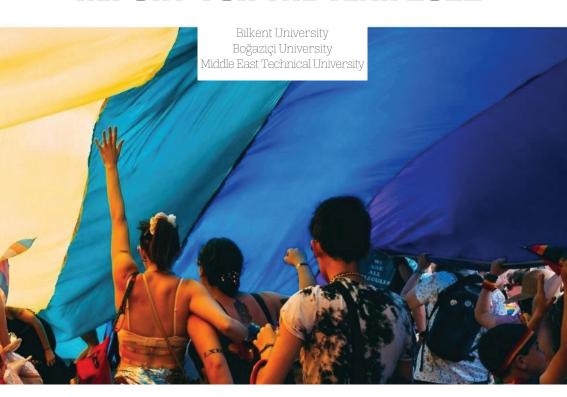


PRIDE MARCHES ON CAMPUSES REPORT FOR THE YEAR 2022









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1. Background Information on Pride Marches Held on Campuses

In 1969, 4 days of protests were organized, which started with the reaction to the oppression, violence, and discrimination at the Stonewall Inn bar. The events that took place are regarded as a turning point in the struggle for LGBTI+ rights, and known as Pride Week, Pride Month, and Pride March. Pride Month events are held in many parts of the world during June, culminating in the organization of Pride March on the last day of the month. Pride Marches represent the struggle for existence of LGBTI+.

After the first Pride March was held in Istanbul in 2003, similar marches have been organized in many cities. Pride Marches have been held in universities in Turkey, including at Middle East Technical University since 2011, Boğaziçi University since 2012, and Bilkent University since 2015. Article 34 of the Constitution guarantees the right of everyone to organize unarmed and peaceful meetings and demonstration marches without prior permission. Interventions, detentions, and investigations against individuals who exercise their constitutional rights are unlawful; however, they are often conducted to suppress and restrict people's freedom of expression. Meetings and demonstrations are a fundamental democratic right for every person, and any attempt to prevent the exercise of this right constitutes a clear violation of human rights.

After the Gezi Protests, the Pride Marches, which had taken place without any issues for years, began to face obstacles. The Pride Marches, which had previously taken place without any issues both on and off campus and had attracted hundreds of thousands of participants in previous years, began to face police violence and bans after 2014. In 2015, the Pride Week Committee was informed that the Istanbul Pride Parade was banned, citing the month of Ramadan as a reason. For the first time, the Pride Parade faced severe police intervention. "During a Pride March in Turkey, a participant was dragged for meters by a water cannon mounted on a TOMA (riot control vehicle). The Trans Pride March held in 2015 did not face any prohibitions or violence.

Once again, for the marches scheduled to be held in 2016 (for both the Pride March and the Trans Pride March), the Governorship of Istanbul announced on its website that the marches were banned on the grounds of 'security and public order'. After the marches, disproportionate use of police violence and detention of participants (19 people and 11 people respectively) were reported. Lawsuits were filed against people for violating the Law on Meetings and Demonstrations No. 2911, but all of the accused were ultimately acquitted. Likewise, in 2017, the Governor's Office announced on its website that the Pride

¹ Source: https://www.facebook.com/events/426924094133650/?active_tab=about

March was banned. The reason given for the ban was that Taksim Square was not listed as one of the designated areas for meetings and demonstrations. In 2017, the dose of police violence increased, rubber bullets and pepper spray were used during the attack, and street crossings were prevented with TOMAs. Police even used the color of people's clothing as a reason to prevent them from entering Istiklal Street. As in previous years, 29 people were detained during the 2017 Pride March, and a lawsuit was filed against them for violating Law No. 2911 on Meetings and Demonstrations. However, as before, all of those accused were ultimately acquitted. The last Trans Pride March was organized this year, with police intervention and detentions.

The Governorship's prohibition practices, which were previously limited to public areas, became cast in concrete by spreading to university campuses. As a result, university rectors started using the Governorship's bans as a pretext to pressure and restrict student activities. In 2017, the Ankara Governorship banned all events indefinitely based on the State of Emergency Law. An action for annulment was filed against this decision and the decision was annulled by the Administrative Court.

In 2018, a march was held in Istanbul despite being banned by the Governor's Office, and harsh interventions were made by the police, resulting in the detention of 11 people. In 2018, Middle East Technical University attempted to ban the march by sending mass emails to its students, citing the Governor's ban in 2017. However, as with all previous bans, the march took place. Again in 2018, the Governor's Office declared an indefinite ban on Pride events in Ankara. However, a lawsuit was filed against this ban, and ultimately the ban was lifted.

In 2019, as the crowd dispersed after the Pride March in Istanbul, there were harsh interventions by the police resulting in the detention of 5 people. However, no lawsuit was filed. In Ankara, the Middle East Technical University announced that it banned the march again. However, an administrative lawsuit was filed against the ban, and ultimately the ban was lifted. During this march, there were incidents of police violence and 22 people were detained. Additionally, 19 people were prosecuted as a result of the march. All of these individuals were ultimately acquitted of the charges filed against them, which included "participating in illegal meetings and marches" as well as "failure to disperse spontaneously despite a warning".

Due to the pandemic in 2020, all events were held online. In Istanbul and Ankara, detentions (42 people) took place in 2021, again due to the Governor's ban and police attacks. Similar to previous years, bans on marches were

enforced at the Middle East Technical University, resulting in police entering the campus and using disproportionate violence. During the Boğaziçi protests in 2021, 12 people were sued on March 20 for carrying the rainbow flag, and all of them were acquitted.

In 2022, as hate speech increased, the police besieged and detained 70 people at Boğazici University. Istanbul Pride March witnessed a record number of detentions for the first time with a total of 373 people being detained. Middle East Technical University, on the other hand, continued the banning tradition in 2022. METU LGBTIQAA+ Solidarity requested permission to organize a Pride March from the school administration, but the request was denied. The school administration announced the ban on the march via email to its members. After the ban on the Pride March at the Middle East Technical University, a lawsuit was filed to challenge the ban. However, even though the court requested a stay of execution, it was not granted. On June 10th, 2022, police intervened with rubber bullets, shields, batons, and tear gas during the march in the Middle East Technical University, leading to the detention of 38 people. Investigations of the detainees are still ongoing, and no charges have been brought against them yet. The outcome of the administrative lawsuit filed against the Middle East Technical University Rectorate is awaited. However, it is necessary to annul the administrative action, just as the lawsuits previously filed against the Middle East Technical University Rectorate have been. There was no interference or hindrance in the Pride Marches held at Bilkent University.

Prohibiting unarmed and peaceful demonstrations, which are safeguarded by Article 34 of the Constitution and Article 11 of the ECHR, is only permissible if there is a genuine danger present. States have negative obligations not to interfere with this freedom and positive obligations to take the necessary measures for the practical use of freedom. Therefore, it is the duty of the Republic of Türkiye to protect this right by eliminating any unreasonable restrictions that may impede its exercise.

The fact that lawsuits filed against the participants of the marches held after all prohibitions have resulted in acquittal is not a coincidence. There is no concrete evidence of the existence of a real danger in any of the bans. For this reason, prohibitions are unlawful, and marches are a constitutional right.

Despite all the obstructions, oppressions, and prohibitions, the existence of LGBTI+ individuals cannot be suppressed, and they will continue to exist on campus. In 2020, although the pandemic prevented especially students, among the university components, from meeting in person on campus, they

made their presence felt in the campuses when education resumed its normal flow, reminding universities of their existence. This report tracks the university administration's attitude towards the Pride Marches held on campuses in 2022, as well as the banning decisions and any instances of violence or rights violations that occurred in this context. We remind once again that Pride Marches and LGBTI+ existence cannot be banned or criminalized! LGBTI+ rights are human rights!

2. METHOD OF MONITORING

Given the lack of a comprehensive monitoring study on Pride Marches that have been taking place on university campuses for over a decade, coupled with the increasing violations we've experienced in recent years, the ÜniKuir Association has prioritized studies and advocacy efforts aimed at increasing awareness of these violations. The purpose of this report is to monitor the prevention of campus Pride Marches held at METU and Boğaziçi in 2022, as well as the detention of numerous young LGBTI+ supporters during the march and the subsequent disciplinary investigations. Additionally, the report aims to assess any violations of rights and access to justice in lawsuits pertaining to these events, from a rights-based perspective

Various qualitative data analysis methods were used during the monitoring and reporting of Pride Marches held on campuses. Our methods included observations made during Pride Marches, information and documents obtained from case and investigation files, and focus group discussions conducted in September and December.

First of all, Ünikuir representatives participated as observers in the May 20, 2022, Boğaziçi march and the June 10, 2022, Pride March held at METU, taking field notes during both events. Participating in these marches as observers is particularly significant as it allows for the documentation of moments that may not be reflected in the news, contributing to the recording of LGBTI+ history in Turkey. The stakeholders of the march were informed about the observation activity. This report draws on the field notes taken during the observation and information shared with the observers by march stakeholders.

Within the scope of the report, the appeals against cancellation of the scholarships of the students participating in the marches in July, and the criminal cases brought against the Pride Marches on the campuses since November (see Istanbul 58th Criminal Court of First Instance, merits no. 2022/600) were also monitored. However, due to the fact that the first hearing of the lawsuit regarding the Boğaziçi Pride March is scheduled to be held in

three sessions on May 29th, May 30th, and June 1st, only the current situation regarding the lawsuit can be included in the report. The medical reports taken at the entrance and exit of detention of those who were detained during the Boğaziçi Pride March expected to be found in the investigation file were going to be examined as well. However, due to the fact that the investigation file of those detained during the METU Pride March was not registered with the Ankara Chief Public Prosecutor's Office for over 6 months, the information and documents within the file could not be accessed. As a result, their health reports could not be examined.

