|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Name of the country/entity submitting information** | University Queer Research and LGBTI+ Solidarity Association (UniKuir) |

**General framework**

*How is academic freedom defined and protected in the constitution or laws of your country, and what are possible limitations or restrictions? Please provide the original citation and source, as well as a summary of relevant judicial practice, if any.*

Law No. 2547 on Higher Education contains phrases such as "national, spiritual, moral, ethical and cultural values" in the articles regulating the objectives and principles of higher education. These abstract phrases are used as a pretext to violate LGBTI+ rights. On the other hand, although Article 53 of the Law regulates hateful acts and prohibits discrimination, SOGI is not included among the grounds for discrimination. The same applies to Article 54, which contains disciplinary provisions for students. It is important to note that the Law on Higher Education was passed after the military coup of 1982, which almost completely abolished the autonomy of universities. Universities are under the control of the Council of Higher Education.

The articles prohibiting discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity in the Boğaziçi University Dormitory Regulation were not included in the regulation rewritten by the Board of Trustees. The relevant provision under the heading 'expulsion from the dormitory' in the abolished regulation read as follows: 'Acting against the mental and physical integrity of individuals verbally, physically or through various visual communication tools, with or without the use of force, targeting their sexuality, gender, gender identity, sexual orientation'. This provision, which protects LGBTI+ students, was an important policy that was not included in any other university dormitory legislation in Turkey[[1]](#footnote-1).

The Middle East Technical University's dormitory regulation, published in the Official Gazette on 21 October 2022, has been kept on the university's website despite the Ankara Administrative Court's decision to suspend its implementation. In the new regulation, "behaviour that violates public morality in the dormitory" is defined as a situation that requires disciplinary punishment in the form of temporary expulsion from the dormitory. The use of this provision as an excuse to violate the right to accommodation of LGBTI+ people is a possibility that has already been experienced. An appeal to the Ankara Administrative Court to annul the administrative decision is still pending[[2]](#footnote-2).

*Are academic staff, teachers, students all entitled to academic freedom? Does this differ by level of education? Please explain.*

The reason for the establishment of the above-mentioned Council of Higher Education is stated as "the autonomy of universities makes them the centre of anarchy". However, this board should be structured as a coordination and planning institution. There have been numerous incidents in Turkey that show that academics do not have autonomy. However, the most striking of these is the dismissal of hundreds of academics who signed the Peace Declaration during the state of emergency declared after the coup attempt in 2016. These academics were sentenced to various prison sentences. However, the Constitutional Court ruled in 2019 that the academics' freedom of expression had been violated, and all sentences were lifted. However, despite this, most of them have still not been able to return to public office. In a 2019 report on academic autonomy, academics stated that studies on LGBTI+ rights were under pressure and that they were not allowed to open courses on this subject. There are very important findings on academic autonomy in the report in the footnote; however, we are limited to mentioning only this much due to our field of work[[3]](#footnote-3).

The Minister of National Education called on academics at the opening ceremony of the academic year and demanded that Turkey's social values be included as human rights in international documents. In this statement, he did not hesitate to reveal his anti-LGBTI+ attitude[[4]](#footnote-4). At the opening ceremony of the new academic year, President Erdoğan said: "We will never compromise in the fight against deviant movements[[5]](#footnote-5).

In recent years, there have also been problems with academics inviting guest lecturers, experts or activists to their courses. Academics cannot use free initiative to invite guests to their lectures.

*What do you consider to be (a) the main challenges to academic freedom, and (b) gaps in the legal framework for protecting academic freedom?*

In fact, in order to solve the problems mentioned in this text, Turkey's legislation should be in line with General Comments Nos. 13 and 20 of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and General Comment No. 28 of the Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, General Comment No. 20 of the Committee on the Rights of the Child, the UNESCO Report on Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity-Based Violence in Education, Recommendation CM/Rec(2010)/5 of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe to Member States, Recommendations (2010) 1728, (2015) 2048 and (2016) 2097 of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and the Yogyakarta Principles to Ensure Inclusion and Equity in Education.

**Surveillance**

*Please explain whether and the extent to which academic staff and students, at all levels of education, are subject to surveillance by public authorities, for example through on-site cameras or online scrutiny. Has this led to undue restrictions to academic freedom and freedom of expression in educational institutions?*

It is common for university students to make unauthorised audio or video recordings during lectures and complain to the lecturer via the Presidential Communication Centre system or to the university administration. Lecturers are subjected to disciplinary investigations, harassment and targeting as a result of these complaints[[6]](#footnote-6).

