began to form in Turkey, somewhat independent of traditional political parties. Most activists came from the middle and upper classes and relied on Marxist or socialist thought as a framework for understanding gender issues.[xix] .

These movements criticized what they considered the "false liberation" granted to women by the Kemalist Republic, which did not translate into actual social and economic equality. Feminist magazines and special publications also began to appear, addressing issues such as domestic violence, discrimination in educational and employment opportunities, and reproductive rights, which had been considered taboo in previous decades. [xx] .

The 1970s saw increased women's participation in labor unions, and they also became involved in leftist and socialist parties, which began to undergo an intellectual shift toward women's issues. One of the most prominent figures in this field was Bahisa Bouran [xxi] .Boran, who became the leader of the Turkish Workers' Party in 1970, became the first woman to lead a political party in Türkiye. She championed issues of social justice and women's rights within a clear Marxist approach .[xxii] .Although women did not constitute a majority in these structures, their presence was significant on issues such as workers' rights, equal pay, and maternity leave.[xxiii] .

At a time when Turkish women's political participation was still limited, Leyla Atakan emerged . [xxiv]A pioneer in local politics during this decade, in 1968 she became the first woman to be elected mayor of a major city (İzmit). This was a historic achievement in a political environment

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dominated by men. Known for her assertive administrative style and ambitious urban projects, Atakan was highly respected by her city's residents. Her presence in this prominent political position sent a powerful message about women's ability to manage public affairs and helped pave the way for others to follow in her footsteps. However, her career was abruptly cut short when she died in a tragic car accident in 1971, at the height of her political career. Despite her short career, she is considered one of the female icons who influenced the path of women's participation in local government in modern Turkey .[xxv] .The number of women in the Turkish parliament has increased, albeit to a limited extent, which has helped generate a dialogue on gender issues in the public sphere.

On the other hand, the 1970s witnessed a remarkable rise in Islamic movements, in reaction to the rapid social changes and forced modernization policies pursued by the Kemalist state. These movements reshaped the role of women, not only from a traditional perspective, but also by adopting new symbols such as the headscarf as a political tool and cultural identity.[xxvi] .

Veiled university girls have become symbols of resistance to the marginalization they suffered due to restrictions on the hijab in official institutions. Women's voices have begun to emerge, demanding the right of Muslim women to participate politically and receive education, without abandoning their religious identity[xxvii] .

The 1970s marked a period of transformation for Turkish women, as rigid stereotypes began to break down and new perceptions of their role in society began to emerge. These changes paved the way for the feminist movements of the following decades, which adopted a more explicit and independent agenda and contributed to raising awareness of women's rights at the popular and institutional levels.[xxviii] .

It can be said that the 1970s marked a qualitative transformation in the path of Turkish women, as rigid stereotypes began to break down and new perceptions of their role in society were formed. While these changes were gradual and did not encompass all segments of society, they paved the way for the feminist movements of the 1980s and 1990s, which adopted a more explicit and independent agenda. This decade marked a meeting point between the Kemalist legacy, leftist struggle, and religious identity in the battle to redefine women in modern Türkiye.[xxix] .

Fourth: Sectarian and ethnic tensions

Tensions between religious and ethnic groups, such as the Alawites and Kurds, increased during the 1970s. Areas such as Kahramanmaraş and Sivas witnessed sectarian violence, resulting in hundreds of casualties. These events revealed the fragility of sectarian coexistence in the absence of effective containment policies.[xxx] .

The Alevi community in Türkiye was subjected to a series of sectarian attacks during the 1970s, most notably the Marash massacre [xxxi] .In December 1978, more than 100 people were killed. The Grey Wolves, the youth wing of the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP), are accused of being behind these massacres, targeting Alevis on charges of "communism" and "heresy." Studies show that these attacks were driven by a mobilizing rhetoric that linked Alevis to leftist movements, fueling hatred against them.[xxxii] .

Since the founding of the Turkish Republic, Alevis have faced systematic marginalization. Their houses of worship (associations) were not officially recognized and they were denied financial support provided to other religious institutions. They were also described in official discourse as "infidels" or "heretics," which contributed to the incitement of hatred against them. During the Cold War, Alevis, along with Kurds and communists, were classified as security threats, justifying state surveillance and repression.[xxxiii] .

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Other cities such as Malatya (April 1978) [xxxiv] Sivas (September 1978) ‹[xxxv] Çorum (May-July 1980)[xxxvi] Similar attacks on Alevi communities. In Malatya, violence erupted after the mayor's assassination, with radical Islamist groups attacking Alevi neighborhoods, killing and wounding dozens. In Çorum, 57 people were killed and more than 100 injured in attacks targeting Alevis and Republican People's Party (CHP) supporters. [xxxvii] .

