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The Poststructuralist Subject and the Paradox of Internal Coherence

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Voor mijn familie en vrienden,
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ABSTRACT Subject and subjectivity are central topics in classic and contemporary theory. In particular poststructuralist understanding, the subject is considered to be dynamic, decentred, manifold and forever becoming in relation to its social and material environment. As researchers, we have the responsibility to do “good” research on the subject. However, how to ensure the quality of research has been one of the biggest challenges confronting qualitative researchers. With the quest for reflexivity and responsibility in the poststructuralist turn, coherence - the extent to which an analysis ‘hangs together’ or is ‘non-self-contradictory’ – became highly valued, as qualitative standard. Considering our responsibility towards the subject to do adequate research, this article has a dual aim; first to use the standard of internal coherence on writings that use poststructuralist theories to describe the subject to understand the workings of this standard and secondly, to reflect whether in the light of poststructuralist understandings the current operationalisation of internal coherence would be appropriate to evaluate the quality of these writings. We operationalized coherence using the concept of theories of action, consisting of the espoused theory and theory-in-action; Espoused theory refers to what people say or write what they are doing, while theory-in-action or enacted theory refers to what they are actually doing. Taking three articles about Kurdish politically active women subjects as example, we show the work of good scholars is imperfect. However, reviewing these authors as poststructuralist subjects themselves, we consider the current operationalisation of the concept of coherence to be impossible, undesirable and incoherent leading to a paradoxical situation. As our responsibility for good research on the poststructuralist subject remains, we argue that for a rethinking of the coherence as diverse, temporal and revisable, seeing it as an attractor that we strive for but can never perform in a perfect manner.

Keywords: subject/subjectivity, coherence, poststructuralism, quality, paradox, responsibility, Foucault, Butler, Said, theories of action, espoused theory, theory-in-action

Introduction

This question of the subject and the living ‘who’ is at the heart of the most pressing concerns of modern societies (Derrida 1991, 115 in Mansfield 2000, 1)

Subject and subjectivity are central topics in classic and contemporary theory (Branaman 2009). In sociology, these concepts have provided an opportunity for questioning the dichotomy between the individual and society, while feminists focused on ‘connecting processes of self-formation to distinctions of gender, sexuality and desire’ (Elliott 2013, 13). There is a large variety of theories, and a diversity of ways in which the concept *subject* is used and represented, making the concept ambivalent and ambiguous (Bauman 1996, Elliott 2013, Hall and Du Gay 1996, Mansfield 2000, Branaman 2009).

With the poststructuralist turn, a change in the perception and representation of the subject occurred (Butler 1988, 1993, Foucault 1982, Mansfield 2000, Ortner 2005, Roberts

2005, Said 2003); the perception of the subject as pre-existing, unified, with an interior essence, autonomous and free from structure was replaced by a notion in which the subject was considered to be dynamic, decentred, manifold, forever becoming in relation to its social and material environment. The subject does not pre-exist and is not fixed, but is produced by and producing discourses, coming into being through performative acts that were situated in a historical and political context. Although poststructuralism started in the 1960s and 1970s, its theories on the subject are still highly influential in current writings on the subject. Due to their impact on current understandings of the subject, it is highly relevant to gain an understanding of how these particular poststructuralist notions are used in the last decades to generate knowledge claims on the subject. Investigating the quality of authors' knowledge production is relevant and necessary, because first it can provide lessons on how we (can) work with poststructuralist notions of the subjects – what are the possibilities and how are they put into practice - and secondly, because the knowledge claims about the subject informs and influences current and future perceptions, policy and research on this subject. As researchers, we have a responsibility to do “good,” meaningful and trustworthy research (Koro-Ljungberg 2010, 604) on the subject. Therefore, we want to reach out to current scholars using poststructuralist notions to discuss how the quality of their writing can be viewed. In this article, we focus on poststructuralist notions of the subject, however, our conclusions are relevant for other research using poststructuralist notions for investigating. Nevertheless, the topic of subjectivity is especially relevant, because a poststructuralist perspective on the subjectivity of the authors allows us to consider the appropriateness of certain quality standards.

With the poststructuralist turn, there was a change in how representation was perceived which influenced how the quality of the texts could be evaluated. With the poststructuralist ‘crisis of representation’ the notion that a researcher could give an objective representation of reality was rejected and reality became a contested territory that could only be represented from a certain discourse (Heikkinen, Huttunen, and Syrjälä 2007, Lather 1993). The responsibility within representation changed; instead of providing a representation that corresponds with the external objective reality, researchers were now responsible to reflect on the political character of their work and represent ‘the web of “structure, sign and play” of social relations’ (Derrida 1978 in Lather 1993, 675). Thus, the correspondence model, referring to the correspondence between thoughts and objects in reality, was rejected and researchers were encouraged to reflect and understand ‘what they’re doing, and being consistently thoughtful about it’ and to take responsibility for their research (Carter 2010, 146). With this emphasis on reflexivity and responsibility, the evaluative standard of internal coherence emerged, in which a text is judged by its own standards for being logical and consistent.

Taking three texts about Kurdish politically active women as example, we apply this quality standard of internal coherence showing that the work of good scholars is imperfect; there are (uncertainties about the) incoherence between the particular poststructuralist notions of the subject and the way the authors use these to describe the subject or the

incoherence within her own practices of describing the subject. Although this could lead to questions about the quality of the knowledge claims of the authors, in the light of poststructuralism, we question whether internal coherence would be possible, desirable and appropriate as quality criteria for a poststructuralist notion of the subject.

Considering our responsibility towards the subject to do “good” research and to find proper ways to evaluate its quality, this article has a dual aim; first, to use the standard of internal coherence on writings that use poststructuralist theories to describe the subject to understand the current workings of this standard and secondly, to reflect whether in the light of poststructuralist understandings the current operationalisation of coherence would be a proper way of evaluating the quality of these writings. First, we discuss internal coherence, its current operationalisation and the methodology we used to investigate it. Secondly, we delve into three case studies to show how incoherencies can be found. Finally, we discuss the impossibility and undesirability of internal coherence as currently understood from a poststructuralist understanding, making it into a paradox, and argue for a rethinking of internal coherence as diverse, temporal and revisable, seeing it as an attractor that we strive for but can never perform in a perfect manner.

Internal Coherence

One of the biggest challenges confronting qualitative researchers is how to assure the quality and trustworthiness of their research (Finlay 2006, 319)

Although there is divergence in opinion about quality criteria for qualitative research (Finlay 2006), the standard of internal coherence, referring to ‘the extent to which the analysis ‘hangs together’ or is ‘non-self-contradictory’ (Madill, Jordan, and Shirley 2000, 13), is highly valued since the poststructuralist turn. Internal coherence indicates that the parts of a text fit together in a reasonable, logical and consistent way (Cambridge English Dictionary 2017a, Oxford Dictionary 2017b) and is judged by its own standards. It signals some form of credibility used by researchers to establish confidence and trust in ‘truth’ of the outcomes (Lincoln and Guba 1985 in Finlay 2006).

