

COPING MECHANISMS AND EMOTIONS OF THE EX-CONVICTS IN
DİYARBAKIR PRISON

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SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
KLİNİK PSİKOLOJİ YÜKSEK LİSANS PROGRAMI

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2013

Coping Mechanisms and Emotions of the Ex-convicts in Diyarbakır Prison
Diyarbakır Cezaevi'ndeki Eski Tutsakların Başa Çıkma Mekanizmaları ve
Duyguları

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Tezin Onaylandığı Tarih :

27 Haziran 2013

Toplam Sayfa Sayısı :

124

Anahtar Kelimeler (Türkçe)

1. Başa Çıkma Mekanizmaları
2. İşkence
3. Duygular
4. Diyarbakır Askeri Cezaevi
5. Siyasi Tutukluluk

Keywords (İngilizce)

1. Coping Mechanisms
2. Torture
3. Emotions
4. Diyarbakır Military Prison
5. Political Imprisonment

Abstract

This study aims to examine the used coping mechanisms and expressed emotions by the tortured ex-convicts who were imprisoned in Diyarbakır Military Prison between the years of 1980 and 1984 after the Military Coup d'état in 12 September 1980 in Turkey. Thirty interviews with ex-convicts (n=30) were analyzed by content analysis. The analysis showed that ex-convicts used a rich repertoire of coping mechanisms (24 coping mechanisms). They primarily used political awareness and giving meaning, resistance, and social support to cope with the torture experiences. Analysis further showed that the narration of the torture experiences of ex-convicts primarily accompanied by the feelings of sadness, anger, shame, and fear among other 14 expressed emotions that has been reached by content analysis.

Özet

Bu çalışma Türkiye'de 12 Eylül 1980 yılında yapılan askeri darbeden sonra 1980 ve 1984 yılları arasında Diyarbakır Askeri Cezaevi'nde işkence görmüş eski siyasi tutsakların başa çıkma mekanizmalarını ve ifade ettikleri duyguları araştırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Otuz eski tutsağın (n=30) mülakatı söylem analizi ile incelenmiştir. Analiz, eski tutsakların zengin bir başa çıkma mekanizması repertuarına sahip olduğunu göstermiştir (24 başa çıkma mekanizması). İşkenceyle başa çıkmada kullanılan mekanizmalar arasında öne çıkanlar politik bilinç ve anlamlandırma, direniş ve sosyal destektir. Bunun yanı sıra, söylem analizi ile eski tutsakların işkence anlatılarına, bulunan 14 ayrı duygu ifadesi arasında özellikle üzüntü, öfke, utanç ve korku duygularının ifadesinin eşlik ettiği görülmüştür.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank my thesis advisors Murat Paker and Ayten Zara that they kindly provided their support throughout the writing process of my thesis. I appreciate the substantial support of TÜBİTAK by providing a generous scholarship throughout my master years. I would further like to thank my parents for their unconditional supports. My sister Güllistan Yarkin and my friend Pınar Üstel contributed a lot with their intellectual resources and by giving feedbacks to me patiently and critically. My friends Sezen Engiz and Pınar Üstel has supported me emotionally throughout my writing process without their support this thesis would never be completed. I would also thank my friends Elit Çam, Esen Karan, Levent Sevi, Ilgın Tufan, Derya Özkaynak, Hayri Gökşin Özkoray, Zeynep Karagöz, Asena Bulduk, Egecan Erdoğan, Arun Ranjith, Buket Öztekin, İdil İlhanlı, Özge Akkaya, Gökçe Yücel, Tuğçe Yapıcı, Onur Günay, and Gün Erdoğan that they have provided lots of social support and created a breathing space in this compelling process. I would additionally like to thank Mia Medina, Cengiz Sav, and Barış Şensoy by sharing their wisdom in the psychotherapeutic field. At last, I would admire the work of journal Toplum ve Kuram that they envisioned my conceiving of Kurdish Movement and Kurdish History by the publications of critical, inclusive, and theoretical articles.

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1. Introduction

There have been numerous oppressions towards "the internal enemies" (Zeydanlıođlu, 2010) by the Turkish modern nation-state. Here in this study, we will focus on the oppressive acts of Turkish State in Diyarbakır Military Prison between the years of 1980 and 1984. Our aim is not to produce the knowledge of oppression but we claim to emphasize the empowerment, resistance, and the survival of the oppressed. Conveniently, we aim to focus on the coping mechanisms of the ex-convicts who were imprisoned in Diyarbakır Military Prison because of the reason that they were Kurdish. They were tortured violently by the Turkish State's will of eradication of their identity and to re-produce a "citizen" who is a nationalistic, Sunni, Turkish man. What aimed in Diyarbakır Prison was not only reproduction of a citizen of a Turkish State but also "murdering" and punishing the ex-convicts since they were Kurdish. However, the aim of the state was not to kill the ex-convicts physically but oppress their political and ethnic identities.

Here, we will first elaborate upon the political climate of Turkey in the 1980s after the Coup d'état of September 12. We will focus on the prisons, torture in prisons; and the roles of these tools of state to re-animate its power on the society. Thereafter we will focus on torture, its definition, its psychological effects, and its place in psychological literature. In the third section, we will mention about Diyarbakır Military Prison and its relation to Kurdish society. At the fourth section, we will focus on the Truth and Justice Commission of Diyarbakır Prison by considering the role of commissions through referencing the other instances from other places in the world. Moreover, we will focus on coping mechanisms with the attempt of an inclusive review of coping mechanisms in the literature of psychological literature. Thereafter, we will primarily discuss about the studies focusing on torture and coping mechanisms. At last, we will touch upon relationships among torture, coping mechanisms, and emotions.

We have two aims that first to examine the coping mechanisms of tortured ex-convicts who were imprisoned in Diyarbakır Military Prison between the years of 1980 and 1984. This analysis will be processed with content analysis and the data will include qualitative material which will be received from the interview database of the Truth and Justice Commission of Diyarbakır Prison. Secondly, we will explore which emotions they express accompanied by their narratives. It should be noted that exploring the emotions is not the primary goal of this study. Thus, we will not present an inclusive review of emotions, torture, and coping mechanisms.

1.1. 12 September 1980 Coup D'état and Prisons: Before and After

This section aims to set forth the political climate of Turkey before and after the 12 September Coup d'état. Throughout the history of the Modern Turkey, there were three core military interventions to the government and civil life which happened in 1960, in 1971, and in 1980 (Demirel, 2003). 12 September 1980 Coup d'état was the last but the most transformative one which reconstructed Turkey and the ideological tools of the Turkish Republic. Prisons were the primary tools of the state for the reconstruction of Modern Turkey.

After the military coup in 1971, until the 1980s, lots of prisons were built by the state (Zürcher, 2008). Different practices in prisons were “developed” and changed through these military coups. State has been experienced with the coups and oppression techniques have been "improved".

Coup d'état of September 12 was a violent act of Turkish state to assert its nationalistic ideology. Zeydanlıoğlu (2010) regards the coup as an effort for Turkification of the state through oppressing by its prisons, courts, torture techniques etc. The “internal enemies” were leftist groups, non-Turkish and non-Sunni Muslim groups. Military placed itself as a great power, the only ruler, and it oppressed the “internal enemies”; the atrocities executed in the 1980s by the coup were named and legitimized under the name of “state of emergency”. The state claimed that especially after the military coup d'état of 1971, rightist and leftist groups became more radical

in their acts of fighting for their ideological agenda (Demirel, 2003).

According to the report of the TİHV (Human Rights Association of Turkey, 1994), after the coup, 650.000 people were detained, 65.000 people were imprisoned. 6353 people were judged to be executed, decision of execution was given to more than 500 people and 50 of them were executed. From 12 September 1980 to the end of 1984, 222 people were murdered as a direct or indirect result of torture in prisons. Two-hundred and eight of them were murdered under surveillance and prisons. Eleven of them were dead because of the hunger strikes, and 3 of them were murdered because of being sick as a result of torture. Kurdish people were the main “target” of the coup. 81.000 Kurds were arrested. Cultural oppressions on the Kurds were done through the forbidding of Kurdish language and giving Kurdish names to children (Yıldız, 2001 cited in; Zeydanlıoğlu 2010).

Judith Butler (2004) impressively analyzes the state’s “situations of emergency” and its use of law in order to “reanimate” its lost power and sovereignty. According to Butler (2004), state does not mourn for what it has lost but tries to re-assert its power. Resistances of the society either under legal or illegal acts create a loss in the power of the state. Law is assumed to be a tool of the “reanimation” but as an independent part of modern state. However, throughout the world history, there are many times that laws have been suspended. Rules, the power of the state, have been asserted in an arbitrary way. State applied the rules under the name of law (Agamben, 2001; cited in Butler, 2004). The rules are claimed to have for society have no limits for violence, non-humanity. State, as a great power,

assigns itself as the unique agency to decide, who to kill, who to detain, who to torture, who to exile; which ethnicity, which class, and which gender to oppress. These decisions become the rules of the “state of emergency” as a new law of the state. It may seem ironic that state repeals its own law, but indeed it is re-asserting its “power” as a revitalization of its sovereignty in a “performative way”.

1.1.1. 12 September Coup D'état and Prisons

Military coup in 1980 aimed to create a new era for the Modern Turkey through oppressing the leftist groups. Prisons were the primary tools of state to re-assert its sovereignty. Most of the political detainees were tortured in the 1970s and the 1980s in Turkey. Torture techniques had been developed further in the 1980s compared to the 1970s. The executed atrocities were different depending on the location of the prison (where in Turkey) and whether prison was a civil or a military prison. Zihni Anadol (1989), a political activist of the TKP (Communist Party of Turkey), argues that in the 1940s and the 1950s the torture techniques were not that violent compared to the 1970s and 1980s. Ertuğrul Kürkçü (1989) proposed that in the 1970s, during interrogation, torture was executed to make convicts to confess their “crimes”. When torturers are convinced that the convict would not confess, they used to end the torture. Unlikely, in the 1980s, this violent torture execution continued throughout imprisonment. In other words, torture became an additional punishment to detention. Elif Tolon (1989), one of the prominent woman activists of the 1970s and the 1980s, claims

that 1970`s torture techniques were not diversified since the interrogators did not know how to “deal with” the political convicts. After 1982, lieutenants were educated in the USA and they took the management of prisons (Sarioğlu, 1989). In addition, changes made in quality and the quantity of torture techniques, construction of the prisons were also transformed into more institutionalized and structured ones.

The prisons, which were established after the 12 September Coup d'état, were constructed according to the aim of isolation of the convicts (Sarioğlu, 1989). The military prisons were highly different than the civil prisons in terms of the discipline and atrocity (Kürkçü- Anadol, 1989; Sarioğlu, 1989). The dialogues between the convicts and guardians were less humane in military prisons by its harsh torture techniques (Sarioğlu). In 1989, Elif Tolon presented that Diyarbakır Prison's conditions were worse than the other prisons in Turkey even in the 1970s .Turkish State had oppressive attitude towards Kurdish detainees than the other political detainees as the Turkish State was more oppressive to the Kurdish society. The dialogue between guardians and detainees was only violence toned compared to other cases of political imprisonment (Anadol, 1989). Moreover, police department was located near Diyarbakır Prison. The proximity of the police department resulted in easier and more frequent execution of torture as the torture executed under the surveillance was “legitimized” by the state (Kürkçü, 1989). Thus, convicts were easily and unpredictably taken to police department from Diyarbakır Prison and tortured there throughout their imprisonment period.

1.2. Torture

Torture is one of the ideological tools of modern nations (Zeydanlıođlu, 2010). In the existence of civil war, almost all states systematically use torture on people living within the borders of a nation-state in its prisons. The definition of torture is proposed by Tokyo declaration (1975; cited in Bařođlu, 1992) as: "Deliberate, systematic or wanton infliction of physical or mental suffering one or more persons acting alone or on the orders of any authority, to force another person to yield information, to make confession, or of any other reason". Ortiz (2001) regards the definition as highly problematic. Torture is practiced by the state not to yield information but to reassert its sovereignty (Butler, 2004) by oppressing the voice and acts of the self (Paker, 2007). It wants to create a "paralyzing fear" not only in survivor's world but also in the larger community (Ortiz, 2001). This is also valid for Diyarbakır Prison. It is argued that the atrocities in Diyarbakır Prison not solely affected survivors, but also affected their families, and the larger community (Üstündađ, 2012). However, in Diyarbakır Prison experience, state's aim of creating a paralyzing fear in Kurdish society resulted in counter action. Being exposed to these violent experiences and being in relation with the survivor, as a relative or a friend, reconstructed the political agenda and empowered the resistance of the Kurdish society.

Defining the purpose of torture as a way of yielding information is a misconception (Ortiz, 2001). In the 1980s Erzincan court martial sentenced

as: Torture is used to make detainee to confess ``the truth``, the information (Kavelioğlu, 2007). An ex-convict in Diyarbakır Prison tells his experience of seeing a doctor in prison for toothache in his left side (Şahin Fırat and Fırat, 2011). The prison doctor says to the ex-convict “the aching of tooth of yours is in your right side”. The “truth” is determined by the state as a rule (Butler, 2004). In the 1980s, a speech of one sovereign of Turkey supported and crystallized this ideology, “You, doctors are soldiers in the first place” (Kavelioğlu, 2007). The "truth" is constructed by the state, even changing the aim of medicine and the role of its "professionals".

1.2.1. Torture, body and self

Torture is a volitional act aiming to give pain to the mind by giving physical harm (Skylv, 1992). The physical sequelae of torture remind the detainees the repetitive traumatic experiences and make them psychologically suffer. Judith Butler (2004) incisively sets forth an ontological understanding of the relationship between body and vulnerability of human being. According to her, the body does not belong to the self but it is social and accessible by others. Over and above, from the relational perspective, she regards “body” is not *one's* but also not *other's*. She says, who "we are", who "I am" is unknown. In Butler's words (2004, pp. 26):

The body implies mortality, vulnerability, agency: the skin, and the flesh expose us to the gaze of others, but also to touch, and to violence, and bodies put us at risk of becoming the agency and instrument of all these as well.

The body withdraws the autonomy and at the same time provides the autonomy (Butler, 2004). Humans are physically dependent on others. This dependency makes people's lives precarious. Survivor of torture witnesses his/her own dependency and feels the vulnerability of himself/herself deep inside. As mentioned above, torture gives physical pain but aims to give mental pain. The tortured one witnesses his/her own death (Üstündağ, 2012) but cannot really know what is lost (Butler, 2004) since the borders of the "self" and the "other"; "psychic being" and "physical being" are not clear and solid. The blurred borders, ontological relatedness, give the chance to reclaim agency by controlling the body. Hunger strikes, death fasts, suicide bombings are the striking examples of body's implication of agency. However, these striking acts are still relational that they express the need to be understood by the other or to rebel against the other.

1.2.2. Torture and Psychological Research

In this section, after the attempt of understanding the relation among the body, the self and torture; the psychological sufferings associated with torture will be examined. Although there is no causal relationship, experience of torture is found to be related with sleep disturbances, seeing nightmares, symptoms of depression and anxiety, cognitive impairments and changes in identity (Somnier, Vesti, Kastrup, and Genefke, 1992). Additionally, Paker and his colleagues (Paker, Paker, and Yüksel, 1992) found that post-traumatic stress disorder is present in more than one third of 208 tortured prisoners. Survivors of torture lose their trust in world, in

people; they lose their faith in God (Ortiz, 2001). Some of them suffer the burden of guilt, shame, humiliation; they sometimes feel like they are contaminated by the torturers and should not relate to anyone. It is as if the contamination would spread to others.

Studying torture from a psychological perspective is not commonly considered as politically correct (Ortiz, 2001; Başoğlu, 1992; Mollica, 1992) because of the risk for re-victimization of the survivor. Psychology mainly focuses on rehabilitation of the survivors, but does not use its efforts for prevention of torture or resisting against the state and its violent oppressive acts (Mollica, 1992). In the issue of torture and political imprisonment, psychology's focus on survivors' psychopathology is conceived as a stigmatization (Başoğlu, 1992). Additionally Ortiz (2001) argues that, clinicians often diagnose survivors as having eating disorders, being in depression. They over-diagnose the risk of suicide by disregarding the torture. Their interventions on the survivors are on the service of this neglect. These diagnosis and interventions may re-traumatize the survivors by exposing them to a new authority by discrediting their narratives but forcing them to accept the science-based "truth" of their conditions.