Finally, the focus group discussions were conducted with participants from the three universities where the Pride March took place. The aim was to gather insights into the various experiences of the participants, from preparation through the Pride March on their respective campuses, and afterwards, to identify and evaluate any problems or rights violations in the context of LGBTI+ rights during the Pride Marches, and to present these experiences in the report.

Focus group discussions were held in September with three different groups:

- Focus group discussions with LGBTI+ students from METU
- Focus group discussions with LGBTI+ students from Boğaziçi
- Focus group discussions with LGBTI+ students from Bilkent

The focus group meetings were conducted with a total of 15 participants, including 6 students from METU, 5 from Boğaziçi, and 4 from Bilkent. These individuals were either members of the LGBTI+ community at their respective universities or had participated in the 2022 Pride March. The meetings aimed to obtain answers to the following questions:

- » How was your preparation for the Pride Marches? Can you explain your approach to politics, inclusion, communication with other components of the university, and obtaining support from outside the university?
- » During your preparation for the Pride Marches, were there any student groups, institutions, or mechanisms that you could support and establish solidarity with? How would you describe this solidarity or support process, if any?
- » What kind of violations or difficulties did you encounter before and during the Pride March, and what do you think are the reasons for these negative experiences or who do you believe is responsible?
- » How would you describe the situation on campus or in the community and in the media after the Pride? As a university student who identifies as LGBTI+, how do you feel about these experiences?
- » According to you, how did individuals and institutions outside of the LGBT community and organizations perform during and after the Pride March in terms of their reactions to what happened? For instance, could you evaluate the

attitudes of members of parliament, political parties, local officials, academics, human rights organizations, and so on, regarding what happened during and after the Pride March?

During focus group discussions, it has been found that there are parallel findings regarding the difficulties experienced in terms of capacity and time constraints during the preparation process, efforts made for inclusivity specifically for Boğaziçi and ODTÜ students, and the challenges in forming alliances with various components of the university. The statements of participants from these two universities indicate the experiences of torture they endured during the intervention in the Pride Marches and their detention, the impact of the solidarity formed after the Pride Marches on the individuals, and the passive attitudes of the media and deputies

A chronological format was preferred when documenting the events and rights violations during the Pride Marches held at Bilkent, Boğaziçi, and METU campuses. The *Pride Marches On Campuses Report For The Year 2022* is the first comprehensive study that includes the attitudes of university administrations towards the Pride Marches, the measures taken to prevent the marches, the events that occurred during the Pride Marches, the subsequent developments, and the experiences of the individuals involved. The report includes sections on the legality of the decisions to ban and intervene in the marches, in addition to the right-based monitoring study. Finally, the report contains recommendations for universities, judicial mechanisms, the parliament, executive body, the United Nations and the Council of Europe, human rights organizations, and professional organizations.

3. ATTITUDE OF THE RELEVANT ADMINISTRATION REGARDING PRIDE MARCHES

3.1. Bilkent Pride March

The Bilkent Pride March was organized by the Bilkent University LGBTQIA+ Student Community on May 13, 2022. It took place on the university campus and was open to the participation of students, graduates, academics, and university staff. Prior to the Pride March, the university administration was contacted, and the march plan was communicated to them. The march started from the front of the FF Building on the campus and ended at the Mayfest lawn. The march lasted approximately one hour and was carried out peacefully with around 150 people in attendance. Banners were displayed, slogans were chanted, and a statement was read at the end of the march. The university

administration requested to review and approve all banners prior to the march as it was an official student club event. The university administration did not hinder the march, and no negative suggestions were made to student club members. There were no law enforcement officers present on campus during the march. The university's private security unit was only present to ensure security and not to disturb the participants. The march ended peacefully without any intervention.



3.2. Boğaziçi Pride March

9. The planning and coordination of the Boğaziçi Pride March has been undertaken by the Boğaziçi LGBTİA+ Student Club for several years. However, the fact that the Boğaziçi LGBTİA+ Student Club, which had the official status of a "candidate student club" but could work as effectively as other clubs that passed the candidacy stage until its closure, was closed by the trustee rector in 2021 negatively affected this planning and coordination process. Boğaziçi University Rectorate and its affiliated units did not recognize the

student club as an interlocutor for this year's Pride Week. Up until the day of the Pride March, the Rectorate did not communicate any decision to the club members; however, it was made known that marches and activities would not be permitted through other clubs and individuals.

The 9th Boğazici Pride March was planned to start on May 20, 2022 at 17:00 at South Campus Square. On the same day, at 16:19, the Boğaziçi University Rectorate sent an email to its members stating: 'Dear students, in order to take the necessary precautions to ensure the safety of the students and quests who will attend the Taş Oda (Stone Room) concerts at our university, and to maintain a peaceful environment during the event, outdoor activities other than the concerts will not be allowed to take place on our campuses during the Taş Oda concerts.' The march was scheduled to begin one hour prior to the start time of the Taş Oda concerts. Without explicitly mentioning the Boğazici Pride March, it is evident that the intention was to prohibit the march just minutes before its scheduled start. Because there is no other outdoor activity planned on the campus that day.



3.3. METU Pride March

METU LGBTIQAA+ Solidarity group, which was never granted official status despite submitting applications, was responsible for planning and coordinating the 10th METU Pride March. In anticipation of possible obstructions by the Rectorate or the Governor's Office, the METU LGBTIQAA+ Solidarity group has launched a campaign ahead of the scheduled march on June 10th, 2022.2 The Rectorate sent an email to its members on June 7th, stating that the march could not take place, without specifically mentioning it as a pride march "Dear Students, we have noticed from various posts that a certain group is attempting to depict our university campus as an center for unauthorized marching activities in the country. The group's proposed march at the METU Campus on Friday, June 10, 2022, was denied. The Dean of Students officially communicated to them that they could hold their march in permitted areas in Ankara, if they wished to proceed with it. In case the group insists on proceeding with the unauthorized march on our campus, despite the denial, we will take all appropriate security measures to ensure safety. Only through mutual trust, open and constructive communication, and understanding can we prevent the great harm caused by such initiatives. As clearly seen in the disruption of the Spring Festival, these initiatives aim to harm the productive, creative, and peaceful academic and social environment, as well as our institutional integrity and our image. In order to achieve this, we believe that all members of the METU community, especially our students, will show the highest sensitivity in this regard.3 This is actually a prohibition decision. In response to the prohibition decision, members of the solidarity group lodged an action for annulment with a stay of execution at the Ankara Administrative Court. However, the court has given the METU Rectorate a 15-day period to prepare their defense and submit the required documentation. The court of first instance rejected the request for a stay of execution several weeks after the march, and the Regional Administrative Court subsequently rejected the appeal.

²https://www.change.org/p/10-odt%C3%BC-onur-y%C3%BCr%C3%BCy%C3%BC%C5%9F%C3%-BC-nde-yan%C4%B1m%C4%B1zda-ol

Amnesty has called for urgent action: https://www.amnesty.org.tr/icerik/odtu-onur-yuruyusune-i-zin-verilmeli#.YqHIzS4RFKs.twitter

³_https://www.unikuir.org/haberler/odtu-rektorlugu-onur-yuruyusu-nu-yaptirmayacagini-acikla-di-07-06-2022



4. LEGAL COMPLIANCE OF PROHIBITION DECISIONS

It is evident that the aforementioned prohibition decisions and proceedings are in violation of Article 34 of the Constitution, Article 11 of the ECHR, and the Law on Meetings and Demonstrations No. 2911. According to the Article 17 of Law No. 2911, "the governor or district governor may postpone a specific meeting for up to a maximum of one month for reasons of national security, public order, prevention of crime, protection of public health, public morality or the rights and freedoms of others, or may ban the meeting in case there is a clear and imminent threat of a crime being committed". It appears that the prohibition decisions made by the administrations do not consider whether the conditions specified in the legislation are fulfilled, and instead consist of arbitrary, unjustified, and vague language. However, according to the Constitutional Court, "In cases where this right is restricted for special reasons such as the specificity of the place of the demonstration or the press release, it must be shown in the decisions of the competent authorities exercising public power (for example, in the police reports issuing the criminal report or in the reasoning of the courts of instance) that the interventions to be made to the demonstrators -in accordance with the orders of the competent authoritiesare necessary for the maintenance of public order and that the penalties are imposed on the grounds that the public order is disturbed or there is a risk of disruption."⁴



We believe that previous annulment decisions by administrative courts effectively prohibited relevant administrations from banning Pride Marches, even without explicitly referencing the march by name. This belief is based on the fact that, in previous years, numerous decisions banning Pride Marches had been annulled by various courts, even when the march itself was not specifically named in the ban. For example, with the decision numbered 2020/845 E. 2020/1916 K. of the 6th Administrative Case Division of the Izmir Regional Administrative Court, the Izmir Governor's Office canceled the ban decision taken in 2019 for the pride march and stated that "The 'Pride March' is a fundamental right and freedom that should be protected in a democratic society because it is aimed at creating awareness and sensitivity in society against the hate, discrimination, and violence that a segment of the community has been subjected to due to their gender identity and sexual orientation. The

 $^{4\,}$ Education and Science Workers' Union and Others Decision of Constitutional Court Application No: 2014/920, 25/5/2017