**Freedom of expression in teaching and access to books**

*Do teachers and professors, at all levels of education, enjoy freedom of expression in their own teaching? Are there any limitations imposed, such as remaining “neutral” or forwarding a particular perspective, e.g. on religious and political matters?*

In addition to the legal framework mentioned above, there are many examples of cases in which the freedom of expression of students and academics has been restricted. A significant number of these also relate to academic freedom, the right to work, the right to education and freedom of association.

According to the UniKuir&SPoD report (is attached), which examines public universities in Ankara and Istanbul in the context of LGBTI+ rights, LGBTI+ university students complain most about psychological violence. Sexual harassment and violence prevention units established at universities can be effective in combating violence. However, these units are not LGBTI+ inclusive in all universities, and even if they exist in a significant number of universities, students are not aware of them. According to the report, the existence of an LGBTI+ student club at the university is an important step towards equality. Very few universities in Turkey have an officially recognized LGBTI+ student club. In addition, the LGBTI+ club at Boğaziçi University was closed in 2021[[7]](#footnote-7) and the Queer Research Society at Hacettepe University was closed in 2023[[8]](#footnote-8). Again, it is known that there are very few courses in universities with a curriculum that includes LGBTI+ rights, and these are usually elective courses.

UniKuir report on discrimination against trans+ students in universities states that these violations are more frequent and more painful for trans+ students. So much so that trans+ students participating in the research almost never used the expressions "never" and "very rarely" for the propositions asking about their experiences of discrimination. Again in this report, the first problem most frequently encountered by trans+ students is that faculty members allow discriminatory and hateful discourse in courses, and the second problem is that faculty members address trans+ students by their assigned names and pronouns of their assigned gender in courses where the language of instruction is not Turkish. Many universities issue diplomas according to the civil registry at the time of graduation and do not issue a new diploma due to changes in the civil registry after graduation. The common practice is to note the change on the back of the old diploma. This violates the right to respect for the private life of trans+ students. The 8th Chamber of the Council of State has also confirmed this for the universities sued[[9]](#footnote-9). However, this is still the legislation of many universities.

In many universities in Türkiye, there are many LGBTI+ student clubs with or without recognised official status. It is known that the activities of these clubs are prevented or made significantly difficult. Sometimes they are treated differently from other student clubs in a negative way.

* The Dean's Office of Koç University rejected the Queer Club's festival poster as 'pornographic'. However, it is known that the Sevgi Gönül Cultural Centre, which is affiliated to the university's Dean's Office, had previously used a similar visual. This case is a good example of the unequal treatment of LGBTI+ student organisations by university administrations. LGBTI+ student organisations are subject to stricter control than other parts of the university and are followed with "sensitivity"[[10]](#footnote-10) .
* Marmara University LGBTIQAA+ Solidarity Network (KuirMar) was targeted and threatened with hate speech in a press statement by the fascist group "Marmara University Ülkücüleri" for the Pride Week picnic on 24 June. KuirMar had to organise the picnic without announcing the venue and due to security concerns[[11]](#footnote-11)
* The screening of a documentary by Equality Community, a student group at Istanbul University, was banned by the district governor's office on the grounds of 'propaganda by a terrorist organisation'[[12]](#footnote-12).

In many universities, although LGBTI+ people want to establish student clubs recognised by the university, this request is not accepted by the university administration.

* LGBTI+s at Middle East Technical University have been organised under the name "METU LGBTIQAA+ Solidarity" for years. METU students have tried many times to make their club official. However, each time their request is denied or not answered by the rectorate[[13]](#footnote-13).
* LGBTI+ people who have been organising at Ege University for years have applied twice to become an official club. One of the applications was not answered and the other was rejected months later. The club has appealed the decision to the judiciary[[14]](#footnote-14).

In the last few years, LGBTI+ student clubs that have been granted official status have been shut down under various pretexts.