There is another question that whether the intervention to the survivors or the research about them is ethical or not (Mollica, 1992). This question is raised from the problematic implication that survivors are passive and non-able for seeking help. Psychologists may help survivors when they demand it. They research about torture and its effects only if torture survivors volunteer. Nazan Üstündağ (2012) posits her experiences

with the ex-convicts of Diyarbakır Prison after interviewing with them. She, as an academic, does not feel the right to claim any idea about the issue but the ex-convicts are the ones who can narrate, analyze, and make sense of what they have been experiencing. A Guatemalan survivor agrees with this (Ortiz, 2001):

Like guinea pigs and laboratory mice, we are providers of data, objects of someone else's curiosity, nothing more. I think to myself, I am an expert on torture and its effects, but do scientists seek input from me or other survivors?

In order to prevent objectification of the survivors, one should not disregard their expertness of torture. They should be regarded as a colleague (Ortiz, 2001). Nonetheless, it would be the same old oppression which constructs hegemony on them by ignoring their agency, capacity to analyze, and political power.

The most striking thing is that how survivors survive. They are agents, albeit the ordeals; they narrate, analyze the atrocities that they are exposed to; they live with their loss and experiences of abuse. After surviving such repeated and prolonged traumatic experience, they may even become more empowered. The undisputable argument would be, after such a traumatic experience, with gains and loss, they become someone new (Ortiz, 2001).

1.3. Diyarbakır Prison

Diyarbakır is a prominent city of the Eastern Side of Turkey where dominantly Kurdish people reside. The most primary characteristic of Diyarbakır is that Kurdish people living there are mostly politicized and

related to the Kurdish Movement. Diyarbakır Prison was built in 1980 as an E-Type Prison. It is commonly suggested that the politization of Diyarbakır and Kurdish society is related with the atrocities in Diyarbakır Prison. On December 17th in 2012, after being acknowledged about the atrocities in Diyarbakır Prison, the vice prime minister, Bülent Arınç reported that if he was one of the ex-convicts in Diyarbakır Prison, he would have thought to go to the mountains. However this commonly used argument is problematic. According to Aktan (2012; cited in Canan, 2012), Kurdish society has never gained the representation of being the subject of the movement in the minds of majority of the Turkish society. They are imagined either as a vulnerable group of people who were in between the violent attacks of PKK guerillas and Turkish state, or traumatized people through experiencing torture in Diyarbakır Prison; through forced migration, unidentified murders, and evacuation of villages. Ercan and Kemal (2012) agree that these dichotomous representations of Kurdish society disregard the existing will of Kurdish society; and they further oppose the disregard for the historical roots of the Kurdish Movement. The victimization of the political agents is also present in the case of Guatemala that one Guatemalan survivor mentions the similar objectification by one of her family members (Ortiz, 2001):

To this day grandfather still believes that it was fate that decided I should suffer. But I know it was much more than fate. It was my insatiable hunger to indulge myself with knowledge that led me to the streets and which ultimately resulted in my arrest and torture.

Scalbert-Yücel and Le Ray (2006) present and analyze Kurdish studies both in Europe and Turkey with their relation to science and ideological connotations. Particularly, denial of the Kurdish existence caused lots of intellectuals to speak up and study Kurdish problem (Yeğen, 1996). There have been lots of studies which aim to deny Kurdish ethnicity and construct Turkish identity with its history (Kop, 1935, Kop 1938, Çay, 1985; cited in Scalbert-Yücel and Le Ra, 2006). In order to understand the primary purpose of controlling Kurds through externalization, either denial or stigmatization, one should be cognizant of the function of university as an institution which is directly bonded with Turkish State. Universities are claimed to be the places where citizenship is reproduced based on the hegemonic ideology (Taşkın, 2001; cited in Scalbert-Yücel and Le Ra, 2006). Most particularly, after 12 September Coup D'état, universities became the mere milieu of the reproduction of Kemalism's nationalist ideology.

Many theorists argue that mainstream psychology reproduce the externalization, assimilation, victimization, dehumanization of Kurdish society with its hierarchical, hegemonic perspective (Tolon, 1989; Elhüseyni, 2009). In the issue of politically active Kurdish children, Elhüseyni (2009) argues that considering political subjectivity of Kurdish children as psychopathological, who are the ones that should be rehabilitated, would pave the way for a lack of understanding about the political and sociological dynamics of Kurdish children. However, these arguments do not directly criticize certain theorists or studies. In his study

Darıcı (2009) willingly avoided to understand the ideological commitment and resistances of Kurdish children as heroic. He argued that it would be romanticization and artificial idealization of children's political acts. We argue that, psychology's intentional neglect of these core dynamics would be resulted in an analysis which is artificial, blind, and disconnected from reality, a tool for to reconstruct the externalizing nationalistic ideology of Turkish state.

In the first half of the 1980s, Diyarbakır Military Prison was a place where the fascist, nationalist, cruel, and destructive codes of Turkish State became painfully visible (Üstündağ, 2012). Paker (2003) proposed that to name the oppressive acts in Diyarbakır Military Prison as torture would not represent the cruelties there. He claimed that what happened there resembles to the concentration camps (Paker, 2003). Diyarbakır Military Prison was not the only experience of the ordeals of the Turkish State applied on Kurdish society, but one of the many others. The prison's year of construction, style of construction, its staff with the soldiers, precisely the lieutenant Esat Oktay Yıldırım, and his dog named Co (used for torture) were all for to realize the attempt of eradication of Kurdish identity. It is suggested that more than 5000 people were imprisoned in Diyarbakır Military Prison between the years of 1980 and 1984. Most of the ex-convicts were politicized Kurdish people. Some of them were imprisoned not because they were related to the leftist Kurdish political movements but only because they were Kurdish. There are lots of commonalities between Diyarbakır Military Prison and Auschwitz. However, there is a big

difference between Auschwitz and Diyarbakır Prison. The aim of the torture in Diyarbakır Prison was not to kill or to eradicate the bodies of the convicts but the aim was to keep them alive and eradicate their self, existence and to re-born "a baby of the state" (Üstündağ, 2012).

The torture techniques applied in Diyarbakır Military Prison were both psychically and physically pain-giving ones. Banning to speak in Kurdish, military training, severe beating, being stripped naked, being blindfolded and hosed, solitary confinement, guards' insults, obligation to salute the captain's dog, German shepherds trained to bite the private parts of naked prisoners, sleep deprivation, *falaka* (beating of the soles of feet), Palestinian hangings, stress positions, sleep, water and food deprivation, electric shock, specifically electrodes attached to genitals, burning with cigarettes, sexual humiliation and assault, death threat, rape or threat of rape of prisoners or relatives of prisoners in their presence, forced feeding of faeces are the main torture techniques applied on the ex-convicts (Zeydanlıoğlu, 2009; Paker and Karahoda, 2012). The torture techniques are listed in Table 1 with the frequencies. It is retrieved from the study of Arslan (2011).

1.4. The Truth and Justice Commission of Diyarbakır Prison

Diyarbakır Prison Search for Reality and Truth Commission was formed in 2007 and it has been working on the problems of the ex-convicts staying in Diyarbakır Prison between 1980 and 1984. This commission has completed more than 500 interviews out of approximately 5000 ex-convicts. Some of the interviews were done with the relatives of the ex-convicts.

These interviews were recorded by a camera and each of them was transcribed. The aim of the commission is to create reports to reveal the violence and cruelty that ex-convicts were exposed to and to demand the legal and humanistic rights for them. It is emphasized that covering the state violence prevents society to conceive the destructive and externalizing power of the state and to resist against its ongoing oppression. This commission is a way of Turkey to confront with its history (Paker, 2007). This confrontation is proposed to be necessary for justice and also peace for the oppressed individuals in the society.

Throughout the world history, the truth commissions are generally linked to national governments or to international authorities such as the United Nations in the case of El Salvador. Hayner (1994) argues that the power of the truth commission is very important because reaching documents and creating impact with the report could be possible only through that kind of authority. Paker (2011) wisely focuses on the therapeutic implications of the function of commissions. He argues that tortured ex-convicts suffer from invisibility of their experiences and not being minded by the society. Thus truth commission would be the most psychotherapeutic intervention by claiming what happened in Diyarbakır prison has "really" happened. On the other hand, Fuat Kav (2011), who was an ex-convict in Diyarbakır Prison in that period and who is still active in the Kurdish movement, argues that not the state but the non-governmental truth commission would be the only agent having a right to speak up on this issue. He claims that the torturers and the murderers of Diyarbakır Prison

are well known by the government but they are surely intentionally avoided. The government uses this issue as a benefit for their so-called libertarian representation.

*Table 1.
The Frequencies 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

It is suggested that after the formation of the truth commission in El Salvador by the United Nations, the number of commissions was increased (Hayner, 1994). Hayner (1994) claims that truth commissions providing society a "cathartic" effect. They make the collective trauma visible. It is further proposed that because of their governmental links, the truth commissions are usually formed when there is a political transformation. Although Diyarbakır Prison Search for Reality and Truth Commission is a non-governmental one, it is a medium to legitimize the new ideological structure of the state (Hayner, 1994). In other words, it can be argued that the Commission has both a retrospective and prospective functions. It aims to settle accounts with the Turkish state and also legitimize its fight for the future rights of the Kurdish people.

1.5. Coping Mechanisms

So far we have presented the issues about September Coup d'état in Turkey, torture, imprisonment and cruel tortures in Diyarbakır Prison. The question is that how did/do the ex-convicts of Diyarbakır Prison cope with the excruciating experiences. In this section, first we will attempt to cover the theories about coping mechanisms. Then, we will present the studies about certain coping mechanisms specifically. Moreover we will focus on the studies with survivors of torture and which coping mechanisms are used by them. Meanwhile, we will touch upon the effects of coping mechanisms for psychological well-being of the survivors. Lastly, we will shortly discuss the studies focusing on emotions and coping mechanisms. It is noteworthy

that the literature of coping mechanism does not have a common terminology. Although different terms may imply similar mechanisms, attempt of bringing out a discussion would exceed aims and limits of our study.

Trauma affects individuals' psychological well-being on different degrees in terms of time, severity and symptomatology. After experiencing a traumatic event, such as assault, disaster, torture, or an accident, one suffers trauma spectrum symptoms for weeks or months whereas some people continue to suffer these symptoms for a longer time (Kessler et al., 1995; cited in Ehlers and Clark, 2000). A study on the political prisoners in East Germany in the 1960s and the 1970s showed that not the severity of the traumatic experience but the individual differences, regarding the reaction to trauma, are more effectively playing a role in the development of posttraumatic psychopathology (Maercker, Beauducel, and Shützwohl, 2000). The reaction to trauma can be divided into two processes, which are called primary appraisal and secondary appraisal which mean that under a stressful condition one initially perceives the threat then tries to find to cope with the stress (Carver, Scheier, and Weintraub, 1989).

Starting from the 1960s, psychology began to focus on the concept of coping by the increased emphasis on the issue of stress (Lazarus, 1993). However, it is argued that psychoanalytic theories have included the coping through the conceptualization and analysis of the defences. Anna Freud (1936; cited in Quinodoz, 2004) through elaborating upon the theories of Sigmund Freud directed her energy on ego and described its function as

coping with the conflicts in order to decrease the anxiety. In this process, ego uses several defence mechanisms varying from primary to secondary ones implying the level of ego strength and personality organizations (McWilliams, 1994). These defence mechanisms are repression, regression, reaction formation, isolation, undoing, projection, introjection, turning against the self, reversal into opposite, sublimation, identification with the aggressor, and altruistic surrender (Freud, 1936; cited in Quinodoz, 2004). Ego psychologist, Hartmann (1932; 1952; cited in Fonagy and Target, 2003) theorized that ego has a "synthetic function". The defences, as a function of the ego, provide adaptation when there are internal conflicts evoking several negative emotions (Lazarus, 1993). This offers healthy functioning.

In addition to classical psychoanalytical theories, Bowlby's (1980; cited in Mikulincer and Orbach, 1995) concepts of internal working models and attachment and (Sroufe and Waters, 1977; Cicchetti et al., 1990; Fonagy and Target, 1996; cited in Fonagy and Target 2003) theories about affect regulation referring to the Bowlby's concepts are helpful to understand coping mechanisms from different schools. These complex and sophisticated theories will not be discussed comprehensively but will be touched upon in this study. Basically, Bowlby (1973; 1980; cited in Fonagy and Target 2003) argues that in the early infancy, infant internalizes working models through the infant-care giver relationship. This relationship shapes the attachment styles. Attachment styles associate with the capacity to regulate emotions, when there is a stressful experience sourced from inner or outside (Bowlby, 1980; cited in Mikulincer and Orbach, 1995). The

affect regulation is helpful to cope with the distress aroused from the fantasy and outer reality. It can be hypothesized that there are certain similarities among the conceptualization of coping mechanisms in the literature of psychology, defence mechanisms of psychoanalytic theories, and affect regulation of developmental psychology. For instance, Badour and Feldner (2013) proposed that difficulties in emotion regulation is related to the development of post-traumatic stress symptoms since the traumatic experience and its reminder clues induce emotionality in individuals. They assessed emotion regulation with the domains of awareness/understanding, clarity, acceptance of emotions, ability to continue engaging in goal directed behaviors or refraining from engaging in impulsive behaviors while in a negative mood. These are suggested to be strategies for regulating emotions. Those domains seem very similar to coping mechanisms called *problem focused coping* and *emotion focused coping* (Folkman and Lazarus, 1990), which will be discussed in detail. However, it is suggested that emotion focused coping is different concept than emotion regulation since it does not imply the unconscious processes and does not focus on the emotions before and after the stressor (Folkman and Moskowitz, 2004).

Lazarus (1993) proposed that the personality and clinical based views consider coping as a style but there is also a view regarding coping, as a process, changes depending on the stress. When the coping mechanism is effective to deal with the stressor, it survives. It survives unless one reappraises the coping mechanism to find an adaptive one. In 1980, Folkman and Lazarus (1980; cited in Carver et al., 1989) developed a

measure called *Ways of Coping*. It includes confrontive, distancing, self-control, seek social support, accept responsibility, escape-avoidance, planful problem-solving, and positive reappraisal (Folkman, Lazarus, Pimley, and Novacek, 1987). Based on their theory, it is suggested that there are two foremost functions of coping mechanisms which are *problem focused coping* and *emotion focused coping* (Lazarus, 1993). The problem focused coping is to deal with the stressor either by changing oneself or the environment. Emotion focused coping is changing the relationship between the individual and the environment such as avoidance, denial, or hyper vigilance (Folkman and Lazarus, 1990). This dichotomous understanding of coping mechanisms brought out discussion in the literature of coping, stress, and trauma.

Spurrell and McFarlane (1993) problematize the understanding of coping mechanisms. They research about the psychopathology and used coping mechanisms of the survivors of natural disaster. They found that survivors either used problem focused coping or emotion focused coping, and are all likely to develop affective disorders. They argue that coping is an "effortful" process meaning that stress is already there which may correlate the psychopathology. However it can be argued that, the problematization of the definition of coping requires the problematization of the definition of trauma. Considering this argument, the question would be that when self integrity is destructed by a traumatic experience how can one survive? In the case of the atrocities in Diyarbakır Prison, how could a survivor survive without an "effortful" coping?

There are several other studies aimed to explore and construct specific coping mechanisms under stress. Carver and colleagues (Carver, Scheier, and Weintraub, 1989) found 14 coping mechanisms such as: active coping, planning, suppression of competing activities, restraint coping, seeking of instrumental social support (as problem focused coping); seeking of emotional social support, positive reinterpretation, acceptance, denial, turning to religion (as emotion focused coping); focus on and venting of emotions, behavioral disengagement, mental disengagement. The last cluster is considered as a less useful way of coping.

In 2003, Ellen Skinner and her colleagues (Skinner, Edge, Altman, and Sherwood, 2003) presented an inclusive analysis and review of the coping studies in order to create a common family of coping mechanisms. Out of 400 coping mechanisms, gained from the 100 coping measures, they reached 13 coping categories: Problem solving (Instrumental action, direct action, decision making, planning), support seeking (Comfort seeking, help seeking, spiritual support), escape (avoidance, disengagement, denial), distraction (Acceptance), cognitive restructuring (Positive thinking, self-encouragement), rumination (intrusive thoughts, negative thinking, self-blame), helplessness (inaction or passivity, giving-up) social withdrawal (self isolation), emotional regulation (emotional expression, self-calming), information seeking (observation, monitoring), negotiation (offer exchange, compromise, prioritizing), opposition (aggression, blame others), and delegation (maladaptive help seeking, self-pity).

Emmelkamp and colleagues (Emmelkamp, Komproe, Van Ommeren, and Schagen, 2002) proposed two clusters of coping mechanisms as positive and negative ones which are measured based on the Refugee Coping Scale (Sharma and Van Ommeren, 1998; cited in Emmelkamp et al., 2002, pp. 1467).

