COPING MECHANISMS AND EMOTIONS THROUGH THE

NARRATIVES OF THE EX-PRISONERS

IN DİYARBAKIR PRISON

(1980-1984)

AYŞE DİCLE GENÇER

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İSTANBUL BİLGİ ÜNİVERSİTESİ

SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ

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Diyarbakır Cezaevi'ndeki Eski Tutsakların Tanıklıkları Üzerinden Baş Etme
Mekanizmaları ve Duyguları (1980-1984)

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5.Tanıklıklar   5. Testimonies

Abstract

In the process after the Military Coup, torture took place much more in the prisons in Turkey. Diyarbakır Military Prison is thought to be the prison as one of the cruelest places which used unimaginable torture techniques on the ex-prisoners. In this study, our purpose is to explore coping mechanisms and emotions of those ex-prisoners in Diyarbakır Military Prison in between 1980 and 1984. Content analysis is done through the fifty interviews of the ex-prisoners. The results showed that the ex-prisoners used 26 varieties of coping mechanisms. We found that they mostly used political awareness and sense making, resistance, social comparison, need regulation and obeying as coping mechanisms. 27 emotions were found to be disclosed in the narratives of the ex-prisoners. Fear, sadness, embarrassment, horror and feeling pleased are the emotions which are mostly shown by the ex-prisoners.

Özet

1980 Askeri Darbesi'nden sonra işkence teknikleri Türkiye'deki hapishanelerde çok daha yoğun bir şekilde kullanılmaya başlandı. Diyarbakır Askeri Cezaevi bu hapishaneler arasında en yoğun ve hayal edilemeyecek şekilde vahşi işkence tekniklerinin kullanıldığı hapishanelerden birisi oldu. Çalışmamızdaki amaç, bu işkencelere maruz kalmış insanların ,özellikle 1980 ve 1984 yılları arasında,işkence ile baş etme yöntemleri ve gösterdikleri duyguları araştırmaktır. 50 eski tutsakla yapılan görüşmeler içerik analizi yapılarak incelenmiştir. Sonuçlara göre, eski tutsakların 26 çeşit baş etme yöntemi kullandığı görülmüştür. Bulgularımıza göre; politik bilinç ve anlamlandırma, direniş, kıyaslama, ihtiyaçların düzenlenmesi ve itaat etme en çok kullanılan baş etme mekanizmaları olmuştur. Bunun yanında; eski tutsakların, hikayelerini anlatırken 27 adet duygu gösterdiği görülmüştür. Bunlar arasında en çok korku, üzüntü, utanç, dehşet ve iyi hissetmeye dair ifadelerle ilgili duygular yer almıştır.

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1. Introduction

Collective memory can be defined as remembering the past in a collective way with its common meanings between people of the same community (Halbwachs, 1992). Collective memory is mostly affected by the main ideology of the state which has the "power" (Edkins, 2003), but what about the truth? Where are the ideas, feelings and memories of the oppressed people in this collective memory? It is generally repressed by the state to declare its sovereignty. We need to understand the repressed material to find "the real" (Somay, 2004). With the repression of "the real" which has traumatic characteristic, "the imaginary completeness of the state" is acquired (Edkins, 2003). Challenge to the "imaginary" structure of the state is important for reaching the unconscious material lying behind "the real" (Edkins, 2003).

Prisons of 12 September 1980 in Turkey were the places which tried to repress "the real" and lead to the unconscious fears in people of the oppressed (Yılmaz, 2012). We need to face "the truth" and verbalize the non-verbal materials for re-constructing our collective memories which have so much repressed and denied elements.

Kurdish people are those who should be listened about their stories related to oppression of themselves. If these stories can be seen and understood, this will facilitate the understanding between people who are attributed as "the others" in Turkey. Diyarbakır Military Prison is a place where unimagined, unbelievable and irrational torture techniques were

systematically used to repress people. In this study, stories related to oppression in Diyarbakır Military Prison in between 1980 and 1984 will be found. The main question of this study is "How a human-being can stand and deal with such an inhumane treatment?"

In this study, firstly we will look upon the general political atmosphere of 12 September 1980 in Turkey and we will try to understand what are the precipitating factors and results of it. We will explore the prisons in this atmosphere and their use of torture. After torture's definition, we will look the relationship between trauma and torture. Diyarbakır Military Prison in 1980s will be focused with its torture techniques and then sociological meaning of torture with its relation to politics of body and memory will be touched upon. Following these topics, psychological coping mechanisms for dealing with traumatic experiences will be mentioned by explaining the theory and history. Later, specific coping mechanisms will be told by referring to studies in the literature. In the end of this section, we will explore emotions while using coping mechanisms.

There are two purposes of this study. Our main purpose is to explore the coping mechanisms of tortured ex-prisoners of Diyarbakır Military Prison in between 1980 and 1984. The second purpose is that we will give the exploration of emotions of those ex-prisoners through their interviews. For our analysis, the content analysis is applied to the interviews taken from "Truth and Justice Commission of Diyarbakır Prison".

1.1. 12 September 1980 in Turkey: Why it happened and to what it lead in general?

The military has played a crucial role in Turkey along the modernization process. Thinking itself as "the protector of the nation", the military intervened three times in 1960, 1971 and 1980 (Tachau and Heper, 1983). Comparative to other interventions of military, Gürbilek (2007, cited in Alver, 2012) defined the process after 1980 coup d'etat as the most harsh, violent and oppressive times.

In mid-70s, the crisis was started to take place in democratic regime in Turkey. The conflict between left and right-wing groups increased, which lead to violence (Demirel, 2003). Between 1973 and 1980, according to official resources, 5.000 people, and to unofficial resources, 10.000 people in Turkey died (Birand, Bila and Akar, 1999). The state was divided into camps in terms of being left or right wing. There were economical problems, people became tired of famine and black market (Birand, Bila and Akar, 1999). Military saw these problems as one major problem: "the complete erosion of governmental authority" (Tachau and Heper, 1983). In this climate, the military, seeing itself as "ultimate guardian of the state" (Demirel, 2003) legitimized its act of intervention and intervened the regime in Turkey in 12 September 1980.

Before the coup, since ideological groups and political organizations were perceived as a threat to regime, the need of military to exclusion and suppression of them arose (Özman and Coşar, 2013). Especially, leftist and

Kurdish movements were perceived as "internal threats" by the military (Zeydanlıoğlu, 2009). Zeydanlıoğlu (2009) says that the coup's plan was to make a "homogenous nation of Turks" which is named as "turkification program". The "ideal Turkish civilian" character who does not question is created from the ideology of 80s in Turkey (Belge, 1992). So it can be said that creation of the "homogeneity of the Turkish nation" and "their conformist manner towards the state" was the aim of the military intervention.

Prisons were the main organ for the aim of oppression of these movements and creation of the ideal nation with determined features. In this times, Human Rights Association of Turkey (TİHV, 1996) reported that 650.000 people were taken into custody, 210.000 of them were processed into a case in the military courts. 65.000 people took various punishments. In those courts, 6353 people were judged with execution. More than 500 people took the decision of death penalty. In the end, 50 people were executed. However, it should be kept in mind that since the torture is an issue which is kept hidden by the states, the statistics wouldn't show the exact rates (Soyer, 1992).

The coup changed the entire political atmosphere in Turkey (Özman and Coşar, 2013). With this intervention, it can be said that the ethics of civil life and human rights was rejected (Demirel, 2003). This rejection echoed mostly in Kurds' side. While there were harsh and cruel oppression on Kurdish people; in also civil life, there were strict prohibitions of the issues related to Kurds. There was dense denial of Kurds' existence by the

government and even saying "Kurdish" was forbidden in the state (Belge, 1995). McDowall (1985) says that Kurds in Turkey faced the most rigid attitude from the government. It is also expressed in İsmail Beşikçi's letter in 1980 (cited in Gunter, 1990, p.48). :

> The official ideology in Turkey continues to maintain in an insistent and obstinate manner that there are no people known as Kurds and no language known as Kurdish… University circles, political parties, unions, associations, mass media etc. never touch on the Kurdish question.

The state legitimizes its power with violence. To declare its power, it uses many tools such as media and education system (Belge, 1993; Alver, 2012). The prisons are one of the significant places which the state can contend its violence to repress "the minorities". Bauman (1998) tells how a conformist society can be created by manipulation of the time and space. He says that in cruel punishment system's idea behind, there is legitimization of the continuity of the dominant people ("the strong"). He contends that prisons are not places for "rehabilitation" of the prisoners, but places for "segregation" of the people who does not want to conform. 12 September 1980 process can be thought as an important instance for Bauman's analysis (1988).

1.1.1. Prisons in the Process of 12 September 1980

There is a wish of modern states for getting involved into every aspect of lives, shaping and doing interventions on them (Yılmaz, 2012).The prisons offer this wish by its intolerant interventions disproportionally.

Prisons had important role for construction of modernization in Turkey in 80s. Their function was the assertion of the authority of the state. In prisons, the political people were taken under wild discipline. With this discipline, those people were confined and left out of action. Their relations with the society were cut and they became "out of danger" (Yılmaz, 2012). Prisons became the place as "laboratories for the states' fascist regime" (Bozyel, 2012). The prisons in 12 September seemed as "having no control" which implies the possibility for doing everything spontaneously, but behind seeming like having no control, there is a "systematized and methodical" authority (Yılmaz, 2012).

Prisons' characteristics transformed with the coup. Prisons transformed into military prisons and all the prisoners were treated as they were soldiers. Military rules started to take over and the vital needs and rights of the prisoners were ignored with having no ethics. With coup d'etat, "systematic oppression and eradication" policies started to be applied in prisons (TİHV, 1994). In the head of "military discipline", prisons became the places which the cruelest attacks occurred (TİHV, 1994). Ayaşlı (2011) says that before coup d'etat, people who were under custody generally thought prisons as places "to get a rest and recover". With 12 September process, this perception is changed and reversed, because the prisons became places which had tortures in every part of them physically and psychologically.

12 September prisons' main idea was to alienate the prisoners to their thoughts and "to weaken, transform and destroy" those thoughts

(Yılmaz, 2012). With this method, "the respect and trust to oneself" is decreased and damaged. The prison officers wanted all the prisoners to confess their "crimes" even if they didn't do anything. If they confessed, then they'd be rehabilitated, if they didn't, then they'd be destroyed and disciplined. (Yılmaz, 2012), which shows the ideology of transformation of identities of the prisoners.

In these prisons, for the aim of creation of new identities and oppression of political people, education of the main ideology of the state was imposed. Harsh and inconceivable ways of torture were used. The torture techniques started to get developed in a systematic way. Bozyel (2012) stated that the program of prison was applied in light of social, political and psychological knowledge. As an addition to the torture methods of Ottoman and Turkish history tradition (Akçam, 1992), new techniques were tried and used in the prisons of coup d'etat. (Bozyel, 2012).

1.2. Torture

From previous times, the torture is a method which the forces of the state use. However, one shouldn't confuse torture as a legitimization of the existence of the state power; since this way of thinking may support the application of torture (Akçam, 1991).

Torture is sociopolitical issue which has "physical, psychological, social, economic and political consequences" (Başoğlu, 2001).Amnesty International reported 144 countries attacking human rights in 1991

(Başoğlu, 2001), which shows us drastic rates. It is a world-wide issue. In an agreement between Turkey and United Nations, which is approved in 1988 (TİHV, 2001), torture is defined as (United Nations, 1989, p.17; cited in Gerrity, Keane and Tuma, 2001):

> The term "torture" means any act by which pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person for such purposes as obtaining from him or a third person, information or a confession, punishing him for an act he or a third person has committed or is suspected of having committed, or intimidating or coercing him or a third person for any reason based on discrimination of any kind, when such pain or suffering is inflicted by or at the instigation of or with the consent or acquiescence of a public official or other person acting in an official capacity. It does not include pain or suffering arising only from, inherent in, or incidental to lawful sanctions.

Defining torture is problematic but it gives practical facilities at the same time. Still, it should be important to mention about the critiques related to the definition. This definition assumes "men" as objects of torture. However, not only men, but also women and all the bodies who are seen "threat" to regime face with torture.

Paker (1996) says that despite the general thought, the torture is not only used for taking information and not only for political prisoners, since the aim is "to punish, oppress, fear, damage psychologically and take revenge" (Paker, 1996), "to shake and destroy the personality of the prisoner."(Yüksel, 1993) and "not to make people talk but to make them keep quiet" (Sironi and Branche, 2002). Additionally, there are more difficulties related to definition of torture (Akçam, 1991): Firstly, the

definition of torture may change to culture from culture. For instance, in one culture, circumcision can be "normal", while in other culture it can be defined as "torture". Secondly, the saying "torture in prison" may be problematic, because "taking one's freedom" is a torture in itself. Lastly, it is hard to draw a line between "violence and torture", since any bad treatment human face can be torture. Additionally, torture's aim is not only for individual, it is also an act to lead to fear in "families, communities and the society" to repress them (Ortiz, 2001); the individual's collective dimensions (their belonging to group) is the main purpose to destroy (Sironi and Branche, 2002).

Sironi and Branche, (2002) suggests mechanisms lying beneath the torture: Firstly, with torture, the borders between inside and outside of body of the prisoners is damaged. For instance, some substances' injection to prisoners by force can be given as an example to the damage of the boundaries. With systematic "alternation" (e.g. change of cells), the "confusion" of the prisoners' perception occurs. Cultural values are also damaged, since cultural identity is harmed with attack on the values by torturers. Lastly; the exaggerated sentences of torturers lead to psychological devastation, Sironi and Branche (2002) says.

How can such an inhumane thing be applied? Wisnewski (2010) suggested an explanation for this phenomenon from a social-psychological perspective. This explanation's purpose was not to re-produce the main ideology's view, but its aim was to show the influence of torture is more than expected. It is suggested that the famous social psychology

experiments of "Milgram (1963) and Zimbardo (1971)" may give some explanations: The presence or absence of the authority figure in the place (Milgram,1963) and the assignation of role as convict or guardian to the participants (Zimbardo, 1971) plays a role whether a torturer does torture or not (cited in Wisnewski, 2010). Wisnewski (2010) claims that if one can also understand the situational factors playing role in becoming torturer, then s/he would not claim his/her character as an "excuse" for being torturer. This information can also make one more aware about the situation (the authoritarian system's factors) around him/her. One should realize that behind the torture practice, the state's powerful and violent representation appears (Şensoy, Kayacı, Gülüm, Gürsel and Demirok, 2010).

1.2.1. Thinking Torture in the Context of Trauma Literature

Certain life events such as torture, exile and war are generally associated with PTSD (posttraumatic stress disorder).PTSD is a category under Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders which is accepted by American Psychiatric Association in 1980. PTSD refers to having the emotions of "terror and surprise" as a response to some specific events (Leys, 2000). Since trauma survivors' mind is "split or dissociated" and their "ordinary mechanisms of awareness and cognition" are damaged, they have difficulty to integrate their traumatic experience to their 'psyche' and this results in PTSD (Leys, 2000). However, the association of PTSD with overwhelming events deriving mainly from political reasons seems problematic in certain respects, which makes this issue open to discuss.

The close relationship between trauma and torture may open the way for wrong usage of words. Ortiz (2001) says that people who were exposed to trauma and torture are generally called as "victims". The word "victim" may make one remember being "weak, defenseless, in desperate need of sympathy", so saying "survivor" instead of "victim" is suggested for people who experienced trauma. Moreover, through naming these post psychological effects as "trauma", it took people's attention and became a field like only which mental health doctors and clinicians should study and the creation of a new field as "torturology" may result in "passive acceptance of the practice of torture" (Başoğlu, 1992). In one hand, it means raising a voice in academic and health fields politically, but on the other hand, it leads "objectification and medicalization" of the tortured human (Edkins, 2003). This way of categorization may lead the social system to see survivors as "having disease which should be integrated to society" by treatments aiming to 'normalize' and this may devalue the political system's effects on individual (Edkins, 2003). Seeing the feelings of guilt, shame and anger as pathology not as a political reaction may underestimate the real feelings of the patient (Edkins, 2003). So it should be underlined that when one faces with traumatic experience like torture, professionals are more likely to evaluate him/her in terms of psychological and psychopathological issues. However, it should be firstly realized that what those survivors face is political (Papadopoulos, 2007).

PTSD is not enough explanation of the effects of torture. The effects of these experiences changes from individual to individual. These

experiences have psychological effects on survivors, but not all the people are traumatized by these experiences. Papadopoulos (2007) proposed and an alternative for explanation of different kinds of reactions people give as a response to trauma, to show PTSD is not the only result of traumatic experiences. Beyond "negative effects" it has, there can also be "positive and neutral effects" from this experience (Papadopoulos, 2007). Papadopoulos (2006) proposed a model called "Adversity- Activated Development". This model mentions about the "positive developments" as a result of facing with adverse experiences. After such experiences, people give meaning to them, find their "strengths" and "transform" their experience into positive effects. Neutral effects are also suggested, since not all the effects fall under negative or positive category and not all the factors of individuals have to be effected by this experience. For referring to all those negative, positive and neutral effects, Papadopoulos (2007) stresses the position of the trauma survivors not as weak but also as strong as having power to deal with the state politics.

All in all, Başoğlu (1992, p.7) summarizes the critiques related to the categorization of trauma: "1) Torture is a political phenomenon and thus cannot be classified in psychiatric terms, 2) The term posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) does not apply to torture because torture is only part a series ongoing traumatic situations for the survivor, 3) Psychiatric labels are stigmatizing and therefore should be avoided."

To put this discussion further, Başoğlu (2001) discusses whether there is evidence for distinct category naming "torture-specific syndrome",

other than PTSD, but he proposed that there is no evidence. To find evidence, "causal connection between the torture and subsequent symptoms, meaningful grouping of symptoms, validated across samples and cultures; and comparison of symptoms with established diagnosis such as PTSD" are required (Başoğlu, 1997, cited in Başoğlu, 2001 p.45). Parallel to this, according to researchers in the stress topic, direct relationship between trauma and psychological symptoms cannot be found (Lazarus, DeLongis, Folkman and Gruen, 1986, cited in Qouta, Punamaki and El Sarraj, 1997). They underlined that the important thing is what survivors put meaning to their symptoms and coping mechanisms, for their psychological health.

Taking all these concerns into consideration, it should be said that studying torture is political stance against exploitation of human rights (Başoğlu, 1992). Working with torture should not be the only the area of hegemonic states, but it should also be a way for giving a political voice. So the scientific studies should be against these kinds of violent practices of the human rights.

1.2.2. Certain Psychological Effects of Torture

In the previous section, we criticized the idea about the only association of PTSD with torture experience, since there are also positive and neutral effects. However there are also very destructive effects of torture which should also be mentioned, to underline the torture is a crime against the human rights. So in this section, we will mention about some negative psychological effects of torture.

Arendt (1958, as cited in Fırat and Fırat, 2011) proposes that the main damage people have from the physical violence of the totalitarian state is "losing the perception of the world as they knew before". With the new experiences they have, they re-construct their perception of world, because "the exceptional thing like barbarism and absurdity becomes the norm" (Arendt, 1958, as cited in Fırat and Fırat, 2011). Torture is one of the most extreme experiences of totalitarian state. Ortiz (2001) underlines the change individuals go through after torture experience: Individuals may feel that people around him/her does not understand him/her, because they want to see the survivor as s/he was before. In his study with prisoners in Turkey, Paker and associates (1992) showed that torture is associated with PTSD and psychological discomfort at high levels.

Goldfeld and his associates (1988) made a review about psychological effects of torture survivors and divided symptoms into three: "a) psychological symptoms (anxiety, depression, irritability or aggressiveness, emotional lability, self-isolation or social withdrawal), b) cognitive symptoms (confusion or disorientation, impaired memory and concentration, impaired reading ability) and c) neurovegetative symptoms (lack of energy, insomnia, nightmares, sexual dysfunction)". Somnier and his colleagues (1992) reported that "anxiety, cognitive, memory and attention, mood disturbance, difficulty in sleeping, sexual dysfunctions, change in personalities, lack of energy and behavioral disturbances" are most general problems of torture survivors. Richey also (2007) listed the psychological effects of torture: "anxiety, guilt, shame, loss of sex drive,

sleep disturbances, memory impairment, lack of concentration, depression with or without suicidal ideation, post-traumatic stress disorder, poor impulse control or aggressive behavior, confusion, dementia".

Torture's effect on PTSD and mental discomfort should also be evaluated at the individual level idiosyncratically. Derrick (1999) suggests that torture may have negative effect in five fields of individual's life: "safety, attachment, justice, identity-role and existential meaning" of oneself. Some individual differences plays role in the severity of the effect of trauma people are exposed to. In their study with tortured ex-prisoners, Başoğlu and his associates (1997) found that non-political tortured ex-prisoners were found to have anxiety, depression and PTSD symptoms more than political tortured ex-prisoners. In the same study, it is also shown that "being prepared to torture" of individual is a protective factor for mental health problems later. So how prisoners perceive torture, how prison experience influence other life fields (employment, family etc.) and psychosocial factors they faced after being released are other factors which have relations to PTSD, anxiety and depression (Başoğlu et al., 1994).

1.3. Diyarbakır Military Prison and Torture

Among 12 September prisons in Turkey, Diyarbakır Prison was the prison which had the issue of ethnic sensibility (Yılmaz, 2012). Because of this, this prison had different kind of aim and treatment methods. Since Ankara and Istanbul prisons were in the eyes of the media, the secret murders of the state couldn't exist in there. On the other hand, the media

was not following Diyarbakır Prison, that's why any kind of cruelty was applied here. (Yılmaz, 2012).The circumstances of the prison were very rough, for having a voice against inhumane practices, many prisoners got into hunger strikes or committed suicide (Kutschera, 1994, as cited in Westrheim, 2008) in the conditions which even did not allow prisoners to harm themselves. One of the countless impressive and extremely sad events was four prisoners' burning themselves together as against the hell-like conditions in prison. These acts had their meanings, which can be mentioned as "dying for living" (Yetkin and Tanboğa, 1993).

Zana (2004), one of the ex-prisoners in Diyarbakır Military Prison, in his legal argument, says that the aim of the judicial courts of those times was not "application of law or for giving justice and rights to the righteous people". The aim was to continue the system which is giving "only blood, tears and hunger". He further continues answering the question "Why I am being judged?". He answers this question saying that because he had Kurdish identity having "the pains of being oppressed and denied for over centuries", not because of any "guilty" act he did.

Most of the prisoners were coming from "poor rural or working class backgrounds" (Westherin, 2008). In Diyarbakır prison, there was also people who were jailed because of illegal trade, thievery; beside political activists. The torture techniques were equally applied to each of the prisoner independent from their political aim, their reasons for being in prisons and their gender. Maraşlı (2014) says that in Diyarbakır prison, women were treated as equal as men inside in terms of torture. The aim was to create the

feeling of horror relating to state. Zana (2004) says that the issue is not only for Kurds and Turks, but it is "to continue the machinery of exploitation of bourgeoisie."

While the prisoners were tortured, they were being "educated" at the same time. Fırat and Fırat (2011) says that firstly, with torture, the prisoners' identities were trying to be destroyed and secondly, their selves were tried to be fulfilled with texts like the "Turkish National Anthem, military and ultra-nationalist songs and slogans such as 'A Turk is worth the whole universe' " (Zeydanlıoğlu,2009) which had a purpose of "turkifying". The prison was transformed into "military school" and the prisoners into "students" of this school (Fırat and Topaloğlu, 2012).