With the responsibility towards the subject in our mind to do “good” research, we consider the internal coherence between the conceptualisation of the subject by the poststructuralist theories that these authors explicitly or implicitly use and their own practice of describing the subject. It would be reasonable to expect that an author performs in a coherent matter, aligning his/her practice of describing the subject with the particular poststructuralist understanding of the subject that s/he chooses to theorize the subject. To analyse the coherence, we used Argyris and Schön’s (in Savaya and Gardner 2012, Jones 2009) concept of *theories of action*, referring to the gap between what people say they are doing and what they are actually doing. The theories of action exist at two levels; espoused theory and theory-in-use. *Espoused theory* refers to ‘the worldview and values that people believe guide their behaviors’ (Savaya and Gardner 2012, 1). In the context of this research,

it refers to the poststructuralist theory of the subject implied by the authors; Foucault's theory on discourse, Butler's theory on performativity or Said's theory on Orientalism. *Theory-in-use*, or *enacted theory* 'refers to the worldview and values reflected in the behaviors that actually drive their actions' (Savaya and Gardner 2012, 1). By definition, theory-in-use is never explicitly discussed and must therefore be inferred from observation and analysis of the way the authors describe the subject. Therefore, only its effects can be discussed.

Internal coherence can take place at three levels. There can be incoherence within the espoused theory, indicating that an author will espouse two or more understandings of the subject that are mutually inconsistent, like a humanistic subject and a poststructuralist subject. However, this will not be the focus of this article. Instead, we will focus on incoherencies between the espoused and enacted theory and incoherencies within the enacted theory. Incoherence between the espoused and enacted theory, indicates that an author says s/he will use one understanding of the subject, while in his/her practice a different understanding is used. Incoherence within the enacted theory entails that within her practices of describing the subject the author is incoherent, contradicting him/herself in his/her own practices. Investigating the potential differences between or within the theories of action are important, because due to the tacit nature of theory-in-action people are often unaware whether it corresponds to the theories they espouse, leading to unintended or undesired consequences (Savaya and Gardner 2012, 1). Regarding the subject, these consequences could entail that poststructuralist notions of the subject are used in a way that does not correspond with their understandings and intentions; it could lead to a different understanding of the subject than the author intended for and/or that this understanding has an inconsistent basis. In this article, we looked at the understanding of the subject of the espoused poststructuralist theories and how these are used or enacted in practice by the authors, to consider the potential difference between the espoused and enacted theory or within enacted theories, indicating incoherence.

Methodology

To indicate incoherence, the espoused and enacted theories needed to be identified. The espoused theory was identified by reviewing what poststructuralist concepts and which scholars the authors referred to. Content Analysis (CA) - a set of social science research techniques whereby documents are systematically coded to allow for the development of trustworthy inferences' (Wesley 2009, 11) - was used to gain an overview of the articles and the theoretical understandings and concepts they use. An inductive code list was developed that assisted in determining which theory the authors espoused. This code list (see annex 1) was complemented by the theoretical understanding of a particular understanding of the poststructuralist subject mainly in reference of the work of Foucault, Butler and Said. For example, in the text with a discursive understanding of the subject, we coded for words such as 'discourse', 'subject', 'construction' and 'constitution', while in the text with a performative understanding, we coded words such as 'performativity', 'discourse',

‘repeatedly enacted and performed’ and in the text with Orientalist understanding, words as ‘orientalist’, ‘exoticisation’ ‘oversimplification’ and ‘sensationalisation’. Reading up on the poststructuralist theories of Foucault, Butler and Said, we gained an insight in how they understood the subject.

The enacted theories remain tacit and can be only inferred by considering its effects in the form of the writings of the authors. To get an understanding of the theory-in-action of the articles, we engaged with a Content Analysis (CA) to gain an overview and a Membership

Categorisation Analysis (MCA) to infer the characterisation of the subject and the author’s understanding of the subject. MCA focuses on the ‘methods and recognizable capacities of practical sense making’ (Housley and Fitzgerald 2002, 62) that people use in the world, drawing on their cultural knowledge (Baker 2004) to categorize persons doing certain activities. Using Atlas.ti, we coded for the different categories attached to women that were in some way politically active according to the author and the activities associated with these categories. Based on Baker (2004), we developed our strategy of first locating the category and subcategories of

Kurdish politically active woman, secondly, working through the activities associated with this category to come to the characteristics that are attached to the categories and thirdly looking at the connections between the categories and the characteristics to see what course of action is implied when a category is used. Coding for the categories and activities associated with these categories, we came to our own interpretation of the authors’ understanding of the subject of the Kurdish politically active women (see figure 1).

Thus, to identify the espoused and enacted theories the following strategy was used; using CA we were able to infer the espoused theory of articles and reading up on these theories of Foucault, Butler and Said we gained an insight in the poststructuralist understanding of the subject. Based on CA and MCA we were able to infer the effects of the theory-in-action and how the subject was understood by the authors. The espoused and enacted theories were compared to evaluate the (in)coherence of the articles.

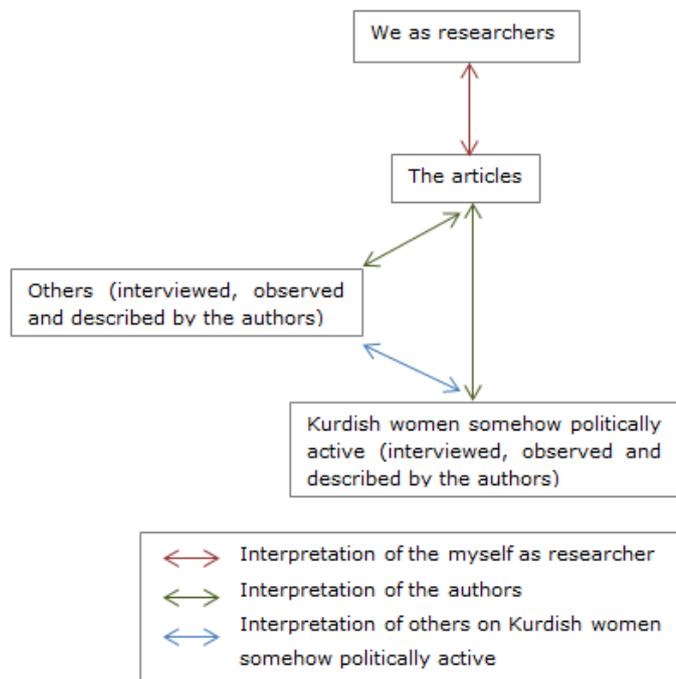


Figure 1

The Subject of Kurdish Politically Active Women

We chose to explore the coherence by looking at how we say we think about the subject, the espoused poststructuralist theories and notions on the subject, and how we 'do' the subject in our research, the effects of the theory-in-action, looking for differences and similarities between the two or within the theory-in-action. We chose to focus on three texts about Kurdish women who are somehow politically active in the eyes of the authors describing them. All three espoused a poststructuralist notion on the subject, but have a different style, audience, message and academic or non-academic background. This provided us with the opportunity to see the differences in the way the knowledge on the subject can be constructed, the difference in the resulting knowledge claims and different (in)coherencies on a somewhat similar subject.