The ten positive strategies are: discussing the problem with friends and family, worshipping, visiting a traditional healer, playing with children or watching children play, going for a stroll, working, listening to the radio, getting involved in a political movement, accepting the situation, and singing songs. The ten negative coping strategies are: blaming oneself, drinking alcohol, smoking or chewing more tobacco, isolating from other people, fighting or arguing, hitting children, ignoring the problem, obsessing about the problem, abandoning one's spouse, and giving up hope.

Based on the measurement of Refugee Coping Scale, the study on the torture survivors in Nepal (Emmelkamp, et al., 2002) showed that when individuals use negative coping mechanisms, the likelihood of suffering depression, anxiety and somatic symptoms increase compared to the individuals who use positive coping mechanisms.

In relation to the emotion focused coping, Fleurkens, Rinck, and van Minnen (2011) proposed that survivors of sexual abuse suffer emotional hyper-vigilance to the stimuli reminding the trauma. They have an attentional bias toward the threatening sexual trauma words. They have impairment in their capacity to concentrate but even the non-threatening sexual words remind their traumatic experience. This is explained as there is a fear structure which is assumed to be constituted during the trauma (Foa

Huppert, and Cahill, 2006; cited in Fleurkens et al., 2001). This structure is proposed to be related with the increased detection and arousal of the trauma survivors.

Research suggests that trauma has effects on memory which is associated with certain coping mechanisms. The study of Eitinger (1980; cited in Maercker, Beaducel, and Shützwohl, 2000) showed that survivors of Nazi concentration camps do not have a clear, solid, retrievable, real memory of their experiences. The cognitive processing model proposes that memory of the trauma survivors is not intact (Ehlers and Clark, 2000). After experiencing a traumatic event, a gap is formed in the autobiographical memory and detachment from the implicit memory is developed. This is one of the dissociative symptoms (Maercker, Beaducel, and Shützwohl, 2000) as gaps in memory, in awareness, and in identity (Kirmayer, 2004). Trauma severity is predictive in development of dissociative symptomatology. In the opposite direction, a prospective study argued that dissociative symptoms and rumination about the traumatic experience anticipate the PTSD symptoms (Murray, Ehlers, and Mayou, 2002). These dissociative symptoms should be considered with the cultural tendencies as in the case of the Kurdish Movement, in which remembering the atrocities is reinforced to be empowered politically. Moreover, at the individual level, Ehlers and Clark (2000) suggested that narrating the traumatic experience fulfills the gaps and attaches with the implicit memory.

According to cognitive models, the PTSD is different than the other anxiety disorders since the anxiety provoking event has already been

experienced (Ehlers and Clark, 2000). They argue that individuals, who suffer the PTSD, conceive the experienced traumatic event as something which is not time limited. They appraise it as if it continues to exist after the trauma. This is related to the sense of being “frozen in time” meaning that they are living in the past. One’s negative appraisals of the traumatic event have an effect on developing the PTSD. Those appraisals include developing negative emotions such as fear, shame, guilt, and anger. Ehlers and Clark (2000) wisely argue that some individuals try to control the threat (safety behaviors) to prevent those negative feelings to come out. Indeed, attempt of controlling leads continuity of the PTSD symptoms, and impairments in memory on the contrary. Bonanno and Singer (1990) suggested that trauma survivors use repression and denial in order to prevent emotions to become present which is an excessive effort of emotion regulation.

In addition to hyper vigilance, attempt of controlling the threat in an avoidant way is proposed to be an emotion focused coping mechanism. It is claimed that individuals who avoid remembering the traumatic experience are more likely to develop the PTSD symptoms (Pineles, Mostoufi, Ready, Street, Griffin, and Resick, 2011). This avoidant coping style does not reduce distress (Littleton, Horsley, John, and Nelson, 2007) and is considered as a risk factor which can be related with the dissociation after the traumatic experience and its predictive value of the PTSD symptoms (Maercker, Beaducel, and Shützwohl, 2000).

The use of avoidant coping mechanism is argued to be associated with attachment styles and "gaps in memory". The study of Mikulincer and Orbach (1995) showed that individuals with secure attachment show low level of anxiety and are able to reach the memories of the negative experiences. Individuals with anxious ambivalent attachment style remember the negative experiences but they feel high level of anxiety. On the other hand, individuals with avoidant attachment style do not feel anxious as they repress their memories. However they experience high autonomous anxiety. They detach their emotions. Secure people are open to negative feelings and they have flexible control mechanisms over them. It means that they do not feel overwhelmed with the negative emotions that are aroused from negative experiences.

Goldenberg and Matheson (2010) studied the trauma survivors to explore the relationship between the inner representations and coping mechanisms. They posited that survivors who have positive inner representations use active coping strategies. On the other hand survivors who have negative inner representations use passive coping strategies. They further proposed that passive coping mechanism is a mediator in relation to inner representation and trauma symptoms.

Combination of emotion focused coping and problem focused coping is proposed by Kobasa (1979). He conceptualized certain personality traits, which are commitment, control, and challenge; and called this cluster of dispositions as hardiness. As a robust finding, literature claims that stress has negative effects on physical health (Watson and Pennebaker, 1989).

According to the prospective study of Kobasa and colleagues (Kobasa, Maddi, and Kahn, 1982) hardiness is negatively correlated with developing illness under stress. The hardiness is defined as consistency between values of the self and behaviors, believing that one has an effect on the internal and external objects, and accepting that things can change and can result in growth; provides individuals to cope with stress.

1.5.1. Focusing on Certain Coping Mechanisms

Social Support as a Coping Mechanism

Social support is assumed to be frequently used coping mechanism by the survivors of trauma. Although we doubt presenting a study on the Israeli soldiers in Lebanon War in 1982, the findings of the Solomon and his colleagues (Solomon, Mikulincer, and Avitzur, 1988) are very relevant to the assumed relationship between coping and the PTSD. They took two measures from the soldiers with a year interval. They found that the severity of the PTSD symptoms decrease when time passes. The symptoms of the PTSD include aversion of relationships; rumination and intrusive emotions. They claimed that when symptoms of the PTSD become less severe, the quantity and quality of the social relationships are enhanced. At the same time, when the intrusive emotions and rumination is decreased, emotional coping is not necessary and functional. Whether the decrease in the severity of the PTSD symptoms results in changes in coping or the vice versa is suspicious.

In Ireland, there are self-help organizations of ex-convicts, who were incarcerated since they were political activists in the Irish republican movement. These self-help organizations aimed to decrease the stigmatization towards them after their release. Especially, employment became a central problem for them, since they were conceived as "criminals". Dwyer and Maruna (2011) examined the role of self-help organizations and argue that self-help groups were really efficient to heal the wounds of the ex-convicts as a recovery. Their understanding of "wounded healer" in a social network can be considered as a coping strategy of the ex-convicts.

Post traumatic growth as a Coping Mechanism

It is argued that people who are exposed to traumatic stress may use posttraumatic growth as a coping mechanism. Some individuals consider that they have benefited from experiencing a negative experience by changing into a new person (Tedeschi, Park, Calhoun, 1998; cited in Salo, Qouta, and Punamaki, 2005). They feel that they are empowered, they appreciate their relationships, and they sense that they became more virtuous individuals (Punamaki, 1986; Tedeschi and Calhoun, 1996). Salo, Qouta, and Punamaki (2005) argue that the posttraumatic growth, in political imprisonment, is meaningful since the political prisoners have a high ideological commitment. They have a pre-existing sense of resistance against the oppressive tools of the state. Thus, experiencing imprisonment and torture but still surviving supports their ideological beliefs and give the sense of empowerment. In addition to these arguments, they found that

political prisoners who have a secure attachment style are more likely to use posttraumatic growth but the ones with insecure-avoidant attachment style are more likely to report negative toned emotions (Salo, Qouta, and Punamaki, 2005). These results are parallel with Srour's (2005) discussion about Palestinian children, who have negative understanding of the world, are more likely to develop trauma related psychopathology. However, there is another research conflicting with this finding.

Arıkan and Karancı (2012) studied the Turkish college students and tried to find the relationship between attachment styles and posttraumatic growth. They focused on the empowering side of experiencing trauma and found that individuals with anxious attachment styles gain posttraumatic growth compared with the individuals with secure and avoidant attachment styles.

Positive Affect as a Coping Mechanism

In the field of stress and coping mechanisms, some theorists focus on the role of positive affect. In the review paper of Folkman and Moskowitz (2000), it is argued that although the assumed affect would be negative in the negative experiences, positive affect is also experienced by the person even in the presence of the negative event or they occur sequentially. Experiencing negative event can make person feel good by successfully coping with it, feeling empowered, and feeling relieved when it is over. In return, positive affect makes people to regulate their anxiety and stress. It is posited that positive affect increases the resilience for the psychological

problems (Tugade, Fredrickson, Barrett, 2004). Fredrickson (2001) argued that when individuals experience a positive affect they collect resources which are psychological, social, physical, and intellectual. When they encounter with a stress, these resources help them to cope with the stressor not to be devastated totally. A research with the caregivers of the individuals with HIV+ showed that 99.5% of them retrieved a memory with positive affect which were mostly related with the caring by giving them the sense of control over the stressful event (Folkman, Moskowitz, Ozer, and Park, 1997). Problem focused coping is effective since it is related with the sense of control and positive affect and it increases the quality of attention (Folkman, and Moskowitz, 2000). It should be emphasized that the literature does not only suggest that overcoming the stressful experiences results in positive affects but also positive affect exists on their own in the existence of stressful events. Folkman and Moskowitz (2004) conclude their review as:

These findings suggested that under enduring stressful conditions such as care giving or bereavement, people consciously seek out positive meaningful events or infuse ordinary events with positive meaning to increase their positive affect, which in turn provides respite from distress and thereby helps replenish resources and sustain further coping.

Social Comparison as a Coping Mechanism

Buunk and colleagues (Buunk, Collins, Taylor, Vanyperen, and Dakof, 1990) posited that social comparison is a coping mechanism, either upward or downward, induces positive and negative emotions depending on

the conditions. Downward social comparison may enhance self-esteem and empowers one and upward social comparison may enhance one's hope by thinking about the good and successful examples who coped with worse situations. These arguments are also supported by the findings of their study on individuals with cancer (Buunk et al., 1990). The study on the Tibetan refugees (Hussain and Bhushan, 2011) supports these arguments that the refugees think about the previous historical successes of their society in order to cope with being exposed to the violence of the state. Upward comparison is one of the helpful coping mechanisms for Tibetan refugees to survive.

Self-harm and Suicidal Ideation as Coping Mechanisms

Allison Liebling (1999) discusses suicide and self harm behavior of the prisoners. She argues that feelings of fear and loss are related to their suicide behavior (Liebling, 1999). In line with the trauma theorists (Mina, Gallop, Links, Heslevgrave, Pringle, Wekerle, and Grewal, 2006), she disputes that self-harm and suicide are coping strategies but the "poor" ones that prisoners use (Liebling, 1999). She takes the issue of suicide and self-harm behavior into her agenda because of the increases of these behaviors among the prisoners. However, suicide can be considered as a resistance against the oppression of the military and state in the condition of political imprisonment and torture (McEvoy, McConnachie, and Jamieson, 2007). Another study showed that college students, who reported that they were sexually abused in their childhood, use suicidal ideation as a coping mechanism (Rutz, 1993; cited in Adams and Lehnert, 1997).

Resistance as a Coping Mechanism

Haslam and Reicher (2012), discuss the resistance behavior of the prisoners. They emphasize on producing knowledge of resistance not the oppression as in the case of Stanford Prison Experiment (Haney, Banks, and Zimbardo, 1973; cited in Haslam and Reicher, 2012). They make harsh critiques about the arguments that individuals "naturally" conforms to the roles of oppressions. They present resistance cases from South Africa, Northern Ireland, and Nazi Germany where atrocities and excruciations took place at the degree that they are historical milestones of torture. They conclude that if the resistance could have been come into being in those cases than it would be possible for people not to obey the rules in the less oppressive form of hegemonies. This argument can be considered as a jump into conclusion by referencing to the ideas of Herbert Marcuse (1998). He conceives that resistance is more possible to come into being in the states and communities where power is more coercive and radical. Nevertheless, this discussion exceeds the aim and covering of the current study.

McEvoy and colleagues (McEvoy, McConnachie, and Jamieson, 2007) further discuss resistance in terms of political imprisonment. They argue that political prisoners use resistance as a coping mechanism in order to deal with the power exertion by the state. In their understanding, in addition to torture and incarceration; criminalization of mostly the ethnic minorities, different races, immigrants, refugees, sex workers, leftists and lower class groups is the mere power exertion on them. With respect to this, the resistance of the political prisoners is a collective, intentional, and

planned coping mechanism but not a reflexive, unaware reaction to the oppression. Thereby, victimization of the political prisoners is reproducing the power relations by disregarding their will and agency.

McEvoy and colleagues (McEvoy, McConnachie, and Jamieson, 2007) conceptualize resistance as an opposition against coercive power which has a varying repertoire from very radical to subtle and mundane ones. They considered resistance as a community, as escape, as legal challenge, as sacrifice, and as violence. By the assertion of resistance as a community, they mention the domination of the place by the political prisoners living like communes. They present the hunger strikes in 2000 by the Kurdish Workers' Party to oppose to be placed into the cells consisting of 2-3 people which would prevent their communal relationships. Escape as resistance, is a planned escape from prisons in order to be in the social movement or in the war and further to prove the weakness of the state's power. Legal challenge as resistance is that prisoners use law in order to gain their rights, search for justice. On the other hand, most of them refuse to legitimize the law, which is the legalized tool of the state to assert its power on people. McEvoy and colleagues (McEvoy, McConnachie, and Jamieson, 2007) stated that self sacrifice as resistance is embodied by hunger strikes and self-harms. Political prisoners use their bodies in order to enhance the conditions of the prison or stop the ordeals. Prisoners use violence to resist the cruelties of the guardians and/or ordinary prisoners who can be threat for their communal life by spying on them.

Humor as a Coping Mechanism

A research with Vietnam prisoners of war postulated that humor has a significant coping mechanism that enables the prisoners to cope with their violent experiences (Henman, 2001). Humor is one kind of a human communication which is claimed to be helpful to deal with supposed to be traumatic experiences already (Henman, 2001; Regehr, Goldberg, and Hughes, 2002)

Art as a Coping Mechanism

It is proposed that art is a way of coping with political trauma. In the case of exiled Chileans with the coup in 1973, it is claimed that they mostly engage in arpilleras and it helps them to deal with their feelings of guilt, and aimlessness related to the traumatic experience (Adams, 2012).

1.5.2. Coping Mechanisms of Refugees

There are studies with refugees which shed light on trauma and coping mechanisms. A qualitative study on Sudanese refugees (Khawaja, White, Schweitzer, and Greenslade, 2008) found four coping mechanisms that the refugees used. They coped with the negative experiences by their religious beliefs, reframing the situation, focusing on future wishes and aspiration, and social support. Reframing the situation is defined as either believing in one's strength to cope with the difficulties or accepting what was experienced or to be experienced. Goodman (2004) studied the Sudanese youth refugees in order to explore the coping mechanism they relied on. She

found four coping mechanisms as collectivity and the communal self, suppression and distraction, making meaning, and emerging from hopeless to hope. To elaborate those coping mechanisms that collectivity and the communal self is the feelings of belonging to a group. Suppression and distraction prevent the negative experiences to become real, part of the one's narrative by one's mental, physical or behavioral disengagements. Making meaning is attempted to understand what has been experienced either rationally or irrationally. Emerging from hopeless to hope is to keep hope alive by referencing to any point in reality or fantasy.

A study on Tibetan refugees (Hussain and Bhushan, 2011) showed that, they use coping mechanisms related to their cultural background which promoted their mental health in a good way. They use coping mechanism as taking strength from the existence and ideas of Dalai Lama and other Lamas, faith in Buddhist philosophy and practicing Buddhism, community bonding and support, historical exemplars of strength. The first two coping mechanisms can be considered as religious. Community bonding and social support can be suggested to be similar with social support. Narrating, thinking about, and remembering the narrated or experienced historical exemplars coping with previous oppressions help them to cope with the present oppressions.

1.5.3. The Studies with Torture Survivors

There are several studies focusing on how torture survivors coped with the atrocities. Some of the findings of these studies overlap but some of

them are inconsistent. This can be related with the socio-demographic characteristics of the samples. Especially in the case of political imprisonment there are additional ways of coping which will be presented. Research shows that survivors of torture rely on substantial and various ways of coping mechanisms. We aimed to cover several studies with different samples in order to present a comprehensive review of coping mechanisms of torture survivors. However, we do not endeavor to reach a conclusive thesis about the common coping mechanisms of torture survivors.