The torture was everywhere; every practice of the prisons were like torture in Diyarbakır Prison (Ayaşlı, 2011). Not only the guardians, attorneys and the directors of the prisons were doing tortures, but also the doctors of prisons were part of the torture practice. They were also unconcerned with the illnesses the prisoners had and they could apply the wrong treatments to the patients (Fırat and Fırat, 2011). When the prisoners had their meetings with their family in prison, their talking with their family in Kurdish was forbidden. Nuri Sınır tells his experience (as cited in Zeydanlıoğlu, 2009):

> For six months I could not speak to my mother because she could not speak Turkish and I was not allowed to speak Kurdish. My mother used to visit me regularly. But all we could do was to look into each others' eyes without uttering a single word… For six months I could not ask my mother how she was.

Fırat and Topaloğlu (2012) offered that Diyarbakır Military Prison is similar to "total institution" of Goffman (1961). Total institution refers to a space for people whose interaction to society is cut and who are captivated in. The general feature of these places is every areas of life of individual are under the authority. Moreover, it is also contended that Foucault's "modern prison" was like Diyarbakır Military Prison, which is a laboratory for assimilating and rehabilitating of the prisoners (Fırat and Topaloğlu , 2012). These applications lead to the "increasing polarization of identities", since Republic of Turkey stayed "insistent on categorizing Kurds as others" (Gambetti, 2005).

The types and frequencies of tortures are presented in the *Table 1* taken from the study of Arslan (2011).

Table 1

The Frequencies and the Types of Torture Methods

Torture Method	%(n=188)
Beatings/physical violence	80
Forcing the prisoners to memorize the Turkish national songs	80
Food deprivation/ starvation	72
Military training	70
Water deprivation	62
Bath torture	56
Insulting	54
Falanga	44
Making prisoners listen sounds of torture	39
Banning speaking and looking	39
Forcing prisoners to eat spoiled food	37
Sleep deprivation	37
Plunging into a cesspool	34
Forcing prisoners to confess by torturing them	30
Solitary confinement, in cells full of excrement	28
Forcing to sleep in attention position at nights	27
Forcing prisoners to crawl in snow nude	25

Forcing prisoners to wait standing	24
Toilet tortures	20
Depriving prisoners of medical care	20
Under berth torture (forcing prisoners to lie all together under a berth)	18
Hanging/ Palestinian hanging	17
Opening windows in winter	17
Forcing prisoners to drink foul water	15
Sexual assault	15
Closing windows in summer	14
Forcing prisoners to eat excrement	13
Blindfolding	11
Electric torture	11
Tortures with cigarettes	11
Forcibly inserting a truncheon into the anus	10
Forcing prisoners to pee on other prisoners	5
Putting out a cigarette on the body of prisoners	4
Rat torture	4
Forcing prisoners to get in a rubber tire	2

1.3.1. Torture and Body Politics

To understand body politics, Foucault put forward a term called "biopolitics". This concept presents us a good perspective to evaluate the politics of body. After proposal of the "biopolitics", many philosophers contributed different meanings to this concept. But today, this concept is a general tool in itself to understand body politics in terms of power relations between the state and the subject. In this topic, we will touch upon the definition of biopolitics of Foucault and then Agamben's terms of "state of exception" and "camp" will be mentioned in terms of body politics. Later we will try to understand how the subjects subversed the power relations and produce their own subjectivities through biopolitics in Diyarbakır Military Prison.

Foucault regards 'biopolitics' as an "art of governing" which is one of the main elements of the modern society (Foucault, 2004).With modernization process, governments started to aim to intervene to the daily lives of people. In the mentality of 'art of governing', the state decides how to govern its people. The governing occurs through the 'production' of bodies, not 'suppression' of them. This production is provided via disciplinary methods on bodies. With these methods, the bodies acquire 'rationality' and 'meaning' the states attribute to them; and in the end, 'conformist bodies' are produced. (Foucault, 2001, cited in Fırat and Topaloğlu, 2012).

Agamben (1998) re-conceptualized the concept of biopolitic of Foucault and proposed that biopolitic is not only in the modern states, but it is in every level of governing of the state in any time. According to Agamben (1998), the individuals' political acts are limited by the states, meaning that the state decides for the limits of area of politics of the subjects. Individuals are reduced to "bare life" condition (that is 'biological bodies') by the state policies. When subjects are eliminated from the area of politics, they are put into the 'state exception' condition (Lemke, 2011). Agamben proposes that the prisons are the clearest example of the condition of 'state exception'. Since whatever the individuals' thoughts and acts are, they are confined to places by juridical acts. Those places aim to make practices through bodies of them, seeing them as 'exceptions' for production of new- bodies. The concept of 'camp' of Agamben is important term for ideology of prisons. Camp is constructed on the state of exception condition. (Agamben, 2001, cited in Fırat and Topaloğlu, 2012).It refers to the isolation of bodies from society and captivation of them. In this kind of context, the individuals' rights of act of having a voice are taken from them. Their bodies' action, interaction with society and productivity are destroyed. This leads to production of biological bodies ('bare life') which is out of 'human condition'.

Fırat and Topaloğlu (2012) highlights that Diyarbakır Military Prison corresponds to the "camp" and they proposed that the 'massacre' happened in biopolitical dimension there. Every space was transformed into torture in Diyarbakır Prison. The prisoners were being tried to reduce to the

'bare life' condition via "depoliticisation and disidentification" (Agamben, 2010, cited in Fırat and Topaloğlu, 2012). In terms of biopolitics, Fırat and Topaloğlu (2012) analyzed three practice of the prison: spreading the tuberculosis microbe into the prison, castration and destruction of sexual identity of the prisoners and circumcision of prisoners from non-Muslim religions.

However, it can be said that taking individuals into 'camp' could not lead to limitation of political areas at certain points. The subjects try to give and produce their meanings to their bodies through their coping strategies even in their own 'bare life' conditions. Prisoners also had coping strategies which aimed to adapt and have voice in this prison, referring to 'political beings'. So it is important that coping mechanisms can be thought in the context of biopolitic. Coping strategies of the prisoners will be mentioned in detail in the second part and results part of this study.

It should be conceptualized that the body is political in itself and the meaning of politics of body gains its meaning by the space surrounds it (İrat, 2010). Prisons are places which work out the confined bodies as political subjects through the subjects' political body. Prisoners used their bodies to produce a voice from within biopolitic in Diyarbakır Military Prison. The only chance for prisoners to have voice was to reject their needs for continuing their lives in 'camp' condition of Diyarbakır Prison (Yılmaz, 2012). Hunger strikes can be regarded as having a say in a context which allows no space for expression of oneself (Sevinç, 2002). Hunger strikes, acts of suicide and act as burning oneself or together in Diyarbakır Prison

should be evaluated in producing a voice within biopolitics, saying that those bodies are not non-humans or biological bodies; but bodies with feelings, meanings, ideas, acts and wishes. Producing a voice from oppressed bodies of the state can be evaluated as a biopolitic response to sovereignty which has policies on the body. The Kurdish movement can also be evaluated in this respect.

Furthermore, remembering and witnessing can also be regarded as biopolitical act in itself (Edkins, 2013). Edkins (2013) states that testimonies stay at the heart of "human subjectivity", contending "the inseparability of the human and the inhuman which contests the biopower." (p.188).

1.3.2. Trauma of a Culture and Remembering: The Power of the Truth and Justice Commission of Diyarbakır Prison

Cultural trauma is defined to be occurred as when member of a community senses that they are exposed to a traumatic event that effecting their collective memory and transforming their "future identity" basically (Alexander, 2004). Cultural trauma happens when the "collective identity" of the people of a group is the target. So it can be suggested that Diyarbakır Military Prison resulted in cultural trauma in people with Kurdish identity. However, it should not be seen that it is an event which only lead to "trauma", but also it lead to people to search for areas in which they can find their voices, search for their rights.

Memory is an important field for survivors of a trauma. Remembering has a healing effect for "collective psychological health" and

"societal repression" due to traumatic events (Alexander, 2004). In this regard, witnessing helps remembering and changes the mainstream view to violent acts by state. Alexander (2004) adds that, testimonies help for creating new narratives related to cultural traumas, which not only reconstructs the past of the collective group, but also "the sense of identities". Cultural traumas give ways for "collective responsibilities" for taking "political action" (Alexander, 2004).

There is a relationship between forgetting and modernity (Connerton, 2009). Modern states make oppressed communities' narratives forget to its citizens as legitimization of their power. Edkins (2003) says that modern states cannot be regarded as safe place "any more than patriarchal family". State's violence and exploitation on human resembles father's abuse in the family, which cannot be expressed in language. Since the language is produced in society and politics in terms of "power relations", it is hard to express oneself. However, the important thing is to construct a language from survivor, which is kind of "reformulation of community" and having an insider voice for this transformation. With the information of the past, we influence our experiences in the present; and these experiences form the "social order". (Connerton, 1999).Witnessing has also meaningful value in this sense, as a means for developing a new language and reproducing and transforming the narratives of "nation-state -imagined community of people" who has a common history with same values (Edkins, 2003). This transformation challenges to the structure of "social order" which leads to traumas (Edkins, 2003).

In a modernization process of Turkey in 1980s, Diyarbakır Prison was used as a tool for repression and denying the Kurdish people's memories related to their identities. However, this prison became a "realms of memory" (Nora, 1997) for peoples of Turkey, especially for Kurdish people (Fırat and Topaloğlu, 2012).

For creation of the new narratives of Diyarbakır Military Prison and taking action politically, Diyarbakır Truth and Justice Commission was founded in 2007. The commission carried out approximately 500 interviews to document the witnesses' and their families' statements about what happened and what they lived in between 1980 -1984 in Diyarbakır Prison. Interviews underlines the demands related to law, health and life rights of ex-convicts (Bianet, 2011). All those interviews' camera records and transcriptions were done. These efforts' purpose is to report violations of human rights and to have a voice in legal, psychological and sociological fields to take an action in terms of the human rights.

1.4. Coping Mechanisms

In this part of our study, the theories behind coping mechanisms will be mentioned. Some specific coping mechanisms which were used in Diyarbakır Military Prison will be explained by referring to different studies. In the end of this part, researches related to coping mechanisms and emotions will be touched upon.

Lazarus and Folkman (1984, cited in Folkman et al., 1986a, p.993) defined coping as "the person's constantly changing cognitive and

behavioral efforts to manage specific external and/or internal demands that are appraised as taxing or exceeding the person's resources". Coping mechanisms have an important effect on well-being of a person in an encounter with stressful conditions (Gullone, Jones and Cummins, 2009). Synder and Pulvers (2001) underline the features of coping as having "purposeful, effortful and conscious actions" as a reaction against events having attack on "sense of stability" and risking "the usual activities of people" (p.4).

It is important to note and redefine that coping mechanisms are not distinct concepts, but part of our daily lives (Snyder and Pulvers, 2001).Costa, Somerfield and McCrae (1996, as cited in Snyder and Pulvers, 2001, p.44) tells:

> "progress has been hampered… by the assumption that stress and coping are special processes, governed by their own laws, and lying outside the normal range of human adaptation. By contrast, we have come to see stress and coping as an intrinsic part of the fabric of action and experience."

Synder and Pulvers (2001) highlighted the individual differences' relation with coping mechanisms. Beyond characteristic styles of individuals, factors like "socioeconomic status, intelligence, education, financial resources, marital/relationship status, age, gender, race and physical health" also play role in how people coped (Lazarus, 1999). Coping strategies (whether it is approach or avoidant) are dependent on personal characteristics of individuals. Individual differences have moderating effect

on usage of coping mechanisms and the level of stress people face with (Synder and Pulvers, 2001).

How stressors' are perceived as threatening life-strains? Synder and Pulvers (2001) suggested some features, leading stressors to be perceived much overwhelming. They explained that the stressors have more stressful effect, if they are of more significant life areas, influencing many areas of life, persistent for long time and being "severe", "less ambiguous and controllable". However, it should be noted that stressors' effects change across individuals, which has a unique effect between each individual. Even the "same" event will have different effects idiosyncratically (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984).

1.4.1. History and Categorization of Coping Mechanisms

Coping research started to take place in 1960s and 70s, while the research focus on stress began to increase. Psychoanalytic theories' concept of defense is regarded as the innovator of the coping research. In these times, coping was evaluated as "defense mechanism" of Freud's work on 1933 (Endler and Parker, 1990). Ego psychology theories were interested in inner world of individuals other than contextual factors surrounding them (Lazarus, 1993). While earlier views focused on unconscious which was worked by a mental health professors, contemporary views defend that personality and situational conditions play role in an interactional manner in coping (Synder and Pulvers, 2001).

Different categorizations of the coping mechanisms were offered. Firstly, the "hierarchical approach" to coping is proposed (Menninger, 1954; Haan, 1969 and Vailant, 1977; cited in Lazarus 1993). In this approach, defenses were taken into order in terms of its level in healthiness. Traits and defenses were investigated under this approach. Later in 1970s, important change in this field occurred: The idea that coping is related to time and the situation arose. This idea was called "process approach" (Lazarus, 1993). In this perspective, it was shown that it is not easy to put coping mechanisms into order according to their effectiveness and healthiness, since some mechanisms' effectiveness may change according to the situation (Lazarus, 1993). To summarize, in hierarchical approach, consistent usage of coping styles across different conditions are assumed, while in process approach, changes between these conditions are underlined (Lazarus,1993).

To develop categorization further, Folkman and Lazarus improved a measure called Ways of Coping in 1980, and later they changed it in 1985 (Carver,Scheier, and Weintraub 1989). According to this measure, coping mechanisms are investigated under two categories: problem focused coping and emotion focused coping. Problem focused coping is used when one attempts to do something to change the root of the stress; and emotion focused coping is used when one tries to decrease the emotional stress of the condition. When a person can sense the possibility that the conditions are open to change, then s/he can use problem focused strategy dominantly; on the other hand, when it is not possible to change the situation, then emotion focused strategy is mostly used (Folkman and Lazarus, 1980, cited in Carver

et al. 1989). It is noteworthy that people use 'multiple strategies' to cope with the stressors (Thoits, 1995).

There are different studies which worked on main characteristics and classifications of coping mechanisms. In their extensive review about the categorization of coping mechanisms, Skinner, Edge, Altman and Sherwood (2003) offered classifications for dividing the conceptualization of coping mechanisms into "higher order and lower order categories". For higher order categories, they meant the main categories of coping mechanisms and for lower order categories, certain coping mechanisms under this main titles are implied.

Pearlin and Schooler (1978) proposed three main categories in terms of coping mechanisms' functions: 1) coping strategies changing the conditions loaded with stress, 2) coping strategies changing the meaning of the stressful event, 3) coping strategies dealing with the stressful feelings of the event. Billing and Moos (1981, cited in Pearlin and Schooler, 1978) specified the categories for coping as in Pearlin and Schooler (1978)'s work. They named these categories as "active-behavioral coping, avoidance coping and active cognitive coping." Carver, Scheier and Weintraub (1989) produced the scale called COPE. This scale had two categories: "dispositional and situational". COPE had categories on "problem-focused coping, emotion-focused coping, focus on and venting of emotions, behavioral disengagement and mental disengagement" (Endler and Parker, 1990).

There are two functions of coping mechanisms: Emotion-focused coping provides regulation of stress provoking emotions and problem-focused coping provides changing the relation in between discomforted person and stressful environment (Folkman, Lazarus, Dunkel-Schetter, Delongis and Gruen, 1986a). Spurrel and McFarlane (1993) contributed that coping offers to regulate the high stress emotion by the traumatic experience and the disadvantages deriving from the traumatic context.

Thoits (1995) claims that there are usually two kinds of stress: situational stressors and emotional reactions to those. Two studies support this claim: Firstly, in a study, %98 middle aged men and women used both emotion and problem focused strategies when confronting with the stressors (Folkman and Lazarus, 1980). Secondly, in a study, %96 of college students' said that they use both mechanisms to deal with exams which arouse stress (Folkman and Lazarus, 1985). These studies show that individuals use both emotion and problem focused strategies to cope with two kinds of distress, that is situational and emotional, which make the categorization of the problem and emotion focused coping mechanisms difficult.

Categorization of coping styles can be blurred at some points. For instance 'denial' can be the subcategory of emotion- focused coping while it also serves problem focused strategies. Or "positive reinterpretation of event" can be of problem-focused coping, while it also serves emotion focused coping. Further investigation for separation of these clusters should be done (Carver, Scheier and Weintraub, 1989).Skinner, Edge, Altman and

Sherwood (2003)also criticized this categorization saying that they are not clearly defined classifications. Many of these coping mechanisms have both functions (acting on the context and emotions), which makes it harder to categorize. For example, "making plan" leads to solving of the problem, but at the same time it can relieve the emotions (Skinner et al. 2003).Lazarus (1996, cited in Skinner et al, 2003) also defended that dividing coping mechanisms into these two groups "oversimplifies" the issue of the conception of coping research.

Additionally to these categorizations, Littleton, Horsley, John and Nelson (2007) highlighted another categorization: "approach-focused and avoidance-focused". Synder and Pulvers (2001) defined those coping types. In approach focused coping, person deals with stressor to decrease its stressful features and in avoidance focused coping, one tries to take distance from the stressful condition, avoiding of it. While there are no such alternatives in avoidant coping, one who uses approach coping has many choices for dealing with the stressor. Littleton, Horsley, John and Nelson (2007) classified these categories into four types: "problem/behavioral approach, emotion/cognitive approach, problem/behavioral avoidance and emotion/cognitive avoidance".

Still, there are different kinds of categorizations in the coping literature. For instance, after they reviewed the literature about coping mechanisms, Skinner and his associates (2003) determined 400 types of coping and then they decided for thirteen coping categories: "problem solving, information-seeking, helplessness, escape, self-reliance, support

seeking, delegation, isolation, accommodation, negotiation, submission and opposition."

As another instance, with the development of the measurement called "COPE"; Carver, Scheier and Weintraub (1989) determined 15 coping mechanisms. They are "active coping, planning, suppression of competing activities, restraint coping, seeking social support (instrumental), seeking social support (emotional), positive reinterpretation and growth, acceptance, turning to religion, focus on and ventilation of emotions, denial, behavioral disengagement, mental disengagement, alcohol- drug disengagement". In this study, the first 9 coping mechanisms are said to be functional, while the other 6 coping mechanisms are not. Moreover, in this study the interaction between personality styles and coping mechanisms were also researched. It is found that effective coping mechanisms are correlated with personality features which are said to be "beneficial" (e.g. optimism) and the less effective coping mechanisms are associated with inefficient personality features (e.g. anxiety) (Carver, Scheier and Weintraub, 1989).

1.4.2. Specific Coping Mechanisms

In this section, we will explain some specific coping mechanisms which are used in this study. However, it should be noted that in literature different terms for coping mechanisms are used. The mechanisms which are found similar will be mentioned together under the related topics.

Social support

Social support is found to be as resilience factor for the psychological health of tortured refugees (Holtz, 1998). In Holtz (1998)'s study, 86% of the subjects did not show increased symptoms of depression. Holtz (1998) explains this situation by the fact that every individual was benefited from social support system. Desjaralais and associates (1995) also underlined the positive influence of social support in the psychological health of torture survivors in the long run. With their study with Bhutanese tortured refugees in Nepal, it is proposed that having personal support may have played positive role in their mental health (Shretsa et al, 1998). Moreover, low levels of depressive symptoms were also found in tortured Bhutanese refugees who received social support (Emmelkamp, Komproe, Van Ommeren, and Schagen, 2002). Especially "affective" social support with other social conditions, have positive role in the PTSD and depressive symptoms. Depressive symptoms occur especially when poor social support is seen. (Gorst-Unswoth and Goldenberg, 1998)

In addition to these, Başoğlu and Paker (1995) showed that staying longer in prison showed lower levels of depressive, anxiety and PTSD symptoms in tortured prisoners. Parallel to this, Halvorsen and Kagee (2009) found that it is protective factor for developing PTSD. As an explanation to this, Başoğlu and Paker (1995) proposed that when prisoners stay longer in prison, they have more chance to have support emotionally and share their feelings and thoughts with others. This may develop

perspectives and meanings about their experiences, which may lead to protect their mental health (Başoğlu and Paker, 1995).

Post-traumatic Growth

After having encountered with a challenging life- event, not only the symptoms of PTSD but positive change as a reaction to it can develop in people (Tedeschi and Calhoun, 2004). Transformations in "self-perception, interpersonal relationships and philosophy of life" may occur after traumatic events (Tedeschi and Calboun, 1996).

Tedeschi and Calboun (1996) developed the "Posttraumatic Growth Inventory". Items of this measure were developed from literature and interviews with people who faced traumatic events. After they developed items and made factor analysis, they decided for 5 factors after analyzed items in this measure: "relating to others, new possibilities, personal strength, spiritual change and appreciation of life". After traumatic experiences, relationships started to have meanings and closeness occur in between people. People start to see different chances and interests which can lead them to different way in life. They start to see their strengths and acquire being strong. Tedeschi and Calhoun (2004, p.6) proposed that people realize this as "if I handled this, then I can handle just about anything."

Furthermore, spiritual and existential change may occur and lead to positive change in dealing with overwhelming experiences. Tedeschi and Calhoun (2004) proposed that questioning existence after traumatic event

may occur and it may lead to growth. Most of the people who are traumatized think that they appreciate life. People recognize that small things start to have their meanings and values in life (e.g. smiling) (Tedeschi and Calhoun, 2004).

When it is about the prison condition, some ex-prisoners saw the prison as school, giving a chance to learn humanity in terms of its strength and weaknesses (Qouta, Punamaki and Sarraj, 1997). A Palestinian ex-prisoner male mentioned about his post-traumatic growth (Qouta, Punamaki and Sarraj, 1997):

> My prison experiences made me more honest with myself and increased my self-confidence and sense of responsibility. I wished that I could destroy the prison barriers with my own hands and walk free. I could stand it because of my strong determination to fight. Prison has indeed change my personality, my will has become stronger than a rock. I feel that I have to prepare myself for our future and make a happier life for those who are dear to me (Case 19).

Personality characteristics are related to usage of this coping. It is found that seeing positive effects in traumas is associated with certain personality characteristics. In their study, Tedeschi and Calboun (1996) stressed that this feature is mostly correlated with being "extravert, open to internal experience and optimistic".

Social Comparison

When people feel ambiguity about their ideas and potential, they compare themselves with others to understand their position (Festinger, 1945; as cited in Taylor, Buunk,, Collins, VanYperen and Dakof, 1990).

Social comparison is investigated in coping research, as an important coping mechanism for dealing with stress (Taylor, Buunk and Aspinwall, 1990). In upward social comparison, individual compares him/her with others who are in worse situation and in downward comparison, this comparing is done with others in better situation (Carmona et al., 2006). Buunk and Ybema (1997, as cited in Carmona et al., 2006) proposed that both social comparison styles may have positive or negative results, since it is related to whether the person "identifies or contrast" himself/herself with the condition. For instance, if the person identifies with the better positioned person, then it would evoke positive feelings. On the other hand, if s/he compares with that person, then it would evoke negative feelings. The reverse situation would occur with the worse positioned person. In a cross sectional study, it is found that downward identification and upward contrast are positively correlated with burn-out (Carmona et al., 2006). It is said that authority figures are generally identified with oneself , rather than compared (Taylor, Buunk and Aspinwall, 1990). In Helmreich and Collins (1967) study, when there is "high-fear condition", participants chose to identify with an authority figure, rather than peer, which is called "dependency motivation". Here, in our study, it is hard to hypothesize this, since the authority figure of Diyarbakır Prison is seemed to be such an inhumane figure which is dehumanized by the ex-prisoners.