Studies indicate that state agencies did not take sufficient measures to protect Alawites during these events. In some cases, there was evidence of security forces colluding with the attackers, or at least failing to intervene to stop the violence. Furthermore, those responsible for these massacres were not seriously held accountable, which contributed to the entrenchment of Alawite feelings of persecution and distrust of the state. [xxxviii] .

These massacres led to the mass exodus of Alawites from rural areas to major cities, or even abroad, in search of safety. They also contributed to strengthening Alawite identity and increasing political awareness within the Alawite community, leading to the emergence of movements demanding official recognition of their religious and cultural rights.

In 1978, the Kurdistan Workers' Party was founded (PKK)[xxxix] (n 1978, led by Abdullah Ocalan)Abdullah Öcalan [xl]The PKK began its armed struggle in 1984, with the aim of defending Kurdish rights in Turkey. It began as a Marxist-Leninist movement. In 1984, the party launched an armed insurgency against the Turkish state, demanding autonomy or independence for Kurds in Turkey. Turkey, the United States, and the European Union consider the PKK a terrorist organization, in response to the political and cultural marginalization suffered by Kurds. The party began its armed activity in 1984, but the roots of the conflict date back to the 1970s, when Kurdish areas witnessed protests and state repression. Reports indicate that the Turkish state imposed restrictions on the use of the Kurdish language and denied Kurds their cultural rights, contributing to escalating tensions.[xli] .

The Kurdish issue in Turkey has its roots in the nationalist policies pursued by the Turkish state since the founding of the republic, which sought to fuse multiple identities into a unified Turkish identity. This led to the cultural and political marginalization of Kurds, the prohibition of the use of the Kurdish language in both the public and private spheres, and the designation of Kurds as "Mountain Turks" until 1991.[xlii] .

In this context of oppression and marginalization, the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) was founded on November 27, 1978, in the village of Fîs, near Lice, Diyarbakır Province, under the leadership of Abdullah Öcalan and a group of leftist students. The party based its ideology on Marxism-Leninism and aimed to establish an independent Kurdish state. The party distinguished itself from other previous Kurdish movements by its revolutionary orientation and centralized organization, as well as its emphasis on armed struggle as a means of achieving its goals.[xliii] .

Following the 1980 military coup in Turkey, political movements, including the PKK, were severely repressed, prompting the party's leadership to relocate to Syria and Lebanon for training and organization. On August 15, 1984, the party launched its armed insurgency against the Turkish state, targeting security and military centers, sparking a protracted conflict that has killed tens of thousands. [xliv] .

The PKK's activities were not limited to the military aspect; it also sought to mobilize the Kurdish masses by focusing on cultural and social issues. For example, the party encouraged women's participation in the struggle, challenging traditional gender roles in Kurdish society. [xlv] .

The Turkish state confronted the PKK insurgency with strict security policies, including large-scale military operations, the imposition of a state of emergency in Kurdish areas, the

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displacement of populations, and the destruction of villages. The party was also designated a terrorist organization by Türkiye and many Western countries.[xlvi] .

The following decades saw multiple attempts to reach a peaceful solution to the conflict, most notably the "peace process" that began in 2013, but collapsed in 2015 after renewed violence. In a recent development, the PKK announced its formal dissolution on May 12, 2025, raising hopes for peace and stability in the region. [xlvii] .

Between 1976 and 1980, Turkey experienced a surge in political violence, with approximately 5,000 people killed in conflicts between leftist and right-wing groups. The "Grey Wolves" played a prominent role in this violence, carrying out assassinations and attacks against leftists and minorities. Data shows that this group was responsible for numerous massacres, including the Maraş massacre and the Taksim Square massacre.[xlviii] .

Non-Muslim minorities, such as Greeks, Armenians, and Jews, faced systematic discrimination during this period. Reports indicate that these minorities suffered restrictions on education, property, and religious rights, leading to a significant decline in their numbers. For example, the Greek population in Türkiye decreased from 119,822 in 1927 to approximately 7,000 in 1978.[xlix] .

Evidence suggests that some state and security agencies were complicit or tolerant of far-right groups, such as the Grey Wolves. Reports indicate that these groups used violence to foment chaos, paving the way for the military's intervention in the 1980 coup. Following the coup, political parties were banned and martial law was imposed, suppressing civil liberties.