^{16 |} PRIDE MARCHES ON CAMPUSES REPORT FOR THE YEAR 2022

march contributes to pluralism and peaceful coexistence, and therefore, it must be protected in a democratic society." The 7th Administrative Court of Ankara, in its decision numbered 2019/893 E. 2020/1014 K., annulled the ban imposed by the METU Rectorate on the Pride March in 2019. Additionally, the Ankara Regional Administrative Court rejected the Rectorate's appeal request. Pride Marches have been addressed in ECtHR decisions, which emphasize that the state has a negative obligation not to interfere with peaceful Pride Marches and should take measures to prevent possible attacks on them as part of its positive on to protect the freedom of assembly and demonstration.⁵



⁵ See: (Bączkowski and Others v. Poland, 2007; Alexeyev v. Russia, 2010; Identoba and Others v. Georgia, 2015; Lashmankin and Others v. Russia, 2017; Zhdanov and Others v. Russia, 2019; Berkman v. Russia, 2020)

5. INTERVENTIONS ON PRIDE MARCHES

5.1. Boğaziçi Pride March⁶

On the day of the Pride March (May 20, 2022), the university administration made a decision that differed from other days: each student was only allowed to invite one visitor to the campus. The entry of graduates was not restricted. It has been reported that the reason for having a single entrance with an x-ray device for bags and belongings on the day of the Pride March was due to the concurrent Taş Oda Music Festival on the campus. As a result, there were issues with bringing in banners, placards, flags, and other similar items onto the campus. 9. As the time for the Boğaziçi Pride March approached, people began to gather in South Campus Square with flags and banners. When it was time for the march, it was observed that there were 300-400 people in total in the area. No obstacles were encountered during the assembly. However, the number of plainclothes police and private security guards around Pride March participants has steadily increased over time. Many participants expressed concern about this increased security presence, and some people chose not to join the group because they thought that it would be intervened.

A few minutes before the scheduled start of the march, a group of people, which included private security guards and plainclothes police, approached the march committee, and expressed their desire to meet with them. During the meeting, the group stated that the march would not be allowed and warned of potential problems if the committee persisted with their plans. At the scheduled time for the march, the group started to move towards the North Campus, departing from the South Square. As the group proceeded towards the North Campus, they were met by many private security guards who blocked their path. The security guards stated that they would not allow the march to continue and suggested that a press statement could be made in the area instead. They also warned that if the march persisted, they would call the police to intervene. At the same time, individuals suspected to be plainclothes police were observed standing behind the private security guards, constantly videotaping the crowd. This is contrary to Article 11/2 of Law No. 2911. This was likely because, as per the aforementioned law, the sounds and images of participants and speakers in meetings and demonstration marches can be recorded by law enforcement in a manner that makes it clear they were taken by authorities. It seems that the individuals who were taking images of the group were in plain clothes and did not present their identity cards or

⁶_https://www.unikuir.org/haberler/polis-9-bogazici-onur-yuruyusune-saldirdi-20-05-2022 and https://twitter.com/unikuir/status/1527649012853219328?s=20&t=dCviuv9UtNLpLIUoXrySng (Access Date: 30.12.2022)

other forms of identification to the group. They did not disclose their identity as police officers through any means to the group or its representatives. As the negotiation was unsuccessful, the group decided to march in the opposite direction and moved away from the square. The group continued their march with slogans for a while, but then they were once again blocked by private security. Meanwhile, riot police entered the campus through the Etiler gate. The group changed their route once again and gathered in front of the former room of the closed BÜLGBTİA+ Club. The march was going to end by making the press statement here. However, just at this time, the riot police came to the area and attacked the group using shields and batons, without giving any warning or announcement, without giving any time to disperse. In a short time, the participants of the march were surrounded by the police. There was no display of non-peaceful behavior among the LGBTI+ individuals who gathered for the Pride March. However, the Director of the Security Branch announced that individuals who remained within the circle would be detained. The request of the students and lawyers who were in the circle to "open a corridor" for those who wanted to disperse was rejected. Those who tried to take images of rights violations were pushed away from the area by the police and private security guards. Thus, 70 people, including 1 instructor, were taken into custody.



Several students were subjected to violence during the detention, and many were handcuffed behind their backs, which is a violation of Article 93 of the Code of Criminal Procedure. Even though Article 147 of the Code of Criminal Procedure recognizes it as a fundamental right, the relatives of the detainees were not informed. It was only during the deposition process that a request was made to prepare a report to inform the detainees' relatives. As a routine practice, the detainees were taken to different hospitals for health check-ups before going to the police station. The health check procedures took longer than expected, the detainees faced difficulties in accessing water and toilet facilities, and their handcuffs were not loosened or untied. These unlawful violations were only ended through the intervention of lawyers in some hospitals. Medical examinations were not conducted in full compliance with the Manual for the Effective Investigation and Documentation of Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, Degrading Treatment or Punishment (Istanbul Protocol). As a result, the examination of the detainees was not conducted "from head to toe," and the forensic report failed to reflect all physical and psychological findings.

The forensic (health) reports taken after the detainees were taken to the hospital before being transported to the police station revealed that 18 individuals had more than one hyperemia, ecchymosis, or abrasion on various parts of their body, such as their arms, back, legs, chin, and/or elbow. Additionally, 22 people had significant handcuff marks on both hands. One individual had a purple-colored ecchymosis on their forehead, under their right eye, scalp, and chest, multiple hyperemia in the neck and arm, and abrasions on both knee joints and elbows. Another person had multiple abrasions on the neck and ecchymosis on their neck. One individual had a laceration in their nose, as well as hyperemia and abrasions on their forehead and eyebrows, and more than one ecchymosis on their arms, underarms, and back. One person experienced pain in their arms and neck, while 12 individuals reported being subjected to mental violence. Finally, one individual experienced anxiety. However, the medical reports of 15 individuals were not included in the UYAP system, which is where the investigation file was being examined. Consequently, the forensic reports of these individuals could not be analyzed.

After health checks, the individuals taken to Istanbul Police Headquarters Vatan Campus Security Branch Directorate were released from various hospitals after giving statements that they were accused of violating Law No. 2911. Many lawyers provided legal support to those detained at the police station. At the same time, a lawyer representing the Ankara Bar Association Human Rights Center participated in the interviews with the detainees and kept a record containing their statements. Nevertheless, this record has not been transformed into a report or revealed to the public yet. Despite

persistent inquiries from the lawyers, law enforcement officers did not provide information on which hospital each individual would be released from. The mean time between capture and release was 8 hours.

Furthermore, around 30 individuals who were waiting outside the Istanbul Police Headquarters (Vatan) to hear from their detained relatives, or to offer assistance, were informed by the police that they could not wait there. After a short discussion, those who were waiting had to leave because they threatened to take them into custody.



5.2. METU Pride March⁷

Starting from the morning of the 10th METU Pride March, the Rector's Office has prohibited graduates from entering the campus, and METU members, including professors, are not permitted to receive visitors. As a result, the

7https://www.unikuir.org/haberler/rektorluk-yasakladi-odtu-de-polis-yine-onur-yuruyu-su-ne-saldirdi-10-06-2022; https://twitter.com/unikuir/status/1535159345931030528?s=20&t=8LW8knNcnJCzLitFdo9rHA and https://twitter.com/odtulgbti/status/1535176459526057984 (Access Date: 30.12.2022)

entrance of press members and representatives from non-governmental organizations to the campus was prevented. Several hours before the march was scheduled to begin, it was observed that numerous riot police buses were stationed at the gates of the campus, with several plainclothes police officers, internal services officers, and private security quards positioned inside. Two hours before the scheduled march at 18:00, the police and internal services officers began harassing those gathered on the lawn of the Physics Department, which was the starting point of the march, as well as the people surrounding them. Thereupon, the crowd decided to start the march earlier at 17:30. Thus, the meeting began in front of the Chemistry Department. The group, which grew in a short time, chanted slogans with various flags used by the LGBTI+ movement for a while. The group then marched towards the engineering departments. It has been learned that the march was taken on a shortened route out of concern for potential police intervention. At around 17:55, when the march was completed and the press release was being read, a large number of riot police and police officers quickly entered the area. The crowd was attacked with shields, pepper spray and rubber bullets. No warning was given, and no time was given for the dispersal. The crowd was divided into two and force was used to prevent them from coming together. While some individuals were arrested here, most of the group dispersed in various directions.. Meanwhile, the deputies who wanted to enter the campus were not allowed access to the campus.8 Some buildings were locked by the Rectorate before the march, even though it was the exam period. Pepper spray continued to be used on campus for a long time. Students who took shelter in the buildings of various departments and faculties were forcibly taken out. The police waited for a long time at the doors of these buildings and randomly detained some students whom they thought were participating in the march. During the interventions, students were frequently prevented from taking pictures. However, the media reported that many individuals were subjected to severe violence by the police during the detention process. No non-peaceful behavior was observed among LGBTI+s who came together for the Pride March. Despite this, 38 students were detained in total. Contrary to Article 93 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, many students were beaten and subjected to reverse handcuffing during the detention process. In fact, one person was transferred to another hospital during the health check because he received a heavy blow to his head.