The personality traits' relation to social comparison is also proposed. It is proposed that "chronic self-esteem" may have a role on people for seeing positive part of the comparison, while low self-esteem may have a

role for seeing negative parts (Buunk et al. 1989, as cited in Taylor, Buunk and Aspinwall, 1990). High- self esteem people make more comparisons which are beneficial to self then low self esteem people (Buunk et al., 1990).

Suicidal Thinking

There are different perspectives for explanation of high suicide rates in prisons. For some researchers, there is common agreement that having mental disorder have important role for suicide in prisons (e.g. vanHeeringen, 2000; as cited in Jenkins et al., 2005). On the other hand, some researchers are against this view, suggesting that the influence of cruel and inhumane conditions of the prison has important part for the suicidal behavior of prisoners. Prisoners are exposed to deprivation of many things (freedom, social, health facilities etc.) and lacking control over their personal autonomy, which have an important role for suicide (Huey and Mcnulty, 2005).

Since prisons limit emotions, prisoners' "authenticity" also lacks (Greer, 2002). As an example to context's effect on suicidal behavior, another study shows that being homeless has an important role in "disengaging coping style" and having risks such as suicidal behavior (Votta and Manion, 2004). Moreover, adaptation to life occurs in better levels when the prisoners feel the control on context of themselves (e.g. Wright and Goodstein, 1989, cited in Huey and Mcnulty, 2005). In our study, it can be hypothesized that in a context like Diyarbakır Military

Prison which gives hardly the feeling of autonomy to prisoners, suicidal thinking may be at high level.

Individual features for being prone to suicide in prison are also investigated. Some people having demographic features like being "young, single, white, not took education for long, having low social support and lacking social facilities" are more prone to suicide (Jenkins et al., 2004). Additionally, suicide is correlated with "higher levels of psychosis, neurosis and personality disorders" in prisons (Jenkins et al., 2004). Huey and Mcnulty (2005) criticizes this by saying that searching for personality disorders in suicide attempts in prisons leads to "medicalization" and stigmatization of being "victim" in people. This may later increase the attempt to see survivors as victims and "treat" them to change and "integrate" to society.

Resistance

McEvoy, Shirlow and McElrath (2004) investigated the prison experiences and coping mechanisms of the Republican ex-prisoners in North Belfast. They contended that in North Belfast, most common coping mechanism of the political prisoners (especially for Republicans) was "active and coordinated resistance." (e.g. Rolston and Tomlinson, 1986, cited in McEvoy, Shirlow and McElrath, 2004). In the same paper, examples of resistance of ex-prisoners are given as "structuring collective organization, having education about politics and military, using Irish language, being against wearing obligatory uniforms, protests, hunger

strikes, tryings of escape, conflicting legally, using violence to staff of prison", since these acts are loaded with political meanings.

Hunger strikes also have their own place among the ex-prisoners dealing with prison conditions. In Punamaki's report (1988) on Palestinian political ex-prisoners , 17 ex-prisoners were found to have done hunger strikes, which was the mostly used coping mechanism in this study. One of them described hunger strikes as "the only means available" to deal with their problems in prisons. Punamaki (1988) informed that the first hunger strike in 1976-1977 by Palestinian political prisoners was held in Ashkelon prison. This strike was against bad conditions of prison and it provided very important stance in terms of prisoner rights history. The strike influenced prisoners to behave collectively. Punamaki (1988) evaluates this act as when the oppression and violence is political, then the reaction to it comes from politics. So the coping mechanisms are strengthened by political atmosphere.

On the other hand, some acts seeming as not being rebellious are also defined as resistance. Resistance does not only have to be organized. Since the oppression is also towards the identity of people, resistance can also be at individual level (Crewe, 2007). Anderson (2001, as cited in McEvoy, Shirlow and McElrath 2004) contends that prisoners' even feeling as belonging to a certain community is a resistant act in itself. McEvoy and his associates (2004) underlined feeling "tough" as being resistant and gave an example about it from their study:

The whole thing about being inside for me was to do my whack and remain disciplined. Showing any form of weakness was a no-no for me. It should have been the same for everyone. (Respondent, mid-40s, served over 9 years)

Political Awareness and Sense Making

Being politically aware, holding onto this awareness and giving meaning to the process one get through is regarded as coping mechanism. Having a political identity can be thought in terms of being politically aware. Buntman (1998) mentions the black people's resistance and assertion of their freedom in South Africa, in her paper. After an encounter with violent act of the state, those people gained "political identity" as defending the apartheid state. Buntman (1998) underlined that "resistance was their political identity" (p.433). "Political engagement" is also used by Tibetan tortured people as an important way of coping to deal with the traumatic experience they had (Elsass and Phuntsok, 2008).

Başoğlu and colleagues (1996) worked on the role of perception of self and social context on PTSD symptoms. It is found that all political prisoners (tortured and non-tortured) evaluated the state and the police from more negative side than non-political prisoners and they had less PTSD symptoms. In light of these results, Başoğlu and associates (1996) offered that having certain way of look to state, which is political awareness, can play role as resilient factor for developing PTSD symptoms. "Ideological commitment" gives prisoners chance for evaluating the experience and making meaning out of it, which gives 'strength, control and psychological health' (Punamaki et al., 2007). One of the Palestinian political ex-prisoner

explained the resource which he gains his strength very well and deeply in Punamaki (1988)'s study:

> The shared feeling that all of us within prison walls are exposed to the same injustice and that the cause for which we were imprisoned is a just one. Our morale is high because our struggle is not only for borders; it is an ideological struggle, not only for Palestinian people, but for all oppressed nations and revolutionary movements in Arab countries and throughout the world.

People gave meaning after having been exposed to traumatic experience. Positive associations were found between how political ex-prisoners perceive self and others and the severity of PTSD symptoms and positive growth they face (Salo, Punamaki and Qouta, 2004). The meaning of prison changed according to the self and other representation types of the prisoners. For instance, prisoners who perceive others as "malevolent" and self as "defeated" could not see positive sides in their experiences (Salo, Punamaki and Qouta, 2004). This can also be indicator of the relationship between personality characteristics and their meaning making type. The experiences of prisoners also influence formation of their identities, since their evaluation of their selves "personally and socially" would change accordingly (Greer, 2002).

Humor

In prison atmosphere, humor is an effective and important coping mechanism (Henman, 2001 ; Terry, 1997). It is "invaluable asset within the

prison walls" (Greer,2002) and "psychologically liberating" (Riolli and Savicki, 2010).

Terry (1997) suggests that through socialization, for male prisoners, it is hard to express feelings, since the expression seems as fragile and vulnerable. However, the feelings are kind of expressed through different channels. Terry (1997) suggests that humor is an important channel for male prisoners to express their feelings. He further proposes that through humor, prisoners can achieve sense of control in two senses: Firstly, with the expression of feelings in a different way gives them control. Secondly, humor is a way of giving 'reaction' to the cruel and violent system of prison which aims to control its convicts. By producing a response to it, prisoners can feel the sense of control at some levels.

Henman (2001) highlights the resiliency which humor provides, suggesting that humor is one of the important factors for prisoners for not developing psychological discomfort. Humor is used in context of social support, which helps prisoners to realize their own strength and to have feeling of control (Henman, 2001). Nielsen (2011) in his analysis, showed another function of humor as making prisoners and prison officers meet at the equal point. Nielsen (2011) proposed that with humor, people become distance from their roles. For a short time, they interact from their personal roles, not the state- imposed roles as officer or prisoners. Moreover, in Grier (2002)'s study, women reported that humor provided "relief from sadness and regret" they had.

Writing and emotional expression

Emotion is crucial for creation and expression of one's inner world (Zarowsky, 2004). After war trauma and having refugee experiences, some specific emotional expressions are noteworthy: "anger, passion and demoralization" (Zarowsky, 2004). According to Somali refugees' narratives' analysis, every experience is unique in itself. Narratives of history which plays role in collective memory have important contributions to reconstruct social communities of these people. Their wish behind expressing their stories in Zarowsky's (2004) study, was that the re-construction of "politicized collective memory and master narrative challenging power" (p.205).

Expression of emotions is another important factor for coping with trauma. Pennebaker and Beall (1986) investigated the role of writing about trauma in psychological health of people. After the subjects wrote an essay about their trauma, their blood pressure increased and their mood became more negative, which can show that in the short run it has negative effects. But it is shown that in long run, subjects became healthier. However the relationship between is health and writing is not clarified in the study. Smyth (1998) also investigated the relationship between the emotional expression and mental health. It is shown that writing and expressing emotions improved health (in four areas: "physical health, psychological well-being, physiological functioning and general functioning") significantly. It is also found that expressive writing lead to decrease in

stress. Smyth (1998) further touches upon the healing effect of writing of traumatic experience in traumatized people.

Van der Kolk (1994) signifies that "body remembers" the traumatic memories, so traumatic memory can manifest in biological symptoms and types of amnesias, which reminds PTSD. It is explained that not expressing traumatic memories may lead to experience negative loaded emotions bodily. Pennebaker (2000),with his broad knowledge about the research in expression of emotions, tried to explain the mechanisms under the expression of emotions' healing effect on health: He suggested that after writing their experience, people may gain awareness about their health and alter their attitudes. Another explanation may be that "self-expression" has benefits to health in itself. Lastly, he suggested that putting emotions verbally and changing its structure may alter the perception of trauma of the person.

Denial

Denial is regarded as coping mechanism dealing with trauma. Denial is found to be mostly used coping mechanism for maintaining traumatic memories (Green, Lindy and Grace, 1988).Seeing the positive sides in negative events is regarded as denial (Lerner and Gignac, 1992, cited in Park and Folkman, 1997). Denial may also influence physical and psychological well-being in negative way (Greer, 2002).However there are also oppositions to this view, saying that in some cases, denial may be beneficial for individuals. Punamaki and associates (2004), in their study,

found that denial of traumatic experience played as a protective factor for Kurdish children's psychological health. On the other hand, in Punamaki and his associates' study with political prisoners and non-prisoners (2007), the slogan of political people saying that "the more I suffer the stronger I become" helped them for coping, but at the same time, those people showed more psychological discomfort.

Horowitz (1986, cited in Pineles et al. 2011) offers that people gives reactions to trauma as being in between denial (avoiding and denying stress) and over- exposure to traumatic memories at some times.

Disengagement

Disengagement will be regarded as avoidant strategies in this topic. Pineles and her associates (2011) found that people using avoidant coping mechanisms are shown to be more prone to develop PTSD symptoms, if especially they are people who show high reactions to signs which remember their traumatic memory. Those people may have difficulty in the digestion of the traumatic memory, which later may lead to PTSD. The study also highlights that survivors who have avoidant coping strategies may also be more reactive to cues of traumatic memory later, so this individual style can also have an effect in their psychological health.

There are studies showing that avoidance (disengagement) is also effective for dealing with traumatic experiences. Cohen and Lazarus (1973) ,in their work with patients in the process before surgery, found that patients who used avoidance as coping mechanism showed recovery more than

patients who used approach coping mechanisms. Weisenberg and associates (1993) interpreted this as sometimes being insistent on problem focused strategies which cannot change the traumatic event may lead to unpleasant results in mental health. So it can be said that results of using avoidant coping strategies may help according to the context.

Hope

Hope is found important for coping which has an aim for distancing from negative feelings and distressing conditions (Korner, 1970) and increased "spiritual and psychological well-being" (Bunston, Mings, Mackie and Jones, 1995). In a study with female prisoners, hope is implanted to them via group therapy and positive transformations are found in the end (Nedderman, Underwood and Hardy, 2010). Additionally, after treatment program of PTSD with Vietnam War veterans, hope was found to associate with perceived social support from family and friends and effective coping mechanisms (Irving, Telfer and Blake, 1997).

Religious Coping

Religion is seen as a way for coping with the overwhelming conditions of the prison. Religious coping may play important role in adjusting to the prison (Clear and Sumter, 2002; Thomas and Zaitzow, 2006; Feder et al., 2008). Clear and his associates (1992) asserted that the prison environments expose emotional hardiness and various deprivations to the prisoners. In light of their interviews with the prisoners, they propose that religion helps prisoners to overcome the feeling of guilt and depressive

emotions about the crime they did, to transform their meanings and perspective to life and to give the feeling of 'peace'. It is asserted that religious coping may lead the prisoner to feel the sense of agency in the way of religion while dealing with the inhumane conditions of the prison (Clear, et al., 1992). The Palestinian ex-prisoners who used religious coping saw God as a protector and they reported that they thought the imprisonment as a discovery for the compassion of God in Qouta, Punamaki and Sarraj (1997)'s study.

When there is torture in the prison, then the use of religious coping may have different associations with psychological comfort. African torture survivors showed that they used private use of religion (individual religious practices such as praying) in the prison and showed fewer symptoms in PTSD and depression (Leaman and Gee, 2012). However, negative use of religion (having negative feelings towards God) was found to be associated with more symptoms of PTSD and depression (Leaman and Gee, 2012).It can be hypothesized that in the surroundings which have extreme deprivations leaving no space for organized religion, the tortured prisoners may use individual practices on religion which may help them to relieve their psychological distress.

Dissociation

McWilliams (2009) defines dissociation as 'a natural response to traumatic experiences', however it cannot be evaluated as an ordinary situation of the human beings. If human faces the traumatic conditions

which extremely overwhelm their capacity to cope with, s/he may dissociate for avoiding the feelings of fear, pain and horror of the experience (McWilliams, 2009). Literature with torture survivors show that they show significant rates of dissociation (Knezevic, 2004; Ginzburg and Neria, 2011; Kira, Ashby, Odenat and Lewandowsky, 2013). People face with various experiences in daily lives. They take some kind of 'sensory inputs' from those experiences and they integrate those 'inputs' to their life narrations with transformations of them. However, when people are exposed to physical and/or psychological torture experiences, they have difficulty transforming and integrating the inputs of those experiences to their individual stories because of the loaded emotions they evoke (Van der Kolk and Fisler, 1995). Those memories stay as 'fragments' which is not digested to the 'personal narratives' of the torture survivors. This hardiness in the integration leads to the dissociative experiences in the survivors (Van der Kolk and Fisler, 1995). Ray and his associates (2006) looks this phenomenon from neuro-scientific point of view. In their study with torture survivors, they found out that dissociative symptoms are correlated with the dysfunctions in the neural networks in the brain area called 'ventrolateral frontal cortex' which is related to 'structured verbal memory'. It is evaluated that this dysfunction leads to problems for reaching the verbal material of the traumatic memory (Ray et al., 2006). Despite the fact that the verbal material of the torture experience stays as 'fragmentary', body of the torture survivor can be seen as holding those experiences inside (Gray,

2001). Gray (2001, p.29) ,in her paper' topic, mentions that 'the body remembers'.

1.4.3. General Effectiveness of Coping Mechanisms

There is not a clear way to measure the effectiveness of coping mechanisms, (Lazarus, 2000). Classifying coping mechanisms as effective or ineffective is very difficult, since the effectiveness would change according to the situation, the individual, the meanings they put, their expectations. For instance, Punamaki and associates (2004) offer that when we measure the effectiveness of coping mechanisms, it would be helpful to classify coping mechanisms into "behavioral, social and cognitive types".

There are different views how to define effectiveness. Kochenderfer-Ladd (2004) states that the research on this issue shows that coping mechanisms aiming to stressor (changing the conditions related to stressor or looking for help etc.) has more positive results than avoidance strategies (Carver, Scheier and Weintraub; Roth and Cohen, 1986, cited in Kochenderfer-Ladd, 2004). On the other hand, Lazarus and Folkman (1984) proposed that efficiency of coping depends on one's dealing with his/her emotional responses in overwhelming conditions (Kochenderfer-Ladd, 2004). However, thinking from the way coping mechanisms classified into problem and emotion focused coping, there are some efforts to understand which one is more effective.

Mostly, problem-focused coping mechanisms are predicted to be more effective in psychological comfort of people than emotion-focused

coping. However, Riolli and Savicki (2010) says that saying that problem focused way is effective while the other is not, would be too elementary. In their study, they found that this classification is not valid for measuring effectiveness in traumatic situations. While some problem focused strategies (e.g. "active coping and planning") were found to be effective, emotion focused strategy was also found to be beneficial for "positive adjustment" (Riolli and Savicki, 2010). In the same paper, they explained this as maybe some people who are more prone to use emotion-focused coping under certain condition, took advantage from this coping, while the others are not. So the use of coping mechanisms' differs due to individual characteristics (Carver et al., 1989).

Addition to that, the nature of using certain coping mechanisms may change according to the stress type of situation. Weisenberg and associates (1993), in their study with postwar survivors of children, found that which kind of coping they used was related to the type of stress they had after postwar trauma.

1.4.4. Emotions while Using Coping Mechanisms

Sociologically, emotions can be analyzed in two ways (Greer, 2002). Firstly, the factors leading emotions can be studied. Secondly, the "social interactions" which effects people's living their emotions inside and outside can be investigated (Hochschild, 1979, 1983 ;cited in Greer, 2002). Prisons seem to be one of the important places for analysis in terms of social interactions and emotions. Greer (2002) offered that prisons are not only

places as "total institutions" which aims to transforms people (Goffman 1961, cited in Greer, 2002) , but they are also places for restricting emotions of people. So in this kind of context, it is very hard and important to understand emotional world of prisoners. For instance, in Greer (2002)'s study with women prisoners, various feelings are shown through the women's narratives: "fear, anger, frustration, sadness, regret and contentment".

Before there was a common view supporting that coping influences emotion. However, this view transformed into a view of "unidirectional causal pattern" (Folkman and Lazarus, 1980). According to this contemporary view, emotion and coping mechanisms influence each other reciprocally. Folkman and Lazarus (1980) propose that after one perceives an event as "harmful, beneficial, threatening or challenging", this perception produces emotion. The emotions evoke effects coping mechanisms and later this change "the person-environment relationship". Later, this perception again change the emotion "quality and intensity" (Folkman and Lazarus, 1980). In their study, they also supported this model. They found that "planful problem solving" was related to positive emotions and it had a developing influence on "person-environment relationship", while "confrontive coping" and "distancing" was related to negative emotions.

Another study showed that among self-harmers the feelings of 'fear, hostility, guilt and anger' seemed in higher rates than non self-harmers (Brown, Williams and Collins, 2007). There is another study about emotions

in coping processes with children (Kochenderfer-Ladd, 2004). In this study, it is shown that while fear is associated with "advice seeking", anger and embarrassment is related with "revenge-seeking" in children who were exposed to bullying. In light of this result, this study also proposed that the feeling type is related with the efficiency of coping mechanisms.

In our study, we will explore which emotions are shown by ex-prisoners to understand their nature of emotions. This exploration's intent follows Yarkın (2013)'s work which aims to show the "subjectivity and individuality" of the ex- prisoners.

1.4.5. Exploration of Coping Mechanisms and Emotions of Ex-Prisoners of Diyarbakır Military Prison

In this work, analysis will be done through coping mechanisms of the ex-prisoners who stayed in Diyarbakır Military Prison in between 1980 and 1984 in Turkey. This study targets exploration of the coping mechanisms. The purpose is presenting the types of coping mechanisms of prisoners. Additional to this purpose, the emotions of these ex-prisoners will be explored and presented.

2. Method

2.1. Participants

Subjects in this study are 50 ex-prisoners of Diyarbakır Military Prison between the years of 1980 and 1984. All participants are male in this study. Those participants are found through interview collection of Truth and Justice Commission of Diyarbakır Prison.

2.2. Procedure

There are nearly 500 interviews in the data collection of Diyarbakır Truth and Justice Commission. Those interviews were done with the ex-prisoners of Diyarbakır Military Prison. People volunteered to transcribe those interviews which are also videotaped. Interviewers were educated by the clinical psychologist who is Murat Paker. They are informed that they should try to understand psychological effects of the torture. Those interviews involved open-ended questions, which leave space to the ex-prisoners' expression of themselves as they want.

In this study, 50 interviews out of this collection were chosen for analysis. The previous studies (Yarkın, 2013; Dogan, 2011) also used the same collection for their analysis. Those studies used Nimet Tanrıkulu's interviews. Since she also focused on psychological side of the torture, those studies gave her interviews priority.

In Irem Dogan's (2011) study, 15 interviews; and in Gunseli Yarkın's (2013) study, 30 interviews of Nimet Tanrıkulu were analyzed. So

to choose out data, those interviews were extracted from the data pool. From the rest of data, 50 interviews were selected. The criterion for selection was determined in terms of the interviews' being extensive. To determine this criterion, the data pool was controlled and the longest interviews were selected. It is assumed that if the interview would be longer, than the possibility of the interviewee's giving more psychological information would be higher. Since not all the interviewers asked psychological side of the subjects, with this method we thought that we could reach to richer information. The interviews which couldn't be completed and which are hard to understand by transcribers were extracted for not to spoil the consistency of the information.

Since the interviews were decided according to its richness in material, the consistency of interviewers couldn't be provided. There are 12 interviewers. Their names are Nimet Tanrıkulu, Celalettin Can, Nihal Saban, Tahsin Yeşildere, Mustafa Sütlaş, Erdoğan Çalak, Şebnem Korur Fincancı, Ergin Cinmen, Suna Develioğlu, Hasan Erkut, Ayşe Berktay and Mehmet Güç. 19 interviews' interviewers left unknown.

Because of the fact that those interviews were not conducted by the researcher, this study is not able to serve the relation between the interviewers and interviewees. This can lead to distance at some levels in between researchers and interviews which should be noted. However, the researcher still could construct the relation by reading those interviews, as Yarkın (2013) also underlined in her study before. It can even be noted that

the researcher related to both interviewers and the subjects through reading, suggesting triangle relations.

2.3. Data Analysis

We will analyze the interviews according to the pre-determined categories of coping mechanisms of Irem Dogan(2011) and Günseli Yarkın (2013)'s studies. Dogan (2011) decided for the categories through the literature of coping mechanisms. Yarkın (2013) added 2 coping mechanisms ('social comparison' and 'positive affect') through her reading. Those categories will be used for analysis of those interviews.

Yarkın (2013) also explored emotions of the ex-prisoners through her reading. In this study, we will also use her categories, and we will add extra- categories to this exploration of emotions and coping mechanisms.

3. Results

3.1. Sampling

This study is done with 50 ex-prisoners, who were imprisoned in Diyarbakır Prison between 1980 and 1984. All the participants in this study are men (100%). Among those participants, 4 participants are single (8%), 45 participants are married (90%) and one (2%) of the participant's marriage status is unknown. Socioeconomic background of the ex-prisoners is ranged from low level to high middle class before they went to prison. Education status of the prisoners was also various. One of the subjects is literate (2%), 14 subjects are graduated from primary school (28%), 6 subjects are graduated from secondary school (12%), 18 subjects were in high school while they were taken under detention (36%), 3 subjects are graduated from high school (6%), 2 subjects were in university while they were taken under detention (4%), 5 subjects were graduated from university (10%), and 1 of the subjects' education status is unknown (2%). The average level of the age of the subjects is 52,2 (M=52,2, SD=4.5). There are 3 subjects who were stayed in children's ward and one of the subjects was kept in ward for adults despite his age, since he lied that he was adult for not staying in children's ward. General demographic data of subjects is shown in Table 2.