A study on tortured political activists showed that both the tortured and non-tortured activists have a cognition of the state as dangerous, mistrustful, and injustice (Başoğlu, Paker, Özmen, Taşdemir, Şahin, Ceyhanlı, İncesu, and Sarımurat, 1996). Conveniently, it is suggested that Palestinian children believes that world is not a safe place that they have feelings of insecurity (Srour, 2005). However, this study did not include the non-political tortured prisoners and failed to understand whether this cognition is associated with torture or existing ideological values before the torture.

A research with the tortured political activists in Turkey proposed that although there is a severe torture experience, survivors of torture do not develop psychopathology as expected (Başoğlu, and Paker, 1995). Survivors of torture may develop symptoms of the PTSD but it is suggested that development of the symptoms is related with the perception of the trauma severity and stressful life events during and after the interrogation or

imprisonment (Başoğlu, Paker, Özmen, Taşdemir, and Şahin, 1994). In another study, Başoğlu and his colleagues (Başoğlu, Mineka, Paker, Aker, Livanou, and Gök, 1997) found that tortured political activists in Turkey showed fewer symptoms of anxiety and depression compared to the tortured non-activists. In line with these results, they proposed being a political agent is a protective factor for developing psychopathology by predicting the state's need to re-assert its power when it loses its control. Ideological commitment is claimed to be another protective factor (Başoğlu, Paker, Paker, Özmen, Marks, İncesu, Şahin, and Sarımurat, 1994). It is further proposed that political activists are using coping mechanisms during the torture (Başoğlu and Mineka, 1992). It can be argued that coping with torture during the exposure would lessen the severity and destructive effects of it.

It is postulated that individuals who are exposed to torture can cope with these violent experiences by both their political commitment and their capacity of emotion regulation (Punamaki, Salo, Komproe, Qouta, El-Masri, and De Jong, 2007). A study on Palestinian former prisoners showed that to prevent developing post traumatic symptoms, emotion focused coping mechanism is helpful in the long run whereas problem-focused coping is helpful in the short run (Kanninen, Punamaki, and Qouta, 2002). Based on the study on refugees (Punamaki-Gitai, 1990; cited in Khawaja, White, Schweitzer, and Greenslade, 2008), it is postulated that the coping strategies of the refugees can be both active and passive. Political action is the primary base of active coping strategies whereas the religion is the primary base for

passive coping strategies. In parallel with this, a study on Tibetan survivors of torture showed that survivors expressed the political and spiritual coping were the most helpful ones for their sufferings (Elsass and Phunstok, 2009). Furthermore, the study focusing on the coping mechanisms of life sentenced Irish prisoners showed that they use coping mechanisms such as: Getting involved with work/education, maintaining family contact, and access to therapeutic and support services (Richardson, 2012).

Religiousness is not always an effective coping mechanism. A research with South African political ex-convicts showed that religiousness is a risk factor for developing psychopathology (Halvorsen and Kagee, 2010).

In the study of Punamaki and her colleagues (2007), they make an inclusive review of the coping mechanisms of Palestinian political ex-prisoners. They discuss the dynamics of dispositional and situational coping styles of political prisoners that they generally have politically active, problem-focused dispositional coping styles. However, torture and oppression bring out the need for new coping mechanisms that the dispositional ones either becomes dysfunctional or maladaptive through increasing the degree and changing the quality of violence that they are exposed to. Prisoners use emotion focused coping mechanisms, passive and avoidant ones as Abrahamson et al. (1978) argue. These are argued to be situational coping mechanism used by the torture survivors and political prisoners. Whereas Punamaki and her colleagues (Punamaki, Salo, Komproe, Qouta, El-Masri, and De Jong, 2007) postulate that political

prisoners use "resourceful", various coping mechanisms that politically active, problem focused ones (Punamaki, 1988) by creating new zone for the realization of their dispositional coping mechanisms. It can be considered as a resistance against the attempt of transformation and assimilation of their identities by the state's need for re-exerting its power. Punamaki and her colleagues (Punamaki, et al., 2007) determined six coping mechanisms under the category of dispositional coping as: active and constructive, avoidance and denial, seeking social affiliation, emotional coping, religious affiliation, and political activity. They found that Palestinian political ex-prisoners use ideological commitment which forestalls passive, emotion focused coping style. They regard ideological commitment as a dynamic coping mechanism. It fosters social affiliation and emotional disclosure "all contributing to empowerment and successful recovery" (pp. 17). They further found that non-prisoners use more avoidant and denial coping mechanisms compared to the ex-prisoners. The study showed that using more active political coping mechanism but less avoidant and denial coping mechanism is related with "good" mental health.

Perception of the oppressor and ideological commitment is argued to be related. Punamaki (1996) suggests that if the enemy is perceived as evil, cruel then the individuals conceive the war as meaningful. The cohesiveness of the self and the ideal self is important that even under very challenging conditions, individuals can fight for their goals, for the realization of their selves. This dynamic can be conceived as a process of ideological commitment. Her study on Israeli children showed that experiencing war

violence increases the ideological commitment of the children whereas this coping mechanism does not prevent them to develop psychopathologies (Punamaki, 1996). This finding is supported by a study on South African political ex-prisoners (Halvorsen and Kagee, 2010).

A study on Iraqi Kurdish children showed that being exposed to low level of military violence can be coped with problem restructuring, giving meaning and finding alternative perspectives, by decreasing the severity of post-traumatic symptoms and aggression whereas this is not valid in the case of high military violence (Punamaki, Muhammed, and Abdulrahman, 2004). However, the results are conflicting that another study on Palestinian children showed that when military violence is more severe, children depend on problem restructuring which is found to be as an effective coping mechanism to sustain the psychological well-being of the children (Punamaki and Puhakka, 1997).

1.6. Emotions and Coping Mechanisms

Emotions are the best sources to understand the coping mechanisms of individuals (Lazarus, 1993). For instance, feeling fear or feeling shame under stress gives information about the sign of divergent uses of coping mechanisms. It is proposed that anger, anxiety, guilt, shame sadness, envy, jealousy, and disgust are "stress emotions" (Lazarus, 1993, pp. 244).

According to Naatanen and his colleagues (Naatanen, Kannien, Qouta, and Punamaki, 2002) individuals who are traumatized, process new experiences and emotions which used to be alien to them.

A research with political prisoners in East German presented that anger is one of the primary affect related to the traumatic experience (Schützwohl and Andreas, 2000). In this study, it is posited that anger can be a result of avoidance of anxiety and decreases with the increased social support. However, they fail to analyze the possible political dynamics related to anger and its functionality for empowerment. In the case of Diyarbakır Prison, it may be hypothesized that the ex-convicts might have "sublimated" their anger into being a political subject with the help of social support. Therefore, the functionality of anger should be analyzed on the macro level.

Punamaki (2009) postulates that anger having a function. It constructs new coping mechanisms. Feeling of anger is reinforced by the individuals who are exposed to military violence. On the other hand, feelings of fear and helplessness are considered as emotions which should be suppressed. Punamaki (2009) wisely defines this as "narrowed emotional repertoire" and argues that it fosters the development of psychopathology. She argues that related to the "narrowed emotional repertoire", Palestinian political prisoners mostly feel guilt and shame because they do not accept their negative emotions (Naatanen, Kannien, Qouta, and Punamaki, 2002). In the literature, the arguments about common emotions expressed by the political prisoners are inconsistent. For instance, another study suggested that ex-prisoners express hostility and depression but they tend to suppress the other expressions (Punamaki, et al., 2007). However, Başoğlu and Mineka (1992) postulated that not expressing fear, anger or shame, considered as very

prevalent in the trauma survivors, is adaptive by preventing the possible acting outs which can result in increased atrocities, possibility of death. Acting out, or in the terms of psycho-traumatology impulsivity is frequently seen in the trauma survivors (van der Kolk, Pelkovitz, Roth, Mandel, McFarlane, and Herman, 1996). Suppression of these emotions is considered to be adaptive in the cruel conditions of military violence.

1.7. Current Study

In this study, we will analyze the coping mechanisms of ex-convicts in Diyarbakır Prison between the years of 1980 and 1984. We will not aim to find the effectiveness of their coping mechanisms. Moreover, we will explore the emotions that they express. The current study has an explorative nature.

2. Method

2.1. Participants

This study includes 30 ex-convicts, who stayed in Diyarbakır Prison between the years of 1980 and 1984. Twenty-eight of the ex-convicts are men, 2 of the ex-convicts are women (n=30). Participants are reached through the database of Truth and Justice Commission for Diyarbakır Prison.

2.2. Procedure

The database includes approximately 500 interviews with the ex-convicts which were videotaped and transcribed by the volunteers. The interviewers were trained by a clinical psychologist. The structure of the questions was told to be open-ended. Interviewers were required to emphasize the psychological side of the torture.

Current study aims to select interviews from the database of 40 transcribed ones which were done by Nimet Tanrikulu. The reason behind to select Nimet Tanrikulu out of the other interviewers was that she asked the psychological aspect of torture and imprisonment in each every interview. However, in the previous study of Sevda Arslan (2011) 15 of the transcribed interviews of Nimet Tanrikulu have been already used. In the line with this, those 15 interviews are eliminated. In addition to this, one interview's transcription was not completed therefore is eliminated. At sum, 24 of the interviews that are used in this study were done by Nimet Tanrikulu. It should be noted that there were co-interviewers which were active in some of the 24 interviews. Those co-interviewers were Mehmet Güç and Şebnem Korur Fincancı. The other necessary interviews are gained for the sake of increasing the range of the sampling. It is also aimed not to ruin the interviewer consistency, too much. Thus, the interviews of the women ex-convicts are included. Based on this purpose, the entire database is scanned thoroughly and only 2 transcribed interviews of the women ex-convicts are reached. One of them was done by Celalettin Can but the other interviewer is anonymous. The other 4 interviews that are necessary for the sample are provided from the database of Mehmet Güç, who is a co-interviewer with Nimet Tanrikulu in the pool of 24 interviews, in order to secure the consistency of the interviewers.

It should be noted that this study lacks the epistemological nature of qualitative research paradigm (Creswell, 2007), that the interviews were not conducted by the researcher. This is to say, researcher did not reside in the

“field”, could not have the chance to relate to the ex-convicts individually that very contradicts the aim of decreasing the subjective distance of the researcher which gives more of a chance to conceive the complex and dynamic issue. Even so, reading the interviews still provides researcher to relate with the ex-convicts through second-hand information.

2.3. Data Analysis

The interviews will be analyzed based on the previously determined coping mechanisms in the study of Sevda Arslan (2011). She determined the coping mechanisms based on a literature review. Since the current study is a qualitative research, it will explore the further coping mechanisms either. In this study, the second aim is to explore the ex-convicts' emotions based on their narratives.

3. Results

3.1. Sampling

Current study includes 30 ex-convicts who stayed in Diyarbakır Prison between the years of 1980-1984. Twenty-eight of the participants (93.3%) are men and two of them (6.6%) are women. Except of the one participant (3.3%), who is divorced, all 29 participants are married (96.6%). Their socio-economic statue varies from low class to high middle class. The education levels of the participants are diverse. One participant is non-literate (3.3%), one participant is literate (3.3%), 5 of them are graduated from primary school (16.6%), 2 of them are graduated from secondary school (6.6.%), eight of them are graduated from high school (26.6%), 2 of them are university drop-outs (6.6%), 6 of them are graduated from university (20%), and 5 of the participants' education level is not known. The mean age of the participants is 57 ($M=57$, $SD=8.7$). There are 2 ex-convicts who stayed in the wards where old people were kept, and 1 ex-convict stayed in the children's ward. There is one ex-convict who should

have been kept in children's ward but his age had been increased by the military court in order to keep him in adults' wards. The socio-demographic data is presented in Table 2.

*Table 2.
The Frequencies and Percentages of Socio-demographic Characteristics of the Ex-convicts*

	Frequencies (n=30)	%
Gender		
Male	28	93.3%
Female	2	6.6%
Education		
Non-Literate	1	3.3%
Literate	1	3.3%
Primary School	5	16.6%
Secondary School	2	6.6%
High School	8	26.6%
University Drop-out	2	6.6%
University	6	20.0%
Unknown	5	16.6%
Marital Status		
Married	27	90.0%
Single	1	3.3%
Unknown	2	6.6%
Average Age±SD		57 ±8.7

The duration of imprisonment is varied across participants. Twenty-eight of the participants (93.3%) inform their duration of imprisonment but the left 2 are unknown (6.6%). Their mean duration of imprisonment is approximately 3 years and 4 months with a standard deviation of 2 years and 6 months. The maximum duration of imprisonment is 10 years and the minimum is 2 months. The median for the duration of imprisonment is 42 months. However, it should be noted that this data is not precise that they are reported based on the information provided by the participants.

All the participants were tortured throughout their imprisonment. Only two ex-convicts who are kept in the wards where old convicts were placed and one ex-convict who is kept in children's ward mention that they were tortured less than the other ex-convicts.

Eighteen of the participants (60%) mention that they were involved in politics before they were imprisoned. Four participants (13.3%) report that they were not involved in politics before they were imprisoned. Political involvement of the 8 participants (26.6%) before the imprisonment is unknown. In one case, the political involvement of the participant is changed from active to passive after being released. Four participants (13.3%) tell that they had been cognizant of the cruel conditions of Diyarbakır Prison before they were imprisoned.

One participant is from the Northern part of Turkey (3.3%) but the other 29 participants are all from the Eastern part of Turkey (96.6%). Only one participant talks in Kurdish throughout the interview (3.3%), which has been translated, but the others talk in Turkish in the interviews (96.6%).

3.2. Data Analysis

In order to protect confidentiality each participant was matched with numbers varying from 1 to 30 and they were referred with those numbers in this current study. However, in the data analysis section they were not called as participants but ex-convicts for the sake of emphasis on their socio-political identities.

The data is analyzed based on the pre-determined categories of İrem Doğan's (2011) study. She determined 22 coping mechanisms. Resistance, obeying the torturer and accepting the conditions, problem focused active (need regulation), political awareness and giving meaning, 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. There are 2 more coping mechanisms are added to those categories which are social comparison and positive affect as a coping mechanism.

The data analysis is made, presented below, according to the previous study's analysis with some changes which will be mentioned. These 3 categories are: 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 effects of torture after being released. In the study of İrem Doğan (2011), mental disengagement, behavioral disengagement; and fantasy and need for justice cognitive and affective were included in the category of coping mechanisms to decrease effects of torture after being released. In the current study, they are included in the category of coping mechanisms to decrease the effect of torture in the prison. The reason behind is that, these 3 coping mechanisms are observed to be used by the ex-convicts during the time not only they were released but also when they were tortured.

In addition to this, narrated emotions by the ex-convicts are analyzed qualitatively. Analysis showed that the narrated emotions are anger, sadness, shame, perplexity, guilt, fear, disgust, disappointment, longing, anxiety, helplessness, insecurity, terror, and, worthlessness.

3.2.1. Coping Mechanisms

Analysis showed that political awareness and giving meaning (90%, N=30) is the most used coping mechanism by the ex-convicts. Resistance (80%, N=30) is the second, and social support (70%, N=30) is third most used coping mechanisms. The least used coping mechanisms are denial (10%, N=30), expression (10%, N=30), and rationalization (6.6%, N=30). The frequency of the use of coping mechanisms and the percentages are presented in Table 3.

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

<i>Coping Mechanisms</i>	<i>Frequencies (n=30)</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Problem Focused Coping Mechanisms to Stop or Decrease Torture in the Prison</i>		
Resistance	24	80.0%
Obedying the Torturer and Accepting the Conditions	19	63.3%
Problem Focused Active (Need Regulation)	13	43.3%
<i>Cognitive and Affective Coping Mechanisms to Decrease the Effect of Torture in the Prison</i>		
Political Awareness and Giving Meaning	27	90.0%
Social Support	21	70.0%
Self-sacrifice	17	56.6%
Fantasy and Need for Justice	17	56.6%
Suppression	17	56.6%
Belonging to Group	15	50.0%
Humor	15	50.0%
Positive Affect s a Coping Mechanism	12	40.0%
Dehumanization of the Torturer	11	36.0%
Political Determination	9	30.0%
Mental Disengagement	9	30.0%
Keeping Hope Alive	8	26.6%
Wish for Death	8	26.7%
Social Comparison	8	26.7%
Somatization	6	20.0%
Affective Disengagement	4	13.3%
Behavioral Disengagement	4	13.3%
Denial	3	10.0%
Rationalization	2	6.6%
<i>Coping Mechanisms to Decrease Effects of Torture After being Released</i>		
Positive Growth	7	23.3%
Expression	3	10.0%

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

Ex-convicts (n=30) used 3 coping mechanisms as resistance, obeying the torturer and accepting the rules; and need regulation to stop or to decrease torture in the prison.