Per article, we will first discuss the argument of the article, to continue with the theoretical ideas informing the argument that form the espoused poststructuralist notions of the subject. Thirdly, we go into how the authors actually construct the subject and thus the effects of the theory-in-action. Finally, the relevant features of the potential differences between espoused and enacted theory or within theory-inaction are discussed to consider incoherence.

First, we will discuss Çağlayan's (2012) article in which coherence is difficult to assess, because her espoused theoretical framework focuses not specifically on how to understand the subject, while her argument implies a Foucauldian understanding of the subject. Overall, her enacted description seems to be consistent with this implicitly espoused Foucauldian understanding, but some difference can be noted, implying incoherence or raising doubts on whether she uses Foucault. Secondly, in Weiss' (2010) article there is uncertainty about coherence due to the potential differences between espoused Butlerian understanding of the theory and her own understanding and use of the theory. Finally, in Dirik's (2014) opinion piece in which she implicitly espouses Said's theory on Orientalism, there is not an incoherence between this espoused theory and her theory-in-action, but rather an incoherence within her theory-in-action as she 'does' the subject in a manner that she criticizes in her argument.

The Discursive Subject

In the academic article, *From Kawa the Blacksmith to Ishtar the Goddess: Gender Constructions in Ideological-Political Discourses of the Kurdish Movement in post-1980 Turkey*, Handan Çağlayan aimed 'to examine the Kurdish movement's ideological discourse from a gender perspective' (2012, 3). Considering the success of the Kurdish movement in mobilizing women post-1980s - a time when gender equality gained importance and a change in the mythological sources of Kurdishness as a political identity occurred - Çağlayan started analysing Öcalan's writings of the 1978-1999 period. Her main argument states that 'there is a mutual interaction between the Kurdish movement's ideological discourse and the fact that women have been active political participants both as politicians and as 'fighters'' (2012, 3). She explains that 'left-wing and secular characteristics of the movement

facilitated women's participation in the movement and that women's participation affected both the importance of gender equality within the ideological and political discourse of the Kurdish movement and within its organizational structure' (Çağlayan 2012, 23). However, the symbolic transformation concerning gender in the construction of Kurdish identity has limited and contradictory effects when seen from the perspectives of the real lives of these women. The discourse 'created the possibility for women to engage in struggle against these contradictions by enabling them to leave their homes' and only their struggle can determine which meanings will be fixed (Çağlayan 2012, 19).

In her theoretical framework, she espouses that she builds on 'feminist studies exposing the interaction between ethnic/nationalist processes and gender relations' (Çağlayan 2012, 23). She refers to decolonisation scholars such as Chatterjee, Yuval-Davis, Kandiyoti and many others to show 'that nationalism and gender are mutually co-constructive' (Çağlayan 2012, 3). She provides an understanding how and which gender roles and meanings play 'a constitutive role in the construction of nationalist fictions' (Çağlayan 2012, 4) and shows how this is similar or different within the Kurdish movement. Except for some references to Sirman and Najmabadi (Sirman 2002 and Najmabadi 1997 in Çağlayan 2012, 6) who mentioned how discourses on womanhood, family, love and affection is related to the subject and its construction, Çağlayan gives no explicit theoretical explanation for her argument on the mutual interaction between discourse and the political participation of women. Thus, her argument supports the idea espoused in her theoretical framework that 'ethnic national fiction and projects are constructed in gendered ways' (Çağlayan 2012, 18), but this argument on this mutual interaction seems not to be built on an explicit theoretical foundation itself (although on data collection and analysis), and thus an explicit espoused notion on the subject is missing.

Reflecting on this mutual interaction between Kurdish discourses and women's political agency and on the use of the concept 'discourse' and 'subject', we see that she moves to a poststructuralist notion of a dynamic subject in which the subject is produced by discourses and whose actions in their turn transform the discourse, leading to a change in the subject again. Çağlayan frames her understanding of the subject in a manner that is to a large extent consistent with the later work of Michel Foucault on the subject that allows her to argue for the mutual interaction. Therefore, we consider that a Foucauldian understanding of the subject forms the implicit espoused theory of Çağlayan's argument and look for (in)coherencies comparing the way Foucault understands the subject and the way Çağlayan writes on the subject. Looking for (in)coherencies between an implicit espoused theory and enacted theory, any found incoherencies found can be a result of that Çağlayan did not use Foucault in a proper manner or that she used another poststructuralist notion instead of Foucault's understanding of the subject.

Foucault sees the subject as a construct made by complex relations between knowledge and power (Mansfield 2000, Foucault 1982). In these relations, discourse is being produced, highlighting that knowledge is historical and political situated (Foucault 1977, 1990, Foucault and Gordon 1980, Roberts 2005, Rabinow 1984). Discourse analyses what

things can be said and the conditions in which these things can be said and can relate to each other. Foucault sees power and discourse not only as negative, constraining and repressing but also as productive and enabling (Foucault and Gordon 1980). The workings of power provide the structure within which agency is conceived, executed and recognized. Discourse forms a frame for conducting certain activities, which lead to the reproduction the discourse as well. With his concept discourse, Foucault blurs the symbolic-material division, as a change in discourse does not only enable new ideas but also a transformation in practice (Foucault 1972). Subjects are formed through a dual process: First, discourses make human beings subjects to others in the form of control and dependence and secondly, discourses make human beings subjects in the sense that their identity is produced by being tied to a 'conscience of self-knowledge' (Foucault 1982, 781). They are 'in a continual and dynamic state of 'becoming' (Roberts 2005, 40) opening up the possibility of resistance and the possibility of changing the discourse.

For a great part, Çağlayan's implicit espoused theory is coherent with her enactments; her understanding of the subject is largely consistent with the poststructuralist understanding of Foucault. She argues that the subject is constructed and constituted by discourses (Çağlayan 2012, 14, 17). In line with Foucault's understanding, she argues that discourse enables women to do certain things, while at the same time establishing different forms of control implying that she recognizes how discourse forms a frame for the conduct of the thinking and acting of subjects. She explained that in the discourse of the 1980s, women were 'to be liberated by man' enabling them to participate in meetings, demonstrations and guerrilla's. This led to a change in discourse towards the discourse 'the woman who liberates herself while also liberating society' (Çağlayan 2012, 12), enabling but also assigning women a constitutive mission. It points out that the discourse constructs the subject, while simultaneously the actions of the subject construct the discourse, referring to the mutual interaction that Çağlayan argues for, but also implicitly a co-construction of discourse and subject coming to the front in poststructuralist notions of a dynamic subject, as described by Foucault. As Foucault argues discourse goes beyond linguistic and symbolic functions only and also has a material function leading to transformation in practices shown by Çağlayan.

Describing the political and historical circumstances in which the texts of Öcalan were written and in which women's participation took place, Çağlayan also acknowledges the political and historical situatedness of knowledge. Furthermore, she acknowledges the complexity of the power relations and poststructuralist subject as manifold, as she describes the contradictions and paradoxes involved in the discursive transformations. The discourse of Kurdish women identity 'has multiple surfaces and meanings, and which is being continuously constructed' (Çağlayan 2012, 19). The subject is thus in a continual and dynamic phase of 'becoming' as Foucault claims, and its identity never exhibits 'homogenous, fixed qualities (Çağlayan 2012, 7). This opened up possibilities of resistance, as '[i]t is only women's active struggle that can determine which meanings will be fixed and which meanings will not' (Çağlayan 2012, 19).