Table 2.

The Frequencies and Percentages of Demographic Features of the Ex-prisoners

Frequencies (n=50)		%
Gender		
Male	50	100 %
Education		
Literate	1	2 %
Primary School	14	28 %
Secondary School	6	12 %
High School Drop-out	18	36 %
High School	3	6 %
University Drop-out	2	4 %
University	5	10 %
Unknown	1	2 %
Marital Status		
Married	45	90 %
Single	4	8 %
Unknown	1	2 %
Average Age ± SD		52.2 ± 4.5

How many years those ex-prisoners stayed in the hospital is various. We could learn 46 (98%) of the ex-prisoners' duration in the prison, however 4 (8%) of the ex-prisoners' duration in prison is not known. The mean duration of time is 6 years and 5 months with the standard deviation of 5 years and 4 months. The maximum time one ex-prisoner stayed in the prison is 24 years and the minimum time is 2 months. The median of the

duration of the ex-prisoners is 5 years. Still we should state that this information is gathered by the self-report of the ex-prisoners.

Before imprisonment, 39 subjects (78%) stated that they were related to politics, 5 of the subjects (10%) mentioned that they were not related to politics and 6 of the subjects (12%) political stance is not stated. 2 subjects reported that while they were not political people before prison, they became political in the prison process.5 subjects (10%) had predictions about the wild treatment towards prisoners before prison, while 9 (18%) subjects had no predictions about the conditions of this prison. Rest of the subjects did not make comment about their predictions before they got into prison.

48 subjects of this study (96%) are from Eastern side of Turkey. 29 subjects from Urfa (58%), 8 from Mardin (16%), 6 from Batman (12%), 3 from Diyarbakır (6%), 1 from Mersin (2%) and 1 from Hakkari (2%) participated to our study. 2 of the subjects' (4%) did not state where they are from. Moreover, all the interviews occurred in Turkish.

3.2. Data Analysis

Numbers from 1 to 50 are assigned to subjects of this study for protection of their confidentiality. Yarkın (2013) ,in her study, called subjects as 'ex-prisoners' for underlining their individualities and political identities. In this study, we will also call subjects 'ex-prisoners' for keeping this aim.

The interviews in this study are analyzed according to the previous studies' determined categories for coping mechanisms (Doğan, 2011; Yarkın, 2013). Firstly, Doğan (2011) determined for 22 coping mechanisms: 'resistance, obeying the torturer and accepting the conditions, problem focused active (need regulation), political awareness and sense making, self-sacrifice, dehumanization of the torturer, political determination, belonging to group, humor, somatization, social support, affective disengagement, keeping hope alive, rationalization, denial, wish for death, mental disengagement, behavioral disengagement, affective disengagement, suppression, positive growth, and expression.' Yarkın (2013) added two more mechanisms which are 'social comparison and positive affect'. In our study, we also found 2 more coping mechanisms: "religious coping and dissociation".

We analyzed our data by taking the classifications of coping mechanisms' in previous studies (Doğan, 2011; Yarkın, 2013). There are three main classifications: 'problem focused coping mechanisms to stop or decrease torture in the prison; cognitive and affective coping mechanisms to decrease the effect of torture in the prison; and coping mechanisms to decrease the effects of torture after being released' (Yarkın, 2013, p.50).

For the analysis of emotions, the categories of Yarkın (2013) are used: 'anger, sadness, shame, perplexity, guilt, fear, disgust, disappointment, longing, anxiety, helplessness, insecurity, terror and worthlessness.' (p.51). In our study, we found 13 more categories for emotions: "feeling pleased, relief, pain, trust, courage, discourage, power,

powerlessness, love, loneliness, stress, hopelessness and tiredness". We analyzed the emotions through the sentences of the prisoners in the interviews. We also included the sentences which had the certain emotional tone even if the emotion is not stated apparently to our categories.

3.2.1. Coping Mechanisms

We found that ex-prisoners mostly used sense making and political awareness (98%, n=50). Secondly it is shown that they used resistance (92%, n=50). Thirdly, they used social comparison (80%, n=50). The coping mechanisms ex-prisoners rarely used are somatization (6%, n=50), religious coping (6%, n=50), affective disengagement (8%, n=50) and denial (8%, n=50). We show the frequencies and the percentages of the coping mechanisms' usage in Table 3.

Table 3.
The Frequencies and the Percentages of Used Coping Mechanisms of Ex-prisoners

Coping Mechanisms	Frequencies (n=50)	*%*
Problem Focused Coping Mechanisms to Stop or Decrease Torture in the Prison		
Resistance	46	92 %
Obeying the Torturer and Accepting the Conditions	35	70 %
Problem Focused Active (Need Regulation)	35	70 %
Problem Focused Coping Mechanisms to Decrease the Effect of Torture in the Prison		

Sense Making and Political Awareness	49	98 %
Social Comparison	40	80 %
Belonging to Group	34	68 %
Dehumanization of the Torturer	30	60 %
Self- sacrifice	30	60 %
Social Support	28	56 %
Fantasy and Need for Justice	27	54 %
Positive Affect	23	46 %
Dissociation	21	42 %
Political Determination	19	38 %
Humor	19	38 %
Wish for Death	18	36 %
Behavioral Disengagement	14	28 %
Mental Disengagement	9	18 %
Keeping Hope Alive	8	16 %
Suppression	8	16 %
Rationalization	6	12 %
Affective Disengagement	4	8 %
Denial	4	8 %
Somatization	3	6 %
Religious Coping	3	6 %

Coping Mechanisms to Decrease Effects of Torture After being Released

Positive Growth	22	44 %
Expression	13	26 %

3.2.1.1. Problem Focused Coping Mechanisms to Stop or Decrease Torture in the Prison

Resistance

Resistance is shown to be one of the most used coping mechanisms among ex-prisoners in Diyarbakır Prison. 92% of the ex-prisoners (n=50) mentioned about resistance stories of their own.

Hunger strikes and death fasts are mostly used in resistance stories, which is noteworthy. 11 ex-prisoners (22%) mentioned that they got into death fasts and 15 ex-prisoners (30%) stated that they were in hunger strikes. One ex-prisoner mentions about the death of Mazlum Doğan, who hanged himself in the day of "Newroz" in the prison:

> I mean, maybe Mazlum's revival, the struggle for freedom, shows us this fact in a very clear way: Instead of living without honor in Diyarbakır, death was the most beautiful flower of the life, it was a rose. And he had to choose such an honored struggle, since there was not a condition left to live like a human being there. When we shouted slogans called "Long live death! We want to live like a human", this was going to be one of the slogans in 1983 resistance of ours. (Participant 29)

Additionally to this passage, there was a slogan belonging to 1983 resistance in Diyarbakır Military Prison called: "*The honor of humanity will beat the torture*", which is important to note here.

There was resistance against the military system of the daily living in wards. Some ex-prisoners mentioned that they were not saying oaths, rejecting counting the number of themselves in their wards, not calling

federal judges 'commandant' as prison officers wants, not standing like the soldier ('standing at attention'), being against wearing uniform, not praying for food. Not accepting the crime which the guardians attributed to the prisoners was another way for resistance. One of the ex-prisoners (Participant 18) said that when the guardian wanted him to say national oath, he hit his head to the wall since there was nothing else to do. Other (Participant 49) mentioned that while he had to say that "Every Turk is born as a soldier", he was saying that "Every Kurt is born as a soldier". Another ex-prisoner (Participant 24) stated that he did not stand up, which was a rule, when the main guardian of the prisoner came into their ward.

Ex-prisoners mainly resisted against practices for living in inhumane conditions. For instance, some ex-prisoners mentioned that they were resisted against guardians' cutting their hair, eating food which has mouse, too much salt, or chemical things in it, not wanting to sit in a messy water. One of the ex-prisoner (Participant 25) mentioned that despite he knew that talking Kurdish was forbidden in meetings, he insisted on speaking in Kurdish. Other ex-prisoner (Participant 39) said that he did not slap his friend from his ward, as guardian wanted him to do it.

Not only resisting behaviorally, but also mentally resisting to the conditions of prisons is stated. One of the ex- prisons mentioned that "standing still" was very important, which was a signifier for resistance (Participant 17). Another ex-prison stated that they were resisting by having their "humanity" inside (Participant 19). One of the ex-prisons tells:

The criterion for being human there was not torturing your own people, not giving

the names of your friends and revolutionist democrats. That was the only thing left

which was in people's hands. I mean, the line between life and death was that

criterion. Sometimes they were forcing us to get into the canalization, forcing us to

put our heads in it. I mean, not putting my head to that canalization was the biggest

heroism I could ever do there (Participant 18).

Obeying the Torturer and Accepting the Conditions

70% of the ex-prisoners, 35 people, (n=50) mentioned about obeying stories. Obeying and acceptance seems to occur for protection of oneself from being tortured in high levels. One of the ex-prisoners mentioned that after they planned for 1983 resistance in prison, they started to obey the rules for not to make guardians suspect about themselves (Participant 35). The other ex-prisoner mentioned that obeying was happening at certain levels:

1983 September resistance was a first scream, first rebel, first rejection of the

practices of the tortures of the prison. It was "saying no and resisting" to end this

inhumane practices. There was the anger of 2-3 years' submission'. We obeyed as

a body, but we did not obey mentally. I mean in courts we were defending our

party, ideology; we were saying that we are not regretful but ready to die. But on

the other hand, when we returned to prison, we said national anthem, oath and

Atatürk's address to Turkish youth; we obeyed there.(Participant 24).

Obeying to military education is mentioned among ex-prisoners, which is noteworthy. Saying "I am Turkish, honest and hardworking", being in military line, memorizing the "Atatürk's address to Turkish youth" with all its punctuations were some of the rules which some ex-prisoners

were left to obey. One ex-prisoner (Participant 30) said that around 50 marches were obligatory to memorize. Another ex-prisoner (Participant 45) said that when a friend of them died in prison, as a witness they had to say that this friend died because of heart attack, not the torture.

Obeying to daily life rules in wards is also mentioned. Cutting their hair, shaving their beard two times a day, cleaning their wards despite knowing that the guardians will ruin it afterwards can be given as an example to this.

Problem Focused- Active (Need Regulation)

35 ex-prisoners (n=50), which means 70% of them talked about how they changed their needs and conditions in an active way. As some ex-prisoners mentioned, in such deprived and adverse conditions, 'creativity' increased among ex-prisoners so that they played with those conditions and transformed their needs, behavior and objects around them.

Changing the needs due to conditions is very striking in ex-prisoner's narratives. One ex-prisoner (Participant 11) said that he did not want cigarette from guardian for years, since he knew that he was not going to give him. Another ex-prisoner (Participant 34) mentioned that since he was such a hungry, when he ate food, he ate it like he was feasting. Generally, ex-prisoners mentioned that they did not want their relatives and family to come and see them. One of the ex-prisoner (Participant 16) said that despite his wish for family not to come, his family wanted to come

there to see 'if their child is killed or not'. An ex-prisoner tells about the meeting conditions.

> I did not want them to come to see me. The reason is that, when we were going to meeting cabins, we were beaten and we were crawling to there. You had to stand still, you have no chance to look to your right and left. You have to look straight to a point. You have no choice to speak other than asking "How are you?" (Participant 17).

Ex-prisoners altered their behavior according to the context they are in. When talking was forbidden in wards, they started to whisper to each other. They were also communicating via pipeline among wards. One of the ex-prisoners said that he learned how to speak with eyes there (Participant 1). They learned how to sleep with five people in a bed.

Other striking issue is about how the ex-prisoners created objects to fulfill their needs. Some ex-prisoners talked about creating teapot, chessboard and a stringed instrument from materials in wards (such as bed, inside of bread, socks etc.). An ex-prisoner (Participant 34) talked about how he used biscuit pocket as a megaphone when they were collectively resisted. Another ex-prisoner (Participant 9) said that since they did not take shower for 3 years, they were cleaning their filth with the teeth brush. They were refining the water with chemicals ("Tursil") via washbasin, and after that they were using that water. One ex-prisoner tells how they were reaching water:

> We unbolted the socks of us and made rope out of them. After that we tied sponge to this rope. We were hanging this sponge to the air condition and sinking it to the

rain water. Then we were taking back our sponge, compressing it to glasses and drink it (Participant 5).

Moreover, there are some other clever tactics used for coping with torture practices. One of the people (Participant 43) said that he was eating less for having less energy, which means that he could faint earlier while being beaten. Other (Participant 46) said that torturers had been erupting pressured water on them. Once they took their soaps and went there. When the torturers started this eruption, they took off their soaps and started to take shower, which automatically stopped this eruption.

3.2.1.2. Cognitive and Affective Coping Mechanisms to Decrease the Effect of Torture in the Prison

Political Awareness and Sense Making

49 people, n=50, (98% of the ex-prisoners) used political awareness and sense making for coping with the distressed conditions they lived. Most of the ex-prisoners said that the aim of Diyarbakır Prison was to extinct the identities and to alienate people to their characters. It is also generally mentioned that the practices was on purpose and intentioned. One ex-prisoner (Participant 10) said that they did not only want to conquer them, they also wanted to finish their "will", which later lead them to lose their humanity, being like object. Another ex-prisoner (Participant 11) said that it was a project which aimed to finish "the nation", even "the humanity". "Jenosid of identity", another ex-prisoner (Participant 15) said for this process.

Some ex-prisoners made meaning out of some particular experiences in the prison. One ex-prisoner (Participant 23) mentioned that all the oaths and marches were only for "chauvinism and racism". Other ex-prisoner (Participant 13) said that the court times were the times for "their defending their rights and taking revenge". One ex-prisoner said that death of Ferhat Kurtay (who burned himself with 3 other friends) was 'lightening of the darkness', meaning that giving them hope of resistance. About death fasts, one ex-prisoner (Participant 16) said that "Instead of dying every day, we would die only one day". Some ex-prisoners said that these years took their youth as a loss of years. Some said that despite they were imprisoned for crimes they did not, it was a price that they paid and it was all for an ideal.

Ex-prisoners made meaning out of how they positioned in prison as a human. One ex-prisoner (Participant 17) said that he tried to protect his values; another ex-prisoner (Participant 6) tried to protect his character. Other ex-prisoner (Participant 7) said that despite he did not commit a crime, he was treated equally with every people. So in the end, he started to see himself as those people. "We did not gave up totally, we were trying to resist in certain points for not losing our values, identity and personality", says another ex-prisoner (Participant 39). One ex-prisoner mentions how he was in between two positions:

> It was like a flood deflated into human's heart. It was hard to repress feelings. There was a scream. And there was a reality resisting against this. On the other hand, there were conditions which hurt hearts of people, wanting to make them dishonored. And we were in between those two realities (Participant 29).

Specifically, out of those ex-prisoners, 42 people (%84) told about how politically aware they were and how attached to their identity. Before prison, they were reading about books about revolution (Participant 1), listening to the radio (Participant 14), talking with people who were leftist in high school (Participant 16). One ex-prisoner (Participant 2) said that he is committed to ideology of Kurdish national movement.

An ex-prisoner (Participant 5) said that when he started to read, he learned what happened to Kurdish people. Another ex-prisoner (Participant 11) said that along the history, Kurds are always ignored. Even their life expectancy rates are lower, which shows the influence of the state politics on them. One ex-prisoner explains how he started to get closer to politics:

> Not only community districts, we were looking to very close and what we saw was people who were very rich, having the luxuries. People who had 3-5 villages and 10.000 square meters places… On the other hand, there were people who were like slaves, don't have even place to bury their death relatives. We saw these facts. We were so impressed by this. We were from a poor family. I was really influenced by this gap. I said that this state needs a revolution. Those aghas should be overcome; otherwise we won't have a right to live (Participant 9).

Ex-prisoners mentioned that what they lived in Diyarbakır Prison was just because of the fact that they were Kurdish. Some ex-prisoners were close to the thoughts about revolution, but they were not activists. One- ex-prisoner (Participant 50) said that this situation lead him to resist. Another ex-prisoner (Participant 6) said that they are human before all else:"We are people, we are Kurdish, we have our own language, mother tongue. It is not

possible for us to forget the system which did all these to us for only we are Kurdish."

Social Comparison

40 of the ex-prisoners amounting to 80% percent compared their prison process with another experiences. Mostly, ex-prisoners compared Diyarbakır Military Prison to the Saygon islands in Vietnam and Nazi camps. They generally mentioned that Diyarbakır Prison was much crueler than those camps. One ex-prisoner (Participant 20) mentioned that in his opinion Esat Oktay Yıldıran was fascist as Hitler. While he was making comparison, he explained that Hitler had an opportunity to make a world war, while Esat Oktay had only opportunities for prison. Despite of this, what he did was not only killing people, but making them worse than to kill.

> I thought that Diyarbakır Prison was much more cruel and unbearable than what Hitler did. Because what Hitler did was step by step. Maybe if Esat Oktay had murdered us all of a sudden, maybe the history would perceive what he did in a different way and they would give different response, with the reaction developed in people's conscience. And maybe historical process would develop in a different way (Participant 43).

Some ex-prisoners said that those camps had common features: One ex-prisoner (Participant 10) said that "The common thing is that some people resist in the camps, sending themselves to death for freedom and living as human, then the others are saved". Another ex-prisoner (Participant 17) said that they defended for Kurdish people, as people in Vietnam defended for their own people.

Sometimes they compared other ex-prisoners according to weaknesses or strength of them or how they were treated. Comparison of people is also mentioned through interviews. Ex-prisoners who were arrested because of narcotics smuggling and gun running were exposed to same treatment in prison (Participant 9). One ex-prisoner (Participant 13) said that there was an ex-prisoner who was Armenian. Because of his identity, he was tortured more than them.

Ex-prisoners also compared the types of tortures. While an ex-convict said that nightstick was better than plank (Participant 50), another ex-convict said that exposing to electricity was much crueler than beaten by a stick (Participant 33). One ex-prisoner stated that the education in Diyarbakır prison was not in any army of world (Participant 16).They stated that what they went through was 'beyond torture'. Another ex-prisoner (Participant 22) explained that the mentality behind torture in Diyarbakır Prison was not killing physically as other tortures, but to kill psychologically and this mentality makes torture of Diyarbakır Prison more barbarous.

Strikingly, one ex-prisoner (Participant 36) mentioned that 'drinking tea in Diyarbakır Prison was much more pleasant than drinking whiskey in Paris' in a humorous way.

Belonging to Group

68% of the ex-prisoners (34 people, n=50) stated the feeling of belonging to the group, behaving together or knowing that they were in

solidarity. They behaved according to the group's decisions. One ex-prisoner (Participant 2) said that as a group they determined to not to scream while being tortured, even shouts like "ah, of". Some mentioned that they were living communal life in their wards. They were sharing their food, water, money. They try not to hurt each other for protection of themselves. For instance, they did not slap each other despite the torturers wanted them to do (Participant 42). One ex-prisoner (Participant 12) told about sharing a small bread in between 12 people. Another ex-prisoner (Participant 20) said that once 2 liter water poured down to their ward; all the people in ward shared this water by spoons. He says that the difference of ideologies across ex-prisoners was not important at that time. "People who were from different ideologies started to be brothers and sisters, after the treatments they exposed to in prison", says an ex-prisoner (Participant 4).

> I can say that you cannot find such relations in any family, ideological party or commission. There is not that kind of sharing, trust, support in any place of world. This is the thing which gives a human strength (Participant 19).

Ex-prisoners also mentioned that in the resistance of them, they got stuck onto each other much more (Participant 5). After the conditions improved with the resistance of ex-prisoners, they started to feel more as a group.

> When the resistance occurred and it made success, it was such a support for us. I mean, the pain we had, those tortures were finishing at that moment. I mean, despite we got such tortures; when it finishes, even for one minute, the social relationship between us –laughing, playing, crying, all catharsis we had- lead us to distance from the conditions we had (Participant 49).

Dehumanization of the Torturer

60% of the ex-prisoners, that is 30 people (n=50), dehumanized the torturers, underlining inhumanity they have. There are some adjectives which the ex-prisoners talked about torturers in their interviews. 'Fascist, racist, inglorious, barbarian, sadistic, devil, killer, not having human feelings' are some of the words they used for torturers. One ex-prisoner (Participant 13) said that calling those people "human" would be humanity crime. They were naming torturers for mocking with them in a way. For instance, there was a torturer who was very big, and they were calling him 'small' in their group. One ex-prisoner (Participant 15) called Esat Oktay Yıldıran (the main guardian of the prison) 'Gestapo'. Same ex-prisoner told about his friend's experience:

> Necmettin, you are clever guy, your behavior goes nowhere, said the guardian. He said that I know what I do (meaning resistance). The children of torturers like you will be ashamed of you in society in the future. We can die in torture, but it is better not living without honor, our children will live an honored life. They will say "My father died because he resisted to life without honor". These kind of dialogues occurred among us.(…) All those people's common point was their being Kurdish (Participant 15).

Despite all those inhumane treatments ex-prisoners were exposed to, some of them still tried to understand why they were doing this. Some of the ex-prisoners think that especially people who were having personality, identity or other kind of problems were chosen to this position and those people were trained and motivated for doing torture. One ex-prisoner

(Participant 14) underlined the joy torturer took from torture, since the torturers were seeing them as 'enemy having blood feud' he said.

Self-sacrifice

30 ex-prisoners (n=50) which is 60% of the ex-prisoners told how they gave social support to their friends and how they saw supporting their friends was priority, other than protecting oneself.

> For instance, generally food was little. Despite I was very young, I had will. I was also embarrassed. I said to friends that I am not hungry, my stomach is aching though. So I won't eat. My purpose was not to make trouble out of food and if there would be weaker friend, then he could eat (Participant 1).

Stories related to supporting weaker ex-prisoners were mentioned. Some ex-prisoners gave their food to older and weaker ex-convicts. One ex-prisoner (Participant 18) told about how they sent a cigarette to ex-prisoners who were in death fast.

While weaker people were being beaten, some ex-prisoners mentioned that they tried to get in to the torture and protect those people and tried to oppose this. Ex-prisoner (Participant 30) who got in guard's duty instead of an old ex-convict says about his self-sacrifice: "I still have the feeling of love". One ex-prisoner (Participant 31) told that once one person from his ward did something wrong on the guardian's eye; all their ward covered this and took his punishment together, for protecting him. Ex-prisoners also tried to give cure to their tortured friends after torture.

Ex-prisoners were supporting each other. One ex-prisoner (Participant 2) said that once they found one tangerine. He wished this tangerine to have 8 slices, since they were 8 people. To their luck, it had 8 slices and they shared it.

Social Support

28 people (n=50), 56% of ex-prisoners told about how they got support to cope with the overwhelming conditions in the prison. After they were tortured, they did massages and try to heal each other. Sometimes while they were beaten, other people were accompanying them to 'share those beatings'. One ex-prisoner (Participant 34) mentioned that his friend cursed the torturers to take attention of them and protect his friend from being beaten very strongly. When one ex-prisoner (Participant 30) got cold so much, friend of him from a ward sent him his own sweater to protect him from cold. They were giving their food to weaker people. One ex-prisoner (Participant 37) mentioned that since he was young, his other ex-prisoners gave him their food to protect him.