At the Ankara Gazi Mustafa Kemal Occupational and Environmental Diseases Hospital, where the detainees were taken for medical examination, the lawyers wanted to see their clients in custody. However, they were prevented by the

⁸ https://mobile.twitter.com/unikuir/status/1535283651805683715



police using physical and verbal violence. Meanwhile, it was learned that the police were in the room during the medical examinations, but the lawyers were not approached. Lawyers have kept a record on this matter. This situation is contrary to the regulation "The right of the lawyer to consult with the suspect or the accused, to be present during the interview or interrogation, and to provide legal assistance shall not be prevented, restricted at any stage of the investigation and prosecution phase. "in paragraph 149/3 of the Code of Criminal Procedure. It was observed that the individuals who were escorted out of the examination and placed in the police car were shouting that the police didn't allow them to be alone with the doctor during the examination. The police also ran criminal background checks on non-lawyers who were waiting outside the hospital out of concern for the well-being of their loved ones. A video recording shows that a person who sustained a head injury during his detention was transferred from Gazi Mustafa Kemal Hospital to Ankara City Hospital for further treatment. However, while being put into a police car, three police officers continued to beat him, and lawyers have filed a report on this incident.



According to the forensic health reports of the detainees who were taken to the hospital before being taken to the police station, it was revealed that 22 individuals had multiple instances of hyperemia, ecchymosis, or abrasions on various parts of their bodies including their arms, backs, legs, faces, necks, chests, and elbows. In addition, one person had head trauma and exhibited hyperemic areas and abrasions on several parts of their body.

The detainees were then taken to the Security Branch Directorate of the Ankara Police Headquarters for questioning on charges of violating Law No. 2911 and resisting the arresting officers. Many lawyers have provided legal support here. However, the process of obtaining legal advice, taking statements, organizing relevant documents, and obtaining signatures from the security branch officers progressed at a very slow pace. For this reason, the transactions continued for a long time. The detainees were released from various hospitals far from the center after their statements were taken. The average time between capture and release was 10 hours.

Among those detained was one foreign student. Despite the release of other individuals, this person remained in detention and was subsequently transferred to the Akyurt Removal Center on the following day. He was released after being held here for one night unjustly.

Moreover, despite over six months having passed since the 10th METU Pride March, the Ankara Chief Public Prosecutor's Office has yet to launch an investigation into the matter." It was only during the first week of January 2023 that the investigation file was finally recorded. As a result, the detainees and their lawyers were unable to examine the investigation file for an extended period of time. It is evident that this situation deviates from the regular legal procedures and presents a significant hindrance for the accused individuals to access the investigation file, obtain documents and evidence, and exercise their right to legal defense."

Upon reviewing the investigation file, it was discovered that the phrase '-so-called-' had been added before instances of the words 'Pride March' and 'Pride Week' in several sentences within the incident report compiled by law enforcement personnel on the day of the incident, which had been signed by numerous police officers. (For example, -so-called- pride week)

6. LEGAL COMPLIANCE OF THE INTERVENTION TO THE MARCHES

The freedom of assembly and demonstration, as acknowledged in literature and jurisprudence, is a fundamental pillar of a democratic society. If a peaceful assembly or demonstration poses no threat to public order and does not involve violent behavior, the state should not impede or obstruct the exercise of this right. It is clear that Pride Marches fit the definition of peaceful demonstration in every respect.

The jurisprudence of both the ECtHR and Constitutional Court outlines specific criteria for the limitation of fundamental rights and freedoms. These criteria include the lawfulness and predictability of the restriction, the legitimate aim of the restriction, and the necessity and proportionality of the restriction in a democratic society. It is evident that the primary purpose behind the ban decisions issued by the Rectorate concerning the Pride Marches is to prevent the LGBTI+ community from exercising their right to freedom of assembly and demonstration. No Pride March was permitted to take place outside the campuses in 2022. In many locations, these marches were met with harsh interventions, resulting in the detention of hundreds of people. Prohibiting demonstrations and resorting to detentions as a means of intervention should

⁹ See: AYM (Constitutional Court), İlhan Yiğit, Application No: 2016/7532, 2021

be a last resort, but unfortunately, it has become a common practice. It is not possible to accept that Pride Marches held on different dates and in different locations meet all of the aforementioned restriction conditions. On the other hand, pride marches have been held many times in the past years on campuses and in many parts of Turkey, and the peaceful atmosphere has not been disturbed. Just last year, the 8th Boğaziçi LGBTI+ Pride March was held on campus. In light of all this, it becomes evident that interventions made during pride marches are not compatible with the regime of restricting rights.

In addition to the intervention of law enforcement in pride marches, the manner in which they intervene is also unlawful. In Article 16 of the Police Duties and Powers Law, the limits of the police's power to use force are determined. According to this article, "If the police encounter resistance while doing their duty, they are authorized to use force in order to break this resistance and to the extent that it will. Within the scope of the authority to use force, weapons can be used when the physical strength, material power and legal conditions are fulfilled in a gradually increasing proportion according to the nature and degree of resistance and in a way that will render the resisters ineffective. It is not reasonable to consider actions such as individuals arriving at a peaceful demonstration, remaining in the area, chanting slogans, or engaging in dialogue with the police as 'resistance against the police'. However, the METU and Boğazici Pride Marches were intervened without meeting the necessary conditions and without complying with the orders determined by the law. When confronted with a meeting or demonstration that law enforcement officials deem unlawful, the first step is to issue a warning to the group in a manner audible to everyone, calling for the dispersal of the group repeatedly, specifying the direction of the group's dispersal, and allowing a reasonable period of time for individuals to comprehend the situation and make a decision. However, if individuals persist in not dispersing, law enforcement officials may intervene in a proportional manner in accordance with the law. Moreover, not only is any intervention in the Pride Marches not in compliance with the law, but also the specified order and conditions have not been adhered to, even if it is believed that the Pride Marches are in violation of the law.

Furthermore, preventing journalists and citizens from taking pictures during police interventions and even subjecting them to violence from time to time, not only obstructs the documentation of unlawful acts but also prevents society from observing and monitoring the actions of the administration and political power in matters of public interest.

7. EXPERIENCES AFTER THE PRIDE MARCHES

7.1. STATEMENT MADE BY THE RECTORATE AFTER METU PRIDE MARCH

On 13.06.2022, the METU Rectorate sent a statement to its members via e-mail:

"Dear METU Community,

Due to the dissemination of misleading and biased information and comments regarding the events that occurred on our campus on Friday, June 10, 2022, it has become necessary to provide information and explanations to enlighten the public.

According to Article 34 of the Constitution titled "The right to hold meetings and demonstration marches", "Everyone has the right to organize unarmed and peaceful meetings and demonstration marches without prior permission. The right to hold meetings and demonstration marches shall be restricted only by law on the grounds of national security, public order, prevention of commission of crime, protection of public health and public morals or the rights and freedoms of others The formalities, conditions, and procedures to be applied in the exercise of the right to hold meetings and demonstration marches shall be prescribed by law". According to Article 3 of the Law No. 2911 on Meetings and Demonstrations "Everyone has the right to organize meetings and demonstration marches without prior permission, unarmed and without attack in accordance with the provisions of this Law, for certain purposes that are not considered a crime by law."

On the other hand, according to Article 10 of Law No. 2911 titled "Giving a Notice", 'In order for a meeting to be held, a notification signed by all members of the organizing committee must be submitted to the governorship or district governorship of the location where the meeting will be held, at least forty-eight (48) hours before the meeting during working hours'" On June 10, 2022, when we first heard about the meeting and demonstration planned on our campus, it was unclear whether there was a regulatory committee in place for this event and whether the governorship had been notified, as required by law. However, it is known that our university campus is not among the locations designated for meetings and demonstrations under Article 6 of the Law, and it is also considered a prohibited area under Article 22 of the same law as it includes buildings and facilities that provide public services.

In addition, we have received information from various sources that numerous

groups and individuals from outside our university will also take part in the aforementioned meeting and demonstration march, and that there is a possibility of criminal activities taking place. Should such an event occur, it is evident that the safety of people's lives and property may be at risk, individuals' rights and freedoms may be curtailed, and public property, particularly academic and administrative units on our campus, as well as various businesses, may be damaged. As a matter of fact, the 7th article of the Law titled "Time for meetings and demonstrations" stipulates that meetings and marches in open spaces can be held in a manner that they disperse with the beginning of night-time. It was observed that the meeting and demonstration march of June 10, 2022, which was shared on different platforms to start at 18.00, partially continued during the night, as previously anticipated.

For all these reasons;

As stated in Article 17 of the Law under the heading "Postponement or Prohibition of Meetings in Certain Cases", "The regional governor, governor or district governor may postpone a specific meeting for up to one month or prohibit it in case of a clear and imminent danger of committing a crime for the purpose of maintaining national security, public order, prevention of crime, protection of public health, general morality, or the rights and freedoms of others." Additionally, Article 24 of the law under the title "Dispersal of Meetings or Demonstrations" stipulates that "in cases where meetings or demonstration marches begin unlawfully, security forces notify the highest local authority with the available means, take necessary measures, and the security forces commander who intervenes in the incident warns the group that they will be dispersed by force if they do not disperse, and if the group still does not disperse, they will be dispersed by force."

As it is known, on Tuesday, June 7, 2022, an announcement was made to the entire METU community stating that an unauthorized march was being planned by a certain group, and that they were trying to portray the METU campus as the center of this march. It was also made clear that such an event would not be permitted, and if the group insisted on carrying out their plans, necessary measures would be taken. It was also observed that the relevant group persisted in different forms of unauthorized activities before this unauthorized marching activity. From June 6 to June 10, six different unauthorized activities and stair painting activities were held in various parts of our campus and in open areas. On Thursday, June 9, 2022, an alumni association organized a meeting and press release in front of the Rectorate building. Approximately 50 people attended, including nine faculty members from our university, as well as individuals who were not employees, students, or graduates of the institution.