* Boğaziçi University LGBTI+ Studies Club was targeted for a long time, especially on social media, during the protests that followed the appointment of a trustee rector at Boğaziçi University. Among those who made statements against the club were the then Interior Minister Suleyman Soylu, the Istanbul Governorate and the spokesperson of the main opposition party at the time. In this process, the club was closed down on February 1, 2021 by the decision of the rector of the board of trustees. The President's Director of Communications announced the decision on his Twitter account. The statement, referring to BÜLGBTİA+, claimed that the university administration took a legitimate action against those who tried to trample on sacred values. The club took the decision to court, but the first instance court ruled against it. The lawsuit continues[[15]](#footnote-15).
* The Queer Research Community (Queer Deer), which has been operating as an official community of Hacettepe University since 2013, was closed down by the rectorate on September 21, 2023, on the grounds that it had not organised enough events. The members of the community stated that this decision was political, that communities that had been inactive for many years were ignored, that they had organised many online events during the distance education process due to the earthquakes on February 6, but that the university administration deliberately did not accept them as events. The decision has been appealed[[16]](#footnote-16).

In today's conditions in Türkiye, it has become almost impossible to display rainbow and other LGBTI+ flags in public spaces. In fact, even images and areas with rainbow colours are being targeted. Universities and educational institutions are also affected.

* Disciplinary proceedings have been launched against a graduating student who unfurled a rainbow flag at the graduation ceremony of Uşak University. Announcing the investigation on its social media account, the university said that the graduate had made a provocation and used the term "LGBT rag" for the rainbow flag[[17]](#footnote-17). Meanwhile, it has not been overlooked that Yeni Şafak newspaper announced the investigation before the university's official statement[[18]](#footnote-18).
* Before the graduation ceremony at Middle East Technical University, the rector, Verşan Kök, sent an email to students saying that 'flags that do not conform to the concept will not be allowed in the area'. The students rightly thought that this statement was meant to ban the rainbow flag. Despite the ban, the students marched with a huge rainbow flag in Devrim Stadium and hung rainbow flags in the dormitories[[19]](#footnote-19). Two students were disciplined for carrying the rainbow flag. The investigation is not based on any article of the disciplinary code[[20]](#footnote-20).
* At Boğaziçi University, where the Boğaziçi LGBTIA+ Student Community was closed in 2021, private security guards intervened and confiscated the rainbow flag at the orientation stand of the Feminist Boğaziçi Community. The private security guards claimed that the rainbow flag was forbidden[[21]](#footnote-21).
* During the graduation ceremony of the class of 2021 at the Faculty of Letters of Dokuz Eylül University, two students wearing masks with the slogan "Istanbul Convention Keeps Us Alive!" and unfurling the bi+ flag were attacked by private security guards. Following the incidents, disciplinary proceedings were opened against the students, not the private security guards, and the students were given a reprimand[[22]](#footnote-22).

The phrase "sexual orientation" in the text of the oath of allegiance to be a physician at the graduation ceremony of the Faculty of Medicine is censored by the deans offices. Istanbul University Çapa Faculty of Medicine and Selçuk University Faculty of Medicine are examples of this practice[[23]](#footnote-23).

In 2022 and 2023, hate rallies and marches targeting LGBTI+ people and rights defenders were organised in many cities in Turkey under the name of 'family gatherings'. These hate marches and rallies expressed demands such as the closure of LGBTI+ organisations, including LGBTI+ student communities at universities, the restriction of expression and content that includes LGBTI+ visibility, and the blocking of funds received by organisations[[24]](#footnote-24). University rectors attended these rallies in Izmir[[25]](#footnote-25) and Trabzon[[26]](#footnote-26). Some academics personally participated in "family platforms" and supported the organisation of hate events[[27]](#footnote-27).

At the same time, pride marches, which have taken place peacefully at universities for years, have recently been illegally prevented by rectorates and governors. In 2022, the Boğaziçi University Pride March was prevented and 70 people were arrested[[28]](#footnote-28). One of the detainees is a faculty member[[29]](#footnote-29). (İpek Seyalıoğlu) As with all the others, the Public Prosecutor's Office charged the faculty member with violating Law No. 2911 on Meetings and Demonstrations. The case is still pending. METU Pride March has been prevented since 2019, and dozens of people are detained every year.

Looking at ÜniKuir's 2022 Report on Rights Violations and Discrimination in Universities, it can be seen that many more panels, picnics, film screenings and similar LGBTI+ themed events have been prevented on campus. Again, based on the reports of 49 people from 30 different universities, the report shows that LGBTI+ university students are subjected to many rights violations such as prevention of academic activities, discriminatory discourse, disclosure of sexual identity, prevention of freedom of expression or association, harassment, bullying, violence. According to the report, these violations are most often perpetrated by academics, students, staff or university administrators. Most of the people who suffered violations did not report them to any mechanism. The reasons for this are that there is no body to which they can submit their complaints, they believe that they cannot prove the violation or that they will be blamed, they believe that they will not get results/support[[30]](#footnote-30).