They were also giving psychological support to each other. One-ex prisoner (Participant 12) mentioned that after they were tortured, they hugged each other and tried to give support saying that "Those things are temporary, we will not give up and resist". One- ex-prisoner (Participant 2) told about the situation which he and a woman were naked in the torture place, waiting for torturer. He said that:

What she said to me was "Don't depress yourself, we are revolutionist people". The woman said this to me and I was very impressed and got emotional. I said to myself that they could do every kind of torture to us, but they can't take our beliefs. There were also the leftovers of feudal structure of ours in me. So what she said to me gave me power, courage and made me emotional (Participant 2).

The families of the ex-prisoners gave also important social support to their children. One ex-prisoner (Participant 5) said when his father yelled in the meeting saying that "Keep on going to death fast! All your families support you and they are all behind you!", they felt such a supported. Other ex-prisoner (Participant 25) said that his mother came to the meetings with the same dress for years, which meant to him very much. His mother did not want him to realize how deprived his family was, he said.

Fantasy and Need for Justice

27 people, 54 % of them, mentioned about their fantasies while they were in prison and stated their wish for justice. Some of them fantasized about how they were going to go to persecution or how they were going to behave in court:

While I was going to court, I was sharp as razor. But I was laughing, talking and saying to myself that this is the end. I thought about it before. I will make explanations in the court and I will commit suicide there. There was a tendon made from concrete. I said to myself there that if I run from here to here, if I pinch my head in a straight way, I would destroy it and die. I made myself ready to this idea before. I will go, make all my explanations in the court so that all the world can hear it. I gave its decision before. There was a feeling inside me: I was relieved (Participant 4).

One ex-prisoner stated that he dreamed about going his own town, to a place where the tea was famous. He said that 'I wished that the rain would drop and I would be wet by the rain a little bit and go to that place. If I drank tea in a glass there, I'd be the happiest person in the world." (Participant 3).

Ex-prisoners wanted justice. Some ex-prisoners had a fantasy about killing the torturers outside while they were in the prison. Ex-prisoners wanted the responsible people to be judged, punished and made an apology. "At least if people want to live in peace, people should face this reality (implying what happened in Diyarbakır Prison)", one ex-convict said (Participant 17). Through the interviews, most of the ex-convicts said that they want 'the truth' to be apparent, the reason behind accepting the interviews was this. They tried different ways to defend themselves. One of them said that he sued the state (Participant 2). Another ex-prisoner worked at a party to defend their rights (Participant 6). "Even if I have no chance for doing nothing, for all my life I will defend justice", one of them says (Participant 19).

Positive Affect

23 ex-prisoners, that is 46% of the ex-prisoners showed positive affect and mentioned about positive sides of experiences. Sometimes they showed signs of happiness when talking about some events which reminded them positive feelings. One of the ex-prisoner (Participant 3) tells about his happiness when in the prison, they heard that they were going to drink tea.

He said that he was such a happy as if he was releasing from prison, when he heard this. Some ex-prisoners said that they were very happy, when the conditions improved a little with 1983 resistance. One of them (Participant 16) told that he was dancing with his friends, another (Participant 17) said that they greeted life again in those times.

Most of those ex-prisoners who used positive affect as coping style, laughed and/or smiled sometimes in the interview. They sometimes made jokes. One of the ex-prisoner (Participant 6) makes a joke in the beginning of the interview, saying that 'Don't take me prison again". Sometimes they were laughing to the absurdity they were in. One ex-prisoner (Participant 16)smiled while he was talking about meetings: When they ask 'How is the lentil?' in meetings, soldiers were suspecting of them whether they were implying something else. One of the ex-prisoner (Participant 7) showed positive affect, when he mentioned about how he could manage with the absurd commands of the guardians.

Dissociation

21 (n=50) of the subjects which mean 42% of the ex-prisoners dissociated for managing the stressful feelings the trauma evoked in them. Ex-prisoners said that they forgot some of the experiences in the prison. They forgot names, sometimes even of the closest friends. One ex-prisoner (Participant 23) said that he forgets his family's names, once he forgot his brother's name.

I cannot remember any of my friends in a clear way. I don't remember which people were in my ward. If you ask me, I can count you 10 people now. However I was with a thousand there. I cannot remember more than 10, since the brain ignores those bad days, it does not want to remember and mention about. Can I tell? (Participant 3).

One ex-prisoner (Participant 27) said that he remembered his years before prison as happened before Common Era (B.C.E.). Moreover, in the interviews ex-prisoners sometimes forgot what they were going to tell. One ex-prisoner (Participant 18) forgot his word and he said that since he remembered his friends' faces in death fast, that remembrance affected his mind, which lead him to forget.

Sometimes they have hard times believing that they lived those times. One ex-prisoner (Participant 26) mentioned those year as he was in dream, not as real. Another ex-prisoner (Participant 21) asks himself that "Did I live those years really?".

Political Determination

19 people (n=50), 38% of ex-prisoners, said that the prison process made them more determined to their movement. "The relationships got weaker in the places which do not use torture… But in our case, the violence made us much closer.", one ex-prisoner (Participant 1) said. An ex-prisoner (Participant 2) mentioned that the Kurdish movement got its power from the wrong policies of the state. He added that the Kurds are not as before, they became more aware and politicized. One ex-prisoner (Participant 11) said that he was such a determined that he decided 'to read

till he become blind' to learn about his identity and the movement, while other ex-prisoner (Participant 18) said that he got determined to defend the rights of themselves and justice for everyone till he dies. They told that Kurds meet with their identity (Participant 6), started to possess their thoughts and ideologies more than before (Participant 40), their insistence and ambition on their identities increased. (Participant 44) and the feelings of hate against the system increased (Participant 37). One ex-prisoner (Participant 43) mentioned that Esat Oktay Yıldıran gave them two opportunities: They were going to obey them totally (psychologically and psychically) which means that they were going to leave their values and honor, or the other option was that they were going to die and resist. In this kind of condition, he committed himself to the resistance. One ex-prisoner (Participant 34) mentioned that how he changed his ideology after prison:

> Sincerely, Before 12 September I loved the state and I was such a committed to the state that I went to military and did not even take permission for holiday those times (…) I was proud of that. I was proud of having done my duties (meaning soldiership) for the state. Afterwards, I understood that I was wrong. I realized that I made mistake thinking and feeling like that. I was wrong. If I knew that after they took me to the prison and they treated me like this, I would not went to military. I would not have done my soldiership more than 45 days, I would not even have gone to military. If I have gone, I would work against their system. Because I understood that, the system is an enemy of my wife, my mother, my father, my ancestors… (Participant 35).

This determination not only influenced the ex-prisoners, it also influenced the families of those ex-prisoners (Participant 4), and Kurdish

movement in the end. Along with those ex-prisoners, 10 more ex-prisoners (totally 28 people amounting to 56% of the ex-prisoners) mentioned that Diyarbakır Prison had an influence on Kurdish movement. While they were mentioning about how determined they are, they also mentioned about their friends' transformation in prison.

> They brought every people who were narcotics and gun smugglers. They treated them as they were members of an organization. And in the end, they really made them members (meaning they were politicized). (…) Maybe in those days, we suffered so much by torture and the atmosphere, but Diyarbakır prison injected us revolution. If today we talk about this and defend the same ideologies, it is the contribution of Diyarbakır Prison (Participant 34).

Humor

38% of the ex prisoners (n=50), did humor sometimes as a response to inhumane conditions they faced. They made jokes out of very heart breaking and sad experiences they had. One of the participants (Participant 6) told that they collected rice from ground, when they shared them they saw that each person could take three rice. They laughed to this situation and made jokes about it. Other ex-convict told that when he was in hunger strike, he was making jokes with his friends about how many days he had left (Participant 14). One ex-convict tells:

> There it was written. We were looking at there and laughing. Every time when I look there, I was laughing. "Justice is the basis of the property" (was written on the wall). I was looking and "Justice is the basis of the property" is written. But never and ever [he laughs] there is a basis. (Participant 28).

Humor was going with different emotions, as some ex-prisoners told. Sometimes it was accompanying hope: One ex- prisoner says that when they were seeing sun, they were making jokes like "The sun will also shine to us in future." Sometimes making humor meant to give a support to friend. Some people told that after torture, they were looking at each other and laughing. One ex-prisoner (Participant 19) made jokes about how they will eat liver in Adana (one of the cities of Turkey) to a friend who was about to die, just for making him feel better and laugh. Sometimes the humor was blended with despair: "In one hand, crying was necessary, but on the other hand laughing was necessary", says an ex-prisoner (Participant 50). Another ex-prisoner (Participant 49) said that humor helped them to distance their situations.

Wish for Death

18 people which means 36% of the ex-prisoners (n=50) longed for death under the unimagined violent conditions of the prison. Some ex-prisoners said that other than to watch what is happening around them, confessing and giving names or having worries everyday whether they will die or not, death would be better solution for them. One ex-prisoner said that instead of watching 60 year old person's being tortured, the death was very easy way to escape (Participant 35). Other ex-prisoner mentioned that instead of living under those conditions, death was such a beautiful and happy thing, but to their 'unluckiness' they could not find death (Participant 29). Even to die, the 'resistance' was required (Participant 22).

You cannot digest those experiences and you just 'sleep to death' (implying for death fast) … At least I felt that to bury our thoughts under the earth.. I thought that we could only feel free under the earth with our thoughts. With this idea inside of me, I made my name written to the name list of death fasts and we got into the death fast (Participant 16).

Behavioral Disengagement

28% of the people, amounting to 14 people (n=50), expressed about Behavioral disengagement they had and they also behaviorally disengaged to the interview when they were feeling difficulty to tell about overwhelming experiences. One striking example is this:

It is a mark in my life. I lifted my head, rested to the window and asked "How are you?". He said "I am done, I won't play check anymore". His head fall onto my lap and he martyred. [they gave a break]. This sentence of "Ez Çum" (in Kurdish), which means "I am done." still influences me. I do not want to hear or listen this sentence anymore in my life. Ez Çum, I am done (Participant 34).

Many of these ex-prisoners showed disengagement behaviorally after imprisonment. They did not go out of their home. One ex-prisoner could not go out from home for 1.5 years. He said that because of fear he could not go out, and his beard got very long (Participant 38). Another ex-prisoner avoided to go to places related to the state (Participant 2), while the other ex-prisoner mentioned that he was not getting into traffic after imprisonment (Participant 23).

Some of them avoided of the construction of relationship with people. One of the prisoners said that before prison, his children were 'his

part of heart'; but after imprisonment he came to a point that he cannot want to relate with his children (Participant 12). The other avoidant behaviors mentioned were 'not watching violence scenes in television and disgusting from the marmalade and biscuits (since they were exposed to them so much in prison)'.

Some ex-prisoners were reluctant to talk about their experiences in interviews, they did not want to tell and remember what they felt. One of them (Participant 6) said that he did not want to think and tell how this experience influenced his later life (in terms of health, economics and relations).

Mental Disengagement

18% of the people (9 ex-prisoners, n=50), told about their mental disengagements or they mentally disengaged while they were in the interview. Some ex-prisoners stated that they were not thinking about what they were living through so much (such as the beatings they were exposed to), since there was no guarantee for living. One ex-prisoner said that when he saw the comrade, he could not think about anything but only the feeling of horror he felt (Participant 40), other ex-prisoner told that when the torturer asked him so many questions, he answered all of them as 'I don't know', since his mind became like empty (Participant 20). They became like 'robots' (Participant 7).

> It was a new world which I did not hear about, see or know at all before, but which kind of a world is this? It was a world which nothing other than fear could be

thought. I mean, there are all the voices of torture, oaths and screams of people. It was totally like a machine (Participant 22).

Keeping Hope Alive

16% of the subjects , 8 of the people (n=50), spoke about the hope they had when they were in prison. Hope was the thing which holds the human being in inhumane conditions, said an ex-prisoner (Participant 30). He added that he was thinking as "a day will come and this will end" in those days. What kept another ex-prisoner hopeful was that he thought that he was devoting himself to "a human ideal" (Participant 21). In a parallel way, the other adds that they were defending their people, movement which was giving hope to them (Participant 14). An ex-convict tells the story when he was about to go to his execution:

> I could say goodbye to first and second floor, but I said to myself that I am going to death, at least I can make a speech to the friends. And I made a short speech –I mean it is forbidden actually but- . I said to the friends: 'We came up to this point together, we made some mistakes, sometimes we missed some things. I mean, if I missed something or made a mistake, I apologize from all of you', but I said that 'Right now we are going, even if we go to death, we will sing the freedom song and we will command to Hayri and Kemals, you can be sure about this fact' (Participant 1).

Moreover, hope is also seen, when the conditions got better in the prison in the narratives. One ex-prisoner (Participant 12) told that with 1983 resistance, the conditions changed. They could speak with friends and got closer. With these better conditions, they became hopeful, since they understood that they would never obey again and they would gain their

rights slowly. Other ex-prisoner (Participant 43) told that when they learned that resistance occurred, they became such a hopeful that they saw those times as 'opening a new page in resistance' in their lives in prison, which increased their mood and power.

Suppression

8 people, which amounts to 16% of the ex-prisoners, coped with the experiences they had by using suppression. Ex-prisoners expressed that they wanted to forget their traumatic and striking memories, but they could not; which influenced them very much. One of the ex-prisoners said that "We tried to suppress our feelings and will" (Participant 30), another ex-prisoner said that if he remembers what happened, everything paints to black in his eyes (Participant 12).

> Maybe it will remain as the worst memory of our lives. But still among bad memories, it will be the most pleasant memory; since it is a price we paid for the big ideal of ours and we accepted it like that. Because of this, I accept all of these as 'never happened' in my life. I think like that, I live with this idea (Participant 21).

Some ex-prisoners also mentioned that it was very hard for one's mind to perceive these experiences. One ex-prisoner mentioned that he would never understand (in the meaning of digestion) one's burning himself and saying slogans at the same time, going to death (Participant 3).

Rationalization

6 people, 12% of the ex-prisoners (n=50) rationalized what they lived through in their narratives. One ex-prisoner (Participant 13) said that since their ward was the last ward which the food was distributed, their food was always a liquid. For years they could not understand which food they were eating (e.g. whether it is pea or bean). Other ex-prisoner (Participant 41) mentioned about a soldier whom he did not see torturing before. He said that this guy was lost afterwards, he was wondering "Where is he?". Other prisoner explained his toughness after prison with "having open air, walking, being Zaza, eating onion and doing sport" (Participant 36).In an interview, one of the ex-prisoner (Participant 40) mentioned that he did not want to talk in detail, since he stayed in prison too long; other ex-prisoner (Participant 17) mentioned that he did not want to tell his prison stories, since he did not want to influence people around him in a negative way. One ex-prisoner told:

> They are giving us food. If you call it food.. I mean they were giving it for us not to die. We were the materials for their own purposes'. If we would die, since they cannot find anyone else to use their torture, they were giving us very little food, such as quarter of bread, little soap and little bit of others. (Participant 49).

Affective Disengagement

8 % of the ex-prisoners (n=50) told about disengaging affectively. One ex-prisoner (Participant 2) said that when he sacrificed for his people, he would not feel anything, even if he burned himself into flames. Other ex-prisoners said that with torture they came to a point which they don't feel

anything, for instance one ex-prisoner said that he was not feeling the screams around him(Participant 16) or worries to live (Participant 15).

Denial

4 people, 8% of the people (n=50), used denial as a coping mechanism, not seeing the negative sides of the process they were in. One of the ex-prisoner (Participant 41) said that having beaten was not such an important thing. Three other ex-prisoners denied having fears, such as saying that "We never got into fear". About this, one ex-prisoner told:

> They did such things that, for instance we had our string instruments. Before 12 September, as a normal activity of wards (we played instruments). They broke all those instruments and used the stick part of them as a torture tool. When we saw those sticks of our instruments, our hearts were really shaking. I don't mean the fear, it was very sad thing. I cannot tell how those sticks were hurting us. Really, it is very hard to tell it, one should live it to understand. In every beat, you feel the pain in your heart (Participant 43).

Somatization

3 people (n=50), that is 6%, stated about somatization of their psychological discomforts at some level. Two ex-prisoners mentioned about severe headaches. One of them (Participant 2) says that when he is angry, his headache starts to occur. Another ex-prisoner had over-sweating when he is sleeping, so he went to doctor. The doctor found out nothing physical and said that his nervous system is spoilt.

Religious Coping

3 people, 6% of the ex-prisoners (n=50), used religious coping as a coping strategy. One ex-prisoner (Participant 14) mentioned that he wanted to protect himself as Mohammed (prophet of the Quran). He told about a story in which Mohammed said to Allah that if people kill him, then the religion of Islam would fade away. Because of this idea, Mohammed wanted to protect himself; which the ex-prisoner took as a model to himself. Other ex-prisoner (Participant 18) told about his desperate situation towards torture: "I said for Allah, for the prophet we should stick onto each other and resist."

> For the crimes which I was accused of having done, I said that, dear governor, those crimes were about a village trial. We were exposed to these false accusations for those people's (implying his neighbors) having our place and getting benefit out of it.I said that those are people who cannot get a sense of how deception harms people and who cannot perceive that those injustices will be judged one day in Allah's court (Participant 11).

3.2.1.3. Coping Mechanisms to Decrease Effects of Torture after Being Released

Positive Growth

22 people, that is 44% of the ex-prisoners (n=50), showed to have positive growth after imprisonment in Diyarbakır Prison. Some of the ex-prisoners showed change in positive way after such horrific experiences. One ex-prisoner (Participant 1) said that these experiences lead to development of 'humanism' in him. They mentioned that they became more

aware of who they are and gained an 'identity'. One ex-prisoner (Participant 14) said that he learned 'the seriousness' of the Kurds' situation in Turkey.

Some ex-prisoners expressed that with these experiences, more and more they learned about themselves, that is "what and who" they are. Not losing the identity and values they have in and after Diyarbakır Prison was one of the best acquisitions they got, one ex-convict says (Participant 21). "They wanted us to lose our identities but contrarily, we gained our identities" (Participant 46). One ex-prisoner (Participant 16) said that he learned to be revolutionist in prison and learned the mentality behind the process they went through. Another ex-prisoner (Participant 19) mentioned that he learned that there is no authority which can overwhelm 'human'. They learned that their potential was such a powerful inside. "We gained immunity towards the difficulties in life", one ex-prisoner (Participant 21) says.

> Now I have two novels which are pressed and I have 15 other novels which I should press. And I make paintings. I tried to develop myself in prison. I was only with my conscience there. If you want to live, while your body is in prison, your soul should be outside. It should be in flowers, gardens. It should be with people, It should be in the forest. And you would live. That's what I did (Participant 10).

Expression

13 ex-prisoner (26% of the ex-prisoners, n=50) told that they expressed themselves after their prison experiences. Most of those ex-prisoners wrote their experiences. One ex-prisoner (Participant 1) mentioned that he was writing journal in which he mentioned about human psychology,

violence and values of humanity. He also added that they wrote letters to their friend to be ready for execution. Some ex-prisoners said that they wrote books including writings and/or poems about their Diyarbakır prison experience. One ex-prisoner said that he wrote, because he wanted the history to be written in the correct way (Participant 43). One of the ex-prisoners (Participant 16) took notes while he was in prison; he says that after he dies, he wants his children to read those notes.

> My body was in prison; but my soul and my conscience was outside. And I was writing. If I did not write, I would explode. If I did not paint the view with the things from my inside, I could not stand the idea of the prison. Because when I was in the prison, my spirit was outside. There are some people who are in outside, but the spirit of them are in the prison (meaning 'inside') and in the end, they can commit suicide. Actually, there were so many reasons for us to commit suicide, but we did not prefer that. We tried to protect our honor (Participant 10).

Some of the ex-prisoners especially underlined that they expressed themselves to people around; they tell and share their stories. One of the ex-prisoners (Participant 46) mentioned that he saw himself as responsible for telling what they lived for showing the truth to public opinion.

For continuing consistency with Doğan (2011) and Yarkın (2013) with our analysis, we classified the coping mechanisms into different categorizations which are shown in *Table 4*. We calculated the coping mechanisms' frequencies and found out their percentages under their categories.

Table 4

The Frequencies and the Percentages of the Coping Mechanism Groups

Coping Mechanism Groups	Number of Coping Mechanisms (n=26)	The Frequency of Coping Mechanisms (n=848)	%
Problem Focused Coping Mechanisms to Stop or Decrease Torture in the Prison	3	187	22 %
Cognitive and Affective Coping Mechanisms to Decrease the Effect of Torture in the Prison	21	620	73.1 %
Coping Mechanisms to Decrease Effects Of Torture After being Released	2	41	4.8 %
Avoidance Focused Coping Mechanisms	12	220	25.9 %
Approach Focused Coping Mechanisms	14	628	74 %
Problem Focused Coping Mechanisms	5	241	28.4 %
Emotion Focused Coping Mechanisms	21	607	71.5 %

Emotional/Cognitive Avoidance Focused Coping Mechanisms	9	101	11.9 %
Emotional/ Cognitive Approach Focused Coping Mechanisms	12	506	59.6 %
Problem/Behavioral Avoidance Focused Coping Mechanisms	3	119	14.3 %
Problem/Behavioral Approach Focused Coping Mechanisms	2	122	14.3 %

We classified the coping mechanisms according to whether they are problem focused or emotion focused. In our study, problem focused coping mechanisms are 'obeying, resistance, fantasy and need for justice, need regulation and behavioral disengagement'. Emotion focused coping mechanisms are 'political awareness and sense making , self-sacrifice, positive growth, dehumanization of the torturer, political determination, belonging to a group, suppression, humor, somatization, mental disengagement, expression, social comparison, positive affect, affective disengagement, keeping hope alive, rationalization, denial, wish for death, dissociation and religious coping'. Those classifications are done according to the studies of Yarkın (2013) and Doğan (2011). While problem focused

coping mechanisms are found to be used as 28.4% , the emotion focused coping mechanisms are found to be used as 71.5%.

We further classified those coping mechanisms according to it is whether approach or avoidance coping styles. Parallel to the Yarkın (2013) and Doğan (2011) we defined those categories. Emotional/cognitive avoidance coping mechanisms are 'suppression, humor, somatization, mental disengagement, affective disengagement, rationalization, denial, dissociation and wish for death'. Its frequency is found as 11.9%. Emotional/cognitive approach coping mechanisms are 'political awareness and sense making, self- sacrifice, positive growth, dehumanization of the torturer, political determination, belonging to a group, social support, expressions, keeping hope alive, positive affect, social comparison and religious coping.' Its frequency is 59.6%. Furthermore, problem avoidance coping mechanisms are 'obeying, need regulation and behavioral disengagement'. Its use is 14.3%. Problem approach coping mechanisms are 'resistance, fantasy and need for justice'. Its use is 14.3%

3.2.2. Emotions

Mostly, ex-prisoners showed fear. 33 ex-prisoners (n=50) which means 66% of the ex-prisoners expressed fear. They mentioned that they were afraid of tortures, saying that they were afraid when they heard the voices of torture and during the torture.

The main feeling was fear. There was the feeling of fear of being beaten, tortured and taken to the cell. Actually, people even became afraid of their friends in the end. They were afraid whether their friends betray him or not (Participant 38).

29 ex-prisoner (n=50), 58% of the ex-prisoners displayed feeling of sadness. Mainly, they showed sadness while they were talking about losing their friends or seeing their friends' being tortured. They sometimes cried when they remembered death of their friends and when they felt helplessness in the interviews. Obeying stories were also sometimes accompanied by the feeling of sadness. One ex-prisoner (Participant 28) tells:

I said only 'Dear Turkish youth' (which is the first sentence of 'Atatürk's address to Turkish youth'). Then the guardians asked me what happened, "Did you lose your tongue?". I could not say a word. At that point I cried. I could not restrain myself. Emotional thing occurred there, I cried (Participant 28).