However, some questions can be raised whether Çağlayan is completely internally coherent with particular poststructuralist notions of the subject. For example, considering the two ways in which discourses transform human beings into subjects according to Foucault, we can see that Çağlayan only describes how Kurdish women are made subjects to others as they are subjected to forms of control, such as patriarchy and the Turkish state, and how they are subjected to the discourse of Öcalan (Çağlayan 2012, 4, 9). However, because she did not aim to describe the perceptions and experiences of the women, she did not describe the second way in which persons are made subject through their sense of identity. Nevertheless this does not indicate an incoherence, which also holds for the missing of an explicit discussion of Çağlayan's understanding of discourse, leading to questions on how she understands discourse. Incoherencies could be seen when you realize Çağlayan uses the concept *ideology*, which Foucault rejects because it implies the existence of an universal and timeless rationality and truth (Rabinow 1984, 60). In contrast to ideology, Foucault aims 'to arrive at an analysis which can account for the constitution of the subject within a historical framework' (Rabinow 1984, 59). If Çağlayan understands ideology in a similar manner as Foucault, this would be a large incoherence or an indication that she worked with a different poststructuralist understanding of the subject. Nevertheless, there are various ways within poststructuralism to understand ideology and there is no certainty if Çağlayan used a Foucauldian understanding of the subject.

Thus, in general Çağlayan's argument seems to point to an espoused poststructuralist Foucauldian understanding of the subject and for the largest part is coherent with her enacted practice of describing the subject herself. However, her use of ideology is worrisome and generates doubt whether she is enacting a Foucauldian understanding signalling incoherence. However, within poststructuralism there are many interpretations on ideology and the subject and although Çağlayan referred to many theories, she did not espouse a clear theoretical basis for her understanding of the mutual interaction between discourse and the subject, making it difficult to identify her espoused theory and recognizing incoherence. Having no clear picture on her espoused theory on the understanding of the subject, there are uncertainties if Çağlayan acts coherently with a particular poststructuralist understanding.

The Performative Subject

In the article, *Fallen from Grace: Gender Norms and Strategies in Eastern Turkey*, Nerina Weiss (2010) aims to fill the gap within the literature in which there is little focus on the new constraints and control mechanisms enmeshed in the political role models for politically active women. Arguing for the relevance of her research, Weiss explains her paper 'as a critical engagement with [these Kurdish] party discourses on empowerment and emancipation, as emancipatory processes are enmeshed with the introduction of new control mechanisms over women's bodies and lives' (Weiss 2010, 57). To engage with these party discourses, she presents the life stories of four politically active Kurdish women who 'do not necessarily define themselves through their political activity' (Weiss 2010, 55). Critically reflecting on Kurdish party discourses, she continues that 'the status associated

with their roles, especially those of the “new” and emancipated woman, does not necessarily represent their own experiences and subjectivities’ (Weiss 2010, 55). To make this argument, Weiss explicitly espouses Judith Butler’s theory on the subject. This theory enables her to argue that women’s participation in the Kurdish movement has been associated with new gender norms, which are performed and do not always align with their experiences and acting. Furthermore, the performance of these norms open ‘up possibilities for transformation and change, as gender norms have to be repeatedly enacted and performed in order to be valid’ (Weiss 2010, 61).

Thus, Weiss’ espoused theory is based among others on Butler, who builds on Foucault’s notion of discourse, arguing that in the process of performative acts the subject comes into being (Butler 1988, 1993, Mansfield 2000). These performative accomplishments are ‘compelled by social sanction and taboo’ (Butler 1988, 520). The notion that the subject is performative means ‘that it is real only to the extent that it is performed’ (Butler 1988, 527). She writes: ‘Subjected to gender, but subjectivated by gender, the “I” neither precedes nor follows the process of this gendering, but emerges only within and as the matrix of gender relations themselves’ (Butler 1993, 7). Performativity defines Butler ‘as the reiterative and citational practice by which discourse produces the effects that it names’ (Butler 1993, 2). Citationality and reiteration indicate that the forming of the subject is not possible without conforming to a script, while simultaneously it is never possible to exactly conform to the script. The repetition of the acts according to the norms is what enables the subject, constituting the temporal condition for the subject, however it also shows that identifications are never fully and finally made and that instability and resistance is possible. The self is not prior to its acts, leading to the conclusion that the ‘constituting acts not only as constituting the identity of the actor, but as constituting that identity as a compelling illusion, an object of *belief*’ (Butler 1988, 520). She generates the notion of a decentred notion of the subject in which any interiority or essence prior to the acts is rejected.

Considering Butler’s understanding of the subject, we see that Weiss’ espousal of this understanding is in many ways consistent with her enacted description of the subject, signifying coherence between the espoused and enacted theories. For example, using the case of Zehra, Weiss shows how a subject never fully complies with the norms by which their subjectivation is impelled, indicating the citationality and reiteration involved in performativity. Although Kurdish politically active women were not allowed to marry, Zehra got married even though she was heavily sanctioned. This also shows that performative acts are compelled by sanctions. Butler’s notion of the possibility of transformation, change and resistance is also confirmed as Zehra’s case is used to show that a possibility of transformation of the no-marriage norm for Kurdish politically active women is possible. Weiss writes: ‘[t]ime will show whether Zehra’s new role [as mother and wife while being (previously) politically active] will anchor and literally “norm-alize” her position within the political community’ (Weiss 2010, 75), indicating the temporal condition of the subject and the constant reconstitution of the subject. Weiss quotes Butler to say that this possibility of gender transformation is possible, because the gender identity of the subject is not seamless

and grounded in 'the stylized repetition of acts through time' (Butler 1998, 520 in Weiss 2010, 61).

Nevertheless, questions can be raised whether Weiss' theory-in-action is fully consistent to her espoused Butlerian theory that is based on the assumptions of a decentred subjectivity. Weiss seems to agree with Butler's idea that 'there would be no true or false, real or distorted acts of gender' (Butler 1988, 528), as she highlights that different interpretations are possible for Zehra's marriage and motherhood, ranging from 'a conscious return to an oppressed life within patriarchal structures' to the 'strongest critique of the underlying patriarchal structures within the Kurdish movement' (Weiss 2010, 74-75). Nevertheless, whether she would fully agree with the notion that identity is an illusion remains to be seen. The use of the concept 'gender roles' - a concept that Butler rejects because she understands it as either expressing or disguising 'an interior self' (Butler 1988, 528) - suggests on first sight a rejection of this understanding of the subject. Weiss, however, takes a different understanding of gender roles as she considers the 'performative and temporal aspect of gender roles' (Weiss 2010, 61). Together with the multiple gender roles associated with women, she rejects a fixed and essential understanding of the subject, arguing for social constructivist understanding of the subject. Nevertheless, whether Weiss would fully agree with Butler's notion that identity is an illusion remains unclear. Therefore, it remains unclear whether Weiss fully adheres to the assumptions of the theory she espouses.