The article "Endocrinological Approach to Adolescents with Gender Dysphoria: The Experience of the Department of Paediatric Endocrinology in a Third Level Centre in Turkey" was targeted in the press because it was related to the gender reassignment process, and disciplinary proceedings were initiated against the doctors and academics by the university administration[[31]](#footnote-31). Statements made by supposed experts in the press have attempted to undermine the scientific study with LGBTI+phobic and untrue statements. For example, Prof. Dr. Zeki Bayraktar, while addressing the state authorities for the article in question, claimed that the procedures mentioned in the article are contrary to Articles 40 and 41 of the Turkish Civil Code No. 4721 and that they are criminal acts according to the Turkish Penal Code No. 5237 (Articles 89, 90, 101, 257). However, the aforementioned study complies with all scientific and legal principles; otherwise, it cannot be published without the ethical approval of the relevant committees. In addition, the news reports distorted the statements of scientists and doctors who spoke on scientific grounds[[32]](#footnote-32). While this situation is serious for academic freedom, it also makes it difficult to conduct and disseminate scientific studies and activities that will strengthen the right of LGBTI+ people to access health. The Istanbul University Youth Union of Turkey, on the other hand, published a discriminatory statement on its social media account: "We say stop LGBT imposition and child abuse in our university![[33]](#footnote-33) However, it is known that many LGBTI+ children are exposed to serious rights violations, violence and abuse as a result of these discriminatory statements and policies.

*Please explain the extent to which teachers and professors at different education levels can chose school manuals and other books/resources for teaching, and the reasons for any restriction in this regard. Have any specific books/materials been banned, including from school libraries, and alternatively is some material mandatory? If so, why?*

In Türkiye, the curriculum for education from primary school to the end of high school is prepared by the ministry, and textbooks are provided free of charge by the state. This is a favourable situation given the economic conditions. However, this curriculum, and therefore the textbooks, have increasingly begun to reflect the ideology of political power. Teachers have to use these textbooks. And even if they recommend other books, most parents do not have a good budget for books. We would like to give an example here. It is announced that the curriculum of the Ministry of National Education has been reorganised with the perspective of "protecting the family". The curriculum in Türkiye is increasingly based on religious references. When the protection of the family and national and spiritual values are on the agenda, policies that oppose gender equality and ignore LGBTI+ rights become inevitable. In the curriculum of the course "Family in Turkish Social Life", which started in secondary schools, the definition of family is handled in a heteronormative way, while queer families are marginalised[[34]](#footnote-34).

Books containing LGBTI+ characters are declared "harmful publications" by the Ministry of Family and Social Affairs under Law X. "Morris Micklewhite and the Orange Dress", winner of the Honour Prize for Children's and Young People's Literature, is one of the books declared harmful.[[35]](#footnote-35) As a result of the decision, these books are not sold openly in bookshops. However, on request, they will be given in a bag to customers over the age of 18. This minimises the visibility of the book. It is important to note that a significant number of these books do not contain obscene elements. They are only censored because they contain libertarian and inclusive expressions against LGBTI+ partners, characters or LGBTI+ phobia. Since 2018, it is known that more than 40 books have been evaluated in this context. The Publishers Association of Türkiye, PEN Türkiye and the Writers' Union of Türkiye issued a statement against the censorship policy, stressing that the decision is an interference in the constitutionally guaranteed right to freedom of expression and dissemination of thought, and that it damages the principle of democratic society and restricts the public's right to information[[36]](#footnote-36). However, books containing false scientific information, distortions and hate speech against LGBTI+ people are freely sold[[37]](#footnote-37).

Finally, we would like to add one more point. The earthquakes of 6 February, which affected 11 provinces and centred on Kahramanmaraş, have aggravated the housing crisis in our country, which has been growing in recent years and has deeply affected university students, and hundreds of thousands of people are in urgent need of shelter[[38]](#footnote-38). As in every crisis, the first solution has been to force universities to provide distance education and to evacuate students from university dormitories. During the Covid-19 pandemic, face-to-face education was suspended and dormitories were evacuated. However, the means of realising the right to education should not be seen as a life-saver that can be "sacrificed first". This situation has not only led to violations of the right to education. Dormitories used for accommodation in the context of the right to education, especially for LGBTI+ students, provide a relatively safe environment away from domestic violence for many students. In this sense, LGBTIQ+ students have also expressed their reactions and made their demands visible[[39]](#footnote-39).