Dear METU Community,

Based on the general announcement made to the METU public on Tuesday, June 7, 2022, 2 students filed a lawsuit with the Ankara 8th Administrative Court for the stay of execution. Regarding this case, the relevant court unanimously made an interim decision on 09/06/2022 stating that "According to the nature of the event and the situation of the case, the request for a stay of execution will be examined after the first defense of the defendant administration has been received and the interim decision has been fulfilled, and the duration of the defense and interim decision to be determined as 15 days in accordance with the 5th paragraph of Article 20 and 27 of the Administrative Trial Procedure Law No. 2577" and the written notification of the relevant decision was delivered to the parties on 10 June 2022 at noon.

While the interim decision of the court was obvious, the relevant group that did not comply with the specified time and process in the decision made by the court chose to continue its unauthorized activity. On Friday, June 10, despite all the measures taken, it became apparent during the events that individuals unrelated to METU had somehow illegally entered the campus. It was observed that 10 of the 37 people who were involved in the events and were released after the necessary procedures in custody were not students or employees of our University. It has been found that one of the detainees is an Assistant Professor at Abdullah Gül University. Additionally, two of them were students at Ankara University, one at Mersin University, two at Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University, and one at Hacettepe University. It has been determined that the remaining three people were previously dismissed from our University for various reasons.

In addition to this information, preventative communication measures were established to avoid any undesirable events during this difficult process. In case of potential incidents, meetings were held with various parties such as the Governor's Office, Rector's Office, Legal Counseling, Internal Services Directorate, Police Chiefs and Officers, Academic and Administrative Staff, and Students, either in person or through different communication methods. It is important to note that great effort was put into monitoring all parts of the campus and managing all events taking place there to ensure they were handled as quickly and efficiently as possible with minimum problems. All kinds of legal, administrative, and technical measures will be taken, and efforts will be made to ensure that similar incidents are not repeated. Once again, we would like to emphasize the importance of mutual trust, open, honest, and constructive communication, and understanding in order to maintain the peaceful academic and social environment, institutional integrity, and

positive image of our university, as well as to promote its productivity and creativity. We would like to express our gratitude to all of our students, METU community, and other individuals who demonstrated sensitivity and provided support to help us achieve these goals.

Announced to the METU public. Rectorate."

The comment and explanation of the ÜniKuir Association on this development was as follows:

"The text written by the rectorate regarding the 10th METU Pride March held on Friday, June 10th and sent to METU members, which was claimed to be "enlightening", contains many statements that are far from reality. As ÜniKuir, we would like to correct these statements with an understanding based on fundamental rights and freedoms.

As it is known, the METU Rectorate sent an e-mail on June 7th and said that the Pride March is not allowed and "all kinds of security measures" will be taken in case of a march. In the newly published statement, the unlawful attitude and resulting events were attempted to be justified through the reference to various articles of law. One of them is related to the authority, duty, and responsibility of the governorship in terms of the 10th METU Pride March. The response of the Government of the Republic of Turkey to the UN on 9 April 2020 is as follows:

"According to Turkish legislation, the decisions of the province of Ankara cover only public areas and the campus administration of each university belongs to the rectorate officials. As a result, there is no governor's ban regarding the 9th Pride March held at METU. It is banned by the METU rectorate. The intervention of the security forces, who did not have the right to enter the campus, took place at the request of the METU administration."

The Rectorate made students who were exercising their constitutional rights the target of security forces who lacked the authority to enter the campus, resulting in the torture and detention of 37 individuals. There is nothing "enlightening" about it. Instead, it casts a dark shadow on the norms and principles of human rights. The involvement of security forces in attacking a peaceful march has no legal basis, including the legal regulations cited in the Rectorate's email. This was confirmed by the courts in regards to the METU Pride March The decision made by the METU Rectorate to ban the 9th METU Pride March in 2019 was found to be unlawful and was ultimately

overturned following the ruling of the 7th Administrative Court of Ankara Despite this, the Rectorate, which persists in its error, continues to spread hate speech by issuing statements that single out targets one after another.

The notification process outlined in Law No. 2911 does not require the right holders to obtain permission from the administration to hold meetings and demonstrations. The purpose of the notification process is to inform the state in advance and allow it to take necessary measures to ensure the safety of individuals participating in the peaceful action, which is the state's obligation. It is unreasonable to expect that being informed in 2022 will only depend on the procedure written in the law. The 10th METU Pride March was announced several days in advance through various means, including social media, posters, banners, and face-to-face meetings. The announcement of the 10th METU Pride March should have reached its intended audience, but an illegal statement was made by the Rectorate via email on June 7, and hundreds of police officers entered the campus on the day of the march. The most crucial aspect is that there are numerous judicial decisions stating that failure to comply with the notification procedure does not preclude an action from being peaceful, and any intervention in such cases would be unlawful. Those who want to obtain information on this issue with an approach based on human rights can examine the decision of the ECtHR, Oya Ataman v. Turkey (Application No. 74552/01, 05.03.2007), which states that no formal condition should constitute a "hidden obstacle" to the exercise of the right Again, according to the decision of Açık and Others v. Turkey (B.N. 31451/03, 13.01.2009), it will be seen that it is legal to hold meetings and demonstration marches on university campuses. Moreover, there is no need to explain that the roads between the buildings on the campus do not fall within the scope of the "building", which is the public service as stated in the law.

Subparagraph (e) of paragraph 1 of Article 6 of the Turkish Penal Code regulates what should be understood as "night time". Accordingly, the period of time that begins one hour after sunset and ends one hour before sunrise is defined as night time. In other words, for the day of June 10, 2022, when the sun sets at 20.15, the night time legally starts at 21.15. We would like to correct the misinformation: Since the peaceful pride march was attacked, no meetings or demonstrations were held at this hour.

In summary, the METU Rectorate tried to justify the unjust attack on the peaceful and lawful 10th METU Pride March by presenting illegal regulations that have been convicted by court decisions as being in their favor, while ignoring even the court decisions in which they themselves were involved as a party. As a result of the unlawful actions initiated by the METU Rectorate on

June 7th, 37 of our friends were detained through torture and violence, even while being treated in a hospital.

As ÜniKuir, we firmly believe that Pride Marches are our right, and we hereby declare our commitment to continue the fight against any and all threats to our rights. We also express our solidarity with the queers who, despite facing numerous challenges, continue to defend Pride Marches.



7.2. REACTIONS TO VIOLATIONS OF RIGHTS

Violations of rights in METU and Boğaziçi Pride Marches have been on the agenda especially on social media and news sites. In addition, statements were made by the LGBTI+ organizations and stakeholders of universities.

LGBTI+ associations: "We stand by METU LGBTIQAA+ Solidarity, METU queers and all Pride Marches." Ünikuir, on the other hand, has released separate

¹⁰ https://www.unikuir.org/haberler/lgbti-dernekleri-odtu-ve-canakkale-onur-yuruyusleri-icin-ortak-basin-aciklamasi-13-06-2022 (Access Date: 30.12.2022)

statements regarding both marches.11

9. LGBTI+ associations¹² and student clubs¹³ have released separate statements regarding the illegal practices that took place during the Boğaziçi Pride March.

In response to the illegal practices that occurred during the 10th METU Pride March, METU Components (including the METU Alumni Association, METU Faculty Members Association, and Eğitim-Sen METU Workplace Representative)¹⁴, METU student clubs¹⁵, and families of LGBTI+ associations¹⁶ have released separate statements.

8. CURRENT STATE

8.1. Boğaziçi Pride March

Following an investigation into the individuals detained for participating in the 9th Boğaziçi Pride March, the Istanbul Chief Public Prosecutor's Office has filed a lawsuit against 70 people. The lawsuit demands that they be punished, ranging from six months to three years, for the crime of resistance as specified in Article 32 of Law No. 2911. In addition to the crime of resistance, one person has been charged with resisting and insulting a public official in order to avoid fulfilling their duties as outlined in Article 265 of the TPC. Another individual has been charged with resisting in order to avoid performing their duties, in addition to the charge of resistance. The first hearing of the case is scheduled to take place in three days. It will be heard at the Istanbul 58th Criminal Court of First Instance on May 29th, 30th, and June 1st.¹⁷

Upon examining and evaluating the indictment prepared by the Public Prosecutor in accordance with Article 170 of the Criminal Procedure Code, it has become apparent that there are some illegalities.

• In subparagraph f of paragraph 170/3 of the CMK, it is stated that the identity of the complainant will be written in the indictment. The complainant in the indictment is a police officer identified as the Security Branch Manager with

11https://www.unikuir.org/haberler/kayyumlar-gidecek-lgbti-lar-kalacak-20-05-2022 and https://www.unikuir.org/haberler/lgbti-lara-bu-zulmu-reva-gorenlerden-hesap-soracagiz-13-06-2022 (Access Date: 30.12.2022)

12https://www.unikuir.org/haberler/lgbti-dernekleri-ortak-basin-aciklamasi-21-05-2022

13https://www.unikuir.org/haberler/turkiye-39-nin-dort-bir-yanindaki-universiteli-lgbti-toplu-luklarindan-bulgbtia-39-ya-ortak-destek-22-05-2022

14https://twitter.com/odtu_md/status/1534803173885583360

15https://www.instagram.com/p/Cei3mPalHz9/

16https://twitter.com/listagdernegi/status/1534197320987852802

17https://www.unikuir.org/haberler/9-bogazici-onur-yuruyusu-suclaniyor-bu-davalara-alisma-maliyiz-15-11-2022 and https://www.unikuir.org/haberler/9-bogazici-onur-yuruyusu-davasi-ma-yis-2023-39-te-basliyor-12-12-2022 (Access Date: 30.12.2022)

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registry number 255377, who is in charge under the Istanbul Police Department. Nevertheless, in accordance with established practice, the suspects' full names, Turkish Identification (TR ID) numbers, dates of birth, and their parents' names and addresses have been clearly indicated in the indictment. Contrary to other files, the complaint was favored in this respect due to his position.

