

Background

- Turkey's counter-insurgency operations against PKK after 2015 have drawn criticism for mistreating dead bodies of Kurdish militias as well as civilians
- The sovereign's relationship with their subjects do not end once the subject is dead

Questions

- What is the relationship between the sovereign and dead bodies of the enemy other in insurgency wars?
- How are we to interpret different practices and discourses towards dead bodies of the 'enemy other'?

Cases and Methods

- Mutilation of dead bodies of female guerillas and public display
- Attack on the burial ceremony of Hatun Tugluk – mother of pro-Kurdish People's Democratic Party's deputy
- Bodies of YPG fighters who were not allowed to pass the border from Syria to Turkey to be buried in Turkey

Discourse analysis:

How the events are narrated, justified, condemned

How the bodies subject to violence are framed

Who had access to discourse: exclusion and inclusion

State agents' speeches
Pro-government media

	Female Guerillas	Hatun Tugluk	Bodies at the border
Practice	Mutilation Naked Display	Attacks on the funeral	Waited at the border for 13 days
Discourse	Visibility (display) Silenced & Hidden	Politicized	Securitized
Representation	Deviant femininity Object of desire	Mother identity	Hypermasculine enemy Other

Conclusions

1)The sovereign's relationship with the dead bodies is shaped by existing power hierarchies

- **Gender hierarchies:** Deviant gender identities that are subject to violence are silenced or securitized whereas state agents condemned the attack on Tugluk's funeral by reference to her *mother* identity.

3) Dead bodies of female guerillas can be mutilated without consequence. They were displayed by the security forces, yet the event was silenced in the discourse (inclusion through exclusion)

- Agamben's *homo sacer* can be extended to cover the dead

4) The enemy other is not a homogenous group, rather the hierarchical relationship is inextricably related to the intersection of gender, sexuality and ethnicity

2)This relationship also shapes and reproduces *Self-Other dynamics and power hierarchies*

- **Ethnicity & Religion:**
- Tugluk's funeral was attacked because perpetrators did not allow an *Alawi* and *Kurdish* body to be buried in a *Sunni* cemetery.
- Bodies at the borders were not allowed because of security concerns: funeral ceremonies might serve as pro-Kurdish propaganda and cause public disorder
 - Turkish ontological insecurities to be secured against Kurdish propaganda

- **Gender & Sexuality:**
- Silencing the mutilation and naked display of female guerillas normalizes the representation of the enemy other as an object of desire and a body to conquer.
 - Shapes and reproduces desired gender identities (ex: women as mothers)