As a result of UniKuir's "Capacity Building Project on LGBTI+ Inclusive Education for Education Unions and University Administrative Staff", the demands of the academic staff emerged[[40]](#footnote-40). These are:

* Organising workshops on LGBTI+ basic concepts and discrimination,
* Preparation of a guide on LGBTI+ inclusive education in higher education,
* Establishment of anti-harassment, anti-bullying and anti-violence units in universities and cooperation of these units with rights-based NGOs,
* Physical and digitalization of current academic resources on LGBTI+ issues.

1. <https://www.unikuir.org/haberler/bogazici-universitesi-nde-yurtlar-yonetmeligi-yururlukten-kaldirildi-02-03-2023> [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. <https://www.unikuir.org/haberler/odtu-deki-yeni-yurt-yonetmeligine-mahkeme-dur-dedi-23-04-2023> [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. İnan Özdemir Taştan & Aydın Ördek. (2019). A Report on Academic Freedoms in Turkey in the Period of the State of Emergency. Capacity Development Association. S. 63-68, <https://www.insanhaklariokulu.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/4_IHO_A-Report-on-Academic-Freedoms-in-Turkey.pdf> [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. <https://www.milliyet.com.tr/gundem/bakan-tekinden-akademisyenlere-cagri-7022591> [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. <https://www.sondakika.com/haber/haber-cumhurbaskani-erdogan-kuresel-guc-odaklarinin-ozen-16333147/> [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. <https://medyascope.tv/2021/10/07/doc-dr-oyku-didem-aydin-hakkimda-acilan-butun-sorusturmalarda-aklandim-yillardir-suren-mobbing-sonucu-ise-hayati-tehlikem-oldugu-icin-hukuk-fakultesinden-istifa-ettim/#:~:text=%C3%96yk%C3%BC%20Didem%20Ayd%C4%B1n%2C%202017%2D2021,'ya%C5%9Famak%20i%C3%A7in'%20istifa%20ettim>. ; <https://bianet.org/haber/istifaya-zorlanan-akademisyen-ihbar-iklimi-sona-ermeli-251418> [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. <https://bianet.org/haber/bogazici-nin-lgbti-calismalari-aday-kulubu-kapatildi-238534> [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. <https://www.unikuir.org/haberler/hacettepe-universitesi-lgbti-ogrenci-toplulugunu-kapatti-21-09-2023> ; <https://www.unikuir.org/haberler/universitenin-tanitim-gunlerinde-lgbti-toplulugunun-yer-almasi-da-yasak-26-09-2023> [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. 8th Chamber of the Council of State, 2019/9162 - 2021/10 Decision No. and dated 13.01.2021. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. <https://www.unikuir.org/haberler/universite-yonetimi-penise-benziyor-diye-koc-kuir-in-etkinlik-afisini-reddetti-19-05-2022> [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. <https://twitter.com/teskilatmarmara/status/1540357011493232640?s=20&t=FzOVfHZXOtR--3ujdIYY7w> [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. <https://www.unikuir.org/haberler/kaymakamlik-universiteli-lgbti-toplulugunun-film-gosterimini-yasakladi-16-11-2022> [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. <https://kaosgl.org/haber/odtu-de-bir-kez-daha-resmi-lgbti-toplulugu-icin-ucuncu-basvuru> [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. <https://www.unikuir.org/haberler/ege-universitesi-gormezden-geldikce-lgbti-lar-resmi-topluluk-mucadelesine-daha-cok-sariliyor-23-01-2023> [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. <https://bianet.org/haber/bogazici-nin-lgbti-calismalari-aday-kulubu-kapatildi-238534> [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. <https://www.unikuir.org/haberler/hacettepe-universitesi-lgbti-ogrenci-toplulugunu-kapatti-21-09-2023> [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. <https://www.unikuir.org/haberler/usak-universitesi-lgbt-pacavrasi-acan-ogrenci-hakkinda-islem-baslatildi-19-07-2023> [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. <https://x.com/yenisafak/status/1681421014482206721?s=20> [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. <https://www.unikuir.org