The 1970s were a critical period in modern Turkish history, as sectarian and ethnic tensions intertwined with political and economic violence, leading to internal instability. Repressive state policies and the complicity of some security agencies contributed to these tensions, paving the way for the 1980 coup and its repercussions for Turkish society. [l]

Fifth: Media and mass culture

This period witnessed an expansion of mass media, with the increasing spread of newspapers and radio stations. Turkish cinema, known as "Yeşilçam," also contributed to shaping public awareness of social class, violence, and love in a simplistic yet impactful manner.[li] .

The 1970s in Turkey were marked by political, economic, and social tension, making culture and media a true reflection of these turmoils. Turkish identity at this stage cannot be understood without considering the role played by cinema, journalism, and symbolic practices in engaging with issues of belonging and modernization.[lii] .

Yesil Cam Cinema and the Shaping of the Collective Imagination

•**Productive nature and symbolic role**

The Yesilçam cinema industry flourished in the 1970s, producing hundreds of films annually. Although commercial and simplistic, they were pivotal in shaping the social imagination, particularly around social class and migration. These films were a tool for constructing "popular national identity," portraying values of belonging, honor, poverty, and dignity as central elements .
.[liii]

•**Dramatic and symbolic structure in cinema**

Turkish melodramatic cinema has relied on the dualities of good and evil, poverty and wealth, and city versus countryside. This structure was not arbitrary; rather, it symbolically represented real conflicts within Turkish society. An example of this is Selvi Boylum's film Al Yazmalım, which

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discusses emotional identity versus social commitment, as a metaphor for Türkiye's struggle between modernity and tradition.(liv) .

•Media and journalism as a space for political identity

The press witnessed a sharp diversity of political orientations, from the revolutionary left to extreme nationalism and political Islam. The press played a central role in shaping individuals' political identities and was also an arena for symbolic struggles over "Who is a Turk?" In addition to newspapers, cultural magazines and literary supplements served as a space for raising questions about identity, language, and religion.(lv) .

•Internal migration and identity crisis in popular culture

Internal migration to major cities created a state of "cultural uprooting," and cities became a stage for conflicting identities between the countryside and the city. Cinema reflected these tensions through characters suffering from marginalization and separation from their origins. Films such as Kibar Feyzo and Çöpçüler Kralı satirized feudal and administrative systems and exposed class contradictions.(lvi)

•Women's representation and changes in the social image

The representation of women in popular culture began to deviate from traditional stereotypes. Strong, rebellious female characters emerged, reflecting social changes and women's entry into the fields of education and employment. However, the contradiction between the "victim woman" and the "masculine woman" remained, reflecting the conflict in women's identity between modernity and traditional roles.(lvii)

•Protest culture and multiple voices

The political culture of the 1970s was marked by the emergence of a "culture of resistance," whether through revolutionary songs, political publications, or social cinema. Art was used for ideological purposes, whether by the left or the right, and attempts to establish an alternative cinema reflecting the concerns of the working class and the marginalized began. However, their spread remained limited due to censorship and a lack of funding.(lviii) .

Sixth: Developments in health institutions

During the 1970s, Turkey witnessed major transformations in its institutional structure, including the health sector, which faced increasing pressures due to population growth, economic changes, and rising social mobility. Despite government efforts to expand healthcare services, the system continued to suffer from imbalances in infrastructure and geographic distribution, prompting calls for radical reforms. This decade marked a pivotal period between the quantitative expansion of health service provision and the recognition of the need for qualitative change in public health policies.

In the 1970s, the network of hospitals and health centers in Turkey expanded, particularly in major cities such as Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir. However, this expansion was uneven at the national level, as rural, southern, and eastern regions continued to suffer from a severe shortage of health facilities, doctors, and nurses. According to Ministry of Health reports from that period, the average number of doctors per 1,000 population was less than 0.5 in the eastern provinces, compared to more than 1.5 in major western cities.(lix) .

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Turkish healthcare institutions relied on a centralized financing system, administered by the Ministry of Health, alongside social security funds such as the Sosyal Sigortalar Kurumu (SSK). However, this system faced significant financial and administrative challenges, including a weak health budget, poor resource allocation, and delayed payments to doctors and staff. Some academic and trade union circles at the time called for a transition to a more decentralized and comprehensive health system that took into account geographical and social disparities.[lx] .

Turkish universities, particularly in Ankara and Istanbul, played an increasing role in training medical personnel and operating university hospitals, which became advanced centers for treatment, education, and scientific research. However, these hospitals faced severe pressure from the influx of patients from across the country, leading to administrative and healthcare bottlenecks, especially given the limited number of beds and equipment.[lxi] .