Thus, although Weiss' espousal of Butler's theory enables her to make her argument, it can be questioned whether her theory-in-action is consistent with the poststructuralist notion of the subject as decentred as explained by Butler. Therefore, there is uncertainty about whether there is coherence between a particular poststructuralist notion of the subject, Weiss' espousal of Butler's theory and Weiss' use of this theory, her theory-in-action.

The Orientalist Subject

In the opinion piece, *Western Fascination with 'Badass' Kurdish Women: The Media Frenzy over the Women fighting ISIL is bizarre, myopic, orientalist and cheapens an Import*, Dilar Dirik (2014) argues that the Western media in their recent attention to Kurdish women fighters in their fight against ISIL have generated a 'bizarre, myopic, orientalist' picture of these women as 'badass' amazons, as the title already gives away. Providing a different picture of Kurdish women fighters, Dirik implies that the media portrays these women in a wrong way and argues that they should be appreciated not only for their fight against ISIL, but also be recognized for their politics and their revolution. In other words, Dirik argues that the media provides 'mainstream caricaturisations' (2014) of Kurdish women fighters and suggests an alternative manner to cover them. In this way, she implicitly gives her own understanding of the subject of the Kurdish women fighters.

Through the use of the concept 'Orientalism', Dirik (2014) implicitly refers to Edward Said, forming the basis of her espoused theory. Said built on Foucault, seeing Orientalism as a discourse, analysing how the Western world was able to 'manage - and even produce -

the Orient' (2003, 3) and the Oriental subject. He made the influential argument that writing about the Eastern world from the US and Europe presented inaccurate, misleading stereotype representations of the Oriental subject, hindering a 'real' understanding of the local situation on the ground. Oriental subjects are considered to be fundamentally similar to each other and ontologically different from the Occident, the West. Building on Foucault, he argued that the Orient is 'a system of representations' of the West that is 'a product of certain political forces and activities' (Said 2003, 202-203). Seeing the discourse on the Orient in the imbalance of power between Europe and the rest of the world, Western representations reflects the Western way of seeing of the Oriental subject more than that it describes the 'real' Orient, therefore also reflecting the values of the hegemony. The Orient and the Occident are oppositional to each other, constructing the Orient as a negative image of the Occident, reproducing a subject that was desired by the Western powers. Dirik espouses the concept Orientalism to critique the Western media's representation of Kurdish women fighters. Although not mentioned, it also implies the power dimensions involved in the Western media's representation and the notion that only the Western version of the reality of the Kurdish women fighters is heard or represented, and not their own version.

Dirik's enacted understanding of Orientalism is consistent with the espoused theory, signalling coherence; in her theory-in-action, she sees Orientalism in the sensationalisation, exoticisation, oversimplification and appropriation of the stories of Kurdish women fighters, their homogenisation of Kurdish groups and the ignorance of the history and politics behind women's participation by the Western media. Even though, women are no longer seen as 'the creatures of a male power-fantasy' like in Said (2003, 207) because they are represented as defying 'preconceived notion of eastern women as oppressed victims' (Dirik 2014), Dirik argues that they are not represented in a way that does justice to their reality. Through the use of the concept Orientalism, Dirik implies that the representations of Western media of Kurdish women fighters tells us more about the West than about these women themselves and that the way the media represents them does not reflect their reality. This is in line with the general assumptions of Said's theory on Orientalism. Simultaneously, Weiss' implication that a different Western media's approach is needed is shared with Said, who writes that 'the most important task of all would be to undertake studies in contemporary alternatives to Orientalism, to ask how one can study other cultures and peoples from a libertarian, or a nonrepressive and nonmanipulative, perspective' (Said 2003, 24). Where Said acknowledges that he was not able to complete this task, Weiss implied that she found a proper way for Western media to represent Kurdish women fighters and provided her own understanding of these women.

However, the subject that Dirik (2014) generates, her enacted practice of describing the subject, seems to reject her own way of understanding Said's Orientalism, implying some form of incoherence within her enactments of her theory-in-action; Dirik's way of representing Kurdish women fighters is sometimes similar to the Western media she criticizes for their representation. For example, she makes some general remarks about Kurdish women fighters, like that they are 'taking up arms in what is essentially a patriarchal

society' and 'struggl[ing] against regimes they consider oppressive' and 'engaging in armed struggle for decades' (2014), while simultaneously criticizing the Western media for homogenisation of all Kurdish parties. Furthermore, based on these claims she argues that they are 'the bravest enemies of ISIL' (2014), while also criticizing the Western media for exoticising Kurdish women fighters as "badass" Amazons. Although Dirik makes the claim based on what they do - indicating a performative understanding known in poststructuralist notions of the subject - she does make the similar, in her own words 'exoticising', claim that they are brave, even 'the bravest'. We could therefore argue that according to her own understanding she could be representing an orientalist picture herself; a poststructuralist notion of orientalism, exoticising the performance rather than the essence, but an orientalist picture nonetheless.

Another example is her critique on the appropriation of the stories of these women for the purposes of Western media. The question is what this appropriation entails and whether she does not ask the media to appropriate these women when she argues that if the media seeks 'to honour the bravest enemies of ISIL [they] can begin by actively supporting the resistance in Kobane, remove the PKK from the terror list, and officially recognise the Syrian Kurdistan administration' (Dirik 2014)¹. In this way, she seems to do justice only to the political struggle involving these women, but we question if it does justice to the experiences of these women. Even though it is not sure whether Dirik provides an Orientalist perspective which argues that Oriental subjects are fundamentally similar to each other and dissimilar from those in the West, it does seem that Dirik describes the subject in a similar manner that she herself considers to be Orientalist as she criticizes the media for it. Therefore, there are no direct indications that there is incoherence between Dirik's espoused and enacted theory, but there is incoherence within her enacted practices on the subject.

Thus, Dirik's critique on how the Western media represents Kurdish women fighters is consistent with the general line of Said's theory on Orientalism that she espouses, indicating that there is no difference between espoused and enacted theory and no incoherence. However, in her enacted description of the subject of these women she practices the subject in a manner that she herself critiques the media for. In short, instead of incoherence between the espoused and enacted theories, the enactments do not seem to be mutually coherent; in her argument against current Western Orientalist representation she constructs the subject in a manner that she herself sees as Orientalist. This notion that she does something she herself critiques leaves one to wonder why Dirik chose to use the concept of Orientalism, as her own description of the subject seems to contrast the message in her article. It also leads to questions whether her espoused theory is similar to her enacted theory, although we did not find any suggestion for this. Nevertheless, an incoherency within Dirik's enactments of Said's theory on Orientalism is present.

¹ Nevertheless, one may wonder whether it is ever possible find a non-appropriating manner, a non-orientalist way of representing the subject.