/haberler/versan-kok-un-yasagi-ise-yaramadi-odtu-de-ogrenciler-mezuniyeti-toreninde-gokkusagiyla-yurudu-26-07-2023> ; [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. <https://www.unikuir.org/haberler/odtu-mezuniyetindeki-gokkusagi-bayraginda-disiplin-sucu-araniyor-04-09-2023> ; <https://kaosgl.org/haber/lubunyalarin-varolusunu-kriminalize-etme-girisimleri-hukuksuzdur> [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. <https://www.unikuir.org/haberler/bogazici-universitesi-tanitim-gunlerinde-gokkusagina-bile-izin-yok-26-09-2023> [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. <https://www.unikuir.org/haberler/istanbul-sozlesmesi-maskesi-takan-ve-bi-bayragi-acan-ogrenciye-universiteden-ceza-21-01-2022> [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. <https://www.birgun.net/haber/selcuk-universitesi-nde-ogrenciler-orjinal-hekimlik-andi-ni-okurken-isiklar-sonduruldu-perde-kapatildi-393999> ; <https://twitter.com/ilerihaber/status/1671476313096331265?t=IF1Pt5nT9ew_VMLsMVJuOg&s=08> [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. <https://www.evrensel.net/haber/470419/lgbti-karsiti-mitingden-notlar-bugun-bu-isin-fitili-ateslendi> [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. <https://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/turkiye/izmirde-lgbt-karsiti-mitinge-iki-rektor-il-milli-egitim-muduru-ve-il-muftusu-katildi-2000358> [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. <https://onedio.com/haber/trabzon-da-henuz-vakit-varken-ailene-sahip-cik-yuruyusu-yapildi-yuruyuse-milletvekili-ve-rektor-katildi-1105145> [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. <https://kaosgl.org/haber/lgbti-larin-yurumesi-yasak-lgbti-dusmani-nefret-yuruyusu-serbest> ; <https://kaosgl.org/haber/konya-da-belediye-baskani-ve-milletvekili-esliginde-lgbti-dusmani-nefret-yuruyusu> [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. <https://www.unikuir.org/haberler/polis-9-bogazici-onur-yuruyusune-saldirdi-20-05-2022> [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. <https://bianet.org/yazi/akademi-biat-etmez-bundan-hic-suphem-yok-279834> [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. See: [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. <https://www.yenisafak.com/ozel/biri-bu-doktorlari-durdursun-15-16-yaslarindaki-cocuklarin-cinsiyetini-degistiriyorlar-4552464> [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. <https://www.takvim.com.tr/guncel/2023/08/13/sapkin-lobi-cocuklari-hedefe-aldi-lgbt-aktivisti-sahika-yukselden-rezil-sozler-ahlaksizliga-chp-hdp-kalkani> ; <https://www.ulusal.com.tr/gundem/vatan-partisi-genel-baskani-dogu-perincek-devlet-kurumlari-da-bu-suca-ortak-oldu-15035248> ; <https://www.yeniakit.com.tr/haber/ergenlik-durdurucu-tedavi-avukat-yasar-bas-prof-yukselin-isledigi-sucu-anlatti-1779601.html> [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. <https://www.instagram.com/p/CwArxjCNPlb/?igshid=MzRlODBiNWFlZA%3D%3D> [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. <https://tegm.meb.gov.tr/meb_iys_dosyalar/2023_11/23174104_turksosyalhayatindaailedop.pdf> [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. <https://kaosgl.org/haber/cocuk-kitabi-morris-micklewhite-ve-turuncu-elbise-muzir-ilan-edildi> [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. <https://www.instagram.com/p/CqC9mWTIK8K/?igshid=YmMyMTA2M2Y%3D&img_index=5> [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. <https://www.unikuir.org/haberler/lgbti-temali-kitaplar-zarfta-nefret-uretenler-rafta-18-04-2023> [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. <https://www.unikuir.org/haberler/sorumsuzlugunuzun-bedelini-universite-ogrencilerine-odetemezsiniz-22-02-2023> [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. <https://kaosgl.org/haber/lgbtiq-universite-ogrencileri-yurtlar-cozum-degil> [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. <https://www.unikuir.org/haberler/akademisyenler-universitelerinin-lgbti-lari-kapsadigini-dusunuyor-mu-20-01-2022> [↑](#footnote-ref-40)