Resistance

It can be argued that, ex-convicts highly use resistance as a coping mechanism. 80% of the ex-convicts, 24 of them (n=30), talked about resisting against the atrocities in Diyarbakır Prison. Although, some of the ex-convicts narrated the other convicts' acts of resistance, we only included the ones who actively resisted against torture. Some of their acts of resistance were vehement that they were on hunger strike and death fast; they burned their bunks, they witnessed and prevented themselves to rescue the ones who burned themselves to resist against the excruciations. They were shouting slogans. One ex-convict said (Participant 9):

Everybody opens his mouth but because of the fear who can say "damn torture". Thereafter, all together, all the prison, as if this atmosphere, as if it was not the world, everything was a dream. It is a new thing. All the prison, because of the fear, because of the excitement, they do not know what to do...They chose death, from now on the end is death, everybody concentrated on that the death will come... From now on our end is death. Either we will succeed or we will die. No other way.

They resisted despite the death, not hoping for it but risking their lives. Sometimes they did not eat the food that was given although they were not on hunger strike. They resisted against the commands of the

soldiers by either saying no or behaving as if they do not hear them. One ex-convict combines these two when he was ordered to repeat the Turkish national oath (Participant 6):

"You! " In the same manner, "I am a Turk I am honest". I again made no sound. He asked me if I am deaf. "You! I am a Turk I am honest.". I said that I was not deaf. "I am a Kurd I am honest".

Ex-convicts resisted against harming other convicts, to be a confessor, to be in alliance with the soldiers and spy on other convicts. In the court, despite the military expectancies, they spoke out and refuted their testimonies. They resisted against the military education. One of the women ex-convicts (Participant 27) tells that when they resisted against telling the Turkish national oath they were kept in the cells not in the wards. One day, they heard that they would obey the rules of the soldiers in order to have better conditions in the prison. Then they were taken to the wards but the torture got even worse. She tells, soldiers asked for more obedience when they gave up resistance.

Some ex-convicts explain the reason behind their resistance as that it was for the sake of their honor, their political determination, their Kurdish identity or their internalized feudal values. They also posited that there was nothing to lose and/or resistance was a source of morale. One ex-convict (Participant 17) told that "We would struggle to withstand, to resist, to survive."

Obeying the Torturer and Accepting the Conditions

Nineteen of the ex-convicts (n=30), 63.3% of them, obeyed the torturer and accepted the conditions in order to cope with the atrocities. They were obeying the commands to decrease the application of torture, not to be harmed more and more. Some of the ex-convicts were identifying their attitudes to the robots. One ex-convict says (Participant 9):

We used to say thank god, long live the army and the nation; we used to say my commander. Commander used to say, "I fucked your mother". Three of us, three times, thank you, thank you, and thank you. Because they made us like robots, such a resignation, they got, (...)

The ex-convicts, who used obedience as a coping mechanism, followed the commands. They did not react to the swearing. They obeyed to the military education. Accepting the conditions also give a sense of control over the torture. One ex-convict tells (Participant 16):

We used to think that when they were torturing, the screams affect us. If they come and beat us we would be relaxed, at least. We would say we are beaten today; they would not torture us more.

Another ex-convict (Participant 24) tells that obedience was very helpful for him:

Esat Oktay Yıldırım looked at me, he said, "Take this man back". There was blood. Thereafter he asked, "What will you say if they ask you?". I said, "I will say I fell, my commander". Then "go, let him free". I mean, then, I acted intelligently. If I did not say so, he would take me back to the prison...

Problem Focused Active (Need Regulation)

Thirteen of the ex-convicts (n=30), 43.3% of them, used problem focused coping mechanism that they regulated their needs according to the frustrating conditions. Those ex-convicts tell their relatives not to visit them order to decrease the torture that they are exposed to. One ex-convict tells (Participant 12):

I washed my hands and face then I told my wife "My wife, don't visit me again". My wife cries "Did they hit you? What did they do to you?". I said, no, they did not. Leave here and do not visit me again.

Other ex-convicts coped with their sufferings by creating opportunities autonomously. One ex-convict took the plaster off on his leg by himself that inside the plaster there were lots of lice. Another ex-convict tells that they used to lick the wet floor when they were thirsty. They were drinking and eating the dirty water, tea, and food in order to survive although they were disgusted. They regulated their needs even in the case of addictions, one ex-convict says (Participant 19):

(...) he said, "Do you smoke?". I said, "I don't but if you offer I can smoke 1 cigarette.". Like, I was taking it slowly whereas I was thinking like, hope they wouldn't find my weakness and they wouldn't use it against to me.

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

Political Awareness and Giving Meaning

Twenty-seven ex-convicts (n=30), 90% of them, used political awareness and giving meaning to cope with the torture in Diyarbakır Prison. As the content analysis showed that it is the most used coping mechanism among the other 25. Ex-convicts narrate that the political awareness about their Kurdish identity, Kurdish movement before the coup and ongoing oppression of the state provided them the prediction of the possible atrocities that they would be exposed to. One of the ex-convicts says (Participant 1):

(...) when we appealed to struggle, we knew all about death, to be arrested. We took everything into consideration. I mean we were aware of what we were doing.

Political awareness supported them to "conceive things as normal" since they were revolutionists, as one ex-convict said. They defined the atrocities as a conscious application of the state in order to "eradicate" the Kurdish identity. They further tell that the torture techniques were special and usually compare it with the atrocities in the worldwide examples. One ex-convict tells (Participant 7):

They talk about Hitler's fascism, Diyarbakır Prison had no difference. Same things happened, even more. Diyarbakır Prison is a mirror of everything. It is a certain place, a certain document in the world. They consider Diyarbakır Prison as a turning point in the Kurdish movement. Some of them argue that the empowerment of the Kurdish movement is related to Diyarbakır Prison experience of Kurdish people.

One ex-convict (Participant 14) explains how he is devoted to his Kurdish identity:

I gave Kurdish names to my children. I did it intentionally. They were born in Istanbul. They both do not know Kurdish. I did it despite the fact that those kids will be oppressed. I named them to let them be oppressed. When they will apply for a job when she will say her name she will be discriminated. (...) Thereby the kid will challenge against the discrimination of herself.

Some ex-convicts analyzed these experiences based on the oppressions that the Kurdish society has experienced with a socio-historical perspective. They mostly argued that the state aimed to degrade Kurdish people, depersonalize them, to reproduce the individuals according to its desires, and to eradicate the Kurdish movement in the Prison. They mostly argue that the result is the opposite of the desired effect.

Self-sacrifice

Seventeen of the ex-convicts (n=30), 56.6% of them, used self-sacrifice as a coping mechanism. Ex-convicts try to soothe the others, and one shares as, "I wasn't that kind of person but I said for a divorce, are you crying for this? Why? I said there were lots of women waiting for him." (Participant 8). Lots of ex-convicts shared minimum food with a group of people which is considered as self-sacrifice. In each ward, there is a responsible from the ward. The responsible is tortured more than the other convicts. Three ex-convicts told that they have volunteered to be the responsible since they were younger and stronger than the others. Younger and stronger ones were trying to comfort the older and the weaker ones by being tortured. One ex-convict (Participant 3) tells how self-sacrifice helped him:

He was screening the others, the ones who passed out. He said you can help like this, and then I said this help was my job. I mean, when you share others' excruciations you feel more relaxed.

Dehumanization of the Torturer

Eleven ex-convicts (n=30), 36% of them, dehumanized and devalued the torturers in their interviews. One ex-convict (Participant 3) says that there are two kinds of people, one is human, and the other is anti-human. Most of the ex-convicts who use dehumanization as a coping mechanism, try to understand the torturer. Although they have been excruciated by the torturers, they fail to understand their violence. Same ex-convict adds (Participant 3), "If they were to bring the guardian (that he knew) (...), say it is him, do whatever you want. I would neither let him thirsty nor without food or bed.". Ex-convicts used dehumanization as a coping mechanism when they see that the torturers seem to enjoy the application of violence. One of the ex-convict (Participant 7) says, "They (guardians) had lost their humanity". One ex-convict (Participant 12) identified the torturer with Azrael, and another ex-convict (Participant 22) identified the torturer with the demon. One of the ex-convict (Participant 24) compared Esat Oktay Yıldırım to his dog and said, "Co was more merciful than the torturers.". Same ex-convict (Participant 24) tells that:

So, when Esat Oktay Yıldırım was torturing, he was shaking like, shaking. When people were falling like screaming, he was laughing this time. He was losing his consciousness. First he was beating himself, he was scratching himself, he was crying "man, beat, beat" "man, punch, punch" to the soldiers. Thereafter, when

humans fall down by screams he was like ha ha ha ha like laughing loudly, I mean he was like a psychopath.

One ex-convict narrates what he experienced in the prison by clustering the people into three groups: a psychopath (Esat Oktay Yıldiran), soldiers and humans.

Political Determination

Nine of the ex-convicts (n=30), 30 % of them, used political determination to deal with the experiences of violence. They indicated that being exposed to such violence because of that they are Kurdish made them more attached to the movement. Some remarked that the political determination is the mere reason of their existence. One of the ex-convict mentioned he became a Kurdish nationalist. One ex-convict tells that if one keeps quiet than s/he is the same with the ones who kill and oppress Kurdish society. Some ex-convicts explain the increase in political determination as related to "being a victim" and being oppressed but the others emphasize that their political determination is intentional. One ex-convict (Participant 1) says:

(...) being exposed to the torture, it is still in the minds one cannot forget. More precisely, I mean we devoted ourselves to the movement much more. (...) I am Kurdish, I will sustain my struggle to make my contention, my entity, and my identity exist. In this regard, they torture me, for the eradication of Kurds torture was applied to them by the state. In this respect, we attached ourselves to the movement further.

Belonging to Group

Fifteen of the ex-convicts (n=30), 50% of them, coped with the atrocities in Diyarbakır Prison by feelings of belonging to a group. All aside, all of the ex-convicts used "we" when they were referring to their own experiences. They feel as if they are a part of the whole. Some ex-convicts even did not want to be released. One ex-convict says (Participant 3):

That day, believe me if they were to re-marry me, evacuate me, give the half of Kızıltepe, I wouldn't accept. That day, day of 83, that we took over the prison, it was like, it was free, it was very sweet, revolutionists were laughing, looking at each other, calling each other that what the situation was, if you have money, if you have clothes or not. That solidarity of the prison brought a soul to the humanity, and to me. Even if they were to give me the world, I would not want to be evacuated.

Particularly, the rebellion in 1983 made the ex-convicts feel more attached to each other. They shared common atrocities, resistances, and losses. One ex-convict tells that one day they lost a friend but his name was on the visit list (Participant 14):

Visit list came; his name was in the first place. When his name was read, I cannot describe it was like a bellow of a bull, indefinable voice and as if you have promised each other, at the same time whole ward... Maybe something triggered crying, that accumulation, everybody has been discharged. Crying like bellow...

When they tell about the torture, they usually emphasize that they were all exposed to it. The spontaneity, as participant 3 articulated above, contributes a lot to the sense of belonging to a group. One ex-convict says (Participant 7):

We were like sticks, 3 people. He said, "3 people get out". What I saw was that we were 14 people. Lieutenant said, "You will regret".

Humor

Fifteen of the ex-convicts (n=30), 50% of them, used humor as a coping mechanism. Humor is mostly used when the ex-convicts talk about the cruel tortures and the darkness of the prison. When they use humor, they indicate that these are tragicomic situations. One ex-convict tells that in the prison when they were naked altogether, one of them was saying that now they were Adam and Eve (Participant 2). Another ex-convict (Participant 14) says, "We used to have a beautiful bath.". Moreover, humor is used throughout the interview when they narrate their experiences. One ex-convict (Participant 11) mentions that since his sexual organs were tortured he was very anxious and doubtful if he would have children. Then he tried to have children and he said, "May be some of my children were born because of this (he laughs)". One the most encountered use of humor is about the ex-convicts who were making mistakes throughout the "education" or showing the irrationality of the "education". When one convict does not know Turkish but try to memorize a march, he makes mistakes and the entire ward is burst into laughs. One ex-convict (Participant 19) tells a memory about education that a convict repeats the Turkish national oath:

"I swear to walk incessantly or to work incessantly" he said something like that, I guess. He said, my commander, is it possible, can one walk incessantly (he laughs).
(...) kid swears, since he swore to walk incessantly...

One woman ex-convict (Participant 27) used humor intentionally during the interview. When she was narrating the atrocities she has experienced and witnessed, she said, "whatever, let me tell you something funny, it is enough to tell about torture, as much. ". She really finds funny stories to tell. In addition to these, ex-convicts use humor to mock the "ignorance" of the soldiers. Same ex-convicts talks about a soldier and she says:

I don't know whether we were trying to ease our experiences by finding the funny parts of our experiences or not but he seemed us as if he was a very funny guy.

Somatization

Six of the ex-convicts (n=30), 20% of them, used somatization as a coping mechanism. We only included the ones in which there is a narration of physical sequelae of torture collaborated with the question if source of physical pain is psychological or not, with verbalization of emotions, and if the causal relationship is very irrational. One ex-convict (Participant 25) says that the pain in his leg, from which he suffers today, is sourced from the lice in the prison. One ex-convict (Participant 9) says that he felt the pain as much as he had felt that day, and another (Participant 19) tells that he could not understand why his heart was aching when he was tortured that is considered as not to be related with the torture.

Social Support

Twenty-one of the ex-convicts (n=30), 70% of them, used social support as a coping mechanism. Ex-convicts are giving food or cigarettes to each other from one ward to other by using a rope. Older ex-convicts tell

that they took social support by the younger convicts who step forward to be tortured in place of the older convicts. Ex-convicts were taking social support when they were harshly tortured and the other convicts were trying to heal them by using medication which is called lasolin or rubbing with salty water on their bodies. Ex-convicts talk about the social support in their narratives as listening to a friend who always sings a song, seeing an acquaintance in the prison; friends who are motivating, and talking to a friend so on and so forth. One ex-convict (Participant 28) says:

If there was no person like that, I mean if there was no such a good person, I would have been lost because of my experiences.

Furthermore, some ex-convicts present that support of their families is very helpful to cope with their experiences of torture. One ex-convict tells (Participant 1):

By explaining the context of my struggle to my family to my grandmother or mother I was relieved.

Affective Disengagement

Four of the ex-convicts (n=30), 13.3% of them, used affective disengagement to cope with their negative experiences in Diyarbakır Prison. One ex-convict (Participant 5) says that he compulsively walked or made lists not to feel any emotions after he was released. Another ex-convict tells that he sometimes felt very angry but he suppressed his emotions. A

narration of an ex-convict (Participant 19) can be an instance of affective disengagement when he was in prison:

He came and said to me, bro, he said, "They will really hang me, won't they?". He said exactly this to me, can you believe it? A young boy, I said never mind, let them do whatever they want to do.

Keeping Hope Alive

Eight of the ex-convicts (n=30), 26.6% of them, tell that they kept their hope alive either when they were tortured in the interrogation process or when in the prison. They were hoping that all these atrocities will end one day. One ex-convict says (Participant 17):

I mean, maybe the only thing that made us survive despite these difficulties was that it won't be perpetual, one day it will end certainly or it is our revolutionary will, we were conceiving it like this.

One other ex-convict (participant 7) says that they promised to present a world without torture until they will die. He keeps his hope alive, despite his negative experiences, believes that things will get better by their political efforts.

Rationalization

Rationalization is the less encountered coping mechanism that the ex-convicts used. Only 2 ex-convicts (n=30), used rationalization 2 times at total. One ex-convict (Participant 14) talks about a punished ward because it was the ward where senior staff of PKK stayed. He uses rationalization the irrationality as, "(...) you know the reason of military, when a tank is

punished, it is left in a wild, remote place. That ward is a punished ward.". The other ex-convict (Participant 15) rationalized the oppression in the military court as, "Surely, judge or prosecutor, I mean they could not say that why he (convict) said my commander, why you were saying my commander for instance, what made you say it, as if you were soldiers or why you said. It is normal because they (judge or prosecutor) were like the guardians."

Denial

Three of the ex-convicts (n=30), 10% of them, denied their negative experiences in order to cope with them. One ex-convict denied that he cares about the lack of social support from his ex-convict friend when he was out of the prison. Another ex-convict denies and even talks in a positive way, which can be considered as a reaction formation either, about his torturer. One ex-convict says (Participant 11):

I preserve my optimism (he smiles). We hope (inşallah) that, this is not the essence of the state. I mean it is peculiar. I think it is a unique thing.