- According to paragraph 170/4 of the Criminal Procedure Code, the indictment should explain the events that constitute the charged crime in relation to the available evidence. Any information that is not relevant to the events constituting the charged crime and the evidence of the crime should not be included in the indictment. Upon examination of the aforementioned indictment, it can be concluded that, except for two people, everyone carried out the same actions in the same way and at the same time, and these actions had the same results. This situation is against the natural flow of life. The attributed crime was not discussed on an individual basis, and a general approach was taken.
- The suspects' defenses were included in the indictment in a single sentence, which stated that "they did not accept the accusation against them." However, when the transcripts are examined, it is stated that the march was peaceful and there are allegations and defenses that the police did not give a warning, did not wait for a reasonable time, did not leave space to disperse, and used disproportionate force. These issues were never discussed in the indictment and were not investigated throughout the investigation.
- In Article 170/5 of the Code of Criminal Procedure (CMK), it is stated that "the conclusion section of the indictment shall include not only the issues that are disfavorable to the suspect, but also issues in his favor". However, it is seen that there are no favorable points mentioned in the indictment.
- Even the established slogans of the LGBTI+ movement, which were allegedly chanted by the activists according to the indictment, have been mistyped many times, indicating a careless investigation in this case.

No information was found regarding any legal process regarding the unlawful actions of law enforcement officers or administrators.

No action has been taken concerning the cancellation of the decision of Boğaziçi University Rector's Office to ban the 9th Boğaziçi Pride March, or any legal proceedings against those responsible. In addition, no disciplinary investigation or scholarship/study loan action has been taken against the detainees.

8.2. METU Pride March

The investigation against those detained for participating in the 10th METU Pride March on charges of violating the provisions of Law No. 2911 and resisting to perform their duties as stipulated in Article 265 of the Turkish Penal Code is still ongoing The Ankara Chief Public Prosecutor's Office has not yet taken a decision regarding the investigation on non-prosecution or any other decision.

The lawsuit for the annulment of the decision to ban the march with a request for stay of execution filed by the students at the Ankara Administrative Court on 07.10.2022 continues. The court of first instance requested the necessary information and documents related to the ban decision from the Rectorate to decide on the request for stay of execution with the interim decision it established on 09.06.2022 and gave the Rectorate 15 days for this. The request for a stay of execution was rejected by the court of first instance on 27.07.2022, 47 days after the march, on the grounds that the legal conditions were not met, and the objection to this decision was rejected by the Ankara Regional Administrative Court on 08.09.2022. Upon examining the documents submitted within the scope of the lawsuit, it has been revealed that on June 9, 2020, METU Rector Prof. Dr. Verşan Kök sent a letter to the Ankara Governor's Office with the subject of security measure requesting necessary evaluation and action for the banning, dispersal, and interference of the Pride March. A ban decision has not been taken by the Ankara Governor's Office.

No information was found concerning any legal proceedings related to the unlawful actions of law enforcement officers or administrators.

Furthermore, after receiving written notification from the Ankara Police Department, the Ministry of Youth and Sports cut off the scholarships or education loans of the 7 detained students. Articles 23 and beyond of the Higher Education Credit and Hostels Institution's Education Loan Regulation outline the circumstances under which a student loan may be cut off. Similarly, Articles 24 and beyond of the Higher Education Credit and Hostels Institution's Scholarship-Credit Regulation outline the circumstances under which a scholarship may be terminated. However, neither regulation contains provisions that would allow the Ministry to terminate the scholarships or student loans of the students who were detained during the Pride March. In this way, the Ministry is imposing an arbitrary policy that lacks a legal basis and is not authorized by law. In response to the Ministry's unlawful administrative actions, lawsuits seeking annulment were filed to the Ankara Administrative Courts, along with a request for a stay of execution After 4-5 months, some courts accepted the request for a stay of execution, while others rejected it. The suspension of scholarships or education loans by the Ministry of Youth and Sports in response to the students' exercise of their right to assembly and demonstration constitutes economic violence against them. The increasingly widespread practice of unfairly punishing students for participating in peaceful demonstrations, particularly given the economic conditions in Turkey, creates hesitation among students when it comes to participating in peaceful meetings and demonstrations. Additionally, it is known that the rectorate has initiated a disciplinary investigation against these students. 18

9. EXPERIENCES OF LGBTI+ STUDENTS AT PRIDE MARCHES

9.1. Bilkent University

At the focus group meeting held in December with four students from Bilkent University, participants were asked questions about their preparation for the Pride March, as well as their experiences on the day of the march and afterwards. The absence of any obstruction or interference during the Pride March held at Bilkent University can be considered a significant factor in understanding the students' experiences.

During the 2022 march, which was the first one held since 2019 and the intervening pandemic, the Bilkent University Think Colorfully LGBTQIA+ Student Club made announcements in both English and Turkish as part of their effort to promote inclusivity.

"Bilkent realized that we didn't want to start a fight – we simply wanted to demonstrate our unity and receive support.' Over time, they came to understand us better and began to view us in a more positive light. Thus, our area of freedom began to expand more. " – P., 2022, Bilkent

The students have stated that they stand in solidarity with academics and other communities at the university. They explained that they did not conduct a study during the preparation stage for the Pride March because the university administration did not obstruct or punish the march in any way.

"I look at it more from the academy side. Being supported by the academy is important to me. Faculty members are very supportive. That's why I feel safe at Bilkent. When I came to Bilkent, I felt at home. I used to live in Ankara, but I didn't feel this way. I believe that Bilkent's approach should be taken as an example by other universities." – S., 2022, Bilkent

The primary finding of the focus group interviews with Bilkent students is that those who identify as LGBTI+ and have not had negative experiences in the 2022 and previous year's Pride Marches hold a positive attitude towards their university because they have a campus that allows them to organize and participate in these events.

"It means so much to me, I could talk about it for hours. Pride March is one of the most important and effective activities. This event has high visibility and generates enthusiasm, making it very important for the queers." We experience fulfilling moments where we proclaim our

own existence. 2019 was my first Pride March experience. It was one of the most impressive, unforgettable, and special days of my life. It was an unforgettable day. We were all excited and worried that day. But when we started waving the flags, I felt all the fear and anxiety vanish. It was a moment when I felt infinite courage. I am overjoyed by the fact that we've been able to organize two Pride Marches like this, and I recognize the immense value of it." – U., 2022, Bilkent

9.2. Boğaziçi University

At the focus group meeting held in September with five students from Boğaziçi University, participants were asked questions about their preparation for the Pride March, as well as their experiences on the day of the march and afterwards. Given that the case had not yet been filed at the time of these interviews, it can be considered an important variable in understanding the experiences of the students involved.

The students who organize the march pointed to the processes and pressures that Boğaziçi University students and BÜLGBTIA+ had experienced over the last two years as the reason for the delay in preparations prior to the walk that took place on May 20, 2022. It is reported that the relationship with other clubs in the Inter-Club Committee (KAK) has also changed with the appointment of a trustee.

"KAK was in solidarity with us (BÜLGBTİA+) before the trustee. But then they began to ignore and disregard us" - Y., 2022, student from Boğaziçi

Furthermore, it is possible to observe the impact of the university administration's stance towards Pride Week and the march. Students from Boğaziçi describe the atmosphere a few weeks before the Pride March as follows:

"The movie screening of the Boğaziçi Cinema Club (BÜSK) during the Pride Week in Kilyos was also banned. When the permission requests were submitted to the Inter-Club Committee, the school administration declared that 'pride week will not be permitted'. We (BÜLGBTİA+) were not invited to this meeting. As we understood that events would not be permitted, we could not include location information in the announcement of events on campus. As a result of this situation, participation in events decreased."

Besides the impact of this situation on activities throughout the year, students do not deny its effect on the day of the Pride March. According to the students, protests occurred both during the Taşoda Music Festival and against the installation of x-ray equipment at the entrance gate. They also noted that on the day of the march on the Boğaziçi campus, although there were clubs and initiatives with which they could establish solidarity and organize events together, they were left alone by other components of the university on May 20.

"After the trustees, the pressure at school increased significantly. But more pressure was put on LGBTI+s and their activities. There was a protest at the school on the same day due to the installation of x-ray equipment at the entrance gate, and this protest coincided with the Pride March in terms of timing. The crowd there did not come to support the Pride March." – \$., 2022, Student from Boğaziçi

"Statements were made at the x-ray protests that day, but these statements did not mention what was done at the Pride March. However, while the representatives of that crowd were talking, we were passing by them in the detention vehicle." – S., 2022, Student from Boğaziçi

One important finding of the interviews was that the sense of isolation experienced by LGBTI+ students was reinforced by the attitudes of Boğaziçi University academics.

"We announced the Pride March to the professors and requested them to be with us. They conveyed their love and support to us. But on the day of the Pride March, there were only 3-5 professors with us." - Y., 2022, student from Boğaziçi

The institutions and individuals pointed out by students from Boğaziçi are striking in terms of who is responsible for the violations of rights and torture during the march. Students have pointed to a multitude of actors responsible for the violence and violations of rights they have experienced, including private security guards working at universities, the administrative units of the university, the police, and even government policies. This includes those who remain silent and fail to take action.