The Paradox of Coherence: its Impossibility, Undesirability and Incoherence

With the poststructuralist turn, the subject is perceived and represented as dynamic, decentred, manifold and in the process of forever becoming in relation to its social and material environment. The subject is produced by discourses while simultaneously producing discourses as well, being forever in the process of becoming in her performative acts. As we have seen, this understanding of the subject has been used to consider how gender in nationalist discourses construct and were constructed by the subject, secondly, to critically engage with discourses on empowerment and emancipation showing that new control mechanisms led to roles that did not represent the experiences and subjectivities of Kurdish women and finally to criticize the current Western media representation on Kurdish women fighters.

Next to having a large influence on the current understanding on the subject, poststructuralism also emphasized our responsibility to do “good” or rather “adequate” research, while simultaneously changing our ways of thinking how to do this; the ‘crisis of representation’ led to a rejection of the idea that the researcher’s representation could correspond with reality-in-itself in an objective manner. Therefore, this correspondence model was replaced by the emphasis on reflectivity and responsibility leading up to the standard of internal coherence, indicating that a text should be ‘non-self-contradictory’, consistent and logical in its own terms. Using the theories of actions, consisting of the espoused theory and theory-in-action, we applied this standard on three texts to understand how it worked and to consider whether within poststructuralism this operationalisation of internal coherence would be considered appropriate for quality evaluation. In these three texts on Kurdish politically active women using a particular poststructuralist understanding of their subjectivity, we showed that the work of good scholars is imperfect; there were either incoherencies or doubts about coherence.

Thus, these authors fail on the standard internal coherence, if operationalized using the theories of action. That good scholars fail, however, suggests that the problem might lie more with the standard than it does with their performance. This leads us to query the suitability of internal coherence for the quality assessment of research that accepts a particular poststructuralist understanding of the subject. Diving back into what this understanding means, we recognize the authors of the articles as subjects, to argue that the operationalisation that we used in this article is rather naïve, because from a poststructuralist perspective this operationalisation would be impossible, undesirable and incoherent, leading to a paradoxical situation. Therefore, we argue for a new conceptualisation of coherence as diverse, temporal and revisable.

However, first, we go back to how internal coherence was operationalized, which seemed to be incoherent itself. Coherence is used in this article as an anachronistic and universal standard that can be used everywhere and anytime, as long as it judged texts by criteria from within for being logic and consistent. However, the decontextualized use of this standard for the three texts can be seen as incoherent in itself, as its operationalisation is external to the theories within the authors appeared to be operating. Koro-Ljungberg

warned for these kind of externalized standards as they 'can be dangerous for a field as diverse as qualitative inquiry ... because they tend to decontextualize and unnecessarily neutralize research practices' (2010, 608).

Recognizing the authors of the articles as poststructuralist subjects, we must acknowledge that from a poststructuralist understanding that they will never reach the subject position in their performances that the used standard of coherence pushes for; they can never perform a poststructuralist notion of the subject perfectly and are therefore inevitably failing to conform to the standard of coherence in a perfect sense. Paraphrasing Butler, we would like to argue that one does one's poststructuralist understanding of the subject 'differently from one's contemporaries and from one's ... predecessors and successors as well' (Butler 1988, 521). According to these poststructuralist theories themselves, there could never be a use or citation of a theory that exactly conforms to the original theory, therefore the possibility of coherence is rejected; every application of theory inherently entails reinterpretation, appropriation and change in understanding the theory. From a poststructuralist perspective, coherence would be an impossibility that could never be achieved, or as Butler would say 'a fiction, perhaps a fantasy' (1993, 5). It is an attractor that impels a subject position to which a person can never comply. If an author could perform consistently with the poststructuralist notion of performativity (Butler 1988, 1993), it would imply that she would not be able to perform a poststructuralist notion of the subject in a perfect sense. Thus, any display of a performance of poststructuralist notions of, for example, the subject would be incoherent within poststructuralism itself. Therefore, a paradoxical situation arises; authors can only perform perfectly if they fail, because a coherent performance with the notions of themselves as poststructuralist subjects would only imply an incoherent performance regarding their use of poststructuralist theories. Thus, the nature of poststructuralist theories discussed in this article denies both the possibility and the desirability of a coherent performance as aspired to in the previous sections, making that operationalisation of coherence incoherent in itself and therefore rather naïve.

However, this notion of incoherent coherence does not mean that we should run away from our responsibility to do adequate research and we should keep looking for ways to evaluate the quality of research. As poststructuralists would argue for, we should look at how we evaluate what is coherent and what is not, what alternatives are present and acknowledge the political nature of these criteria. For example, we could question whether it is useful to evaluate internal coherence in a dichotomous manner (i.e. coherent/incoherent, acceptable/not acceptable) (Scheurich 1997 in Koro-Ljungberg 2010, 604). Furthermore, we should look at what historical and political contexts made us focus on internal coherence and investigate the discursive means and conditions that allow for the judgement of coherence. From a poststructuralist perspective, we should think through the inescapable entanglement' (Allen 2010, 94) of power and the quality of research and consider that the evaluation of the quality of texts 'is far more about deep theoretical and political issues than about a technical issue or an issue of alliance to correct procedure' (Lather 2009, 506 in Koro-Ljungberg 2010, 606). Quality evaluation should be recognized as

part of theoretical and political discussion on 'the demarcation of what is and what is not science, what is "good" science, and who gets to say' (Lather in Moss et al. 2009, 506).

Acknowledging that there are different ideas about what "adequate" science is, we should dispose of homogeneous, anachronistic and universal standards; these standards 'tend to decontextualize and unnecessarily neutralize research practices' which can 'disable researchers' responsibility' (Koro-Ljungberg 2010, 608). Instead we should look for quality indicators that fit the assumptions of the theory from which one is writing. Considering that from a poststructuralist position the standard of coherence operationalized in a universalistic and anachronistic way was considered to be impossible, undesirable and incoherent, alternatives have to be sought. Within these alternatives we must acknowledge that coherence is an attractor, or as Butler would state a 'fantasy', that we (can) strive for, but are unable to reach in our performances in a perfect manner. Therefore, coherence 'cannot be completed or concluded' (Koro-Ljungberg 2010, 609) and we should consider what diversity of forms internal coherence in qualitative research can take and acknowledge its temporality. We should rethink coherence as diverse, temporal and revisable and keep considering our responsibility in research to the subjects we describe; we should continue to reconsider what would be the most appropriate way to do the research and to evaluate its quality, while simultaneously trying to understand what discursive means play a role in the research and its evaluation. Only in this way will we be able to do right to the writings on subjectivity.

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Annex 1

Below you will find the code list, that I have used in Atlas.ti to code the three texts that I have analysed.