Wish for Death

Eight of the ex-convicts (n=30), 26.7% of them, wished for death when they were experiencing the violent tortures. The ex-convicts tell that they had nothing to lose and they would prefer to die instead of living under these circumstances. One ex-convict says (Participant 9):

I come near to bunk and look; and I think that whether I can throw off or not if I hit my head. They did not give us razor blade, match (he cries).

They suffer that they had no chance to kill themselves, as one ex-convict (Participant 16) tells, "They created such conditions that even though you want to kill yourself, and you can't. There is no chance to die."

Mental Disengagement

Nine of the ex-convicts (n=30), 30% of them, mentally disengaged from the negative experiences. Three of them told that they were mentally numb throughout the torture. Others wanted not to talk about their experiences in Diyarbakır Prison. Another ex-convict (Participant 24) tells that when he was being tortured, he was calculating the numbers in his mind to prevent suffering. One ex-convict (Participant 8) says to the interviewers to save him from this Chinese torture by implying the interview. Some ex-convicts tell that they try to forget all about those days and not to think about them. One ex-convict says (Participant 29):

One cannot live with thinking about those. (...) For instance, I do not want to live in there, be, stay in those days, in other words, bury them all in your inside.

Behavioral Disengagement

Four of the ex-convicts (n=30), 13.3% of them, behaviorally disengaged by emphasizing that they do not want to talk about these experiences. One ex-convict (Participant 14) tells how one of the torture techniques has affected his life as:

I used to draw pictures, my drawing was very good. I was doing oil painting, to my friends. Imagine that, he used to come and say, this wall, as big as the one here,

there will be a drawing in 15 minutes. I forswore and never even used brush, never draw again, I gave up.

Fantasy and Need for Justice

Seventeen of the ex-convicts (n=30), 56.6% of them, fantasize or wish for justice to punish the ones who were responsible from the torture, and deaths in Diyarbakır Prison. Ex-convicts tell that the commission would be helpful for their search for justice. One ex-convict (Participant 9) suffers the duplicity of the justice:

Men would come and say "I slandered this person or this name is on my testimony, unintentionally." "I didn't do that." and they would release me. I used to imagine like this. "Justice is the basis of the state." (He cries)

Some ex-convicts sued the state. Some ex-convicts say that they were relieved with murder of Esat Oktay Yıldırım. One ex-convict (Participant 4) say that he imagined to kill soldiers by taking their weapons another ex-convict (Participant 6) imagined bombing the soldiers in order to stop torture. Some ex-convicts want to take the revenge from the state. One ex-convict says (Participant 15):

In the beginning, all these made me very strict. For instance, let's say in the years of 88 nint, 89 there were acts against the village guards. I was gratified with that the children and people were murdered. I was that strict. I used to think like if they are village guards, then there should be no living thing left belonging to them, should be eradicated.

Some of them were imagining that they would have a bath or eat good food, after being tortured with frustrations of basic needs.

Suppression

Seventeen of the ex-convicts (n=30), 56.6% of them, suppressed the excruciating experiences. When they narrate their memories, they report that they have hard times to retrieve the names of the soldiers or the other ex-convicts, describe the appearances of the soldiers, the numbers, and the years. They complain about amnesia. They do not retrieve torturing experiences. One ex-convict says (Participant 17):

One of the sequelae of the prison, now I remember, is amnesia. I mean I do not know if we can certainly relate it to the prison or not, I have hard times to remember the past events. Particularly the faces... Probably it is the suppression of the past now it comes out, we can't know this.

Social Comparison

Eight of the ex-convicts (n=30), 26.7% of them, used downward social comparison as a coping mechanism. Some of them compared the atrocities with Nazi concentration camps, some of them compare themselves with other ex-convict assuming that they were more severely tortured, and some of them mentioned that their families had worse experiences than them in this process. One ex-convict tells (Participant 14):

If she tells what she wants to tell, you would be shocked. Maybe she has been exposed to ten times more than what we have lived through. Torture, swears, beating, sexual assaults. Now it is one Kurdish woman's honor, personality...

Positive Affect as a Coping Mechanism

Twelve of the ex-convicts (n=30), 40% of them, reported a positive effect when telling a story in Diyarbakır Prison. Feeling free, laughing, eating and feeling "the happiest person in the world" (Participant 6), feeling secure with the other ex-convicts were the primary examples of coping with the atrocities by expression of positive affect. One ex-convict even tells a story about the favor and goodness of Esat Oktay Yıldırım (Participant 19).

3.2.1.3. Coping Mechanisms to Decrease Effects of Torture After being Released

Positive Growth

Seven of the ex-convicts (n=30), 23.3% of them, mentioned that after experiencing those atrocities in Diyarbakır Prison, they are empowered. Some ex-convicts posit that their devotion to the movement has increased after this experience. Coping with such frustrating and cruel conditions made them to feel empowered, tolerant, merciful, patient, and dedicated. One ex-convict says (Participant 15):

My humanity, you know to love humans, appreciate humans, I mean the faith to believe in that there is nothing divine as much as human beings; and there is a price to be paid for it, has been developed in me.

Expression

Three of the ex-convicts (n=30), 10% of them used expression, as a coping mechanism, of what they lived through in Diyarbakır Prison. One ex-convict (Participant 6) wrote a book, one ex-convict wrote what he has

been through for his own, and another one (Participant 10) says that he would write a novel if he were literate.

In order to provide a consistent analysis with the study of Doğan (2011), we clustered the twenty-four coping mechanisms into categories according to three different perspectives. The frequencies of the used coping mechanisms are divided by the number of coping mechanisms. The categories, number of coping mechanisms, and percentaged are presented in Table 4.

Table 4.
The Frequencies and the Percentages of Grouped Coping Mechanisms

Grouped Coping Mechanisms	Number of Coping Mechanisms (n=24)	Number of used Coping Mechanisms (n=486)	%
Problem Focused Coping Mechanisms to Stop or Decrease Torture in the Prison	3	116	23.9 %
Cognitive and Affective Coping Mechanisms to Decrease the Effect of Torture in the Prison	19	342	70.4 %
Coping Mechanisms to Decrease Effects of Torture After being Released	2	28	5.8 %
Avoidance Focused Coping Mechanisms	12	131	26.9 %
Approach Focused Coping Mechanisms	12	355	73.0 %
Problem Focused Coping Mechanisms	5	141	29.0 %
Emotion Focused Coping Mechanisms	19	345	70.9 %
Emotional/Cognitive Avoidance Focused Coping Mechanisms	8	88	18.1 %
Emotional/Cognitive Approach Focused Coping Mechanisms	11	217	44.6 %
Problem/Behavioral Avoidance Focused Coping Mechanisms	3	52	10.7 %
Problem/Behavioral Approach Focused Coping Mechanisms	2	129	26.6 %

Secondly, coping mechanisms are clustered into problem focused and emotion focused coping strategies. Problem focused coping strategy included five coping mechanisms (obeying, resistance, fantasy and need for justice, need regulation, and behavioral disengagement) and its ratio of use is 29.9%. Emotion focused coping strategy included twenty coping mechanisms (political awareness and giving meaning, 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, and wish for death) and its ratio of use is 70.9% among the ex-convicts.

Lastly, we divided the coping mechanisms into 4 categories. Emotional/cognitive avoidance coping mechanisms (suppression, humor, somatization, mental disengagement, affective disengagement, rationalization, denial, and wish for death) are used at the ratio of 18.1%. Whereas the ratio of use of the emotional/approach coping mechanisms (political awareness and giving meaning, self-sacrifice, positive growth, dehumanization of the torturer, political determination, belonging to a group, social support, expressions, and keeping hope alive) is 44.6%. Moreover, problem/avoidance coping mechanisms (obeying, need regulation, and behavioral disengagement) are used at the ratio of 10.7%. Problem/approach coping mechanisms (resistance and fantasy and need for justice) are used at the ratio of 20.6%.

3.2.2. Emotions

Sadness is the most expressed emotion by the ex-convicts that 12 ex-convicts (n=30), 40% of them, mention that the experiences in Diyarbakır Prison was painful, they cried when they talk about their experiences, or they express that they were sad, directly. One ex-convict (Participant 6) says:

My heart did not ache for myself as ached, as much as, for those people (the other convicts). And I cried my heart out, I cried my heart out...

Eleven ex-convicts (n=30), 36.6% of them, expressed anger when they talk about their negative experiences in the prison. Some ex-convicts mentioned that in their daily life they are usually angry that they are intolerant. We included the anger-toned narrative in which ex-convicts do not verbalize that they are angry but their tone is seems to be angry. For instance one ex-convict (Participant 14) says:

The weather was hot like 45-50 degrees can he (old ex-convict) keep up with our speed? He was used to be beaten steadily. How come you can't keep up with them. He's an old man!

Some ex-convicts stated that they are angry in their narratives. One ex-convict (Participant 1) tells:

You feel anger about the, what crime my friend committed and because of that he was murdered by torture.

Ten ex-convicts (n=30), 33.3% of them, expressed shame when they talk about their experiences in the prison. Some ex-convict said that the

torture was humiliating. Some ex-convicts excused when they talk about the sexual torture (being raped or being naked) and "disgusting" tortures as being forced to eat shit. One ex-convict (Participant 19) says:

I am staring (at the soldiers), anyway, they swear to them (ex-convicts) and then they want them to squat down, wretches, they do squat down. Then I really really really apologize, I really really apologize from you, too.

Nine ex-convicts (n=30), 30% of them, expressed fear in their narratives. All the nine ex-convicts verbalized that they were afraid of being torture, re-experiencing the same atrocities in their future lives.

Five ex-convicts (n=30), 26.6% of them, expressed feelings of helplessness that they have no other option, they are obliged to experience the atrocities; they have no one to ask help. One ex-convict (Participant 18) tells:

I mean, like, you feel alone, lonely in here, I mean there is no strength to protect you and you were waiting that you would die, when, but how?

Five ex-convicts (n=30, 26.6%) expressed perplexity that they cannot give a meaning to their experiences, what they have encountered in the prison. Three ex-convicts (n=30, 10%) tell that they felt disappointment about the never-ending tortures, lack of social support when they were released or the cruel conditions of the prison. Two ex-convict (n=30, 6.6%) expressed longing for the comfort in their outside lives. Two ex-convicts (n=30, 6.6%) expressed insecurity in their relationships in the prison or the projects about the Diyarbakır Prison. One ex-convict (n=30, 3.3%)

expressed guilt about that he did not narrate all of his experiences. One ex-convict (n=30, 3.3%) expressed anxiety about the increasing rate of confessions and what he would encounter with in the prison. One ex-convict (n=30, 3.3%) expressed feelings of terror of hearing the tortured people's screams and being a witness of sexual torture. One ex-convict (n=30, 3.3%) expressed feelings of worthlessness, "You consider yourself as nothing. Because he made you feel worthless." (Participant 30). One ex-convict (n=30, 3.3%) expressed feelings of disgust about the torture that soldiers made ex-convicts to swallow the phlegm of the ex-convicts with tuberculosis. The frequencies and the percentages of expressed emotions are presented in Table 5.

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

Expressed Emotions	Frequencies (n=30)	%
Sadness	12	40.0%
Anger	11	36.6%
Shame	10	33.3%
Fear	9	30.0%
Helplessness	5	26.6%
Perplexity	5	26.6%
Disappointment	3	10.0%
Longing	2	6.6%
Insecurity	2	6.6%
Guilt	1	3.3%
Anxiety	1	3.3%
Terror	1	3.3%
Worthlessness	1	3.3%
Disgust	1	3.3%

3.2.3. Coping Mechanism and Emotions

Throughout the process of analysis, some probabilistic relationships between certain coping mechanisms and certain expressed emotion are observed. Since the analysis in the current study is qualitative based, these correlations only have a face value. It is observed that six ex-convicts (n=10) who expressed shame used suppression (n=17) as a coping mechanism. Seven ex-convicts (n=11) who expressed anger used resistance (n=24) as a coping mechanism. It is further monitored that in the narratives of the ones who expressed anger, stories of resistance were more frequent when analyzed individually. Nine of the ex-convicts (n=12) who expressed sadness used social support (n=21) as a coping mechanism.

4. Discussion

In this study, we explored the coping mechanisms and emotions of thirty tortured ex-convicts imprisoned in Diyarbakır Military Prison between the years of 1980 and 1984 after the 12 September 1980 coup d'état in Turkey. We analyzed the interviews of the ex-convicts and reached 24 coping mechanisms and 14 emotions. These coping mechanisms are different strategies as passive or active (Punamaki-Gitai, 1990; cited in Khawaja, et al., 2008), emotion focused or problem focused (Lazarus, 1993), approach or avoidant strategies (Littleton et al., 2007); cognitive, behavioral or emotional (Littleton et al., 2007). As Punamaki (1998) postulated political prisoners use resourceful repertoire of coping mechanisms. Since we presented each coping mechanism with certain case instances, we will talk over the results in consideration with the theories and previous findings in the literature, in this section.

We will focus on coping mechanisms of the ex-convict based on Lazarus's (1993) concepts of problem-focused coping mechanisms and emotion-focused coping mechanisms.

4.1. Problem Focused Coping Mechanisms of Ex-Convicts

Our results showed that, across the overall used coping mechanisms one third of them were resistance, obeying the torturer and accepting the conditions, fantasy and need for justice, need regulation and behavioral disengagement. Ex-convicts' resistance against the repugnant violence of the soldiers in the prison is conceived to be very helpful to sustain their self-integrity. They resisted with their bodies by doing hunger strikes, death fasts, and healing the other tortured bodies. Their bodies were precarious, open the other's violence, but at the same time their bodies were their agents to express anger and to stand against the atrocities (Butler, 2004), even to change the practices in the prison (McEvoy et al., 2011). Ex-convicts either used passive resistance by not responding or giving reaction to tortures of the soldiers. In the short-run, these active and passive resistances could result in increased ordeals. However, Paker (2011) argued that confessors in the prison more suffer from psychological disorders than the ones who resist against the torture. Their bodies were exposed to more violence and it inflicted more pain either during the torture or after the torture by leaving traces on their bodies (Scarry, 1995).

Another problem focused coping mechanism is obeying the torturer and accepting the rules. Ex-convicts in Diyarbakır Prison did not only cope with the atrocities only through resistance but also coped by obeying the

ordeals. Approximately two third of the ex-convicts obeyed the torturer and accepted the harsh conditions. Resisting against the torture in several ways is effective in terms of the self-integrity, social bonds but it usually resulted in increased level of torture. Obeying the commands is mostly inevitable for the ex-convicts to survive. Furthermore, it gave the sense of agency in a way that they preferred to be tortured than to witness others to be tortured. Their relationship with the torture is explained and felt as a self-preference (Folkman and Lazarus, 1990). Acceptance is stated as a way of coping with the stress (Carver et al., 1989) and conceived as a positive strategy (Emmelkamp et al., 2002). Our analysis is in line with the study on Sudanese refugees that they used acceptance as a coping mechanism which is referred as a reframing the situation (Khawaja et al., 2008).

Furthermore, ex-convicts used need regulation as another instance of problem-focused coping mechanism (Folkman and Lazarus, 1990). Despite the cruel frustrations of the basic needs for their survival, they regulated their needs by changing priorities such as eating the dirty or unhealthy food; of demanding their relatives not to visit them although they have a need for social support from their relatives.

Nearly half of the ex-convicts fantasized to take revenge from the torturers and the state or they desired to search for justice. The murder of Esat Oktay Yıldıran relieved them. This is in line with the arguments of McEvoy and colleagues (2011) that political prisoners use violence or use of law to gain the rights as resistance. The search for justice can be considered as a political activity which is assumed as a dispositional coping mechanism

used by political prisoners (Punamaki et al., 2007). The fantasy of revenge and search for justice is much related with the perception of the torturers as bad, as evil. Nearly one third of the ex-convicts dehumanized the torturer in their interviews. Although they ideologically give meaning to the atrocities, it is hard them to understand how can a human being "be" that cruel and "do" such cruel things. They posit the torturers as evil, and non-human. Ironically, Paker (2011) suggested that torturers in Diyarbakır Military Prison were regular human-beings not anti-social or psychopathological personalities. Punamaki (1996) argued that when the enemy is perceived as evil, the ideological commitment increases and the war with the enemy becomes more meaningful.

As another problem focused coping mechanism, four ex-convicts used behavioral disengagement. They did not want to talk about the atrocities. Talking is conceived as a behavior that they could excessively engage in their experiences mentally but they did not want to narrate them.