Ex-prisoners showed embarrassment while they were talking about some torture methods in the interview. 42% of the ex-prisoners, 21 ex-prisoner (n=50) showed this feeling. They told that when they think about these experiences, they were "ashamed of humanity". Through the interviews, some were embarrassed because of talking about sexual tortures and/or tortures which include messes. Some ex-prisoners showed embarrassment while they were talking about stories of obeying. One ex-prisoner told that:

I can say that till the September resistance, there was the feeling of shame of humanity. They say 'memorize the marches', you memorize. They say you to

memorize the reforms of Atatürk, you memorize. They command you to tell about the statism, you tell about it even better than their economists (Participant 19).

The feeling of horror was apparent in some narratives. 42 % of the ex-prisoners (n=50)displayed this feeling. Some ex-prisoner said that they were horrified when they thought that how they survived from this experience. One ex-prisoner (Participant 6) said that he felt such a horror that it was very hard to explain those days. "The feelings are horrid" another ex-prisoner (Participant 1) said.

21 of the ex-prisoners (n=50), %42 of them, showed feelings of being pleased. One ex-prisoner (Participant 12) said that in a process like this it is illogical to feel content; but with the improvement in conditions in prison, they showed this feeling. Generally the feeling of content and pleased are displayed in an improved condition of prison and when they were saved from torture (e.g. when the visitor does not come). One ex-prisoner (Participant 36) said that when guardians allow them to drink tea in nylon glass, they were 'very happy like celebrating tea'. Another ex-prisoner (Participant 40) said that when he was in death fast, he was more comfortable and happier.

There was expression of anger through the interviews. 20 ex-prisoners (n=50), %40 of the ex-prisoners showed anger while they were talking about tortures. Some said that after imprisonment, they started to express feeling of anger very easily and quickly. One ex-prisoner

(Participant 49) said that he became intolerant to his family and children. Feeling of anger is also apparent in the resistance stories of ex-prisoners:

> 1983 September resistance was the first scream, first opposition and rejection. It was saying that 'Enough! We don't accept these conditions and we resist'. There was anger against these inhumane treatments, to end them (Participant 23).

19 ex-prisoners (n=50), 38% of them, mentioned the feelings of worry. Some said that they were worried about whether they would be exposed to threatening things during the resistance. One ex-prisoner (Participant 4) said that he was considering every day whether he would die or not that day. The feelings of worry were also apparent in the narratives when the ex-prisoners listened the voices of torture. They were worried about if they will be next in the torture. One ex-prisoner (Participant 23) said that because of worry, he memorized all the marches. Another ex-prisoner (Participant 26) showed the worry about when he got outside the prison about the conditions there.

16 ex-prisoners (n=50), 32% of the ex-prisoners showed feelings of distrust. They talked about distrusting to people and humanity after imprisonment. One ex-prisoner (Participant 2) mentioned that he does not trust to politics of the state anymore.

32% of the ex-prisoners, 16 ex-prisoners (n=50), showed the feeling of perplexity. Some ex-prisoners were in the mood of shock towards the tortures in the prison. Some ex-prisoners said that they were shocked how they survived afterwards. Sometimes they were shocked at what can torture

make them do. One ex-prisoner (Participant 3) said that he could not understand how he could learn reading and writing in 2 days when he had to learn it, otherwise he was going to be tortured.

24% of the ex-prisoners which is 12 people (n=50) showed the feelings of disgust. They were disgusted while they were mentioning the messes (the food with dirt, the canalization hole they were put by force etc.) they were exposed to in tortures. One ex-prisoner (Participant 40) said that he was disgusted by himself after tortures. Another ex-prisoner (Participant 13) mentioned that everything in prison was disgusting (hunger, beatings, torture etc.)

22% of the ex-prisoners, 11 people (n=50), showed relief in the interviews. They said that when the conditions got better they felt relief. Moreover, some said that when they were saved from torture and when they were okay after torture, they got relieved. Resistance was another factor which lead the ex-prisoners to relieve.

18% of the ex-prisoners (9 people, n=50) mentioned about pain. This pain was both psychological and physical at the same time. The feeling of hate was also shown among 18% of the ex-prisoners (9 people, n=50). They showed the feelings of hate towards the system, military, marches and the states.

There was the feeling of yearning among 7 ex-prisoners, 14% of them (n=50). One ex-prisoner (Participant 22) said that he missed his family, nature and village. Another ex-prisoner (Participant 32) said that he

missed water so much in the prison that, after he was released from prison, he drank so much water (such as 1 liter at one time) in his home. Interestingly, some ex-prisoners mentioned that they missed the prison after they were released. One ex-prisoner said:

> Mostly I think I wish that I would be in prison. At least the friends were in solidarity, supporting each other in secret way. There was solidarity. When I was released, there was a fear and panic of 12 September outside. In a fear context like this, at this time we were feeling loneliness in big crowds. Before, we were lonely in 40 people in prison (Participant 37).

7 ex-prisoners (n=50), 14% of ex-prisoners mentioned about the feeling of helplessness. They reported how helpless they were, when their friends' and they were tortured.

The feeling of worthlessness is also seen in the narratives. 7 ex-prisoners (n=50), 14% of the ex-prisoners displayed the feeling of worthlessness in prison and afterwards. In prison, one ex-prisoner (Participant 13) said that the guardians knew that if they killed a prisoner, then they knew that they were not going to be judged. Another ex-prisoner (Participant 34) said that he was not even the nail of Co (the dog of Esat Oktay Yıldıran) in the prison. For the process after prison, one ex-prisoner (Participant 11) said that he was feeling like 'third, forth ...even the fifth class of citizen' in Turkey.

7 ex-prisoners (14% of them, n=50) said that they felt trust. Generally they showed the feeling of trust when they were talking about how the friends in prison supported each other. One ex-prisoner says:

What they bring (meaning food) is shared. How people were going to behave was another issue. "Friends, we will do things like that (meaning that they took common decisions about how they will behave)." The sharing gave such a trust to one (Participant 19).

14% of the ex-prisoners also mentioned about the feeling of courage. They told that when they saw their friends' attitude towards torturers they felt courage. Moreover, when the conditions got better, they became more courageous one says (Participant 8). On the other hand, 4 of the ex-prisoners (8% of them, n=50) showed the feeling of discourage towards the torturers.

While 14% of the ex-prisoners showed the feeling of power, 10% of the ex-prisoners (n=50) expressed feeling powerless and weak. The feeling of power and/or powerlessness was both physical and psychological.

Disappointment was another feeling which some ex-prisoners mentioned. 5 ex-prisoners, 10% of the ex-prisoners showed this feeling. Some ex-prisoners said that they were disappointed about other ex-prisoners after they were released, since those ex-prisoners did not reflect exactly what they lived in prison (Participant 1) and some of them did not live in an honored way (Participant 18). One ex-prisoner (Participant 37) said:

I question if I did wrong. One questions this. I had dreams, utopia. I was on this road for the freedom of our people. But this people are not behind of you (Participant 37).

The feeling of stress was also found among ex-prisoners. 8% of them (n=50) showed this feeling. Generally, they said they were feeling under permanent stress. The hopelessness was another thing which was found. 6%

of the people (n=50) showed this feeling. They expressed hopelessness which the torture gave to them. Hopelessness is also seen about future. One of the ex-prisoners (Participant 30) said that he had no hope for being released from the prison in those times.

6% of the ex-prisoners (n=50) reported the feeling of loneliness. One ex-prisoner (Participant 1) said that he felt as having nobody to support him while his friends from prison went to the court.

The feeling of love (4% of the ex-prisoners) was another emotion expressed. They expressed it while they were mentioning about how supported they felt. The feeling of being 'tired off' was also seen among 4% of the ex-prisoners. They said that they were tired off all the torture process they had.

Only 1 (n=50), 2% of the ex-prisoner displayed the feeling of guilt. An ex-prisoner (Participant 17) told that he should have 'carried this burden', that's why he is not praising for being alive to God.

The frequencies and the percentages of the emotions which the ex-prisoners displayed in the Diyarbakır Prison are presented in Table 5.

Table 5.
The Frequencies and Percentages of Expressed Emotions by the Ex-
prisoners

Expressed Emotions	Frequencies (n=50)	%
Fear	33	66 %
Sadness	29	58 %
Embarrassment	21	42 %
Horror	21	42 %
Feeling pleased	21	42 %
Anger	20	40 %
Worry	19	38 %
Distrust	16	32 %
Perplexity	16	32 %
Disgust	12	24 %
Relief	11	22 %
Pain	9	18 %
Yearning	7	14 %
Helplessness	7	14 %
Worthlessness	7	14 %
Trust	7	14 %
Courage	7	14 %
Power	7	14 %
Powerlessness	5	10 %
Disappointment	5	10 %
Stress	4	8 %

Discourage	4	8 %
Loneliness	3	6 %
Hopelessness	3	6 %
Tiredness	2	4 %
Love	2	4 %
Guilt	1	2 %

4. Discussion

In our study, we investigated the coping mechanisms and emotions of fifty tortured male ex-prisoners who stayed in Diyarbakır Prison in between 1980 and 1984 in Turkey. The investigation is made by the content analysis of the interviews of Diyarbakır Truth Commission with ex-prisoners. Our analysis indicated that they used 26 coping mechanisms and 27 emotions for dealing with the traumatic experiences they had in and after imprisonment. Those coping mechanisms are: "resistance, obeying the torturer and accepting the conditions, problem focused active (need regulation), political awareness and sense making, self-sacrifice, dehumanization of the torturer, political determination, belonging to group, humor, somatization, social support, affective disengagement, keeping hope alive, rationalization, denial, wish for death, mental disengagement, behavioral disengagement, affective disengagement, suppression, positive growth, expression, social comparison, positive affect, religious coping and dissociation". The emotions are: "anger, sadness, shame, perplexity, guilt, fear, disgust, disappointment, longing, anxiety, helplessness, insecurity, terror, worthlessness, the feeling of pleased relief, pain, trust, courage, discourage, power, powerlessness, love, loneliness, stress, hopelessness and tiredness".

Among the coping mechanisms, it is found that ex-prisoners (n=50) used mostly political awareness and sense making (98%) to deal with overwhelming conditions. Then, resistance (92%), social comparison (80%),

obeying (70%), need regulation (70%) and obeying (70%) are other mostly used coping mechanisms.

The ex-prisoners mostly gave meaning to the process they had been through for dealing with the loaded experiences they faced. Since our data includes richer interviews, it is possible that the more ex-prisoners talked about the experiences, the more they gave meaning to them. The ex-prisoners created meanings out of the politics of the state imposed on them through Diyarbakır Military Prison. While some of the ex-prisoners gave meanings to the particular experiences they had in the prison, some ex-prisoners mentioned about how they gave meaning to their positioning (as a rebel or confessor) in the prison. The creation of meaning of the political prisoners who were exposed to traumatic experiences may play as protective role for the development of psychopathology. Ex-prisoners who stayed longer in prison showed less psychological discomfort than ex-prisoners who stayed less (Basoglu and Mineka, 1992). It is later assumed that staying longer may have helped ex-prisoners to make meaning out of their traumatic experiences with the relationships they constructed inside the prison (Kagee and Naidoo, 2004). In our study, it may be thought that the ex-prisoners stayed long time (mean= 6 years and 5 months) to understand what is going on around them and create a meaning out of it. Moreover, in Paker and his associates (1992)'s study with ex-prisoners from Turkey, it is found that political tortured ex-prisoners showed less psychological discomfort than non-political ones. It can also show the role of sense making in a political way in psychopathologies.

Despite the fact that there are different meanings attributed to different things, in our study we did not differentiate the types of meanings. Some ex-prisoners gave meaning to their positioning. 7 ex-prisoners (14%, n=50) mentioned about how they tried to protect their identity and how they tried to position themselves. Not obeying to every command but resisting at certain levels and trying to behave like assertive can be given as an example to this. Some ex-prisoners gave meaning to their values. 18 ex-prisoners (36%, n=50), mentioned about the values they developed or they had before in prison. The ex-prisoners generally told that they tried not to lose their honor and protected them. Folkman and Park (1997) distinguished meaning into two categories: 'global and situational meaning'. Global meaning is evaluated as "people's beliefs about the self, the world and the self in the world" which can be thought in more individual level. However, situational meaning is defined as people's meaning attribution to their environment with the interaction of the global meaning with them. The two examples of the general categories of meanings the ex-prisoners from Diyarbakır Prison showed can be evaluated as global meaning. The other meanings attached to the situations in the prison can be thought as situational meaning. If we could divide those meanings under clearer categories, then it would give us more material to evaluate.

Along with sense making, being politically aware and having an ideology to hold onto can be regarded as a factor which protects the ex-prisoners from developing psychological symptoms (Punamaki, 1996). Political awareness seemed to be one of the most used coping mechanisms

in our study. The ex-prisoners in our study showed that they committed to the Kurdish identity. They thought that what happened to them in Diyarbakır Prison was just because they were Kurdish. So the meanings they attributed to the process they had were also political. It can be thought that the commitment to the ideology was an important supportive factor of the ex-prisoners in Diyarbakır Prison. It gave an important answer to the existential question of the ex-prisoners, asking how they should position themselves and gave meaning to what happened to them.

Ex-prisoners resisted against the inhumane conditions they were exposed to. Different levels of resistance were mentioned among the ex-prisoners. The ex-prisoners got into hunger strikes and death fasts which can be evaluated as collective resistance. While some ex-prisoners mentioned that they were resisting against the daily life rules, some ex-prisoners mentioned the importance of the psychological resistance, not mentally giving up. Parallel to this, Crewe (2007) underlined that not only "overt resistance" is performed in the prisons, but also "backstage resistance" is very important for psychological survival of the prisoners. Each kind of resistances can be evaluated as prisoners' 'creation of their own spaces' in the prison, contending their 'subjective identities' (Bosworth and Carrabine, 2001). In Diyarbakır Prison, the ex-prisoners are considered as feeling as 'agents' when they feel that they have their 'say' in the practices in the prison.

One of the mostly used coping mechanisms of the ex-prisoners from Diyarbakır Prison is comparison. When it was about comparing their

imprisonment experiences with other countries' situations before (such as Vietnam, Germany), ex-prisoners generally found their experiences more horrible. This can be counted as 'upward comparison'. Taylor and Lobel (1989) assert that upward comparison, that is comparing oneself with others who are at better position, may lead to increase the motivation in the ex-prisoners. Maybe the ex-prisoners' one of the motivation sources for surviving there was this. They also compared themselves with the other ex-prisoners, calculating how much torture one was exposed to. It is generally mentioned that every people were exposed to same kind of treatment, which made things hard to compare since there was no criteria for comparison. The ex-prisoners' comparing themselves with weaker ex-prisoners may also give 'self-esteem' to them (Taylor and Lobel, 1989). Some ex-prisoners compared the types of torture, trying to find which torture techniques were better on them. This can influence their strategies for physical and psychological survival there. We thought that comparison may also influence the categorization and creation of the meanings. Because of this, it is understandable that the ex-prisoners used comparison and sense making at high levels in our study. It is also found that there are certain coping styles mediating the comparison types. 'Upward identification and downward evaluation' is found to be related to active coping strategies of the ex-prisoners, that is changing the conditions around (Van der Zee, Buunk, Sanderman, Botke, and Bergh, 2000), which may later thought to give positive feelings to the ex- prisoners in Diyarbakır Prison.

More than half of the ex-prisoners changed their needs according to the conditions in the prison. They focused on problems of the prison and tried to get involved actively to change the conditions, which is a form of problem-focused coping (Folkman, Lazarus, Gruen and Delongis, 1986b). Most of the ex-prisoners transformed their behaviors and/or objects around them to satisfy their needs in a certain level in Diyarbakır Prison. In such conditions, creativity of the ex-prisoners can be said to be increased. They developed very interesting ways to regulate their needs (such as reaching to water via putting their socks into rain and then squeezing it). Actively changing the conditions around them is an important way for the ex-prisoners for adaptation to the prison environment and continuing their lives.

More than half of the ex-prisoners mentioned about obeying stories. Obeying sometimes protected the ex-prisoners from inhumane kind of tortures, saving their lives. Obeying to military kind of education and daily life rules in the prison was mentioned among the ex-prisoners. There was a process of acceptance in Diyarbakır Prison, before collective resistance. In those times, the ex-prisoners had to obey to some rules much more than resistance times. Obeying to rules does not completely mean that they gave up. Generally, the ex-prisoners mentioned that they tried to find the balance between resistance and obeying. Crewe (2007) mentioned that prisoners can resist and obey at some times, to protect themselves and have a voice at the same time. So submission and assertion can be performed together at certain times. Parallel to obeying's functions in Diyarbakır Prison, in Kubiak,

Hanna and Balton's (2005) study with women ex-prisoners in U.S., it is found that women generally use 'compliance' to the rules of the prison officers for their safety in the prison and not to spoil the decision for releasing from prison. Kubiak, Hanna and Balton (2005) evaluate this as saying that despite 'compliance' seems as a passive strategy, it is also active strategy for the long- term. In Diyarbakır Prison, too, ex-prisoners were left both to resist and obey at certain levels at certain times. So the rates of the ex-prisoners' obeying and resistance in our study should be thought with this information.

The ex-prisoners behaved together, feeling as a group. The feeling of belongingness gave them the feeling of not being alone. Towards the harsh torture treatments of the prison, ex-prisoners got much closer and developed intimate friendships. Wong, Wong and Scott (2006) mentioned about the "collective coping". In collective coping, members of the community (or a group) feel the same worry as of another member's problem (Ho and Chiu, 1994, as cited in Wong, Wong and Scott, 2006). Wong (1993) makes the distinction between collective way of coping and social support. He says that apart from social support, the members who feel the belonging to the same group deals with the problem of a group together, approaching the problem as it is equally effecting them. Parallel to this, in Diyarbakır Prison, the ex-prisoners tried to protect each other against torture. Ex-prisoners from the same ward tried to cover each other's mistakes in the eye of the guardians for protection from torture.

The ex-prisoners tried to understand and give meaning to the torturers. 60% of the ex-prisoners (n=50) mentioned that they saw the torturers as inhuman beings. It is thought that if they would see them as humans, then the belief to humanity could have collapsed. Dehumanizing these torturers can be seen as both a presentation of anger and protecting one's beliefs about humanity. Moreover it can be evaluated as their protection of own self and humanity (Doğan, 2011). They humiliated the torturers and positioned the torturers into an opposing group of them. Despite the fact that we know that the ex-prisoners' perception of their selves and others are influenced by the severity of the trauma they had after torture experiences (Salo, Punamaki and Quota, 2007), still it can be said that the outsider conditions' (that is the harsh treatments the guardians did) had also an important effect for the ex-prisoners' attitude towards them.

Not only for their own survival, but the ex-prisoners also struggled for their friends' survival. They tried to protect their friends' from torture sometimes by putting their bodies forth to take beatings other than their friends'. They tried to give a cure to their tortured friends. Despite they lived in very limited conditions which provided nearly none food, cigarettes and water; they still shared what they had with their friends. So they sacrificed lots of things in this process. Martyrdom can also be evaluated around the concept of self-sacrifice (Fields and Owens, 2004).The word of 'martyrdom' is expressed for the ex-prisoners who died for a freedom of humanity through interviews. In Diyarbakır Prison, the ex-prisoners sacrificed their bodies through hunger strikes, death fasts and suicidal acts

for defending to end the torture and save the honor of humanity. In a parallel way, Guribye (2011) mentions about how Tamil refugees self-sacrificed themselves and martyred for their cause demanding separation. Self-sacrifice is evaluated as an important element for the later construction of narrative of those times.

It can be said that taking social support was also as important as giving support in those times. Social support was also seen in more than half of the ex-prisoners (56%, n=50). The ex-prisoners gave support to each other towards the harsh conditions in the prison (taking clothes, food, cigarettes and water from friends, being protected by torture by friends). Psychological support was another kind of social support they took from friends. They were trying to give each other positive feelings and hope, underlining that they were together and they would overcome this process. Family was another support source for the ex-prisoners. Feeling the family's support in the meetings was very important resource for them. Social support is an important coping element having role in the mental health of the trauma survivors (Schweitzer et al., 2006). It is generally used at high rates by the people along and after their trauma experiences. Studies with women in developing countries, World War II veterans, tortured political prisoners show the significance of the social support as a coping mechanism (Basoglu and Paker, 1995, Hunt and Robbins, 2001, Hinton and Earnest, 2010).

The ex-prisoners (54%, n=50) fantasized about how they will behave in the court along the prison process. Some dreamed about their hometown

and some dreamed about taking revenge. Daydreaming is a coping mechanism which functions emotionally. The ex-prisoners' using imagination as a coping mechanism in Diyarbakır Prison is parallel to Punamaki (1988)'s study with Palestinian political prisoners in which some prisoners fantasized about outside world and the conditions in the prison. What was the common thing among the ex-prisoners in Diyarbakır Prison was their 'need for justice'. They wanted the truth to be apparent. It has similarities with the ex-prisoners' stating their needs for justice and 'wishful thinking' in the study of Folkman and Lazarus (1985). Parallel to the study, ex-prisoners stated they wished for change of the situation of the prison while under the emotions of threat. In our study, the difference is our subjects did not generally wish for change via self-blaming (except for one subject which will be shown) as in Folkman and Lazarus' study (1985), but they wished the states' accepting their mistakes and make an apology, that is they accused of state, not themselves.

Little less than half of the ex-prisoners showed positive affect while they talked about their experiences in the interview. They laughed to the absurd and tragicomic experiences and jokes; they showed positive feelings when they remembered the improved conditions with their resistance. As a coping mechanism, positive affect shows the degree of positive loaded encounters with the environment (Clark, Watson and Leeka, 1989; as cited in Pressman and Cohen, 2005). In their extensive review, Pressman and Cohen (2005) highlighted the positive relationship between positive affect and well-being. It can be thought that positive affect has supportive role

dealing with traumatic experiences. Furthermore, King and his associates (2006) proposed that with positive affect, people give more meanings to life. It may be thought that the ex-prisoners in Diyarbakır Prison made meanings out of their experiences much more with their positive toned perceptions of the experiences they had. For instance, having such damaging experiences may lead them to feel much stronger.

The experiences in Diyarbakır Prison lead the ex-prisoners (44%, n=50) to the self- growth in a positive way. The ex-prisoners reported that as a human they grown, they learned their potentials and learned 'who they are'. They also reported that politically they became aware of their identity and their position in the eyes of the state. Some stated that they learned more about the politics of the state and rebellion. Westrheim (2008) also mentioned how 'educative' Diyarbakır Prison was on the ex-prisoners, making them become more aware of their identity and their movement, underlining that the education in the prison lead the change of ex-prisoners' personal characteristics. Westrheim (2008) adds that for changing the 'personality' the ex-prisoners had to 'question the previous concepts, the world and the beliefs'. In our study, it is also mentioned that the ex-prisoners' making meaning out of their experiences changed all of those structures. Parallel to this, prisoners of war from Israeli, stated positive growth in some areas of their lives: "increased insight, maturity, self-esteem and self-confidence, more optimistic view of life, greater satisfaction with their families and enhanced ability to differentiate the important from the trivial" (Solomon et al, 1999, p. 430). Tedeschi (1999) also underlines how

survivors of violence develop positive growth related to the traumas they had. He explains that survivors re-construct their 'narratives' via their coping with trauma and giving meaning to their processes of coping. This reconstruction leads to the growth which is manifested in 'identity, philosophy and goals'. However, Papadopoulos (2007) criticizes the concept of posttraumatic growth. The word 'post' refers to the idea that growth occurs after trauma. Contrary to this idea, Papadopoulos (2007) proposes that growth may occur during in the 'adversity'. With this critique, it can be considered that the ex-prisoners also developed their characteristics in a positive way during the imprisonment.