These challenges were accompanied by a growing awareness of health among broad segments of the population, driven by the rise of trade union and leftist movements. Health became a political right, included in the platforms of progressive parties, and demands for free and universal health services grew. Civil society initiatives emerged to provide primary care in poor neighborhoods and remote villages, sometimes with the support of medical students and non-governmental organizations.[lxii] .

Although some infectious diseases, such as tuberculosis, were prevalent in poor areas, the Turkish health sector began to face new challenges in the 1970s related to the emergence of chronic diseases such as hypertension, heart disease, and complications of malnutrition. However, preventive health programs were limited and insufficiently implemented, placing greater emphasis on treatment than prevention. Researchers have noted that the health system during that era "addressed consequences, not causes.[lxiii] ".

Despite significant efforts to expand health services during the 1970s, the Turkish health system faced structural constraints that prevented it from achieving comprehensive and equitable coverage. This period marked a transitional phase that revealed the need for profound reforms to the health system's structure, demands that gradually began to be realized in the following decades, particularly with the comprehensive health reforms implemented after 2003.

CONCLUSION

1. During the 1970s, Turkey experienced a severe economic crisis that marked a turning point in its economic and political development.
2. The dependence of the Turkish industrial model on the state led to a strategic failure to build an independent, export-oriented productive sector.
3. By 1977, the balance of payments deficit had reached unprecedented levels, with external debt exceeding $11 billion, nearly half of which was short-term debt.
4. The economic deterioration resulted in an escalation in labor protests and strikes, along with an escalation in political violence between leftist and right-wing movements.
5. Several student organizations were formed during this period, such as the University Students' Association (Üniversite Öğrencileri Derneği) and left-wing alliances within universities. The growing influence of these movements led to violent reactions from the state and right-wing groups, with the country experiencing a wave of political assassinations, armed clashes, and widespread arrests.
6. The student and trade union movements of the 1970s constituted one of the most prominent aspects of political and social mobilization in modern Turkey. Despite being subjected to repression, they established a continuing tradition of struggle and contributed to the development of a critical political consciousness that continues to influence subsequent social movements. This decade is considered one of the most

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dynamic periods in the history of Turkish civil society, as student activism and workers' consciousness collided in the face of state authoritarianism and emerging neoliberalism.

7. In 1978, the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) was founded under the leadership of Abdullah Öcalan.

8. Following the 1980 military coup in Turkey, political movements, including the PKK, were severely repressed, prompting the party's leadership to relocate to Syria and Lebanon for training and organization. On August 15, 1984, the party began its armed insurgency against the Turkish state, targeting security and military centers, sparking a protracted conflict that resulted in tens of thousands of deaths.

9. The PKK's activities were not limited to the military aspect; it also sought to mobilize the Kurdish masses by focusing on cultural and social issues. For example, the party encouraged women's participation in the struggle, challenging traditional gender roles in Kurdish societ.

10. Internal migration to major cities created a state of "cultural uprooting," and cities became the stage for conflicting identities between the countryside and the city. Cinema reflected these tensions through characters suffering from marginalization and separation from their origins. Films such as Kibar Feyzo and Çöpçüler Kralı mocked the feudal and administrative system and exposed class contradictions.

FOOTNOTES

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[iii] Kopits, G. (1987). Structural reform, stabilization, and growth in Turkey. International Monetary Fund.

Schick, I. C., & Tonak, E. A. (1981). The political economy of quicksand: International finance and the foreign debt dimension of Turkey's economic crisis. Review of Radical Political Economics, 13(3), 1–28.
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[vii] Ahmad, Feroz. The Making of Modern Turkey. Routledge, 1993.

[viii] Zürcher, Erik J. Turkey: A Modern History. I.B. Tauris, 2004, pp.267.

[ix] Ahmad, Feroz. The Making of Modern Turkey. Routledge, 1993, pp.181.

[x] Koç, Yıldırım. Türkiye'de İşçi Hareketi Tarihi. TÜSTAV, 2013, pp.63.

[xi] White, Jenny B. *Islamist Mobilization in Turkey: A Study in Vernacular Politics*. University of Washington Press, 2002, pp149.