The private security personnel encountered a wall of protestors before the police, and were directly involved in the violence that ensued. They act like the vanguard of the police." – HE. 2022, Student from Boğazici "While detaining a friend of ours, the police repeatedly struck him on the head and body against their vehicle. There are also videos. Our friends who were waving the flag in the vehicle were also stuck in the window. If the police had warned to disperse, people would have dispersed. No one is interested in being detained." – S., 2022, Student from Boğaziçi

"I am reflecting on the recent march in Saraçhane, as well as other actions taken by the state. These are the people responsible for this" – Ö., 2022, Student from Boğaziçi

"I believe that the primary cause of what we are experiencing is the government officials who make anti-LGBTI+ statements and enact discriminatory policies. We can observe this phenomenon in the recent circular sent to universities, in the Boğaziçi Resistance labeling LGBTI+ individuals as deviant, and in the statement released by the Istanbul Governor's Office regarding our club." – S., 2022, Student from Boğaziçi

"After the Pride March, the Student Representative Council (SRC) talked to the Student Dean about what happened and asked, 'shouldn't these people be allowed to live?' The Dean's response was, 'let them live, but what they did was ideological propaganda'. We are experiencing the consequences of a policy of violence and marginalization instigated by the current government and trustees. Our living spaces are being taken away from us, they have gradually erased all our gains. They started by making the restrooms gender-specific, then closed down our club, and most recently, responded to the pride march with 70 arrests. I think that those who remain silent about them also bear responsibility." – Ş., 2022, Student from Boğaziçi

The students also highlighted the growing sense of invisibility and isolation, despite the media coverage of the intervention in the Pride March and the subsequent detentions.

"Police violence took place in the media. However, I don't believe that enough action is being taken within the school to address these issues. During the Boğaziçi Resistance, more people used to go to the hospital to meet with the detainees who had been released. We saw that fewer people came to meet us." – Y., 2022, Student from Boğaziçi

"Despite it being the highest number of detentions within the school, it didn't manage to attract much attention. It did not cause any significant reaction within the school either." – S., 2022, Student from Boğaziçi

The students pointed out that besides the LGBTI+ organizations, there was a lack of reaction to the violence that occurred on and after May 20 from deputies, political parties, and human rights organizations, which contributed to the silence and invisibility of the issue in the media. They emphasized that even though calls were made to those individuals and institutions who have a say in the political and civil society arena, they did not come to support on that day.

"There were no members of parliament, political parties, local officials, academics, or human rights organizations. We may not have worked hard enough for this, but all those policies of isolation weaken us. Do we always have to be the ones to reach out? Considering what we've been through, can't they be expected to reach out to us too? Our communication channels are open, why isn't anyone writing to us?" – Y., 2022, Student from Boğaziçi

9.3. Middle East Technical University

At the focus group meeting held in September with six students from Middle East Technical University, participants were asked questions about their preparation for the Pride March, as well as their experiences on the day of the march and afterwards. The cancellation of students' education loans and scholarships during the time of the interviews can be viewed as a crucial factor in understanding their experiences and emotions.

METU LGBTIQAA+ Solidarity, which had been planning for months leading up to the June 10, 2022 march, disclosed that they held meetings with various components within the university and had the goal of fostering solidarity. The group indicated that they undertook various activities aimed at enhancing accessibility, particularly during Pride Week and the march. In order to achieve this, they set up an accessibility committee, which facilitated the dissemination of information about events in multiple languages. Nevertheless, members of the METU LGBTIQAA+ Solidarity group highlighted that their motivation is influenced by both the constraints on their time and labor resources, as well as the stance of the university administration.

We extended invitations to many individuals outside of the university and arranged a diverse array of activities. However, we encountered difficulties in managing these events effectively... As a result of a shortage of workforce and an email sent out by the university administration, the participation rates were disappointingly low For example, I think we use the media well." – E., 2022, METU Student

"I was very nervous during the preparation phase. I was especially nervous about the cops. It was gratifying for me to see that we garnered support from individuals who are either apolitical or not involved in any kind of activism." – Be., 2022, METU Student

According to the students, the presence of both LGBTI+ associations and non-LGBTI+ individuals who demonstrated solidarity, both during and after the march, was a source of strength for them. However, they noted that they did not observe a similar degree of support from other components of the university or from academics.

"To make the campus ready for Pride Week and foster genuine connections with other communities, we engaged in numerous dialogues with other components and groups. Although we managed to make some progress, we encountered some communities that were either hesitant or resistant to join in, perhaps due to their lack of experience with solidarity efforts or their differing perspectives on queer activism. Dealing with these hesitations, encountering a lack of support, and constantly having to clarify our intentions to others had been a draining experience." – A., 2022, METU Student

"Due to the absence of an organic link with the professors, the meetings proved to be unproductive as they either did not show up or failed to honor their commitments. Nevertheless, we spoke to the professors individually ahead of the march, but encountered either reluctance or an unwillingness to provide support from many of them" – I., 2022, METU Student

"Our interactions with political groups were quite poor, and in some cases, completely severed. Either there were too few of them, or we were too new; our network was still quite limited at the time. But the queers who were not part of the solidarity group at METU, but organized under different political movements, offered their support. It gave me the impression that the Pride March could have been organized more collectively." – I., 2022, METU Student

"The Pride March in 2019 had a smaller attendance, but it was still more enjoyable and motivating for us. This year, we were less motivated and more nervous as we considered potential scenarios. The political climate at METU may have played a role, but the 2019 march felt like a collective effort between those in solidarity and politically organized individuals. This year, it felt like a separation between those in solidarity and independent participants." – Ba., 2022, METU Student

The students shared that after the march, those who were detained had their education loans cut off and were given a warning by the university. They also discussed the violations of their rights and the torture they experienced during the march. As for who is in charge, the institutions and individuals pointed out by METU students show similarities with Boğaziçi University students.

"The office of domestic services and the police cooperated. The police and the Rectorate were also acting together." - I., 2022, METU Student

"There were concerns among the students because even the person who recorded the police was taken into custody." - Be., 2022, METU Student

The practice of taking detainees to different locations is a recent tactic aimed at disrupting their solidarity. They are also deliberately slowing down the process in the police station. There is only one room available for lawyers. They didn't allow the toilet for a very long time. There was no food either. There was constant verbal or physical harassment from the police. The doctors at the hospital were also very problematic. In other words, they managed to violate a right at every stage." – I., 2022, METU Student

"We were already taken with reverse handcuffs; even doctors caused human rights violations by examining us with the door open or with police officers in the room. When we asked for a copy of the medical report on the assault, they said 'no, you can get it from the police station, or your lawyer can give it to you'. I could read the first examination; he hadn't written anything about being beaten. But in the second one, the officer who took my statement had written it incorrectly, and we had to make an effort to correct it afterwards." – E., 2022, METU Student

"The vehicle we were taken in was not a detention vehicle. When we asked them to loosen our handcuffs a bit, they said 'there are no other handcuffs, this is not a detention vehicle, it's a service vehicle'. Whether it's a lie or not, it's a violation." – E., 2022, METU Student

"After being caught alone during the detention, they started to use more violence to satisfy themselves. I don't want to tell the details now... I mean, it didn't happen exactly during the intervention, but things happened while I was already in custody anyway." – I., 2022, METU Student

"They were shooting rubber bullets while we were running away. I'm not even talking about firing plastic bullets, but they were aiming for our heads, not our legs or feet." - D., 2022, METU Student

"Some of our friends were hit in the head and needed to have a CT scan. But they also kept them waiting for hours." - E., 2022, METU Student

"The next day, when I looked at the media coverage of the march, I realized that police violence was very evident when we were in a crowd. After the detentions and the crowd dispersed, I saw footage of the police violence escalating and targeting even those who did not participate in the march but were on campus or in the library at that moment. After separating from the group during the march, one of the police buses was empty and they drove the bus towards them while they were trying to disperse. However, we were unable to spread the footage of the incident." – A., 2022, METU Student

"When I think specifically about METU, I think of the Rectorate as being responsible. The e-mail from the rector was full of hate. Whoever brought the police into the school is responsible. Trustees are trying to turn universities into prisons for students." – D., 2022, METU Student

"Following the Pride March, a plainclothes police officer on campus unfairly identified a student as queer based solely on their appearance, resulting in the student being taken to the police station. In reality, this is another way that violence is employed." – E., 2022, METU Student

Apart from the exhaustion felt after the march, it has been noted that the feeling of solidarity with certain university members and LGBTI+ associations, both during and after the march, is more positive than what is experienced in the Boğaziçi.

"Individuals who didn't participate or weren't interested in joining the march came out of the library upon seeing police brutality, and provided their support by chanting slogans that could be heard." – Be, METU Student

"When we went to the hospitals, we were very crowded, and the feeling of solidarity among those present was truly uplifting. In my opinion, we have made a strong impression both through our engagement with the media and our displays of solidarity." – A., 2022, METU Student

"The sense of solidarity was incredibly strong as we were released from detention, and upon arriving at the hospital, we were overjoyed to find our friends waiting for us." - E., 2022, METU Student

"We held a forum at the METU Alumni Association to protest police

violence during the Pride March, and we were joined by the Alumni Association, as well as students, academics, and members of various communities. Afterwards, a press release was made in front of the Rectorate. This was important to us." – Be, 2022, METU Student

"Classes were almost over, and finals were approaching. There were professors who inquired about my well-being and made an effort to assist me" I., 2022, METU Student

Similar to the situation at Boğaziçi, it was noted that journalists, deputies, and political parties failed to respond adequately during and after the Pride March at METU, neglecting to show support for the violence inflicted upon students on campus. They reported that despite the call made to journalists, members of parliament, and local officials, they did not come to support on that day.