4.2. Emotion Focused Coping Mechanisms of the Ex-convicts

The literature suggests that political prisoners do not develop severe psychopathology despite the atrocities they experience (Başoğlu and Paker, 1995; Başoğlu, et al., 1997; Paker, 1999). It is argued that being a political subject and having an ideological commitment are protective factors for political prisoners (Başoğlu, et al., 1994; Başoğlu, et al., 1997). Our analysis supported these arguments that the ex-convicts highly used political awareness and giving meaning, which is the most frequently, used coping mechanism, and nearly one third of them used political determination to

cope with the experiences of torture. Use of these two coping mechanisms contradicts the aim of the state which is the eradication of Kurdish identity and their humanities by military education, very frustration of basic needs for survival, inflicting physical and psychological pain. It is suggested that giving meaning is a protective factor in terms of developing psychopathologies (Paker, 1999).

After the military coup d'état in 1980, Turkish leftist illegal movements lost their political power although they were exposed to violent torture as in the case of Kurdish prisoners. Opposed to this, Kurdish Movement gained power and sustained its high ideological commitment. Şahin Fırat and Fırat (2011) talk over the Kurdish movement and Diyarbakir Prison mostly referencing to the theories of Arendt (1958; cited in Şahin Fırat and Fırat, 2011). In consideration with the theories of Arendt, they argue that in the totalitarian regimes the use of violence aim to divide the society into individual parts by alienating them to their "self-ness" and lose the world that they know. However, ex-convicts in Diyarbakir Prison continued to be aware of political dynamics about what they were going through and gave meaning to the reason of torture. Their political identities survived which can be conceived as a dispositional coping mechanism (Punamaki et al., 2007). However we are cognizant of their self-ness is not intact, it has transformed into new existence (Butler, 2004) with certain gains and losses (Ortiz, 2001). Because of the ontological relatedness of the bodies and selves: self and the other, they became someone new. Relationally, after experiencing the ordeals in Diyarbakir Prison, ex-

convicts became more attached to their political existences and movement. In other words, their political determination has increased. This analysis is in line with the findings of Punamaki (1996) that being exposed to war violence increased the ideological commitment of Israeli children. The striking thing is that in Diyarbakır Prison between the years of 1980 and 1984, no books or newspapers were allowed. In the study of Westrheim (2008), she talks over how prisoners directly or indirectly related to the PKK (Kurdistan Worker's Party) used prisons as a center of education. She analyzed four Kurdish ex-convicts who were imprisoned between the last half of the 1990s and first half of the 2000s. She proposed that in the line with the aims of the PKK, the education in prison increased the ideological commitment, political awareness, and critical thinking. Despite the lack of educational materials and social communication in Diyarbakır Prison between the years of 1980 and 1984, political awareness survived and political determination increased. The ordeals they have witnessed and their political agencies before the imprisonment, these pre-existing experiences are the ones helped them survive their selfness and political agencies.

Approximately one third of the ex-convicts mentioned that after psychologically, physically, and sexually tortured or witnessing these atrocities, they are empowered through witnessing their capacity to survive, and to resist. This finding is consistent with Salo and colleagues' (2005) arguments that in the case of political imprisonment being tortured supports their ideological understanding of the dynamics of oppression and resistance. Survival after the oppression empowers them. Folkman and

colleagues (1987) included positive reappraisal as a coping mechanism in their measure called Ways of Coping. Although positive reappraisal and positive growth are related, they are claimed to be different concepts. Sears and colleagues (Sears, Stanton, and Danoff-Burg, 2003) argued that positive growth is an effortless benefit from the stressful experience. They gain a positive appraisal which becomes dispositional for the person. Positive reappraisal and positive growth are suggested to be coping mechanisms which decrease distress (Mast, 1998). As Tedeschi and Calhoun (1996) suggested experiencing a negative event may change the self perception and philosophical understanding of the world into positive one in some instances. Especially coping with the stress creates positive affect on its own (Folkman and Moskowitz, 2000). However not only being able to cope with the stressor but also feeling positive affect during and after the stressful event is a mechanism to cope with the stressors. In our study, more than one third of the ex-convicts expressed positive affect that they sustained their positive attitude, albeit the excruciations. Feeling positive affect may have enhanced their capacity to cope with torture with other strategies (Folkman and Moskowitz, 2000).

Humor as a way of coping with the atrocities is very associated with attempt to sustain the positive affect. Half of the ex-convicts used humor either making jokes about themselves or the soldiers. Soldiers aimed to create a place where only pain, violence, and seriousness can exist. Humor can be conceived as a resistance against this construction. Humor is also related with the social bonds of ex-convicts through creating a relational

area with their laughs and jokes. Their pain is minimized through devaluation of their torture experiences and devaluation of the soldiers' power exerted on them. Our finding is convenient with the study on Vietnam prisoners, significantly used humor to deal with the war trauma (Henman, 2001).

Resisting against the atrocities through body, as a sense of agency, is perceived as a sacrifice in McEvoy and colleagues' (2011) perspective. Ex-convicts used self-sacrifice not only by the means of resistance toned acts but also relational toned acts. Although they were frustrated from the basic needs for their survival (food deprivation, water deprivation, sleep deprivation, medical deprivation, relational deprivation -not talking with other ex-convicts, not talking in Kurdish-, smoking deprivation), they shared their already scarce resources. Some of them stepped forward to being tortured to prevent old convicts to be tortured. They used their energy to heal others' wounds by using their hands to decrease others' pain. The atrocities experienced by the ex-convicts give the "power to heal" the others as a wounded healer (Jung, 1951; cited in Dwyer and Maruna, 2011). It is conceived that, the self-help organizations of Irish political ex-convicts is both a self-healing and self-sacrifice. Ex-convicts realize good parts of their self through self sacrifice which helps their good parts to survive and help others to survive.

The experienced ordeals sometimes were too much for the ex-convicts. The oppressions made them feel as if they reached stalemated. The wish for death, suicidal ideation helps them to cope with these feelings

(Rutz, 1993; cited in Adams and Lehnert, 1997) that they have an exit from "the hell". Some ex-convicts were aggressive that they were dispossessed with their option to kill themselves. Their sense of agency over their bodies and lives (Butler, 2004) were in the hands of the state. In this perspective, suicide and fantasizing about suicide is a way of resisting against the torture (Liebling, 199; McEvoy, et al., 2011).

More perception of the torturers as evil, they are more having a sense of belonging to a group. Their attachment to each other helped them to deal with the torture. The most observed thing is that all of the ex-convicts narrated their experiences with the subject "we". This analysis is parallel with the findings of Hussain and Bhushan (2011) that Tibetan refugees used community bonding to cope with the stress. Being a part of the group decreases their loneliness and is related with their ideological understanding of dynamics of oppression. The sense of belonging to a group is supported with their self sacrifice, as mentioned above, and having social support. More than two third of the ex-convicts, used social support as a coping mechanism. Research suggests that social support is related with the decreased severity of the PTSD (Solomon et al., 1988). Robust findings yield that social support is a highly used coping mechanism by the trauma survivors (Punamaki et al., 2007; Khawaja et al., 2008; Dwyer and Maruna, 2011; Hussain and Bhushan, 2011).

Ex-convicts' sense of belonging to a group can be considered as a human focused, relational way of coping with the atrocities. This relational way of coping -behaviorally, emotionally, and cognitively- is seen in their

use of social comparison as a coping mechanism. Approximately one third of the ex-convicts compared their painful experiences with the other ex-convicts' and their families' experiences. Their use of downward social comparison provided them to feel power to deal with the torture experiences. The research with cancer patients (Buunk et al., 1990) and Tibetan refugees (Hussain and Bhushan, 2011) supportively showed that social comparison is used to cope with the stress.

As a way of emotion focused coping, approximately one third of the ex-convicts kept their hope alive that they would survive, the torture would be over, and their revolutionary aims would be realized. Despite the soldiers aim of inducing helplessness, dark feelings ex-convicts could perpetuate their existence, sense of agency by creating a positive representation of future. Conveniently, previous research with Sudanese youth refugees showed that keeping hope alive is a way to cope with the stress based on the reality or the fantasy (Goodman, 2004).

Despite the irrationality of the practices in Diyarbakır Prison, two ex-convicts rationalized the excruciations. They rationalized the atrocities through referring how the military system works. Rationalization is a less used coping mechanism since it could pave the way of reproducing the oppressive language of the power. Denial is another less used way of coping mechanism that only three ex-convicts used. Our result is inconvenient with the arguments and findings of the literature (Folkman and Lazarus, 1990; Carver et al., 1989). Research argues that denial is a highly used coping mechanism by the trauma survivors (Bonanno and Singer, 1990, Punamaki

et al., 2007). However Punamaki and colleagues (2007) suggested that denial is less used coping mechanism by the prisoners compared with the non-prisoners. It is suggested that denial is negatively correlated with "good" mental health (Punamaki et al., 2007).

Some ex-convicts dealt with the violent experiences through mentally, behaviorally or affectively escaping (Skinner et al., 2003) from them. These three disengagements are suggested to be less useful coping mechanisms in terms of dealing with stress (Carver et al., 1989). Only four ex-convicts affectively disengaged themselves from the negatively valenced emotional situations. Their narrative showed that affective disengagement is a way of emotion regulation. These negative emotions are perceived by them as too much to contain. Approximately one third of the ex-convicts used mental disengagement. They did not want to mentally engage their past painful experiences; some of them told that they numbed their minds. Avoiding mental engagement in the memories of trauma is claimed to be a risk factor to develop PTSD symptoms (Littleton et al., 2011).

In addition to disengagements from the experiences in the prison, ex-convicts suppressed their experiences of torture. Approximately two third of the ex-convicts coped with their negative experiences by suppression. They reported that it is hard for them to retrieve the memories. The issue of gaps in the memory is very frequently reported by the trauma survivors (Kirmayer, 2004). The study on Sudanese refugees showed that suppression prevents the experiences become real (Goodman, 2004). It is postulated that narrating the experiences would fulfill the gaps in the memory (Ehlers and

Clark, 2000). Ten per cent of the ex-convicts narrated that they either wrote their experiences or desired to write if they had been literate. The expression of the negative experiences is further helpful to reduce distress and provide good physical health (Greenberg and Stone, 1992).

Somatization is referred as a psychological disorder in literature whereas it is also argued as a coping mechanism based on the psychoanalytic theories about conversion (McWhinney, Epstein, and Freeman, 1997). It is suggested that it is a way of coping with emotions and stress through bodily expression. Torture, which is a pain infliction on body, inflicts psychological pain. In our analysis confusing thing is separating the somatization as a coping mechanism from the physical sequelae of torture. We conceived the narrations as somatization when the ex-convicts questioned whether their pain is physical or psychological in their narratives or when they mentioned that the pain they feel is same as they experienced first. This may be related with the argument that the trauma survivors are "frozen in time" (Ehlers and Clark, 2000). However, at this time their bodily pain is "frozen in time". In this line, our analysis showed that 20% of the ex-convicts used somatization as a coping mechanism.

Inconvenient to other findings in literature, our analysis of the narrations of the ex-convicts in Diyarbakır Prison showed no use of religion as a coping mechanism. Study on Tibetan survivors of torture (Elsass and Phunstok, 2009), another study on refugees (Punamaki-Gitai, 1990; cited in Khawaja et al., 2008), another study on Palestinian ex-convicts (Punamaki et al., 2007) showed that religion is a coping strategy. However a study on

South African ex-convicts showed that religiousness is a risk factor to develop psychopathologies (Halvorsen and Kagee, 2010). The leftist movements in Turkey and Kurdish Movement had secular characteristics in 1970s and 1980s. Their political identity as being secular could have possibly prevented them to cope with the atrocities with religious faith. Furthermore, as opposed to arguments of Adams (2012), that art is a way of coping with political trauma, ex-convicts did not narrate use of art as a coping mechanism although there are several songs written about the oppressions that Kurdish society experienced by the state. However they are not merely related with the atrocities in Diyarbakır Prison.

Our study on the ex-convicts in Diyarbakır Military Prison showed that there are certain expressed emotions while ex-convicts mentally and affectively engage in the processes of narrating and remembering their torture experiences. The most frequently expressed emotions are sadness, anger, shame, and fear. Anger is proposed to be a frequently expressed emotion in the study on prisoners of East German (Schützwohl and Andreas, 2000). In addition to these emotions ex-convicts expressed helplessness and perplexity at the prominent level. We also encountered disappointment, longing, insecurity, guilt, anxiety, terror, worthlessness, and disgust expressed by the ex-convicts. It was postulated that trauma survivors experience emotions which were not familiar to before (Naatanen et al., 2002). There are claimed to be "stress emotions" which are anger, anxiety, guilt, shame sadness, envy, jealousy, and disgust (Lazarus, 1993). Comparing with the concept of "stress emotions", in the narratives of the ex-

convicts feelings of envy and jealousy were not found. In addition to this, we rarely encountered the feelings of anxiety and disgust. The striking thing is that generally stress is claimed to be related with anxiety whereas it was not the prominent expressed emotion, in our study. We consider that ex-convicts might have suppressed the anxiety provoking experiences in the process of narration.

Considering the relationship between emotions and coping mechanisms (Lazarus, 1993), we qualitatively analyzed the correlation between the emotions and coping mechanisms. We propose that there are certain relationships between shame and suppression; anger and resistance; and sadness and social support. It should be noted that these relationships are only at the face value, no deep qualitative or quantitative analysis was done.

4.3. Limitations and Further Research

There are several limitations in the current study. First of all, the interviews were not done by the researcher which is contrarian to the assumptions of qualitative analysis (Creswell, 2007). Interviewing is a way of relating to the subject and gaining more questions and answers about the issue. In addition to this, the interviewers were not clinicians but people were trained by a clinician which would have been resulted in more focus on the psychological impacts of the torture on the ex-convicts and used coping mechanisms and emotions specifically.

The size and the characteristic of our sample raise the question of generalization. Since we have examined 30 ex-convicts it is a limited size to generalize the used coping mechanisms and emotions to the torture survivors. Moreover, it is noteworthy that the interviewed ex-convicts were the ones who volunteered to be included in the study of the Truth and Justice Commission of Diyarbakır Prison. For instance the use of search for justice as a coping mechanism would be related to mere characteristic of volunteered ex-convicts. Paker (2010) suggested that ex-convicts who suffer from more severe form of psychopathology are not reached by the commission. Besides, there is a rich repertoire of resistance among the ex-convicts in Diyarbakır Prison. We do not have a chance to examine the coping mechanisms and emotions of the ones who chose suicide as a resistance through hunger strikes and burning acts. There are also ones who were killed by torture. It can be hypothesized that being murdered with torture is not coincidental but related to the coping mechanisms of the ex-convicts in terms of their radical resistances. The most significant thing is that there may be several ex-convicts who participated in the guerilla movement of PKK and did not participate in the study of Commission. It is mostly probable that they have qualitatively and quantitatively different use of coping mechanisms and different frequencies in the expressed emotions. Another significant issue is about the demographic characteristics of the ex-convicts. The duration of imprisonment, the ages, socio-demographic characteristics of the ex-convicts are divergent. Therefore, the frequencies

of the used coping mechanisms and expressed emotions would be differing with other samples of torture survivors.

Another important issue is that although we aimed to focus on the coping mechanisms and emotions of the ex-convicts related to their experience of torture, the measures are taken approximately 25 years after the torture experiences. This creates an important debate if we have analyzed the coping mechanisms and emotions which are used in the process of remembering and narrating the torture experiences or the experiencing the torture. Furthermore the length of time interval between the torture experiences and interviews raise the issue of other traumatic or stressful experiences. After 1980s in Kurdistan there have been a continuous war between the state and the Kurdish guerillas and there have been lots of murders, unidentified murders, forced evacuations, village destructions, torture, imprisonment, pauperization and other several practices of oppression towards Kurdish society. These should have effects on the coping mechanisms and emotions of the ex-convicts. Moreover, we do not have any information about the coping mechanisms and emotions of the ex-convicts before the torture experiences. All in all, arguing that this study gives a specific and uncontaminated analysis of the relationships among torture, coping mechanisms, and emotions would be fallacious.

Current study only relies on the qualitative data of the ex-convicts whereas other quantitative measures of coping mechanisms and emotions would provide more reliable data about the ex-convicts. In addition to this, interviews were analyzed by one reader. Other readers would provide a

more reliable analysis of the interviews. Future research would include other quantitative measures and several readers in the process of analysis in order to increase the reliability of the findings.

It can be suggested that future research may focus on the relationship between coping mechanisms and emotions which would be very contributive to the literature of torture. It should be emphasized that current study did not examine this relationship deeply but it had only explorative way of analysis.