Categories	'badass' Amazons
	'badass' Kurdish women
	'usual' girl
	'normal' woman
	(young) mother/wife
	(young) unmarried woman
	Ascetic, asexual, mystic hero
	activist
	Central figure in society
	Chaste and dutiful daughter
	elderly woman
	erkek-kadin (man-woman)
	erkek (honorary male)
	guerrilla fighter
	iraqi kurdish women
	Isthar the goddess
	Kawa the Blacksmith

	Kurdish woman fighter
	leader
	mother of nation
	New Kurdishness/family
	New Woman
	Old Kurdishness/family
	parents of guerrilla fighter
	Persona non grata
	peshmerga
	PKK
	Political motherhood
	Politically active woman
	Politician
	Post-menopausal women and mothers of grown-up children
	Prisoners
	Protestor
	Pulled-down woman
	Real fighters
	Slaves of slaves
	Strong women
	Suffering mother
	Trustworthy woman
	Queen
	Victim
	Warrior
	'Womanized people'
	Western media
Names	Ayse
	Fatma
	Handan
	Öcalan
	Rehana
	YPJ
	Zilan
	Zehra
Category-Bound Activities/Characteristics	Ability to act in public sphere and talk not only about own pain, also society's trauma
	Accepted public role as political mother, struggled to live up to the expectations attached
	Accusation of disloyalty, betrayal and treason
	Act in context of multiple constraints
	Acted on motherhood
	Active roles in cso opposed human rights violations and pro-Kurdish political parties
	Actors' struggles have potential to change the content of these

	identities, especially when women are actors themselves
	Address fellow party members as heval
	Admired
	Alarmed that society denied her femininity
	All my children, mother to them all
	Apart from fight IS and Assad-regime, Kurdish women also struggle against regimes they consider oppressive
	Appeared in meetings, street demonstrations
	Appropriation* ²
	Appropriate gender norms and give new meaning
	Appropriate political sphere
	Are asked to desexualize themselves when entering public sphere
	Are codified as objects in need of protection
	Are key to create a safety corridor to rescue Yazidis in Sinjar Mountains
	Are defined as instruments and grounds
	Arranged own marriage
	As bearers and sustainers of the 'national culture'
	As reproducers of ethnic/national community, both biologically and culturally -> control over women's bodies, fertilities and behaviours -> identity politics over women's bodies
	As signifiers/carriers of authentic 'essence' of the nation
	Assumed noms de guerre
	Asexual (perceived)
	Aware of heightened social position
	Awe
	'be faithful to the homeland and fight for it'
	Bitter
	Bizarre*
	Blurred line of demarcation
	Boring statement*
	Burden of representation
	Burdened with invisible costs
	Caricaturisations
	Challenged male dominance within party
	Cheapening*
	circumstances uncorroborated*
	Claim that Rehana killed >100 IS fighters, single-handedly*
	Claim right to marry and form family
	Combated for the 'homeland', side by side with men, proving themselves in the field
	Commitment to Kurdish case
	Conditions in mountains generally believed to fit men better

² * refers to Dirik's conception of Western media which she considers Orientalist

	than women
	Could not bear loss child
	Critics accused Kurdish leadership of exploiting women for PR purposes to win western public opinion*
	Criticize mayor and officials of DTP for hypocrisy and lack of sincere engagement for the Kurdish cause
	Criticize traditional patriarchal family structure, women's secondary status within family, gender roles associated with namus
	Critique of patriarchal value system liberates women from familial control and enable women to become equal subjects
	Danger external, internal safe
	Depression
	Did not see why she as female cadre should be expected to stay single and dedicated to political party
	Did not see her wish for a "normal" life as a step backwards
	Did not want to be different from 'normal' women
	Did not want to face future of constant anxiety, little/no info
	Different duties and mission are assigned to women
	Dirik's generation grew up recognising women fighters as a natural element of our identity, shaping consciousness of millions of Kurds
	Disliked for harsh criticism of local politics
	Demanded respect from military and society at expense of own personal pain
	Die
	Did not mean to defy the achievements of Kurdish movements in terms of gender issues and return to unliberated self, but it could be interpreted as her strongest critique of the underlying patriarchal structures within Kurdish movement, and way of proving the party ideology of new free and powerful woman who has been liberated from constraints
	Discomfort
	Discourse created the possibility to engage in struggle against contradictions by enabling to leave home
	Dominant role family, public and political sphere
	Effective as several women refused to sign further petitions and reluctant to meet visiting party member, hoping to escape further police harassment
	Embodied disciplinary practices and perfectly managed different gender norms and political contexts
	Encouraged to form their own independent political and military units without male commanders in order to fulfil their duties to 'fight for and liberate the homeland
	Encouraged to appear in public
	Encouragement daughter to take active part in discussions and

	events and become politically active
	Encouragement man not followed because family and in-laws
	Engaged in armed struggle for decades
	Enjoy exceptional status
	Enter male territory
	Equal stress on husband's arrest and violence against her own body
	Familiar with party's agenda and emerging women's movements
	Fantasies*
	Fascination*
	Fear of non-acceptance of 'liberated' behaviour, 'people might talk'
	Feel attacked in womanhood and sexuality
	Feel obligation
	Felt calmer
	Felt relieved when female guard intervened and took over
	Feminist issues treated as secondary
	Fight
	Free movement in political/public sphere
	Get rid of familial attachments
	Girls doing difficult tasks in male cloths
	Give up 'false' manhood -> rescue real manhood/victory
	Given birth to baby
	Glamorisation*
	Glorification
	Have become participants in masculine discourse of nation building, due to left-wing ideological-political framework of movement, mobilization strategies and women's participation
	Harassment (sexual
	Hate humiliating situation, swore never to visit again, but after baby born resumed visits
	Highly respected and honored
	Homogenisation*
	Humiliation
	'immune' against transgressions
	Incomplete, a-sexualized womanhood, denial feminity
	Interrogated as mother, not wife
	Is strict in critique local ideology and commitment
	Is independent
	Is self-confident
	Instead of considering implication of women taking up arms in an otherwise/essentially patriarchal society*
	Internalized
	Invalidate discourse 'women's liberation', which reduced women to objects waiting to be liberated
	Invited to become active, work alongside men to protect

	homeland and construct the new society
	Join meetings, lectures and discussions
	Knew how to play with subject positions in order to navigate different contexts and protect family against transgressions and violations
	Kill
	Iraqi kurds enjoy degree of autonomy and rights
	Lead epic resistance in Kobane
	Lead social revolution against society's patriarchal order through gender-egalitarian governance and a grassroots-feminist movement
	Learn to separate personal pain, fears, longing for death with political version of suffering, embrace all 'sons and daughters'
	Led to women's freedom of movement, and enabled women to leave home, having unforeseeable consequences
	Liberation/free
	Limited but positive results for women
	Little attention to politics*
	Life unbearable
	Live in seclusion, interact only with husband's close friends
	Living as a 'normal' woman not easy
	Lose faith in former friends and admirers
	Man as addressor and men and women as addressee
	Many complain they are not deployed at front
	Many examples of women as warriors or leaders in Kurdish history
	Married
	Men seek dominion in sexuality, which women use as their weapon to keep hold on men – dangerous
	Military associated with manhood, but movement's ideological attitude did not allow this situation to impede women's participation
	Mobilisation
	Mothers' despair -> fury that will strangle the murderers
	Move within society's and party's control, military gaze
	Moved into the ranks of heroes and future martyrs
	Moved within established gender norms of political party
	Myopic*
	Negotiate position in public sphere
	Negotiate boundary of gender
	No time to dress adequately
	Normalize
	Not accept daughter gone to mountains and decide to follow her to bring back, arranged own journey
	Not comfortable with ascribed subject position as an erkek-kadin
	None of Iraqi women currently enlisted have actual combat