"There were no journalists on the march. There were journalists who were METU students, but it would have been better if there were professional journalists. The footage and news that would be produced by a journalist coming from an agency could be more effective." - Ba, 2022, METU Student

"Despite the prevalence of numerous hate crimes and human rights violations, the primary opposition parties and those capable of addressing these concerns remained unresponsive. We did not receive any support from these people. Despite their inability to attend, they did not provide any form of support or even tweet about the matter. Given the numerous detentions that occurred, we expected to see some support at the exit of the detention center. This kind of support would be good. As a positive development, we reached out to HRFT to document cases of torture.— D., 2022, METU Student

"Deputies and local administrators were contacted but they did not come. Ahmet Şık and Sera Kadıgil from TİP came during the detention." -I., 2022, METU Student

Despite all the human rights violations and the pressures to deny the existence and constitutional rights of LGBTI+ students, LGBTI+ students continue to exist and resist on campuses and in the streets.

"Yes, there is something they have broken. But there are also things they cannot break. Even if I am alone, I will march again next year. There are many queers who say the same thing." - Ö., 2022, Student from Boğaziçi

10. RECOMMENDATIONS

a) To the Universities;

- The hindrances to peaceful activities that fall under the purview of freedom of expression and assembly, should be removed from university campuses. It should be acknowledged that campuses are spaces for the exercise of the freedoms of rights holders.
- The invitation of the police to campus under the guise of "security measures" due to peaceful activities should be abandoned.
- During times of action, independent observers, bar associations, medical chambers, media members, and members of parliament should not be prevented from entering the campus.
- LGBTI+ student communities should be officially recognized, and their activities should be supported.
- Instead of statements that target or exclude LGBTI+ people and LGBTI+ student communities, statements that promote peace, pluralism, and tolerance should be made at the university.
- The decisions of the criminal and administrative courts on Pride Marches in the past should be implemented.
- The practices such as disciplinary investigations, eviction from dormitories, and revocation of scholarships that are targeted towards those who participate in Pride Marches and other peaceful activities should be abandoned, as they imply retaliation and can have a deterrent effect on students' involvement in such events.
- University components, including academics, student organizations, students, and workers, should take a stand against violations of Pride Marches and show solidarity with those who organize and participate in the events. This state of solidarity should also extend to other forms of discrimination and violations of rights that individuals may face.
- Private security personnel should be prevented from exceeding their powers, and sanctions should be imposed on those who exceed their powers.
- Orientation programs held at the beginning of the academic year should also include information on students' rights and education on discrimination, violence, and harassment. Particular attention should be paid to the rights of students, especially their right to not be discriminated against, their right to privacy, and their right to freedom of assembly and demonstration, in terms of rights education.
- In addition to orientation, education and seminars on rights should be organized for all university components, not just students. Information on what rights is and what constitutes violation and discrimination should be provided at regular intervals.

b) To the judicial mechanisms;

- The stay of execution mechanism should be effectively implemented in annulment lawsuits filed against the unlawful actions of administrative authorities.
- The illegal actions of law enforcement should be effectively investigated, and the perpetrators should be brought to justice. The policy of impunity for the crime of torture should be abandoned.

- It should be accepted that hate speech is not protected by freedom of expression and the perpetrators should be punished.
- It should be ensured that those who are detained can benefit from legal assistance from a lawyer at every stage, based on the provision of Article 149/3 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, and the attitude and actions of the law enforcement agencies that restrict the application of this provision should be monitored by public prosecutors.
- Investigation files should be recorded both physically and in the UYAP system
 without delay under the supervision of the authorized Public Prosecutor's Office,
 thus enabling the suspects and their lawyers to exercise their rights such as obtaining information and documents from the investigation file, presenting a defense, and submitting evidence.
- Participants of the Pride March should not be subjected to investigations and trials that threaten them with punishment for a prolonged period of time based on unfounded allegations.
- It is important to take prompt action in cases where individuals are unfairly punished for participating in the Pride March or have their scholarship or education loan terminated, to prevent their victimization from prolonging.

c) To the Turkish Grand National Assembly;

- The notification procedure, location and route, time, prohibition, and penalty provisions of the Law on Meetings and Demonstrations No. 2911 should be reconsidered in favor of freedoms in line with the decisions of the European Court of Human Rights, the Constitutional Court, and the Court of Cassation, as well as in accordance with the purpose and spirit of Article 34 of the Constitution and Article 11 of the European Convention on Human Rights.
- The legal provisions that allow governors and district governors to indefinitely ban freedom of assembly and impose other disproportionate restrictions during normal times should be abolished, including the amendments made to the laws, especially the 7145 and 5442 numbered Laws.
- Restrictions on the use of the freedom of assembly and demonstration for non-Turkish citizens should be lifted.
- Legislative provisions regulating the powers of law enforcement agencies with regard to the use of force should be reconsidered in a way that will remedy the problems and human rights violations experienced in practice. In particular, the practice of reverse handcuffs should be defined as torture.
- Necessary measures should be taken to effectively monitor whether the basic needs of detainees are met.
- Interventions against Pride Marches and unlawful practices against participants of Pride Marches should be brought to the agenda within legislative and audit activities. In this context, LGBTI+ individuals should be brought to the agenda in the general assembly, commission meetings, group meetings, and motions submitted to the parliament.
- Members of Parliament should raise the voices of Pride Marches by bringing attention to press statements, expressions of opinion, slogans, and banners that have been censored during the march.
- Reactions should be shown to the statements of some members of parliament

or ministers that criminalize, degrade, and legitimize violence against LGBTI+ individuals.

• The activities of observing, monitoring, reporting, and documenting the meetings and protest marches by journalists, civil society organizations, and professional associations cannot be obstructed, and this should be clearly included in legal regulations.

d) To the Presidency, Governorships, and Police Departments;

- Peaceful meetings and demonstrations should be acknowledged as the foundation of a democratic society, and arbitrary bans and restrictions should be abandoned.
- The intervention methods that are contrary to international standards, legislation, and precedents regarding peaceful meetings and demonstrations should be immediately terminated.
- Every kind of attack on peaceful meetings and demonstrations should be prevented within the framework of positive obligations.
- The attitude of not granting permission for arbitrary investigations in complaints against law enforcement should be terminated.
- Law enforcement officers should receive specialized training on the prohibition of torture and ill-treatment, the rights of suspects, LGBTI+ rights, and non-violent communication.
- The activities of observing, monitoring, reporting, and documenting the meetings and protest marches by journalists, civil society organizations, and professional associations should not be obstructed.
- It should be acknowledged that lawyers can provide legal assistance to the claimants at every stage of criminal investigations, and approaches to the contrary should be prevented.
- Medical examinations at the entrance and exit of detention should be encouraged to take place in accordance with the Manual on the Effective Investigation and Documentation of Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (Istanbul Protocol).
- To prevent ill-treatment in detention vehicles, cameras with audio and video recording capabilities should be installed.
- It should be acknowledged that LGBTI+ individuals have equal rights with all other people, and any attitude or behavior that restricts the rights of LGBTI+ individuals should be avoided.
- Any speech, behavior, or action that denigrates, criminalizes, or targets LGB-TI+ individuals should be abandoned, and sanctions should be imposed on public officials who persist in such actions.

d) To the United Nations and the Council of Europe;

- Pride Marches should be specifically mentioned within the freedom of assembly and demonstration. Lawsuits filed for violations of rights against Pride Marches should be monitored and reported.
- Specific questions should be asked to the government and recommendations

should be made regarding the Pride Marches. The implementation of recommendations given to the government should be effectively monitored.

- Official statements should be made by authorized officials regarding current developments and incidents that have occurred.
- Country visits should continue to be organized in order to document the obstacles, difficulties, and human rights violations encountered in the context of freedom of expression, freedom of association, and freedom of assembly and demonstration
- During country visits, LGBTI+ organizations should be visited to get information and suggestions.
- The Parliamentary Assembly should evaluate the situation of LGBTI+ people in Turkey in terms of freedom of expression, freedom of assembly and demonstration, and if necessary, make a decision. Decisions taken in previous periods should be reminded and their implementation should be followed up.
- Efforts should be made to ensure the implementation of the decisions against Turkey by the oversight mechanisms (committees, the European Court of Human Rights, etc.)
- Detailed statistical information should be requested from Turkey regarding interventions in demonstrations and protests, and complaints about law enforcement officials and civil servants.

d) To the Human Rights Organizations and Professional Organizations;

- Ways of solidarity against human rights violations against LGBTI+ people should be explored, and positive responses should be given to the solidarity calls of LGBTI+ organizations. Communication should be established without waiting for a call during critical periods such as Pride Marches.
- Support statements should be made for Pride Marches, and joint press statements should be supported with institutional signatures.
- All kinds of advocacy work should include the problems and demands of LGBTI+s.
- The minutes kept by bar associations regarding social events and developments, and the reports prepared should be shared with the public, and relevant legal mechanisms should be activated if necessary.
- Medical examinations at the entrance and exit of detention should be encouraged to take place in accordance with the Manual on the Effective Investigation and Documentation of Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (Istanbul Protocol) by the medical chambers. In this regard, it is necessary to cooperate with lawyers and bar associations.
- As the need for lawyers increases due to intense police violence and violations of rights in Pride Marches, bar associations and human rights organizations with a lawyer network should provide lawyer support in coordination with LGBTI+ organizations.



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