4.4. Therapeutic Implications

Understanding the coping mechanisms and emotions of the tortured ex-convicts is important in the area of psychotherapy with torture survivors. For instance, torture as a traumatic experience creates gaps in the memory (Kirmayer, 1994) of the survivor. This is related with the coping mechanism as suppression which is used by the survivors. Helping survivors to fill the gaps and have a narration of their traumatic experience would decrease their distress (Greenberg and Stone, 1992) and prevent the risk of developing dissociative symptomatology (Murray, Ehlers, and Mayou, 2002). Furthermore, high use of social support, self-sacrifice, and belonging to group implying the therapeutic effect of self help groups as in the case of Ireland (Dwyer and Maruna, 2011)

It is argued that understanding and analyzing individual based responses, both coping mechanisms and emotions, of political prisoners toward the negative events is meaningful in terms of finding the matched

therapeutic intervention (Kanninen, Punamaki, and Qouta, 2003). In addition to this, regarding the coping mechanisms such as positive growth throughout the therapeutic process is important to see the "other side" of the trauma that ex-convicts may suffer from psychological distress but they are very able to cope with these atrocities (Tedeschi and Calhoun, 1996). Moreover, these studies contributed unique suggestions for the therapist's stance in the psychotherapeutic relationship compared to the other patient groups. Tummala-Nara (2005) claims that:

A detached, neutral stance can detract the therapist from inquiring about the patient's experiences of political and racial terror. Ethnic minority patients, in particular, generally tend not to bring up their history of these traumas, largely because of their fear that self-disclosure will lead to invalidation or dismissal of these experiences by authority figures. For this reason, it is critical that the therapist invite the patient to discuss individual and collective memories of trauma.

All in all, current study is a base for to listen the torture survivors whiles the attempt of understanding, witnessing, and helping them therapeutically in terms of their coping mechanisms and emotions.

5. Conclusion

The current study focused on the coping mechanisms and expressed emotions of the tortured ex-convicts who were imprisoned in Diyarbakır Military Prison between the years of 1980 and 1984. The study showed that ex-convicts coped with the experiences of torture primarily by political awareness and giving meaning, resistance, and social support. At sum it is suggested that they used 24 coping mechanisms with a rich repertoire of coping mechanism. These effortful or authentic coping mechanisms functioned for the survival of their self-ness with certain gains and losses. Current study further showed that there are 14 emotions which were expressed throughout the narratives of the ex-convicts. It is found that the narration of the torture experiences primarily accompanied by the feelings of sadness, anger, shame, and fear. The exploration of the relationship between emotions and coping mechanisms showed that there are relationships between shame and suppression; anger and resistance; and sadness and social support.

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APPENDIX

ORIGINAL VERSIONS OF THE TRANSLATED QUOTATIONS RETRIEVED FROM THE INTERVIEWS

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

Resistance

Participant 9 [...]Herkes ağzını açıyor ama korkudan kim diyebiliyor ki “kahrolsun işkence”. Ondan sonra hep beraber, bütün cezaevi, sanki o atmosfer, sanki dünya o değilmiş, her şey hayalmiş. Yeni bir şey. Bütün cezaevi, korkudan, heyecandan, ne yapacaklarını... Ölümü seçmişler, artık bunun sonu ölüm, ölüm gelecek diye, herkes kendisini o şeye .. konsantre etti. Artık sonumuz ölüm. Ya başaracağız, ya hepimiz ölücez. Başka yolumuz yok.

Participant 6 [...] Sen; yine aynı şekilde, Türküm, doğuyum. Yine ses çıkarmadım. Sağır mısın dedi. Sen, Türküm, doğuyum. Sağır değilim dedim. Kürdüm, doğuyum.

Participant 17 [...]dayanmaya, direnmeye, yaşamaya çalışacaktık.

Obeying the Torturer and Accepting the Conditions

Participant 9 [...]Allahımız'a hamdolsun, ordu, millet varolsun, komutanım derdik, komutan, ananızı siktim, derdi, hepimiz üç ağızdan üç defa, sağol, sağol, sağol. Çünkü bizi öyle bir robotlaştırmış, öyle bir teslimiyet, almışlar ki,

Participant 16 [...]Biz diyorduk yani şimdi bunlar işkence yapınca bağırma bizi etkiliyor. Şimdi gelseler bizi dövseler, biz de rahatlarız en azından. Deriz ki dayağımızı yedik bugün, bize fazla işkence yapmazlar

Participant 24 [...]Esat Oktay Yıldırım bana baktı, bunu geri götürün dedi. O kan falan. Sonra dedi çıkınca ne diyeceksin sana sorsalar. Düşüm diyeceğim dedim komutanım. O zaman git, serbest bırak dedi. Yani ben orda akıllılık yaptım, onu demeseydim geri götürürdü beni cezaevine.

Problem Focused Active (Regulating the Needs)

Participant 12 [...] Gittim elimi yüzümü yıkadım, sonra hanıma söyledim: "hanım bir daha görüşmeye gelme". Hanım da ağlıyor, ağlıyor; "seni vurdular mı?ne yaptılar?". Dedim "yok. Beni vurmadılar.sen git bir daha da gelme görüşmeye.

Participant 19 [...] dedi sigara içer misin, ben dedim ben sigara içmiyorum ama verirsen bir tane içerim. Böyle ağırdan alıyorum yani. Halbuki diyorum ki zaafımı yakalamasınlar yani, onu bana karşı koz olarak kullanmasınlar.

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

Political Awareness and Giving Meaning

Participant 1 [...] mücadeleye baş vurduğumuz zaman ölüme biliyorduk yakalanmayıda biliyorduk herşeyi gözönünde bulunduruyorduk yani bunu bilerek yapıyorduk.

Participant 7 [...] Hitler faşizmini anlatıyorlar, papuç bırakmamış, Diyarbakır Cezaevi. Her şey olmuş, artısı da [fazlası demek istiyor] olmuş. Diyarbakır cezaevi her şeyin aynasıdır. Dünyada belli bir yer, belli bir belge[dir].

Participant 14 [...] Benim çocuklarıma ben Kürtçe isim koydum. Bilerek koydum. İstanbul doğumlu, ikisi de Kürtçe bilmez. Ama şunun için koydum, ezilecekler bu çocuklar. Ezilsinler diye koydum. Çünkü yarın bir iş başvurusunda bulunduğun zaman benim adım (x) dediği zaman o ayrı tutulacaktır. Çocuk o zaman sorgulayacak, beni niye ayrı tutuyorlar.

Self-sacrifice

Participant 8 [...] ben böyle bir insan değilim, ama orda dedim boşanıyor diye bunun için ağlanır mı ya! Niye? Dedim ya sana kadın mı yoktur ya.

Participant 3 [...] o kendini arkadaşlara siper ediyordu, bayılan arkadaşlara. Bana dedi bu yardımı yapabiliyorsun, ben dedim bu yardım benim işimdir. Yani arkadaşlarının işkencesini sen paylaştığın zaman çok rahat oluyordun.

Dehumanization of the Torturer

Participant 3 [...] Benim elimde olsa vurmazdım ama şimdi benim elime verseler [...] Yani getirseler o adamı, o adam deseler, ne yaparsan yap, onu ne susuz bırakırım, ne ekmezsiz bırakırım, ne yataksız bırakırım.

Participant 7 [...] Yani insan olmaktan çıkmışlar.

Participant 24 [...] Co orda işkence yapan insanlardan daha merhametliydi.

Participant 24 [...] Çünkü Esat Oktay Yıldırım işkence yaptığı zaman bir titriyordu böyle, titriyordu, insanlar düşünce böyle bağırınca, bu sefer kahkahalara atıyordu. Kendinden geçiyordu. Önce kendini dövüyordu böyle, tırnaklıyordu “lan dövün, dövün”, lan vurun, vurun” bağıriyordu askerlere, sonra böyle insan bağırışı çığlık atarak düştüğü zaman da ha ha ha ha böyle nara, kahkaha atıyordu yani, böyle psikopat bir tipi vardı.

Political Determination

Participant 1 [...] Gördükleri işkence işte, hala akıllarda çıkmıyor yani. Yani daha da bizi harekete bağlamıştır daha doğrusu. [...]ben Kürdüm bu konuda işte kendi mücadelemi, kendi varlığımı, kimliğimi var edebilmek için bu mücadaleyi sürdürüyorum Bu anlamda bana işkence yapılıyor, devlet tarafından Kürtlerin imhası için işkence yapıldı. Bu konuda dahada yani harekete bağlanma oluyor.

Participant 3 [...] O gün inanın beni yeniden evlendirseler, beni tahliye etseler, bana Kızıltepe'nin yarısını verseler kabul etmem o günü 83 günü, 83'ün cezaevinin elimize geçtiği günü, o kadar şeydi, o kadar özgürdü, o kadar tatlı bir şeydi, devrimciler gülüyor, birbirlerine bakıyorlar, sesleniyorlar durumunuz nasıldı, paranız var mıdır, elbiseleriniz var mıdır yok mudur diye. İşte o cezaevinin dayanışması insanlığa öyle bir ruh getirdi, bana da öyle oldu. Bana dünyayı verseler tahliye olmayı istemiyordum.

Belonging to Group

Participant 14 [...] Görüş listesi geldi, görüş listesinin ilk sırasında o var. (x) ismi okunduğu an, tarif edemiyorum boğa böğürmesi mi desem, tarif edilmez bir ses ve sözleşmişsin gibi aynı anda bütün koğuş... Belki o ağlamayı tetikleyen bir şey oldu o birikim, herkes aynı anda boşaldı. Böğürtü sesinde bir ağlama. Ağlama da değil, çok farklı bir şey.

Participant 7 [...] Çubuk gibi olmuşuz, 3 kişiyiz. O arada geniştirler, 3 kişi dedi çıksın, falan, dalan. Bir baktım 14 kişi çıktık. Yüzbaşı baktım, siz pişman olursunuz dedi.

Humor

Participant 14 [...] Çok güzel bir banyomuz vardı.

Participant 11 [...] Bir kısım çocuğum bu şekilde doğdu, belki de [gülüyor].

Participant 19 [...] “durmadan yürüyeceğime , durmadan çalışacağıma and içerim” öyle bir şey söyledi galiba. Dedi ki komutanım olur mu durmadan çalışılır mı. [Gülüyor] [...]çocuk yemin ediyor ya, yemin ettiği için durmadan çalışacağıma...

Participant 27 [...] Her neyse komik birşeyler anlatayım, yeter bu kadar işkence anlattığım.

Participant 27 [...] Bir şekilde kendimiz belki de onun daha komik taraflarını bulup yaşadıklarımızı hafifletmeye mi çalışıyorduk bilmiyorum ama bize müthiş komik bir adam gibi gözüküyordu.

Social Support

Participant 28 [...] Yani böyle bir insan olmasaydı derken böyle iyi biri insan olmasaydı ben bu yaşadıklarımın atında ezilir giderdim.

Participant 1 [...] aileye anlatarak o mücadelemın içeriğini işte, anname o şekilde anneme rahatlatıyordum işte.

Affective Disengagement

Participant 19 [...] Geldi, bana dedi ki, abi dedi, yav gerçekten asacaklar değil mi dedi. Bana aynen bunu söyledi biliyor musun. Genç bir çocuk, dedim boş ver ya ne yaparlarsa yapsınlar ya.

Keeping Hope Alive

Participant 17 [...] Yani o zorluklara bizi belki de durmamızı sağlayan tek bir şey, bunun sürekli olmayacağı, bir gün mutlaka biteceği, veya bizim devrimci irademizdir diye biz hep ona yoruyorduk.

Rationalization

Participant 14 [...] askeri şeyin mantığını bilirsiniz, bir tank cezalandırılır, yıllarca bir dağın başında bekletilir. O koğuş cezalı koğuş.

Participant 15 [...] Tabi, hakim savcı, yani niye komutanım dedi, niye komutanım diyorsun mesela, niye bunu size söylettiren şey nedir, siz askermisiniz bunu söylüyorsunuz diyemiyorlardı çünkü normal ordaki bir kardiyan gibilerdi onlar

Denial

Participant 11 [...] İyimserliğimi devam ettiriyorum. [gülümsüyor] İnşallah diyoruz ki bu devletin kendi öz ve öz şeyi değildir. Yani ferdidir. Yani o şekilde ferdi olarak düşünüyorum genelde.

Wish for Death

Participant 9 [...] Ranzaya geliyorum bakıyorum, gelsem başımı vursam diyorum, kurtulabilir miyim diyorum. Bize jilet vermiyorlardı, kibrit çöpü vermiyorlardı [ağlıyor].

Participant 16 [...] öyle bir koşul oluşturdular ki bizi, ölmek istiyorsun artık ölemiyorsun. Ölme şansın yok.

Mental Disengagement

Participant 29 [...] insan bunları düşünerek yaşayamaz. [...] mesela ben çok oralarda şey yapmak kalmak istemiyorum bir anlamda böyle içine gömmek

Behavioral Disengagement

Participant 14 [...] Tablo yapardım, resim yapardım, resimim bayağı iyi idi. Yağlıboya tablo yapardım, eşe dosta. Özellikle alırdım, düşünün işte gelirdi şu duvar büyüklüğünde bir yer, 15 dakika içerisinde resim olacak. 15 dakika içerisinde bu duvarları resim yapacaksın.[...] Tövbe ettim asla o gün bugündür elime fırça almadım, resim yapmadım, bıraktım.

Fantasy and Need for Justice

Participant 9 [...] Adamlar gelir derdi "ben bunun için iftira atmışım veyahut da ben istemeyerek benim ifademde bunun ismi geçmiş, ben şöyle yapmamışım, beni bırakırlardı. Ben böyle hayal ediyordum. "Adalet mülkün temeli" [Ağlayarak]

Participant 15 [...] Bu ilk başlarda çok katı olmaya götürdü, çok ben mesela bazen işte diyelim o 88 doksa, 89 yıllarında o köy korucularına yönelik yapılan eylemler işte çoluk çocuk böyle öldürülürken büyük bir haz duyuyordum. O kadar katı düşünüyordum. Diyordum yani korucuysa o zaman onlara ait canlı hiç bir şey bırakmamak lazım yani herşeyi imha etmek lazım.

Suppression

Participant 17 [...] Cezaevinin bendeki yarattığı tahribatı, bir tanesini şimdi hatırladım, unutkanlık. Yani öyle belirgin bir şekilde cezaevine direk bağlıdır diyebilir miyim, diyemez miyim bilmiyorum ama, geçmiş olayları çok rahat hatırlamakta zorluk çekiyorum. Özellikle simaları.belki geçmişin bastırmasıdır yeni ortaya çıkıyor, onu bilemiyoruz tabi.

Social Comparison

Participant 14 [...] O anlatmak istediklerini anlatsa var ya, hayret edersin. Bizim yaşamadığımızın belki on mislini onlara yaşatmışlar. Hem işkence, hem hakaret hem dayak, tacit etme, hem de küfür etme. Şimdi bir Kürt kadının onuruyla, kişiliğiyle....

Positive Affect as a Coping Mechanism

Participant 6 [...] dünyanın en mutlu insanı oldum

Coping Mechanisms to Decrease Effects of Torture After being Released

Positive Growth

Participant 15 [...] insanlığımı daha, insanlara sevmeyi, insanlara değer vermeyi, işte dünyada insandan daha kutsal bir şey olmadığını ve bunun için her bedelin verilmesi gerektiğine inanma inancımı bende geliştirdi.

Emotions

Participant 6 [...] o kadar, o insanlar kadar, o insanlara acıdığım kadar kendime acımış değilimdir. Ve hüngür hüngür ağladım, hüngür hüngür ağladım.

Participant 14 [...] O sıcakta, 45-50 derecede sıcakta bize ayak uydurması mümkün mü? Paso dayak yedi. Yok niye ayağımı uyduramıyorsun! Yaşlı adam!

Participant 1 [...] Şeye karşı bir öfke duyuyorsun, benim arkadaşımı ne suç işledide işkenceyle öldürüldü.

Participant 19 [...] Ordan bakıyorum neyse, onlara hakaret yapıyorlar ondan sonra domalmalarını istiyorlar, domalıyor zavallılar işte. O zaman çok çok özür dilerim, sizden de çok çok özür dilerim...

Participant 18 [...] Yani öyle, yani sen kendini burda yalnız, kimsesiz, yani seni koruyacak hiçbir gücün olmadığı ve orda öleceğini bekliyordun, ne zaman, ama nasıl?

Participant 30 [...] Kendini bir hi olarak gryorsun. nk seni deęersizleřtirmiř yani.