[xii] Deniz Gezmiş was a Turkish left-wing political activist and one of the most prominent figures in the revolutionary student movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s in Turkey. He is considered an icon of the revolutionary generation in Turkish political culture and has become a symbol of rebellion against imperialism and capitalism. Deniz Gezmiş (February 27, 1947) was born in Ankara to a middle-class family and studied at the Faculty of Law at Istanbul University. There, he

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began his political activism and quickly emerged as a charismatic leader among left-wing students, influenced by global revolutionary movements such as the Cuban Revolution and the Vietnam War. Gezmiş was one of the founders of the Turkish People's Liberation Army Organization (THKO) in 1970, a Marxist-Leninist militant organization that aimed to overthrow the Turkish government, which he viewed as a tool of American imperialism. The organization embraced armed action and carried out kidnappings and attacks on symbolic American and Turkish targets. After intense security persecution, Gözmiş was arrested in 1971 along with his comrades Yusuf Aslan and Hüseyin İnan. Following a controversial military trial, they were sentenced to death for "attempting to overthrow the constitutional order by force." Despite a widespread popular solidarity campaign, the death sentence was carried out at dawn on May 6, 1972. For more, see:

Koçak, Cemil, Türkiye'de Askerî Müdahaleler ve Siyasi Sonuçları, İletişim Yayınları, 2006, p. 211

[xiii] Zürcher, 2004, p. 275

[xiv] . Deniz Kandiyoti, End of Empire: Islam, Nationalism and Women in Turkey, Macmillan Academic and professional Ltd, Hong Kong, 1991, pp. 22.

[xv] Deniz Kandiyoti, End of Empire: Islam, Nationalism and Women in Turkey, Macmillan Academic and professional Ltd, Hong Kong, 1991, pp.23-25.

[xvi] White, Jenny B. *Islamist Mobilization in Turkey: A Study in Vernacular Politics*. University of Washington Press, 2002, pp1-8

[xvii] Kandiyoti, 1991, p. 28

[xviii] Kandiyoti, 1987, p. 32.

[xix] White, 2002, pp. 147–150.

[xx] White, 2002, pp. 147-150.

[xxi] Behice Boran, better known as Behice Çatürk in some sources, was a university professor, politician, and Marxist thinker, and the first woman to head a political party in Turkey. Born in Bursa in 1910 to a family of Balkan origin, she studied sociology at the University of Michigan in the United States, where she earned a doctorate. She was known for her left-wing positions and radical criticism of the capitalist system. She became involved in politics through the Turkish Workers' Party (TİP), becoming the party's chairwoman in 1970, making her the first woman to head a Turkish political party. During the 1970s, she played a pivotal role in defending working-class rights and freedom of expression and was a prominent figure in the opposition to the military regime. After the military coup in 1980, she went into exile in Europe, where she continued her political activism until her death in Brussels in 1987. For more, see:

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xl Abdullah Öcalan was born on April 4, 1949, in the village of Umra, near Urfa in southeastern Turkey. He moved to the capital, Ankara, to study political science at Ankara University. During his university years, he was influenced by Marxist-Leninist ideas and began his political activity within Turkish leftist movements. In 1978, Öcalan announced the founding of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) in the town of Fis in Diyarbakır. The party's initially stated goal was to liberate Kurdistan from "Turkish occupation" and establish an independent, socialist Kurdish state. The party began its military operations against the Turkish state in 1984, relying on guerrilla warfare from its bases in the Qandil Mountains of northern Iraq. Abdullah Öcalan was captured in Kenya in 1999 in a Turkish intelligence operation with the support of international powers. He was sentenced to death, but the sentence was commuted to life imprisonment after the death penalty was abolished in Türkiye. Since then, he has been imprisoned on Imrali Island in the Sea of Marmara. While in prison, Öcalan's thinking underwent significant shifts. He abandoned the idea of an independent Kurdish nation-state and embraced what he called "democratic confederalism," a model of local self-government based on direct democracy, gender equality, and environmental protection. At this stage, he was influenced by the ideas of the American thinker Murray Bookchin. He called for resolving the Kurdish issue through democratic integration within the Turkish state, rather than through secession. He shifted from the slogan of a "Kurdish state" to "democratic autonomous administration." Despite his imprisonment, Öcalan is considered a major leader and symbol in Kurdish political consciousness, especially in Turkey, Syria, and Iraq. Among the organizations associated with him are the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) and its political arm, the Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria (Rojava), and the Democratic Union Party (PYD), movements inspired by his confederalist ideology. Öcalan remains a major symbol for Kurds, especially among PKK supporters. At times, the Turkish state used it as an indirect mediator in attempts to resolve the Kurdish issue through negotiations, such as the peace talks that took place between 2013 and 2015. For more, see:

Kamal Soleimani, Behrooz Shojai, Öcalan's Democratic Confederalism, In book: Kurdish Paradox of Statelessness, 2025. DOI: 10.1007/978-3-031-83746-3_3

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