After such an experience, it can be thought that it may also be very hard to show positive affect for some ex-prisoners. It is thought that maybe the ex-prisoners could show this positive toned affect via ignoring (denying, suppressing and/or dissociation) the negative parts about how hard the experiences were. Dissociation is highly used among the political prisoners, especially its usage increases with the level of severity the traumatic experiences increase (Maercker, Beauducuel, and Schützwohl, 2000). The interviews showed that little less than half of the ex-prisoners (42%, n=50) showed dissociation. They forgot peoples', even their family members', names and some specific experiences. Mostly, they stated that they could not believe that they lived those times. The experiences were like a dream or experiences which did not occur. In the study with male prisoners, dissociation is seen frequently among the prisoners related to their adulthood trauma (Akyüz, Kuğu, Şar and Doğan, 2007). The mostly seen

symptoms were 'amnesia and absorption' in that study. Parallel to our study, the prisoners mentioned about forgetting their experiences (amnesia) and vivid memories with concentration problems (absorption), suggesting that they had difficulties digesting those extremely traumatic memories (Alper et al., 1997, cited in Akyüz, Kuğu, Şar and Doğan, 2007).

After experiences in Diyarbakır Prison, the ex-prisoners (38%, n=50) mentioned that they became more determined to their movement. It is generally mentioned that the ex-prisoners became more aware about their identity, that is 'who they are', their movement and the main ideology of the state. This realization made them more decisive about their identity and movement. Parallel to this result, Punamaki and his associates (2011) found that experience in state and military violence advanced the political commitment of Palestinian ex-prisoners. In our study, while 19 ex-prisoners(n=50) told about the influence they got after their experiences, 10 more ex-prisoners (58%, n=50) told that Diyarbakır Prison had an important influence on Kurdish movement. This shows that there is a general evaluation about the effect of Diyarbakır Prison on the Kurdish movement among more than half of the ex-prisoners. However Fırat and Fırat (2011) open this general evaluation to question. They say that Kurdish movement should not only be evaluated only by Diyarbakır Prison's influence on them, since this attitude ignores the own dynamics, conflicts, the social contexts and subjectivity of the movement. The movement has its own historical background which had the stories of oppression by the state (Fırat and Fırat,

2011). However, still our study highlights Diyarbakır Prison's effect on Kurdish movement.

The ex-prisoners (38%, n=50) used humor to deal with the very sad experiences they had. They sometimes laughed to the absurdity they were in and did jokes about it. According to some ex-prisoners' narratives, humor meant different meanings: Sometimes the ex-prisoner used humor to support friend, to make them feel positive and sometimes hope accompanied humor. Parallel to this, Nezlek and Ders (2001) found that the use of humor is associated with the 'interpersonal relationships' in a positive way. In Diyarbakır Prison, humor is also mentioned in the context of interpersonal dynamics of the ex-prisoners. It is also stated that use of humor functions as relieving one's stress interpersonally (Nezlek and Ders, 2001), which is also seen in our study.

More than one third of the ex-prisoners wanted to die under such inhumane conditions and high levels of torture. Instead of being exposed to such a situation like 'hell', the ex-prisoners wished for death, saying that it was an easy way. This result of our study is consistent with the study measuring the imprisonment experience (Solomon, Gingzburg, Mikulincer, Neria and Ohry, 1998). In that study, wishes for death is found at medium level among the prisoners of war.

Less than one third of the ex-prisoners mentioned about distancing behaviorally from the relationships (friends and family) and the things which reminded them the imprisonment process (getting into traffic,

watching TV). Traumatic experiences lead to distancing from the relations with relative people and the society, since it damages the trust relationship to one's closed ones, the society and even to oneself, humanity in general (Herman, 1992). The ex-prisoners also disengaged during the interviews, not wanting to talk about specific memories. It can be thought that these memories are very loaded and remembering those may evoke the loaded feelings which are closely related to the feeling of distrust to the humanity (Yüksel, 1992). Less than one four of the ex-prisoners also showed disengagement mentally. During the process of the imprisonment, there was times which the ex-prisoners could not think about anything to get over the traumatic experiences. Few people (8%, n=50) showed affective disengagement that they blocked their feelings, after certain point they did not feel anything. Ward and Kennedy (2001) looked over the mental, behavioral and affective disengagement under the category of avoidant coping style and they found that this style is related to psychological adaptation in a negative way, however it can be thought that avoidant coping could have been effective for the ex-prisoners in Diyarbakır Prison which had maximum stressful conditions at certain level.

Expression was another way of ex-prisoners' coping with experiences in Diyarbakır Prison (26%, n=50). The ex-prisoners expressed what they lived through writings and telling their stories. Mostly ex-prisoners who used this coping mechanism generally stated to have been written a book about their experiences. Expression is seen for showing the true information about what they lived. Baikie and Wilhelm (2005) stress

the positive relationship between writing and psychological and physical well-being. They explain that with writing, the survivors may live 'emotional catharsis', face with the suppressed emotions and construct narratives which help them made meaning out of it. Then this would help them to integrate their traumatic memories to their whole narrative and decrease their negative emotions in the long-run. Moreover, the ex-prisoners' volunteering to talk about their experiences with Diyarbakır Truth and Justice Commission can be thought as another way of expression. With this attempt, it can be said that they also gave effort to construct their own narratives. Narratives can be evaluated as 'genres of expression' (Eastmond, 2007).

Some ex-prisoners (16%, n=50) stated that they had hope during the imprisonment years. Hope was the thing which gave the psychological strength to deal with the torture. Erich Fromm (2012) defines hope as not leading the subject passively waiting for the wished situation, but it is a concept which leads the subject in an active position. He explains that if there is passivity in the expectancies of one, the hope is only a legitimization of the waiting process. Hope is defined as 'the state of existence' (Fromm, 2012). Parallel to these explanations, the ex-prisoners mentioned that they were holding onto their beliefs, ideals which gave them hope under those conditions. With the active resistance, their hope for humanity was increased. Hockley (1993) discusses the concept of hope in the euthanasia situation. He proposes that under the condition which has no logical way for hope to live, the patients' wish to live decreases. In

Diyarbakır case, the meaning of death was reversed interestingly. In most cases of Diyarbakır, the death did not mean 'giving up' as in Hockley (1993)'s study, but it meant 'resistance' which gave hope to the ex-prisoners; showing how the different contexts reverse the meanings one attributes to.

Some ex-prisoners (16%, n=50) tried to suppress their memories in Diyarbakır Prison. What they lived there was extremely traumatic and they tried to forget their experiences. Since remembering those experiences may lead to 'pure negativity', they tried to balance their emotions by suppression of them. In their review with extreme trauma, Kahana and her associates (1998) stated that the survivors mostly use suppression as a coping mechanism in conditions under extreme stress such as Holocaust. Suppression in Diyarbakır Prison is mentioned in an explanatory way in Fırat and Fırat (2011)'s paper. They underlined that the ex-prisoners mentioned that 'the words are not enough' for explaining their experiences in Diyarbakır Prison. This way of narratives of the ex-prisoners is described as a 'loss' which also refers to the suppression (Fırat and Fırat, 2011). Some ex-prisoners also denied their negative experiences (8%, n=50), mostly stating that they did not have fears under those conditions. Kahana and her associates (1988) proposed that the avoidant coping styles are effective under such an extreme stress, however in less stressful environments these coping styles are not such an effective (Ward and Kennedy, 2001).

In his writing about the reactions to political terror in Latin America, Suarez- Orozco (1990) asserts that firstly the denial is used among Latin

American people who lost their relatives. For instance, they denied that their relatives are died, since the dead bodies are not found. After this reaction, Suarez- Orozco (1990) asserts that rationalization later comes as a coping mechanism. Those people used rationalization to relieve their tension towards political terror. Rationalization can be regarded as "self-serving motive" to protect oneself from the devastating thoughts and emotions which are threat to the self (Vaillant, 1986, as cited in Suarez- Orozco ,1990). In our study, the ex-prisoners (12%, n=50) also rationalized their traumatic stories. It is seen that the ex-prisoners believed the ideas which was more comfortable to them, since the believing to the reality would be much hurting. Moreover, further it can be thought that rationalization does not only occur in individual level, it is also used in the 'official' level to legitimize the violence of the state (Hooks and Moshcher, 2005). So it may be said that rationalization in one level (on the eyes of the state) may be destructive, while in the other level (on the eyes of the survivors) it may be protective at certain degree.

Somatization is one of the least shown coping mechanisms among ex-prisoners (6% n=50). Severe headaches (n=2) and over-sweating(n=1) despite having no biological reasons are stated among three ex-prisoners. There is evidence that torture survivors may develop somatic symptoms (Silove et al., 2002; Emmelkamp, 2002). In a way, our result is parallel to these evidences. On the other hand, the reason behind low levels of somatization in our study may be because of the fact that the interviewers did not exactly ask if the ex-prisoners have somatic complaints. Moreover,

since we took richer interviews for our studies, it is probable that the ex-prisoners who expressed themselves more are less likely to have somatic symptoms.

According to Emmelkamp and associates (2002)' findings, negative coping styles are more correlated with somatization than positive coping styles. In this study negative coping styles are more related to negative habbits (like alcohol), self-blame, behavioral disengagement from others, actions related to anger (such as fighting), recurrent thoughts about the experience and having no hope. On the other hand, positive coping styles are more related to talking about the issue with friends, religious coping, asking help from 'healer', having time with children, going to job, political commitment, acceptance and having interest to music (listening or singing). In our study, the rates show that the ex-prisoners used more positive coping strategies, which may be protective factor for their somatization at certain level as well.

Contrary to the previous studies (Doğan, 2011; Yarkın, 2013), in this study, the religious coping is found to be used for dealing with the traumatic experiences in Diyarbakır Prison. Still, it can be said that few people (6%, n=50) used religious coping. Taking Mohammed (prophet of Islam) as a model, resisting for Allah and having the belief that the delinquents will be judged on Allah's court one day are the stories mentioned in the interviews. In line with this, ina study with Palestinian men about their coping mechanisms (Qouta, Punamaki and El Sarraj, 1997), religious coping was found to be used very few. They explained that the religion was more

associated with Intifada (e.g. the belief of conquering the lands). Moreover, they also suggested that this negative relationship may mean the feeling of 'disappointment' about religion. In Diyarbakır Prison's case, the religion may be seen as closer to the state's side, which decreased the hope of the ex-prisoners about religion.

In our study, emotion focused coping mechanisms are found to be much more frequently used (71%) than problem focused coping mechanisms (28.4%). This is maybe because of the fact that the conditions in Diyarbakır Prison left no chance to the ex-prisoners for dealing with the torture in an actively problem solving way. The ratio of problem focused mechanisms can also be evaluated as high in a context like Diyarbakır Prison.

Moreover; in our study, we found specific emotions disclosed in Diyarbakır Prison in the interviews of the ex-prisoners when they remembered and told about their experiences. Among negative emotions, fear, sadness, embarrassment and horror are found to be mostly disclosed emotions among the ex-prisoners. Anger, anxiety, distrust, perplexity and disgust are the next shown emotions.

Fear is an emotion when the individual attributes environment as threatening (Lazarus, 1993). It is argued that in the prison deprivation of many things (such as 'liberty, services, relationships, autonomy and security') leads to the feeling of fear and anxiety (Sykes, 1958, as cited in Liebling, 1999). In Diyarbakır Prison, additional inhumane treatments

toward ex-prisoners lead them to fear of the atmosphere and be anxious about when they will get damage by torturers (e.g. if they will die or not). Lazarus (1993) proposes that experiencing 'loss' may result in sadness. In line with this proposal, the ex-prisoners in our study showed sadness when they talked mostly about the loss of their friends in the wards. In a study with women who were confined to prison (DeHart, 2008), it is underlined that while talking about the stories related to abuse, women show embarrassment related to the experience's content. And telling it to the interviewer also evokes shame, since telling their story may mean opening these stories to the 'public'. The stories of Diyarbakır Prison also evoked the feeling of embarrassment. Sometimes the ex-prisoners were embarrassed by specific tortures (such as sexual tortures) and sometimes they felt difficulty talking about them, or excusing for talking about it to the interviewer. The ex-prisoners also mentioned about the feelings of horror, while they were talking about the conditions and practices of Diyarbakır Prison. Fear, horror and helplessness are the feelings shown more among people with PTSD (violent crime survivors) than people who did not face with trauma (Brewin, Andrews and Rose, 2000).

Lazarus (1993) proposed that accusation of someone or something leads to the anger. The ex-prisoners of Diyarbakır Prison showed this feeling while mentioning about the tortures they were exposed to. While some actively showed anger, some showed perplexity while talking about the difficulty making meaning out of the experiences. We know that people who face the traumatic experience by the 'totalitarian regimes' show distrust

to the world and humanity around them(Arendt, 1958, as cited in Fırat and Fırat, 2011), since their perception to those faculties is reversed with the traumatization. The ex-prisoners mentioned about how their trust to the 'humanity and state' is shaken by how 'disgusting' treatments they were exposed to. Keyman (2013) defended that the feeling of distrust leads to polarization between the state and the minorities. According to this idea, the state's making Kurdish people feel distrust may lead them to become more determined to their movement and identity. Moreover, we also found other negative emotions: pain, yearning, helplessness, worthlessness, powerlessness, disappointment, stress, discourage, loneliness, hopelessness, tiredness and guilt towards the prison conditions and treatments. Despite there is a general view of survivor's guilt shown by trauma survivors (Hendin and Haas, 1991) , guilt was shown by only one ex-prisoner. This maybe because of the conditions of Diyarbakır Prison in which the ex-prisoners showed much more anger to outside (the state policies and torturers) rather than guilt and self-blame turned into one's self.

There are also positively toned emotions mentioned among the interviews of the ex-prisoners. Feeling pleased, relief, trust, courage, power and love was the positive feelings and words mentioned in the ex-prisoners' narratives. The word 'feeling pleased' can sound interesting but the ex-prisoners mentioned about this feeling while talking about how they were supported their friends and how they were resisted and the conditions changed. Social support has noteworthy role in the emotions of well-being, which implies to 'happiness' in some areas (Diener, 2000). Trust, courage,

and love are also the feelings which are associated with the social support and belonging to group in the narratives of the ex-prisoners. Moreover, it is observed that the feeling of relief is seen among the stories loaded with anxiety. When the ex-prisoners felt that they are saved from torture and they saw the conditions got better with the resistances, they showed the feelings of relief. Relief is felt when the ex-prisoners are freed from their tension of anxiety.

4.1. Narratives in "the imaginary"

The work of Diyarbakır Truth and Justice Commission can be seen as very valuable effort for making the repressed material visible and 'speakable' in the collective memory of Turkey.

The efforts of reaching the unconscious part of the collective and individual memory can be evaluated as searching for "the real". It is such an important to reach the unspoken material in the collective memory (Somay, 2004; Edkins, 2003). However, to what degree such an experience can be spoken? Aren't there some areas left which is still unspoken?

The narratives of the ex-prisoners in Diyarbakır Prison show us that there can be still unspoken material of their experiences. When we listen their testimonies, we generally hear the sentence that 'Diyarbakır Prison cannot be told, it can only be experienced'. 'The experience' which cannot be mentioned through language here can be evaluated as 'the real'(Evans, 2006; Homer, 2013). Since it is very hard to symbolize this experience

through language, it can be postulated that there are still unconscious materials lying beyond language, hidden in the narratives.

Lacan theorizes that unconscious is structured in the form of language (Tura, 2012). From this point of view, the narratives of the ex-prisoners of our study can be evaluated in terms of Lacanian perspective. The narratives of the ex-prisoners in this study may show us that the ex-prisoners are neither totally in the area of "the real" which is the pure experience, they are nor in the area of "the symbolic" which can be totally communicated through the language (Evans, 200; Homer, 2013). However, it can be postulated that the ex-prisoners are in "the imaginary" which involves images and imagination, showing us that the ex-prisoners are beyond "the truth" and "the symbolic".

From a psychological point of view, it can be suggested that since the ex-prisoners experienced such an emotionally loaded traumatic experience, their relations with verbalization of this experience is cut at certain degree because of both neurological and psychological reasons (Van der Kolk, 1994; Ray et al., 2006). So they have hard times verbalizing these experiences. This makes them belonging to "the imaginary" area.

As a summary, from Lacanian perspective, this study suggests that the narratives of the ex-prisoners shows that they neither could be in "the truth", nor in "the symbolic"; but they belonged to "the imaginary" which is beyond the two.

4.2. Limitations and Future Studies

Our study includes some limitations which should be noted. To begin with, the analyzer and writer of the study is not the interviewer of the interviews of Diyarbakır Truth and Justice Commission at the same time. This is against the nature of the qualitative analysis method (Diccico Bloom and Crabtree, 2006). It would be important for the researcher of this study to have done the interviews, since the researcher would have the possibility to analyze the nature of the inter-subjectivity of the interview dynamics. However, it can be said that the researcher felt related to the relational dynamics of the interviews and wrote this study with the influence of this relation. Furthermore, the interviewers were taught by clinicians to acquire some clinical skills which lead them to concentrate on the relational dynamics and psychological situation of the ex-prisoners.

Other than the previous studies in this subject (Doğan, 2011; Yarkın, 2013), in our study, the interviewer consistency is low. Contrary to the previous studies which analyzed one interviewer's interviews, there are 12 interviewers included in this study with the 19 interviews' interviewers' being unknown. To include the most extensive interviews, we could not stabilize the interviewers. So despite we do not have interviewer consistency, we could have reached to very rich and extensive data for our analysis for our exploration.

There is also an issue of generalization. This study included 50 male ex-prisoners' analysis of interviews, which makes it harder to generalize our

results to all the ex-prisoners stayed in Diyarbakır Prison in between 1980 and 1984. The ex-prisoners in our study wanted to attend to the interviews of Diyarbakır Truth and Justice Commission by themselves. So the ex-prisoners who did not want to talk about their experiences did not attend to our study. Since all the participants in our study are male, it should be noted that our study does not include female ex-prisoners. There can be differences in coping mechanisms in between women and men. For instance, in a study, women stated that they use more emotion focused coping styles and avoidance coping than men (Endler and Parker, 1990).There were also ex-prisoners who committed suicide and resisted through hunger strikes and death fasts resulting in death. There were also ex-prisoners who were killed by the torturers. Furthermore, it is thought that some ex-prisoners attended to the Kurdish movement for resistance. So our study does not include those ex-prisoners, which does not give us opportunity to understand their coping mechanisms and feelings that can be different from our study's results.

The ex-prisoners demographic features are also very various, which make their coping mechanisms and emotions change according to the characteristics of them. For instance, there is relation between age and coping styles. It is found that older people showed decrease in using 'hostility in interpersonal relations' (Aldwin, Sutton, Chiara and Spiro III, 1996) and those people showed using more 'wishful thinking, avoidance, escape and distraction' as coping mechanisms comparing to younger people (Quota, Punamaki and Sarraj, 1997).What is also very important that since

we did explorative and qualitative study, we did not use control group. So it is hard for us to associate our results to certain features of our group. Furthermore, when Diyarbakır Truth Commission did its interviews, almost 30 years have passed since the imprisonment process of the ex-prisoners. In those years, the ex-prisoners could have developed different kinds of meanings and narrations for their experiences with the time effect. So the time between the imprisonment experience and interviews should be taken into account (Quota, Punamaki and Sarraj, 1997; Solomon, Mikulincer and Avitzur, 1988).Moreover, when the ex-prisoners were released, the traumatic experiences related to oppression of Kurdish people continued to take place among Kurdish people. After prison, the environment of the ex-prisoners also influences the narrations of their experiences (McEvoy, Shirlow and McElrath, 2004). So the narratives of these ex-prisoners are possibly developed in this kind of context, which should also be noted as a limitation.

We explored the coping mechanisms and emotions only depending on qualitative data. This data is based on only the self-report of the ex-prisoners. That is we only rely on the self- reports of the participants of our study which may be questionable. However, Lazarus (1993) underlines that executing a multi-method measures (such as behavioral and physiological) is very difficult and this is why self-report is chosen. The interviewers asked the ex-prisoners to talk about their experiences in Diyarbakır Prison generally. Interviews were not systematized. So there should be possible coping mechanisms and emotions which are not mentioned, since the

interviewers did not ask. In interviews about extreme traumatic experiences, certain defenses (like denying, avoiding and/or forgetting the experience) and censor may take place according to the experiences' content (Mollica and Levella, cited in Yüksel, 1992). So it should be noted that the content of the interviews may also be shaped by these structures.

Lazarus (1993) stresses the fact that coping mechanisms are also shaped by the situational factors. There is noteworthy relationship between coping mechanisms and the conditions. In between 1980 and 1984 in Diyarbakır Prison, there were times for obeying and times for resistance among ex-prisoners. So it should be taken account that their coping mechanisms changed according to the type of the imprisonment process they were experiencing. If we could divide the terms of the imprisonment and asked questions according to that, it would have given richer information. However, it could have increased the stress feeling of the interviews on the other hand.

Individual differences may play role in their reactions to traumatic experiences (Stein et al., 2005; Goldenberg and Matheson, 2005). Since in our study we did not measure the factors related to individuals, we could not reach to the information how individual factors affected the coping mechanisms and emotions of the ex-prisoners under extreme traumatic conditions. Moreover, according to their individualities, the ex-prisoners' reactions to the interviews could also be differed. Some ex-prisoners could be re-traumatized by the interviews.

Another issue is that the studies under the torture topic are done in between different places which have different cultural contexts (Yüksel, 1992). In our study, we compared and associated our findings with some findings from different studies. However it should not be forgotten that those studies and findings also have their different cultural contexts and settings.

Further research in this topic may be organized to include also quantitative measures to reach more exact results. Moreover, the interviews can be developed to be more systematized. If the research would not be explorative nature, it could include control group to find certain associations. To suggest some certain topics in this issue, the relatives of the ex-prisoners' coping mechanisms and emotions can be analyzed by content analysis. Moreover, those ex-prisoners children can be interviewed and analyzed. The trans-generational trauma between generations could be tried to be understood. Since being imprisoned in Diyarbakır Prison in between 1980 and 1984 may imply different kind of feelings of loss and anger in the eyes of the relatives and/or the children , this issue may offer different kind of perspective to the coping mechanism and emotions literature, which can also give chance us to listen different kinds of witnessing.

4.3. The Issue of Torture in the Therapeutic Field

Our study's therapeutic aim was to give a voice to the survivors of the torture. We explored which kind of coping mechanisms and emotions those survivors disclosed towards the experience of extreme trauma. The

testimonies we faced lead us to a question: "How does the mental health doctors and clinicians should handle the issue of torture with their patients who are torture survivors?"

The issue of 'loss' has central role in torture survivors (Gorman, 2001). Losing the hometown (if the survivor is refugee - Gorman, 2001), the meaning and the relations (Herman, 1992) are some instances to the loss. With their experiences of loss, the survivors may feel disempowered and deprived (Gorman, 2001). Since the experience of trauma takes the feeling of power and control of the survivor, the main element of the effective therapy should be recovering those feelings (Herman, 1992).