	experience and often in charge of logistics
	Not necessarily define through political activity
	Not passive
	Only women's active struggle can determine which meanings will be fixed and which meanings will not
	Only joining party events and activities on special occasions
	Opinion always asked and considered
	Oversimplification*
	Parents agreed with daughter's political activism
	Parents decline to send daughters
	Parents were uneasy and afraid
	Participation in Kurdish movement
	Perceived choice of return to oppressed life in patriarchal structure
	Pkk's strategy of long-term people's war placed women's secondary and dependent position on the agenda as a practical problem -> need of support and participation of women
	Play with ideologies and discourses
	Played with established gender norms, while not breaking any rules of modest conduct
	Presents political struggle and nationalist movement as rooted deeply within society, one of strongest symbols in protest against injustice and war
	'Protesting the oppression of Kurds'
	Proud that they trusted her
	Proved willingness to fight and risk life for community
	Pull down whole society
	Put in place by Ronia -> pain of being mother of fighter/martyr was not private suffering but a public affair
	Put polluted local party in opposition to purity g25guerrilla movement
	Questioned 'sacred' gender politics
	Questioned and told to stay away from further party activity (after petitions Öcalan)
	Reached influential positions in decision-making and administrations, mayors and deputies
	Rape
	Reclaim manhood, achieve 'real power' over women, similar place in gender hierarchy
	Refused to communicate, create distance, refuse tea
	Refused to marry
	Remove (gender) barriers
	Removed from political position
	Respectable participation in public sphere is strictly predicated upon a an amorous attachment to the homeland and not another sexual love

	Resisted and subverted surveillance of security forces
	Return to society, moved in center stage of political community
	Screaming and seemingly in pain approaching prisoners, pretended to faint, distracting guards, managed to communicate with husband in non-verbal way
	Second-degree enslavement in Kurdish society
	See them not as strong heroes, as they seemed far too young, fragile and longing for their mothers
	Self-determination – stand on own feet, life in own hands, adjust according to yourself
	Self-perception; attractive woman who wished future as wife and mother
	Self-presentation driving force
	Self-sacrifice
	Sent by party to inspect local political structure and tidy up among officials
	Served to keep male militants away from women and familial attachments
	Serve sentence
	Sexual violation
	Smuggle letter (in diapers)
	Stayed in background in encounter military
	Stress subject position as young mother in encounter with military
	Strip-searched by male guards
	Strong position family and society
	Struggle against regimes they consider oppressive
	Suicide protest
	Switch between ideas of honor and 26Marxist-inspired discourses of gender equality
	twitched between contexts seemingly impossible to combine
	Symbolically assigns a constitutive mission to women
	Taken up political offices
	Those seeking to honour the bravest enemies of IS can begin by actively supporting the resistance in Kobane, remove the PKK from the terror list and officially recognize Rojava administration
	Tokenism*
	Took up arms
	Took part in what was thought to be appropriate only for men
	Transgress boundaries of accepted conduct
	Tried to follow husband's traces with female relative
	Try to negotiate with military
	Try to protect themselves and dignity
	(un/knowingly) adopted a nationalist discourse on motherhood
	Veiled, preparing her dowry
	Visit husband in prison

	Visit village, educate villagers in pol ideology, human and women's rights and collect signatures
	Walked beaten path from young political activist to guerrilla fighter
	Want to be loved
	Wanted to become more involved with Kurdish movement and turned more active in party
	Went up to the mountains to become 'fighters', to join the armed forces of the movement
	Were 'essentially' more equal and free in their national culture
	White-washing*
	Women's armyfication
	Women do not speak within nationalist discourses but are spoken about
	Women had more reasons for struggling patriarchy and more revolutionary potential
	Women joining the army means taking most radical step to equality and freedom
	Women taken to police station (without trusted male companion)
	Women were to be independent from men and men were to avoid establishing patriarchal dominance over women
	Woman who fights becomes free, who is free becomes beautiful, who is beautiful is loved
	Woman who imitates man, looks like man in stature and who has boyish behavior
Theoretical concepts/Theory related	Agency
	Butler
	Body
	Change/transformation
	Constitution
	Constraints (social and political)
	Construction of identity
	Contradicting role model
	Control mechanisms (social and political)
	Correct repetition of (accepted) behaviors
	Culturally accepted feminine conduct
	Decolonization
	Dichotomies
	Discourse: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Becoming goddess (discourse) - critique of 'old man', kill the man, patriarchal despot -> 'false'/'womanized' man (discourse) - Discourse -> women's participation - Discourse constitutes women as active subjects

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Women's participation -> discourse - Discourse before 1980 - Discourse 1980 - Discourse 1990 - Discourse of 'liberating women' in 1980s - Women's liberation (discourse) <p>'woman who liberates herself while also liberating society' (discourse)</p>
	Domination
	Douglas
	Efforts to mobilize society had as primary aim the 'liberation' of women
	Empowerment/Emancipation
	Exclusion/expulsion
	Expectations (social and political)
	Feminism
	Fiction
	Fluid and indeterminate meanings
	<p>Gender:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gender as performance - Gender equality - Gender norm - Gender roles - Gender is important in nationalist discourses <p>Interaction ethnic/nationalist processes and gender relations</p>
	Ideology
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Identity
	Limits and contradictions of movement's discourse on gender equality
	Love and affection
	Modernization
	<p>Nationalism:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Nationalism open field different loci of power compete - Interaction ethnic/nationalist processes and gender relations <p>Nationalist form of kinning</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Narratives
	Navigation
	<p>Negotiation</p> <p>Negotiate position in public sphere</p>
	Normal
	Norms
	Orientalism
	Other
	<p>Patriarchy:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - private form of patriarchy -> public form of patriarchy

	social contract replaces the traditional form of patriarchy based on the power of the father -> form of patriarchy based on the power of brothers
	Patronage
	Performativity
	Play
	- Political activity
	Political aim
	Power
	- Purity and pollution
	Remove (gender) barriers
	Resistance
	Sanctions (social and political)
	Sexuality
	Status
	Strategy
	- Subject
	- Subjection
	Subversion
	Suppression/oppression
	Temporal
	Violence
	Violation of accepted behavior
Kurdish related concepts	Link woman-honor-nation
	Local perceptions of honor and shame
	Love - victory –freedom
	Man Question, Woman Question
	Mythological sources of Kurdishness
	Namus <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - namus eliminated/redefined through a discursive operation; female body -> homeland - shift namus calls men to fight for the homeland and serves to remove the namus barrier preventing women's participation - focussing on old definition of namus prevents Kurds from fulfilling responsibilities for the privileged field limits to redefinition namus
	Newroz
	Women's movement
	Nationalist/Kurdish movement <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Kurdish movement targeted elite (comprador, feudal powers) and state (colonizers) - national democratic revolution under leadership working class through alliance between workers and peasants - prohibition of sexual relations among party members - unacceptable young mother to be politically active as

	unmarried girls
	Police and military interventions
	sexual love <-> love for homeland