Herman (1992) mentions about three stages in the therapy that is 'safety, reconstruction and reconnection'. The safety relationship should be constructed before exploration of the story of the survivor (Gorman, 2001). Since the story of the trauma, this issue is very sensitive that respect to their space and their agency should be taken care of. Then the therapists accompanies and helps to the survivor to speak about which is' 'unspeakable' (Gorman, 2001). In this phase, defenses (such as denial and suppression) may take place (Vesti and Kastrup, 1992). However, the therapist should be sensitive and tolerant to the patient that the patient should have the control over the pace of the therapy. With the work on the new story of the survivor, the therapist focuses on the emotional regulation of the affects and changing the structures related to the trauma experience (Herman,1992). Sironi and Branche (2002) say that in the therapy process, the most important thing is 'to get the thinking mind going again' (p.547),

since confrontation of the patient with the process s/he got through is important. In 'reconnection phase', the patient starts to reconnect what s/he lived through making meanings out of it. Herman (1992) says that while 'helplessness and isolation' are the main elements of the trauma, 'empowerment and reconnection' are the main elements of the healing process. These phases can be evaluated as 'regaining the voice' of the trauma survivor (Gorman, 2001).

Other institutes helping the survivors to have their voices and make their voices listen for struggling for justice are 'truth commissions'. Truth commissions are the places which help to 'recover body politic and defend for social justice' (Gorman, 2001). So their presence can be evaluated as also therapeutic. Diyarbakır Truth and Justice Commission provided these functions to the survivors of the torture, giving their voices support and contributed to those voices' searching for justice.

It should also be noted that the therapists' stance towards the survivors is very important. Therapists' should be aware that the trauma the patients faced has not only individual reasons, but it has political reasons and injustices. This awareness would be helpful for the survivors' political commitment and making meaning out of it (Kagee and Naidoo, 2004). Akçam (1991), in his book, mentions about the perception saying that "In Turkey, the torture is normal". Since torture is used for years as a routine in the country, the therapists should be awake to their own perceptions to torture in the therapy. For instance, torture should not only include the beatings, but it can also be psychological torture. The therapists interested in

political violence survivors should also have their sociological and political information regarding those issues and then relates the issues to the inner dynamics of the patients. They should follow the perceptional changes of the society. For instance, Saraçoğlu (2011), in his study, found that before there was denial of existence of Kurdish people in cities, however in these times the main attitude towards the Kurdish people is 'exclusion of them despite knowing them ("tanıyarak dışlama")', which is evaluated as manifestation of cultural racism. The therapists' knowledge and stance are very important for the healing process of the survivors. In the end, it may have the healing and transformative effect in the societal order. Sironi and Branche (2002,p.547) tells:

> Joint work in those two disciplines, history and psychology, is possible and, indeed, necessary for the undeniable enhancement it brings to the task of seeing in greater detail the lasting human consequences of the violence in our collective history.

5. Conclusion

This study explored the coping mechanisms and the emotions of the 50 male tortured ex-prisoners who were confined in Diyarbakır Military Prison in between 1980 and 1984. Our study found that the ex-prisoners mostly used political awareness and sense making, resistance, social comparison, need regulation and obeying to deal with extreme traumatic conditions of the Diyarbakır Military Prison. We found 26 coping mechanisms, which can be said that there are various ways of dealing with the physical and psychological torture. In our study, we also explored the disclosed emotions of the ex-prisoners. Fear, sadness, embarrassment and horror are found to be mostly expressed emotions among the ex-prisoners. The next emotion which is found mostly used is feeling pleased (narrated as being 'happy'), which accompanied the ex-prisoners stories of support in between their friends. Our study's main aim was to give voices to those ex-prisoners, basing on the idea of the testimonies' therapeutic and political power which has a transformative effect on the society.

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APPENDIX

ORIGINAL SENTENCES OF THE QUOTATIONS

FROM THE NARRATIVES

Original Versions of the Quotations of the Coping Mechanisms

Resistance

Katılımcı 29: Yani, belki Mazlum'un o dirilişi, o özgürlük mücadelesini artık şunu gösteriyor çok net bir şekilde. Diyarbakır onursuz yaşamaktansa ölmek yaşamanın en güzel bir çiçeği, bir gülüydü. Ve o öylesine onurlu bir mücadeleyi seçmek zorunda kaldı. Çünkü yaşanılacak bir koşul kalmamıştı.Biz slogan attığımız zaman, yaşasın ölüm, insanca yaşamak istiyoruz.Tabi bu 83 direnişinde atacağımız sloganlardan biriydi.

Katılımcı 18: Orada gidip, kendi insanlarına işkence yapmayan, kendi insanlarını, soydaşlarını veya diğer devrimci demokratları ismini vermeyen kişi, o zamanın kriteri o kişiydi, o insandı yani, denilebilir. Onun dışında zaten, bir o vardı insanların elinde. Yani ölümle yaşam arasındaki o sırat köprüsü oradaydı. Öyle bizi yatırıyorlardı, avlunun ortasındaki o kanalizasyon kanalı vardı, mesela sıra sıra getiriyorlardı üstüne. Kafanı sok! sokan sokardı, sokmayan sokulurdu. Yani kendi adıma söyleyeyim, kendi adıma yapabileceğim en büyük kahramanlık oydu, ben sokmuyordum, o sokuyordu.

Obeying the Torturer and Accepting the Conditions

Katılımcı 24:Eylül direnişi diyorum, 1983 Eylül direnişi, yani ilk çığlık, ilk karşı çıkış, ilk ret ediş, yeter bu uygulamaya gelmiyoruz, rest çekip

direniyoruz, bu insanlık dışı uygulamalara son diye kitlede biriken öfke 2-3 yılın o teslimiyetin, teslimiyet vardı çünkü bizde 2-3 yıl bedenen teslim olmuştuk ama zihnen teslim değildik. Yani mahkemelerde kalkıp partiyi savunuyoruz, ideolojimizi savunuyoruz, pişman değiliz, ölüme hazırız diyoruz ama cezaevine geldiğimizde de bize zorla milli marşlarını, istiklal marşını, gençliğe hitabelerini yani uygulamalarda teslim olmuşuz.

Problem Focused- Active (Need Regulation)

Katılımcı 17: Ben görüşmeme gelmesini istemiyordum. Niye deseniz, çünkü koğuştan görüşme kulübelerine kadar dayak yiye yiye gidiyorduk, sürüne sürüne gidiyorduk, esas duruşta görüşmecinle görüşürsün, sağa sola bakma şansın yok, dik bir noktaya bakıyorsun. İşte nasılsın, iyi misin, bunun dışında hiç bir şey söyleme şansın yok.

Katılımcı 5: Ayağımızdaki çorapları söküp ip yaptık, onu ip yaptık, ipe de sünger bağladık, süngeri karşı taraftaki havalandırmaya sarkıtıyorduk, yağmurun suyuna batırıyorduk, o yağmur suyunu çekip, onu bardaklara sıkıp içmeye çalışıyorduk.

Political Awareness and Sense Making

Katılımcı 29: Yani sanki bir sel çökmüş insanın yüreğine, hislerini tutamıyordu, bir haykırış vardı. Ve buna karşı direnen, buna karşı mücadele eden bir gerçeklik vardı, bir de Diyarbakır zindanının yüreğini acıtan, böyle onursuz bir yaşama sürüklemek istenen bir olay vardı karşımızda. Tabi iki şey arasında kalıyordun.

Katılımcı 9: Yalnız Bucaklar değil, yanı başımızda bakıyorduk para içinde yüzenler, bolluk içinde yüzenler, lüks içerisinde olanlar, bir de büyük toprak ağaları, 3-5 köyü olanlar, 10 binlerce dönüm toprağı olanlar, bir taraftan da köle gibi olanlar, ölüsünü gömecek toprağı olmayan insanlar, ölüsü gömecek kadar toprağa sahip olmayan insanlar. Biz bunları görüyorduk, bundan çok etkilendik mesela. E biz de neticede bir yoksul bir ailenin çocuğuyduk. Ben bayağı etkilendim, dedim bu ülkede bu ülkeye bir devrim lazım. Bu ağaların bu beylerin bi şekilde alaşağı edilmesi lazım, başka da bize yaşam hakkı yok.

Social Comparison

Katılımcı 43: Ben, Diyarbakır süreci aslında, Hitler'in Yahudilere reva gördüğü, yaptığı uygulamalardan daha ürpertici,daha vahşi,daha dayanılmaz,daha büyük bir acıyı yaşattığını düşündüm.Çünkü parça parça yapmış.Bu uygulamaları birden yapmamış. Belki biz cezaevindekileri birden katletseydi,hepimizi imhaya tutsaydı cuntacılar,o zaman darbeyi yapanlar ya da Esat Oktay öyle bir şey yapsaydı,belki bugün tarih,yani insanlığın,ya da Türk halkının vicdanında belki farklı bir tepkiye yol açardı.Belki bugün tarihsel süreç,farklı bir minvalde gelişebilirdi.

Belonging to Group

Katılımcı 19: Oradaki ilişkiler diyebilirim ki ne bir aile ortamında, ne hiç şu anda içinde bulunduğumuz partide, bir dernekte yok, o paylaşım, o birbirine güven, o birbirine destek, birbirini sahiplenme, yani yok dünyanın hiçbir yerinde. Zaten insanı ayakta tutan da odur.

Katılımcı 49: Şimdi o eylemler yapıldığı zaman, başarılı olduğu zaman çok büyük moral kaynağı oluyordu bizim için. Yani bizim için… yani bizim çektiğimiz o acılar, o işkenceler o an bitiyordu. Yani bizi o kadar işkenceler görmemize rağmen, o kadar şey yapmamıza rağmen, bittiği an bir dakikalığına da olsa, o bizim kendi aramızda geliştirdiğimiz sosyal bir ilişki var ya, gülmeler, oyun oynamalar, ağlamalar yani içimizi boşaltmalar bizi her şeyden soyutlandırıyordu.

Dehumanization of the Torturer

Katılımcı 15: Necmettin sen aklı başında adamsın, bu işler böyle gitmez. O da dedi ki benim aklım başımda, ne yaptığımı biliyorum dedi. Sizin gibi işkencecilerin çocukları gelecekte toplum içinde sizden utanacaklar, biz işkencede ölebiliriz, onursuz yaşamaktan iyidir, bizim çocuklarımız başı dik yaşayacak dedi. Benim babam onursuz yaşama direndiği için öldü diyecek. Bu tür diyaloglar oldu.

Self-sacrifice:

Katılımcı 1: Mesela birey olarak küçük yaşta olmama rağmen çoğu zaman yemek az olurdu, ben bu konuda biraz da kendime hakimim, zaten utanırdım da, derdim ben aç değilim, midem ağrıyor yemiycem. Maksat sorun çıkmasın ya da bi rahatsız arkadaş varsa o yesin (…).

Social Support:

Katılımcı 2: Bana söylediği tek şey şuydu moralini niye bozuyorsun, biz devrimci insanlarız. Bayan böyle söyledi, ben çok etkilendim. O sırada

duygulandım da. Bize her türlü işkenceyi yaparlar ama bizim dinimizi (?) asla alamazlar. Şimdi biraz daha feodal yapının kalıntıları da üzerimizde hakim. Onun öyle söylenmesi hem bana bir güç verdi; hem cesaret verdi, hem de duygulandırdı tabi.

Fantasy and Need for Justice

Katılımcı 4: Mahkemeye giderken jilet gibi keskinleşmişim. Ama herkesle gülüyorum, konuşuyorum, diyorum bu son. Şimdi ben bunu kafama koydum. Mahkeme salonunda açıklamalarda bulunacağım, orada da intihar edeceğim. Bir kiriş var, betondan yapılmış, mahkeme salonunda. Şimdi dedim buradan buraya koşarsam, kafamı vursam dik şöyle dağılır ölürüm. O şekilde hazırlanmışım. Gideceğim bütün açıklamalarda bulunacağım ve mahkeme salonunda yapacağım ki bütün dünya duysun. Kararı içinde öyle vermişim. Öyle içimde bir his var ki, içim ferahlamış.

Positive Affect

Katılımcı 16: Mercimek derken sen neyi kastettin, dışarıya bi şifre mi verdin, dışarıya bir not mu göndermek istedin gibi bir mantık doğdu. [Gülümsüyor]Yani görüşmelerimiz bu şekilde geçiyordu.

Dissociation

Katılımcı 3: (…) Ama on iki eylül ondan on yıl sonra olmasına rağmen hiçbir arkadaşımı doğru dürüst hatırlayamıyorum. Yattığım koğuşlarda kimler vardı kimler yoktu? Bana sorsanız en fazla şimdi size on tane isim sayarım; oysa ben bin kişiyle yattım. On taneden fazla isim

hatırlayamıyorum; çünkü beyin o kötü günleri reddediyor, hatırlamak istemiyor, anmak istemiyor, anlatabiliyor muyum?

Political Determination

Katılımcı 35:Samimi söylüyorum. Ben 12 Eylül'e kadar o kadar severdim devleti, o kadar bağlıydım ki, ben askerlik yaptım, izine gelmedim. (…) Sevinerek yani böyle övünüyorum. Ben devletime hizmetimi, askerliğimi yapmaktan övünüyorum. Meğer ki yanılmışım. 12 Eylül'den sonra baktım ki ben, hata etmişim ya. Yanılmışım ya. Ya ben gitmezdim ki zaten, 12 Eylül'den sonra, beni cezaevine aldıktan sonra eğer bana bu gözle baktıklarını bilseydim, vallah askere gitmezdim, bırakın 45 gün fazla yapmayı, gitmezdim. Gitseydim de aleyhine çalışırdım, hep aleyhine çalışırdım, imkanlarımı kullanırdım. Çünkü ben baktım ki, sistem benim kanımın düşmanı, anamın, babamın, atamın, atalarımın düşmanı imiş.

Katılımcı 34: Esrar, eroin, hırsızlı ve basit tabanca yakalatan herkesi getirdiler. Örgüt üyesi muamelesi yaptılar ve gerçekten örgüt üyesi yaptılar. Kadroya çevirdiler, hiç eğitim almaksızın, sırf yaptıkları işkence ile.-Şu anda Adana'da İHD'nin bir delegesiyim. Belki biz o günlerde çok işkence gördük, eziyet çektik, olumsuz ortamda bulunduk ama Diyarbakır cezaevi bize devrimciliği aşıladı. Eğer bugün bunları anlatıyorsak ve aynı görüş-düşünceleri savunuyorsak Diyarbakır cezaevinin kazandırdıklarıdır.

Humor

Katılımcı 28: Orada işte yazıyor ya. Biz oraya bakıyorduk, gülüyorduk yani. Şahsen ben her baktığımda gülüyordum yani. Adalet mülkün temelidir.

Bakıyordum Allah Allah adalet mülkün temelidir yazıyor. Ama hiç hiç [gülüyor] bir temeli yok yani.

Wish for Death

Katılımcı 16: İçin almıyor, ölüme yatıyorsun, ölüme yatıyorsun. O yüzden bunlar kesinlikle ortadan kaldırılıyor (…) Yani bizim için en azından kişiliğimizi, düşüncelerimizi toprağa gömüp, gibi bir his kendimde hissettim. En son bu şekil ancak düşüncelerimizle bu şekil, toprağın altında özgürleşebiliriz mantığı doğdu bende, ben de ölüm orucuna kendimi yazdırdım ve ölüm orucuna girdik.

Behavioral Disengagement

Katılımcı 34: Yaşamımda bir izdir, kafasını kaldırdım, cama koydum, dedim nasılsın, dedi ben bittim, artık dama oynamayacağım dedi. Kafası kucağıma düştü ve şehit düştü. (ara veriliyor 34: 10)Bu Ez Çum, yani ben bittim kelimesi hala bende etkisi vardır. Ez Cum kelimesini dinlemek duymak istemem. Ez çum, ben bittim.

Mental Disengagement

Katılımcı 22*:* Hiç görmediğin, hiç duymadığın, bilmediğin yeni bir dünya; ama nasıl bir dünya? Korkunun dışında hiçbir şey düşünülmeyen bir dünya.Yani girdiğiniz zaman bir bakıyorsun her taraftan işkence sesleri, marş sesleri, her taraftan insan bağrışmaları. Tam bir makine gibi.

Keeping Hope Alive

Katılımcı 1: 1. katla 2. katla vedalaşabildim ama inerken dedim ölüme gidiyorum bari ben son kez arkadaşlara hitap edeyim. Kısa bi konuşma yaptım, dedim arkadaşlar- aslında yasak yani şey olarak. Dedim buraya kadar beraber geldik, eksiklerimiz oldu, hatalarımız oldu. Yani bugüne kadar bir eksiklik veya hatam olduysa hepinizden özür diliyorum, fakat dedim şu anda gidiyoruz, ölüme de gitsek özgürlük türküsünü haykıracaz ve Hayri, Kemallere layık olacaz bundan emin olabilirsiniz.

Suppression

Katılımcı 21: Belki de yaşamımızda en kötü anı olarak kalacaktır. Ama kötü anı içerisinde de en tatlı anı olarak çünkü büyük ideal uğruna verilmiş bir bedel olarak algılıyor ve kabul ediyoruz. Dolayısıyla ben kendi açımdan bunları olmamış olarak kabul ediyorum. Öyle düşünüyorum, öyle yaşıyorum.

Rationalization

Katılımcı 49: Yemek yediriyorlar. Yemek de yemek! Yani ölmemek kaydı(yla) yani onların kendi emellerini, bizim üzerimizde uygulayabilmesi için bir malzemeydik biz onlar için. Yani eğer biz ölürsek, onlar kendileri, işkence yöntemleri uygulayacak kimse bulamayacaklarından dolayı, yani çeyrek ekmek, biraz çorba ve biraz diğer yemekler.

Affective Disengagement

Katılımcı 4: Ama halk için bu bir fedakârlık olacaksa ha burada benzin yak, içindeki ateşe kahkaha ile gülerim, hiç onu bile hissetmem. Yeter ki halk için, insanlık için olsun. (…)

Denial

Katılımcı 43: Öylesine şeyler yaratmışlardı ki mesela bizim sazlarımız vardı. Daha önceleri 12 Eylül öncesi. Koğuşta normal aktivite olarak. Saz saplarının hepsi kırmışlardı ve onları işkence aletine döndürmüşlerdi. Saz sapını gördüğüm zaman yüreklerimiz gerçekten öyle tir tir titriyordu. Ben korku anlamında söylemiyorum. Çok acı verici bir şey. O saz sapı nasıl acı veriyordu ben bilmiyorum. cidden onu anlatmak bir şey yani aslında onu yaşamak lazım. Her darbe inişinde sen yüreğinde hissediyorsun.

Somatization

Katılımcı 2: (…) Vallahi daha çok bizimki kızdığımız andan itibaren başlıyor. (baş ağrısı ile ilgili) .

Religious Coping

Katılımcı 11: Bir ara ben kalktım, bana isnat edilen suçlarla ilgili, sayın başkan, bana isnat edilen suçlar bir köy davasıyla ilgiliydi, karşı taraf da dedim biraz arazi var, tarla var sadece bizi köyden koparıp o arazilerden faydalanmak için bazı bu iftiralara maruz kalıyoruz. Bu insanların dedim, yalancılığın, itirafçılığın insanlara ne kadar zarar verdiğini bir gün Allahın mahkemesinde de bu tür hesapların sorulacağını idrak edemeyen insanlardır dedim.

Positive Growth

Katılımcı 10: Şimdi benim iki tane romanım yayınlanmıştır ve yayınlamam gereken 15 tane romanım da karalama olarak duruyor. Ve resim yapıyorum. Ben cezaevinde kendimi yetiştirmeye çalıştım. Kendi vicdanımla baş başa kaldım. Eğer yaşamak istiyorsan, fiziken cezaevindeysen, senin ruhun dışarıda olacak, çiçekler içinde olacak bahçeler içinde olacak, halk içerisinde olacak, orman içerisinde olacak. Ve sen yaşarsın. Ben öyle yaptım.

Expression

Katılımcı 11: Benim fizikim cezaevindeydi, benim ruhum, vicdanım dışarıdaydı. Ve yazıyordum. Ben yazmasaydım, çatlardım.Ben yazmasaydım, patlardım. Ben eğer fırçayla tabloyu içimden geçenleri manzaraya dökmeseydim, ben bu kadar cezaevi olayını kaldıramazdım. Çünkü ben cezaevindeyken, ruhum dışarıdaydı. Bazı insanlar var dışarıdadır, ruhu cezaevindedir ve sonuç olarak gidip kendini intihar ediyor. Esas bizim intihar etmemiz için çok sebepler var, gerekçeler var. Ama biz onu tercih etmedik.Onurumuzu korumaya çalıştık.

Original Versions of the Quotations of the Emotions

Katılımcı 38: Yani, esas hakim olan korkuydu. Yani dayak korkusuydu, işkence korkusuydu, hücreye götürülme korkusuydu. Açıkçası, yani insan arkadaşına korkar hale getirilmişti yani. Acaba bu arkadaş beni ihbar eder mi etmez mi. yani o hale getirilmişti insanlar. Çünkü bir de ihbarcılık dayatılıyordu

Katılımcı 28: Sadece 'Ey Türk gençliği' dedim. Ee, ordaki gardiyanlar ulan oğlum n'oldu söylesene dedi, senin dilin mi bitti, mazot mu bitti? Sesimi çıkarmadım. Tabi orda ağladım yani. Kendimi tutamadım, zapt edemedim. Orda duygusal bir şey oldu, orda ağladım

Katılımcı 19: Mesela ben kendi adıma söyleyeyim, o Eylül Direnişine kadar insan insanlığında utanıyor. Yani adam sana diyor marş ezberle, ezberliyorsun. Adam sana diyor Atatürk ilke ve inkılaplarını ezberle, ezberliyorsun. Devletçiliği anlat, onların ekonomistleri bile senin kadar devletçiliği anlatamıyor, anlatıyorsun.

Katılımcı 23: Eylül direnişi diyorum, 1983 eylül direnişi, yani ilk çığlık, ilk karşı çıkış, ilk ret ediş, yeter bu uygulamaya gelmiyoruz, rest çekip direniyoruz, bu insanlık dışı uygulamalara son diye kitlede biriken öfke.

Katılımcı 37: Çoğu zaman şeyi bile düşünüyorsun, keşke cezaevinde olsaydım. En azında arkadaşların gizliden gizliye de olsa seninle dayanışıyor. O dayanışma şeyi var. Dışarı çıkmıştım, 12 Eylül toplumun bütünü üzerinde büyük bir korku paniktir, terör havası estirmiş. Bu korku ortamı içerisinde nasıl ki cezaevinde bulunduğumuz koğuştaki 40 kişi içerisinde yalnızlığı yaşıyorsa, bu sefer büyük kalabalıklar içerisinde yine yalnızsın.

Katılımcı 19: Getirdikleri ne ise paylaşıyor. Ondan sonra nasıl hareket edilecek. Arkadaşlar şöyle şöyle yapacağız. Oradaki paylaşım, özellikle yani insana o kadar bir güven veriyor ki…

Katılımcı 37: Sorguluyorsun, acaba ben yanlış mı yaptım. Sorguluyorsun. Benim hayallerim vardı, ütopyam vardı, ben bu halkın kurtuluşu için yola çıkmıştım. Bu halk sana sahip çıkmıyor.